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**How Language and Nation Intertwine: Changes in the Language of
Australian Literature from 1830 up to the Present**

Propojení jazyka a národa: Změny v jazyce australské literatury od roku 1830 do
současnosti

Disertační práce

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NOTES FOR READERS

When referring to cultural keywords, if the reference is to the keyword itself, the keyword is italicised (e.g., “the frequency of *mate*”), whereas if it refers to a referent, such as a specific person being addressed as mate, then normal font is used. The same style is applied to the discussion of any linguistic features – if the feature itself is being referred to, it is italicised (e.g., “the pronoun *youse*”), but normal font is used in other cases. Italics are also used for hypothetical examples illustrating possible usage that are not quotations from the corpus or other sources, e.g., *Good day, mate*.

ABSTRAKT

Ačkoli studie věnující se vztahu mezi národní identitou a jazykem v Austrálii existují, toto téma nikdy nebylo zkoumáno na datech napříč australskou historií. Předkládaná disertační práce proto sleduje jazykové projevy rodící se národní identity na korpusu kanonických románů australské literatury od roku 1830 do současnosti. Korpus je rozdělen do čtyř období, která vycházejí z vývojových fází postkoloniálních variet angličtiny Schneiderova Dynamického modelu (2007). Hlavní tezí práce je, že lokální identita se jazykově projevuje v obdobích spjatých s nacionalismem vyšším zastoupením australského dialektu a odkazováním na lokální referenční rámce. Z povahy tématu vyplývá, že jde o mezioborový výzkum, který kombinuje lingvistiku s literárními a kulturními studii. Toto spojení umožňuje vykreslit vztah jazyka a identity komplexně pomocí jak kvantitativní, tak kvalitativní analýzy.

Kvantitativní analýza se věnuje klíčovým slovům – nejprve vygenerovaným přímo z korpusu, kdy byl jako referenční korpus použit analogicky vytvořený korpus britské literatury, poté kulturně významným klíčovým slovům na základě Wierzbické teorie (1997), jež tvrdí, že pro každou kulturu existuje soubor klíčových slov, který odráží její základní hodnoty. Vygenerované seznamy klíčových slov odráží socio-historický a kulturní kontext a nastiňují obvyklá prostředí a témata daného období, čímž samy o sobě poskytují kontext pro analýzu kulturně významných klíčových slov. Analýza kulturně významných klíčových slov potvrzuje obecnou korelaci mezi frekvencí a vyšší mírou nacionalismu, ale pouze termíny *mate* a *bush* mají dostatečný počet výskytů na vyvozování relevantních závěrů. Výzkum také naznačuje, že většina těchto slov získala svůj specifický australský význam v nacionalistickém období kolem vzniku australské federace v roce 1901. Změny v asociacích spojených s jejich významem a kontexty jejich užívání odrážejí společenské dění daných období.

Kvalitativní analýza se skládá z pozorného čtení (close reading) dvou románů z každého období (autorky a autora), kde je jazyk a jeho specificky australské projevy zkoumán v širších souvislostech. Analýza potvrzuje, že míra, s jakou autoři a autorky v textech využívají australský dialekt, odráží socio-historický a kulturní kontext. Diskuse také ukazuje, že charakteristická australská krajina byla od počátku jedním z ústředních témat místní literatury a je pevně spojena s národní povahou, což je pomocí jazykových prostředků zdůrazňováno ve větší či menší míře napříč všemi obdobími v závislosti na stejných proměnných jako míra užívání australského dialektu.

Klíčová slova: jazyk a identita, australská angličtina, kulturně významná klíčová slova, australská literatura, korpusová lingvistika, pozorné čtení, stylistika krajiny

ABSTRACT

While previous research has explored the relationship between national identity and language in Australia, it has not been examined on language data through history. This dissertation thus aims to trace linguistic manifestations of emerging local identity on a corpus of canonical Australian literature from 1830 up to the present. The corpus is divided into four periods based on the stages of development of postcolonial Englishes as per Schneider's Dynamic model (2007). The central hypothesis is that local identity manifests linguistically in an increased presence of the vernacular and domestic frames of reference in periods of heightened nationalism. Consequently, the nature of this study is interdisciplinary, combining linguistics with literary and cultural studies to offer a complex picture of the relationship between language and identity via a quantitative as well as qualitative analysis.

The quantitative analysis concentrates on keywords, exploring both keywords generated from the corpus, using an analogically created corpus of British literature as reference, and culturally significant keywords, following Wierzbicka's (1997) theory of every culture having a set of keywords that reflect its core values. The generated lists reflect the socio-historical and cultural context, revealing common environments and preoccupations of the period, thus providing more context for the cultural keywords analysis. In general, among the cultural keywords, the correlation between frequency and periods of increased nationalism holds, but only *mate* and *bush* are sufficiently frequent to draw any meaningful conclusions. Besides the frequency correlation, most of the keywords also appear to have acquired their specifically Australian meanings mainly in the nationalistic period around the Federation in 1901. Changes in their meaning associations or contexts of usage appear to reflect societal developments.

The qualitative analysis consists of close readings of two novels from each period (one by a female and one by a male author), where the language is examined more generally with respect to specifically Australian features. The analysis confirms that the degree to which the authors use the Australian vernacular reflects the socio-historical and cultural context. The discussion also shows that the distinctive Australian landscape has from the beginning been one of the most important themes in Australian literature that is strongly tied to the national character, which is linguistically foregrounded through all the periods, although in varying degrees depending on the same factors as the presence of the vernacular.

Keywords: language and identity, Australian English, cultural keywords, Australian literature, corpus linguistics, close reading, stylistics of landscape

ABBREVIATIONS

AmE	American English
ANC	Australian National Corpus
AND	Australian National Dictionary
AusE	Australian English
BNC	British National Corpus
BrE	British English
cf.	confer (Latin) = compare
Ch.	Chapter
ipm	instances per million (tokens)
NSW	New South Wales, Australia
NZE	New Zealand English
OED3	Oxford English Dictionary Third Edition
QLD	Queensland, Australia
PCE	postcolonial English (variety); see Schneider (2007)
RP	Received Pronunciation
SA	South Australia, Australia
ScE	Scottish English
[sic]	sic erat scriptum (Latin) = thus it had been written
StBE	Standard British English
VIC	Victoria, Australia
WA	Western Australia
[number]x	times, e.g., 5x = five times

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation and objectives

Australian English (AusE), and Australian culture as a whole, has long been perceived as a poor cousin of British English (BrE), lacking the sophistication and cultural capital BrE has accumulated over the centuries (BurrIDGE 2019: 186). Moreover, while a local vernacular emerged quickly in Australia and in the late 19th century came to be employed to assert a unique national identity and to champion independence, the British colonial administration perpetuated a feeling of inferiority among the speakers (Phillips 1950). To this day, such a feeling makes the Australians' relationship with their language complicated and the construction of national identity difficult.

As discussed in Císlerová (2018: 75-76), this complicated construction of national identity has roots in Australia's history. Unlike other settler colonies where English was transported, Australia was founded as a penal colony where the transported prisoners together with their supervising officers and colonial administrators laid the foundations for what would become the Australian nation. Whereas the majority of the British who settled in North America came of their own free will (although some prisoners were also transported there, though not nearly to the scale of Australia), those early arrivals to Australia were forcibly taken or commanded to a foreign environment. Because the prisoners lacked the economic means and had very little loyalty to the Crown, a strong distrust and dislike of authority emerged, something which is apparent to this day and constitutes a national trait (Teo & White 2003: 114). With the growth of the white population, Australia came to occupy a double position in the colonial business – while the white locals were in the position of the colonised, subjugated by Britain, they also became the coloniser with respect to the Aboriginal people. This almost schizophrenic position and the fact that they did not readily fit into either group is perhaps one of the reasons why Australian identity is still a fuzzy concept. While grappling with the feelings of marginalisation and oppression by their mother country, the white population have also been dealing with the guilt of mimicking the coloniser's attitudes to the Aborigines and later to other minorities as immigration to Australia increased.

The continued insecurity about national identity manifested also linguistically. British cultural and linguistic norms were upheld until well into the 20th century (Moore 2012) and Standard British English (StBE), the prestigious variety of the coloniser, has long been associated with higher social status; as such, it has been the variety often used by those who

intended to climb the social ladder. As Peters (2017) shows, StBE served as a linguistic model in Australia both in the context of the written variety with codified spelling, grammar and style and also in the context of pronunciation: regarding the former, it remained dominant even after WWII in ESL teaching and the publishing industry until the introduction of the Australian Copyright Act in 1991; regarding the latter, many Australians view “the British Received Pronunciation (RP) accent as their model” (2017: 104). StBE in the scope of this dissertation thus encompasses all these aspects. A recent study among young Australians revealed that many features seen as typical of AusE are associated with a lower social class and that Australians believe that at least in the eyes of the world AusE is associated with uncouthness, ignorance and being second-class compared to other varieties (Penry Williams 2020: 175).

Many of these typical features, however, were the key ingredients Australian writers used in their texts at the end of the 19th century when they were using literature to promote the nationalist cause, asserting Australia’s cultural independence to win political independence. In this they were following the examples set by the calls for independence of nation-states in Europe, which brought national vernaculars and regional dialects into the spotlight, mining them for cultural material to help justify campaigns for the creation of nation states (Edwards 2009: 206).

Language, literature, and identity are thus strongly intertwined, and this dissertation aims to look at the intricacies of this connection in the Australian context, examining the historical development of AusE with a focus on the manifestations of the emergence of and subsequent changes in national identity. For this reason, the research is situated within the framework of Schneider’s Dynamic Model of development (2007) designed for postcolonial varieties of English, which accounts for the importance of changing identity constructions on the way from colony to an independent nation in the development of a new language variety. The most recent comprehensive study of AusE, *Australian English Reimagined* (Willoughby & Manns 2019), likewise works within this theoretical framework, confirming its applicability. The relationship between language and national identity examined on language data through history, however, is not paid much attention in existing research on AusE, which is a gap this study strives to address.

This dissertation thus aims to trace the development of AusE as a manifestation of emerging local identity on a corpus of literary texts, which will be examined from a quantitative as well as qualitative perspective. The corpus is divided into four periods based on the phases of Schneider’s Dynamic Model (2007; see 2.3) and the texts were selected from the canon of

Australian literature, guided by university syllabi, Webby's *The Cambridge Companion to Australian Literature* (2000), and the presence of Australian characters and settings (discussed in more detail in 3.1). A corpus of canonical British literature was created to be used as reference in the quantitative analysis. The following general hypotheses and objectives were formulated for the present study:

1. The main hypothesis is that the emerging local identity manifested linguistically in an increased presence of the vernacular in periods of increased nationalism, thus mirroring the socio-historical and cultural context. Conversely, in periods when a local identity was not yet developed or was undergoing a crisis, the presence of the vernacular should decrease.
2. This study also presupposes that underlying linguistic ideologies (promoting StBE or AusE as the superior or inferior variety) manifest in the texts in metalinguistic commentary, reflecting the socio-historical and cultural context in the same way.
3. As lexis and phonology are seen as the most distinctive features of AusE (e.g., Collins 2012), these constitute the subject of the present study. The quantitative analysis focuses on corpus-generated and cultural keywords (expressive of cultural values; Wierzbicka 1997). Phonological features are difficult to examine on corpus data, therefore these constitute one of the focus points of the qualitative analysis, which is driven by close reading of the texts.
4. Because this study takes a postcolonial approach, the qualitative analysis focuses on the construction of landscape – physical, cultural, and linguistic – in Australian literature, as constructing one's own world in one's own linguistic terms as opposed to the linguistic terms of the coloniser (see Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 1989) constitutes one of the important steps towards independence. The construction of a uniquely Australian landscape is expected to manifest not only in the increased presence of the vernacular and cultural keywords, but also in other ways – the presence of domestic-based analogies and cultural references, again in correlation with the socio-historical and cultural context of the time.

1.2 Structure

Given the scope of the topic, which concerns the areas of linguistics, literary studies and cultural studies, the nature of the research is interdisciplinary, drawing on concepts and combining approaches from all these areas in a philological rather than strictly linguistic approach. This is apparent from the contents of the theoretical part of the dissertation as well as the presentation of the data. The following paragraphs give an overview of the structure of the study.

Following a summary of existing research on AusE (2.1 and 2.2) and Schneider's Dynamic Model (2.3), the topic of language and identity is elaborated on (2.4). Attention is then paid to different approaches of how this relationship can be examined in texts: firstly, Wierzbicka's theory of cultural keywords (1997) is discussed (2.5), which holds that every culture has a set of keywords that reflect its core values or characteristics, followed by folklinguistics (2.6 and 2.7.1) and stylistics (2.7.2).

The theoretical part is followed by a discussion of the methodology (chapter 3) applied in this dissertation. As outlined above, lexis and phonology constitute the primary focus in the analysis of data from a small corpus of canonical Australian literature compiled for the purpose of this dissertation, although due to the limitations of the data more attention is paid to lexis. This section introduces the compiled corpus of Australian literature (3.1.1), explaining the choices for the given texts and the periodisation of the corpus, which is followed by a discussion of the linguistic, sociohistorical and cultural context and the trends in Australian literature in each of the periods. Then the reference corpus of British literature created on the same model is briefly discussed (3.1.2; for a more detailed discussion see Appendix 3). The analysis of the corpus data is twofold – quantitative and qualitative, with the methodology for each outlined in turn (3.2).

Chapters presenting the results of the quantitative (chapter 4) and qualitative (chapter 5) analysis follow. The quantitative analysis consists of the analysis of keywords: firstly, keywords generated by the corpus (4.2.1), using the analogically created corpus of British literature as reference, and secondly the analysis of culturally significant keywords (4.2.2) identified by Wierzbicka (1997) for Australian culture with several additions from other sources (see 2.5.5 and 2.6). The qualitative analysis consists of a close reading of two novels from each of the four periods of the corpus. It pays attention to how the authors (and their characters) utilise language in constructing Australian identity and Australia as a place (e.g., using distinctive analogies), how the novelists employ language in characterisation, and to what extent they draw on folklinguistic beliefs. The close reading allows not only for lexical markers of AusE to be considered, but also phonology via the examination of phonetic respellings the writers employ, and also via the analysis of metalinguistic commentary, which provides invaluable insight into language attitudes of the time.

The results of the analysis are summarised in the Conclusion (chapter 6), which also offers a discussion of the limitations of the methodology applied, nature of the data and results, and possible avenues of further research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Existing Research on Australian English

When it comes to varieties of English, AusE has received comparatively less critical attention, which is manifest not only in the number of scholarly articles produced on the topic, but also in the lack of interest in it in departments outside of Australia,¹ and the fewer and less easily accessible corpora monitoring Australian language use.² Similarly to the fate of Australian literature, it has long been perceived as the poor colonial cousin of not only BrE, but also American English (AmE), which long ago graduated to a variety of English in its own right. Any substantial research that acknowledged AusE as a legitimate variety had not appeared until the 1940s. Nevertheless, since then AusE has been explored in the context of most areas of linguistics, and the main outcomes will be outlined below. Traditionally, the term AusE has referred to English spoken by native-born white Australians, while English in Australia has also covered Aboriginal and ethnic varieties of English (Collins 2012). As will become apparent, the lines between the two are increasingly becoming blurred.

2.1.1 Phonology

Phonology has generally been perceived as the most distinctive feature of AusE that has attracted many scholars and was the first area in which any research was done, with A. G. Mitchell seen as the pioneer in the field³ (Yallop 2003). Diachronic studies such as Hammarström (1980) have concentrated on the changes that have resulted in the current sound of AusE, while synchronic studies concentrated on current variation and its main factors. Mitchell & Delbridge's study *The Speech of Australian Adolescents* (1965) identified three main points on the pronunciation spectrum – Broad, General, and Cultivated. The Broad variety

¹ This is not merely my observation, Willoughby & Manns remark on this in their introduction to the newest volume outlining current research on AusE – *Australian English Reimagined* (London: Routledge, 2019). Moreover, all contributors save one are from Australian universities.

² The first corpus of AusE – the Australian Corpus of English (ACE) was compiled at the Macquarie University in 1986 and later incorporated into the ICE corpus. The Australian National Corpus (ANC), which subsumes 8 corpora, was not launched until 2012. Its different parts map language usage in Australia, therefore include also languages other than English. Depending on the level of user's access, they are accessible on the ANC's website, however, the search options are quite limited. For more information on AusE corpora, see Musgrave and Haugh 2019.

³ According to Yallop (2003), Mitchell was one of the first scholars to pay attention to Australian pronunciation and to champion it both as a research topic and a way of speaking in the 1940s, when prescriptivist tendencies dictated 'correct' pronunciation following the British model. He published a study *Pronunciation of Australian English* in 1946 and continued to work on the topic. Together with Delbridge they laid the foundation for all subsequent phonological research on AusE.

was accorded the lowest prestige, being spoken by 34% of their respondents, General by 55%, and Cultivated by 11%. The authors surveyed samples recorded at high schools all over Australia, which they judged against various speech production criteria, with the realizations of the FLEECE, GOOSE, FACE, GOAT, PRICE and MOUTH vowels being the most significant, identifying these vowel realizations as the most salient marker of Broadness (compared to RP realizations, to which the Cultivated accent came closest). Social factors such as gender, type of school, parents' occupation, and area (urban or rural) proved crucial, with boys from public schools tending towards the Broad/General spectrum, while girls from both types of schools, yet especially private ones, tended towards the General/Cultivated spectrum. Those using the Cultivated accent tended to have parents in higher-ranking professions. The Broad accent was more often found in rural areas than in cities.

Similar studies have since been conducted, e.g., Horvath's *Variation in Australian English: The Sociolects of Sydney* (1985), where she especially focused on the role of social factors, including ethnic origins, and her results corresponded to Mitchell & Delbridge. Yet there was a tendency of shifting towards the General from both ends of the spectrum.

More recently, voices emerged calling for a re-evaluation of the traditional model. Cox, for example, proposes in her contribution to the most recent volume on AusE – *Australian English Reimagined* – that

[t]he traditional broadness model which is almost exclusively based on an Anglocentric monocultural model is no longer valid for describing present-day AusE, as it fails to represent our increasingly diverse community. A detailed analysis of the relationship between speech production and sociodemographic characteristics is required to provide a clear picture of Australian accent variation without assigning labels that offer value judgements such as those suggested by the broadness model. A new conceptualisation of present-day AusE which embraces diversity and frames variation in an inclusive and comprehensive way is required to help us understand a rapidly changing Australian society. (2019: 18)

Her statement is completely in line with an increasing focus on covering all usage of English in Australia, including ethnic and other minority varieties that add to the range of social meanings language variation can express.

One of the first to have acknowledged the multicultural and linguistically diverse situation AusE operates in was Leitner (2004). He called for a multidisciplinary approach taking into account as much information as available about the historical, social, cultural, ethnographic and linguistic context. This approach marked a shift of focus from the stereotypical image of an Australian as a white heterosexual male to Australians of various ethnic backgrounds and to Aboriginal varieties of English. Already Horvath (1985) concentrated on Australians of Greek

and Italian origin and spoke of an Ethnic Broad variety. More recently, Cox & Palethorpe (2005, 2006, 2011) investigated the speech of Lebanese Australians, which has also attracted the attention of Clothier (e.g., 2019). A broader survey has also been underway as part of the Sydney Speaks project (see “Sydney Speaks”, n.d.) which aims to map variation in the multicultural metropolis. These studies not only identify specific pronunciation features, but also any code-switching depending on social situations as well as the incorporation of slang terms in the speech of ethnic speakers and its evaluation by white Australians. As the 2016 census showed, Australia has developed into a place where 33.4% of the population were born outside the country, where both parents of 34.4% Australians were born overseas, and where 22.2% of the population speak a language other than English at home (“2016 Census QuickStats”, n.d.). This has produced a very complex linguistic situation where different languages and ethnic varieties of English come into daily contact and require users to adapt their language depending on the specific context. Furthermore, it complicates the identity constructions of such speakers.

2.1.2 Lexicon

Another area that has received much attention is lexis (e.g., Baker 1945, Ramson 1966, Moore 2008), which has often been linked with Australian identity (Manns 2019: 84). This link will be explored in more detail in sections 2.4 and 2.5 and in the analysis (chapters 4 and 5). Apart from new words for local flora and fauna that were necessary to describe the new environment, English words acquired new meanings over time with the development of a unique culture. Aboriginal languages also provided some additions to the AusE lexicon, which keeps evolving as new contact situations arise.

Interest in vocabulary can be detected since the early days. In fact, one of the convicts, James Hardy Vaux, compiled hundreds of ‘cant’ terms in his *A New and Comprehensive Vocabulary of the Flash Language* (1819), some of which remain in informal use, even if their meanings may have shifted, for example *swag* (“a bundle, parcel, or package [...] a term used in speaking of any booty you have lately obtained”), together with rhyming slang. The ‘cant’ ingredient present in the Australian mixing bowl is seen as the root of the Australian affinity for the vernacular and linguistic creativity when it comes to slang expressions (e.g., Taylor 1976, Collins 2012).

Associated with the vernacular is the Australian tendency to creatively abbreviate words usually by means of the *-ie*, *-y*, *-o* suffixes (and occasionally others such as *-s*), which bridges lexis and morphology. These hypocoristics, as they have been termed, such as *brekkie*, *journ*,

mozzie, *uey*, *right-o*, *Davo*, *refo* (“refugee”), *turps* (“turpentine”) have been studied extensively and their high frequency and inventiveness deemed particularly typical of AusE (e.g., Wierzbicka 1984, Bardsley & Simpson 2009). Rather than being a sign of ‘baby talk’, they most often serve as expressions of solidarity. While economy of communication may be one of the motivations for hypocoristics, it is not the primary motivation, as sometimes syllables are added rather than removed (e.g., *right-o* mentioned above, or *Dave* > *Davo*). Luu observes that rather than length, other pragmatic matters serve as motivation, such as the “rejection of formality, and breeding familiarity” (2018)⁴.

Another important ingredient are Indigenous borrowings. These are well mapped and Manns (2019: 86) notes their tendency to develop present-day idiomatic or phrasal usages (e.g., *kangaroo court* – “a travesty of justice”, *wombat crossing* – “pedestrian crossing with a speed bump”). More recently, lexical features of Aboriginal English have also been investigated and it is interesting that most are borrowings from English with innovative meanings, including *gammon* (“not real”) or *fork* (“vagina”), though Aboriginal words are also present, such as *womba* meaning “crazy” (Dickson 2019: 157-158). Many Aboriginal words have integrated themselves so well into AusE that they are not necessarily associated with Aboriginal English anymore, such as the words for native animals, or words such as *yakka* (“work”) or *yabber* (“talk”) (Dickson 2019: 147).

For decades, the Australian public has also bemoaned the Americanisation of their language, which most often concerns vocabulary, such as *cookie*, *dude*, *guy*, or *bro*. As Korhonen (2019) reports, the views of the public depend largely on the perception of the American cultural influence, synonymous with corruption, which has been great since the arrival of the radio and later television and broadcasts of American programs, yet the linguistic situation is not nearly as dire (e.g., Peters 1998). Korhonen (2019) presents an overview of American borrowings, dating back to the early 19th century when words such as *bush* or *squatter* arrived probably via BrE and acquired specific meanings, similarly to many later arrivals during the gold rushes and the world wars. Such words lose their association with AmE over time as they become integrated into the lexicon – in other words, nativized. There are exceptions, such as the first examples mentioned here, however, the consensus is that AusE is in no danger of an American takeover. Besides the lexicon, American influences have also been discussed in terms

⁴ Throughout the dissertation, in-text references without page numbers refer to sources without numbered pages, such as online sources.

of spelling and grammar, yet these are rather minor (e. g. Peters, Collins & Smith 2009; Taylor 1989).

2.1.3 Grammar and discourse

On the level of morphology, syntax and discourse, the distinctions from other varieties are a matter of degree rather than significant difference.

Peters (2009: 13-30) notes the higher proportion of irregular or non-standard verb forms in AusE (and NZE), e.g., *u* replaces *a* in the past simple form (*rung, sunk, shrunk*), or *-t* forms preferred over *-d* forms (*learnt, spelt*). These tend to be used by young speakers; however, they are also on the rise in the older generations.

Quinn (2009: 31-48) remarks on the higher frequencies of the non-reflexive use of *myself* in non-subject coordinates (Pam and *myself*), possessive use of *me* (*me own private business*), and second person plural form *youse* in AusE.

Smith (2009: 159-182) identifies different patterns of use of non-numerical quantifiers in AusE, particularly the high frequency of *heaps of, lot(s) of* and *bunch of*. Leitner (2004) also notes the high frequency of *mob of*. These quantifiers arose from nouns signifying quantity, so they are lexically conditioned.

Another interesting study by Collins (2009: 115-124) notes the higher frequencies of the use of the progressive, which has been rising steadily in modern English, yet AusE appears to be leading its spread to other contexts (higher frequencies for complex forms – in combination with modals, passives, perfect; pragmatic meanings of intention, interpretation, attitude, politeness). Similarly, Elsness (2009: 89-114) has found that AusE takes first place in the use of the present perfect, especially with past-referring adverbials where past simple would more habitually be used (e.g., “that side [...] that you’ve played against last week”, 2009: 103).

A discourse marker that has received much attention recently is *final but*. Mulder, Thompson & Penry Williams (2009: 339-359) find this feature to be strongly linked to indexing Australianness. They distinguish two types. The *final hanging but*, which ends a turn yet leaves an implication hanging for the hearer to infer, as it were, and is reflected in the prosody which is not quite the clearly falling prosody indicating turn-finality. This type is also found in AmE, unlike the uniquely Australian *final particle but*, which is a fully grammaticalised final discourse particle that “marks contrastive content and is a turn-yielding discourse particle” (339). This discourse particle is marked by clearly final prosody, and also the fact that the implication is not left hanging, but provided in the preceding context of the intonation unit.

Similarly, *yeah-no* is a particle that is quite popular and is associated with Australianness. It can serve various functions, ranging from reinforcing cohesion to hedging (see e.g., Burrige & Florey 2002).

On a stylistic level, there is a consensus that AusE tends more towards informality than other varieties. Peters (2001) looked at available corpora to confirm this and found that compared to BrE in the standard register of AusE there are higher frequencies of contracted forms in written language, higher frequencies of conjunctive *like* (which in BrE is largely confined to fiction), and lower frequencies of the subjunctive. Peters notes that these tendencies towards informality reflect Australian culture: “Australians’ accommodation of contractions and other informal devices within standard prose correlates with their often negative orientation to formality, which is devalued in favour of styles of behaviour which are obviously egalitarian and inclusive” (2001: 175).

2.2 History of Australian English

When the First Fleet landed on Australian shores on 26 January 1788, the new arrivals not only claimed the continent and established a penal colony in New South Wales, but also played an important role in linguistic history. On the one hand, they laid the foundations for a new variety of English, on the other hand, they started digging the graves for many of the local languages. Throughout the following decades, penal colonies were established in Van Diemen’s Land (today’s Tasmania) in 1803, along with several smaller ones in today’s Queensland. After the loss of the American colonies, Britain simply needed a new place where to offload her prisoners. Until 1868, which saw the end of convict transportation, it is estimated that over 160 000 prisoners landed on Australian shores (Maxwell-Steward & Oxley 2017). Only 15% were female, of whom nearly 60% came from Ireland. The average age of convicts was 26, and only 14% were over 34 – “not far away from a malleable age”, as Leitner notes (2004: 76). While the prisoners hailed from all over Britain, nearly one third came either from London, Lancashire, or Dublin (2004: 76-77).

As the nature of the settlement suggests, the early population was comprised chiefly of prisoners, overseers, officers, and marines. While free settlers started arriving only a few years into the colony’s existence, their numbers were few at the beginning, even though the government soon began to encourage migration with schemes to assist the poor. However, around the 1840s the free settler population slowly began to outnumber the convict population.

Yet it was not until the discovery of gold that free migration increased significantly and saw people coming over not only from Britain but also China and America (Leitner 2004: 55).

Historically and socially, the foundations on which AusE was built were thus quite singular. As pointed out above, the population was young, came from all over Britain, was predominantly masculine and at least at its beginning also predominantly lower-class, save for the officers. The youthfulness of the country was only enhanced by the fact that the early society consisted of nuclear families of parents and children who often had no chance of meeting their grandparents and thus come into contact with the older generation's way of speaking (Burrige 2019: 177). In terms of the power dynamics, it was also not a simple case of a settler colony where the invading population stood against the Indigenous people. There was another layer of conflict between the convicts and their masters, which has after the end of transportation transformed itself into the conflict between the colonials and Britain, the mother country. These are all ingredients that have affected the final product – Australian English.

Today, AusE may be seen as a scale of varieties ranging from Broad (associated with rural areas and the lower classes), across General (most common, neutral), up to Cultivated (approximating RP English, associated with overt prestige), as per Mitchell & Delbridge (1965) discussed in 2.1.1. While these varieties are determined primarily based on phonological difference, there are some lexical, morphological and syntactic differences, with the Broad variety for example making more use of informal forms. As Burrige (2019) points out, the foundations of the Broad and Cultivated ends of the spectrum were transported to Australia, with the convicts representing a kind of proto-Broad variety, while the administrators and the clergy represented the proto-Cultivated variety. Yet the absence of a proper class system similar to the English one meant that “with the erosion of class barriers came social mobility and the movement of linguistic features both up and down the social scale – this had the effect of bringing the end points of the accent spectrum closer together” (Burrige 2019: 177). Through this process of levelling what is today called the General variety emerged, which is now the most common.

There are two main theories explaining the formation of AusE. Scholars such as Hammarström (1980), Cochrane (1989) and Gunn (1992) base their theories primarily on phonological features. They propose that a uniform London English, which had already been a product of levelling through people from across the country bringing their own accents to the capital, arrived in Australia with the First Fleet and those who spoke different dialects adapted to it. In their view this also accounts for what some call a remarkable uniformity of AusE to this

day, with few regional differences. They support this theory with identifying similarities between the sound systems, and also the parallel between the social-class variation, with the London spectrum from RP across Popular to Cockney mirroring the Australian Cultivated – General – Broad spectrum (Burridge 2019: 178).

The second and more widely accepted theory is that of the “Sydney Mixing Bowl” (e.g., Bernard 1969, Trudgill 1986, Burridge 2010) which proposes that AusE emerged through the process of *koineization*, whereby through interaction of speakers with different dialects the process of levelling started, and out of it AusE was born. This process likely began already on the first ships sailing to Australia, which brought together different regional varieties mainly from the Southeast of England. Those from urban centres had undergone some levelling already, which continued on the new continent, but this did not mean that the most common linguistic feature always won. Burridge exemplifies this on the case of rhoticity, as at the time BrE was rhotic, so most of the new arrivals employed rhoticity. Yet both AusE and NZE are non-rhotic, which is probably because some underlying processes that resulted in non-rhoticity were already in progress when the variety was transplanted (Burridge 2019: 183).

The aforementioned high degree of mobility in the early decades ensured the spread of the emerging Australian variety across the continent as the settlements expanded and allowed it to be maintained through continuous contact, with any regional dialects being subjected to levelling. Bernard (1969) holds that the first generation of native-born inhabitants spoke a kind of proto-Broad AusE, out of which the other varieties on the spectrum developed from social situations when the proto-Broad met with negative social evaluation. Thus, with education and the rise on the social ladder came a softening of the edges of the Broad variety towards the General and even the Cultivated one.

Trudgill et al.’s (2000) model of dialect formation (described on the example of NZE) offers room for a more refined view of the process by identifying three distinct phases:

1. Initial contact between speakers of different regional and social varieties in a new place and their accommodation to each other in interaction, which results in “rudimentary levelling” (303).
2. The second stage is characterised by “extreme variability” (304) – both intra-speaker and inter-speaker variation, which eventually results in further levelling.

3. The final stage is characterised by the process of focussing which involves *koinization* and results in “the new dialect [appearing] as a stable, crystallised variety” (307).

Burridge (2019: 179) identifies these phases with the first-settlers, first-generation native-borns, and second-generation native-borns, respectively. She highlights how such dialect mixing produces different results in different locations by providing examples from the court reports of Charles Adam Corbyn from 1850s Sydney. In those reports she identifies in the recorded speech of an Irish woman a remarkable mix of Irish English with features of Cockney such as the hypercorrection of /h/ or the substitution of [w] for [v]. Burridge remarks that such mix would be hard to find in a dialect anywhere on the British Isles at the time, illustrating clearly the high degree of variability present in Australia then.

While the contact situation with its diverse mix of dialects coming together in the mixing bowl provides a solid account of the emergence of the Australian variety and tries to account for its lack of substantial regional variation, more recently the frameworks of postcolonial theory were applied to the history of the varieties that originated as a result of colonisation. These shed more light on the importance of historical events, identity constructions and social circumstances in shaping new national varieties.

2.3 Schneider’s Dynamic Model

In 2007, Schneider published *Postcolonial English: Varieties Around the World* – a study where he introduces his Dynamic Model of development of postcolonial Englishes (PCE), which is intended to address the shortcomings of the previous models developed for the study of world Englishes (Buchsfield, Hoffmann, Huber & Kautzsch 2014: 2). Quirk et al. (1972) distinguish English as a First Language (EFL), English as a Second Language (ESL), and English as a Foreign Language (EFL), based on how speakers acquire it. While simple, this model is clearly hierarchical, setting the EFL varieties as the norm. For this, it has been criticised, amongst others by Kachru (1992) who suggested a model which reconceptualises Quirk et al.’s categories as the Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding circle, emphasizing growth and the opportunity to develop their own norms (Buchsfield, Hoffmann, Huber & Kautzsch 2014: 2). Still, while this model is more flexible, it does not offer sufficient complexity to account for the different linguistic situations in many countries which would fall under the same category. To rectify this and explore the similar colonial origins that gave rise both to EFL/Inner Circle and ESL/Outer Circle varieties rather than each variety in isolation

(Buchsfeld, Hoffmann, Huber & Kautzsch 2014: 3; Schneider 2007: 4), Schneider developed the Dynamic Model based on shared historical, sociological, political and sociolinguistic circumstances, which:

despite all obvious dissimilarities, a fundamentally uniform developmental process, shaped by consistent sociolinguistic and language-contact conditions, has operated in the individual instances of relocating and re-rooting the English language in another territory, and therefore it is possible to present the individual histories of PCEs as instantiations of the same underlying process. (Schneider 2007: 5)

Schneider identifies five distinct phases of this process initiated in the contact between the indigenous population and the settlers strand (or the indigenous languages and the settler language). In each stage he observes the following parameters: extralinguistic factors (historical events, political situation), identity constructions, sociolinguistic determinants (conditions of language contact, attitudes to language), and consequent linguistic manifestations (structural effects – variation and change).

2.3.1 Phases of the Dynamic Model

The five phases and their general characteristics are summarised below based on Schneider's detailed overview (2007: 33- 55).

2.3.1.1 Phase 1: Foundation

English is transplanted into a new setting, both parties perceive each other as 'the other' and keep their identity. This can change with increasing contact, bringing the parties closer and influencing both identity constructions as well as language. Two contact situations arise. The first contact situation arises between the settlers themselves, which may lead to *koineization*, depending on the type of the colony. Schneider identifies four types: trade colonies, exploitation colonies, settlement colonies, and plantation colonies. *Koineization* most often occurs in settler colonies. The second contact situation arises between the settlers and the indigenous population, which may lead to pidginization (development of a simplified English with features of the local language) especially in trade colonies, and marginal bilingualism on the part of the natives. Linguistically, toponyms are frequently borrowed from the indigenous languages.

2.3.1.2 Phase 2: Exonormative stabilisation

The political situation in the colony becomes stabilised, usually under British dominance, and English is an established language in most spheres of life. According to

Schneider, “[f]or an extended period of time the colony simply serves the purposes for which it was founded – accommodating new settlers and providing agricultural lands; [...] providing a dumping ground for criminals and other folks unwanted at home; and the like” (2007: 36). As the colony expands across more of the land, contact with the indigenous population increases and English spreads. Increased contacts lead to interference and the exchange of vocabulary, and therefore linguistic changes (at first at the lexical level to refer to unfamiliar local objects, later expanding to morphosyntax). Bilingualism may develop on the part of the indigenous population. Culturally, the settlers still feel as part of Britain, yet their identity constructions also begin to involve an awareness of the local ingredients – Schneider terms this identity “British plus”, where “home” still refers to Britain, yet becomes more of a myth than reality (2007: 37). This process is further complicated for native-born children of British parents, and even more so for children from mixed marriages, who develop hybrid identities.

These subtle changes in identity construction and the social situation of increased contact with the native population have linguistic consequences. Whereas in the previous Foundation stage mostly placenames are borrowed, which have only a referential purpose, the borrowings of meaningful words for objects from the new environment (flora, fauna, indigenous life) in this period represent a more significant change, giving rise to “an English vocabulary segment of local significance” (2007: 39). As English spreads among the indigenous population, it is likewise subject to changes, usually phonological and structural transfers from the indigenous language.

2.3.1.3 Phase 3: Nativization

This is the crucial phase of the linguistic and cultural transformation, when the differences between the coloniser and the colonised, their cultures, and perception of reality in the new context of the colony manifest fully. According to Schneider,

traditional realities, identities, and sociopolitical alignments are discerned as no longer conforming to a changed reality. The potentially painful process of gradually replacing them by something different, a new identity reflecting the current state of affairs, combining the old and the new, is in full swing. This process has immediate linguistic consequences [...] (2007: 40).

Gradually, the mother country’s authority in all things cultural and linguistic begins to lose its power, the ties loosen, and independence is sought and often achieved at least formally, while still maintaining a connection (e.g., membership in the Commonwealth).

Further assimilation takes place between the indigenous and settler population, both in terms of identity, when they begin to collectively think of themselves as an ‘us’ against ‘them’

(the mother country). People become aware of local language usage and discussions arise about correctness. While more innovative speakers incorporate some elements of the indigenous strand and begin using localisms to express their ties to the new territory, the more conservative speakers, who still identify primarily with the mother country, detest the idea of linguistic innovation and insist “that the only acceptable way of using English is the metropolitan, conservative linguistic norm”, hence that of the mother country (2007: 43). These discussions are class-based, as Schneider notes, as they are often limited to the upper classes and of little concern to the working class.

These political and cultural changes are also expressed linguistically in local innovations to nearly all areas of language use – phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis, discourse, or style, with heavy lexical borrowing and coinages being the most prominent. Schneider notes, that it is particularly the structural changes that have fascinated linguists, and these changes “occu[r] at the interface between grammar and lexis, affecting the syntactic behavior [sic] of certain lexical elements” (2007: 46). For example, certain words begin to be used together more frequently, resulting in collocations, and eventually producing idioms, or certain words or word classes adopt the patterns of another word class (e.g., the use of the progressive with static verbs when it is usually used with dynamic ones only). Differences on the pragmatic level also emerge, such as locally specific greetings, politeness expressions, etc.

2.3.1.4 Phase 4: Endonormative stabilisation

After independence has been reached, local language norms can be codified. This need not come with the formal achievement of political independence but much later (as is the case of Australia and New Zealand), because it necessitates cultural self-reliance that enables the community to decide linguistic issues independently. This stage can be reached gradually or be triggered by what Schneider terms “Event X”, when “an inverse mis-relationship between the (high) importance which [the settlers] used to place on the mother country and the (considerably lower) importance which the (former) colony is given by the homeland” (2007: 49). Usually, the local variety becomes associated with an expression of national culture rooted in the new territory rather than historical background and ceases to be thought of as “English in X”, becoming “X English” (2007: 50). This is supported by nation-building activities, such as a surge of local literature that utilises local linguistic resources. Linguistically, the variety is homogenous, which is supported by codification in dictionaries, grammars, and usage guides, as the newfound linguistic self-confidence allows the community to define its own cultural and

therefore also linguistic norms. Nonetheless, some reservations about the validity of local culture and language variety remain, fostered by the conservative members of the community.

2.3.1.5 Phase 5: Differentiation

By the last phase, the country has reached a state of confident self-dependence politically, culturally, and linguistically – it should by now be completely free from unwanted outside influence and should handle itself with confidence, relying on its own strengths. Linguistically, this results in wide acceptance of local linguistic features, including the vernacular, pronunciation, or grammatical structures. Now that the variety is stable externally, variation begins to appear internally, leading to the development of regionally or socially conditioned differences. With the absence of an external colonial power, the focus of identity construction shifts from national to local/community level. As Schneider explains, people like to express their identity through symbolic means and “choosing in-group specific language forms” (2007: 26) is one of the most readily available. Identity expression is also a dynamic process that requires “continuous rethinking and repositioning of oneself in the light of changing parameters in one’s surroundings” (2007: 28). Therefore, speakers may alter the way they speak based on the situation, their audience, and their social role, hence the increase of variation along social lines. Thus, along with the common national identity, one’s language use comes to express alignment with particular social, age, ethnic, or regional groups. New dialects emerge as expressions of these underlying identities, where pronunciation, lexis, and grammatical patterns gain new meanings specific to the country’s linguistic community.

This does not mean that there was no internal variation before, as especially some form of social variation would have been transferred to the new place by the colonisers. It simply becomes more prominent once the battle for national identity and independence has been won. Unlike social variation, however, regional variation would likely be a question of recent years. Ethnic variation stemming from the contact between the indigenous language(s) and the imported language begins to surface at this point as well, although its development depends on when the indigenous population adopted the imposed language, as well as on the political and cultural climate.

2.3.2 The Australian scenario

Depending on the particular PCE variety, each may find itself at a different stage of the process. Schneider’s study contains case studies of many former colonies, where he applies the

Dynamic model, including the scenario for AusE, which in the traditional model represents an ENL/Inner circle variety. According to Schneider, it has now reached the final stage of Differentiation, which is still in progress. Below is the timeline he identifies for AusE (2007: 118-127). The specifics of the Australian scenario will be discussed in 3.1.1.1 which will cover the individual periods and their linguistic, cultural and socio-historical context. Schneider's periodisation for AusE is the following:

- Foundation (1788-1830s)
- Exonormative stabilisation (1830s-1901)
- Nativization (1901-1942)
- Endonormative stabilisation (1942-1980s)
- Differentiation (1980s-present)

2.3.3 Application of the Dynamic Model in subsequent research

Since its introduction, the Dynamic model has been successfully applied by researchers to study PCE varieties. A great portion of it is gathered in the volume *The Evolution of Englishes: The Dynamic Model and Beyond* (Buchsfeld et al. 2014), which contains investigations of specific phases for example in Ghanaian or Cyprian, or even German English, as well as theoretical pieces further building on Schneider's model.

AusE has also been studied in the context of Schneider's framework, as demonstrated by the latest comprehensive study of AusE titled *Australian English Reimagined* (2019). In its introduction (2019: 2-3), editors Willoughby & Manns locate AusE in accordance with Schneider in the Differentiation phase, yet express some qualifications, such as the pervasive cultural cringe and still a relatively low degree of regional variation (although recent studies show it is on the rise). Despite the qualifications, the volume's premise only confirms the firm entrenchment within Schneider's model, which is thus proved to be a useful framework for the analysis of AusE. The emphasis on the historical and sociological context seems crucial: "[T]raditional framings of AusE as a monolithic entity are less relevant than ever. Papers in the current volume seek to reimagine what AusE 'is' in contemporary Australia but also what it might be becoming within the Differentiation Phase" (2019: 6). Part II of the volume outlines the internal variability within AusE phonology, lexis, and grammar, as well as the emerging ethnolects, such as Aboriginal English, which are all characteristics of the Differentiation phase (the most important of these have been outlined in section 2.1). In a later part, Willoughby's contribution examines the attitude of AusE speakers towards their language and its evolution

up until the Differentiation phase. The fact that neither the internal variation nor the speakers' attitude quite conform to Schneider's proposed scenario does not mean it is invalid, rather, it seems to indicate that Differentiation in AusE is still in progress.

2.4 Language and identity

One of the advantages of Schneider's model is the emphasis placed on identity constructions in shaping the imported language into a national one. This connection between language and identity is, of course, not new.

2.4.1 The emergence of nation states

In the 18th century, with industrialisation and urbanisation changing traditional ways of life, and with traditional bonds of religion and community breaking down, people were in need of new "social anchors" which manifested themselves in the nation-state (Edwards 2009: 22). A nation-state in its definition relied on shared ethnicity, history, with an added political dimension – namely a desire for political independence (2009: 163, 206). Such feelings were widespread in Europe in the 18th century, with Romanticism being the perfect climate in which to petition for independence, and it was language that was used as the crucial point in establishing a nation's legitimacy and hence a claim for self-government.

One of the most influential advocates of nationalist thought was Johann Gottfried Herder and his concept of *Volksgeist*, a unique spirit of a nation, encompassing its creative genius, was often invoked in political cries for independence. This creative genius needed a means of expressions – language, which directly linked to the 'national mind'. Thus, it embodied the whole history of a said nation: "Has a nation anything more precious than the language of its fathers? In it dwell its entire world of tradition, history, religion, principles of existence; its whole heart and soul" (Herder 1772 qtd. in Berlin 1976: 165). Since language is the medium of literature, and in turn, literature is the medium of cultural and consequently national expression, the legitimation of vernaculars was important for asserting not only cultural but also political independence, manifested in the number of national revivals taking place all over Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, often expressed in and promoted by literature and linguistic revivals or reforms.

Yet within each national variety, there was also a strict hierarchy of dialects. As Edwards points out, while all were mined for cultural material which was to be transformed into "national art", regional or otherwise non-standard dialects were stigmatised in speech, even if they were

the treasure chests of national culture. The varieties that were to become national languages were “the mediums of sophisticated expression” and therefore had to use equally sophisticated language (Edwards 2009: 207). In France, for example, a decree of 1794 prohibited the use of languages or substandard varieties other than French, reflecting that many people spoke dialects that were not always mutually intelligible, not unlike in many other European countries (2009: 207). The standardising processes were already in motion since the advent of print culture, which needed a standard to follow. This gave rise to linguistic prescriptivism and the emergence of institutions enforcing such standards, such as the Italian Academia della Crusca or the French Académie française (2009: 212-217). While the standards were usually based on the speech of the upper classes, their task – once adopted by nationalist ideologies – was to unify whole nations and help people maintain a sense of belonging, where the national aspect should outweigh the regional differences.

2.4.2 Language ideologies

The advances in scientific thought emerging in the 19th century were reflected in language ideology. When Darwin published the *Origin of Species* (1859), his theory of evolution was applied in many areas of human life, including language. Hackert outlines the three different ways in which Darwinism was applied in linguistics (2014: 284-286):

Firstly, to account for an individual’s use of language, Hackert lists Paul’s *Principles of the History of Language*, where he explains that variation and change have nothing to do with free will. Instead, the demise or survival of certain features depends solely on their fitness. What is meant by fitness is being fit to serve as standard, which is determined by the linguistic practices of the majority. Those speakers who do not conform are placed on the outskirts of society, as they become less and less intelligible.

Secondly, Darwinism was used to explain the evolution of language itself. Hackert (2014: 284) cites the example of Donovan’s version of evolution from sound to speech (1899/1995: 449–63), where he holds that the early rhythmic speech, which lingers in Chinese and African languages and those of the “ancient cultured nations”, progressed to the speech of civilised modern European countries.

This ultimately racist underlying ideology flows directly into what Hackert sees as a third application of Darwinism in linguistics, which is the justification of the spread of English around the world. With colonial expansion, there was talk of English taking over from all other languages. Hackert notes that

English was considered superior to other languages not only in terms of its own qualities but also in terms of the speech community which used it and the culture and civilization which it represented. In accounting for its success so far and predicting its future status as universal language, the notions of natural selection, adaptation, and survival of the fittest came in very handy. (285)

This devouring of other languages by English was seen in line with natural selection and the progress of civilisation.

Yet traditionally, inflectional languages such as Greek and Latin were considered the height of linguistic sophistication “as the most perfect manifestations of the human mind” (Hackert 2014: 287), so a problem arose of how to justify the analytical English system taking their place. Hackert reports that the link between the human mind and language was reconceptualised as more flexible, with the mind progressing over the course of history “from ‘imagination’, i.e., a primitive, holistic, synthetic perception of the world, toward analytic ‘understanding’ [...], i.e., the categorization and arrangement of its component parts” (287). The loss of inflections in English could thus be interpreted as the height of progress, with the language shedding the no longer necessary features, as the national mind evolved. English colonial expansion not only propelled the country to global dominance but also paved the way for linguistic dominance, spreading its power and, along with it, ensuring a superior status of the language worldwide.

2.4.3 Language as a tool of power

As history has taught us, mechanisms of power are complex and employ many tools, including language. Just as the emerging nation-states in the 18th and 19th century used language as leverage in their fight for independence, so did the British Empire use English as a tool of colonisation. In their seminal study *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (1989), Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin outline how language was used as the principal tool of control: “language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of ‘truth’, ‘order’, and ‘reality’ become established” (7). Forcing their language on the colonised gives the colonisers control over discourse in and about the conquered territory, describing it in their own terms, and stripping it of its uniqueness, making it their own. Bearing in mind the aforementioned connection between the mind and language, it essentially performs a kind of colonisation of the mind as well as the land, invading the linguistic space and through that disrupting the people’s identity. English was thus introduced into places all over the world, competing with or even displacing local languages.

Therefore, with colonisation the Romantic equation between one nation and one language becomes very problematic, even solely from the linguistic point of view. English, now used all over the world with varying official or unofficial statuses, has a common origin and common history, but it is a history that does not unite all its speakers. It sometimes does quite the contrary due to the baggage of colonial oppression. It is this baggage that is adopted along with the cultural inheritance embedded in the language, resulting in quite a paradox, especially for those of the former colonies whose native language is English. This is the case mostly with settler colonies like Australia, which have all now gained political independence. The emancipation also entailed making the language their own, as discussed in sections 2.1-2.2. Local vocabulary shifts in meaning, and grammatical and discourse preferences are results of this process of shaping the language to suit the needs of the colonised, as the imported English becomes inadequate.

Arriving in new territories the colonisers encountered strange cultures, landscapes, flora, and fauna, yet they attempted to describe them with the linguistic means at hand, thus assimilating them to their own experience and worldview. Staying with the case of the British, the colonial discourse promoted assimilation and asserted their superiority. Yet simultaneously this discourse stressed difference within this similarity, as even though the words may have been the same, they signified something different. What *January* or *Newcastle* signify in Australia is very different from its British counterparts. Even in settler colonies where the settlers brought their English with them, it ceased to represent their experience and needed to be re-shaped to the speakers' new reality and to shake off the bonds to the domineering motherland (see e.g., Boehmer 2005: 18). As the settlers began to develop a connection to their new territory and form a sense of community which would grow into a nation, their language needed to reflect that. The linguistic differences that emerged were the result of a process that Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin term "abrogation", which turns the English of the colonial centre⁵ into 'english' of the colony, incorporating local linguistic variants, which become metonymic of cultural difference. This enables the subversion of the established discourses used to describe

⁵ Centre versus periphery is a central concept of postcolonial theory. Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin assert that the existence of this binary opposition was at the basis of "stable hierarchical relationship in which the colonized existed as the other of the colonizing culture. Thus the idea of the savage could occur only if there was a concept of the civilized to oppose it. [...] Imperial Europe became defined as the 'centre' in a geography at least as metaphysical as physical. Everything that lay outside that centre was by definition at the margin or the periphery of culture, power and civilization. The colonial mission, to bring the margin into the sphere of influence of the enlightened centre, became the principal justification for the economic and political exploitation of colonialism, especially after the middle of the nineteenth century" (2007: 32).

one's country, thus "writing back to the Empire", which is an important step towards independence (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 1989: 38-40, 51-57).

Nevertheless, the road to linguistic (and cultural) independence was long, and the transformation of British English in Australia into Australian English has only recently reached the last phase of Differentiation, as per Schneider's model (see 2.3). Once the variety was recognised as different from the Queen's English, it was placed very low in the hierarchy of Englishes with its perceived informality, egalitarianism, frequency of swearing, and convict heritage (BurrIDGE 2019: 186), and therefore could not compare to the sophisticated StBE. This lower status of AusE complicated the identity constructions necessary for full independence – not just political, but cultural, as hinted at in chapter 1. Even long after the Federation in 1901, Australians employed accent to show either their allegiance to the new nation, by leaning towards the Broad spectrum, or aligning themselves with British values and the superior British culture by leaning towards the Cultivated end of the spectrum or trying to sound downright British (see Moore 2012). Similarly, their whole culture was seen as inferior and Australians themselves believed it. This remnant of colonialism was articulated in A. A. Phillips' essay "Cultural Cringe" from 1950 as the eponymous phenomenon, which points to the prevailing conviction of Australians that their culture is somehow lacking. To an extent, this phenomenon is still present in Australia today (see Willoughby 2019 or Collins & Blair 2001), escalated by the increasingly multicultural demographic.

It follows that for cases such as Australia, Herder's concept of the nation-state seems inadequate, and has indeed been reassessed by several scholars. For example, Anderson (2006) offers a much more pragmatic view which does not invoke any intrinsic shared historical and cultural roots. Rather, Anderson introduces the concept of "imagined political community", where he emphasises the arbitrary nature of the concept of nation, which consists of people who will largely never meet, but have to imagine themselves as part of a community. A shared past in itself is not enough, the communal spirit has to be actively forged. The closer to the present we get, the more relevant this observation becomes, with high immigration, mobility, and global currents of cultural exchange.

Australia as a nation in the 1890s also emerged as an idea, which was imagined into being by its people, who wanted to separate from the mother country to reflect the difference of their experience rooted in the bush. This process of imagining a nation into being was largely facilitated by language – via print culture, in books and more importantly daily newspapers, where ideas fostering the national spirit could be circulated, along with the sense of a shared

textual space in which the reading public participated (Anderson 2006: 6). Yet once a nation is invented, it does not mean it will not need to be reinvented as circumstances change.

As noted in 2.1.1, a third of Australia's population in the 2016 census was born overseas, resulting in today's very diverse multicultural and multilingual society. The national identity, which has always been quite fragile and affected by cultural cringe, has in the last few decades constantly been questioned, as the country's past is being re-evaluated (in connection to the notion of *terra nullius* on which the white man's claim to the land was based, and the treatment of Aborigines), and the relevance of concepts associated with the Australian Legend, or ANZAC Day and Australia Day, may not be very high for a large percentage of the population. All of this has led to a debate on what Australian values stand for, which few seem to be able to articulate. When Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull was asked to define them in April 2017, upon announcing that prospective citizens will be tested on 'Australian values', he listed a rather non-unique set, apart from the last point: "freedom, equality of men and women, the rule of law, democracy and 'a fair go'", adding that they are "uniquely Australian. They are shared with many other democracies but... there's something uniquely Australian about them" (Turnbull qtd. in Crosbie 2017).

Yet while these values may not be easy to articulate, there is a consensus that they exist. Moreover, despite the diversity of the Australian demographic, they are to a large extent shared by most of its inhabitants, who are connected through AusE, which is used universally, even if some speakers use it alongside other languages. It is AusE which may be seen as one of the carriers of Australian values and attitudes that are perhaps unknowingly perpetuated by its speakers, which is why they may be hard to define, but are still there.

Willoughby notes that even today Australia's feeling of inadequacy and uncertainty of its identity is

viewed as a hallmark of how Australians perceive themselves and spills over into attitudes towards AusE. Yet the cringe exists alongside (indeed may even be a necessary part of) an ideology that celebrates Australian culture for its informality, mateship and egalitarianism and rails against a stultifying, classist British past. (2019: 224)

The concepts Willoughby names as characteristic of Australia's culture are precisely what is seen as distinctive about AusE and are a manifestation of the close link between cultural identity and language this section has discussed. Schneider's model, its application to the case of Australia, as well as other historical accounts of AusE (e.g., Leitner 2004) make use of this link in general terms, identifying the local accents and variants, yet usually not discussing their significance beyond asserting difference from the mother country. However, if we follow

Herder's view of language as an embodiment of culture and its crucial role in a nation's emancipation, it might be worth it to dig deeper into the cultural significance of those differences.

2.5 Australian keywords

A few scholars have already explored the cultural salience of linguistic differences and identified vocabulary as the most representative area for AusE. Collins & Blair argue that

the most transparent reflection of speakers' attitudes, values and self-perception is to be found in the lexicon. The Australian vocabulary embodies the ideals that Australians cherish, those of egalitarianism and anti-authoritarianism, sympathy for the *battler* and desire for a *fair go*. The fondness with which words like *mateship* have been preserved and the benign regard for archaisms like *cobber* illustrate the close relationship between words and the culture they reflect. (2001: 3-4)

Besides these positive values, however, Collins & Blair also point out that despite the worldwide push for political correctness, research shows that next to the adoption of words reflecting Australia's multicultural make-up (usually international dishes), words implying an aversion to difference are alive and well in Australian discourse, such as *wog*, *chink*, *pom*, *yank*, or *ethno* (2001: 6).

Wierzbicka, who holds that "words with special, culture-specific meanings reflect and pass on not only ways of living characteristic of a given society but also ways of thinking" (1997: 5), has dug even deeper. In her study *Understanding Cultures Through Their Keywords* (1997), she elaborates on the idea that certain words reflect the core of a given culture and exemplifies this on case studies for several languages, including AusE. Yet the identification of keywords is a tricky process, as there is no finite number of them for a given language, nor is there an objective way of identifying them – as Wierzbicka holds, "one has to make a case for it" (16). Criteria that aid this justification may be:

1. the word's frequency (it should be a common word, though at the same time, even infrequent words may be culturally significant);
2. its use in a particular semantic domain (such as emotions, moral judgements, etc.);
3. and its use in collocations and proverbs (she exemplifies this on the Russian word *duša* and its many such occurrences) (1997: 16).

Wierzbicka's approach to keyword identification is slightly looser than the traditional approach of corpus linguistics, where frequency appears to be the key. Mahlberg, for example, defines keywords as

words that are significantly more frequent in one text compared to another text or reference corpus [...]. The ‘significance’ of the difference in frequency between the text and the reference corpus is assessed through statistical measures. Key words [sic] tend to be proper names or content words that provide an indication of what the text is about. Additionally, function words can come up as key. (2014: 384)

Before the advent of computational linguistics, this quantitative approach was pioneered by stylisticians such as Guiraud (1954/1975), but gained popularity with the rise of software designed for this purpose such as Scott’s *WordSmith Tools* (1996–2013), allowing to efficiently identify keywords for particular styles, fields, or authors, such as Warren’s (2010) study of the language of engineering or Culpeper’s (2002) study of the language of Shakespeare (Culpeper & Demmen 2015). The identification of such keywords allows for the determination of the typical lexical choices for a particular style or genre, most important subject matters in a field or certain linguistic patterns fiction authors use to aid characterisation.

However, if left purely up to the computer, certain keywords, which may not be so frequent, yet are highly expressive of cultural values, would slip through the analyst’s fingers. While Wierzbicka’s approach is to an extent arbitrary, if the researcher succeeds in “making the case” for their choices, it proves valuable, as research into linguistic manifestation of cultural values necessitates methodologies outside the realm of quantitative analyses. Therefore, Wierzbicka’s approach to keywords falls more under qualitative analysis.

In any case, the aim of keyword identification should not be the identification itself, rather what is achieved by it, in other words, what these words and their uses reveal about the culture. As Wierzbicka observes, “we may be able to unravel a whole tangled ‘ball’ of attitudes, values, and expectations, embodied not only in words, but also in common collocations, in set phrases, in grammatical constructions, in proverbs, and so on” (1997: 17). Wierzbicka’s view of culture is based on Geertz’s definition of culture as a set of symbols that carry meaning which are passed down from generation to generation and used by people to communicate and develop their attitudes and beliefs (qtd. in Wierzbicka 1997: 21). On that note, Wierzbicka observes that “[l]anguage – and in particular, vocabulary – is the best evidence of the reality of ‘culture,’ in the sense of a historically transmitted system of ‘conceptions’ and ‘attitudes.’ Of course, culture is, in principle, heterogeneous and changeable, but so is language” (1997: 21). This is where her approach exceeds those discussed previously that did not go beyond the keyword identification.

2.5.1 Natural semantic metalanguage

To ascertain the culturally specific meanings of keywords, Wierzbicka draws on the tools of semantic analysis, namely the concept of meaning universals – the idea that all languages share “a common core”, which can serve as a ‘basic English’ (or any other language). This ‘basic’ language can then be used in describing meaning differences by means of “paraphrases formulated in a self-explanatory ‘natural semantic metalanguage’ carved out of natural languages and assumed to be independent of them all” (1997: 24). The basis of this metalanguage are ‘semantic primes (primitives)’ that represent the common core, mirroring – to an extent – parts of speech:

Substantives: I, YOU, SOMEONE/PERSON, SOMETHING/THING, PEOPLE, BODY
Determiners: THIS, THE SAME, OTHER
Quantifiers: ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MANY/MUCH
Attributes: GOOD, BAD, BIG, SMALL
Mental predicates: THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR
Speech: SAY, WORD, TRUE
Actions, events, and movement: DO, HAPPEN, MOVE
Existence: (alienable) POSSESSION: THERE is, HAVE
Life and death: LIVE/ALIVE, DIE
Logical concepts: NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF, IF ... WOULD (counterfactual)
Time: WHEN/TIME, NOW, AFTER, BEFORE, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME
Space: WHERE/PLACE, HERE, UNDER, ABOVE, FAR, NEAR; SIDE, INSIDE
Intensifier, augmentor: VERY, MORE
Taxonomy, partonomy: KIND OF, PART OF
Similarity: LIKE
(1997:26)

To express meaning, these primes need to be combined, so analogically there is a universal set of syntactic frames, which rely on equivalents of semantically identical sentences. While the grammatical structure of one sentence in English may differ from that of the same sentence in Russian, the semantic meaning they convey is the same (1997: 27).

2.5.2 *Mate*

Unsurprisingly, in her analysis of Australian vocabulary, Wierzbicka identifies *mate* as the most salient keyword:

From the first half of the nineteenth century to the present time, it has been widely felt that the word *mate* provides a key to the Australian spirit, Australian national character, Australian ethos; and even those who do not wish to subscribe to this view have to recognize that the word *mate* holds an exceptionally important place in the Australian national mystique. If it is not a key to the Australian culture, then it is a key to the Australian self-image. (1997: 101)

Before proceeding to Wierzbicka's definition of *mate*, let us look at dictionary definitions of the term. *Mate* came to AusE from BrE, and the *OED3* distinguishes three general meaning categories:

- I. "an associate and related senses", which includes the central sense described in 1. a. as a "companion, fellow, comrade, friend; a fellow worker or business partner" and 1. c. "colloquial (...) form of address to a person, esp. a man, regarded as an equal",
- II. covers its usage "in specific nautical and military titles", and
- III. refers to "one of a pair".

No specifically Australian meaning is discussed, so the Australian sense thus falls under the first category. The only mention of a specifically Australian/New Zealand usage of *mate* is as part of the phrase *to go/be mates* with somebody, meaning "to work as an equal partner", with the earliest quotation from 1842 (I. 1. d in *OED3*⁶).

Moore (2016) has discussed this treatment of *mate* in the *OED3* from the Australian perspective, comparing it to the definitions offered by the *Australian National Dictionary (AND)*. The referential sense of *mate* (as in *he is my mate*, as opposed to *mate* as a term of address) is divided into separate senses in the *AND*:

1. "an equal partner in an enterprise" (qtd. in "Changes in language: Mate", n.d.),
2. "an acquaintance; a person engaged in the same activity," which does not involve any close friendship (quoted in "Changes in language: Mate", n.d.), and what Moore calls
3. "the essential Australian sense of *mate*, [...which] validates its inclusion in a dictionary of Australian words: 'a person with whom the bonds of close friendship are acknowledged, a *sworn friend*'" (Moore 2016).

Moore notes that the *AND* usage examples showcase the word's overwhelmingly male associations.

For *mate* as a term of address (vocative, as in *G'day, mate*), *AND* proposes a similar definition, which besides equality and a positive attitude also notes the recent ironic uses: "a mode of address implying equality and goodwill; frequently used to a casual acquaintance and, especially in recent use, ironic" (qtd. in Moore 2016). Moore sees this as analogous to the positive usage of *bastard* in AusE (see 2.5.4), which is used only negatively in other varieties, in the sense that the standard meaning is inverted in the Australian context.

⁶ *OED3* is listed in the Bibliography as a whole. To provide a reference to a specific entry, when definitions of individual words are discussed, the respective entry will be listed as a footnote, as in this case: "mate, n.2." (2021). *OED3* Online. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 14 January 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/114905

Unlike Moore and *AND* (2006), Wierzbicka does not lay so much emphasis on the status of the relationship between the referent and the speaker, but on the attitudes conveyed by the usage of *mate* and the context of use. She quotes examples, where *mate* appears in the context of spending time together, sport, drinking together, and companionship in good or bad times. This idea of mateship harks back to the 19th century when Australian identity was first conceptualised and firmly entrenched in the bush and the struggle with the land. This national ethos came to be known as the Australian Legend that revolved around white men in the bush, who heroically conquer it (Carter 2006: 146), and promoted a set of symbols and ideas which are seen as Australian: “sunlight, wattle, the bush, the future, mateship and egalitarianism” (White 1981: 97). The notion of the bushman as the national type associated with these characteristics still circulates in Australian culture (Whitlock & Carter 1992: 177), even though it has undergone many metamorphoses, such as the pioneer, who stands for “courage, enterprise, hard work and perseverance” (Hirst 1978: 316), and later the digger. Nevertheless, the bush remains a powerful symbol of the ‘real’ Australia even today and mateship is a key aspect of the bush ethos, or rather the national ethos.

Wierzbicka asserts that the concept of mateship expresses “uniquely Australian perspective on human relations” and has no exact counterpart in other languages (1997: 103). After exploring many examples, she offers the following definition of *mate* in its main Australian sense (listed at the end of this paragraph), which emphasises equality, shared company, activities and experiences. As noted, until recently it denoted almost exclusively an inter-male relationship. The attitudes embedded in the term *mate*, as Wierzbicka asserts, are “solidarity”, “loyalty”, “mutual support”, and anti-authoritarian spirit, which stems from the hardships of conquering the new land where one was not likely to succeed alone (which, as Wierzbicka points out, is in direct contrast to the American trope of self-reliance, which arose due to completely different conditions of the settlement) (1997: 110). There is also an emphasis on the importance of the “loyalty” aspect, as culturally, there is much hostility towards “dobbing in a mate”, as one is supposed to “stick up” for him. Based on several quotations, Wierzbicka also points out that being “a good mate” can be seen as “a standard of human value in general” (1997: 114), supporting the notion that the concept of mateship is central to Australian culture. The definition of *mate* that emerges from her observations, using natural semantic metalanguage, is the following:

(my) mate

(a) everyone knows: many men think about some other men like this:

(b) these people are people like me

- (c) these people are often in the same place as I
 - (d) these people do the same things as I
 - (e) these people do these things with me
 - (f) the same things happen to these people as to me
 - (g) I want to do good things for these people
 - (h) when something bad happens to one of these people, it will be bad if I don't do something good for this person
 - (i) I don't want bad things to happen to these people as I don't want bad things to happen to me
 - (j) I don't want to say bad things about one of these people to other people
 - (k) I don't want other people to say bad things about one of these people
 - (l) I don't want other people to do anything bad to one of these people
 - (m) these people think the same about me
 - (n) when men think like this about other men, they feel something good
 - (o) I think like this about this person
- (1997: 115)

This definition leads Wierzbicka to question the decision of *AND* to keep the senses of *mate* as “personal friend” (sense 3 above) and “impersonal mates” (fellow workers/sportsmen that one finds oneself with; sense 2 above) separate and argues there is no such distinction, as the expectations of loyalty, equality and all the other attitudes encompassed by the word and embedded in Australian culture apply both to personal and impersonal *mates* (1997: 116). This is a sound observation and if we consider that the idea of mateship emerged hand in hand with the birth of the nation, when Australians were uniting in opposition to the British, in a general sense, *mate* would surely have been an inclusive term for all fellow Australians (or at least Australian white men).

Nowadays, *mate* truly appears to have become more inclusive. Wierzbicka notes that despite the decline of the importance of the bush myth in the second half of the 20th century, in some ways *mate* has broadened its scope, increasingly appearing also in the speech of and in reference to non-white Australians and women (1997: 103). Rendle-Short's (2009) research confirms the spread amongst women, although her findings indicate that the strong connection with solidarity and egalitarianism stemming from the bush myth might be disappearing, as women see the form of address “as a friendly and fun term that, along with many other address forms, is available to show intimacy” (245).

2.5.3 Speech act verbs

Another area that Wierzbicka views as culturally significant are the following Australian speech act verbs, most of which are connected to the mateship ethos (1997: 202-217). For reasons of space, they will only be discussed briefly here, but the full definitions by Wierzbicka in natural semantic metalanguage may be found in Appendix 1.

Yarn

Likely the most frequent of the speech act verbs, it can also serve as a noun, defined as “a long tale ‘spun’ out of facts and fantasy for the purpose of companionship” (Wierzbicka 1997: 206) (note the collocation *to spin a yarn*). As such it is used in other varieties as well. As a verb it is also used across the varieties of English in the sense of “chat” or “spin a yarn”, but in AusE its meaning does not encompass “idle chatter” and is associated with “pleasurable sociability” (1997: 206), expected to produce positive feelings (note collocations such as *to have a good yarn*). It is an example of a shared activity important in a mateship.

Shout

Apart from its traditional meaning of “cry out” or “scream”, in Australia *shout* is used in the sense of “buying someone a drink or a meal”, which Wierzbicka sees as “an activity which from early on in the Australian history established itself as one of the most characteristic national customs” associated with generosity, mateship, but also with the expectation of reciprocity (1997: 209). Unlike the Australian meaning of *yarn*, *shout* in this sense is also recorded in the *OED3* (sense 5⁷).

Whinge

While the *OED3* determines its origin as “Scottish and northern dialect”,⁸ Wierzbicka notes that in other varieties besides AusE *whinge* “to complain, to whine” is now marginal. In fact, she asserts that in Australia it is a “household word [that] plays a crucial role in the socialization of children (‘Stop whingeing’), and in the formation and transmission of the Australian national ethos”, expressive of the national values of resilience and toughness (1997: 214).

Chiack/chyack

Chiack/chyack, Wierzbicka reports, is derived from the Cockney pronunciation of “cheek” (in the sense of “have the cheek to do something”) and is very colloquial and used almost exclusively in conversation rather than writing, hence its variable spelling. It denotes “a

⁷ “shout, v.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/178707

⁸ “whinge, v.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/228388

characteristically Australian form of social interaction and reflects a characteristically Australian form of humor”, meaning “saying something bad about the addressee for shared fun”, constituting something of a national pastime (1997: 202). The *OED3* makes no mention of the “cheek” etymology, although the general sense is the same: “to salute with the cry ‘chi-hike’; also absol. or intransitive, to make a noisy demonstration. In Australia and (less commonly) New Zealand, to jeer at, tease, make fun of”.⁹

Dob (in)

Finally, *dob in* is a derogatory verb with an emphasis on interpersonal relations meaning “to inform upon, to incriminate, to betray” (Wierzbicka 1997: 212), a very similar definition to that provided in the *OED3* for this colloquial term. It is also associated with mateship as something one does not do to a mate, otherwise it results in condemnation. The corresponding noun *dobber* is even more derogatory. Wierzbicka also notes that unlike “inform on” it implies hurt of the person affected.

2.5.4 Swearwords

Swearwords are another category that Wierzbicka sees as representative of the Australian values of toughness, solidarity, anti-authoritarianism and dislike of sentimentality, among others. Following Baker who identified “the four Bs” (*bloody, bastard, bugger, bullshit*) in his study *The Australian Language* (1945) as having particular associations with Australian values, Wierzbicka asserts that while outside of Australia they are “marginal”, in Australia they are “central – in everyday life and even in public discourse”, being part of everyday language (1997: 217). There is a suggestion that because they are so commonplace, their offensive nature was diluted there. Nonetheless, the b-words have retained their association with breaking certain conventions as they are still not seen as acceptable in everyday discourse by everyone (although still by a majority), which plays into the Australian defiant streak (Wierzbicka 2002: 1176).

The degree of normalisation undergone by swearwords in Australia compared to the rest of the world is illustrated by this incident around a campaign promoting tourism to Australia, where the presenter was asking people “Where the bloody hell are you?” while selling the beauties of Australian nature and lifestyle. As Laugesen reports, “the ad was subsequently

⁹ “chi-hike, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/31611

banned in the UK for using *bloody*, in Canada for using *hell* and for depicting the pouring of beer, and in Singapore the ad ran with the *bloody hell* excised. Even as late as 2006, Australians' distinctively relaxed attitude to swearing was not shared by many other countries" (2020: 256).

At the same time, Laugesen asserts that the Australian affinity for swearing is somewhat exaggerated and that "to agree to the idea that Australians have a special relationship with bad language would be to extend a national mythology – which many Australians like to live up", even though she asserts that while it may be difficult to prove Australians swear more, they are certainly very creative at it (2020: 2). She also notes that there is a long history of censorship and repression in the country, where bad language was often used as an excuse to silence minority groups (2020:2). These minority groups included convicts who were punished for calling their overseers "bloody buggers" (2020: 3). This may have only fuelled their affinity for swearing and their defiant streak, which became part of the national myth.

The unique meanings of "the four B's" are summarised below:

Bloody

Bloody has a wide syntactic range, can modify verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, and be used as an infix; it is not necessarily negative, but can also convey "admiration, enthusiasm, endearment" (1997: 219). Semantically, it expresses strong emotion which the speaker may not want to or cannot voice, and therefore the speaker "has to break a social taboo and show that the feeling cannot be expressed within the convention of a 'polite society'" (1997: 219). The *OED3* notes that the shift from taboo to a largely commonplace word spread from Australia to other varieties of English by now, meaning it now serves as an intensifier, only sometimes implying something negative, and more recently serving as a mere filler.¹⁰

According to Wierzbicka, *bloody* expresses the Australian ethos of a reluctance to articulate feelings and inclination to 'bad language' to describe not only negative but also positive things. The positive or negative nature of its meaning may to an extent correlate with word class – Wierzbicka reports that the *Australian National Dictionary (AND)* connects the implication of bad feeling with adjectival use, whereas in the adverbial use bad feelings are not necessarily implied, although even Wierzbicka notes there are counter-examples (2002: 1181). Furthermore, "[w]hen no clear positive or negative clue is provided, *bloody* as a non-adjectival

¹⁰ "bloody, adj., n., and adv." (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/20448

discourse marker still suggests a feeling, but an unspecified one” (2002: 1182). Some dictionaries also suggest a separate sense for *bloody* applied to a person, such as “Bloody Jim!” which means “difficult, obstinate, cruel” according to *the Macquarie Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms: Aussie Talk* (1984: 31). In all cases, the emotion seems to provoke an active attitude, making the speaker want to do something (2002: 1186). In positive cases, *bloody*, according to Wierzbicka, marks the speaker’s sincerity (2002: 1187).

Bastard

Bastard can serve as a term of endearment as much as of abuse and expresses the speaker’s feelings. This versatility is illustrated by a quote from Colin Bowles’ textbook *G’day! Teach yourself Australian in 20 easy lessons* (1986): “The Australian language is built around the bastard. Learn the word, say it correctly, use it wisely. Remember—every Australian is some sort of bastard, but you only say it to his face when you know him well enough to have shouted each other drinks” (qtd. in Wierzbicka 1997: 220). Without a modifier it is typically negative. With modifiers such as “poor (old)” it conveys compassion, friendliness, or affection. It can also be seen as a neutral term for “person”, which evokes the “anti-intellectual, down-to-earth, context-dependent flavour of traditional Australian speech” (1997: 222).

Bugger

Bugger is also quite versatile in that it can be used as a noun, verb, or interjection in a variety of contexts. As a noun it usually collocates with adjectives *silly*, *old*, and *poor*, which “evoke an image of resourcelessness, harmlessness, weakness, or silliness” (Wierzbicka 1997: 224). Unlike *bastard* that may elicit true anger, *bugger* is associated with passivity and is not used with a hostile meaning, rather expressing either pity or condescension. As an interjection, it expresses annoyance rather than anger. In this it appears to differ from British usage, as besides the affectionate or familiar sense of *bugger* (which is not marked as particularly Australian), the *OED3* records also a negative sense – “a term of abuse or contempt for a person”,¹¹ in which it does not seem to be used in Australia.

¹¹ “bugger, n.1.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/24365

Bullshit

Wierzbicka asserts, that while *bullshit* is marginal in other varieties, it is used widely in AusE. Moreover, many other expressions have been derived from it (*bull*, *bulldust*, *bullswool*, etc.), and it has a culture-specific meaning which conveys a dislike of verbosity, pretentiousness, empty talk, and being difficult to impress (1997: 228). The *OED3* marks the word as “coarse slang”, with a first quotation from 1915.¹²

2.5.5 Other keywords

While the above categories constitute the most culturally salient words according to Wierzbicka, she does not fail to mention other examples of words that serve as carriers of Australian values and attitudes (1997: 201-202): *Larrikin* denotes “a positive evaluation of irreverent wit and defiance of social norms and conventions”. *Aussie* combines the fondness for one’s country with cheekiness and self-deprecation, just like the general fondness for abbreviations. Similarly, abbreviated names convey solidarity, equality, and anti-sentimentality. *Fair go* refers to the egalitarian spirit, just like responses such as *goodo* and *righto*, which additionally convey the Australian laid-back nature, just like *G’day*. *Good on ya*, which “implies admiration for the addressee’s attitude and not necessarily for achievement” conveys the importance of attitude over achievement. Anti-sentimentality is also represented by phrases such as *you (bloody) beauty*.

Considering Wierzbicka’s suggestions above, along with the suggestions of Collins & Blair (2001) discussed at the beginning of this section (2.5), as well as the importance of the bush ethos apparent from the discussion of most of the preceding keywords, a few more categories of keywords arise that are expressive of Australian culture and that deserve more attention. These are positive social types produced by the Australian cultural context (*battler*, *larrikin*, *bloke*)¹³, derogatory ethnic labels expressive of colonial history and multiculturalism (*wog*, *chink*, *pom*, *yank*), and *(the) bush* as the basis of the national ethos.

¹² “bullshit, n.” (2021). *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/24596

¹³ Negative social types will be discussed in the following section 2.6 on folklinguistics.

2.5.5.1 Positive social types

Larrikin

Wierzbicka noted the evolution of *larrikin* from a negative label for a “hoodlum or hooligan” to a rather positive one (1997: 2001), as discussed above. *Larrikin* today appears bound to the values of anti-authoritarianism and Australian sense of humour.

Manns traces its origins to the British dialect in Warwickshire or Worcestershire, but also mentions other possible etymologies, either from Cockney flash language and the word “leery” meaning “wide awake, knowing”, or the Irish way of pronouncing the word “larking”, which is “linked to a popular but unsubstantiated story of an Irish police Sargent by the name of Dalton, who accused a young Melbourne prisoner of ‘a-larr-akin about’” (2020: 89). The suggested etymologies hint at its criminal origins, which are confirmed in its *OED3* entry which states it appeared in Melbourne in the 1870s and is chiefly an Australian term that refers to “a (usually juvenile) street rowdy”¹⁴. Laugesen also suggests that besides developing into a specific subculture sometimes sensationalised by the press, larrikins were also associated with bad language described as loud, vulgar, obscene, and slang, with an abundance of swearing (2020: 106).

The *OED3* makes no mention of the positive meaning the word must have acquired based on its current usage. Turning to its more recent Australian definitions, *The Oxford Modern Australian Dictionary* defines a *larrikin* as “a mischievous young person, an uncultivated, rowdy but good hearted [sic] person” or someone “with apparent disregard for social or political conventions” (Ludowyk & Moore 2000). These positive connotations were likely acquired at the beginning of the 20th century partly due to the First World War when larrikinism became connected with the Australian diggers (soldiers) and partly due to social changes (Bellanta 2012: 172). No specific linguistic features appear to be currently associated with being a larrikin.

Battler

Battler is another positive label applied to Australians. The *OED3* provides two Australian senses of the word, the first denotes “a swagman” while the second – also used in New Zealand – is more general and can have various meanings, but chiefly refers to “a person

¹⁴ “larrikin, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022 from, www.oed.com/view/Entry/105906

struggling against the odds”.¹⁵ The first quotation for the first sense comes from 1900 and for the second sense from 1898. As the dates suggest, it is strongly associated with the creation of the national ethos (see 2.5.2), which was rooted in the bush and the hardships Australians had to overcome in settling it, producing the images of the hard-working bushman, with its later incarnations in the pioneer, digger, etc., all of whom are ‘battling’ adversity. The meaning of *battler* draws on the Australian values of egalitarianism and hard work (Manns 2020: 85). Nevertheless, the term was and to a large extent is still limited to white heterosexual masculinity that underlies the definitions of the national type. As Whitman pointed out, it is habitually associated with “working-class masculinity” serving as a “marker of normative Australian identity” (2013: 50).

Bloke

Like *battler*, *bloke* is also strongly associated with white Australian masculinity. According to the *OED3*, in BrE, from which the term came to AusE, it is a slang term signifying “man, fellow”.¹⁶ In AusE, according to Wierzbicka, it is a frequent word “rich in culture-specific connotations. Far from being perceived as ‘slang,’ it is seen in Australia as one of the basic everyday words” (1997: 291), although Wierzbicka does not elaborate on the professed cultural significance. Waling (2019) clearly exposes the Aussie bloke as a mythical personage created for the nationalist purposes as part of the bush myth which defined him as: “white, straight, able-bodied, and good for a laugh. He is practical and good in a crisis, but generally laid back. He rejects individualism in favour of loyalty to his mates. He is a larrikin and a hater of authority ... just your ordinary, average guy.”

Waling (2019) notes that despite the gradual move from the bush to urban settings and a resulting decreasing relevance of this national type, the Aussie bloke is alive and well in popular culture, even though the situation is shifting and the Aussie bloke is now being criticised: “There is much damaging about this legend of the ordinary, Aussie bloke: its exclusion of those who don’t fit the white, able-bodied, hetero norm; its impact on men’s mental health; its ties with colonialism and the subjugation of women and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and cultures”. These, then, are the culture-specific connotations Wierzbicka announced.

¹⁵ “battler, n.1.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/16281

¹⁶ “bloke, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/20376

2.5.5.2 Derogatory ethnic labels

Given the multicultural society of Australia, Collins & Blair have identified derogatory ethnic labels that are expressive of a certain aversion to difference present in Australian culture (2001: 6). Terms such as *wog*, *chink*, *yank*, *pom* or *ethno* they identify could also be supplemented by *Abo*. Note that the capitalisation or lack thereof is variable.

Wog

Wog denotes a foreigner from Southern Europe, but it has more recently spread to include those from the Middle East (in British usage, the term has wider reach essentially referring to a non-white person).¹⁷ Moreover, as Clarke (2005) reported, it was adopted by the community itself as an identity label: “Greek, Italian and Lebanese communities happily refer to themselves as *wogs* and the term is general parlance for anybody from an approximately Mediterranean background”.

Chink

Chink is an offensive term for a person of Chinese origin and likely harks back to the gold rushes which began in the 1850s and caused an influx of migrants not only from Britain, Europe, and the U.S., but also China (see e.g., Macintyre 2000: 88). The *OED3* records the first quotation for *chink* in 1880 from a New South Wales newspaper.¹⁸

Pom

Pom is derogatory term form a British person. *Pom* (or *Pommy*) is first recorded in the *OED3* in 1912,¹⁹ and rather than originating from “prisoner of her Majesty”, as is the popular belief, it likely originated as a clipping from “pomegranate”, which in turn arose out of the playful name signifying an immigrant – “Jimmy Grant”, which emerged in Australia in the 1850s (Simpson 2013).

¹⁷ See “wog, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 15 August 2021, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/229829

¹⁸ “Chink, n.5 and adj.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/31779

¹⁹ “Pom, n.2 (and adj.).” (2022). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022 from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/147446>

Yank

Yank originated in the USA in the form of *Yankee* in the 18th century as an innocent nickname for the people of northern USA (*OED3* entry for *Yankee*²⁰) and this is its clipped form. The American immigrants likely brought the term with them and then it was clipped and acquired its derogatory meaning. Its offensive nature is enhanced by its rhyming slang counterpart “septic tank”, which can be shortened to “seppo” (*Australian Word Map*, n.d.).

Ethno

Green’s dictionary of slang defines *ethno* simply as “immigrants to Australia” (Green 2023). The *OED3* nor the *Macquarie Dictionary* have an entry for this term, but Collins & Blair identify it as offensive (2001).

Abo

Abo is a clipping of *Aboriginal* formed probably at the beginning of the 20th century, with the *OED3*’s first quotation in 1904. The *OED3* also suggests it was not seen as offensive at first, however, now it is considered very offensive.²¹

2.5.5.3 (The) *bush*

Following Wierzbicka’s methodology, Bromhead (2011: 445) also identified *(the) bush* as an Australian keyword. In fact, *(the) bush* and *mate* are inextricably linked through the national mythology discussed above, so it is surprising that Wierzbicka has not included it on her list. Yet the story of *bush* is slightly different from *mate* in that the Australian sense of the word probably came from the Dutch *bosch* rather than the English *bush* meaning “shrub”, according to the *OED3*.²² The dictionary associates this usage with the colonies, defining the word as “woodland, country more or less covered with natural wood: applied to the uncleared or untilled districts in the former British Colonies which are still in a state of nature, or largely so, even though not wooded; and by extension to the country as opposed to the towns” (9. a. in *OED3*). The Dutch origin is not commented on further in the *OED3*, but Bromhead (2011: 450) clarifies that it came to AusE via South African English, where it would have been borrowed

²⁰ “Yankee, n. and adj.” (2021) *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022 from www.oed.com/view/Entry/231174

²¹ “Abo, n. and adj.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022 from www.oed.com/view/Entry/434

²² “bush, n.1.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 14 January 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/25179

from Dutch as before the English took over the colony at the beginning of the 19th century, South Africa was colonised by the Dutch. This explains the association with colonial landscapes.

While the *OED3* again makes no mention of a specifically Australian meaning, several scholars have remarked on the particular importance of the bush – both as a concept and the word itself – in Australian culture. Bromhead asserts that the term began to be used in the early 19th century to “describe country covered in native vegetation in its natural state” in an effort to capture the unfamiliar environment, and it quickly gained a significant cultural meaning (2011: 446). While this general meaning is in broad terms shared by the former colonies, Bromhead emphasises that the physical appearance denoted by the *bush* (and its cultural significance) is different in each country (2011: 450). Yet the senses of *bush* in AusE are much more refined.

Besides *bush* as a mass of vegetation common to all the colonies, Bromhead distinguishes three main Australian senses: 1. “wooded tract of country” (where *bush* in the previous sense grows), 2. “a kind of human domain” of specific kinds of people with specific characteristics, and 3. “places in Australia that are outside the major cities” (2011: 447).

In the first sense of a specifically Australian environment, it provided the basis for the foundation of national identity, as discussed in 2.5.2, and as Bromhead notes, to this day the *bush* is presented to foreigners as such for example in government booklets about citizenship (2011: 454). In the early years, when the colonists were still getting acquainted with the environment, it was often associated with solitude, getting lost, and consequently certain danger. With the surge of late 19th century nationalism, the *bush* began to be associated also with beauty, and now it is regarded favourably, as environment associated with enjoyment, leisure, and nature that deserves protection (2011: 455).

Bush as a specific social environment is viewed as a place where people live a different life, which is more physical, and engage in specific activities. Bromhead notes that in this way it is used in many compounds that describe this way of life, such as *bush telegraph* or *bush poetry*, although the lifestyle is now more of a historical relic (2011: 457). This lifestyle conditioned by the harsh environment required certain characteristics of the people in the *bush*, which led to the development of the archetype of the bushman or bush characters which were key for the national myth that portrayed them as “hardy, rough but essentially amiable” (457). There was little place for women in the bush, so if they appeared, they were usually portrayed as hardened by the harsh environment.

Bromhead also notes that *bush* was used as a term to distinguish something foreign from the familiar British environment. Bromhead supports her argument by drawing on Moore's assertion that certain words were employed to precede names of familiar animals and plants to signify difference from their European counterpart (Moore 2008: 24-25 qtd. in Bromhead 2011: 453), producing terms such as *bush rose* or *bush turkey* referring to colonial flora and fauna. As a qualifier it can also be used to mean "rustic, rough, crude or simple" (Bromhead 2011: 459).

2.5.6 Critique of the keywords approach

The keywords approach has faced much criticism for its essentialism in reducing a culture to certain words, as exemplified by Ramson's heated response to Wierzbicka's study (2001: 181-194), where he asserts that her list is reductive. Ramson holds that any Australian, if asked for ten keywords, would probably produce different ones, as "Australian English is rich in each of the many phases and facets of its being, and that there is no need to grub around with obsolete speech act verbs" (193). His own list "of all time greats", as he terms it in a kind of offhand comment, would include: "*Anzac, Australian, native, settler, colonial experience, battler, bludger, larrikin, free-born, and dinkum* [sic]" (194). He also suggests words harking back to the colonial period (*hard labour, ticket of leave, chain gang, public servant* etc.), or words referring to people's origin (*old hand, new chum*) or role (*swagmen, bushmen, cobber, drovers, overlanders, jackeroos*, etc.).

Ramson is certainly correct in asserting that a culture cannot be reduced to a linguistic exploration of a few items of the lexicon. However, Wierzbicka herself admits that the list of keywords is never finite and does not claim to have provided an exclusive list. Her selection is, indeed, limiting, which would have been necessitated by the nature of the study which explored keywords across different cultures, Australia being accorded one full chapter and a section on *mate* in the discussion of the concept of friendship. The words she includes encompass values and attitudes valid to this day and, in my view, she attempts to include those that could be seen as generally valid through time, whereas some of Ramson's suggestions may pertain only to certain periods, singular concepts or historical facts, rather than cultural values as such. Therefore, while indisputably historically relevant, Ramson's selection may not be so relevant for the present-day Australian experience. Nonetheless, there is no reason why Wierzbicka's list could not be extended by Ramson's suggestions (or other keywords) if the case is argued persuasively.

Based on Wierzbicka's analysis of the word *friend* (which she analyses in her discussion of the concept of friendship across cultures, including *mate*), Ramson also criticises her approach as not rigorous enough from the point of view of historical lexicography, for not strictly following *OED*'s definitions and quotations in tracing the changes of meaning, but being too selective and using quotations from elsewhere to illustrate her point, and reducing meaning into her natural semantic metalanguage definitions. Yet Wierzbicka's approach is in principle less scientific than Ramson would wish, as the ability of a word to carry cultural values is difficult to measure objectively and evidence from traditional resources such as the *OED* needs to be supplemented by other sources. Arguments for connection between the word itself and cultural values must be made on the basis of not just lexicography, but also history, sociology, and anthropology, and one's sensitivity to cultures and attitudes. This combination of approaches can perhaps lead to uncovering different meanings or confirming those asserted in the *OED*. It is understandable that this interdisciplinary approach which also includes much hypothesising does not fit the idea of rigorous lexicographic approach – Ransom dismisses it as “individual, to say the least. It is that of the ‘bag-lady’, a combination of assertion, both personal and sociological, imaginative argument, and copious quotation” (184). Yet if we leave behind the confines of pure linguistics and focus on its connection to identity and culture, Wierzbicka's approach can be quite revealing.

2.6 Folklinguistics

While Wierzbicka's approach is driven by her perceptions and assumptions in identifying keywords, another useful approach to uncovering culturally significant words may be that of folklinguistics. Folklinguistics explores how ordinary people (non-linguists) talk and think about language and what associations are called up by particular linguistic usages in their minds, i.e., what social meaning is attached to specific linguistic features. Social meaning can be understood as the information about the speaker's origin, personality, and demographic that the hearer perceives, i.e., what the speaker's language usage conveys about their identity (Beltrama 2020). The hearer's cultural beliefs also influence their perception, which is why for example the use of the word *bastard* may convey different social meanings in Australia than America.

Penry Williams (2020) conducted a study among 20-to-30-year-old Australian university students from Melbourne via semi-structured interviews alongside questionnaires to elicit folklinguistic insights on AusE. The elicitation tasks consisted of a rhyming task (deciding

whether a pair of words rhymes), naming items presented in a slideshow within a time limit, and reading aloud and responding to two derogatory quotes about AusE – one from 1911, another from 1974. These provided a starting point for the interviewees to discuss their linguistic beliefs, as well as assess their speech.

From Penry Williams' findings it is apparent that what is seen as typically Australian is in most cases associated with types of the Local Other. The Local Other refers to ethnic, regional or social types, associated with a particular set of characteristics, which serve as a benchmark against which Penry Williams' respondents measure what is or is not normal, i.e., desirable, including language use (2020: 158-173). In postcolonial theory, the Other is essential to establishing the hierarchy between the centre and the periphery (see 2.4.3), as it designates those different from the Self (the colonial centre) and relegates them to the periphery. This is according to Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin achieved "through discourses such as primitivism and cannibalism, as a means of establishing the binary separation of the colonizer [sic] and colonized and asserting the naturalness and primacy of the colonizing culture and world view" (2007: 155). The Other is qualified by the adjective Local, since to understand these types, knowledge of the Australian cultural space is required and since it refers to the power hierarchy within Australia itself (the mainstream versus the margins of society). The ocker, bogan, and the Queenslander²³ represent the types invoked most often by Penry Williams' respondents, who distance themselves from these types, despite their being often invoked in descriptions of the national type.

The ocker is viewed as "distinctively Australian", and has "strong associations with activities (e.g., beer drinking), views (e.g., anti-intellectual), stances (e.g., relaxed, casual), physical styling (e.g., "navy 'wife beater' singlet and 'stubby' shorts" (Penry Williams 2020: 159), masculinity, and vulgar language. According to the *OED3*, the word *ocker* signifies "a rough, uncultivated, or aggressively boorish Australian man" and the first quotation the dictionary records comes from 1959.²⁴ Words associated with the speech of the ocker according to Penry Williams' interviews in this study include *barbie*, *natio*, *lacker band*, *togs*, *bossie*, *mate*, *sheila*, *missus*, *wheels*, phrases such as *she'll be right*, rhyming slang, and possessive use of *me*. The speech itself was also described as "*drawly*, *slow* and with a *thick* or *strong accent*

²³ Penry Williams also includes the wog and the 'posh types' amongst the Local Others. The wog is discussed under derogatory ethnic labels (2.5.5.2), while the 'posh types' were omitted as due to the absence of a specific word designating these types, they cannot be included in the quantitative analysis.

²⁴ "ocker, n.2 and adj." (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 14 January 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/130266

[evaluated] as *very ugly*” (159). One interviewee who did not completely distance himself from this type also asserted that his own speech is “more ocker” with his family and mates than at work. It also evoked rural associations, harking back to the bush foundation of Australian identity. This kind of speech is often what people associate with AusE and the Broad accent (162), though the majority of the interviewees see this type as the Local Other (the ocker being rural working class compared to them being urban middle-class).

The bogan is similar to the ocker, but it only emerged in the 1980s as its suburban incarnation. *OED3* defines *bogan* as “an unfashionable, uncouth, or unsophisticated person, esp. regarded as being of low social status”.²⁵ In Penry Williams’s research, it is associated with wearing unfashionable clothes and hairstyles such as the mullet, and with being unemployed or having white-collar jobs. Linguistically, there is some overlap with the ocker, yet *G’day mate* seems to be particularly associated with this type (Penry Williams 2020: 166-169).

Finally, the Queenslander for Melbournians is associated with the region “where people spoke the worst” (Penry Williams 2020: 169), i.e., Queensland. It performs the role of the Local Other (specifically regional), to whom all linguistically ‘bad habits’ are ascribed. The Queenslander’s speech is more crude and rural, often being associated with stigmatised forms such as *final but* or possessive use of reflexive pronouns (170).

The strong association of the markers of AusE with these rather negative social types explains that overall, in their evaluation of AusE against other varieties prompted by the derogatory quotes, the majority of respondents did not dispute the associations of AusE with uncouthness, ignorance and being second-class in the eyes of the outside world (Penry Williams 2020: 175), even if they personally did not see it that way. This only confirms the prevalence of cultural cringe.

The interviews revealed some interesting points, including a low awareness of regionalisms, which according to Schneider’s model should be characteristic of the Differentiation phase in which AusE finds itself. Amongst those that were discussed, some like *cozzie* and *togs* (regionalisms for “swimming costume”) indexed negative social evaluation rather than region, conjuring up the ocker, which confirms the consensus that regional variation in Australia is only just developing.

Penry Williams’ exploration of address terms and the discussion of *mate* links back to Wierzbicka’s study. This Australian keyword *par excellence* produced very diverse comments

²⁵ “bogan, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 14 January 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/344463

by the participants. One interviewee expressed his dislike of the word, which he sees as an overused cliché, and another associated it with rural areas and the ocker type, while yet another interviewee called it “the biggest Australian word ever” (2020: 111). Still another saw it as a neutral term of address he used frequently (111). It was also associated with Australian friendliness, wherein one respondent gave an example of its use as “Don’t worry about it, mate” which could be heard from a stranger one bumped into in the street, comparing it with his experience in Germany, where this would not meet with such a friendly response (112). On the other hand, another example had the opposite effect of distancing: “You weren’t born here mate” (114). Lastly, it was associated with the speech of wogs (see 2.5.5.3) – an ethnic Other. Clearly, the mateship ethos is a big part of Australian culture, however, it does not always produce the positive associations Wierzbicka asserts, if perceived as a cultural stereotype.

Similarly, the evaluation of hypocoristics expressed by the interviewees corresponds to Wierzbicka’s findings by being associated with indexing Australianness and the laid-back culture, their full variants sometimes being perceived as too formal (Penry Williams 2020: 127). However, some hypocoristics, such as the aforementioned *cozzie* or *natio* (nationality), produced negative social evaluation, linking it again with the ocker, bogan or the Queenslander types (127). In terms of grammar, non-reflexive uses of reflexive pronouns were also associated with these types, even stigmatised, as well as *final but*, all of which were seen to be going against “the rules” (152), drawing on an awareness of linguistic conventions.

Having established that whether viewed positively or negatively, distinctive features of AusE are strongly associated with Australian nation and culture, how then is it perceived when non-native Australians use these in their speech? This is an area which has not received much attention. The following findings were summarised in Willoughby (2019: 232): Starks & Willoughby (2015) found via a survey of high school students that they think it is more important that newcomers learn Australian slang (40%) than that they speak with an Australian accent (10%). A small number of students were against the idea of immigrants adopting any distinctively AusE features, which they felt belonged to “real” Australians only, but most had nothing against it. Kidd et al. (2016) embarked on an experiment to find out how AusE speakers reacted to speakers of Asian background speaking with an Australian accent and/or using hypocoristics and found that while the use of both simultaneously was seen very positively in terms of common ground, the other combinations fared much worse. They also assert that while the results reflect an openness towards migrants, they also suggest that their use of AusE features may not elicit the same feelings of solidarity as the use by Anglo-Celtic Australians.

Willoughby also reports recent trends in exploring the relation between language, race, and power (*raciolinguistics*), mentioning Dovchin's (2019) study of Mongolian immigrant women, which looks at their use of AusE and its acceptance by Australians, and posits that some employ a deliberately thick Australian accent to inspire solidarity and achieve acceptance. This is certainly an area which deserves more attention, considering the Australian demographic, and it will be interesting to see more similar studies. Literary texts, especially from the 21st century, can serve as a great resource to map these attitudes as well, as this dissertation will discuss in the qualitative analysis (chapter 5).

2.7 Language and literature

As has already been established, language serves as a tool of power – as means of taking control of what is said of a nation, culture, or people in question (see 2.4.3). Print culture plays an instrumental role in spreading the formulated image, perpetuating not only the idea, but also the linguistic means which are used to describe it. In the case of Australia, The Australian Legend of the 1890s was promoted mainly by writers such as Henry Lawson, Banjo Paterson, and other so-called “bush poets”. They published in *The Bulletin* magazine, which was established in Sydney in 1880 and was crucial in building national sentiments which led to independence 21 years later, and also in introducing the local vernacular into print. As Sidney Baker famously remarked, “[p]erhaps never again will so much of the true nature of a country be caught up in the pages of a single journal” (1945, qtd. in Haigh 2008: 252). National literatures thus represent a great resource for investigations of links between culture and language.

2.7.1 Folklinguistics and literature

The linguistic investigation of literature is closely related to folklinguistics, as the language of literary texts and any variation portrayed there expresses and reaffirms established beliefs about language usage. Mulder & Penry Williams (2018) conducted a study investigating voicings of characters by particular authors alongside comments made by these authors about their approaches to writing and argued for the relevance of this approach in the study of language variation. They assert that while authors do not represent all elements of speech and follow their own agenda in presenting it, their views are based on systems of understanding outside of linguistics and therefore fall under folklinguistics, drawing, perhaps, on shared ideologies between writers in that language, but also taking into account the folklinguistic

knowledge of their readers. This approach is, therefore, useful for the examination of the social meaning of contemporary and historical variation.

Mulder & Penry Williams present a short case study of Kerry Greenwood's *Phyrne Fisher* series set in the late 1920s Melbourne. From their interview with the author, they found that Greenwood's father was a wharf worker, which inspired her interest in the history of Melbourne docks and the people within them, who feature prominently in the books. For her legal history thesis, she interviewed many wharf workers and conducted extensive research, which served her well in creating her characters, whose speech, she admits, is based on that of her father and his colleagues. The voices of wharf workers Bert and Cec which the protagonist, female detective Phyrne Fisher, employs, are a great example. In the interview, Greenwood describes in detail the features of the real wharf workers' speech she used and what that indexed about their identity, such as limited vocabulary and "hoard[ing] their words", thus coming off as uneducated, working class, etc. (61). These features, as Mulder & Penry Williams point out, often correspond to a general view of AusE, which emphasises non-standard language, anti-sentimentality and a laconic attitude (61). Using these linguistic features (non-standard forms, hypocoristics, reduced forms, rhyming slang, creative use of language) for the characters' voices already supplies the reader with some characterisation, linking the character with the national type and social standing. Their speech is contrasted with that of "the refined and worldly" (61) Phyrne, whose language is unmarked, which speaks of her social class and is also perhaps connected to her gender. Greenwood thus draws on the linguistic ideology that favours StBE as a mark of social class. StBE serves as the prestige variant, which while not prescribed explicitly, was certainly the norm implicitly if one wanted to succeed in 1920s society. Employing language in characterisation to index social types or ethnicity also reinforces the related language ideologies connected with that type or ethnicity (58).

While Mulder & Penry Williams concentrate on direct speech of characters and direct commentary provided by the author, authorial voice of the writer and/or narrator should also be considered, as well as indirect and free indirect speech. All of these may contain traces of both conscious and unconscious linguistic ideologies and offer metalinguistic commentaries (which may also be found voiced by the characters themselves). Comparing what certain linguistic features utilised in characterisation index in terms of social meaning across different writers may also prove a fruitful exercise to explore the range of attitudes and language ideologies.

Hodson (2016) takes a similar approach by going beyond direct speech and looking at characterisation and commentaries in her study of the speech of servants in early 19th century

literature driven by the same idea that literary representations of language show us much more than linguistic variation: “literary representations of servants’ language do not just reflect existing cultural understandings of what it means to ‘speak like a servant’ but also serve to reproduce and perpetuate those cultural understandings” (2016: 28). Of course, we need to bear in mind that literary language is stylised and therefore differs from naturally occurring speech. Thus, the dialects represented in literature are often unreliable and reliant on stereotypes, usually employed to signify lower social status, lack of education, or low intelligence. As Hodson explains, the stereotypes writers rely on are based on folklinguistic understandings of variation, which readers acquire through literature, TV, movies, social media, and their own linguistic experience throughout their childhood and adulthood (2016: 31). In her approach, Hodson adapts Ferguson’s (1998: 3) concept of *fictolinguistics*, which refers to the language use in the world of the literary text, in which dialect and variation may work differently than in real life. Ferguson (1998: 3) holds that “to understand how dialect works in the novel, we must understand both the *fictolinguistic* system established within the novel, and how that system responds to the folklinguistic expectations that contemporary readers would have brought to the text”. Dialects in literature thus tell us more about folklinguistic beliefs at the time and the social meanings attached to specific features, rather than serving as an accurate source of dialect representation.

However, despite the artificial nature of literary language and the issues with dialect representation, it still provides valuable linguistic evidence and has been successfully studied a long time, which the numerous examples listed in the *OED* exemplifying meanings of words taken mostly from literature illustrate. The main attraction of literary language as a source material for a study such as this, which bridges linguistics, literary and cultural studies, is precisely the cultural values ingrained in and transferred by literary texts, including linguistic ideologies discussed above.

2.7.2 Stylistics

Most linguistic research concerned with literary language falls under the discipline of stylistics, where linguistic features of texts and the effects they produce are assessed and linked to the text’s interpretation as well as the writer’s artistic achievement, thus connecting linguistics with literary criticism. Leech & Short (2007) have formulated a comprehensive model of prose style analysis, identifying a checklist of features to be looked for in analysis, which could be used as a tool. This checklist includes lexical and grammatical categories,

figures of speech, and specific questions which may be explored about each of the categories, along with the text's context and cohesion (2007: 61-64). This, however, does not mean that all of these categories will be significant for every text, because stylistics is not an exact science, as Leech & Short summarise: "stylistics, as the study of the relation between linguistic form and literary function, cannot be reduced to mechanical objectivity. In both the literary and the linguistic spheres, much rests on the intuition and personal judgement of the reader" (3). Every text thus necessitates a tailored approach, not in the least in relation to the angle from which it is investigated.

The central notion in stylistics is the idea of *foregrounding*, which is characteristic of literary language. The concept was introduced by Mukařovský of the Prague School in the 1930s (1932/1964: 19-20) and it covers language usage that defies our expectation. Burke & Evers hold that *foregrounding* "highlights the poetic function of language, in particular its ability to deviate from the linguistic norm and to create textual patterns based on either parallelism, repetition or deviation from a norm" (2014: 41). The norm the analyst chooses to compare a text to depends on various contextual factors. In our case of Australian literature, StBE lends itself as the norm.

Over the past decades, stylistics has spread its scope and became more interdisciplinary in order to aid our understanding of modern-day concerns and their reflections in literature (drawing on narratology, rhetoric, cognitive sciences, etc.). One such interesting area is the stylistics of landscape, on which Douthwaite, Viridis & Zurru (2017) have compiled a volume of essays. This angle is particularly relevant for the present study focusing on a postcolonial variety of English, as one of the principal tasks of Australian literature was to capture, formulate, and convey to the reader the native landscape on which the national identity was built, which was crucial for creating the idea of Australia not only at home but also overseas. The collection, which is underpinned by a focus on cognitive processes, understands landscape not only in terms of the physical space, but also as the experiences the spaces produce, and the metaphorical landscapes of "social, mental, historical portraits of places, people and society" (2017: 2).

2.7.2.1 Analogies

One fruitful way of exploring the construction of landscapes in a text is to look at analogies, as Wales (2017) does in her study of Dickens' *Pictures from Italy* (1846). She works with a broad definition of analogies which encompasses similes (*like, as*), quasi-similes (*as if*),

and comparisons, which are “defined in cognitive terms as overt ‘mapping’ across conceptual domains” (21). In other words, they serve as means by which the reader can create a mental picture in his mind of the landscape described. All literary texts rely on conceptual mapping for readers to visualise the fictional world.

Wales identifies four different types of analogy, each with a different function, effect, and degree of “reader-helpfulness” (2017: 21), i.e., how useful and descriptive the information conveyed by the analogy is for the reader:

Type A consists of expressions of indescribability, inexpressibility, and evaluative comments, which help the reader very little to construct his own mental picture. (e.g., “*such magnificent array of red [...] as neither pen nor pencil could depict*”, Dickens 1846: 608 qtd. in Wales 23, original emphasis).

Type B refers to highly suggestive analogies, which draw on fantasies, fairytales, Gothic novels, or exotic tales such as the *Arabian Nights*. They exoticize and other the place they are meant to describe, and serve rather to disorient the reader than help him (e.g., “fowls and cats had so taken possession of the out-buildings, that *I couldn't help thinking of the fairy tales*”, Dickens 1846: 595 qtd. in Wales 24).

Type C consists of analogies Wales terms “quintessentially Dickensian” (25), corresponding to what has even by the time of publication been established as his stylistic idiolect. Many are introduced by “signalling devices” (*like, look as if, one would think*) (25), and convey a very negative view of the place, with vivid animate imagery to describe inanimate objects and vice (e.g., “[Little shops stuck so close] *like parasite vermin in the great carcase*”, Dickens 1846: 598 qtd. in Wales 25).

Type D analogies reverse the mapping of the concrete vehicle to the exotic by mapping the concrete onto something even more familiar, in this case examples from home – England, thus blending the unfamiliar landscape with the familiar. This is most helpful to the reader, though it mixes the actual landscape as seen and remembered by the writer with his perception of England at the time of writing, producing a kind of “virtual reality” (28) (e.g., “*like the entrance to Vauxhall Gardens on a sunny day*” Dickens 1846: 593 qtd. in Wales 26).

While these categories are perhaps not completely universal, they serve as a good starting point in classifying analogies conveying a sense of place and the basic division according to the type of meaning mappings (evaluation in the case of Type A, fairytales/the exotic *Other* in the case of Type B, and home/the familiar in the case of Type D) and can be

used as a starting point in any such exploration, along with room for the writer's personal idiosyncrasies covered by Type C, with room for additional types that arise from the exploration of the text in question. These analogies can also be categorised according to function – a familiarising function if they are helpful to the reader, or a distancing function if they hinder understanding. Wales's types certainly appear relevant for the study of the construction of Australian landscape as it would have gone through similar processes of being exoticized, othered, familiarised, or made completely unique, as will be explored in chapter 5.

Wales's analysis of analogies and the conceptual mappings they involve is closely connected with contextual frame theory, which Emmott defines as describing “the mental representations that a reader builds on the basis of cues in the text and other available information” (2017: 46). These representations cover not only the world of the novel in general, but also the little sub-worlds within it – individual locations and even mental landscapes, such as a character's imaginings or virtual travel. Apart from the linguistic clues such as the analogies discussed above, or specific descriptions, extra-textual input based on the reader's own experience and knowledge may also contribute to the reader's experience and understanding of the text, which is why the historical and social context of each individual work is important.

The nature of the mappings that occur in the reader's mind is closely connected to the role of the *focaliser*, i.e., the character/narrator through whose eyes the story is described. It is through focalisation that the writer can position the reader in relation to the text, presenting it from a particular point of view, which may further any underlying ideologies the text relates to. As Douthwaite points out, “identifying point of view is essential to uncover ideology and evaluation at work in a text. [...] this, in turn, places the reader in a position of being able to judge what the text offers him/her on the ideological/evaluative plane” (2017: 156). Texts in early Australian literature written by British writers about the British colonisers position the reader very differently than if the same occasion were described from the point of view of an Aboriginal character.

2.7.2.2 Ecostylistics

Speaking of colonisers and the colonised, one recent variant of stylistics – ecostylistics, which is predominantly the result of increasing concerns about the environment – is particularly suited to the study of postcolonial literatures. As Zurru asserts, “ecocriticism and ecolinguistics [...] investigate the more or less consciously (un)ecological, anthropocentric account of the human/non-human relationship in the ‘cultural artefact’ constituting their prototypical object of

study: literature and language, respectively” (2017: 194). Its principal concerns are how physical environment is represented and what ideologies underpin it, as well as in what light the relationship between the human and non-human world is presented. Often this relationship is that of human dominance, especially in postcolonial texts, which is why the ecostylistic approach is particularly relevant here. As Zurrú points out, “colonialism [...] was essentially based on *expansion*, that is to say the discovery, conquest, control and exploitation of the land and its (human and non-human) resources” (199). Zurrú demonstrates this in her exploration of the representation of the natural world and its interaction with humans in Amitav Ghosh’s novel *The Hungry Tide* (2004) about the Sundarbans, tiny islands on the east coast of India, where nature is the decisive force, with frequent flooding and looming tigers. Even from the title, which uses the adjective *hungry* usually reserved for animate nouns with an inanimate one, one can deduce that nature has agency in the novel, in fact, Zurrú calls it “an active, major character in the story” (2017: 203).

In her analysis, Zurrú uses Halliday’s concept of Transitivity, which is a system that can account for the representation of experience in a text, as this experience is composed of various Processes – doing, sensing, being, happening, and becoming. The Transitivity system can thus help classify, according to Halliday, “the world of experience into a manageable set of PROCESS TYPES” – Material, Mental, Relational, Behavioural, Verbal, and Existential (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 170-171). This sense goes beyond the traditional distinction of whether or not a verb takes an object. These processes involve Participants: Actor and Goal in Material Processes (of *doing*), Senser and Phenomenon in Mental Processes (of *sensing* – feeling, thinking, perceiving). Based on the relation between the Process and Participant, most clauses can be interpreted as either transitive/intransitive or ergative/non-ergative, where the former involves an extension of the Process from one Participant to another and the latter involves Agency. Thus, the sentence *Mary sailed the boat* can be interpreted as transitive (Mary as Actor, the verb as Material Process, and the object as Goal), or ergative (Mary as Agent, the verb as Material Process, the object as Medium) (Zurrú 2017: 206-208).

This approach has been widely used in discourse analysis, as it focuses not only on the verb, but also on other participants and the processes involved. Zurrú’s investigation, combined with attention to any other relevant linguistic features, reveals how nature is presented as an active Participant with Agency, while humans are presented and sometimes perceive themselves as passive. Utilising Halliday’s framework strengthens Zurrú’s argument by allowing her to clearly categorise the analysed phrases.

In his literary analysis of the same text, Mukherjee encompassed the complex relation between the postcolonial novel, the cultural capital it is based on, and the environment and local culture it describes:

[E]nvironment is always present as a field of complex and symbiotic continuities between the human and the non-human, the 'natural' and the 'cultural'; thus, environment is also seen as a register of the historical process of the uneven development and penetration of capital, often named 'globalization'. [Other characteristics of the Indian postcolonial novel are] [...] that in order to narrate this story of uneven historical environment in a postcolonial state, the novel must be able formally and stylistically to embody it as well; that this embodiment takes place as these novels absorb elements of some of the local or regional cultural forms that surround it; and finally, that this deliberate act of adoption of formal and stylistic unevenness, and the resultant complex of anti-mimesis is often signalled by large spaces. (2010: 113)

Mukherjee's summary, in fact, applies to all postcolonial texts and serves as a reminder that the considerations of historical and social context of the work are inseparable from stylistic analysis, even more so when it comes to postcolonial literatures and an exploration of how they contribute to 'writing back to the Empire' (see 2.4.3), as it were.

Similar research has been conducted by Canning (2014) who explored the very roots of postcolonialism – colonial literature. Looking at H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) about the conflict between the British and the Zulus, she uncovers the linguistic features through which Haggard perpetuates colonial ideas about racial otherness. Amongst the greatest perpetrators of the colonial ideology count lexical choices used to describe the British and the Zulu soldiers that highlight the civilised nature of the former against the savage nature of the latter, or means of cohesion, where many cases of personal pronoun reference to the British soldiers appear, compared to few cases of personal reference to the Zulus, who are mostly referred to as a homogenous entity (Canning 2014: 48-9). This further confirms Ashcroft et al.'s assertion of the key function of language in the colonial power structure, as through texts such as these, the colonial ideology was perpetuated.

Like Zurru, Canning also employs Halliday's system of Transitivity in assessing the roles of the two parties in terms of representation of their experience. In assessing a representation of a battle, she finds that most of the processes are Material, and that while the British have a lot of Agency, the Goal is often left unexpressed or deliberately vague, along with euphemistic expressions and modality to mitigate the murders that these actions occasion, even if not explicitly voiced. Conversely, the Zulu's actions throughout the battle are usually intransitive, their actions 'causing' hardly anything, which further promotes their image of the inferior colonial Other (Canning 2014: 59-60).

These analyses of colonial and postcolonial texts show that careful considerations of context – of the real world as well as the world of the novel, and the breadth of linguistic context that needs to be taken into account when investigating particular linguistic features (e.g., sentences surrounding a keyword, the context of the situation within which it appears, which character utters it, etc.) are indispensable. Stylistic research of this kind is thus primarily based on close reading, as is the case with the studies discussed, necessitating to limit the analysis to chosen extracts. While corpus linguistics has been successfully utilised and can supply useful information about keywords, collocations, and word frequencies, close reading remains the chief tool for the linguistic exploration of literary texts, as it is best suited to analyse the links between the linguistic means employed and the effects they produce. As Zurrú asserts, “close readings remain the bedrock foundation of stylistic analysis” (2017: 222).

3. MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Material

Linguistic analysis of literary fiction can be both rewarding and frustrating – rewarding, in the sense that the texts often bend established rules and use the medium of communication in unexpected ways to further artistic aims, and equally frustrating, because exactly for this reason they do not present the most suitable material for linguistic analysis that tries to arrive at generalisations about the language in question.

As chapter 2 established, however, literature plays an important part in forging and promoting varieties of language and therefore constitutes a valid resource for exploring the subject of this dissertation – the relationship between language and national identity. In the case of AusE, it was the novelists, bush poets and journalists that helped to spread the native Antipodean variety to promote nationalist sentiments in an effort to achieve independence and create a new national ethos. Even today, with a national variety established long-ago, the medium of literature continues to play an important role in making different ways of speaking (and the speakers themselves) visible. Moreover, fiction writers also often draw on folklinguistics (see 2.6 and 2.7.1) in their representation of characters and include metalinguistic commentary revealing contemporary language attitudes. For these reasons, the language of fiction was chosen as the material for the present research.

Yet diachronic corpora of AusE are rare, let alone those focusing on literary language. The only solely literary corpus is the AusLit corpus available via the Australian National Corpus (ANC), which includes poetry, fiction and criticism from 1795 to the 1930s. Since the present study is limited to fiction and aims to examine data up to the present time, the AusLit corpus was deemed unsuitable. Therefore, a corpus of AusE tailored to the needs of the present study had to be compiled, along with a reference corpus of BrE created according to the same criteria to facilitate the keyword analysis. Both corpora are divided into four periods based on the stages of Schneider's model for the development of AusE. Only the first phase (Foundation) was omitted, as there was not any Australian literature to speak of yet.

Each of the four periods contains eight novels²⁶, four by a female and four by a male writer. The selection of texts from the canon of Australian literature was guided by university syllabi, Webby's *The Cambridge Companion to Australian Literature* (2000), and the texts'

²⁶ The Nativization period contains two short story collections (and six novels) as they count amongst the most canonical texts of that era.

availability in electronic form that allowed it to be processed by a corpus manager. Another aspect that was considered was that the majority of the plot takes place in Australia and among Australian characters and that the setting of each novel corresponds timewise to the period into which it was categorised (although with the prominence of the historical novel in Australian literature, which will be discussed in 3.1.1.1.4.2, this was not adhered to so strictly). An attempt was also made to select texts distributed relatively evenly across the timeline of each period.

A corpus of canonical British literature of similar size and equivalent structure was created analogically to serve as a reference corpus in the analysis. The texts were also chosen based on university syllabi, availability, and Sanders’s *The Short Oxford History of English Literature* (1996).

The corpora were compiled by uploading the selected text into the *Sketch Engine* corpus manager (Lexical Computing Ltd 2003), where metainformation was added to each text about the author, their gender, the year of publication²⁷ and the period into which it falls. If the editions contained an introduction, foreword or afterword by an editor or another author, these were deleted prior to uploading the novel to the corpus.

Table 1 provides an overview of the texts included (in order of publication), which will be followed by a more detailed discussion of the corpora.

	Australian English			British English		
	Author	Title	Wordcount	Author	Title	Wordcount
Exonormative stabilisation (1830-1901)	Henry Savery	<i>Quintus Servinton</i> (1830)	180725	Charles Dickens	<i>Oliver Twist</i> (1837)	157883
	Charles Rowcroft	<i>Tales of the Colonies</i> (1843)	177999	Emily Bronte	<i>Wuthering Heights</i> (1847)	116576
	Caroline Leakey	<i>The Broad Arrow</i> (1859)	202854	George Meredith	<i>The Ordeal of Richard Feverel</i> (1859)	169366
	Catherine Helen Spence	<i>Mr Hogarth’s Will</i> (1861)	155932	Anthony Trollope	<i>Can You Forgive Her</i> (1864)	145099

²⁷ In the corpus metadata, there is an error, where the year of publication of Winton’s *Dirt Music* is listed as 2003 instead of 2001 based on the edition I was working with. In the text of the dissertation as well as in the files with the extracted concordance lines, this has been corrected.

	Marcus Clarke	<i>For the Term of His Natural Life</i> (1874)	181082	Elizabeth Gaskell	<i>Wives and Daughters</i> (1864)	180921
	Ada Cambridge	<i>A Mere Chance</i> (1880)	99370	George Eliot	<i>Daniel Deronda</i> (1876)	143595
	Rolf Boldrewood	<i>A Robbery Under Arms</i> (1888)	209242	Marie Corelli	<i>Thelma</i> (1887)	205508
	Catherine Martin	<i>An Australian Girl</i> (1890)	189065	Thomas Hardy	<i>Tess of d'Urbervilles</i> (1891)	149751
Nativization (1901-1942)	Henry Lawson	<i>Joe Wilson and His Mates</i> (1901)	83024	P. G. Wodehouse	<i>The Pothunters</i> (1902)	41119
	Miles Franklin	<i>My Brilliant Career</i> (1901)	88255	Elinor Glyn	<i>Beyond the Rocks</i> (1906)	64273
	Barbara Baynton	<i>Bush Studies</i> (1902)	30185	H. G. Wells	<i>Ann Veronica</i> (1909)	96961
	Joseph Furphy	<i>Such Is Life</i> (1903)	160756	D. H. Lawrence	<i>Sons and Lovers</i> (1913)	161027
	Louis Stone	<i>Jonah</i> (1911)	75945	Dorothy Richardson	<i>Pointed Roofs</i> (1915)	57715
	Katharine Susannah Prichard	<i>The Black Opal</i> (1921)	102051	Virginia Woolf	<i>Mrs. Dalloway</i> (1925)	64063
	Kenneth Mackenzie	<i>The Young Desire It</i> (1937)	99109	Evelyn Waugh	<i>Vile Bodies</i> (1930)	60534
	Dymphna Cusack	<i>Jungfrau</i> (1936)	73199	Daphne du Maurier	<i>Jamaica Inn</i> (1936)	107875
Endonormative stabilisation (1942-1980s)	Patrick White	<i>Tree of Man</i> (1955)	202323	Graham Greene	<i>The End of the Affair</i> (1951)	62300
	Elizabeth Harrower	<i>The Long Prospect</i> (1958)	72329	Iris Murdoch	<i>The Bell</i> (1958)	114900
	Joan Lindsay	<i>Picnic at Hanging Rock</i> (1968)	65646	Doris May Lessing	<i>The Golden Notebook</i> (1962)	249767

	David Ireland	<i>The Glass Canoe</i> (1976)	75170	Agatha Christie	<i>Hallowe'en Party</i> (1969)	67517
	David Malouf	<i>Johnno</i> (1975)	47426	John Fowles	<i>Daniel Martin</i> (1977)	255585
	Jessica Anderson	<i>Tirra Lirra by the River</i> (1978)	52386	Ian McEwan	<i>The Cement Garden</i> (1978)	42591
	Shirley Hazzard	<i>The Transit of Venus</i> (1980)	118288	Angela Carter	<i>Nights at the Circus</i> (1984)	118473
	Murray Bail	<i>Homesickness</i> (1980)	97264	David Lodge	<i>Small World</i> (1984)	130019
Differentiation (1980s-present)	Peter Carey	<i>Illywhacker</i> (1985)	53567	A. S. Byatt	<i>Possession</i> (1990)	193051
	Christos Tsiolkas	<i>Loaded</i> (1995)	244208	Hanif Kureishi	<i>The Buddha of Suburbia</i> (1990)	109430
	Kim Scott	<i>Benang</i> (1999)	124003	Jeanette Winterson	<i>Written on the Body</i> (1992)	50299
	Tim Winton	<i>Dirt Music</i> (2001)	102366	Pat Baker	<i>Another World</i> (1998)	62705
	Hsu Ming Teo	<i>Behind the Moon</i> (2005)	97899	Zadie Smith	<i>White Teeth</i> (2000)	171939
	Michelle de Kretser	<i>The Lost Dog</i> (2007)	80661	Kazuo Ishiguro	<i>Never Let Me Go</i> (2005)	96900
	Gail Jones	<i>Five Bells</i> (2011)	67994	Julian Barnes	<i>The Sense of an Ending</i> (2011)	41699
	Melissa Lucashenko	<i>Mullumbimby</i> (2013)	94227	Edward St Aubyn	<i>At Last</i> (2012)	53300
Total			3704550			3742741

Table 1 Texts included in the Australian literature corpus and the British literature corpus

Figure 1 shows the wordcount distribution per period for each corpus.

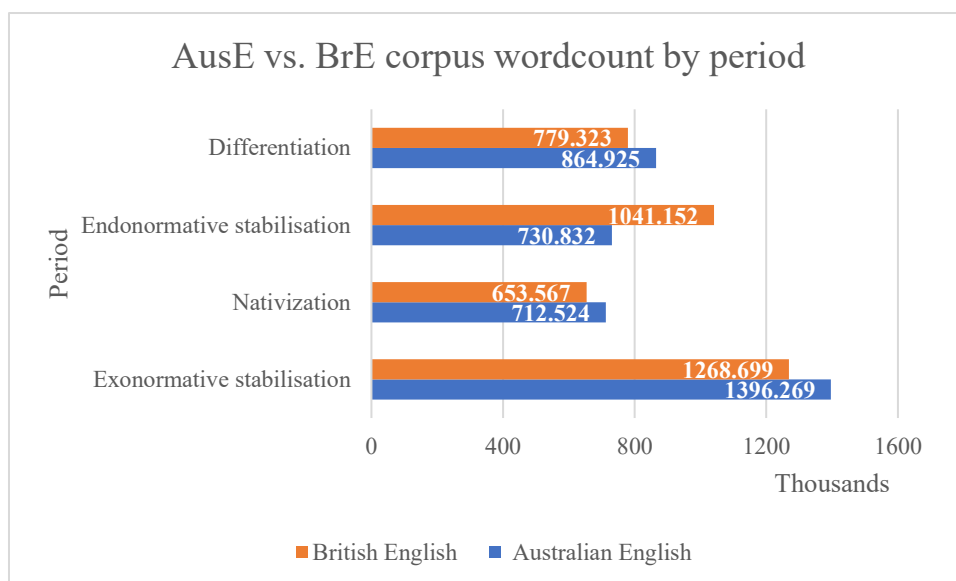


Figure 1 Wordcount distribution across the periods of the AusE vs. BrE corpus

3.1.1 Corpus of Australian English

3.1.1.1 Periodisation and context

The periodisation of the corpus follows Schneider's (2007) timeline for the Australian scenario of the Dynamic Model (see 2.3.2), excluding the Foundation period during which no literature that could yet be called Australian was produced.

Interestingly, the four remaining periods roughly correspond to the four distinctive phases of attitude to AusE discussed by Leitner (2004), who expands upon Delbridge (1998). Leitner does not provide an exact timeline, but in general terms, phase (1) corresponds to Exonormative stabilisation, phase (2) to Nativization, even though it seems to start before 1901, phase (3) corresponds to the Endonormative stabilisation period, while phase (4) to the Differentiation period, beginning again about a decade earlier. The following passage offers a brief overview of Leitner's phases:

(1) 'English in Australia' Phase:

English in Australia was primarily seen as a deviation from BrE; attitudes tended to be negative, positive ones were expressed occasionally. Attention was paid to lexis, particularly *bush* metaphors.

(2) 'AusE awareness' Phase:

The interest and pride in Australia's English increased, especially towards Federation.

(3) 'mainstream AusE' Phase I:

An ambivalent perception of English in Australia made itself felt during the late 1930s that recognized social stratification and an acceptable accent.

(4) 'mainstream AusE' Phase II:

Full acceptance of linguistic independence and identity, starting with accent in the 1970s and gradually covering the whole language (2004: 94-95).

Willoughby (2019: 225) notes that these changes in attitude display a correlation with historical events, and that the positive evaluation of AusE increased around the time of the Federation at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, and in the 1970s, when Australia experienced a cultural renaissance. Schneider's model also takes these aspects into account, yet it combines the historical and cultural context and related language attitudes with linguistic consequences, which is why his model serves as the primary basis for the corpus periodisation. Nonetheless, Leitner's phases of language attitude will be considered in the following discussion, since language attitudes are firmly tied to national identity (see 2.4).

A more comprehensive overview of each of the periods in terms of linguistic, socio-historical and cultural development is required to contextualise the following quantitative and qualitative analysis which will draw on these developments. Therefore, the following sections will offer a detailed discussion of each of the periods (based on Schneider's model), including an overview of the literature produced at the time and a list of texts included in each period. A brief introduction to each text and its author is to be found in Appendix 2.

3.1.1.1.1 Exonormative stabilisation (1830-1901)

3.1.1.1.1.1 Linguistic, sociohistorical and cultural context

According to Schneider (2007: 120-121) it was between 1830 and 1850, when the free settlers began to outnumber the convicts, that AusE moved from the first developmental stage of the Dynamic Model – Foundation – to the second stage of Exonormative stabilisation.

During this period, new colonies were established in different areas of the continent that lay the foundations for the states that would form in the following decades (Macintyre 1999: 57-67). With the settlers, English was also rapidly spreading all over Australia and among the Indigenous population through contact and via Christian missions. Aboriginal forms of English thus started developing, and words from the Indigenous languages were in turn borrowed into the Australian variety. Consistent with the characteristics of Exonormative stabilisation (see 2.3.1), most borrowings and coinages related to the local flora and fauna (*dingo, wallaby, gum-tree, kangaroo, koala, bottlebrush*, etc.), elements of Indigenous culture (*wurley* – Aboriginal hut) and words describing the new environment (*bush, outback, station*) (Schneider 2007: 121).

For the colony, this was a period of rapid growth, both economic and demographic. From the 1830s on, pastoralism (i.e., raising domestic animals) was spreading over the

continent, mostly in the form of the wool industry, which supplied wool to British manufacturers. Macintyre notes that the wool industry “for the next century funded the prosperity and growth of Australia [...] [in] circumstances that allowed newcomers to achieve rapid success: plentiful land and minimal cost, a benign climate [...], a high-value product” (1999: 58-59). Therefore, it was not only the numbers of sheep that were exponentially increasing, but also of settlers – first, discharged officers and younger sons of English and Scottish gentry, and later also the poorer members of society started arriving that utilised various migration schemes funded by the government from the profits of the wool industry (Macintyre 1999: 74). A further migration boost came with the 1850s and 1860s gold rushes, with newcomers not only from Britain, but also Germany, France, China, and the USA (Macintyre 2009: 80).

It was not only the economy that was tied to the bush, but also the developing idea of Australian identity. As Carter observes, this identity was not in opposition to British identity, but rather its extension in the form of the ‘coming man’, an ‘imperial type’, that in Australia absorbed his distinctive features from the bush:

By the 1870s, the settled pastoral and agricultural regions of ‘the bush’ had come to be seen as typically and uniquely Australian (the most *Australian* Australian countryside). According to the logic of ‘racial environmentalism’ it followed that this unique environment would give rise to a unique national type. This was the bushman, in various guises: the stockman, drover, shearer, selector, etc. As such, the imperial qualities of the ‘coming man’ were re-imagined as national qualities embedded in the bushman. Later the same virtues of independence, manliness, egalitarianism and self-confidence would be attributed to the Digger or Anzac, the Australian soldier of the First World War. (Carter 2006: 52)

Carter’s observations are consistent with Schneider’s assertion that in this period the sense of identity of the Anglo-Celtic inhabitants of the colony shifted from British to that of Brits abroad (“British plus”) – Britishness enhanced by local experience (2007: 120).

Schneider also asserts that while British identity largely prevailed, there appeared early signs of distancing from the motherland, such as the Eureka stockade (2007: 120). The Eureka stockade was an 1854 uprising of miners on the goldfields of Victoria who rebelled against the British administration imposing harsh fees and taxes on them. It is apparent from Macintyre’s description of the events that the mateship ethos transferred from the bush to the goldfields as well, as “thousand men assembled and raised the flag with a white cross and stars on a blue field to proclaim their oath: ‘We swear by the Southern Cross to stand truly by each other, and fight to defend our rights and liberties’” (2009: 89). According to Macintyre, the Eureka stockade became “a formative event in the national mythology, the Southern Cross a symbol of

freedom and independence” which lay roots for labour movements of dissatisfied workers that emerged in the following decades (2009: 89).

These labour movements, like the Eureka stockade, were the result of the structure of society that convictism and pastoralism produced, as not all Australians enjoyed the same wealth and freedoms that came with the economic growth, largely thanks to the poor politics of land distribution. As Macintyre explains (2009: 75-76, 98), the first wealthy settlers took big areas of the best land on which they raised cattle, driving the economy. They became known as the squatters, or the squattocracy, signifying their privileged social position. In the 1850s and 1860s, when the gold that attracted new poorer settlers ran out, those miners wanted to take up farming as well, except there was little suitable land available. The government tried to rectify the situation by introducing legislation that allowed these miners to select some of the land of the squatters and bid for it in an auction. These auctions, however, favoured those with more money, so often the squatters were able to purchase the land instead of these farmers that became known as the selectors. Towards the end of the 19th century when prosperity declined, discontent also rose and manifested in strikes of workers petitioning their wealthy employers for fair working conditions and wages (Macintyre 2009: 125-129). The discontent of the poor in rural areas was also connected to the revival of bushranging, which some men resorted to. These men were largely supported by the ordinary people, and one group in particular – the famous Ned Kelly and his gang – grew to become a national legend (Macintyre 2009: 99).

All of these groups were since the mid-19th century calling for more freedom and equality in the colony to erase class boundaries and to remove the ‘convict stain’. However, as the identity construction suggests, the freedom they sought was still within the bounds of the Empire. Carter observes that the second half of the 19th century was a period ruled by imperialism and nationalism, which both influenced Australia, where “an increasingly *empire* loyalty attached to Britain could develop alongside and increasing *national* sentiment attached to Australia” (2006: 52). From the 1840s, the colonies were pushing for self-government, but they were not anti-British – according to Carter, only very few republicans wanted complete separation, instead “the colonies wanted self-government in place of direct British control, but the form of self-government they sought would be based upon British models [...]. Democracy could be accepted without having a major transforming effect on the colonists’ sense of being British” (2006: 53). All Australian colonies achieved self-government throughout the 1840s-1860s, yet Britain retained the power to veto any laws passed in Australia (Macintyre 2009: 92).

It was not until the 1890s that the colonies finally started to cooperate more, united by increasing fears of invasion from Asian and European states, and work towards a common constitution and eventually the Federation in 1901 (Macintyre 2009: 137-138). An important role in fuelling the nationalist spirit was played by a new generation of Australian artists who drew on the distinctively Australian environment, the bush, both in the visual arts, but most importantly in writing. A particularly crucial medium was the famous weekly magazine *The Bulletin*, founded in 1880, that “practised an exuberant and irreverent mockery of bloated capitalists, monocled aristocrats and puritan killjoys, while it championed republicanism, secularism, democracy and masculine licence” (Macintyre 2009: 131). Since the 1890s, Banjo Paterson and Henry Lawson among others filled its pages with verse and stories of bush life and mateship that added to the emerging national ethos known as The Australian Legend (see 2.5.2).

3.1.1.1.2 Australian literature (1830s-1901)

Literature produced in Australia for most of this period is usually labelled colonial rather than Australian in the sense of national literature (Webby 2000: 50). As Webby notes, “for much of the nineteenth century, and indeed afterwards, Australian readers were mainly interested in books by English authors and Australian authors were largely dependent on the English publishing industry” (2000: 50). This dependence meant the writers had to write with the British market and trends in mind.

In fact, many of the Australian authors of the period were born in Britain and moved to the Antipodes as children or young adults, some only spent several years in the colony before returning to the motherland. This likely meant they had a greater chance of success securing book publication in Britain and they understood both audiences they were writing for. Many of the contemporary works are thus set between Europe and Australia, reflecting the fact that the cultures were not seen as separate yet. Only towards the end of the century does the Australian-born generation of writers start gaining a voice, especially with the establishment of *The Bulletin* and its rising popularity in the 1890s, where Australian writers began writing about the Australian experience and gaining a larger audience (Webby 2000: 50).

In the previous Foundation period, covering the first decades of European settlement, officers, administrators and explorers published their journals recounting sea voyages, life in the colony, and expeditions into the interior, all of which were popular with British readers (Webby 2000: 51). From the 1830s, with the growing infrastructure, accounts by non-

professional explorers or travellers and also female accounts of life in the colony began to appear on the British market (2000: 51). After transportation to New South Wales (NSW) ceased in the 1840s, emigrant handbooks and novels were published to attract free settlers, one of the most popular being Charles Rowcroft's *Tales of the Colonies* (1843) that was a success both for the tips it supplied to aspiring settlers as well as for the exciting adventures it recounted. This novel also established the comic character type of "the unhappy new chum" – an Englishman perpetually dissatisfied with how the new land does not measure up to English standards (2000: 52). Alexander Harris's autobiographical *Settlers and Convicts* (1847) was created in a similar vein and in the 20th century came to be seen as an early endorsement of the Australian Legend, the ethos of bush mateship and the image of Australia as the working-man's paradise (2000: 52). In the 1850s, the discovery of gold sparked new interest from British publishers, writers and readers, which in the 1860s and 1870s transferred to the Outback and tales of expeditions into the 'Dead centre' and the North (2000: 53).

With regular imports of goods to Australia since the 1820s, a lively book market emerged, which delivered the latest books by British authors only a few months after publication. These colonial editions were cheap and popular, so local publishers could not compete with such low prices. Thus they could rarely afford to print local authors, who had to gain access to British publishers if they wanted to have their work printed, which was difficult without physically going to Britain (Webby 2000: 54). Therefore, Australian authors had to try to satisfy not only an Australian audience, but also the British one, while at home they had to contend with "the vulgar local prejudice that, because written at Botany Bay it must by consequence be bad" (2000: 55), as described by one of the readers of an Australian journal in 1828 (an early demonstration of cultural cringe, see 2.4.3).

The work of the mid-19th-century poet Charles Harpur, who desperately sought publication in Britain, is a good example of this tension between catering to British tastes and trends on the one hand, and doing justice to his Australian home on the other. Harpur's body of work includes both epic poems on Biblical and classical themes and a series of romantic sonnets, as well as first attempts "to deal seriously with local realities, producing tragedies and epics at a time when it was generally assumed that Australian material was unsuitable for works in the higher literary genres" (Webby 2000: 58). Other famous poets that followed in Harpur's footsteps in writing on Australian subjects alongside the more classical serious topics were Henry Kendall and Adam Lindsay Gordon, whose ballads about the Australian bush paved the way for the bush ballads of the 1890s (2000: 60). One of these ballads, Banjo Paterson's *The*

Man From Snowy River (1895) became the first locally published bestseller in Australia (2000: 56). Apart from the bush, the convict experience was also a subject of poetry, the most famous example being a satirical poem by Francis MacNamara, known as Frank the Poet, named “The Convict’s Tour To Hell” and written in 1839, which painted a bleak picture of the convict system (2000: 57).

Convict experience was a popular literary topic and stood at the root of the Australian novel. What is agreed to be the first Australian example of this literary form, *Quintus Servinton* was published in 1831 and written by a convict Henry Savery as a thinly disguised autobiography, and many more novels about the convict system followed (Webby 2000: 61). The two that stand out by touching on deeper topics are Caroline Leakey’s *The Broad Arrow* (1859) and Marcus Clarke’s *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874). *The Broad Arrow* recounts the story of a falsely accused female convict transported to Tasmania, which has been rediscovered by feminist scholars and interpreted as a portrayal of a strong woman trapped in a patriarchal society (Webby 2000: 61). *For the Term of His Natural Life* also explores a deeper theme – whether civilisation can survive without religion, and whether an inherently good human being can remain uncorrupted by a brutal and harsh environment (Webby 2000: 62).

With the rise of bushranging in the 1870s, bushranging novels became another popular literary theme. The most representative example is Rolf Boldrewood’s *Robbery Under Arms* (1888-89), recounting the exciting adventures of a group of honourable bushrangers, which became a bestseller in both Britain and Australia (Webby 2000: 63). Boldrewood prepared the ground for the writers of the 1890s and 1900s associated with the creation of the nationalistic Australian Legend, such as Henry Lawson and Banjo Paterson. Webby notes that it is not until the 1890s that Australian literature is seen by critics as having come of age, which has the unfortunate consequences of dismissing the literature that came before it as “immature” or “imitative”, despite its indisputable value (2000: 64).

Even though Schneider dates the Exonormative stabilisation period until 1901, as the establishment of the Australian Federation provides a clear historical milestone, much of the literary output of the 1890s would linguistically perhaps fit better into the Nativization period with its nationalist purpose, Australian themes, and the use of vernacular language. This assertion is supported by the fact that the positive evaluation of the vernacular these authors present fits better the characteristics of Phase 2 of Leitner’s timeline (2004) of changing attitudes to AusE (see 3.1.1.1). This is exemplified by early Lawson’s or Paterson’s work, and to an extent even by Boldrewood’s *Robbery Under Arms* (1888), which bridges the gap between

the Exonormative stabilisation and the Nativization stage and will thus be analysed in section 5.1 together with Ada Cambridge's *A Mere Chance* (1880), which is in linguistic terms its polar opposite.

3.1.1.1.1.3 Included texts

- Henry Savery (1791-1842), *Quintus Servinton* (1830)
- Charles Rowcroft (1798-1856), *Tales of the Colonies* (1843)
- Caroline Leakey (1827-1881), *The Broad Arrow* (1859)
- Catherine Helen Spence (1825-1910), *Mr Hogarth's Will* (1861)
- Marcus Clarke (1846-1881), *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874)
- **Ada Cambridge (1844-1926), *A Mere Chance* (1880)**
- **Rolf Boldrewood (1826-1915), *A Robbery Under Arms* (1888)**
- Catherine Martin (1848-1937), *An Australian Girl* (1890)

Basic information about the authors and their texts can be found in Appendix 2, section Exonormative stabilisation. The texts in bold are the subject of the qualitative analysis (5.1).

3.1.1.1.2 Nativization (1901-1942)

3.1.1.1.2.1 Linguistic, sociohistorical and cultural context

The transition to the Nativization stage in Australia was, according to Schneider, marked by the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia on 1 January 1901, when the republicanism efforts of the previous decade culminated and the former colony formally gained independence, although the political, economic, and cultural ties with Britain remained close (2007: 121). Australian identity began to be tied primarily to Australia rather than Britain, especially after the heavy losses Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) suffered during WWI (2007: 121).

It is in this period, according to Schneider (2007), that a truly local linguistic form developed, with distinctive vocabulary, pronunciation and even grammar. Schneider supports his assertion by a quote from Collins and Peters (2004) who hold that the distinctive features concerning AusE grammar lie on “the interface between grammar and lexis” (593). Nonetheless, the grammatical differences were and remain to be more a matter of degree or preference, rather than true structural innovations (see 2.1.1 – 2.1.3 for a discussion of these distinctive features).

Schneider's timeline is perhaps not quite precise, as the vernacular would have emerged already in the previous period. Burrige asserts that as a result of *focussing* – the last stage of the *koineization* process discussed in 2.2. – there emerged a new variety, which she ascribes to second-generation native-born Australians (2019: 179), so around mid-19th century. There appears to be then quite a big discrepancy between Burrige and Schneider. Bearing in mind the huge role of identity and the sociohistorical context in Schneider's model, his proposition is, nonetheless, also a valid one (and he does acknowledge that local features were already developing in the Exonormative stabilisation phase). In the mid-19th century, the concept of an Australian identity was a foreign one to most inhabitants of the continent, who still looked up to Britain as their mother country, and it was not until the 1890s that the Australian-born generation gained a voice and influence in the cultural establishment (White 1981: 87). Also, the Australian dialect would probably still likely have been very variable in the 19th century, especially in different places of the country. If the notion of national identity and an awareness of a distinctive form of language as expressive of that identity is the decisive point, then perhaps the 1890s would be a better starting point than 1901, as in that preceding decade the nationalist agenda was gaining momentum (see 3.1.1.1.2). But 1901 as the year Australia federated provides Schneider with the momentous event he looks for in delineating the periods and it was in the first years of the 20th century that the vernacular became much more widespread and began to be used as an expression of Australian identity, receiving more public attention. That is why Schneider's periodisation is adhered to in this dissertation.

The Indigenous population continued to be marginalised, although some of those who fought in the war came to be seen as equals. The non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal communities were in regular contact, which resulted in widespread bilingualism in the Aboriginal population. Consequently, members of the Aboriginal population often abandoned their native tongue in favour of English, which led to the extinction of many Aboriginal languages (Schneider 2007: 122). Aboriginal English thus emerged as an ethnolect based on early NSW pidgin and non-standard English features (for more on Aboriginal English, see 2.1.2 and 3.1.1.1.1).

While Australia was now officially established as a nation, national identity was still in the process of being defined. Unique national symbols were selected from the native flora and fauna, such as the golden wattle, which according to the Wattle Day League represented “home, country, kindred, sunshine and love” (qtd. in Macintyre 2009: 147). *The Bulletin* magazine (see 2.7 and 3.1.1.1.2.2) remained the platform that promoted the national self-image based on the bush and the bushman as the national type (see 2.5.2 and 3.1.1.1.1), with the associations with

“fierce independence, fortitude, irreverence for authority, egalitarianism and mateship” (2009: 131). Yet as Carter observes, in the early 20th century with the rise of the wool and wheat industry, the Bush Legend was being replaced by pastoralism:

Pioneering and farming imagery was more common than the democratic bush ethos. Australia was identified with wheat and wool, the ‘Golden Fleece’, suggesting that the country’s true prosperity depended upon the pastoral industries. [...] By the 1920s, pastoral imagery had come to represent the typical Australia. (Carter 2006: 156)

The bush remained an important presence in this typical image of Australia, though not in its pure, wild form, but in an industrialised one. Whether the idea of Australianness was promoted via the Bush Legend or its pastoralist variation, it remained very exclusive – there was room neither for women nor for people of colour, which the slogans of *The Bulletin* illustrate: first, it was “Australia for the Australians” which in 1906 gave way to “Australia for the White Man”, betraying Australia’s subscription to imperial ideology (2009: 149).

Australian nationalism still went hand in hand with imperialism, as the now independent Australia wanted to reap the rewards of the British Empire, as Macintyre notes:

While Australia felt it necessary to assert its own interests in imperial forums, the intention was always to ensure that London was conscious of the needs of its distant Dominion: the independence of ‘independent Australian Britons’ was premised on the maintenance of the Empire. (2009: 150)

These needs consisted not only of mutual trade, but also protection from external threats, such as other colonising powers including France, Germany, the USA, and later Asian countries who had their sights set on territories in the Pacific. Macintyre asserts that “[t]he new nation was shaped by external threat and internal anxiety, the two working together to make exclusive racial possession the essential condition of the nation-state” (2009: 140). Australia looked to Britain to help with the continent’s defence, should the need arise, and loyalty to Britain was a means of ensuring that help (2009: 141).

The perceived Asian threat fed anti-Asian sentiments, known already from the gold rushes (see 3.1.1.1.1), adhering to the ideology of the superiority of the white race (2009: 142). The Aboriginal population likewise continued to be marginalised, placed in settlements and missions, with the aim of breeding out Aboriginality through racial mixing (2009: 146-7). Since 1901, Australia subscribed to the so-called White Australia policy to maintain a “united race”, limiting immigration of non-white people through indirect racial discrimination, which was not completely abandoned until the 1970s (2009: 143). As Carter observes:

[n]ational sentiment in Australia developed largely within the framework of imperial beliefs. Positive ideas of nationality expressed the unifying sense that there were interests binding all Australians and distinguishing them from everyone else, even

those back home. But appeals to Britishness and whiteness often had a more powerful unifying effect than the call to 'Australianness' alone. Britishness united English, Scots, Welsh and (even) Irish, immigrant and Australian-born. Australia's higher destiny, most believed, was on the imperial stage as a white nation. (2006: 60)

This effectively erased any pre-settlement history of Australia and bound it more closely with British and European history, culture and technology, on the one hand providing resources and capital, on the other hand, securing Australia's dependence (Macintyre 2009: 155).

A call to Australian loyalty came with the outbreak of WWI. Australia never introduced conscription, but many volunteered to fight for Britain, and the Australian losses were heavy. The 1915 Gallipoli campaign became a formative national event, when the ANZACs (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps), or 'diggers', as they came to be known, were tasked with securing the Gallipoli peninsula (Turkey) along with other Allied forces but had to retreat with heavy losses after an eight-month stalemate (Macintyre 2009: 160). The soldiers' bravery gained them a stellar reputation, which in Australia quickly grew into a legend, supported by war correspondents such as C. E. W. Bean, who lauded Australian valour and condemned the incompetence of British commanders. Moreover, Bean drew a parallel with the Bush Legend by observing that the Australian is always fighting something, be it drought, fire, or wild men, so it is in his nature. This fighting spirit is sparked in him by the Australian land itself, Bean suggests, asserting that "the wild independent pastoral life of Australia, if it makes rather wild men, makes superb soldiers" (qtd. in Macintyre 2009: 160). The ANZAC legend is thus another variation of the Bush Legend and is celebrated to this day in ANZAC Day services on 25 April across all Australia.

Ultimately, the war left Australia even more vulnerable and dependent on Britain, with veterans and war widows to support, debts to British creditors and restricted export and import, which only worsened with the economic depression of the 1930s. Britain tried to help with assisted migration schemes to supply workers to the industry in rural areas in the 1920s to boost self-sufficiency (Macintyre 2009: 170-171). Australia was also quick to adopt technological innovations and even devise its own. Yet rural life was hard and with industrialisation, there were fewer jobs available, so cities were experiencing exponential growth (2009: 171). The economic crisis also fuelled sympathies towards the newly established Communist Party, and the Asian threat was replaced by fear of the "Red Menace" (2009: 173).

The horrors of the war and the subsequent influenza pandemic further convinced Australia that the past "signified a cumulation of ills that wracked Europe and the rest of the world, an exhaustion of old civilisation and an atavistic madness that might well overwhelm

Australia itself’ (Macintyre 2009: 175), which resulted in Australia’s isolationism. This isolationism manifested in even stricter immigration rules, censorship, protectionist economy and living in a kind of cultural void, as described by an American diplomat in 1925 who noted that “[t]here is little spirit in the people . . . there is nothing in their past that really stirs them nationally” (2009: 175). Denying or ignoring the past like this represented another complication in the definition of Australian identity.

3.1.1.1.2.2 Australian literature

As discussed in 3.1.1.1.2, already in the 1890s Australian writers started to focus on portraying Australia as seen through the Australian eye. They focused on the native landscape and national character, rather than conforming to British tastes seeking exoticism, and this native focus became the norm at the turn of the century (Goldsworthy 2000: 105). Yet to an extent, this turn was still largely dependent on what the few Australian editors and publishers wanted to publish – since they favoured literature with a nationalist angle. For example, *The Bulletin’s* editor A. G. Stephens had strong opinions on what should constitute Australian literature, and rejected anything that did not conform to it, such as women romance writers (2000: 105). Carter confirms this and observes that “[b]y the turn of the century, ‘bush realism’ had been defined as *the* Australian tradition, while other forms of writing were regarded as ‘feminine’, artificial and un-Australian – especially the popular 19th century form of the domestic romance” (2006: 154).

Modernism, which dominated the literary scene in Europe in the early 20th century, was likewise seen as un-Australian. P. R. Stephenson, writer and publisher, in 1936 criticized it as too experimental, depressing, and a sign of the decline of English culture. As such he deemed it unsuitable to the spirited nation that was Australia, which even after the war remained “young enough, in mind and nerve, to remain uncynical under terrific shocks of fate” (1936: 56). Thus, modernism came to constitute the international/cosmopolitan cultural trend, which Australian publishers were largely uninterested in while they focused on cultural nationalism, as opposed to the domestic bush realism (Cooper 2020: 316-317). The strict censorship rules legislated by the Australian government, combined with Australia’s position as an island continent and a former colony far away from the metropolitan centre, as Cooper notes, reinforced the “tropes of isolation and insularity” (2020: 317). Despite these obstacles, modernism found its way into Australian literature – perhaps not in such experimental fashion as its European streak, but even

the cultural nationalists often exhibited an awareness of and engagement with international culture and employed modernist techniques (2020: 318).

Still, the majority of the literary output consisted of the aforementioned bush realism that defined the new nation. However, as Macintyre points out, the bush was set down on the page largely by people who experienced very little of it first hand: “*The Bulletin* was known as ‘the bushmen’s bible’ but it was created and produced in Sydney by alienated intellectuals who projected their desires onto an imagined rural interior and allowed city readers to partake vicariously in the dream of an untrammelled masculine solidarity” (2009: 133). Although this is not true of all of the contributing writers, there is certainly a reason why the bush ethos came to be known as the Australian Legend (see 2.5.2), or the Bush Legend, where the noun “legend” suggests its mythological status. The Legend gained this status around the mid-century, when cultural nationalists were stressing the democratic and popular origin of the Australian ethos that was not produced by the elites, but the people themselves (Carter 2006: 155).

Prime examples of bush-realist fiction produced in this period are Henry Lawson’s short story collection *Joe Wilson and His Mates* and Miles Franklin’s *My Brilliant Career*, which were both written pre-Federation, but not published in book form until 1901, “as though somehow Federation had given it form and permanence”, adds Goldsworthy (2000: 106). By then, Lawson was an established figure associated with helping to define Australia – his work rooted in the bush promoted “mateship, class (but not race or gender) egalitarianism, and a kind of laid-back stoicism” and heavily influenced Australian perception of national identity (2000: 106). What is ironic but also illustrative of the conditions of the Australian literary scene is that Lawson wrote many of the stories in London, where he went to seek opportunities he was missing at home (2000: 106). The issues with domestic publication (see 3.1.1.1.2) continued, and even those authors writing on nationalist subjects often had to seek publication in Britain first. According to Goldsworthy, all through the 20th century, “the writers most concerned to establish and consolidate a serious national literature were precisely those who had the most trouble getting their work published at home” (2000: 115).

Franklin’s *My Brilliant Career* (analysed in 5.2), whose publication was aided by Lawson who wrote its preface, provides a feminine perspective on the national ethos, which is at odds with its almost exclusively masculine character (Goldsworthy 2000: 106). Another notable novel from the Federation period that provides a testimony of bush life is Joseph Furphy’s *Such is Life* (1903) which, unlike the two previous texts, was not appreciated until the mid-century, in part because in its writing style it was a forerunner of modernism (2000: 108).

A popular genre in Australian fiction was (and remains to be) the historical novel “as a form of nation-building, of alternative history writing, of expiation for colonial guilts, or of comment on their own times” (2000: 108). In the first half of the 20th century, these historical novels usually constituted psychological or (social) realist novels that explored the convict era, pioneering, and the gold rushes, where the authors looked for the beginnings of the newly emerged nation, such as the works of Henry Handel Richardson or Katharine Susannah Prichard (2000: 108).

The experience of WWI also introduced war literature on the scene that attempted to deal with its aftermath, such as Leonard Mann’s *Flesh in Armour* (1932), and another surge in war literature came with WWII (Goldsworthy 2000: 114). The 1920s and 1930s were also strong decades for female writers, who were often politically active, and produced some of the best writing of the period – apart from Franlin, Prichard, and Richardson just discussed, these female writers include Eleanor Dark, Christina Stead, M. Barnard Eldershaw, and Kylie Tennant (2000: 115).

In the 1930s, social realism came to dominate in Australian fiction, which focused on the lives of ordinary Australians described in non-lyrical, non-judgemental terms, as represented for example by the aforementioned Leonard Mann or Margaret Trist (Goldsworthy 2000: 121). There were also socialist realists, who reflected the rise of the Communist Party in the 1930s, often became its members, and promoted its ideas in their work, such as Prichard or Frank Hardy (2000: 122).

In terms of Aboriginal representation, no works were published in this period by Aboriginal writers, so the representation of Aborigines still rested on the pens of white authors. While there were shifts from pure colonial racism to more complex portrayals of Aboriginal characters that paid attention to Aboriginal/white relationships and Aboriginal spirituality and relationship with the land, their representation still had a long way to go (Goldsworthy 2000: 122-123).

In terms of poetry, the early 20th century, like in fiction, was dominated by nationalist sentiments, such as the bush ballads Lawson and Paterson started producing in the 1890s (see 3.1.1.1.1.2) (Ackland 2000: 78). However, these nationalist themes were soon exhausted, and Australian poets felt the need to look for cultural capital beyond Australian shores, such as the pre-war precursors to modernism J. S. Neilson and Christopher Brennan, who found inspiration in English Romanticism and French symbolism, respectively (2000: 79-80).

Another group of poets replaced the bush realism with idealised versions of pastoralist life, such as Victor Daley and Hugh McCrae “who avoided the distinctive flora and fauna of bush balladry in favour of a part dream, part Arcadian realm [...] [in their] escapist, nostalgic” verse (Ackland 2000: 82). Their poetry heralded the 1920s Vision School formed around Norman Lindsay who railed against nationalism, modernism, and conformity, and tried to reach the essence of life through art (2000: 82). In poetry as well as fiction, these nostalgic returns to the pure and uncontaminated bush with idealistic pastoral imagery served as a way of escaping modernity with its increasing industrialisation and urbanisation. Carter asserts that

[w]hat had once been a radical, modernising stance became a conservative tradition in both cultural and political fields. Pastoral Australia was the true Australia. Anything else – modernist art, the ‘new woman’, jazz – was un-Australian. It was as if Australia could be preserved from the effects of modernity and remain a kind of innocent, pastoral paradise. The effect, it has been argued, was to stultify cultural change, although by the 1930s younger artists, especially women, were embracing modernist influences. (2006: 154)

So, despite Lindsay’s aversion to modernism, it eventually reached Australian letters, best manifested in the works of Kenneth Slessor (2000: 87). Among the female poets of the era, Mary Gilmore, who also wrote prose, is notable for her discussion of gender inequality, issues of the past, and appreciation of Aboriginal culture (2000: 84).

3.1.1.1.2.3 Included texts

- Henry Lawson (1867-1922), *Joe Wilson and His Mates* (1901)
- **Miles Franklin (1879-1954), *My Brilliant Career* (1901)**
- Barbara Baynton (1857-1929), *Bush Studies* (1902)
- Joseph Furphy (1843-1912), *Such is Life* (1903)
- Louis Stone (1871-1935), *Jonah* (1911)
- Katharine Susannah Prichard (1883-1969), *The Black Opal* (1921)
- Dymphna Cusack (1902-1981), *Jungfrau* (1936)
- **Kenneth Mackenzie (1913-1955), *The Young Desire It* (1937)**

Basic information about the authors and their texts can be found in Appendix 2, section Nativization. The texts in bold are the subject of the qualitative analysis (5.2).

3.1.1.1.3 Endonormative stabilisation (1942-1980s)

3.1.1.1.3.1 Linguistic, sociohistorical and cultural context

Endonormative stabilisation is characterised by Schneider (2007) as a time when Australia moved away from Britain to look for allies in the Asia-Pacific region and the USA. Historically, the transition to this stage was marked by Australia placing its military under the command of the United States, following the fall of Singapore in 1942, which the British failed to defend. This left Australia open to attack from the Japanese, which came in the form of the bombing of Darwin (Macintyre 2009: 192-3). This represents the “Event X” of Schneider’s model (2.3.1) that marks the transition to the next stage. According to Schneider, the behaviour of Britain, felt as a betrayal, served as proof of the unequal relationship between Australia and the mother country and eventually led to political self-dependence (as opposed to “dependent independence” of the previous decades) and “the emergence of a new and regionally-founded national identity” (2007: 123).

Nonetheless, the turn towards the USA meant little to the Americans beyond providing a regional base for the military, which did not consult Australians on the war strategy (Macintyre 2009: 193). Moreover, American soldiers enjoyed better pay and conditions than the Australians, as well as popularity with the local women, all of which led to resentment and brawls (2009: 197). This friendly military invasion was followed by a cultural invasion in the 1950s with the arrival of the television (1956) broadcasting “idealised American family shows” (2009: 223), and to this day many Australians complain about the Americanisation of their culture and language (see 2.1.2). Thus, the turn to the United States has sometimes been perceived as going from one form of colonisation to the next, for example by the writer Peter Carey, whose novels – particularly *Illywhacker* (1985; included in the corpus used in this dissertation) – criticise Australia’s tendency to succumb to further colonising tendencies of other states (see e.g., Gaile 2010).

After the war, Australia entered a period of economic and population growth and became more connected with the rest of the world via trade (Macintyre 2009: 200). Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, cities grew, and suburbs were extending to their peripheries, and there was greater social and geographical mobility (2009: 221, 225). The government aimed at increasing the population by 2% each year, out of which 1% was to be supplied by immigration. Therefore, immigration from Britain and Europe was actively encouraged, including war refugees. Yet the government policy remained that of assimilation, so the migrants had to “conform to ‘the Australian way of life’” (2009: 204). The White Australia policy was not lifted until the late

1960s, after which Australia began admitting migrants from non-European countries in larger numbers (2009: 231). The 1970s finally saw a turn from strict assimilation towards multiculturalism (2009: 238).

The same assimilation policy was in place with respect to the Aborigines, who were still discriminated against and ‘protected’ via government programmes, including the removal of children from their families until the 1960s (Macintyre 2009: 227-9). In 1967, a referendum took place that finally accomplished that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples would count in the national census, essentially granting them citizenship and the right to vote (2009: 236). Yet their land rights remained unacknowledged, and black power movements continued (2009: 236).

This period also saw a boom in sports, which was linked to Australian values and environment – egalitarianism, mateship, the beach and the favourable climate. This was embodied particularly in the figure of the lifesaver and the emergence of surf life-saving clubs (Macintyre 2009: 229).

The economic growth of the 1950s and 1960s led economists to categorise Australia as a “small, rich, industrial country” which, as Macintyre notes, signalled the “point at which the ambitions of a settler society to outgrow the confines of dependence reached their zenith” (Macintyre 2009: 208). This new position was reflected in Australia’s desire to participate more in international forums and have a greater say in its dealings with Britain and the USA, yet it was not taken as a serious partner – as Macintyre notes, “what role could a remote and thinly populated outpost of the white diaspora play” (2009: 211)? Even the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty) signed in 1951 to protect the Pacific region was non-binding, leaving the USA to provide only as much help as they would choose, despite the Australian government’s perception of the treaty as a confirmation of their special relationship (Macintyre 2009: 212). At the same time, cooperation with Britain continued, in the form of supporting the British atomic programme, military presence in Malaysia, and help during the Suez crisis (2009: 212). Yet Australia remained the unequal party in those relationships, and the political self-dependence was still mitigated by the continued belief ingrained from colonial times in Britain’s cultural superiority. For example, Robert Menzies, the Australian prime minister from 1949 till 1966 was, according to Macintyre, “a romantic monarchist and fervent admirer of an idealised ancestral homeland, [...] in his own words [...] ‘British to his bootstraps’” (2009: 212). While not shared by all, this sentiment exerted considerable influence on Australian society.

A. A. Philips captured the feelings of inferiority in comparison to the motherland in his famous essay “The Cultural Cringe” (1950) (see 2.4.3), where he identified this as a common feature of especially the arts, particularly literature. Philips observed:

It is not so much our limitations of size, youth and isolation which create the problem as the derivativeness of our culture; and it takes more difficult forms than the Cringe. The writer is particularly affected by our colonial situation because of the nature of his medium. [...] The Australian writer cannot cease to be English even if he wants to. The nightingale does not sing under Australian skies; but he still sings in the literate Australian mind. It may thus become the symbol which runs naturally to the tip of the writer’s pen; but he dare not use it because it has no organic relation with the Australian life he is interpreting. (1950: 301)

The term ‘cultural cringe’ has since been widely adopted and generalised to describe “Australians’ inherent lack of faith in their own culture” (Hesketh 2013). To the intellectual, Australia seemed to be dominated by complacency and suburban provincialism, with the chief values being home and car ownership (Macintyre 2009: 225-226).

There appear to have been two responses to this. The first was a nostalgic return to the idealised past, when historians, writers and artists turned towards the late 1890s and early 1900s, codifying the national mythology in works such as *The Australian Tradition* (1958), *The Australian Legend* (1958) and *The Legend of the Nineties* (1954). This nostalgic return happened in a time when, according to Macintyre, the “modernising forces of change were erasing the circumstances that had given rise to that legend” (2009: 226). The second response was open criticism of contemporary Australian culture, or rather lack thereof, by means of satire and parody. Architects criticised the new suburbia developments, and comics such as Barry Humphries created satirical monologues targeting Australians mediocrity and provincialism. Many of these cultural figures left Australia, “[u]nable to reconcile themselves to the dullness, the conformity and the philistinism of their youthful homeland” (Macintyre 2009: 234). Humphries moved to London and published in a weekly newspaper the satirical cartoon series about Barry McKenzie, the typical Aussie ocker (see 2.6), a colonial, who travels to London, the centre of the Empire (it was turned into the first film of the Australian Film Development Corporation, established in 1969, *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie*). The colloquialisms McKenzie included were popular with its British readers, who adopted them (2009: 235). At the same time, such satirical pieces only confirmed Australia’s provincialism to the international audience and promoted the cultural stereotype of the uncouth colonial.

Another factor that influenced Australian culture particularly in the 1950s and 1960s was increasing conservatism, fuelled, among else, by the fear of communism (there was a failed attempt to ban the Communist Party in 1951). This led to strict censorship rules, early closing

of pubs, banning of certain organisations and a hunt on potential communists (Macintyre 2009: 209-219).

While the 1970s brought an economic crisis and a change of government, they also appeared to finally bring a more self-confident cultural independence. The prime minister Gough Whitlam saw a need for change, proclaiming, as Macintyre quotes, that in the past two decades “Australia had conducted itself as ‘insignificant, racist, militaristic, sycophantic, a timid and unworthy creature of the great powers to whom it had surrendered its identity’” (2009: 238). His government supported the arts, the preservation of cultural sites, and cultivated a nationalism that did not exclude internationalism, essentially starting a “cultural renaissance that made it possible to see life in this country as possessing a depth of meaning and richness of possibility” (2009: 238).

The linguistic manifestation of this cultural renaissance was a wider acceptance of the national vernacular, which started to be perceived as a source of pride (Leitner 2004 in Schneider 2007). This pride was inspired by its increased presence in the media, television, advertising, and among government politicians who spoke with the Broad accent (Willoughby 2019: 225). This greater acceptance of AusE as the national variety in its own right is also manifested in the codification in grammars and dictionaries – the *Macquarie Dictionary* was published in 1981 and the *Style Manual* in 1988. This period was also characterised by regional homogeneity, and according to Schneider, also by the development of some distinctive grammar patterns (here Schneider refers readers to existing research, see section 2.1.3). The cultural self-reliance and resulting codification of the local variety that constitute the markers of the Endonormative stabilisation period (see 2.3.1.4) thus seem to appear only at the period’s end.

3.1.1.1.3.2 Australian literature

While in the 1950s realism still dominated the literary scene, in the 1960s and 1970s modernism took over, although the division is, of course, not absolute (Bird 2000: 184).

The historical novel remained a popular genre (see 3.1.1.1.2.2), with writers turning again to the convict past and the pioneering days. One of the most famous novels about pioneers is Patrick White’s *The Tree of Man* (1955), following the life of the Parker family who clear a piece of land in the bush, where they build a home, raise their children, and face the many hardships of the Australian wilderness. However, the Aboriginal population is notably absent from this novel, as was habitual in this era (Goldsworthy 2000: 111). The historical novels of Eleanor Dark and Thomas Keneally began to change that. Dark’s *The Timeless Land* trilogy

(1941-1953) about European settlement and exploration of the continent was pioneering in showing much more sympathy for the original inhabitants and in describing some scenes from the Aboriginal perspective (Goldsworthy 2000: 113). Keneally's *The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith* (1972) took this even further and the whole novel is written from the perspective of its half-caste protagonist, based on the bushranger Jimmy Governor around the time of the Federation, recounting his mission of revenge for all the injustices he and his family had suffered. While the representation of Aboriginal voices by non-Aboriginal writers is problematic, at the time it was a notable step forward. Moreover, Keneally, who has remained a prominent figure of the Australian historical novel, has since declared that were he to write the novel again, he would not write from within the Aboriginal consciousness (Birch 2015).

The first novel written by an Aboriginal writer was not published until 1965 – Mudrooroo's *Wild Cat Falling*, published under the name of Colin Johnson. Novels of white authors were still the dominant platform for representing Aborigines, but the representations were growing more complex and sympathetic (Goldsworthy 2000: 123-125), as discussed above.

WWII also influenced Australian writing, with many novels produced on the subject, for example Martin Boyd's *Lucinda Brayford* (1946) about the experience of a conscientious objector. Other writers dealt with the war more indirectly, focusing on its impact on women, such as Nevile Shute's *A Town Like Alice* (1950) about female prisoners of war, or Kylie Tennant's *Tell Morning This* (1967) about the experience of women who were left at home (Goldsworthy 2000: 114).

Also popular were political subjects and novels about working life and the position of women influenced by the women's liberation movement. Examples include Dymphna Cusack and Florence James' *Come in Spinner* (1951) following the lives of three women working in a Sydney beauty salon, struggling with the class system, post-war issues, and the conservative opinions on the expected behaviour of women, or Dorothy Hewett's *Bobbin Up* (1959), also about working-class struggles of Sydney factory workers (Goldsworthy 2000: 118). In the conservative and repressive political and social climate, Goldsworthy (2000: 120) notes that many writers around the mid-century were politically leaning towards the Left; some like Prichard and Hardy were members of the Communist Party (see 3.1.1.1.2.2). The conservative values were a subject of criticism by many other writers, notably in Elizabeth Harrower's *The Long Prospect* (1958) and Thea Astley's *A Descant for Gossips* (1960), which both, according

to Goldsworthy, “align malice and stupidity with conservative suburban values in the same way that Patrick White’s *Riders in the Chariot* (1961) was shortly to do” (2000: 121).

The social realism (see 3.1.1.1.2.2) that dominated fiction until the late 1950s, was replaced by the “metaphysical” texts and “stylistic complexities” of Patrick White, Thea Astley or Randolph Stow (Goldsworthy 2000: 121), which can be categorised under modernism (Bird 2000: 185). White, the recipient of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1973 (the first for an Australian writer), represents a particularly prominent literary figure who still exerts influence on the Australian letters (Goldsworthy 2000: 126). International in his outlook and education, and exhibiting modernist influences and a literary style, White enjoyed more appreciation for his writing abroad than at home, where “his style but also his subject matter was regarded as suspect by realist writers and rationalist critics who found White’s mysticism unpalatable or worse” (2000: 126). White was attempting to create a new Australian tradition, more sophisticated than the bush realism of the nationalistic period. As he himself described in his essay “The Prodigal Son” (1958: 559),

[i]n all directions stretched the Great Australian Emptiness, in which the mind is the least of possessions, in which the rich man is the important man, in which the schoolmaster and the journalist rule what intellectual roost there is, [...] muscles prevail, and the march of material ugliness does not raise a quiver from the average nerves. It was the exaltation of the ‘average’ that made me panic most [.]

His opinion manifests the cultural cringe discussed in 3.1.1.1.3.1, and his novels were an attempt to change that. Since the publication of *Riders in the Chariot* (1961), White finally began to be appreciated at home as “one of the country’s great artists, constructing a nation and its social history in his writing” (Goldsworthy 2000: 127).

In the 1970s, when the Whitlam government lifted the censorship restrictions, eased the conservatism of previous decades, and offered much greater support to the arts (see 3.1.1.1.3.1), Australian literature boomed and was more open to experimentation. According to Goldsworthy, “1970 tends to be regarded in contemporary literary historiography as a turning point in Australian writing”, but also the point after which there are so many voices it is hard to offer any generalisations (2000: 131). More voices reflective of the multicultural Australian society were finally starting to be heard, with publishers and readers becoming more open to diversity, as it was recognised that the society was far from homogenous (Bird 2000: 183). At the same time, it remained a small market that had to compete with the British and American one, and while opportunities for writers have improved, their readership has not markedly increased, so those who wished to succeed in the global markets, still sought publication in the USA and Britain (Bird 2000: 184).

In the 1970s, White, Hardy and Xavier Herbert remained prominent literary figures, with Hardy and Herbert representing the realist, nationalist strand, and White redefining the Australian modernist, internationalising tradition (Bird 2000: 185). In his footsteps followed David Malouf, whose first novel *Johnno* about growing up in post-war Brisbane was published in 1975. Malouf focused on Australian subject matter, but its reach was universal, and the style “urbane, poetic and classically allusive” (Bird 2000: 185). Among the female writers, Astley continued to publish, often offering social satires and displaying White’s influence in her works, alongside her contemporary Jessica Anderson, who focused on domestic issues, family and female identity (Bird 2000: 187). Satire of Australian society, nonetheless, continued, for example in the work of David Ireland, who focused on the mutual exploitation of workers and industry, Australian pub culture, or corruption (Bird 2000: 187).

This decade also produced more avant-garde writing, the so-called “new fiction” influenced by the anti-war movement against participation in the Vietnam War. While now, according to Bird, “it was criticised as misogynist and sexist, the new fiction challenged restrictive censorship laws and prevailing social and literary conventions” of the previous decades, using innovative, experimental literary techniques and incorporating explicit sexual topics and scenes (Bird 2000: 190). The new generation that emerged included for example Murray Bail, Michael Wilding, and Peter Carey.

The 1970s was also the time when Australian literature finally began to receive institutionalised critical attention and began to be seen as part of world literature (Bird 2000: 186). Combined with the wider acceptance of AusE as a national variety to be proud of (see 3.1.1.1.3.2), it seems that finally at the end of this period a truly independent and self-confident national literature developed.

3.1.1.1.3.3 Included texts

- Patrick White (1912-1990), *Tree of Man* (1955)
- **Elizabeth Harrower (1928-2020), *The Long Prospect* (1958)**
- Joan Lindsay (1896-1984), *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1968)
- David Ireland (1927-2022), *The Glass Canoe* (1976)
- **David Malouf (*1934), *Johnno* (1975)**
- Jessica Anderson (1916-2010), *Tirra Lirra by the River* (1978)
- Shirley Hazzard (1931-2016), *The Transit of Venus* (1980)
- Murray Bail (*1941), *Homesickness* (1980)

Basic information about the authors and their texts can be found in Appendix 2, section Endonormative stabilisation. The texts in bold are the subject of the qualitative analysis (5.3).

3.1.1.1.4 Differentiation (1980s-present)

3.1.1.1.4.1 Linguistic, sociohistorical and cultural context

There is no single historical event to clearly mark the transition of AusE to the last developmental stage, as might be the case for other varieties, but Schneider locates it to somewhere in the 1980s, when regional differences began to appear, and new dialects developed because of increasing multiculturalism. The interest in regionalisms led the *Macquarie Dictionary* to start a project collecting regionalisms from the public to keep track of them (2007: 125). Schneider also points out that AusE now serves a double social function, characteristic of any fully developed variety – at home, each speaker’s particular variety of AusE indexes ethnicity, class, gender and age, while abroad it serves simply as a marker of Australianness.

As discussed in 2.3.3, although scholars agree with Schneider that AusE finds itself in the Differentiation stage, they assert that the level of regionalisms is still low and the speakers’ attitude to their language and culture is somewhat lacking the self-confidence that should by now be commonplace. This may be due to the cultural cringe which Australians do not seem to be able to shake off. The cringe has been fuelled by the changes in the increasingly multicultural society (discussed in 2.4.3) and suggests the Differentiation process is still ongoing.

A brief Google search of the words “Australia cultural cringe” reveals dozens of articles from recent time, which illustrate the pervasive nature of this phenomenon. The contexts range from tourism, where Australians prefer overseas travel to exploring local treasures (see Mrvosevic 2021), and the arts, where imported movies usually draw much bigger audiences than local ones (with a few exceptions; see Spencer 2021), to science and engineering, where despite availability of advanced local technology Australian companies prefer goods from overseas (see Savage & Page 2021), and politics, where the arts minister himself thinks of the arts as a pastime for the elite to which most of down-to-earth Australians do not belong (see Caust 2021). Savage & Page summarise that “cultural cringe continues to be alive and well in Australia” (2021), despite calls for Australians to value their own country and culture more rather than continue to look up to the UK and the USA, Teo & White remark that

we have a (perhaps peculiarly Australian?) relationship to supranational intellectual endeavour, which can be seen as an obsession with ‘world class’ reputations and international league tables, but can reflect a genuine interest and involvement in what

happens in the rest of the world. We are subject to all the limitations and possibilities of an orphan colony on the periphery of a postcolonial globalised world. (2003: 15)

Being a country on the periphery seems to serve as both a motivation to make it into the spotlight as well as a cause of the constant inferiority complex for not having yet managed it. This is but one of the problems that Australia has been facing in recent decades.

When White finished his study *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980* (1981) at the beginning of the 1980s, he noted that it marked yet another attempt at developing a new image of Australia. This image was strongly tied to the new economic conditions dependent on mining and demographic changes, resulting, despite assurances, in a less egalitarian and more unequal society. The reinvention was even proclaimed by the organisers of the bicentenary celebration in 1988, whose announced purpose was to find a new national identity. Yet as per White (1992: 171) and also Anderson (2006; see 2.4.3.), national identity is not something to be found floating around, it must be actively forged and reimagined to accommodate all members of the community – a process that has not yet been successful in Australia.

Let us quickly review the main events that shaped this new search for national identity.²⁸ The 1980s saw not only economic changes, but also an increased interest in Aboriginal rights and an influx of Vietnamese migrants, that continued to change the ethnic make-up of the land. In 1981 the publication of the *Macquarie Dictionary* marked AusE as a distinctive variety of English, and in 1986 the *Australia Act* removed the possibility for Australians to appeal to the Privy Council, finally severing all ties to the British legal system. In terms of trade, the country also began to turn to its Asian neighbours. The decade ended with the Australian economy in deep recession, which led to reforms in subsequent years.

The 1990s were marked by the ground-breaking Mabo case dismissing the idea of *terra nullius*, slowly returning the land to its original owners and beginning the long and ongoing process of reconciliation. While immigrations rates were rising, in 1991 the Port Hedland detention centre was established to detain those arriving in the country without a visa – a practice echoed in the detention centres established during the refugee crisis in 2015. In 1997, the *Bringing Them Home* report about the Stolen Generations of Aboriginal children separated from their families was published and led to a formal apology in 2008 by the then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd to the Indigenous population. The 1990s closed with a referendum about

²⁸ Based on the following overviews of Australian history: “Defining Moments in Australian History” (n.d.), and “Australia profile – Timeline” (2020, 7 January).

making Australia into a republic in 1999, with the majority voting to remain a constitutional monarchy.

Australia entered the new century as the host of the 2000 summer Olympics in Sydney. The country went on to celebrate the centenary since the establishment of the Federation the following year, which raised issues of the Australian national identity anew, with a great percentage of Australians having been born or having parents from overseas. The first two decades of the 21st century were characterised by economic growth, although they were marked by increasing concerns for the environment with many natural catastrophes in the form of bushfires, floods, cyclones, and the dying out of the Great Barrier Reef. The 21st century is also marked by Australia's strict approach to refugees and illegal migrants who were turned away or locked in detention centres with inhumane living conditions.

While formally and linguistically independent, the professed reinvention of national identity that would encompass all the inhabitants with their various ethnic and cultural backgrounds and boost confidence in the value of Australian culture has not yet been successful. One of the reasons is that Australian history and its treatment of minorities has not yet been dealt with in a manner that would do justice to all the members of the society. Another reason is that Australians of non-Western European background might find it hard to find any meaning in what is traditionally associated with Australian culture stemming from the Bush Legend, and its festivities such as Australia Day, ANZAC Day, or big sports events celebrating strength and masculinity. As Willoughby & Manns point out, the popular conception of what Australians and their English are like has not changed, as

[a]t the best of times, these stereotypes see Australians and their ways of speaking as easy-going, humorous and egalitarian (e.g., Sussex, 2004; Sinkeviciute, 2014). However, these stereotypes also implicitly or explicitly construe Australians and their English as white, male and, at times, unsophisticated. (2019: 1)

This is a historical legacy of 1890s nationalism developed in support of the Federation (see 3.1.1.1.1.1), which has been largely continued in traditional approaches to Australian history, and that is why the minorities have been overlooked.

According to Teo & White (2003), national history in the sense of an independent Australian nation and culture did not enter the academia until the 1950s. At the time, historians developed an interest in social history, which in Australia led to a “strong tradition of labour history” (2003: 16). It was concerned predominantly with the role of white male workers in the formation of the Australian nation, such as Russel Ward's *The Australian Legend* (1958) where he traced the origins of ‘distinctive’ Australian culture. This nationalist history was, however,

running parallel to more conservative works that put emphasis on Britain's role in the formation of the nation, such as John Manning Ward, or those who wrote outside of the nationalist rhetoric altogether. From 1970s onwards, with cultural and political activism on the rise, "attempts to identify a celebratory, unitary (white, male) national culture" (2003: 16) were sharply criticised and "undermined confident assertions about a unifying Australian culture" by questioning its Bush Legend origins and writing women and the Aborigines back into Australian history (2003: 15-16).

The resulting conflict is known as the History Wars, which Macintyre & Clark describe in an eponymous book as essentially a conflict between the conservative defenders of 'old Australia' and the leftist cultural elite, who see the country's past in a much more complicated light, emphasising the wrongs done to the Indigenous inhabitants and other ethnic minorities (2004: 3). The culmination of this conflict went beyond the boundaries of historiography when in 1996 the Prime Minister John Howard rejected his predecessor Paul Keating's stance which acknowledged the historical wrongs and took steps towards reconciliation with the Aboriginal community as well as acknowledging the realities of multiculturalism in Australia. Upon his election, Howard stated that "one of the most insidious developments in Australian political life over the past decade or so has been the attempt to rewrite Australian history in the service of a partisan political cause" (qtd. in Macintyre & Clark 2004: 1).

A quarter of a century later, and this conflict has still not been resolved. Recent decades have been marked by passionate discussions of Aboriginal land rights, the Stolen Generations, disputes over Australia Day celebrations, the "discovery versus invasion" debate, the question of refugees, and the national type (see 2.5.2 and 3.1.1.2.1.1). While these topics are in line with the tendencies towards political correctness and calls for inclusivity and acceptance of minorities, the fact that these issues have persisted and continue to resonate in Australian society proves that Australians have not yet come to terms with their own past. The debates around Australia Day illustrate this well as every year the conflict between those fighting to change the date escalates. To the Aboriginal people the 26th of January marks a day of mourning, as with the arrival of the First Fleet on that day in 1788 they lost their land and way of life. Yet many white Australians oppose the change and see it as an attack on their history and Anglo-centric values.²⁹

²⁹ For more a more detailed discussion of the attitude of both sides see Reynolds (2021), and Boseley (2021) for a report of the 2021 rallies in support of changing the date.

3.1.1.1.4.2 Australian literature

The strive towards a better understanding of Australian diversity is mirrored in the Australian literature of recent decades. The ongoing uncertainty about the nature of Australian history and culture manifests in the prevalence of historical fiction that explores the issues of the past to better understand the present, whilst identity constructions focusing on minorities are apparent in the increasingly ethnically diverse writing and in a greater focus on regional Australia. As Mitchell notes, “[i]n the closing decades of the 20th century [...] the country’s literature began the discovery of differences within itself: regional, cultural, and ethnic” (n.d.). What emerges is a truly multifaceted picture of the continent.

The liberalism of the 1980s and the postmodernism, postcolonialism, and later transnationalism as the main trends in the humanities gave rise to playful fiction in the following decades, which explores political and historical issues, as well as the blurring lines between reality and fiction, challenging established concepts and borders, and confidently handling the cultural capital of the Anglophone, even the Western, canon (see e.g., Hutcheon 1995 for postmodernism, Ashcroft et al. 1989 for postcolonialism, Casanova 2007 for transnationalism). As Huggan points out, Australian literature is essentially transnational – shaped by its interaction with other cultures and countries (2007: viii). The same can be said of the whole culture, which is why the concept of national identity is so hard to define. These postmodern discourses thus provide the perfect framework within which to explore the nature of Australian identity through playful retellings of history and interaction with the available cultural capital, moulding it to Australian needs and incorporating it in Australian culture. In their approach that shows awareness of the diversity within Australian society in the increasingly complicated world Australian writers seem to be further ahead than the politicians and the general public.

As noted above, Australian fiction exhibits a tendency towards historical novels, which have always been a popular genre (see 3.1.1.1.2.2 and 3.1.1.1.3.2). McKenna in his essay on the surge in historical fiction in world literature pointed out its particular popularity in Australia, not only amongst writers but also readers, who amidst the dry academic debates on history turn to fiction to learn about the past (2006: 98). From Thomas Kenneally and Peter Carey to Richard Flanagan and Kate Grenville, to name but a few, writers adopt characters and stories from not only Australian past and reimagine them anew. Glancing at the Miles Franklin Award shortlist, since the 1980s there has almost always been a historical novel included, which has quite often

also become the winner.³⁰ Moreover, international recognition of Australian fiction has lately also focused on novels dealing with the past – from the 1982 Booker Prize winner, Thomas Kenneally's *The Schindler's Ark*, and the 1988 and 2001 winner, Peter Carey and his *Oscar and Lucinda* and *True History of the Kelly Gang*, to the last Australian winner of the Booker Prize, Richard Flanagan's *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* in 2014.³¹

One of the reasons that history is such an appealing subject is that it is particularly well suited to the postcolonial cause of “writing back to the Empire” (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 1989: 38-40, 51-57) and thus taking control not only of one's language, but the whole discourse about one's past, which has to be rewritten from the perspective of the former colonised. That is all part of the Australian quest of inventing its national identity.³²

Within the framework of the historical novel as well as outside of it, Australian literature has in recent decades also seen an increase in the representation of minority and regional voices. In the 1980s, politicians began to focus more on the multicultural aspect of Australia, and the genre of multicultural literature emerged. However, as Jurgensen notes, this label is very vague and political – the new literatures of migrants and the Indigenous peoples do not share the same aesthetic, they simply represent something new and different, or in Jurgensen's words, “new voices demanded to be heard” (2019: 13). They finally got the opportunity.

One of the most prominent representatives is Aboriginal literature. Until the 20th century Aborigines were only represented in literature by white authors, as their traditional culture is chiefly oral. Only since the 1990s has the discussion about the issue of non-Indigenous writers representing Indigenous characters and culture become more visible and led to an increase in books published by Indigenous authors (Heiss 2003: 2). Writers such as Kim Scott, Alexis Wright, and Melissa Lucashenko have become part of the mainstream with their exploration not only of the painful past and the mistreatments inflicted by the white population, but also the intersections of the two cultures today, problems of identity construction, and ways of moving forward.

Similarly, other minorities have become more visible, representing the experience of “new Australians”, notably Asian-Australian writers such as Hsu-Ming Teo, Monica Tan, or Michelle de Kretser, the Greek-Australian Christos Tsiolkas, the Serbian-Australian A. S. Patrić, or Omar Sakr, who is of Lebanese and Turkish descent. Their works deal with the

³⁰ See the Award's website for a full list: <https://www.perpetual.com.au/milesfranklin/about-the-award>.

³¹ See The Booker Prize's website for past winners: <https://thebookerprizes.com/fiction/backlist/2020>.

³² For an in-depth exploration of the connection between the historical novel and postcolonialism, see for example Dalley (2014).

challenges of hyphenated identities, racism, and the intermingling of the Australian culture with that of one's cultural roots.

While ethnic differences have been a prominent topic in the society, for a long time, regional differences in Australia were seen as virtually non-existent. The Chair of Australian Literature at the University of Western Australia, Tony Hughes-d'Aeth, wrote a compelling essay about the approach to regionalism in Australian literature, which is still something of a novelty and is only now starting to be seen as a valid approach (2020). Nevertheless, in the context of the ongoing discussions about identity, writing from within a smaller sub-group presents an opportunity to express an identity more rooted than the national one. To name a few examples, Tim Winton or Kim Scott are tied to Western Australia (WA), Mellissa Lukashenko to southeast Queensland and New South Wales, and Alexis Wright to the Gulf of Carpentaria and the north of the country.

3.1.1.1.4.3 Included texts

- Peter Carey (*1943), *Illywhacker* (1985)
- Christos Tsiolkas (*1965), *Loaded* (1995)
- Kim Scott (*1957), *Benang* (1999)
- **Tim Winton (*1960), *Dirt Music* (2001)**
- Hsu Ming Teo (*1970), *Behind the Moon* (2005)
- Michelle de Kretser (*1957), *The Lost Dog* (2007)
- Gail Jones (*1955), *Five Bells* (2011)
- **Melissa Lucashenko (*1967), *Mullumbimby* (2013)**

Basic information about the authors and their texts can be found in Appendix 2, section Differentiation. The texts in bold are the subject of the qualitative analysis (5.4).

3.1.2 Corpus of British English

This corpus was compiled according to the same criteria as the Australian one to serve as a reference corpus for the keyword analysis. Thus, canonical texts of British literature from periods that correspond to the timeline of the four stages of development of AusE defined by Schneider were chosen. The texts are listed in Table 1 (section 3.1). The sociohistorical and literary context of each of the corresponding periods is outlined in Appendix 3.

3.2 Methodology

To explore how the connection between the development of a language and a national identity manifests in the history of AusE, an analysis of the corpora characterised above was conducted. The analysis was twofold. A quantitative analysis focusing on keywords was carried out, providing a macro-perspective. This served as a convenient starting point for a qualitative analysis of selected novels from each period that looks at language of each of the texts in a more comprehensive way, offering a micro-perspective. The methodology for each approach is outlined in the following two sections.

3.2.1 Quantitative analysis

Schneider's scenario (see 2.3 and 3.1.1.1) suggests that Australians truly embraced their vernacular in the Nativization period around the time of independence, and in the Differentiation period which saw a resurgence of self-confident nationalism. In contrast, in the Endonormative stabilisation period, despite the variety being accepted and codified, cultural cringe ensured it was still perceived as a lesser variety even by Australians. To see whether this correlation manifests in lexis, a keyword analysis was conducted.

A keyword analysis might not appear to be the obvious choice for exploring the degree to which the Australian vernacular was embraced in each period, as vernacular language is typically not used in literary fiction to a high degree. Yet, firstly, AusE is generally agreed to be more informal (see 2.1.3) and secondly, keywords can provide a general indication of contemporary language attitudes not only through the presence or absence of vernacular expressions, but also via generalised lexical categories that surface from the analysis. These categories can suggest a shift towards an independent national identity.

As discussed in 2.5, keywords have been approached from two perspectives: quantitative, which determines keywords based on frequency and relies on the methods of corpus linguistics, and qualitative, which investigates the cultural value of certain words such as Wierzbicka (1997). This study utilises both approaches, as both are valuable and complement each other.

3.2.1.1 Quantitative approach to keywords

Firstly, a quantitative analysis was conducted to provide an insight into popular topics of the time, reflecting common environments and social, historical and political issues which, along with the presence of vernacular expressions, may suggest a move towards an independent

Australian identity, including a move away from StBE towards a native linguistic norm. A list of keywords was generated automatically using the Keywords function of the *Sketch Engine* corpus manager. This produced a list of keywords comparing the focus corpus of AusE with the reference corpus of BrE for each period respectively, and then for each period of the AusE corpus against the rest of the AusE corpus. The keyness score the results are sorted by was calculated using the Simple maths method, which compares the frequencies of the word per million in both corpora and takes into account the smoothing parameter, which can be adjusted to focus more on rare words or common words. Its default value is 1, swaying towards rare words. In this study it has been increased to 10 to shift the focus slightly towards the more common words.³³

The generated lists were edited to remove proper names (of characters and places). Any nouns that referred to family (*aunt, uncle, mother, etc.*) were also excluded, as well as any other words that referred to specific characters of a specific novel and therefore had little general validity (for example *snake* came up very high on the list, which was caused by the fact that it is a character in Peter Carey's novel; the family terms also in most cases refer to characters). Grammatical words such as interjections (*yeah, alright*), prepositions, contracted verb forms (*gonna*), or pronouns (*ya* meaning *you*) were also removed. Additionally, parts of multiple-word expressions were removed if found irrelevant based on the surrounding context (*wagon*, which is part of the placename *Tin Wagon Road*). The word *storey* was also removed as the corpus wrongly mapped it onto *story*, showing a higher frequency than it had.

Due to the small number of texts (eight per period) and the chosen text type, these generated lists provide a partial insight into the main topics discussed in literature of the given period (see 3.1.1.1), reflecting common environments or social and political issues, rather than revealing any revolutionary linguistic changes per se. Rather, these findings provide context for the subsequent part of the quantitative analysis, which follows selected culturally significant keywords through time, as well as for the qualitative analysis that follows.

3.2.1.2 Qualitative approach to keywords

Secondly, a qualitative analysis of cultural keywords was conducted. Besides observing the frequency throughout the different periods of the corpus, any changes in meaning,

³³ See "Simple Maths" (no date or author) defined in the *Sketch Engine* documentation (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/documentation/simple-maths>).

connotations and context of usage were observed to shed light on how these keywords have acquired the association with Australian values.

This part of the analysis draws on Wierzbicka’s approach (see 2.5) primarily in the selection of the keywords to be analysed. However, the present analysis examines the selected keywords in a diachronic and purposefully built set of data unlike Wierzbicka, who supplements dictionary quotations with comments collected about the keyword in question and with examples from various sources. Although the present set of data is small and limited to fiction, this approach attempts to offer more objectivity in the analysis.

The keywords were selected based primarily on Wierzbicka’s (1997) theory of cultural keywords (see 2.5) and her keywords list for Australian culture with a few additions from other sources (see Table 2). The keywords need not be necessarily Australian in origin, but also such that have acquired local unique meanings throughout the decolonisation process, and this journey towards the Australian meaning is where the focus of this analysis lies. The aim is to explore whether the connotations or patterns of usage of these keywords have changed through time and how these changes correlate with the sociohistorical context. The following words will be discussed:

Category	Keyword(s)	Source
Mateship	<i>mate, mateship</i>	Wierzbicka (1997); see 2.5.2
Social labels/types	<i>ocker, bogan, larrikin, battler, Queenslander, bloke</i>	Penry Williams (2020); see 2.6; Wierzbicka (1997); see 2.5.5.1
Bush	<i>bush</i>	Bromhead (2011); see 2.5.5.3
Nation	<i>Australia, Australian, Aussie, Aboriginal, Aborigine</i>	my own additions, as they could prove revealing about the perception of the national ethos itself
Speech-act verbs	<i>yarn, shout, whinge, chialk/chyack, dob (in)</i>	Wierzbicka (1997); see 2.5.3
Swearwords	<i>bloody, bugger, bastard, bullshit</i>	Wierzbicka (1997); see 2.5.4
Derogatory ethnic labels	<i>wog, chink, pom, yank, Abo</i>	Collins & Blair (2011); see 2.5.5.2

Table 2 Keywords selected for analysis and their sources

Because of their high frequency, high cultural significance, and availability of existing research, the analysis of *mate/mateship* and *bush* is the most extensive, building on the aforementioned previous research (see 2.5). Because of these factors, the methodology for the analysis of *mate/mateship* and *bush* is more complex and is outlined below. For the remaining keywords, the analysis consists of discussions of frequency across the different periods, considering the relevant sociohistorical and cultural context, and the observed changes of meaning, along with word class and functional employment, where applicable.

Mate/mateship

In the analysis of *mate/mateship*, firstly, as with all the keywords, the frequency in the different periods of the corpus is analysed in relation to the sociohistorical and cultural context and existing research. Secondly, the functional employment of *mate* is analysed across the corpus. *Mate* appears either in the vocative function as a term of address (e.g., *G'day, mate*) or in the referential function (e.g., *he is my mate*). In the subsequent analysis of the meanings, contexts, and patterns of usage of *mate*, these types of functional employment serve as overarching categories to which the identified meanings belong.

The analysis of the vocative *mate* draws on Rendle-Short's (2009) and Formentelli's (2007) studies of *mate* following a pragmatics approach, concentrating on meaning in the context of social interaction. In their analyses of the vocative *mate* they identified its common contexts of usage which constitute the starting point for identifying the contexts of usage and the functions of *mate* in the present corpus. Rendle-Short (2009: 262) identified the following contexts: greetings and closing of conversation, offering assessment, (dis)agreeing with something/someone, giving advice, making a request, showing appreciation, and showing friendliness. Formentelli (2007) also identified contexts where *mate* underlines the speaker's involvement and serves as a positive politeness device stressing common ground (2007: 191-193). Rendle-Short (2010) also identified the functions of the vocative *mate*: mitigating, showing friendliness/support, distancing, and emphasis.³⁴ In the interpretation of the vocative *mate*, Rendle-Short (2009) considers the position of the vocative *mate* in the utterance, using the conversation-analysis concept of the turn construction unit (TCU). A TCU constitutes a unit of the turn-taking process in a conversation, where a turn is one speaker's contribution to a conversation (word, clause) which can be followed by another speaker's contribution (Sacks, Schlegelhoff & Jefferson 1974). In Rendle-Short's findings, instances where *mate* is used as a positive politeness device occur in post-turn position (such as *Good to see you, mate*, where *mate* follows a statement), whereas in pre-turn position (e.g., *Mate, don't go there*) *mate* can convey hostility, representing a distancing device (2009: 263). The identification of functions of the vocative *mate* in the corpus thus considers also the syntactic position of *mate*.

The analysis of the referential meaning of *mate* relies primarily on the corpus data itself and meaning categories that arise, while taking into consideration existing discussions of the

³⁴ The contexts and functions will be discussed in more detail in the analysis itself in 4.2.2.1 with relevant examples from the corpus.

meanings of *mate*, particularly Wierzbicka (1997) and Moore (2016), which were discussed in 2.5.2.

Bush

Similar to *mate*, (the) *bush* (+ *bushman*, *bushwoman*) is also first analysed according to frequency across the different periods with respect to the sociohistorical and cultural context. An analysis of different word-class usages follows. Then the analysis proceeds to trace the different meanings of *bush* across the corpus, determining the main meaning categories with Bromhead's (2011) discussion of *bush* in mind. Bromhead identifies three main Australian senses: (1. "wooded tract of country", 2. "a kind of human domain", 3. "places in Australia that are outside the major cities", 2011: 447; see 2.5.5.3). Because of the great significance of *bush* in Australian culture, the main meaning associations of the term (e.g., danger, etc.) and the changes within them are then traced through time.

3.2.2 Qualitative analysis

While the quantitative analysis should confirm the predicted correlation between periods of nationalism and frequency of words with Australia-specific meanings (either describing the environment, lifestyle, or words from the vernacular), which can be taken as a sign of a move away from the StBE, it is through a close reading of the selected novels from the corpus that a micro-perspective is offered on the evolving relationship between language and national identity through time. The application of close reading allows for the study of not only the lexical markers of the vernacular, but also of general concepts such as the conceptualisation of landscape in the new environment (see 2.7.2), as well as of language attitudes and underlying language ideologies, which is not possible via a quantitative corpus analysis. As Mulder & Penry Williams (2018) demonstrate in their study of Kerry Greenwood's *Phyrne Fisher* series (see 2.7.1), the value of linguistic analysis of literature does not necessarily lie in obtaining information about sociolinguistic variation, since the language of fiction is artificial, but in observing "the systems of understanding outside of linguistics", i.e., ideas of non-linguists' about language (2018: 59). The way novelists utilise language, the varieties they choose for their characters, and the linguistic means they use to create their fictional world all in a lesser or greater degree simultaneously mirror and help construct the national linguistic and cultural space.

The qualitative analysis thus examines two novels from each period of the AusE corpus and analyses the use of language with a focus on the relationship between language, culture and identity within the current socio-historical context. While the narrow focus on two texts is limited in that the results cannot be understood as representative of the whole period, its advantage is that it allows for a much closer and more comprehensive examination of how and to what end the selected writers use the linguistic means at their disposal and how that reflects the socio-historical context (outlined for each period in 3.1.1.1). The results thus offer trends, at least, if not generalisations. Overall, even though this approach of close reading is by nature more arbitrary and closer to a literary analysis with a linguistic focus, it is well suited to the topic of the present research as it allows to cover a range of linguistic and metalinguistic features that are expressive of national identity.³⁵

After a general discussion of the linguistic features of each novel, the analysis focuses on three areas where the connection between language, culture and identity manifests itself the most: the stylistics of landscape, the use of allusions and references, and the use of language in characterisation. The following sections give a more detailed overview of each of these points of interest.

3.2.2.1 General discussion of the language of each novel

Before moving to specific points of the analysis, a general characteristic of the language of each novel provides a brief overview of its noteworthy linguistic features. This offers a preliminary insight into how each author works with the linguistic means at their disposal. Every text and every author's writing style is different, therefore the points of interest may vary for each text. However, attention is paid particularly to the following features and the effect to which they are used within the socio-historical context of the period (i.e., whether the author's linguistic choices reflect for example, prescriptivist tendencies of the earlier periods, or whether they display linguistic independence):

1. Commentary
 - comments on language by the author (from interviews, the foreword, or the introduction) or from the novel's reviews, if available.
2. Style

³⁵ An important note on referencing – because the books were accessed in an electronic format, page numbers were not available. Instead, at least chapter numbers are provided.

- what kind of register is used throughout the novel, how it is reflected in the in/formality of the lexis, whether it changes in different contexts, do characters switch between registers according to context;
- any stylistic idiosyncrasies of the author.

3. Deviation from/adherence to StBE

- use of non-standard grammar, such as pronouns (e.g., *ye*, *meself*, etc.), double negatives, verb forms (e.g., *we done*), lack of subject-verb concord (e.g., *they does*), since as discussed in 2.1.3, certain non-standard features have been found to be more frequent in AusE than in other varieties;
- use of regional expressions – Australian vernacular expressions (*G'day*, *mate*, *squatter*; *final but*, etc.; see 2.1.2 and 2.5), and expressions from other regional varieties (AmE, ScE, etc.);
- phonetic respellings that suggest the characters' origin, social class, etc., so among else, Australian origin (see section 2.1.1 about AusE phonology);
- presence/absence of cultural keywords (see 2.5 and 3.2.1).

The third point goes hand in hand with style, in that a more informal register usually displays deviation from StBE etc., so these points are discussed together. Those features discussed above that concern primarily direct speech are discussed in more detail in the respective sections about the use of language in characterisation.

3.2.2.2 Stylistics of landscape

The stylistics of landscape (both physical and mental landscape) refers to how writers construct the fictional world and what linguistic means they utilise as a frame of reference to help the reader construct this space in their minds. The discussion of this topic is inspired by the contributions to Douthwaite, Viridis & Zurru's collection *The Stylistics of Landscape, the Landscape of Stylistics* (2017), particularly Zurru's exploration of the power hierarchies (2017) and Wales's (2017) treatment of analogy (see 2.7.2).

Because all the features discussed have been identified through close reading, this analysis cannot claim that all instances of their occurrence are included, nor would it be possible to discuss every instance, but every effort was made to present a representative set.

3.2.2.2.1 The conceptualisation of space: physical and mental landscapes

As discussed in chapter 2, a connection with the land is essential for forming a national and linguistic identity. Since Australian landscape has from the beginning been perceived as its distinguishing feature – particularly the bush (see 2.5.2, 2.5.5.3 and 2.7.2) – most Australian writers have been foregrounding the land in their works. As Carter remarks, “non-indigenous Australians have invested enormously in the ‘cultural production’ of land and landscapes, for these were ways of claiming possession, of telling stories about nation, race, settlement, tradition, and the right to belong” (2006: 156). With their conceptualisation of the Australian landscape, the writers have been contributing to the emerging national mythology.

This part of the analysis thus focuses on how the Australian continent is described and evaluated in the novels in order to enable the reader to create a mental picture of it. As per the approach of Douthwaite, Vidris & Zurrú (2017), it considers not only the physical landscape, but also the mental and social landscape, explored through close reading. Because of the postcolonial nature of Australian society, this part of the analysis is particularly inspired by Zurrú’s (2017) and Canning’s (2014) ecostylistic approach (see 2.7.2.2) that focuses on the representation of the physical environment and the underlying ideologies within it, as well as the relationship between the physical environment and the people who inhabit it. Both Zurrú and Canning employ Halliday’s concept of Transitivity to analyse short excerpts of a selected texts, demonstrating how the construction of space is underpinned by colonial and postcolonial ideology, as discussed in 2.7.2.2.

The present study looks at the representation of (physical and cultural) landscape in each novel as a whole and covers eight novels in total, commenting on multiple examples from each novel and the ideologies and linguistic means by which place is constructed, and any characteristics (and characters) that are repeatedly associated with it. Zurrú’s and Canning’s method of a thorough analysis that categorises all examples with respect to the different types of Transitivity and Process Types was not possible to apply in the scope of this dissertation. Nonetheless, in the examples discussed in this section of the analysis, where applicable, attention is paid to transitivity in the sense of observing whether the participants (human and non-human) have agency, by what linguistic means such agency is conveyed, what it signifies and how it reflects the socio-historical context.

3.2.2.2.2 Analogies

To study the construction of place in Dickens's *Pictures from Italy* (1846), Wales (2017) narrowed her focus on analogies (see 2.7.2.1), and her approach informs this section of the analysis.

Following Wales's definition of analogy, the analogies examined in this dissertation encompass similes (*like, as*), quasi-similes (*as if*), and comparisons – essentially any instance of something being likened to something else that is used to evoke the fictional world of the novel to the reader, helping to create a mental picture. Wales identified four groups of analogies and their functions in *Pictures from Italy* (1846), as discussed in detail in 2.7.2.1:

Type A: evaluative expressions of indescribability (distancing function);

Type B: analogies relying on fairytales or the exotic other (distancing function);

Type C: the writer's idiosyncrasies (in the case of Dickens, using vivid animate imagery to describe something inanimate and vice versa; neutral function);

Type D: analogies relying on the concrete, the familiar (e.g., comparing Italy to Britain; familiarizing function).

This part of the present qualitative analysis adopts Wales's approach and categorises the analogies used by each author based on the conceptual mappings involved, followed by assessing their function with respect to reader-helpfulness: familiarizing, distancing/exoticizing, and neutral. By nature, Wales's types identified on a single text cannot be taken as universal as each author draws on different categories. Nonetheless, in most of the texts, Types B and D appear, although they may serve a different function than in Dickens due to the specificities of Australian culture. Another frequent type are analogies reliant on the natural world. For this reason, not only analogies employed to describe the landscape are analysed, but also those that use the landscape as the vehicle to describe elements or people within the landscape because these are also important in the construction of place, as the ecostylistic approach shows.

3.2.2.3 Allusions and references: Australian culture in regional, national, international and transnational context

Since neither AusE nor Australian literature emerged in isolation, but within the group of varieties of English and the rich cultural capital they accumulated, the use of allusions and direct quotations is also worthy of attention, as it can reveal how Australia situates itself vis-à-

vis the world. According to Leddy, “allusions typically describe a reference that invokes one or more associations of appropriate cultural material and brings them to bear upon a present context” (1992: 114) and Australian authors have had a broad range of material to draw on.

As Huggan points out, Australian literature is essentially transnational – built on the foundations laid by British literature and shaped by its interaction with other cultures (2007: viii). When Richard Flanagan, a renowned Tasmanian writer, was appointed the Chair in Australian Literature at the University of Melbourne, in his inaugural lecture he spoke about his top ten Tasmanian novels, including works by Emily Brontë, Albert Camus and other “Tasmanian writers – Cortázar, Márquez, Baldwin, Carver, Lispector, Rosa, Bolaño and Chekhov”, because that is the literary material that he found inspiration in and he could relate to: “their worlds were already mine, and everything I read was everything I had already lived” (2016). For him Australian literature is transnational, working with all cultural capital available, producing works that deal with local topics, while still being attuned to the world – being both distinctive and having the potential to be universal, just like AusE.

The analysis of references and allusions draws on Mukherjee’s observations about postcolonial literature (2010). He emphasises that the environment a novel constructs encompasses both the natural and the cultural world, and the physical landscape is thus inseparable from the cultural capital that is drawn on in its construction, as well as the socio-historical context (discussed in 2.7.2.2). Thus this part of the analysis examines references and allusions and the effects of their use in the novels. These effects as well as the sources they draw on will have been different in the early stages when Australian literature and AusE were in its beginnings than in the current period when they have their own capital to draw on, as the analysis will demonstrate.

3.2.2.4 Use of language in characterisation

The final section of the qualitative analysis concerns the speech of the characters. The analysis is grounded in the folklinguistic approach of Mulder & Penry Williams (2017; see 2.7.1), who consider how the use of language in characterisation reveals how writers utilise folklinguistic ideas. This section thus examines the direct speech of the novels’ characters and looks at linguistic markers that convey additional meaning by drawing on assumptions about social class, education, and origin, and how they reproduce or defy linguistic prejudices of their time. Any metalinguistic commentary pertaining to the evaluation of certain linguistic features is discussed as well.

4. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

4.1 Expectations

From the scenario Schneider outlined for the development of AusE (Schneider 2007: 118-127) along with the cultural, historical, and literary context of each of the periods, which is discussed in detail in 3.1, certain hypotheses can be inferred in regard to the generated lists of keywords as well as the selected cultural keywords.

4.1.1 Generated keywords

4.1.1.1 Exonormative stabilisation (1830s-1901)

In this period, the identity of the colonists is still British, and their focus is on describing the exotic new environment (see 3.1.1.1.1). The generated list of keywords for this period is thus expected to reflect the linguistic focus on the environment, particularly the rural flora and fauna, with coinages or borrowings describing the new reality. As this fascination with the new environment is mirrored in the literature of the time, with its rural bush settings and convict settlements, words related to the penal system and the bush are also expected to appear high on the list.

4.1.1.2 Nativization (1901-1942)

As this is a period of high nationalism, which was promoted via the use of the vernacular in literature that revealed that AusE developed distinctive lexical, phonetic and grammatical features (see 3.1.1.1.2), the generated list of keywords is expected to reflect this. Since the national ethos is mostly rooted in the bush, *bush* as a keyword is expected to feature high on the list, along with other words associated with this environment, as well as words associated with the mateship ethos which is tightly bound with the bush. Features of Aboriginal English are not expected to appear due to the racist policies of the Australian government which made them virtually invisible in society and therefore also in literature.

4.1.1.3 Endonormative stabilisation (1942-1980s)

With the language being homogenised and codified and the vernacular less represented in literature than before (see 3.1.1.1.3), now that its nationalist agenda has passed, the generated list of keywords is expected to contain neutral words rather than culturally significant ones. As the bush myth loses some of its currency, other environments and words associated with them

are expected to appear, perhaps along with words reflecting the increasingly diverse ethnic background of the Australian population.

4.1.1.4 Differentiation (1980s-present)

By this stage, according to Schneider's model (see 2.3), the development of AusE should be complete, which should be manifested in the presence of regionalisms and emergence of other local varieties expressing ethnic or community ties, although the low degree of internal variation in AusE suggests this stage is still in progress (see 3.1.1.1.4). The multicultural nature of Australian society as well as the issues of the past lead to continued insecurities about the validity of local culture, including language (see e.g., 3.1.1.1.3).

Therefore, the list of generated keywords is expected to reflect this focus on Australian issues in the appearance of some of the culturally significant keywords. Words from ethnic or social dialects, however, are not expected to appear very high on the list because proportionately there would not be enough of them, despite their presence having increased. However, words related to the discussion of ethnicity are expected to figure on the list, along with words related to the questioning of the Australian national ethos (such as different environments other than the bush) reflecting the discussions going on in society. Due to the increasing tendency for informality in the society which is also affecting acceptability of informal or taboo linguistic expressions in writing, some informal words are also expected to appear.

4.1.2 Cultural keywords

As for the culturally significant keywords, predicting their behaviour presents a difficult task, as Schneider (see 2.3) does not address keywords at all, and Wierzbicka (see 2.5) only mentions their historical development glancingly, if at all. The following sections will attempt to suggest patterns of behaviour of those keywords based on the general characteristics of each period outlined above, taking any existing research (if available) into account, which was discussed along with the Australian meaning of the keywords in 2.5 and 2.6.

4.1.2.1 *Mate, mateship*

As discussed in 2.5.2, according to Wierzbicka, *mate* is the most culturally significant keyword in the Australian context, and the concept of mateship encompasses the Australian values of egalitarianism, solidarity, loyalty and anti-authoritarianism. These values became entrenched in the national ethos which arose from the bush in the late 19th century and the

vernacular, including the usage of *mate*, played an important role in the process. Based on discussions of the meaning of *mate* in 2.5.2 and the linguistic, sociohistorical and cultural context in 3.1.1.1, the following expectations were formulated about the behaviour of *mate* and *mateship* in the corpus:

1. *Mate* and *mateship* are expected to appear in the Exonormative stabilisation period in either the more neutral and traditional sense of a “fellow, companion”, or in the nautical sense, as convict ships figure in several of the novels.
2. Overall, the frequency of *mateship* will probably be much lower than *mate*, as the concept would likely not be talked about often, unlike references to or address of mates.
3. The particularly Australian aspects of the meaning of *mate* are expected to manifest in the Nativization period, where the number of occurrences is also expected to rise due to the nationalist agenda.
4. As an address form, *mate* is expected to be limited to usage amongst lower-class men and have positive connotations.
5. In the Endonormative stabilisation period, the frequency is expected to drop as the bush myth is losing its importance, cultural cringe has hit in full force, and writers move away from nationalistic subjects.
6. The connotations are expected to be positive, if used in the Australian sense, or neutral, if in the general sense.
7. In the Differentiation period, the frequency is expected to rise, firstly because of the renewed surge of nationalism, and secondly due to the broadening scope of *mate* in communication – it is now expected to be used by and in reference to women, and also ethnic Australians or even Aboriginals, with the democratisation of society.
8. For the same reason it is expected to surpass the lower-class associations in the last period.
9. Ironic or hostile usages are also expected to appear, which means the word will appear in negative connotations as well.

4.1.2.2 Bush

Like *mate*, *bush* quickly developed distinctively Australian meanings when it reached the continent, and the uniquely Australian environment became the focal point of the national ethos tied with the concept of mateship. Given the discussion of its etymology and meanings in 2.5.5.3 and the linguistic, sociohistorical and cultural context in 3.1.1.1, the following expectations were formulated:

1. As a distinctively Australian environment, the frequency of *bush* is expected to be high in the Exonormative stabilisation period since it is in this period the new continent is being described and mapped, with words for flora and fauna being coined.
2. The prevalent meaning in the Exonormative stabilisation period is likely to be the sense of vegetation and environment as a whole, which might have negative connotations connected to the sense of loneliness, hardship and danger.
3. In the Nativization period, because of the nationalist sentiments, the connection with the mythology and the national type is expected to manifest in more positive, myth-making connotations of the word, even though the negative connotations are still expected to be present.
4. Furthermore, *bushman* is expected to rise in frequency in the Nativization period as an important representation of the national type and be associated with specific characteristics and lifestyle. For that reason, the sense of *bush* as a social setting is expected to be more frequent, and is expected to appear in compounds relating to that lifestyle.
5. From the Endonormative stabilisation period on, the *bush* is expected to decrease in frequency as the bush myth starts to a certain degree to lose relevance for current Australian identity and the writers' focus moves to more urban settings. The prevalent sense is expected to signify simply a rural area.
6. In the Differentiation period, when national identity is being re-examined and minority voices have a bigger platform, the *bush* is expected to appear in different contexts as viewed by those 'new' Australians. The presence of *bushman* in this period is expected to be insignificant due to the decreasing relevance of the bush myth.

4.1.2.3 Social types/labels: *ocker, bogan, larrikin, battler, Queenslander, bloke*

The social types are largely a 20th century construct and apart from *bloke*, they are not expected to appear in the corpus at all frequently. Nonetheless, they are significant because of their strong connection with national identity and their meaning. The attitudes associated with them are important to our understanding of Australian culture.

Negative social types: *ocker, bogan, Queenslander*

According to the folklinguistic research of Penry Williams (2020: 158-173) discussed in 2.6, most of the features commonly associated with AusE, such as specific accent, use of hypocoristics, and slang, are associated with the social types of the *ocker*, *bogan*, and

Queenslander, which have negative meaning, thus transferring it onto AusE as well. All of these essentially stand for the figure of the Local Other – someone to distance oneself from and to dump the negative stereotypes about Australian speech and culture on (see 2.6 for definitions of each type).

Based on these findings, the negative labels are expected to display the following behaviour in the corpus:

1. Since the terms are relatively recent and scarce, tracing their development across the four periods will not be possible as they will be concentrated in the last period, perhaps except for *ocker* which could appear in the Endonormative stabilisation period as well.
2. The context in which the negative labels appear might be interesting in revealing whether the reasons why someone is labelled by them are truly rural origin and crude manners, or whether their scope is wider and they are simply used by the speaker as a distancing mechanism.

Positive social types

Unlike the three preceding negative labels, *bloke* and *battler* emerged as positive terms in connection with the national ethos rooted in the bush, while *larrikin* evolved into a positive label expressive of Australian irreverence, despite originally being also seen as a Local Other associated with negative linguistic stereotypes like the negative labels above (see 2.5.5.1). The following expectations were thus formulated about the behaviour of each of the terms in turn:

Larrikin

1. The corpus data should hopefully display the shift of meaning from negative to positive, where in the Exonormative stabilisation period and the early Nativization period the negative meaning should prevail, before the positive meaning takes over.
2. Again, particular attention will be paid to the context and suggestions of any characteristics associated with *larrikin*.
3. The pattern of frequency is difficult to estimate as the term appears to have enough social currency in both its positive and negative meaning. Nevertheless, going by Schneider's model and considering that it is chiefly the positive meaning that expresses national values, its frequency should be higher from the Nativization period on.

Battler

1. Due to its associations with the national ethos, *battler* is expected to occur most frequently in the Nativization period and exclusively in reference to white males.
2. The frequency might decrease slightly in the Endonormative stabilisation period and rise again in the Differentiation period with the increase of nationalist sentiments once again.
3. Due to societal developments, the Differentiation period could also see it expanding its reach to include women or non-white referents.

Bloke

In light of its cultural significance, *bloke* is expected to occur much more frequently in the Australian corpus than its British counterpart. Furthermore:

1. As the *OED3*'s first quotation is recorded in 1861 and given the word's nationalist associations, it is not expected to have many occurrences until the Nativization period.
2. Due to its continued cultural significance, the number of occurrences is not expected to drop even in the Endonormative stabilisation period.
3. Explicitly voiced associations with Australian values are estimated to occur mainly in the Nativization period, entrenching those values within the concept of *bloke* and decrease over time.
4. In line with *battler*, there is a potential for *bloke* to expand its reach by including non-white and non-heterosexual males in the Differentiation period. The context is expected to be mainly positive.

4.1.2.4 The nation & the Aborigines

This category follows the words referring to the new nation – *Australia*, *Australian*, *Aussie* – and to the Aborigines – *Aboriginal* and *Aborigine*. They are not keywords in the strictest sense (which is why they are not listed in 2.5 apart from *Aussie*), however, looking at their usage and above all its context and semantic prosody (i.e., the phenomenon of neutral words such as those in question being perceived positively or negatively based on their collocates; see Partington 2004) could offer additional insight into the formation of the nation by revealing their associations in each period and whether the words have negative or positive connotations.

The following expectations were formulated:

1. *Aboriginal* and *Aborigine* are likely to have negative connotations in the first stages of development when the land is being “settled” because they are associated with danger and being the enemy and are represented exclusively from the white point of view.
2. As *Aborigines* start gaining a voice in the Endonormative stabilisation period, their representation and thus the connotation of the associated words are expected to be more varied and positive.
3. As for *Australia* and *Australian*, their connotation is also expected to vary depending on the perspective (*Australian* vs. *Aboriginal* vs. foreigner). It might be more negative in the Exonormative stabilisation period, when the perspective of the continent’s inhabitants is still largely British, reflecting its perceived inferiority to Britain, before becoming more positive in the nation-building Nativization period.
4. In the Endonormative stabilisation period, *Australia* and *Australian* may have more negative connotations again due to the cultural cringe and the many issues reopened in recent decades relating to the re-definition of an Australian identity fit for its current demography.
5. The hypocoristic *Aussie* (noun and adjective) is expected to appear in positive contexts only and not appear till the Nativization period (the *OED3* lists its first quotation as 1910).

Wierzbicka notes that it

expresses the capacity of ‘traditional Australians’ for combining an attachment to their country and pride in it with a self-deprecating dislike of pathos, pomposity, and ‘big words’; it also reflects some important aspects of the traditional Australian self-image, with an emphasis on being brave, tough, practical, good-humoured, and cheeky. (1997: 201)

Due to its colloquiality, it is estimated that it will occur most frequently in the Differentiation period characterised by increasing informality in various social situations.

4.1.2.5 Speech act verbs: *yarn*, *shout*, *whinge*, *chiack/chyack*, *dob in*

Most of these speech act verbs have a strong association with the mateship ethos. Based on the discussion of their meaning in 2.5.3, the following expectations arose:

1. These speech act verbs are expected to appear from the late Exonormative stabilisation period or the Nativization period on.
2. *Yarn* and *shout* will likely be more frequent than the remaining verbs, which have a narrower semantic range and thus a more limited usage.
3. *Chiack/chyack*, *whinge*, and *dob in* are also more informal, so the majority of their instances are likely to appear in the Differentiation period.

4. Due to their associations with the mateship ethos, the examples where they occur in a context that emphasises their Australian meaning overtly are likely to appear in the Nativization period, after which they are likely to be more implied than voiced. Instances where the association with the mateship ethos is not present should be minimal, but may also be of interest (e.g., *yarn* in the sense of “idle chatter”, which is not encompassed in the traditional AusE meaning, see 2.5.3)

4.1.2.6 Swearwords: *bloody*, *bugger*, *bastard*, *bullshit*

This category consists of words that were at least in print historically perceived as taboo, and outside of Australia still may be. Therefore, the majority of instances are not expected to appear until the Differentiation period, where these social taboos are relaxed, even though they did occur in speech before that. Following the discussion of their meaning and associations in 2.5.4, the following expectations were defined for each of “the four B’s”:

Bloody

It is difficult to predict the changes that might manifest in the analysis of the use of *bloody* across the periods of the corpus. Nonetheless:

1. All of the contexts and uses discussed in 2.5.4 are expected to appear across the corpus.
2. Perhaps in the Exonormative stabilisation period the meaning may be more negative and closer to its British usage due to the sense of Australianness and its values only beginning to develop towards the end of the period.
3. In line with the *OED3*, in the 21st century (i.e., the second half of the Differentiation period) there should be very few instances where *bloody* is negative, even in the BrE reference corpus.

Bastard

1. Similarly to *bloody*, the positive instances are expected to surpass the negative ones from the Nativization period on.

Bugger

1. The affectionate sense of *bugger* is expected to dominate in the AusE corpus compared to the BrE. While *bugger* could appear in the negative sense in the Exonormative stabilisation

period, from the Nativization period on it is likely to appear in the more affectionate or harmless sense.

Bullshit

1. As *bullshit* is perhaps the tabooest out of all of these, it is not expected to appear in print until the Differentiation period.
2. Going by Wierzbicka's assessment, it should be much more frequent than in the BrE reference corpus and it will be interesting to observe the context of use.

4.1.2.7 Derogatory ethnic labels: *wog, chink, pom, Yank, Abo*

As noted above, these labels are not expected to appear frequently (*ethno* discussed in 2.5.5.2 does not appear in the corpus at all, which is why it was omitted in the analysis). Nor can a trajectory of their meaning be estimated based on the Dynamic Model, as perhaps besides *wog* and *Abo*, the meanings have barely changed. The focus of the analysis will be the context in which these labels appear and on what characteristics are associated with the people labelled by them – in other words what are the reasons for the offense. Based on their etymology and meaning discussed in 2.5.5.2, the following expectations were formulated:

Wog

1. As immigrants of Southern-European background started arriving in Australia mainly after WWII, the term is expected to appear first in the Endonormative stabilisation period, where it begins in its negative sense.
2. In the Differentiation period the more positive self-identification meaning should manifest itself.

Chink

1. Given the first quotation in the *OED3* comes from 1880 (see 2.5.5.2), *chink* could thus appear since the end of the Exonormative stabilisation on.
2. The connotation is expected to remain negative throughout.

Pom

1. Given its origin, *Pom* can be expected to occur from the Exonormative stabilisation on.

Yank

1. Given its origin, *Yank* is expected to occur from the Exonormative stabilisation on.

Abo

1. *Abo* can be expected to appear from the Nativization period on, at first in a neutral sense.
2. From the end of the Endonormative stabilisation period, it should begin to be perceived as offensive.

4.2 Analysis

4.2.1 Generated keywords

4.2.1.1 Exonormative stabilisation (1830s-1901)

AusE (vs. BrE reference corpus)

The first 30 keywords displayed in the table below reflect the main concerns of settlers in Australia and the need to describe the still relatively new environment. The following groups can be identified on the list which belong to the same lexical field:

- a) **flora and fauna:** *kangaroo, sheep, cattle, bush, track, creek, bay* – these support the thesis that the bush was selected as the quintessentially Australian environment.
- b) **transportation:** *convict, prisoner, gaol, police, constable, commandant, soldier, trooper, musket* – while transportation was slowly coming to an end in the first couple of decades of this period, it was still a big part of the Australian experience and a popular literary topic, hence why these words feature on the list.
- c) **bushranging:** *bushranger* – bushranging was rife in Australia in this period, which is why *bushranger* takes second place on the list behind *convict*, and it also contributes to the frequencies of the military/police-related vocabulary within the preceding category.
- d) **settlement:** *settler* – this reflects the increasing number of free settlers arriving on the continent.
- e) **colony:** *colony, colonial, native, Australia, Australian, and government* – these terms first serve to describe the colonial experience in contrast to the homeland, but towards the end of the period become associated with the developing sense of specific local identity and quest for independence.
- f) **other:** *chap* – the presence of *chap* is interesting because it is primarily associated with BrE and its presence in the Australian corpus decreases significantly after this first period.

Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
convict	667	7	406.52438	4.57773	28.573
bushranger	237	0	144.44719	0.00000	15.445
prisoner	561	29	341.91931	18.96487	12.150
kangaroo	182	1	110.92569	0.65396	11.350
colony	343	15	209.05226	9.80942	11.058
Australia	184	2	112.14465	1.30792	10.802
settler	145	1	88.37486	0.65396	9.234
constable	230	10	140.18082	6.53961	9.080
sheep	298	18	181.62558	11.77130	8.802
government	304	19	185.28247	12.42526	8.708
cattle	308	21	187.72040	13.73318	8.331
bush	329	25	200.51952	16.34903	7.990
native	383	33	233.43153	21.58072	7.708
Australian	125	2	76.18523	1.30792	7.622
police	213	13	129.81963	8.50149	7.557
soldier	186	12	113.36362	7.84753	6.912
camp	118	3	71.91885	1.96188	6.848
magistrate	352	37	214.53760	24.19656	6.566
gaol	91	0	55.46284	0.00000	6.546
commandant	98	1	59.72922	0.65396	6.545
harbour	112	3	68.26196	1.96188	6.543
musket	86	0	52.41544	0.00000	6.242
track	294	32	179.18765	20.92675	6.117
colonial	121	6	73.74730	3.92377	6.015
governor	134	9	81.67056	5.88565	5.771
hut	220	24	134.08600	15.69507	5.608
creek	105	5	63.99559	3.26981	5.576
trooper	78	1	47.53958	0.65396	5.401
bay	145	13	88.37486	8.50149	5.317
chap	257	33	156.63683	21.58072	5.277

Table 3 Exonormative stabilisation: list of generated keywords (AusE with BrE corpus as reference)

AusE (vs. the rest of the AusE corpus)

The keywords generated for this period with reference to the rest of the periods in the Australian corpus are very similar. Groups a) – d) suggest more than anything else that convict and bushranger novels were a popular subject matter at the time, decreasing in popularity in the following periods.

- a) **convictism:** *convict, transportation, gaoler, felon, prisoner, penal, rascal, chain-gang*
- b) **other social roles:** *chaplain, magistrate, settler, emigrant, stock-keeper, bushranger*
- c) **military & weaponry terms:** *musket, mutineer, fowling-piece*

- d) **nautical terms:** *hatchway, voyage, whale-boat*
- e) **fauna:** *opossum* – used in reference to a marsupial found in Australia but also in North America. This word form is interesting as the results suggest it does not appear in any other periods. Instead, it appears in the clipped form *possum*, suggesting that the clipping became dominant in the Australian context early on (already in this period there are 13 instances), although the clipping itself did not arise in Australia, as the *OED3* records quotations from 17th century North America.³⁶
- f) **other:** *propriety* – its significance in this period can be explained by the importance of this social norm in the Victorian period.

Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
bushranger	237	4	144.44719	1.44970	59.374
chaplain	100	1	60.94818	0.36242	45.469
convict	667	22	406.52438	7.97334	45.415
musket	86	2	52.41544	0.72485	30.968
brig	60	1	36.56891	0.36242	27.575
settler	145	7	88.37486	2.53697	25.269
magistrate	352	25	214.53760	9.06061	21.424
transportation	46	1	28.03616	0.36242	21.312
rascal	58	2	35.34995	0.72485	21.074
gaoler	56	2	34.13098	0.72485	20.368
colony	343	27	209.05226	9.78546	19.476
bush-ranger	30	0	18.28445	0.00000	19.284
fowling-piece	30	0	18.28445	0.00000	19.284
mutineer	29	0	17.67497	0.00000	18.675
hatchway	29	0	17.67497	0.00000	18.675
felon	40	1	24.37927	0.36242	18.628
opossum	26	0	15.84653	0.00000	16.847
prisoner	561	57	341.91931	20.65819	15.833
voyage	117	10	71.30937	3.62424	15.637
chain-gang	24	0	14.62756	0.00000	15.628
emigrant	33	1	20.11290	0.36242	15.497
propriety	41	2	24.98875	0.72485	15.067
mode	76	6	46.32062	2.17455	14.906
stock-keeper	58	4	35.34995	1.44970	14.839
countenance	164	17	99.95502	6.16122	14.097
penal	55	4	33.52150	1.44970	14.092
whale-boat	21	0	12.79912	0.00000	13.799
recollect	78	7	47.53958	2.53697	13.723

³⁶ See “possum, n.1” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/148380>

forgery	29	1	17.67497	0.36242	13.707
yonder	37	2	22.55083	0.72485	13.654

Table 4 Exonormative stabilisation: list of generated keywords (AusE with the rest of the AusE corpus as reference)

4.2.1.2 Nativization (1901-1942)

AusE (vs. BrE reference corpus)

Consistent with the nationalistic agenda of the Nativization period and its early literature which promoted the national ethos rooted in the bush, the list is populated with words related to bush life:

- a) **fauna:** *bullock* – bullocks were particularly important in Australian colonial days, as they were used to transport goods (especially wool) and personal belongings across the country, and are to this day associated with the national ethos based on the bush experience (Siossian 2018; Carter 2006)
- b) **tools/objects:** *buggy, billy* (a container for boiling water), *saddle, wagon, axe, tank*
- c) **types of habitation:** *hut, camp*
- d) **landscape:** *creek, paddock, scrub, boundary, township*
- e) **natural disasters:** *drought* – closely connected with the landscape and the struggles that formed the national character (see 2.5.2)
- f) **architecture:** *veranda* – this is a specific architectural feature that appears on the keywords lists for the following periods as well and is very typical of Australia. It also appears in an alternative spelling *verandah*, but the corpus does not see the connection – if it did, the frequency would be almost double, and its score would be even higher. Dalziell notes that it was brought to Australia by the English colonisers inspired by the architecture they saw in India and other colonies with hot climates, and it became strongly associated with nationalism, national identity and the bush ethos (1997: 50-51). Its foreign origin disappeared from the public consciousness and it was adopted as a quintessentially Australian space, despite being a product of transnational currents.
- g) **bush characters:** *drover, squatter, bushman, bloke, mate* – a *drover* is someone who drives cattle, for example from one station to another, a *squatter* is someone “occupying a tract of pastoral land as a tenant of the crown” (*OED3*, sense 2³⁷), while a *bushman* is more general for anyone residing in the bush, although with associated characteristics

³⁷ “squatter, n.1.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 February 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/188262

(see 2.5.2). The most universal of these is the *bloke*, which denotes a man who conforms to the characteristics of the national type (see 2.5.5.1). The presence of *mate* is to be expected as mateship was the underlying ethos of the bush myth.

- h) **bush activities:** *yarn* – the bush characters also engage in typical bush activities, amongst which is *to yarn*, which is present on the list and like *bloke* and *mate* constitutes one of the cultural keywords.

Notably, expressions from the Australian vernacular are present in this period, which corresponds to the expectations based on Schneider’s model (see 4.1.1) – there is the aforementioned *billy*, *yarn*, *mate*, *bloke*, *squatter* but also *blanky*, which is a mild intensifier (the context suggests a euphemism for *bloody*).

Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
bullock	199	0	233.21114	0.00000	24.321
hut	274	4	321.10480	5.02707	22.034
buggy	179	0	209.77284	0.00000	21.977
camp	164	1	192.19411	1.25677	17.962
creek	142	1	166.41197	1.25677	15.672
paddock	121	0	141.80174	0.00000	15.180
veranda	90	0	105.47237	0.00000	11.547
squatter	86	0	100.78471	0.00000	11.078
bushman	77	0	90.23748	0.00000	10.024
yarn	108	3	126.56685	3.77030	9.917
flour	72	0	84.37790	0.00000	9.438
boss	188	13	220.32007	16.33798	8.745
scrub	118	6	138.28601	7.54061	8.454
billy	105	6	123.05110	7.54061	7.585
mate	210	19	246.10220	23.87859	7.559
boundary	104	6	121.87919	7.54061	7.519
inquire	116	8	135.94217	10.05414	7.277
saddle	137	11	160.55240	13.82444	7.159
township	52	0	60.93959	0.00000	7.094
wagon	82	4	96.09705	5.02707	7.060
axe	45	0	52.73619	0.00000	6.274
blanky	45	0	52.73619	0.00000	6.274
selection	58	2	67.97108	2.51354	6.231
tank	64	3	75.00258	3.77030	6.173
drover	41	0	48.04853	0.00000	5.805
bloke	47	1	55.08002	1.25677	5.781
log	84	7	98.44089	8.79737	5.769
pony-fence	40	0	46.87661	0.00000	5.688
snow-shoe	40	0	46.87661	0.00000	5.688

drought	52	2	60.93959	2.51354	5.669
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Table 5 Nativization: list of generated keywords (AusE with the BrE corpus as reference)

AusE (vs. the rest of the AusE corpus)

Again, thematically the list is very similar to the one produced in comparison to BrE, in that there are many items related to bush life.

- a) **social roles:** *jackeroo/jackaroo* (OED3: “a person working on a sheep or cattle station with a view to acquiring the practical experience and management skills desirable in a station owner or manager”³⁸), *selector* (OED3: “a farmer who acquires a tract of land under a scheme of free selection”³⁹), *opal-buyer*, *tank-sinker*
- b) **tools/objects:** *pony-fence*, *spring cart*, *buggy*, *saw-mill*
- c) **landscape and vegetation:** *woods*, *lignum*, *pine-ridge*, *ram-paddock*, *horse-paddock*, *coolabah* (type of gum tree), *whipstick* (type of tree), or labels for the bush itself (*out-back*). The hyphenated forms almost all refer to meanings of common words that continue to be in use, only they are either written separately (e.g., *horse paddock*) or as one word (e.g., *sawmill*, *outback*).
- d) **euphemisms:** *sheol*, *blanky* – these are the top two words on the list and are euphemisms for swearwords *hell* and *bloody* respectively. Their disappearance in future periods suggests they were no longer necessary as the original words lost their taboo status (which *bloody* only had in a low extent anyway, as discussed in 4.1.2.6).

Generally, these are more specific words from lexical field of the bush and their appearance here does not mean the bush lexical field disappeared in the following periods, rather that the specific roles such as jackeroos and selectors or specific tree species became either obsolete (as for the former) or not discussed specifically (as for the latter).

Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
sheol	46	0	53.90810	0.00000	54.908
blanky	45	0	52.73619	0.00000	53.736
snow-shoe	40	0	46.87661	0.00000	47.877

³⁸ “jackeroo, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 12 February 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/100503

³⁹ “selector, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/175046>

pony-fence	40	0	46.87661	0.00000	47.877
ram-paddock	23	0	26.95405	0.00000	27.954
lignum	23	0	26.95405	0.00000	27.954
bunyip	25	1	29.29788	0.28196	23.634
pine-ridge	18	0	21.09447	0.00000	22.094
horse-paddock	18	0	21.09447	0.00000	22.094
out-back	16	0	18.75064	0.00000	19.751
coolabah	16	0	18.75064	0.00000	19.751
pup	71	12	83.20599	3.38349	19.210
spring-cart	28	3	32.81363	0.84587	18.318
fallen	75	16	87.89365	4.51132	16.129
back-country	16	1	18.75064	0.28196	15.407
novelette	16	1	18.75064	0.28196	15.407
jackaroo	16	1	18.75064	0.28196	15.407
red-headed	12	0	14.06298	0.00000	15.063
whipstick	12	0	14.06298	0.00000	15.063
opal-buyer	11	0	12.89107	0.00000	13.891
tank-sinker	11	0	12.89107	0.00000	13.891
wood-heap	11	0	12.89107	0.00000	13.891
bushman	77	20	90.23748	5.63916	13.742
selector	24	4	28.12597	1.12783	13.688
masters	23	4	26.95405	1.12783	13.137
buggy	179	55	209.77284	15.50768	12.768
saw-mill	10	0	11.71915	0.00000	12.719
straw-stack	10	0	11.71915	0.00000	12.719
knobby	10	0	11.71915	0.00000	12.719
jackaroo	10	0	11.71915	0.00000	12.719

Table 6 Nativization: list of generated keywords (AusE with the rest of the AusE corpus as reference)

4.2.1.3 Endonormative stabilisation (1942-1980s)

AusE (vs. BrE reference corpus)

The situation is rather similar in the Endonormative stabilisation period, with bush-related words still populating the list, although to a lesser degree than in the previous period and in more neutral contexts, which is reflective of the cultural cringe and the slow turning away from the bush ethos.

- a) **landscape:** *creek, bush, paddock, lawn*
- b) **architecture:** *veranda*
- c) **tools/objects:** *cart, buggy, fence*
- d) **fauna:** *horse, cow, heifer, calf*
- e) **social roles:** *governess* (probably largely due to one historical novel), *boarder, neighbour*, as well as a new incarnation of the soldier/policeman – *cop*: these are largely

new social roles, and the bush characters seem to have disappeared. However, *bloke* is still present.

- f) **the nation:** *Australia, Australian* – these are high on the list due to the doubts about whether there is anything like Australian culture and re-evaluations of national identity provoked by cultural cringe.

The shifting focus towards the city is reflected in the presence of city means of transport and educational institutions, as well as pub-related vocabulary (although a pub is of course not strictly limited to the city):

- g) **the city:** *tram, college*

- h) **the pub:** *publican, pub, keg*

Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
creek	96	0	108.57186	0.00000	11.857
Australian	82	1	92.73846	0.78958	9.522
veranda	62	0	70.11932	0.00000	8.012
paddock	63	1	71.25028	0.78958	7.530
horse	257	38	290.65591	30.00418	7.516
cow	171	23	193.39363	18.16043	7.223
picnic	96	10	108.57186	7.89584	6.626
Australia	109	14	123.27430	11.05417	6.330
tram	51	2	57.67880	1.57917	5.845
drinker	66	6	74.64316	4.73750	5.743
cart	68	8	76.90507	6.31667	5.326
heifer	36	0	40.71445	0.00000	5.071
governess	48	4	54.28593	3.15834	4.886
telescope	32	0	36.19062	0.00000	4.619
boarder	32	0	36.19062	0.00000	4.619
publican	35	1	39.58349	0.78958	4.595
bush	123	30	139.10770	23.68752	4.426
calf	39	3	44.10732	2.36875	4.375
fence	86	19	97.26229	15.00209	4.290
postcard	50	7	56.54784	5.52709	4.286
bloke	63	12	71.25028	9.47501	4.172
keg	30	1	33.92871	0.78958	4.071
pub	166	49	187.73885	38.68961	4.061
buggy	27	0	30.53584	0.00000	4.054
lawn	72	16	81.42889	12.63334	4.040
neighbour	88	22	99.52421	17.37084	4.001
cop	29	1	32.79775	0.78958	3.967
iron	151	46	170.77449	36.32085	3.903

college	134	40	151.54822	31.58335	3.885
Saturday	101	28	114.22665	22.10835	3.869

Table 7 Endonormative stabilisation: list of generated keywords (AusE with the BrE corpus as reference)

AusE (vs. the rest of the AusE corpus)

The items on the list generated in comparison with the rest of the Australian corpus also reflect the move towards the city:

- a) **the city:** *museum, college*
- b) **the pub:** *drinker, non-drinker, belch*
- c) **modernity:** *airline, fairway,*
- d) **international:** *Africa, Congo, equator*
- e) **flora:** *dahlias, hydrangeas*
- f) **hobbies:** *embroidery, watercolourist*

There do not appear to be any specifically Australian terms on this list, which can be interpreted as a result of the codification, in that those Australian words that were used are also habitually used in other periods, hence they are not included on this list. Another factor is the contemporary tendency of writers to abandon the nationalistic, overtly Australian subjects and the vernacular of the previous period (see 3.1.1.1.3.2).

Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
grounds	25	0	28.27392	0.00000	29.274
museum	117	19	132.32196	5.40429	20.818
equator	20	1	22.61914	0.28444	18.389
fuchsia	20	1	22.61914	0.28444	18.389
airline	15	0	16.96435	0.00000	17.964
Africa	48	8	54.28593	2.27549	16.879
postcard	50	10	56.54784	2.84436	14.969
hydrangea	16	1	18.09531	0.28444	14.867
dahlia	16	1	18.09531	0.28444	14.867
handicraft	11	0	12.44053	0.00000	13.441
non-drinker	11	0	12.44053	0.00000	13.441
boarder	32	7	36.19062	1.99105	12.434
mahogany	10	0	11.30957	0.00000	12.310
boathouse	10	0	11.30957	0.00000	12.310
fairway	13	1	14.70244	0.28444	12.225
façade	13	1	14.70244	0.28444	12.225

embroidery	22	4	24.88105	1.13774	12.107
college	134	43	151.54822	12.23076	11.530
graph	12	1	13.57148	0.28444	11.345
drinker	66	20	74.64316	5.68872	11.309
grater	9	0	10.17861	0.00000	11.179
watercolourist	9	0	10.17861	0.00000	11.179
marmite	9	0	10.17861	0.00000	11.179
pawpaw	9	0	10.17861	0.00000	11.179
belch	20	4	22.61914	1.13774	11.049
jeep	11	1	12.44053	0.28444	10.464
Congo	8	0	9.04766	0.00000	10.048
racquet	8	0	9.04766	0.00000	10.048
factual	8	0	9.04766	0.00000	10.048
waist-high	8	0	9.04766	0.00000	10.048

Table 8 Endonormative stabilisation: list of generated keywords (AusE with the rest of the AusE corpus as reference)

4.2.1.4 Differentiation (1980s-present)

AusE (vs. BrE reference corpus)

Like in previous periods, the keywords correspond to the developments taking place in Australian society at the time.

- a) **the nation:** *Australian, Australia* – these testify to the preoccupations with national identity (compared with the BrE reference corpus, where *England* or *Britain* does not appear on the list of keywords), similarly to the Endonormative stabilisation period marked by cultural cringe. This indicates it is an ongoing concern.
- b) **social types:** *bloke* – identity also continues to be represented by the word *bloke*, still strongly associated with the national type – the white heterosexual tough male. In her discussion of recent Australian politics, Winter (2016) identifies the connection between this local archetype and nationalist protectionist policies of past governments. Its higher frequencies in the corpus thus align both with the increased nationalism, as well as with the critique of this national type (depending on the contexts of use). This will be discussed in more detail in 4.2.2.3.6.
- c) **landscape:** *paddock, creek, farm* (plus *camp, dune, beach* and more camping/bush-related words further down the list) – since Australia itself is still one of the primary subjects, there is a high frequency of words referring to the environment. The rural or natural landscape is seen as typical, rather than the cities where most people live. The increased diversity compared to previous periods when the *beach* does not appear, could

be a signifier of the regional turn, but also of the bush being slowly replaced, or closely followed, by the beach as the quintessential Australian environment (see e.g., Clark 2020). This could explain why the *bush* drops off the list in this period. Although looking at the concordance lines, in the Endonormative stabilisation period it was often used either as a neutral setting without appealing to any nationalist tropes or serving a special function, or in the sense of *shrub*, which is consistent with the rather neutral keywords list. The list for this period has more in common with the Nativization period, which includes many words connected with the bush myth as well as some colloquialisms, such as *yarn* and *billy*.

- d) **fauna:** *emu, goanna, parrot, cockatoo* (which also appears in its shortened form *cockie* that is, however, not included under this keyword and therefore not counted in the frequency)
- e) **architecture:** *verandah*
- f) **modernity:** *motor, highway, aeroplane*
- g) **ethnicity:** *Vietnamese* (and further down the list also *Chinese, Asian, Greek*) – the greater visibility of ethnic minorities and their increased presence in literature is reflected in adjectives designating one’s origins (*Vietnamese*, and further down the list also *Chinese, Asian, Greek*). The racism such minorities have had to face is showcased by the derogatory word *wog* (see 2.5.5.2).
- h) **Aborigines:** *Aboriginal, Aborigine, blackfella, dugai* (and *half-caste* and *mob* further down the list) – the prominence of the Aboriginal cause is reflected in words designating Aboriginal identity. The white perspective on Aboriginal identity is represented by *half-caste*, which is a label for a mixed-race person, and appears more frequently in discussions regarding the past, similarly to *native*. *Mob* (also further down the list), on the other hand, is a term encompassing sort of an extended family in an Aboriginal community. The Aboriginal word for a white person – *dugai* – also appears, demonstrating that the Indigenous writers also represent white people as seen through their eyes and that words from Aboriginal languages are entering mainstream English by appearing in mainstream literature.

The increasing informality of discourse and its wider acceptance in written language manifests – among others – in the presence of hypocoristics further down the list. These include for example by *ute* (utility truck, 46 instances) or *roo* (kangaroo, 24 instances) – these will be

discussed in more detail in the qualitative analysis of the two novels from this period (see 5.4), as most will not have keyword status in the corpus as individual words.

Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
paddock	162	2	158.56158	2.12276	13.905
constable	142	1	138.98608	1.06138	13.469
creek	141	1	138.00731	1.06138	13.381
Vietnamese	106	0	103.75018	0.00000	11.375
Australia	139	3	136.04976	3.18414	11.078
native	187	8	183.03098	8.49105	10.439
Australian	176	9	172.26445	9.55243	9.322
camp	214	14	209.45790	14.85933	8.828
truck	86	1	84.17467	1.06138	8.514
dugai	73	0	71.45059	0.00000	8.145
Aborigine	69	0	67.53549	0.00000	7.754
goanna	67	0	65.57794	0.00000	7.558
cockatoo	72	1	70.47182	1.06138	7.275
verandah	61	0	59.70529	0.00000	6.971
Aboriginal	61	0	59.70529	0.00000	6.971
cart	91	4	89.06855	4.24552	6.954
pet	104	6	101.79263	6.36828	6.830
wog	87	5	85.15345	5.30690	6.216
cage	153	15	149.75261	15.92071	6.163
parrot	66	2	64.59917	2.12276	6.154
motor	86	5	84.17467	5.30690	6.152
highway	58	1	56.76897	1.06138	6.036
blackfella	51	0	49.91754	0.00000	5.992
timber	70	3	68.51427	3.18414	5.955
farm	128	12	125.28323	12.73657	5.950
hessian	50	0	48.93876	0.00000	5.894
dirt	101	8	98.85630	8.49105	5.887
emu	47	0	46.00244	0.00000	5.600
axe	53	1	51.87509	1.06138	5.594
aeroplane	65	3	63.62039	3.18414	5.584

Table 9 Differentiation: list of generated keywords (AusE with the BrE corpus as reference)

AusE (vs. the rest of the AusE corpus)

Many words appear on both lists, confirming that race, ethnicity, and Aboriginality have only in the last decades become the important topics they are now. The list also reflects the rising acceptance of informality and profanity and the technological advances in the society.

- a) **Aboriginality:** *dugai* (white person), *jah-jam* (child), *talga* (tribal song),⁴⁰ *Goorie*, *Nyoongar* – the higher visibility of Aboriginality is represented in the inclusion of words from Aboriginal languages and names of Aboriginal nations.
- b) **informal and taboo words:** *fuck*, *fucken*, *faggot*; *bong* (*OED3*: “a kind of pipe used for smoking cannabis or another drug”⁴¹) – the greater acceptance of informality mentioned above is also apparent here as the society is becoming less conservative. Hand in hand with that go informal speech markers such as *yeah*, *alright*, contractions of grammatical words (*gonna*, *wanna*), and eye dialect (*ya* for *you*, etc.) which occur much more frequently in this period (although they are excluded from the table below because they have grammatical rather than lexical meaning and thus tell us little about contemporary culture).
- c) **landscape:** *dune* – the rising importance of the *beach* is also confirmed here in relation to the previous periods by the appearance of *dune*.
- d) **modernity:** *cd*, *email*, *walkman*, *stereo*

Item	Frequency (focus)	Frequency (reference)	Relative frequency (focus)	Relative frequency (reference)	Score
dugai	73	0	71.45059	0.00000	72.451
Vietnamese	106	2	103.75018	0.59202	65.797
Asian	77	1	75.36569	0.29601	58.924
t-shirt	55	0	53.83264	0.00000	54.833
blackfella	51	0	49.91754	0.00000	50.918
fuck	407	27	398.36154	7.99231	44.411
fucken	53	1	51.87509	0.29601	40.798
cd	40	0	39.15101	0.00000	40.151
wog	87	5	85.15345	1.48006	34.738
teenager	34	0	33.27836	0.00000	34.278
goorie	33	0	32.29958	0.00000	33.300
campfire	41	1	40.12979	0.29601	31.736
goanna	67	4	65.57794	1.18405	30.484
faggot	29	0	28.38448	0.00000	29.384
dune	63	4	61.66284	1.18405	28.691
video	36	1	35.23591	0.29601	27.960
Nyoongar	27	0	26.42693	0.00000	27.427
aeroplane	65	5	63.62039	1.48006	26.056
talga	24	0	23.49061	0.00000	24.491
email	23	0	22.51183	0.00000	23.512

⁴⁰ See Melissa Lucashenko’s glossary at the end of her novel *Mullumbimby* (2013).

⁴¹ “bong, n.3.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 12 February 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/21320

kayak	23	0	22.51183	0.00000	23.512
boab	23	0	22.51183	0.00000	23.512
walkman	23	0	22.51183	0.00000	23.512
jahjam	21	0	20.55428	0.00000	21.554
ute	46	4	45.02366	1.18405	21.073
stereo	20	0	19.57550	0.00000	20.576
bra	20	0	19.57550	0.00000	20.576
Singaporean	20	0	19.57550	0.00000	20.576
bong	20	0	19.57550	0.00000	20.576
dragon	44	4	43.06611	1.18405	20.176

Table 10 Exonormative stabilisation: list of generated keywords (AusE with the rest of the AusE corpus as reference)

4.2.2 Culturally significant keywords

4.2.2.1 *Mate, mateship*

4.2.2.1.1 Frequency

Keyword	Exonormative stabilisation				Nativization				Endonormative stabilisation				Differentiation				Whole corpus			
	total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm	
	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR
<i>mate</i>	85	18	19.32	3.97	209	17	47.50	3.75	34	8	7.73	1.76	96	44	21.82	9.71	424	87	96.37	19.19
<i>mateship</i>	0		0.00		4		0.91		0		0.00		1		0.23		5		1.14	
<i>friend</i>	1016	898	230.91	198.08	190	336	43.18	74.12	376	550	85.46	121.32	398	437	90.46	96.39	1980	2221	450.01	489.91
<i>friendship</i>	77	79	17.36	17.43	54	45	12.17	9.93	31	53	6.99	11.69	68	40	15.33	8.82	230	217	51.84	47.87

Table 11 Frequency of *mate*, *mateship*, *friend*, *friendship* across the AusE and BrE corpora

Table 11 shows that in terms of frequency, the expectations formulated about *mate* (see 4.1.2.1; expectations 2, 3, 5 and 7) are confirmed, in that by far the highest number of occurrences appears in the nationalistic Nativization period (209, or 47.5 ipm = instances per million tokens) where it occurs nearly 2.5x more often than in the Exonormative stabilisation period.⁴² In the following period there is a steep decline, as the focus moves away from the bush ethos and nationalistic literature, only to rise again in the Differentiation period (96 occurrences, or 21.82 ipm) where interests in re-evaluating the national ethos as well as nationalist sentiments in general are on the rise, and the concept of mateship itself is being reassessed based on societal developments.

Mate is much more frequent than *mateship*, and occurs in the corpus 424x in total (96.37 ipm) compared to 87 (19.19 ipm) occurrences in the BrE reference corpus. It is thus clear that the cultural significance of the word is much higher than in Britain. In the BrE reference corpus, the greatest number of occurrences appears in the period corresponding to the Differentiation stage in AusE, which may be due to the democratisation of the social and by extension literary

⁴² For consistency, the number of instances of words in the quantitative analysis are written as numerals even for small numbers 1-10, which are written as words in the rest of the text.

space. This space now includes more informal language, which *mate* is traditionally associated with. Formentelli (2007) conducted an analysis of the vocative *mate* in the *BNC* and found that it is largely used as a politeness device. While it was previously limited to the lower working class, recently it has been spreading also to business context amongst colleagues, and it is no longer so marked in terms of status and gender. In short, all of these point to the “increasing informality in social relationships” (Formentelli 2007: 197). Even though Formentelli’s study focuses on BrE, the trend appears to be the same for AusE.

Identity component of *mate*

Interestingly, 32 of the occurrences of *mate* in the period corresponding to the Australian Differentiation period in the BrE reference corpus (which is over two thirds of all occurrences in this period) come from Zadie Smith’s novel *White Teeth* (2000) and are spoken mostly by immigrants, and another 6 are from Hanif Kureishi’s novel *The Buddha of Suburbia* (1990) also about immigrants. Moreover, *mate* in *White Teeth*, whose language is described as a mix of Cockney, youth language, and Jamaican Creole (Khan 2020: 1), is used mostly as a vocative.

While in Britain, the use of *mate* fulfills primarily a social function, as suggested by Formentelli above, in Australia this social function also encompasses an identity component. As discussed in 2.6, some Australians may take issue with immigrants or Australians of non-white origin using Australian vernacular, of which *mate* is a prime representative. The fact that some white Australians may see their use of the vernacular as offensive is demonstrated by the following example from the Differentiation period of an immigrant from Singapore using the vernacular phrase “Fair dinkum, mate” which offends a ‘true blue’ Australian, who comments on the integration into Australian society, taking this usage of the vernacular, often associated with the Australian anti-intellectualism, as a subversive way of showcasing intellectual superiority:

- (1) [They made] the perfect transition from pidgin-speaking migrants to perfectly acculturated Australianness. Perfectly multicultural, holding on to the best of the old Chinese ways – sek farn my arse! – and good-humouredly adopting the occasional ockerism, but always with that self-deprecating smile of awareness to show that they were quoting Australianness ironically; that they were cultured and sophisticated enough to play these multicultural games and win. (Teo 2005)

Nevertheless, there are other examples of usage of *mate* by Aboriginal and other ethnic minorities in the Differentiation period, which show that the term is broadening its reach, as per expectations 7 and 8 (see 4.1.2.1). In the BrE reference corpus, ethnicity does not seem to be a

factor in the acceptance and usage of the term, which again confirms its greater cultural significance in AusE, testifying to its keyword status.

Mateship

The word *mateship* is missing from the BrE reference corpus altogether and occurs in the Australian corpus only 5x in total. Even though it was not expected to occur frequently, it is fewer than expected (expectation 2 in 4.1.2.1). The pattern of occurrence is consistent with that of *mate*, in that the majority of occurrences appear in the Nativization period.

2 instances come from Henry Lawson's short story collection *Joe Wilson and His Mates* (1901) and appear as part of the concluding poem which celebrates the bush ethos and the "true mateship" which underlies it. The other 2 instances come from Katharine Susannah Prichard's novel *The Black Opal* (1921) and both appear in the phrase "principle of mateship", which is a binding code of honour the inhabitants of the opal-mining town in the novel live by:

- (2) It just happens naturally, that if a man identifies himself with the Ridge principle of mateship, and will stand by it as it will stand by him, he is recognised by Ridge men as one of themselves.

The only other occurrence in the whole corpus comes from Michelle de Kretser's *The Lost Dog* (2007) in the Differentiation period when, as mentioned, nationalism is on the rise again, and it strongly connects the idea of mateship with Australianness:

- (3) Mateship: the Australian male's birthright. Even stockbrokers were worthy of it.

Despite the democratisation of the concept of *mateship* and the inclusion of women within (which is the reason for expectation 7 in 4.1.2.1), it is of note that in this example it is limited to men, without any qualifications as to the occupation (i.e., not limited for example to bushmen or the working class, which may be a sign of the decrease of its working-class associations, cf. expectation 8 in section 4.1.2.1).

Friend & friendship

For comparison only, apparent synonyms *friend* and *friendship* were included in the Table 11. Overall, *friend* appears 1,980x in the Australian corpus and 2,221x in the BrE reference corpus. If these values are added up with the occurrences of *mate*, their sum is 2,404 (546.38 ipm) in the Australian and 2,308 (509.1 ipm) in the BrE reference corpus, suggesting that the lower numbers for *friend* in the Australian corpus are supplemented by the instances of *mate*.

As indicated by the discussion of the meaning of *mate* in 2.5.2, *mate* and *friend* overlap in certain senses. There is a suggestion that in certain contexts the two terms may be synonymous, as the sense I. in the *OED3* suggests also in the Australian context (see 2.5.2; although the cultural significance and associated meanings underlying *mate* in AusE are impossible to measure):

- (4) Friendship isn't just swims at South Golden or a few beers of a weekend. No. It's driving through floodwater in a borrowed truck, to somewhere you'd rather not be on a cold July afternoon, and digging a fucking great hole in the pouring rain. That's real mates for you.

In this example from Melissa Lucashenko's *Mullumbimby* (2013), the description of friendship encompasses the deep loyalty and solidarity associated with mateship, which is then confirmed by the summary of "That's real mates for you", even though friendship was invoked instead of mateship.

Unlike *mate*, *friend* is rarely used as an address term, and appears mostly as a neutral term of reference to one's friends, collocating with personal pronouns, modifiers *good*, *best*, *childhood*, and verbs *be* and *become*.

Friendship, apart from the example discussed above where it is essentially synonymous with *mateship*, is also used as a neutral term designating friendly relationship between people, without any special culture-specific connotations.

4.2.2.1.2 Functional employment

In terms of functional employment, *mate* appears in the Australian corpus fulfilling the reference function and the vocative function. There are 341 instances (80.42%) of *mate* as a term of reference (as in *he is my mate*) and 83 (19.58%) of *mate* as a term of address (=vocative, as in *G'day, mate*). Table 12 summarises the instances by type of functional employment by period in percentages. These types also govern the different meanings and patterns of usage of *mate*, which will be discussed in 4.2.2.1.4.

period	reference	vocative
Differentiation	33.33%	66.67%
Endonormative stabilisation	76.47%	23.53%
Nativization	97.61%	2.39%
Exonormative stabilisation	92.94%	7.06%

Table 12 Types of functional employment of *mate* across the 4 periods of the AusE corpus

There is a notable increase in the vocative usage from the Endonormative stabilisation period, where it represents nearly a quarter of all instances of *mate*. This tendency is confirmed in the

Differentiation period, where the vocative use clearly surpasses the referential use. This increase is consistent with the aforementioned increase in conversational informality (see 3.1.1.1.4) as well as the spread of the term into more formal contexts and its increased usage by women (see 4.2.1.2, expectation 7).

4.2.2.1.3 *Mate* & gender

The gendered nature of the term – namely its almost exclusive connection with masculinity until recently – deserves more attention.

Gender of the author

Figure 2 represents the instances of *mate* by author whose gender is colour coded.

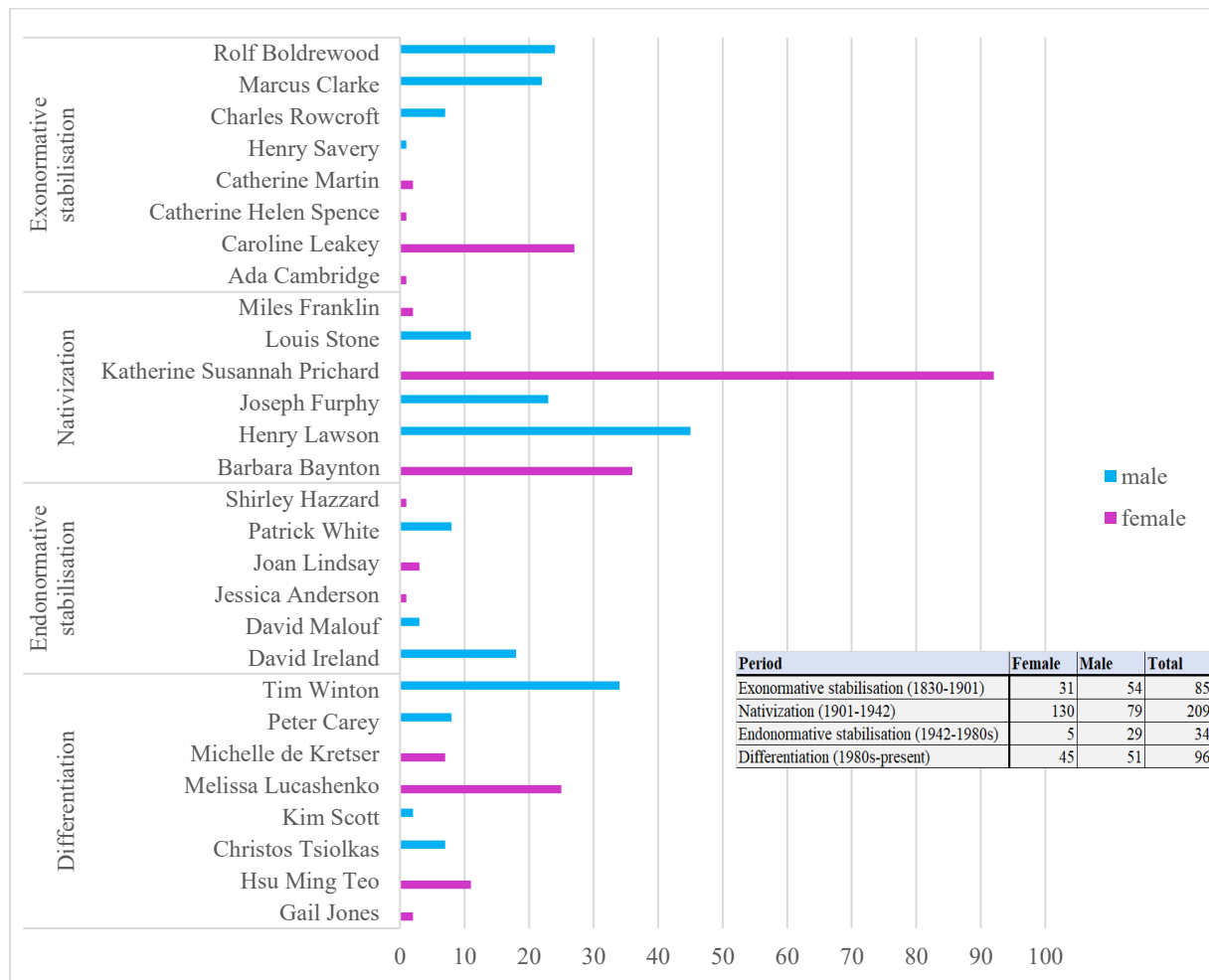


Figure 2 Distribution of *mate* with respect to the author’s gender across the 4 periods of the AusE corpus
 Overall, there are 211 instances used by female authors to 213 used by male authors, resulting in a balanced use across genders. Looking more closely at the individual periods, male authors dominate in the Exonormative stabilisation period and the Endonormative stabilisation period.

As will be discussed in the following section, *mate* has not fully acquired the Australian connotations until the end of the Exonormative stabilisation period and was mainly used in the sense of “inmate” or “naval officer” or “fellow X”. The dominance of male authors could thus suggest convict and transportation subject matter was more their domain.

As for male dominance in the Endonormative stabilisation period, David Ireland’s *The Glass Canoe* (1976) about the Sydney pub scene records the most instances, suggesting Ireland used *mate* in correspondence with its traditional working-class male associations (cf. expectation 4, section 4.1.2.1). The low frequency of *mate* in this period overall reflects the cultural cringe that influenced the level of Australianness portrayed in the literature of the time (see 3.1.1.1.3.2).

Women lead in the Nativization period while in the Differentiation period the usage is near-equal. However, if the numbers are broken down by author, it is apparent that the prevalence of female uses in the Nativization period is largely due to Katharine Susannah Prichard’s *The Black Opal* (1921), where *mate* appears 92x out of the 130 female uses. The idea of mateship appears to be central to the community the novel is about, hence the frequent use of the term (see Appendix 2, section on Nativization, for more details). *Mate* is most frequently used in reference to a fellow mining partner. Yet already the usage of *mate* in the novel contains the meaning components delineated by Wierzbicka (1997) as Australian – shared activity, solidarity and mutual support (see 2.5.2 and 4.1.2.1), encompassed for example in this instance:

- (5) [...] the sacred principle of Ridge life, that a mate stands by a mate [...].
(Prichard 1921)

The near equality in the Differentiation period corresponds to the general trends discussed in 2.5.2 that sees women using the term much more than in previous periods (cf. expectation 7 in 4.1.2.1). Nevertheless, with such a small sample, the results should not be generalised, as they speak more of the linguistic choices (likely influenced by the subject of the novel) of individual authors than general tendencies.

Gender of the referent (referential use)

A more relevant approach may be to look at the gender of the referent. Let us first look at the referential use of *mate*:

Gender	Exonormative s.	Nativization	Endonormative s.	Differentiation
male	79.75%	77.45%	92.31%	57.58%
female	10.13%	13.24%	3.85%	15.15%
animal	2.53%	7.35%	0	3.03%

generic	7.59%	1.47%	3.85%	24.24%
inanimate	0	0.49%	0	0

Table 13 Gender of the referential *mate*

While the masculine associations accompanying the term are decreasing over time (cf. expectation 7, section 4.1.2.1), the majority of instances still apply to a male referent. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Endonormative stabilisation period, where this is the case in 92.31% of instances. By the Differentiation period, the number drops to 57.58%, and this change can be attributed to the spread of the term to include women more frequently.

Perhaps surprisingly, references to females were at 10% already in the Exonormative stabilisation period. Yet upon a closer look, the meaning in which *mate* was used is not yet approaching the current Australian sense: in 2 instances it is used in the sense of “partner in a relationship”, and in the remaining 2 in the sense of “inmate (fellow prisoner)”.

The situation is similar in the Nativization period, where in 1 instance *mate* is used in the sense of “companion” referring to a female child, while all of the other instances refer to the sense of “partner in a relationship” (the individual senses will be discussed in the following section 4.2.2.1.3). The majority comes from Barbara Baynton’s short story collection *Bush Studies* (1902) which includes a story titled “Squeaker’s Mate”. The *mate* of the title refers to the female partner of Squeaker who is a lazy man that lives in the bush and leaves the hard pioneering work to his female companion. When an accident leaves her paralysed, he treats her abominably. The story was written at the height of nationalism that celebrated the bush ethos and the hardworking male ‘mates’ in the bush. However, the *mate* of the title can also be taken as Baynton’s ironic treatment of the mateship ethos where the attributes associated with mateship are clearly fulfilled by the woman rather than the man. This interpretation is supported by Scheidt’s reading of the story (2015) who describes it as “a kind of ‘anti-mateship’ [...], [a story that] questioned the adoption of ‘mateship’ as an Australian value more than half a century before that discussion started to draw formal critical attention”. This example demonstrates how difficult it is to assess the meaning of *mate* simply by the immediate context.

In the Endonormative stabilisation period, female referents are even fewer – 1, to be exact, and again used in the sense of “partner in a relationship”. The steep decline of female referents in this period has to do with the change in the frequency of certain senses of *mate* (as well as with its decrease overall), which will be discussed in the following section (4.2.2.1.3).

In the Exonormative stabilisation and the Nativization periods, *mate* with a female referent refers in most cases to “inmate”, “partner”, or “companion”. The Australian

connotations that became entrenched in the sense “friend” arose likely out of the “fellow X” sense (i.e., someone engaged in the same activity or in the same situation) and women were excluded from it.

Since the Endonormative stabilisation period, the “friend” sense dominates, but it is not until the Differentiation period that women begin to be included, hence the initial decline followed by an increase in the Differentiation period. Only in the Differentiation period is *mate* used in the sense of “friend”, with some instances connecting it more explicitly to the mateship ethos and its attributes, such as ex 4 from Melissa Lucashenko’s *Mullumbimby* (2013) mentioned above. It is in this period that not only female uses increase, but also the use amongst Aboriginal characters and characters of ethnic origin are recorded in all the relevant novels with such characters (Lucashenko’s *Mullumbimby* (2013), Teo’s *Behind the Moon* (2005) and Tsiolkas’s *Loaded* (1995); cf. expectation 7 in 4.1.2.1).

In several instances *mate* is used for an animal referent, most often in the sense of “companion”, “friend” or “fellow-X” (someone engaged in the same activity or circumstances), but the immediate context rarely suggests any explicit associations with the attributes of the mateship ethos. The single inanimate instance refers to a fibre of one’s being:

- (6) Their hands loved and clung; they comforted each other, every fibre finding its mate. (Prichard 1921)

Another contributor to the decrease of purely male reference is the rise in generic uses where the gender of the referent is not specified. It frequently appears with the plural use of *mate* but is not limited to it. In the Differentiation period, the generic use constitutes nearly a quarter of all the instances and can likely be attributed to the democratisation of the term.

Gender of the referent (vocative use)

The trend is similar in the vocative use. The speaker is always male until the Differentiation period when the ratio shifts to 77.78% male and 22.22% female. This has to do with the overwhelmingly male reference of the vocative *mate* until recently. Female speakers utilise the term most frequently in the mitigating function (50%), to soften the impact of their statements, followed by using the term to show friendliness/support (43%) or for emphasis (7%) (the functions will be discussed in detail in 4.2.2.1.4.1).

Speaker	Mitigating f.	Friendliness/support f.	Emphasis f.
female	50%	43%	7%

Table 14 Function of the vocative *mate* in female use

It is difficult to say whether this proves Rendle-Short’s hypothesis that women use the term as a form of casual address (discussed in 2.5.2), not knowing the speaker’s reasoning behind the usage, as the immediate context is inconclusive.

In terms of the gender of the addressee, the situation does not differ significantly:

Addressee	Exonormative s.	Nativisation	Endonormative s.	Differentiation
male	83.33%	100%	100%	73.02%
female	16.67%	0	0	23.81%
generic	0.00%	0	0	1.59%
animal	0.00%	0	0	1.59%

Table 15 Gender of the vocative *mate* (addressee)

The female use in the Exonormative stabilisation period represents exactly 1 instance in which *mate* is used to address a stranger in a mitigating function while offering advice. All vocative uses in the subsequent two periods are limited to men. Only in the Differentiation period do female addressees constitute nearly a quarter of the instances. They encompass nearly the whole range of functions, but in general they all serve to indicate friendliness.

4.2.2.1.4 Meanings, contexts & patterns of use

4.2.2.1.4.1 Vocative

As discussed in 3.2.1.1, in the exploration of the vocative *mate*, Rendle-Short (2009: 262) identifies several contexts in which the word is used: greetings or closings of conversations, offering assessment, agreeing with something, giving advice, making a request, showing appreciation, or showing friendliness. Formentelli’s (2007: 191-193) similar study also adds the context of underlining the speaker’s involvement and serving as a positive politeness device stressing common ground. While these can all be classified as positive and usually occur in a post-turn position (such as *Good to see you, mate*, where *mate* follows a statement, or in pragmatic terms, a TCU – turn construction unit; see 3.2.1.1), there can be instances where *mate* conveys hostility and is thus used ironically, as a distancing device. Rendle-Short asserts that this usage occurs when *mate* is used in the pre-turn position (as in *Mate, don’t go there*, where it precedes a conversational turn (TCU)), and it happens in response to something perceived as problematic in the preceding talk (2009: 263). Very similar contexts have been identified on the corpus data and will be discussed below.

These contexts help us determine the most common functions of the vocative *mate* that are perhaps more significant in examining the term’s behaviour: distancing function, mitigating

function, demonstration of friendliness/support, and emphasis. Figure 3 summarises the functions across the whole corpus:

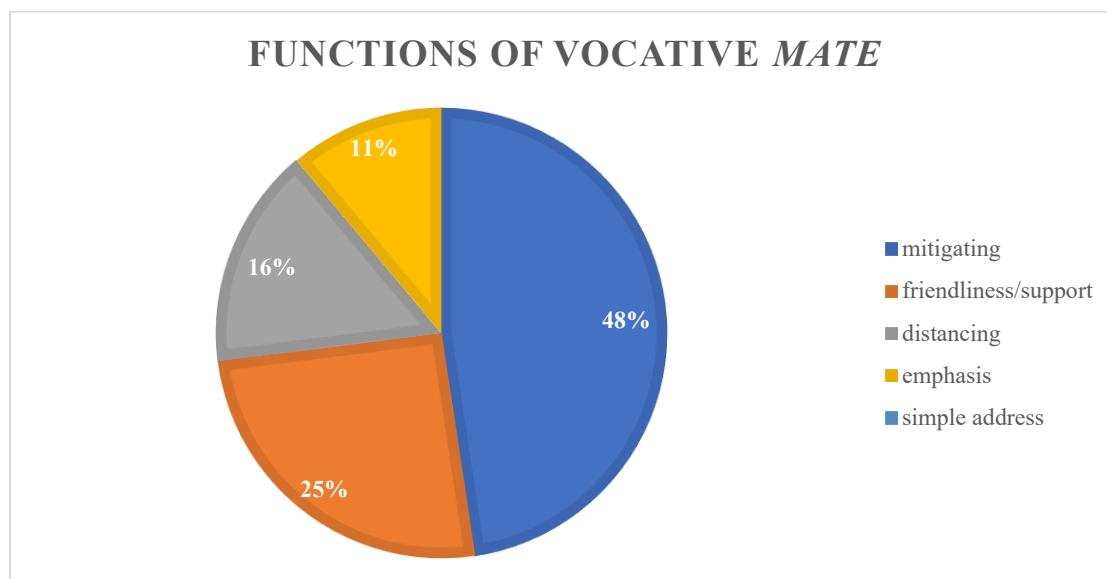


Figure 3 Pragmatic functions of the vocative *mate* (addressee)

As vocative uses are rare until the Differentiation period, where 63 out of the total of the 82 instances appear, the Differentiation period is the most relevant for the overall distribution of the functions.

a) Mitigating function

Figure 3 shows that the mitigating function is the most frequent one, constituting nearly half of all instances, with 38 cases in total – 30 in the Differentiation period, 4 in the Endonormative stabilisation period, 2 in the Nativization period, and 2 in the Exonormative stabilisation period. *Mate* in a mitigating function serves to soften the force or mitigate the directness of the preceding statement (see e.g., Rendle Short 2010: 1201). This corresponds to Formentelli’s assessment that the vocative *mate* is often used as a politeness device mentioned above and just like in BrE, it appears to dominate. The low numbers for the periods before Differentiation reflect the fact that the vocative *mate* is not very frequent in general until then, so drawing conclusions from these numbers in terms of diachronic development could be misleading.

The most frequent context in which mitigating *mate* appears is **acknowledgement** (13 instances, 1 from the Exonormative stabilisation period and the rest from the Differentiation period), when the speaker usually acknowledges a statement and adds *mate* to mitigate its impact, for example:

- (7) “Jus, if I was gay you’d be it for me.”
“Maybe in our next lives, mate.” (Teo 2005)

In this function, it is used between friends, family, and strangers alike and with a positive connotation. The single occurrence in the Exonormative stabilisation period is interesting, as it is used by a bushranger to address a defeated policeman in Rolf Boldrewood’s *Robbery Under Arms* (1888):

- (8) “I must take your horse, mate,” he says; “but you know it’s only the fortune of war. A man must look after himself.”

From their respective positions in the situation, *mate* in this instance could be perceived as an early example of ironic use, as the bushranger is about to rob the policeman. Such use otherwise does not appear till the Differentiation period. However, this bushranger is of a rather noble character and the way he treats the policeman does not imply much hostility, so it could also be interpreted as a friendly address mitigating the announced act of robbery, hence why it was included in the mitigating function rather than distancing.

The second most common context is that of **requests** (11 instances) where *mate* is used to make the request appear less direct. What is understood by request is not only a direct order, but also indirect request, or request for information in the form of a question.

- (9) “Listen, mate, I dunno,” the woman said. (Scott 1999)

All uses can be understood as positive and are used amongst friends and family, apart from 2 uses amongst strangers. All instances come from the Differentiation period apart from 1 from the Nativization period.

There are 4 instances in the context of **assessment**, following an evaluation of a situation (all from the Differentiation period), for example:

- (10) Can’t fly anywhere in this weather, mate. (Winton 2001)

All the instances are positive, with 2 being used amongst strangers and 2 amongst family/friends.

In 5 instances, *mate* is used to mitigate **advice** – 2 instances come from the Differentiation period and 1 instance from each of the remaining periods. The instance from the Exonormative stabilisation period is particularly important, as it is addressed to a woman:

- (11) “Grab hold of honour whilst you can get it, mate, she won’t be long a missus-ing you,” said Gooe to Maida. (Leakey 1859)

The meaning of *mate* here is possibly somewhere between being simply a reference to a fellow servant and the Australian meaning developing from shared experiences of hardship that emphasises solidarity and loyalty. The gender of the addressee is also significant, as at the time women were rarely addressed by *mate*. Because of that, the first meaning of a fellow servant is

more likely, even though the second aspect of meaning might be present too. All instances are again positive and appear between friends and strangers alike.

In 3 instances, *mate* mitigates a **disagreement** – twice in the Endonormative stabilisation period and once in the Differentiation period. The following example comes from the Endonormative stabilisation period:

- (12) “Come on, we’re stopped. Out you go.”
“No fear, mate. Not me. I’m not up to it.” (Ireland 1976)

Again, all instances are positive (cf. expectation 4, section 4.1.2.1), and appear amongst friends and strangers alike.

Finally, the last context in which *mate* appears in the mitigating function is in showing **surprise**, with 1 instance from the Endonormative stabilisation period and another from the Differentiation period:

- (13) Geez, yer keen, mate. (Winton 2001)

This is said by a pilot to his passenger after he immediately pulls out a thousand dollars to pay his way. Both instances are positive, the one above is used amongst strangers, the other amongst friends.

b) Showing friendliness/support

The second most common function of the vocative *mate* is to show friendliness and support. It could be said that all uses of *mate* without negative connotation do so, and it is its general function. So, when none of the other functions applies, or when the show of friendliness or support is more overt, it falls in this category.

There are 21 instances in total, with 16 in the Differentiation period, 3 in the Nativization period, 1 in the Endonormative stabilisation period, and 1 in the Exonormative stabilisation period. Again, the disproportion in numbers is caused by the overall infrequency of the vocative *mate* pre-Differentiation, but as the results demonstrate, this function is present in all the periods.

The most frequent context of use is **acknowledgement**, where most of the instances with no other function fall, such as this example:

- (14) Hitching?
You can tell?
Practise, mate. (Winton 2001)

The more explicitly supportive usage is illustrated by ex 15, where a shop assistant offers to help a customer who might not have enough to do her shopping:

- (15) “Need a dollar, mate?” Annie asked, and Jo looked up into the soft brown eyes of the owner of the Burringbar Produce Store. (Lucashenko 2013)

In this context, *mate* occurs between friends and strangers alike.

This function also often goes hand in hand with the context of offering **consolation** (4x) or **reassurance** (1x). All instances come from the Differentiation period, which suggests this context is relatively new. Ex 16 illustrates consolation, when a friend is comforting another friend after her horse died in an accident:

- (16) “I’m really sorry, mate,” Therese hugged her very briefly, winding her tattooed carp and mermaids around Jo’s sodden shoulders. (Lucashenko 2013)

And to illustrate reassurance, ex 17 sees a woman call to an incoming stranger to assure him her dogs are not dangerous:

- (17) “You’re right, mate, they won’t bite.” (Lucashenko 2013)

As the examples have shown, again, this use appears both amongst strangers and friends. Looking at the speaker’s gender, in 3 out of the 5 instances the speaker is female and the context involving emotions suggests it could be an example of *mate* used to show intimacy as the new female usage proposed by Rendle-Short (2009; see 2.5.2), but there are not enough examples to confirm the hypothesis.

In 5 cases, *mate* appears in openings to indicate **friendliness**. This takes the form of greetings such as “Hi, mate” or “G’day mate” and appears in all of the periods except for Exonormative stabilisation, where *mate* was not really used in this sense approximating “friend” until the very end of the period (cf. expectation 1, section 4.1.2.1).

The last 2 cases appear in the context of **assessment**, such as this example of a friend praising another friend:

- (18) “Gibbo, mate, you’re the best.” (Teo 2005)

c) Emphasis

The third most frequent function of the vocative *mate* is emphasis, which includes both its use to emphasise the statement itself, or to emphasise one’s involvement. The majority of instances appear in the Differentiation period (7), with 2 in the Endonormative stabilisation period and 1 in the Exonormative stabilisation period. No objective reason lends itself to explain the absence of any instance in the Endonormative stabilisation period besides the general decrease of *mate* due to the cultural climate. All instances are positive and appear amongst friends and strangers alike.

The most frequent context is that of **assessment**, such as the following example which stresses the element of the cost of something the addressee is planning:

(19) It's the cost, mate. Think of the cost. (Ireland 1976)

An example stressing personal involvement in the assessment context is ex 20 from a conversation between siblings:

(20) Mum and Dad will make a big fuss, mate, he told me, this might not be a pleasant house for a long time. (Tsiolkas 1995)

3 instances appear in the context of **acknowledgement**, putting emphasis on the preceding statement, for example:

(21) And North is where you get it. The Kimberley, mate. Big weather, big fish, big distances – larger'n life. (Winton 2001)

Apart from these, there is also 1 instance where *mate* in the emphasising function appears in the context of **humour**:

(22) Mate, the only sign I associate with the New Age is the dollar sign. (Lucashenko 2013);

and 1 instance of **exclamation**:

(23) Jeez, mate, I couldn't let him. (Carey 1985).

d) Distancing function

The following function of the vocative *mate* in order of frequency is the distancing function, which occurs 11x in total – 10x in the Differentiation period and once in the Endonormative stabilisation period.

As expected, given previous research, this function is thus relatively new, confined almost exclusively to the last period (cf. expectation 9, section 4.1.2.1). The distancing can take the form of distancing oneself from the previous statement where the connotation of *mate* may not be necessarily negative, but also to a more general distancing with a negative connotation of *mate* when antagonism is implied. This antagonistic use can also be seen as ironic, implying that the people involved in the interaction are anything but *mates*. In those contexts, the negative connotation of *mate* is a result of semantic prosody – its lexical surroundings and the situational context.

4 instances appear in the context of **disagreement** – 3 amongst strangers and 1 amongst friends. The following example from Christos Tsiolkas's *Loaded* (1995) is from an argument between Ari, a young gay man, and his boyfriend, about whom Ari currently feels like he wants to “punch his fucking face in”:

- (24) Should I take you home, Ari? he asks me.
No, mate, I tell him, butting out the cigarette, putting my clothes back on.

Mate in this instance carries a negative connotation. Ex 25 illustrates a similar use between strangers where *mate* may not necessarily be negative, perhaps just neutral:

- (25) People are terrified of the wide, brown land. And you have to reassure them, said Jim. Mate, these are big beer-swillin blokes. You know, lawyers and surgeons and kick-arse CEOs. I don't reassure em, I rip the piss out of em. (Winton 2001)

In the 5 instances of **request**, *mate* always exhibits a negative connotation, helping the speaker convey an antagonistic attitude, for example:

- (26) Listen, mate, you might have some bit of paper but we know what you are. You don't belong here. (Scott 1999)

In 1 instance, distancing *mate* appears between acquaintances, when the speaker exhibits **surprise** at the addressee's behaviour:

- (27) Mate, you've got shit for brains. He's not coming back. (Winton 2001)

The negative connotation of *mate* in these situations is usually a result of its lexical surroundings as much as of the situation itself – hence its semantic prosody is negative, even though generally the semantic prosody of *mate* is positive, acquired through overwhelmingly positive usage in general.

One other context that appears once in this function is that of **acknowledgement** in ex 28, where a stranger who has been sent to retrieve a snake from a park addresses its inhabitant in a rather antagonistic exchange:

- (28) It's a sacred site for the bloody RSL, mate, not your lot. (Lucashenko 2013)

This is a clear example of the ironic usage of *mate* as the speakers are definitely not friends.

As discussed in the introduction to this section, Rendle-Short (2009) associates the distancing function of *mate* with its pre-turn position. There are 9 instances of *mate* in pre-turn position, however, only 3 out of these can be classified as distancing, with a negative or neutral connotation. The only negative instances of *mate* do indeed appear in a pre-turn position, so in this sense Rendle-Short's hypothesis is confirmed. In 3 instances, the pre-turn *mate* has the function of emphasis with a positive connotation, and there is also 1 instance each of the mitigating function, friendliness/support, and simple address. In all of these the connotation of *mate* is positive.

e) Simple address

The simple address category covers 2 instances of the vocative *mate* which have little to do with its use as a friendly term of address. In one instance, *mate* refers to the sense of “naval officer”, who is simply addressed so by his superior, and the other refers to prisoners or inmates, being addressed by their supervisors in this manner.

Summary

With the majority of data coming from the last period, it is difficult to generalise. Nevertheless, it is safe to say the mitigating function appears to be the most frequent function of the vocative *mate* and the corpus returns at least 1 instance for each period. The only other function to appear across the whole corpus is showing friendliness/support. The distancing function appears to be relatively new, with 1 instance in the Endonormative stabilisation period and the rest in the Differentiation period. Therefore the results are consistent with previous research and the expectations formulated above, although 1 instance in the Exonormative stabilisation period is borderline ironic, even though due to context it was included under the mitigating function. On the other hand, the simple address function referring to other meanings of *mate* that appeared in the Exonormative stabilisation period has disappeared, possibly due to *mate* developing its own senses in AusE. The most typical contexts include acknowledgement, usually associated with the mitigating function or with showing friendliness/support, requests associated mainly with the mitigating and distancing functions, and assessment, associated with emphasis, showing friendliness/support and the mitigating function. The vast majority of all the instances of the vocative *mate* are positive, or neutral, with only 2 negative occurrences, both in pre-turn position, which Rendle-Short (2009) sees as typical for this kind of usage.

4.2.2.1.4.2 Reference

Out of the semantic possibilities of *mate* as a reference term, it is difficult to distil the Australian facets of meaning which Wierzbicka and others reported (see 2.5.2), because they often manifest largely from implication in a larger context. The Australian meaning is rooted in associations with the national ethos and values of solidarity, loyalty, mutual support, and anti-authoritarian spirit, which is difficult to estimate from concordance lines. Therefore, a more basic categorisation into separate meanings was first conducted. Within those categories, any apparent association with the national ethos will be discussed.

The distribution of meanings across periods is captured in Figure 4.

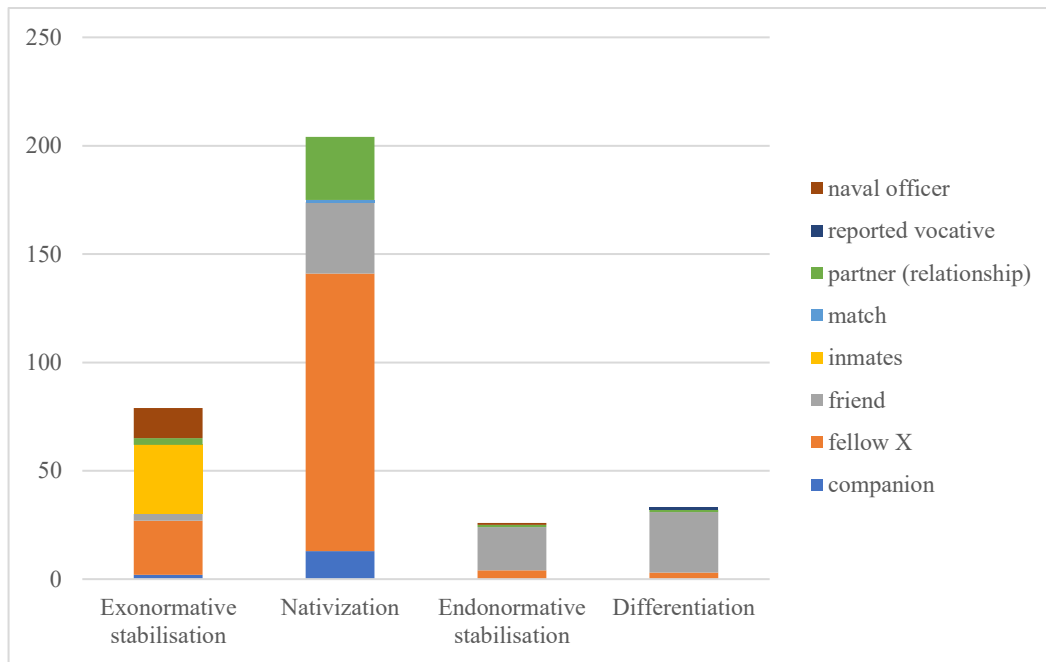


Figure 4 Meanings of the referential *mate*

As expected (cf. expectation 1, section 4.1.2.1), in the Exonormative stabilisation period, *mate* appears in meanings that became obsolete in later periods, namely “naval officer” (14 or 17.72%) and “inmate” (32 or 40.51%). This is likely due to the subject matter of the novels published, as well as because the other senses of *mate* were only beginning to develop or be recorded in written texts.

Another frequent meaning is “fellow X” (25 or 27.85%), a label that signifies a person engaged in the same activity or being present in the same situation, such as a fellow labourer. This is an important meaning due to the emphasis placed on shared activities in the Australian sense of *mate* (see 2.5.2). Its importance is demonstrated by its steep rise in the nationalistic Nativization period when the Australian sense of the word is truly manifesting itself in the published texts (confirming expectation 3, section 4.1.2.1). There it constitutes 128 of all the instances (62.75%).

Mate in the sense of “companion” (13 or 6.37%) or “friend” (33 or 16.18%) is also gaining ground in this period, along with the sense of “partner in a relationship” (33 or 14.22%).

From the Endonormative stabilisation period on, the range of meaning of *mate* appears to narrow (cf. expectation 5, section 4.1.2.1). The Endonormative stabilisation period records *mate* in the meaning of “friend” in the vast majority of instances (20 or 76.92%), followed with 1 instance of “naval officer” (3.85%), and 1 of “partner” (3.85%).

The dominance of the sense of “friend” continues in the Differentiation period (28 or 84.85%), with 3 instances of the “fellow X” meaning (9.09%), and 1 instance of “partner in a

relationship” (3.03%) and 1 of a reported vocative (3.03%). Let us now examine the individual meanings more closely.

a) “Isolated instances”

There is 1 instance of a reported vocative, which appears in the Differentiation period in Christos Tsiolkas’s *Loaded* (1995) about Greek-Australians, where the main character Ari is introduced to his friend’s boyfriend whom he assesses to be “another junkie wog”:

(29) I’m introduced to him and I shake his hand firmly. He calls me mate.

While Ari makes no explicitly negative comment about this and we have no information about his intonation, from the situation and the context of the novel it seems that Ari takes issue with being called *mate* by this stranger, although it is not clear whether he takes issue with the conscious ‘Australianisation’ of this man’s speech or with being called his *mate*. In any case, this points to the issue of linguistic integration and to what degree the vernacular is accepted from and by Australians of non-white origin, as discussed in 2.6.

The other isolated instance is *mate* used in the generalised meaning of “match”, which was discussed using ex 6 in the section on mate & gender (4.2.2.1.3).

b) “Naval officer”

A more frequent but now almost obsolete meaning of *mate* is in the sense of a “naval officer”, which appears only in the Exonormative stabilisation period (14 instances), except for 1 occurrence in the Endonormative stabilisation period. The *OED3* defines this sense (5a.) as “[t]he rank of officer immediately subordinate to the master, divided according to seniority into first mate, second mate, third mate, etc.; an officer of this rank”, which corresponds to its uses recorded in the corpus, with 4 instances of “first mate”, 1 of “second mate” and 1 of “chief mate”. The *OED3* also notes that since 1802 the term has been replaced by *sub-lieutenant* although it was revived for short periods since then. The instances in the corpus can be attributed to the early interest of writers in convict subject matter, including the transportation itself.

As a term referring to a hierarchical system in the navy, it does not appear related to the Australian sense of *mate*. The *OED3* also offers another sense (4a.) under the nautical sense: “an assistant to a particular functionary on a ship”. *Mate* in this sense is not found in the corpus, yet it may be important in its trajectory towards its Australian meaning for its working-class association. Formentelli (2007: 184) highlights the following quotation from the *OED3* from 1637 that establishes a connection between sailors and *mate* in the “fellow X” meaning: “[i]t is

a word That Sailors interchangeably afford To one another”. Formentelli (2007) holds that the *OED3* quotation represents important evidence that the general use of the vocative *mate* in this sense began among the working class in reciprocal usage, with sailors playing an instrumental role in the spread of the term. He supports this with a quote from Dunkling’s *A Dictionary of Epithets and Terms of Address* which states that “there is little doubt that the general use of mate began with sailors” (1990: 170, qtd. in Formentelli 2007: 184).

c) “Inmate”

While the “naval officer” meaning, signifying rank, has little to do with the central Australian aspect of mateship that is egalitarianism, this aspect is to an extent present in its sense of “inmate” in prison or a penal colony (and in the other naval sense of *mate* as an “assistant” not present in the corpus). This sense appears in the corpus 32x, only in the Exonormative stabilisation period, which is again related to the popular subject matter. It is very similar to the meaning category labelled here as “fellow X” due to the shared experience, however, the number of occurrences in this specific context warrants its own category. Ex 30 illustrates such usage:

- (30) Some of the men were working in the road, others drawing carts of stones, and others, more heavily ironed, were assisting their mates by various lesser services. (Leakey 1859)

Interestingly, plural and singular usage constitutes 50% each (overall, the plural constitutes only about 30% of the instances), suggesting that the term was frequently used to refer to the collective rather than individuals.

d) “Companion”

A meaning that already very much resembles the central meaning of *mate* is that of “companion”, which appears in the Exonormative stabilisation period (2x or 2.53%) and Nativization period (13x or 6.37%).

It is differentiated from “fellow X” and “friend” because of a sense of inequality in the relation in the case of “fellow X” and absence of explicit friendship in the case of the “friend” category. As such, in most cases the referent is an animal that is not viewed as a pet or friend, but there is an explicit master versus mate relationship. Ex 31 from Henry Lawson’s short story “The Loaded Dog” from *Joe Wilson and His Mates* (1901) suggests the dog is not seen as an equal:

- (31) They had a big black young retriever dog – or rather an overgrown pup, a big, foolish, four-footed mate, who was always slobbering round them and lashing their legs with his heavy tail that swung round like a stock-whip. Most of his head was usually a red, idiotic, slobbering grin of appreciation of his own silliness.

The context of the story further proves that the masters do not follow the principles of mateship when it comes to this dog, as they essentially let him be blown up. Alternatively, *mate* can be used for the master from the point of view of the animal:

- (32) He waited, and despite the eager light in his intelligent face, his master and mate did not ask him any questions as to the cause of these calling sheep.
(Baynton 1902)

The only 2 animate referents in the sense of companion are again in an unequal relationship between father and daughter in Miles Franklin's *My Brilliant Career* (1901) where the daughter is referred to as "Daddy's little mate" by her father and the father as her "hero, confidant, encyclopaedia, mate, and even [her] religion". The sense of "companion" disappears in the last two periods, likely because its uses become confined to truly egalitarian contexts.

e) "Partner" (in a relationship)

The only three meaning categories that appear in all the four periods are "partner in a relationship", "friend", and "fellow X" and it is in these instances that egalitarianism is implied. "Partner" appears only a few times in all but the Nativization period where the majority of its occurrences are. However, this is largely due to the use of the word in Barbara Baynton's previously discussed short story "Squeaker's Mate" (see 4.2.2.1.3). In the context of the story, *mate* besides being used in the sense of female "partner" can be interpreted as an ironic take on the masculine mateship ethos, which this story violates with the behaviour of the male character Squeaker. The sudden increase in the number of instances in this period thus should not be interpreted as meaningful.

f) "Friend"

The second most common sense of the referential *mate* is "friend", which differs from the "fellow X" category only by the context explicitly suggesting a friendly relationship between the persons involved in the relationship either by the characters' behaviour, the length of their relationship, or synonymity with the word "friend".

While *mate* is rarely used in this sense in the Exonormative stabilisation period, it gains ground in the Nativization period as the second most frequent meaning. In the following two periods it comes to dominate: in the Endonormative stabilisation period it constitutes 76.92%

of all instances of the referential *mate* (20 instances) and in the Differentiation period 84.85% (28 instances).

Besides egalitarianism, the meaning components important for this category are loyalty and solidarity, as demonstrated by ex 33:

- (33) My father had a dozen old mates like Peg-leg, who had fallen on hard times, or had never fallen on good ones. Some of them he knew from his fighting days, they were old fans. Others from the early years when he had carried from the markets. He never failed to stop when they hailed him, and never refused the few bob [...]. (Malouf 1975)

In several cases the special significance of the term *mate* is invoked, such as in ex 34 from the Endonormative stabilisation period, which suggests the word should not be used lightly to label someone but if it is, it should be a guarantee of that person's good character:

- (34) "Mike's alright. Him and me are mates." And so in the finest sense of that much abused word, they were. (Lindsay 1968)

Not all examples are so explicit, and in some cases *mate* seems to be truly synonymous with "friend" without the unique Australian shades of meaning. Nonetheless, in the Australian consciousness these might be evoked whether or not they are implied by the words themselves due to the strength of the mateship ethos in the cultural consciousness.

The associations of *mate* in this sense are still overwhelmingly male and there are no female referents until the Differentiation period where 5 appear, along with 1 animal referent.

g) "Fellow X"

"Fellow X" is the most frequent sense of the referential *mate* overall, covering nearly 50% of all the instances, and leads by a great margin especially in the Nativization period (128 instances or 62.75%), declining to only a handful of uses in the last two periods, where it is replaced as the dominant sense by "friend". It is distinguished from the "friend" sense by lacking any suggestion of true friendship between the persons involved and by emphasis on shared activities or situations. The instances thus most often refer to "working mates" (such as diggers, drovers, police officers or bushrangers), for example:

- (35) I was workin' mates with a raw new-chum feller las' winter, ringin' on the Yanko. (Furphy 1903)

The surge in frequency in the Nativization period is largely due to the frequent use of the word by Katharine Susannah Prichard (discussed in 4.2.2.1.3), which constitutes nearly three quarters of all instances in this period (89 out of 128). Most refer to a mining partner, even if at the same time mateship is seen as the central principle the society in the novel abides by. This can thus be seen as an apt demonstration of how mateship acquired its specifically Australian

associations with loyalty, solidarity, anti-authoritarianism, egalitarianism, and shared activities, as it arose out of people of equal standing working together and looking out for each other, be it bushmen or miners.

Mateship & the national ethos

Explicit associations with the national ethos for which mateship is central can be detected in 62 cases – over one half in the sense of “fellow X” (34), closely followed by “friend” (24), with a few instances of “inmate”, “naval officer”, “partner in a relationship”, and the reported vocative.

This explicitness is either conveyed by the surrounding lexical context, such as the earlier examples invoking loyalty and solidarity (e.g., ex 33), or the larger context of the whole text, such as with occurrences of *mate* in Henry Lawson’s *Joe Wilson and His Mates* (1901), which partly served to promote the national ethos.

Over two thirds of the instances come from the Nativization period (44), which is not surprising given its nationalistic agenda. Prichard’s *The Black Opal* (1921) falls in this period, and offers another example that draws on mateship as a code of honour where it is unacceptable to betray a mate, referring to the associations with loyalty:

- (36) A man that would go back on a mate like that – why, he’s not fit to wipe your boots on. He ain’t fit to be called a man; he ain’t fit to be let run with the rest.

The preceding Exonormative stabilisation period records 6 instances, as these meanings are only beginning to develop.

After the Nativization period the numbers are low, with 7 instances in the Endonormative stabilisation period and 5 in the Differentiation period, which includes the previously discussed ex 4 (see 4.2.2.1.1) from Lucashenko’s *Mullumbimby* (2013) that also invokes the concepts of loyalty and readiness to help. 2 other interesting instances appear in this period in Tim Winton’s *Dirt Music* (2001) that invoke anti-authoritarianism, using *mate* to bring the referent to the same level, as it were, referring to famous composers as “old mate Shostakovich” and “our little Estonian mate” (referring to Arvo Pärt), respectively.

One possible interpretation of the decrease in instances explicitly linked to the national ethos is that having delineated and promoted the concept of mateship as a national value in the Nativization period, its attributes no longer need to be stated explicitly, having been codified.

Summary

The trajectory of the referential *mate* thus corresponds to a great degree to the expectations outlined in 4.1.2.1, with the highest number of instances recorded in the Nativization period where most of the instances overtly connected to the national ethos occur (expectation 3). While early meanings in the Exonormative stabilisation period mostly referred to a “naval officer”, “inmate”, or “partner” (expectation 1), in later periods these were replaced by the sense of “fellow X” that arose out of the nationalistic ethos (expectation 3) as a kind of predecessor to the now prevalent sense of “friend” encompassing in its Australian sense the connection to Australian values. This is in line with Moore’s assertion (see 2.5.2) that the central Australian sense of *mate* is “a sworn friend” in the referential sense. The last two examples from Winton’s *Dirt Music* (2001) where *mate* was used in an anti-authoritarianism sense to establish equality between the speaker and referent serve as another example of Australian usage drawing on the national ethos.

4.2.2.2 The *bush*

4.2.2.2.1 Frequency

Keyword	Exonormative stabilisation				Nativization				Endonormative stabilisation				Differentiation				Whole corpus			
	total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm	
	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR
bush	329	25	74.77	5.51	184	33	41.82	7.28	123	30	27.95	6.62	154	33	35.00	7.28	790	121	179.55	26.69
bushman	17		3.83		77		17.36		0		0.00		3		0.68		97		21.86	
bushwoman	0		0.00		7		1.59		0		0.00		0		0.00		7		1.59	

Table 16 Frequency of *bush*, *bushman*, *bushwoman* across the four periods of the AusE and BrE corpus

Of all the keywords, *bush* is by far the most frequent, with 790 instances in total of the lemma (including the forms *bush*, *bushes*, *bushed* and *bushing*), compared to 121 instances in the BrE reference corpus.

As expected (cf. expectation 1, section 4.1.2.2), the greatest number of instances (and highest number of ipm) appears in the Exonormative stabilisation period when the new environment is being conceptualised.

There is a significant decrease in the Nativization period, although the numbers are still relatively high and more specifically Australian meanings appear (cf. expectation 3, section 4.1.2.2 – the decrease in frequency does not entirely conform to the expectation). This is supported by the high frequency of *bushman* (cf. expectation 4, section 4.1.2.2), associated with the national type which nearly disappears in the following periods. The only recorded instances of *bushwoman* also appear in this period.

There is further decrease in the Endonormative stabilisation period, as the bush myth starts to lose its relevance (cf. expectation 5, section 4.1.2.2).

There is a slight increase in the Differentiation period when the *bush* gains new meanings for modern-day Australia (cf. expectation 6, section 4.1.2.2).

The instances of *bush* in the BrE reference corpus are far fewer and in meaning limited to denoting “shrub”, with many instances in the plural. That the meaning is relatively uniform through time is apparent also from the number of instances in each period, which remains nearly constant. There are only a few usages of *bush* in the more figurative sense to signify “hair”, and a couple as part of the proper noun *Shepherd’s Bush*. The associations are either neutral, or *bush(es)* appears in the context of danger or hiding place, in which it is similar to the Australian usage even though there the meaning of *bush* in this context refers more often to the environment as a whole rather than “shrub”.

4.2.2.2.2 Word class

While *bush* is most frequently used as a noun (76.20% overall), it is also habitually used as a noun adjunct modifying another noun (22.03% overall). There are also marginal occurrences of other word classes. The adjective *bushed*, meaning “lost in the bush” has 4 instances in the Nativization period and 2 in the Endonormative stabilisation period. There are 2 instances of gerund in the Exonormative stabilisation period (e.g., “we should prepare ourselves for bushing it”, Rowcroft 1843; i.e., “live/sleep rough in the bush”). 4 instances of adverbial usage appear in the Differentiation period, with 1 instance of a person being “out bush”, and 3 other instances of “go bush”. Despite the rather small data sample, the occurrence of the adverbial usage in the last period only suggests it is a more recent development (the *OED3* does not list an adverbial usage). There are also 2 instances of *Bush* as a proper name.

Figure 5 shows the distribution of word classes over time.

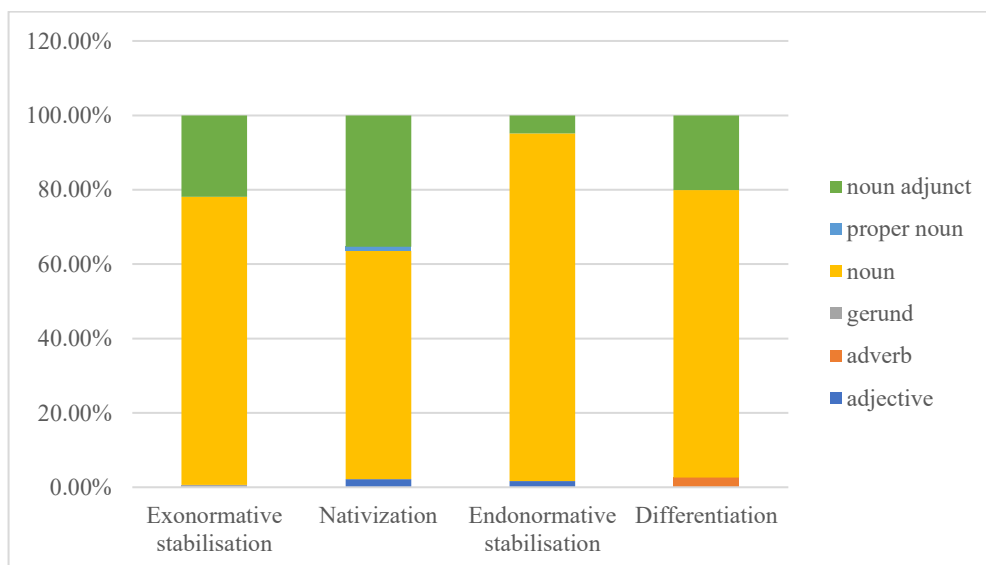


Figure 5 Word classes of *bush* across the periods of the AusE corpus

The noun usage is clearly dominant. Nevertheless, in the Nativization period there is an increase in the noun adjunct usage. In section 2.5.5.3, it was discussed that the *bush* gradually came to be associated with a specific lifestyle (cf. expectation 4 in 4.1.2.2). It would thus follow that parts of this lifestyle would need to be qualified by *bush*, which is in line with Bromhead’s assertion that many *bush* compounds arose (see 2.5.5.3). Overall, the corpus returns over 100 different open compounds, with the most frequent ones being the following: *bush life*, *bush tracks*, *bush fire(s)*, *bush fashion*, *Bush fairies*, *bush expedition*, *bush shelter(s)*, *bush tucker*, and *bush hospitality*. Some of these have evolved into closed compounds, such as *bushfire*, or the aforementioned *bushman* and *bushwoman*. Another very popular closed compound is *bushranger* or *bushranging*, popular especially in the first period, which was the heyday of bushranging in Australia.

In the Nativization period, the noun adjunct usage constitutes 35.33% of all the instances of *bush*, and examples include *bush tune*, *bush scholar*, *bush caution*, *bush slouch*, *bush skill*, *bush parlance*, *bush recipes*, *bush craft*, etc. As the lifestyle diminishes in the Endonormative stabilisation period, the percentage of noun adjuncts decreases significantly. In the instances that appear, *bush* does not relate to a specific lifestyle, but is confined to associations with danger (e.g., “fighting bush fires”, Lindsay 1968), something rudimentary (“It looks more like a bush hospital”, Bail 1980), and hardship (“a sandy kind of bush road that there is no consuming”, White 1955).⁴³ This trend continues in the Differentiation period, where despite

⁴³ The meanings and associations of *bush* will be discussed in detail in section 4.2.2.2.3.

the increase of noun adjunct instances, the prevalent associations are also with something rudimentary in nearly 50% of instances, with only a few cases that relate to a specific bush culture. What is new is the association with Aboriginal spirituality, apart from 1 isolated instance in the Exonormative stabilisation period.

4.2.2.2.3 Meanings & associations of *bush*

The three main meanings of *bush* identified in the corpus roughly correspond to the main meanings identified by Bromhead discussed in 4.1.2.2. As has become apparent in the analysis of the data, these meanings are more of a continuum than separate senses, which made the categorisation difficult.

Figure 6 displays the ratio of meanings across the four periods. “Uncultivated area” is by far the most common in the first two periods as it is becoming a quintessentially Australian environment, followed by the sense of “an area overgrown with trees”. Perhaps surprisingly (cf. expectation 2, section 4.1.2.2), there are not many instances of the original meaning of “shrub” in the first two periods. As expected (expectation 5, section 4.1.2.2), “shrub” rises significantly in the Endonormative stabilisation period, where it becomes the dominant sense as the importance of the bush decreases. In the Differentiation period, the “shrub” meaning decreases again, with the two other principal senses being nearly equal, signifying that *bush* both as a physical as well as cultural environment is again gaining more ground.

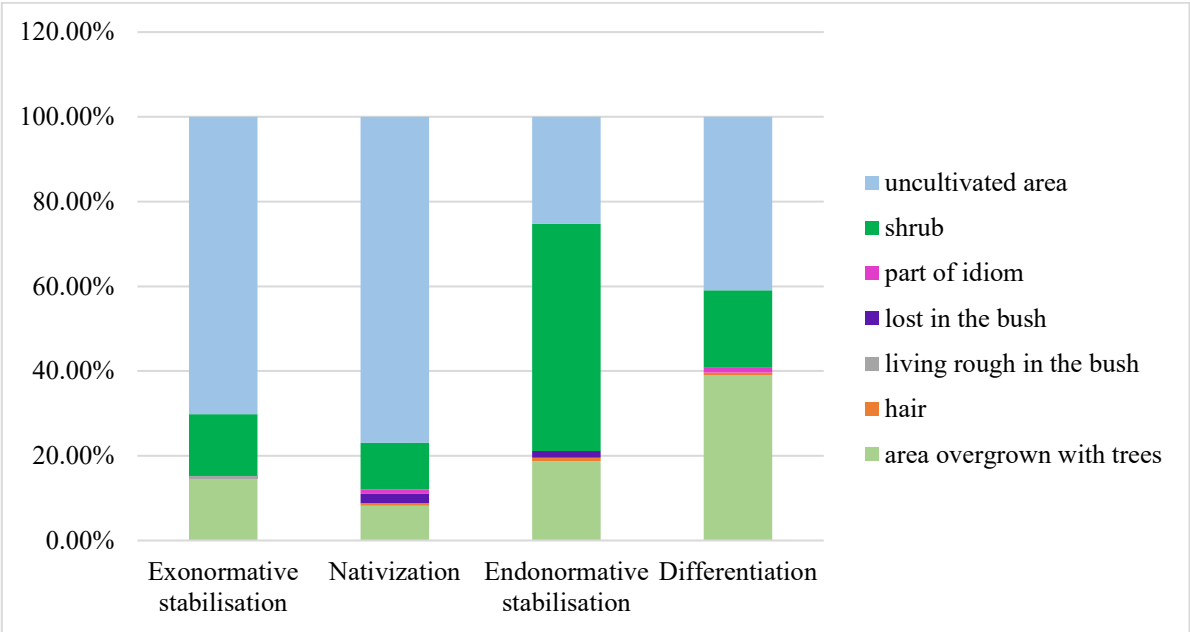


Figure 6 Meanings of *bush* across the periods of the AusE corpus

These meanings usually co-occur with certain associations called up by the context – immediate lexical context of the instance of *bush*, or by the larger context of the whole situation that is being discussed in the respective novel. Figure 7 displays their ratio overall throughout the corpus. While in approximately a quarter of instances, *bush* has no special associations (in 75% of these instances it correlates with the “shrub” meaning), associations of *bush* with **specific culture/knowledge**, **shelter/hiding place**, but also with **danger**, **hardship**, and **something rudimentary** are amongst the most frequent ones. Other associations that have appeared include **loneliness**, **hard work**, **city counterpart**, **mystery**, **romanticism**, **Aboriginal knowledge/spirituality**, **freedom**, **hospitality**, and a few others that will be mentioned in conjunction with the relevant meaning. How these associations changed through time will be discussed in the following section, 4.2.2.2.4.

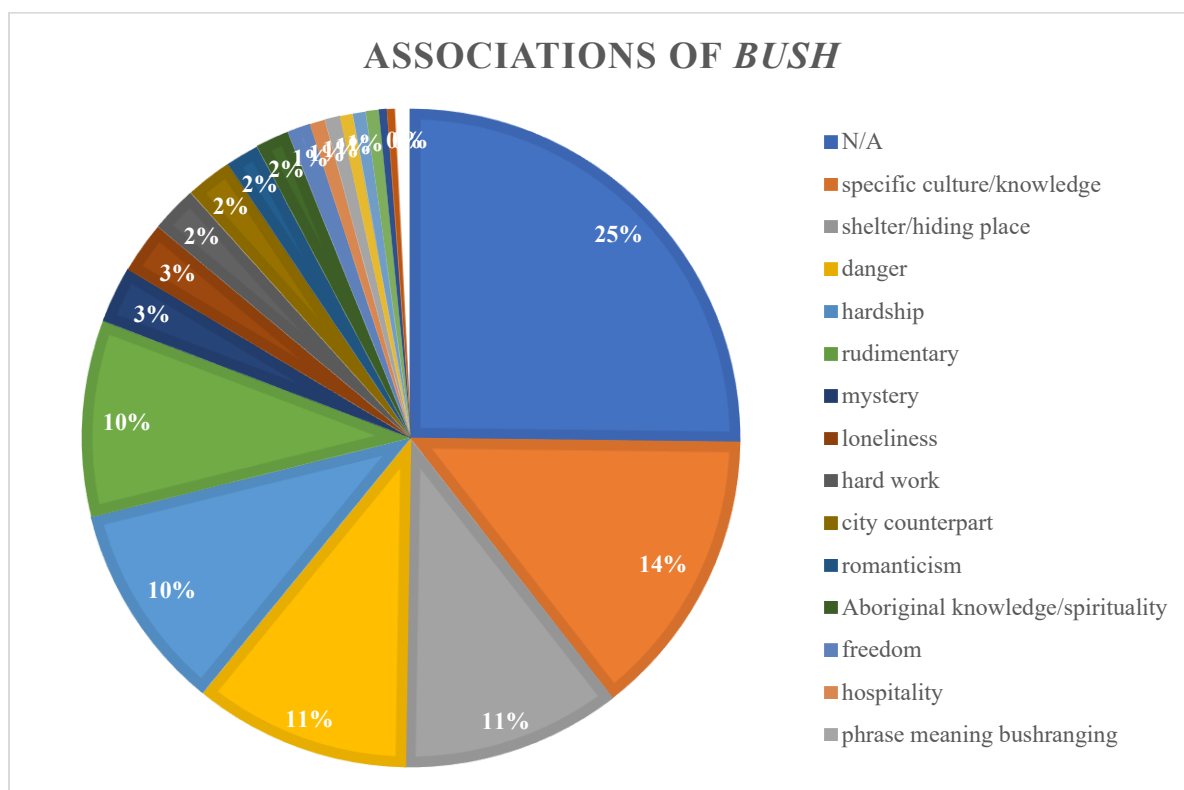


Figure 7 Meanings associations of *bush*

a) “Uncultivated area”

By far the most frequent sense is that of “uncultivated area” (465 or 58.86% of the total instances) which would correspond to Bromhead’s senses of a “human domain” as well as “place outside of the city” (see 2.5.5.3). These senses often overlap, so they are included under the same category. To illustrate, here is an example from the Nativization period:

(37) News of such catastrophes soon spread in the bush. (Baynton 1902)

This spreading of news requires someone to spread it, which suggests the meaning of human domain, yet the fact that *bush* is specified as the environment where this happens also suggest it differs from other environments, such as the city. Sometimes, the nuance may be expressed more overtly, in which case it will be specified in the corresponding association.

This sense appears in the widest range of associations and only a little over 5% of instances have no further associations.

i. Specific culture/knowledge

Nearly 23.5% of *bush* in the sense of “uncultivated area” imply **specific culture/knowledge** – an association that apart from 2 instances appears exclusively in correlation with this meaning. Many of the aforementioned instances of the noun adjunct fall into this category (*bush skills*, *bush parlance*, etc.). Some of the instances of *bushed* also fall into this category, as being lost in the *bush* qualifies as a specific type of the bush experience (and is not always associated with danger or hardship, which are the more natural associations). This category also includes some instances of the noun usage, such as

(38) The hospitality of the bush never extends to the loan of a good horse.
(Baynton 1902)

ii. Something rudimentary

The second most frequent association is **something rudimentary**, which applies to 15.3% of instances. In more than half of those cases *bush* is again used as a noun adjunct, such as:

(39) It is a regular old bush house, which has been added to in every direction. The rooms are low, and straggle about anyhow; there is no front door – or, rather, there are several [...]. (Cambridge 1880)

While it could also be said to be part of a specific culture and thus to belong to the previous category, instances in this category show an extra component where inferiority or lack of sophistication is implied, as in the description of this house, or in ex 40 where *bush* appears as a noun:

(40) I don't know whether porter or ale might not do as well, or better; but porter and ale are not to be found in the bush [...]. (Rowcroft 1843)

iii. Danger

Another frequent context is **danger** with 12.5% of occurrences, which habitually appears along with the phrase “lost in the bush”, or contexts such as this:

- (41) I attempt to describe the horrible fate that awaited me in the desolate wilds of the dismal bush. (Rowcroft 1843)

iv. **Hardship**

12.3% instances occur in the context of **hardship**:

- (42) [W]e'll leave this wretched life, we'll leave the Bush forever! (Lawson 1901)

v. **Other**

The following contexts amount to 4% or 5% each: shelter/hiding place, mystery, city counterpart, loneliness. The ones that have only a couple of instances each are the following: hard work, romanticism, Aboriginal knowledge/spirituality, freedom, hospitality, adventure, silence, dullness, passing on information, bushranging, freshness, and purity.

b) “Shrub”

The second most frequent meaning category is the original sense of “shrub” (162 instances or 20.51%) which does not require much elaboration. All of the instances of the plural correspond to this meaning. In this sense, it is often pre-modified, e.g., *chrysanthemum bushes*, *Mallee bushes*, *dense gray-green bushes*, etc.

The majority of instances have no further associations, only 18 cases out of the 162 do. 12 of these correspond to **i. hiding place/shelter** (ex 43), 3 to **ii. danger**, one to **iii. resource** (ex 44), and one to **iv. mystery** (ex 45):

- (43) I observed a man emerging from a thicket of bushes [...]. (Rowcroft 1843)
(44) This bush has often kept our flocks from starving. (Martin 1890)
(45) [...] the first thing I saw was something white amongst the dark bushes over the post where the Chinaman's grave was. (Lawson 1901)

There is also 1 instance where *bush* is used in a simile to denote dishevelled hair:

- (46) [...] her hair flamed out like a burning bush around her face. (Cusack 1936)

c) “An area overgrown with trees”

Another significant meaning category is that of “an area overgrown with trees” (146 or 18.48%) that corresponds to Bromhead's “wooded tract of country” (2.5.5.3). Unlike in the first category of “uncultivated area”, this sense refers more to the geographical/physical characteristics of the area than its cultural significance. Nevertheless, as it is a type of a

distinctively Australian landscape, a degree of cultural significance is implied. This meaning is thus narrower than that of “uncultivated area” but wider than that of “shrub”.

The number of instances that appear without any additional associations is 16.44%. The remaining instances can be grouped by association in the following manner:

i. Shelter/hiding place

By far the most frequent association is that of **shelter/hiding place** (36.3%) to which the physical properties of the space lend themselves quite easily. People and animals may find shelter there not only from danger (e.g., “steal away into the bush”, Clarke 1874), but also from the harshness of the Australian sun, as illustrated by ex 47:

- (47) I can show you the way through the bush where, although rougher than the road, we shall be screened from the rays of the sun. (Rowcroft 1843)

Nearly two thirds (53) of the shelter/hiding place association correlate with this sense of *bush*, with the remaining 12 used with “shrub” and 20 with “uncultivated area”.

ii. Hardship

The second largest association category is that of **hardship** with 14.38%. What is understood by hardship are various inconveniences or strenuous effort required of those present in the bush. Ex 48 illustrates the problems faced by soldiers in the bush:

- (48) Their fire-arms, too, for want of proper cleaning, and from the damp of the bush, became every minute more and more unserviceable [...].
(Rowcroft 1843)

In some examples, the negative perception of the bush as a result of such hardships is expressed overtly, for instance:

- (49) Black cockatoos filled the air above her and their harsh screeching seemed only to echo the hostile nature of the bush. (Carey 1985)

iii. Danger

The last significant category is that of **danger** with 13.7%. In 2 cases *bush* serves as a noun adjunct and refers to a “bush fire”. In other cases, the danger is usually related either to the dangers of getting lost there, or to other humans, such as bushrangers or the natives, as in this case:

- (50) I had a little bag of bullets with me; these I placed loose in a convenient pocket. All the while I was searching the bush with my eyes on every sight. No sign of the natives! (Rowcroft 1843)

iv. Other

All of the other associations only have a couple of occurrences each: resource, hard work, something rudimentary, bushranging, freedom, dullness, specific culture/knowledge, Aboriginal knowledge/spirituality, loneliness, mystery, romanticism.

d) Other meanings

There are also several other meanings of *bush* with a handful of instances in the corpus, most of which correlate with a different word class. The one with the most instances is *bushed* meaning “lost in the bush”, which appears 6 times, with the associations of danger, hardship, or specific culture/experience, as for example in this instance from the Nativization period:

- (51) If you have never been bushed, your immunity is by no means an evidence of your cleverness, but rather a proof that your experience of the wilderness is small. (Furphy 1903)

Furthermore, the corpus returns 4 instances of the idiom *to beat about the bush*, 2 instances of *bushing it*, meaning “living rough in the bush”, 3 instances in the meaning of “hair”, and 2 where *Bush* is a personal name.

4.2.2.2.4 The *bush* through time

As suggested by the discussion so far, these meanings of *bush* constitute a continuum rather than separate senses, and all carry an element of cultural significance (besides perhaps the meaning of “shrub”). To trace any changes in the conceptualisation of the idea of the bush in Australian culture, the meaning associations serve as a better indicator and the following sections will explore them period by period.

Exonormative stabilisation period

The highest number of instances of *bush* occurs in this period (see 4.2.2.2.1). This is likely because at the beginning of this period, the settlers were getting to know this new environment and towards the end, the bush became the basis for national mythology.

Approximately 20% of these instances appear in an explicitly negative context (surrounded by negative words such as *hate*, *starve*, or other verbal suggestions of negative attitude), which is the most out of all of the periods. This was to be expected, as the continent’s

new inhabitants might have found this environment challenging (cf. expectation 2, section 4.1.2.2). The associations of these negative instances include **dullness**:

- (52) “He used to hate the bush. However,” looking up archly, “Beatrice says I need not be afraid of his feeling dull on this occasion” (Cambridge 1880),

hardship:

- (53) I’m starving! I ‘scaped from the Neck, and I’ve wandered in the bush till I’m ‘most eaten up alive with the rot, and I’m ‘most dead of hunger; [...]. (Leakey 1859),

danger:

- (54) [...] she was freed from the haunting fear of being forced to retire to the wilds of the Australian Bush. (Martin 1890),

loneliness:

- (55) When a young man, he had been singularly free from the vice of drunkenness; turning his sobriety – as he did all his virtues – to vicious account; but he had learnt to drink deep in the loneliness of the bush. (Clarke 1874),

or **something rudimentary**, which also includes the perception of being uncivilised, as implied in the following example:

- (56) “She is a bush child,” said Mr. Brandon, “and has been running wild all her life; you must excuse her for the present, but we hope to see great improvement.” (Spence 1861)

This does not mean that all instances of these associations have to be classed as negative – this is only the case where the negative attitude is explicitly expressed.

The most frequent sense is that of “uncultivated area” (70.21%; meaning ‘a’ in 4.2.2.2.3), followed by “area overgrown with trees” (meaning ‘c’ in 4.2.2.2.3) and “shrub” (meaning ‘b’ in 4.2.2.2.3), which amount to 14.59% each, and 2 instances (0.61%) of “living rough in the bush”. 15.81% of instances of *bush* have no further associations. The most common association is **danger** (15.50% or 51 instances), followed by **shelter/hiding place** and **hardship**, which both amount to 13.07% or 43 instances.

The bush in the 19th century would have still been a dangerous place, especially for new settlers not used to the new environment yet, with not only natural dangers such as its vastness and difficult terrain, but also possible danger from bushrangers, escaped convicts, or the natives for whom it served as a hiding place. The hardship is connected not only to surpassing these obstacles, but also the physical hard work required to settle in the bush – an element incorporated into the national ethos that started emerging at the end of this period.

With an increased contact with the bush came the associations with **specific culture/knowledge or experience**, which in this period amounts to 12.77% or 42 instances, followed by the association with **something rudimentary** (10.94% or 36). The range of

associations is the widest in this period. Other associations that have between 5 and 10 instances include: city counterpart, hard work, hospitality, freedom, bushranging, loneliness and romanticism, all of which speak to particular bush culture developing that is different from the city, even if it has its drawbacks.

Nativization

While there is a significant decrease in the frequency of *bush* in this period, to 184 instances, it is still the second highest result of all the periods (see 4.2.2.1.1) which is consistent with the nationalistic agenda using the bush as its basis.

Nevertheless, the percentage of instances which appear in an overtly negative context is still relatively high at 15.22% (cf. expectation 3. Section 4.1.2.2). The negative instances appear in association with **danger**, which stems mainly from natural disasters or getting lost in the bush. **Loneliness** and **hardship** are also common, supporting the idea of resilience of the people of the Australian bush:

- (57) She had been in the Bush for fifty years, and had fought fires, droughts, hunger and thirst, floods, cattle and crop diseases, and all the things that God curses Australian settlers with. (Lawson 1901)

Examples where *bush* is negatively associated with **specific culture/knowledge** are usually perceptions from the point of view of foreigners or visitors in the bush who regard it as rough and unsophisticated. This is exemplified by one such visitor describing an expression on a bush character's face as "unsophisticated bush wonder" (Baynton 1902), or by the following description of the language spoken in the bush:

- (58) For the adjectives with which he flavoured the parson's share proved him to have readily and fluently mastered the lurid bush tongue. (Baynton 1902)

In many cases, these examples do not necessarily go against the nationalistic agenda if they demonstrate the prejudices of outsiders that are then subverted through the story itself, yet some examples demonstrate the harsh realities of bush life.

The most frequent meaning is again "uncultivated area" (meaning 'a' in 4.2.2.2.3) with 76.09%, which is the widest meaning that encompasses the bush as social space that is being truly solidified in this period, as evidenced by the high percentage of noun adjunct usages discussed in 4.2.2.2.2. This is followed by "an area overgrown with trees" (10.87%, meaning 'c' in 4.2.2.2.3) and "shrub" (8.15%; meaning 'b' in 4.2.2.2.3) that have both decreased in frequency. There are a couple of instances of *bushed* meaning "lost in the bush", of *bush* as part

of the idiom *to beat about the bush* and *bush* meaning “hair”. Only 16.3% of the instances have no further associations.

By far the most frequent association of *bush* in this period is **specific culture/knowledge** (29.35% or 54 instances), which is not surprising given the role of the bush in the national ethos (cf. expectation 3, section 4.1.2.2). These associations most often relate to a developing folklore (e.g., “Bush yarns”, “Bush dances”, “bush fashion”, “Bush stories”, all Lawson 19001; “bush recipes”, Baynton 1902; etc.), to the character and appearance of its inhabitants (“bush familiarity”, Baynton 1902; “the Bush is full of good-hearted scamps”; “lanky shy Bush native”; “lanky easy-going Bush native”, all Lawson 1901), and to a particular code of behaviour (“bush etiquette”, Furphy 1903; “it isn’t Bush religion to desert a mate”, Lawson 1901). Notably, there is also an awareness of a particular way of speaking: “bush drawl” (Lawson 1901), “bush parlance” (Baynton 1902), and the negative “lurid bush tongue” (see ex 58). All of these contributed to the image of the national type.

Other associations include **mystery**⁴⁴ (10.87%), **hardship** (9.87%), **something rudimentary** (8.7%), **danger** (6.52%), **shelter/hiding place** (5.43%) and **loneliness** (5.43%). Further associations that have less than 10 occurrences include romanticism, hard work, dishevelled appearance, silence, and city counterpart. The association with romanticism is particularly interesting but not surprising as nationalism and romanticism are intertwined and often rely on rural settings and cultures. The 6 instances include references to “the mighty bush”, or cases such as:

(59) The Bush is breeding a race of poets and I don’t know what the country will come to in the end [...]. (Lawson 1901),

or

(60) The intimate sadness of the bush country at evening came into the carriage like a sigh; silence swept in a wave over the world. (Mackenzie 1937)

Similar instances appeared already in the Exonormative stabilisation period (5), but there is only 1 in each of the following periods, suggesting the bush life is less likely to be romanticised later on.

To emphasise the nationalistic sentiment behind the bush, Henry Lawson, who was a chief figure in constructing the Bush Legend (see 2.7 and 3.1.1.1.2), in *Joe Wilson and His Mates* (1901) capitalises the word in this sense of social/natural space and thus differentiates it from the culturally insignificant meaning. Note the difference between these two examples:

⁴⁴ This comes mainly from Henry Lawson’s short stories (1901), where he sometimes refers to ghosts or bush fairies.

- (61) The house or furniture didn't matter so much – out there in the Bush where we were [...].
- (62) [She] had made him clear every stick and bush where another furrow might be squeezed in.

4 of such capitalised instances appear in the phrase “the Australian Bush”, to strengthen the connection even more. In fact, Catherine Martin in *An Australian Girl* (1890) (still in the Exonormative stabilisation period, but in the nationalistic decade that led up to the Federation), followed the same pattern which is, in the Endonormative stabilisation period, continued by Joan Lindsay in 1968 in her *Picnic at Hanging Rock* set in 1900, where it might be rather a part of the historical perspective. Both have also used the phrase “the Australian Bush”.

An important part of the bush myth was the construction of the national type which, as has been discussed multiple times (e.g., 2.5.2 and 3.1.1.2.1.1), was largely based on the bushman. There was little room for the women in the national Bush Legend. As the majority of instances of *bushman* and the only instances of *bushwoman* appear in this period (cf. expectation 4, section 4.1.2.2), they will be discussed here. Both are in this period also capitalised by Lawson.

Bushman appears in 77 cases in this period, 29 of which signify only an inhabitant of the bush with no further associations. The most frequent associations of *bushman* relate to a **specific culture, ability, character, appearance, social role, roughness and toughness**. The specific culture category covers instances such as

- (63) No Australian Bushman cares to camp in an abandoned homestead, or even near it [...]. (Lawson 1901),

or

- (64) These town people don't understand. I like to talk to a Bushman. (Lawson 1901)

– examples that speak of their habits and particular life experience not understood by outsiders. In appearance they are described as “a tall strapping young Bushman” (Lawson 1901), “big sunburnt bushmen” (Franklin 1901), or “tall, broad, independent” (Franklin 1901) who shave once a week on a Sunday, producing an image of the young strong white heterosexual male hardened by the Australian climate. Thus the bushman is emblematic of the national type, who is “easy-going” (Lawson 1901) and “honest, good-natured, respectable” (Franklin 1901) and “rough-and-ready” (Furphy 1903) in character. The bushman has also been toughened by the environment:

- (65) I had the Bushman up in me now and wasn't going to be beaten while I could think. (Lawson 1901)

Although that means he may sometimes be a bit rough in his manners:

- (66) But the language used by this bushman to the guard, as he helped to remove a ton of fencing-wire topping his new saddle, made her draw back her head.
(Baynton 1902)

Other less frequent associations with a couple of instances include mythology, hardship, linguistic difference, mateship, and isolated instances of negative connotation associated with bad influence, violence, and not being great walkers.

The grounds for this picture of the bushman were laid in the Exonormative stabilisation period, where it appeared 17x, only 12x with an additional association. Nonetheless, the characteristics were similar and most relate to appearance, character, and specific culture.

Bushman disappears from the corpus in the Endonormative stabilisation period altogether, and only 3 instances appear in the Differentiation period, but they draw back on this established national type linked to strength and hard work:

- (67) [...] a big bushman
(68) [...] excess of blowflies which gathered on the bushman's sweat-dark back
(69) They are proud people, these lifesavers, inventors, manufacturers, bushmen, aboriginals.

All, however, come from Peter Carey's *Illywhacker* (1985) where national identity is a central topic and which is partly historical.

The case of *bushwoman* is quite different. There are only 7 occurrences, and all come from Lawson (1901) in the Nativization period, whose stories demonstrate that the bush is no place for a woman, unless she wants to go mad and lose her femininity. Hence, she cannot be part of the Bush Legend (the masculine bias of the national ethos is discussed in 3.1.1.1.2.1). The bushwomen in Lawson are thus described as "haggard, worked-out", "gaunt", or "poor sun-dried" and in one instance the narrator wonders:

- (70) I supposed, the reason why she hadn't gone mad through hardship and loneliness was that she hadn't either the brains or the memory to go farther than she could see through the trunks of the "apple-trees",

implying a low level of intelligence. Besides their intelligence, bushwomen are also described as "brick-brown, saw-file voiced, hopeless and spiritless" and most apparently suffer from "the nagging habit". Where the harsh bush environment produced a strong and attractive male figure, it somehow produced quite the opposite figure of a woman – yet another reason why the Bush Legend lost its appeal for its exclusion or discrimination of women.

Endonormative stabilisation

As this period is bound with cultural cringe in which things Australian were often perceived as inferior, it is not surprising that the frequency of *bush* is the lowest with 123 instances. Thus, in this period, the *bush* seems to have the least cultural significance, with 53.66% of instances used in the meaning of “shrub” (meaning ‘b’ in 4.2.2.2.3), followed by 25.2% of “uncultivated area” (meaning ‘a’ in 4.2.2.2.3) and 18.7% of “an area overgrown with trees” (meaning ‘c’ in 4.2.2.2.3) (cf. expectation 5, section 4.1.2.2). There are also a couple of instances of *bushed* and *bush* in the sense of “hair”.

Only 4.88% of instances of *bush* are overtly negative, which is perhaps a little surprising as the cultural cringe could have led to an increase of the critical perception of this uniquely Australian environment. These occur in the familiar contexts of **danger** and **hardship** and also with **something rudimentary**, which in this case again implies a lack of sophistication and results in social censure:

- (71) To prefer the bush to Ballowra was to be an outcast, a bushwhacker.
(Harrower 1958)

The majority of the instances of *bush* in this period have no further associations (58.54%), which is consistent with its decreased cultural significance. There are a few exceptions, but only with a few instances each. One such exception and also the most frequent one is the association with **specific culture/knowledge** (7.32%), which relates to particular architecture in the bush, the bush as a domain of hitchhikers, and requirement of practical rather than intellectual skills (“A knowledge of arithmetic don’t help much in the bush”, Lindsay 1968). This is a much more pragmatic approach to the bush compared to the Nativization period. Another specific association is **hardship** (7.32%), which is related to the hostile nature of the bush. Further 6.5% of instances are composed of **shelter/hiding place**. There are between 5-4 (4.07-3.25%) instances of **something rudimentary**, **city counterpart**, **danger**, and **hard work**. 1-2 instances of the following associations also appear: dullness, loneliness, romanticism, freedom, adventure, and density. The romanticising and nation-building aspect of meaning is, nevertheless, missing from nearly all of the occurrences of *bush* in this period.

Differentiation

There is a slight increase in frequency in this period (154 instances), which may be explained by the efforts to redefine the Australian national ethos that involve discussions of the significance of the bush in modern Australia (cf. expectation 6, section 4.1.2.2). Unlike in the previous period then, *bush* in the sense of a uniquely Australian environment is the prevalent

meaning, with 40.91% of “uncultivated area” (meaning ‘a’ in 4.2.2.2.3), 38.96% of “an area overgrown with trees” (meaning ‘c’ in 4.2.2.2.3), and only 18.18% of “shrub” (meaning ‘b’ in 4.2.2.2.3), with the remainder of instances signifying either “hair” or being part of the idiom *to beat about the bush*.

There is a slight increase of the overtly negative instances – 7.14%. Like in previous periods, these most often refer to **danger** and **hardship** associated with the hostile nature, perhaps the most depressing of these being:

- (72) This was the bush: a site constructed from narratives of disaster.
(de Kretser 2007)

Other associations co-occurring with the negative sense are **something rudimentary** and **specific culture/knowledge**, which point to either a lack of sophistication (“the matter-of-fact brutality and unconcern, decreed by bush lore”, Jones 2011) or civilisation (“the house in the bush had no running water, no electricity”, de Kretser 2007).

This is in line with the recent questioning of the validity of the Bush Legend (see 3.1.1.1.4). Exx 73-74 from Peter Carey’s *Illywhacker* (1985) illustrate it well. In ex 73, the bush tradition is perceived positively, suggested by the reciting of famous bush poets, whereas ex 74 mocks bush poetry and, by implication, the whole ethos in favour of European intellectualism symbolised by Ruskin:

- (73) We talked of aeroplanes and motor cars, bullock teams and the bush. We recited Lawson and Banjo Paterson.
- (74) She read Ruskin and learned to scorn Henry Lawson (whom her father loved with a passion) and learned to mock his bush poetry.

The percentage of instances that have no further associations is 29.22%. Among the rest, familiar associations of **shelter/hiding place** (15.58%), **something rudimentary** (12.34%; with *bush shelter* and *bush tucker* as particularly frequent), and **danger** (11.04%) dominate. While due to the context, this example is categorised under **danger**, it also shows that the way people spend time in the bush is now more diverse: “a holiday house in the bush” (de Kretser 2007). Unlike in the Exonormative stabilisation period, when there was only 1 isolated instance of association with **Aboriginal knowledge/spirituality** and only from a white point of view, in this period the bush is finally represented from the Aboriginal perspective thanks to the publications by Aboriginal authors (in 7.79% of cases). As will be explored in the analysis of Melissa Lucashenko’s *Mullumbimby* (2013) in 5.4, the bush is of great spiritual importance in Aboriginal culture as it serves as its repository:

- (75) [...] the talga [traditional music] would always be sung in the nooks and crannies of the bush. (Lucashenko 2013)

A similar kind of spiritual relationship is manifested in some texts of white authors, such as Tim Winton's *Dirt Music* (2001), which will be discussed along with *Mullumbimby* in 5.4.

Other associations include **hardship** (7.14%), which is again most often linked to the hostile nature in the bush, and **specific culture/knowledge** (5.19%) – while the majority of these relate to “bush sayings” or survival skills, one notable example harks back directly to the bush myth and its associations with the heroic national type:

(76) The bush lent him a tattered heroism. (de Kretser 2007)

Other associations with only 1-2 examples each include **hard work**, **resource**, **city counterpart**, **mystery**, **freedom**, **loneliness**, **density**, and **romanticism**.

Summary

The trajectory of *bush* is thus a rather steady one, with the meaning of a specifically Australian environment encompassed by “an area overgrown with trees” and principally by “uncultivated area”, and its associations with **specific culture/knowledge** bound primarily to the latter sense being present since the Exonormative stabilisation period and prevailing until now.

The negative associations connected to **danger** and **hardship**, which composed nearly one fifth of instances in the Exonormative stabilisation period, have been steadily diminishing, replaced by new associations in the last few decades with **Aboriginal spirituality** and **spirituality** in general.

While the overtly nationalistic associations with the bush lifestyle and the figure of the bushman who was forged into the national type were principally associated with the Nativization period, when *bush* also experienced a marked increase in its usage as a noun adjunct, their traces can occasionally be glimpsed in the Differentiation period.

The Endonormative stabilisation period suggests a departure from the bush as the quintessentially Australian environment, with the majority of instances used in the sense of “shrub”, and the remaining ones used either with no further associations or with those of **specific culture/knowledge**, **hardship**, or **shelter/hiding place**, with no trace of the myth-making agenda of the previous period. In the Differentiation period, *bush* is habitually associated with providing **shelter/hiding place**, with **something rudimentary** – underlying the habitual perception of rural areas as “rougher” – or with **danger**. The *bush* is rarely as romanticised as it was at the beginning of the century and is seen in more pragmatic terms. In this period, it has also entered new domains of holiday/free time.

4.2.2.3 Social types/labels

Keyword	Exonormative stabilisation				Nativization				Endonormative stabilisation				Differentiation				Whole corpus			
	total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm	
	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR
<i>ocker</i>	0		0.00		0		0.00		1		0.23		1		0.23		2		0.45	
<i>bogan</i>	0		0.00		0		0.00		0		0.00		1		0.23		1		0.23	
<i>larrikin</i>	1		0.23		22		4.96		2		0.45		4		0.90		29		6.54	
<i>battler</i>	0		0.00		0		0.00		0		0.00		1		0.23		1		0.23	
<i>Queenslander</i>	0		0.00		0		0.00		1		0.23		0		0.00		1		0.23	
<i>bloke</i>	0	0	0.00	0.00	47	1	10.68	0.22	63	12	14.32	2.65	91	21	20.68	4.63	201	34	45.23	7.50

Table 17 Frequency of *ocker*, *bogan*, *larrikin*, *battler*, *Queenslander*, *bloke* across the 4 periods of the AusE and BrE corpus

As expected (see 4.1.3.3), the frequency of occurrence of the social types/labels is very low, apart from *bloke*, which is also the only word that appears in the BrE reference corpus, although much less frequently. The rest is largely confined to the Differentiation period of the Australian corpus with only 1-2 instances each, apart from *larrikin*, which appears in all the periods, most notably in the Nativization period.

4.2.2.3.1 *Ocker*

The first instance of *ocker* appears in the corpus in the Endonormative stabilisation period (cf. expectation 1 for negative labels in 4.1.2.3) in Murray Bail’s *Homesickness* (1980):

- (77) “Molly was a suffragette. She was in the clink several times.”
 “A suffragette?” Garry repeated.
 “Yeah, watch it, ocker,” Sasha called out.

Several aspects of this usage are interesting. Firstly, while usually used as a reference term, in this example it serves as a term of address (cf. expectation 2 for negative labels in 4.1.2.3). Secondly, it appears the reason why Sasha applies this term to Garry is to emphasise that he may become Molly’s target, as she fights for women’s rights, which are apparently obstructed by ocker men like him – uncultivated, sexist Australian males. While perhaps a partially playful term of address in this conversation, the underlying message of traditional Australian masculinity symbolised by the ocker is that of being detrimental to women’s position in the world.

In the Differentiation period, the one instance of *ocker* is used in quite a different context. *Ocker* appears as a modifier of *Strine* (a slang term for broad Australian accent), thus again linking it to the national stereotype of a white working-class heterosexual male, embodied in Hsu-Ming Teo’s *Behind the Moon* (2005) by Bob. Instead of being presented in a negative light (cf. expectation 2 for negative labels in 4.1.2.3), to speak like an ocker is perceived by immigrants as desirable and useful for helping them to gain access to Australian society:

- (78) Gibbo wanted so desperately to be Asian while Justin and Tien tried so hard not to be. Even as Justin had speech lessons with Gillian so that he could talk like a ponce and Tien tried her best to imitate Bob’s ocker Strine, Gibbo was busy patterning his speech after Annabelle Cheong’s Singlish.

While in the context of the novel, Bob is certainly not presented as a model of Australianness one should emulate, the usage of *ocker* in the context of imitation with the purpose of becoming ‘more Australian’ showcases the immigrants’ perspective. The novel suggests what some linguistic studies confirm – that in some cases immigrants try to use a thick accent to inspire solidarity and acceptance (e.g., Dovchin 2019, discussed in 2.6). Ex 1 cited in 4.2.2.1.1 also comes from this novel, and it is where Bob speaks of immigrants “good-humouredly adopting the occasional ockerism”. He perceives this rather negatively – not as a plea for acceptance but a mockery of his Australianness. *Ocker* thus still appears to be linked strongly to national identity and specific language, which even gave rise to the noun *ockerism* describing features of such language.

4.2.2.3.2 Bogan

The only instance in the corpus, *bogan* appears as a generalisation for the inhabitants of Australia in Tim Winton’s *Dirt Music* (2001), again appealing to the national stereotype (cf. expectations 1-2 for negative labels in 4.1.2.3). The character of Nora uses *bogan*, as she and the main character Lu are nearing a coastal town in WA. Nora sees the mess on the road, as opposed to the pure unpopulated landscape they have been driving through before, which inspires her use of the term. Given the context, *bogan* may thus refer to inhabitants of similar country towns rather than all Australians, but there is not sufficient information. Furthermore, it appears that Lu does not understand the meaning of the word, and Nora has to offer “rednecks” by way of an explanation.

- (79) This stretch of road is festooned with shredded radials, beasts, beercans.
Welcome, Nora says, to the land of the big white bogan.
What?
Rednecks.

Considering Lu is also Australian, it is curious that he does not understand. The term, according to Sussex (2014), originates from about 1980s Melbourne, VIC, although there is also a river in NSW of the same name. Lu is from WA. Nora only appears as a minor character and her origins are unspecified. The year in which the novel takes place is unclear, but it was published in 2001. It is possible that Lu’s lack of understanding might be an indication of regional difference, and that at whatever time it is set, *bogan* was not as current in WA as wherever it is Nora came from. However, this is entirely conjecture.

4.2.2.3.3 Queenslander

The only instance in the corpus comes from the Endonormative stabilisation period and David Ireland's novel *The Glass Canoe* (1976) set largely in a Sydney pub where the narrator encounters our Queenslander:

- (80) He was a Queenslander and though this is an interesting fact about any man, some get over it. Eh never did. Eh is pronounced "ay" as in day. It was a question at the end of every sentence. That was the way up north Queensland.

Consistent with Penry Williams's (2020) research (see 2.6), this social type appears to be the 'dumping ground' for negatively-perceived linguistic features (cf. expectation 2 for negative labels in 4.1.2.3). In this case it is connected with the overuse of "Eh" (which is also the title of the chapter) and the corresponding rising intonation. It is also proof of regional variation, even if Schneider does not talk of it until the Differentiation period (see 3.1.1.1.4.1).

4.2.2.3.4 Larrikin

There is only 1 instance of *larrikin* in the Exonormative stabilisation period where it seems to have originated in the 1870s.

- (81) Fanny Harrison has returned from her Melbourne visit, and has been telling us tales about your overworking yourself—visiting sick people day and night—reading to incurables and blind people by the hour—making superhuman efforts to save larrikins from themselves. (Martin 1890)

While it is not specified that these are the larrikins associated with Melbourne gangs, the period, the mention of Melbourne, and their self-destructive behaviour suggest it is the original, negative usage (cf. expectation 1 for *larrikin* in section 4.1.2.3).

The Nativization period records the majority of instances (cf. expectation 3 for *larrikin* in 4.1.2.3), with 22 out of the 29, accompanied also by 2 instances of *larrikinism*. 20 of the instances of *larrikin* are from Louis Stone's *Jonah* (1911), where all of the following examples come from. The novel is set at the turn of the century in Sydney and following a larrikin leader of a local street gang, or "Push", as it is called there. Unsurprisingly then, all the instances of *larrikin* are used in the more negative sense of a "hooligan" (cf. expectation 1 for *larrikin* in 4.1.2.3). The fact that they are dangerous rather than lovable is suggested several times, for example:

- (82) [...] larrikins, light on their feet as hares, kept the pace with a nimble trot, silent and dangerous, conscious of nothing but the desire and power to kill.

On several occasions they are also associated with youth ("the larrikin never grows old"), ill manners ("[...] he courted her in the larrikin fashion. At night he stood in front of the house,

and whistled till she came out.”), and particular ways of dressing, which confirms their status as a subculture at the time (cf. expectation 2 for *larrikin* in 4.1.2.3):

- (83) They were dressed in the height of larrikin fashion – tight-fitting suits of dark cloth, soft black felt hats, and soft white shirts with new black mufflers round their necks in place of collars – for the larrikin taste in dress runs to a surprising neatness.

In the novel, their speech is also represented via phonetic respellings to suggest a thick accent, e.g., “I’m glad yer don’t know ‘ow giddy yer look”.

The one instance from Lawson’s *Joe Wilson and His Mates* (1901) does not denote a member of a street gang, however, it still appears largely negative, implying rascally behaviour: “kids are generally little devils, and turn out larrikins as likely as not”. A similar usage appears in Franklin’s *My Brilliant Career* (1901), this time as a label for a grown man of despicable behaviour:

- (84) It shows what a larrikin Don Juan sort of character you are. You can’t deceive me now if you pretend to be a virtuous well-behaved member of society.

Furthermore, Franklin uses the word *larrikinism* on 2 occasions, to describe a child’s rascally behaviour, again in a largely negative sense. As all of these examples come from works before WWI when the sense supposedly shifted to the more positive meaning, the negative connotation of all instances is to be expected (cf. expectation 1 for *larrikin* in 4.1.2.3).

The positive sense was expected to manifest in the next two periods, but the expectations were largely not met (cf. expectation 3 for *larrikin* in 4.1.2.3). In the Endonormative stabilisation period, the 2 instances refer to vandals who have written on toilets and railings, with no positive connotation. In the Differentiation period, the occurrences of *larrikin* all come from Peter Carey’s *Illywhacker* (1985) where the timeline spans from the late 19th century to the 21st. Besides appearing in the same sense of “hooligan” with a negative connotation as an identity label (“It [kangaroo] followed me everywhere and then some larrikins from Mansfield shot it, with a rifle”; “he had been a larrikin and a street-brawler”), it also appears in an analogy referring to the original late 19th century *larrikins*, drawing on their ways of dressing:

- (85) [...] the neat little Jew with his dark suit and black hat (which he wore like a Riley Street larrikin, tipped forward over his eyes).

The last occurrence could perhaps be viewed as closer to the reported positive modern usage, referring to “a person who acts with apparently careless disregard for social or political conventions; a person who is unsophisticated but likeable and good-hearted, ‘a rough diamond’; a joker” (see “Meanings and origins of Australian words and idioms”, n.d.), as there is no implication of hooliganism or any unsociable actions:

- (86) [...] the reverence with which Patchy the barman, having blundered into the room, retreated from it, his larrikin's head oddly bowed.

Nonetheless, as even Carey's usage largely draws on the historical sense, and it appears in no other texts, the currency of *larrikin* today is not very high, and it is being superseded by the other terms.

4.2.2.3.5 Battler

The Differentiation period contains the only instance of *battler*, which speaks to the Australian affection for the underdog. Again, it is associated with the Bush Legend and the struggles of bush life (although in current usage it applies to modern-day struggles too). It is therefore significant that its only occurrence in this corpus is from Melissa Lucashenko's *Mullumbimby* (2013):

- (87) "What war were you in, again?"
Humbug smiled a humourless smile that didn't reach his eyes, and allowed the contempt he felt for this imposter to show on his lips. The fool didn't realise he had been born into war. If Australia had a sole surviving battler, he was it.

Humbug is an eccentric Aboriginal elder. He is certainly right in describing himself by this label, which is all the more meaningful due to the word's connection with the Bush Legend reserved for white Australian males. It can be viewed as a sign of the abrogation process (see 2.4.3) Aboriginal English appears to be going through – appropriating the word to accommodate the Aboriginal experience, while also reflecting the democratisation of Australian society.

As there was only 1 instance in the whole corpus, the expectations 1-3 outlined for *battler* in 4.1.3.1 were not met apart from the association with the national ethos.

4.2.2.3.6 Bloke

While there are no instances of *bloke* in the earliest period, from the Nativization period on it displays a steady increase – 47 (10.68 ipm), 63 (14.32 ipm) and 91(20.68 ipm) instances respectively in the following periods (cf. expectations 1-2 for *bloke* in section 4.1.2.3). The trend is similar in the BrE reference corpus even though the word is considerably less frequent there, and relates mainly to the decrease of formality in contemporary language.

In terms of functional employment, *bloke* is predominantly used as a reference term for other people (90.05%), often in the form of *a bloke* or *this bloke* when recounting a story or referencing one of its protagonists. There are further 5.97% instances of self-reference (e.g., "Give a bloke a chance", Bail 1980), but also a few cases where *bloke* functions as a term of

address. All of these functions appear in the Nativization period where the two minor functions amount to approximately 10% together. In the Endonormative stabilisation period, there is only 1 instance of self-reference and 1 instance of an address term each (1.59%), but in the Nativization period, both increase to 5.49% and 8.79%, respectively.

Bloke as a term of address is particularly interesting, as it does not appear in this function in the BrE reference corpus at all. In the Australian corpus, it is always used to indicate friendliness, between strangers and friends alike, and in this sense it appears similar to the vocative usage of *mate* (see 4.2.2.1.4.1), even though unlike *mate* it usually appears with the pronoun *you*, similarly to the vocative *you guys*:⁴⁵

(88) You blokes comin to the Point?

(89) Don't know what you're missin out on, youse blokes.

Both examples come from the Differentiation period (Winton 2001). The only 2 instances where *blokes* is not accompanied by *you* are from the Nativization period (2x “Cum on, blokes”, Stone 1911). There are too few examples to draw conclusions, but it would seem this pronoun-less usage is less common now.

In the majority of cases of *bloke*, there are no overt implications of other meaning associations (64% in the Nativization period, 75% in the Endonormative stabilisation period, 68% in the Differentiation period).

Out of the overt meaning associations in the Nativization period, the most frequent one is **boyfriend** (12.77%, e.g., “never marry that bloke of yours”, Franklin 1901), with which it appears to be synonymous. Other frequent associations are with values that are part of the national ethos and the image of the Australian bloke that emerged around the time of the Federation: **egalitarianism** (6.38%, ex 90), **friendliness** (ex 91), **toughness** (ex 92), and **solidarity** (ex 93) (all three at 4.26%). These are less frequent than expected (expectation 3 for *bloke* in 4.1.2.3).

(90) Yer put yer money in fer years, an' then, w'en they've got enough, they shut the door, an' the old bloke wi' the white weskit an' gold winkers cops the lot. (Stone 1911)

(91) “Cum on, blokes, an' see a bit o' fun,” he cried [...]. (Stone 1911)

(92) Whenever there was dirty work to be did, them two blokes was on hand to do it. (Furphy 1903)

⁴⁵ A couple of instances are borderline reference/address terms, such as “Can one of you blokes grab that esky” (Lucashenko 2013), where grammatically *blokes* is a reference term, yet it functions as a term of address, hence why it was classified as such.

- (93) I wonder 'ow the poor bloke feels, that fell down an' 'urt 'imself? (Stone 1911)

In case the egalitarian example (ex 90) is not clear, describing the bank clerk as “the old bloke” shows the irreverence of authority that levels all people on an equal social standing. The other examples should be self-explanatory.

One example is also linked to a **positive evaluation of character** (“real decent ole bloke”, Furphy 1903). There are a couple of examples in this period where *bloke* is used in a negative context, which is relatively rare in Australia, where it is habitually used in positive or neutral contexts, possibly because of its ingrained associations with the national ethos and the values embedded in it. That is why perpetrators of **violence** are not often referred to as *blokes*, as in this example:

- (94) I was walkin' along, quiet as a lamb, when a bloke come up an' landed me on the jaw. (Stone 1911)

In the Endonormative stabilisation period, three quarters of all instances have no further meaning associations, the most out of all of the periods, which is not surprising given the cultural context of the time. The majority of those that do have additional associations are in keeping with the national values embedded in *bloke*. The most frequent association is **toughness** (7.94%), followed by **solidarity** (4.76%), **egalitarianism** (3.17%), and also 2 explicit associations with **the national type** (3.17%), linked to a particular feature of the Australian accent, namely its nasality:

- (95) “Nothing like the Aussie accent,” said Doug, pretty loud, nodding at the bloke. The stranger gave him a thumbs up. (Bail 1980)

- (96) God, this bloke spoke through his nose. (Bail 1980)

There are also 2 instances where *bloke* is used as part of a **positive evaluation of character** (“a wonderful bloke”, Lindsay 1986; “a real nice bloke”, White 1955). At the same time, this period also contains the most instances of *bloke* that occur in a negative context – 14.29%. Like in the previous period, all of these are linked to **violence**.

Almost half of all instances of *bloke* in the corpus come from the Differentiation period where 68% are without further meaning associations, with the remainder largely corresponding to the previous periods. There is an increase of *bloke* used in **evaluations** to 7.69%. Most are used with positive attributes, such as “an alright bloke” (Jones 2011), “a lovely old bloke” (Jones 2011), “a pretty good bloke” (Teo 2005), “nice bloke” (Carey 1985), but there are also 2 instances of **self-reference** where *bloke* appears to function as a kind of justification of male behaviour: “I’m just a bloke, what would I know” and “So sue me – I’m a bloke” (both Winton 2001). Other associations are those of **friendliness** (5.49%), **toughness** (4.4%), **solidarity**

(3.3%), **egalitarianism** (3.3%), and reference to a **boyfriend** (3.3%). There are 2 **national type associations** (2.2%), one in the form of an apparently self-explanatory “any Aussie bloke” (Teo 2005), and the other linked to the traditional image of the national type:

- (97) A fiftyish blonde bloke sporting an akubra and permanent sunburn had his elbow sticking out of the Cruiser window. (Lucashenko 2013)

Even in the 21st century, the bush-derived national type appears to be alive and well.

The expectation that like *mate*, *bloke* might extend its scope in this period (expectation 4 for *bloke* in 4.1.2.3) is confirmed only in so far as it is also used to refer to Aboriginal men in Lukashenko’s *Mullumbimby* (2013). Unlike *mate* (see 4.2.2.1.3), it does not seem to be showing signs of becoming less exclusively masculine. There is only 1 example where a possible interpretation is that the term is used to refer both to male and female referents, as the *blokes* of this instance refer to volunteers who drive the local ambulance which includes women:

- (98) You won’t die. The blokes’ll be here any minute. (Winton 2001)

Although it may be that the speaker has only the male members of the team in mind.

The Differentiation period also seems to have given rise to the adjective *blokey*, which appears in 3 instances (exx 99-101), and which denotes the Australian blend of tough kind of masculinity with an aversion to expressing feelings:

- (99) How was he going to get to know his son without the aid of a ball shuttling effortlessly between them, knitting them together in blokey camaraderie? (Teo 2005)
- (100) The man could wait, along with his stupid blokey blindness and his mad demands upon Ellen. (Lucashenko 2013)
- (101) He was blokey and, yes, a little dull, especially of late, but he wasn’t a narcissist or a whiner. (Winton 2001)

Even though discussions about the toxicity of this particular blend of masculinity linked to the national type have been ongoing, as discussed in 2.5.5.1, it is still very much present in Australian culture.

The meaning of *bloke* thus appears to be quite steady through time, used most often in neutral or positive contexts, usually as a more laid-back alternative to *man* that gives a subtle nod to the connection with the characteristics embodied in the national ethos, which are sometimes suggested more explicitly, particularly in the Nativization and Differentiation periods associated with increased levels of nationalism. Unlike in other varieties, *bloke* is also used as an address term – a function that appears to be more frequent in recent decades and that extends to non-white minorities, even if it still very much exclusively masculine in reference.

The few instances of *bloke* in the BrE reference corpus are generally a more informal synonym for *man* or a reference to a boyfriend. The context is usually neutral, with several negative instances – these are not made negative by the situation, but by an explicit modifier (*gangly*, *poncey-looking*, *bad* (2x), *sick*). This suggests *bloke* in BrE lacks the positive associations implied in most cases of Australian usage. However, there are also 2 positively modified instances (*top*, *great*). Interestingly, all but 2 instances in the Differentiation period (and over one half overall) are again from Zadie Smith’s *White Teeth* (see 4.2.2.1.1 for discussion of *mate* in the same novel).

4.2.2.4 The nation and the Aborigines

Keyword	Exonormative stabilisation				Nativization				Endonormative stabilisation				Differentiation				Whole corpus			
	total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm	
	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR
Australia	184	2	41.82	0.44	35	4	7.95	0.88	109	14	24.77	3.09	139	3	31.59	0.66	467	23	106.14	5.07
Australian	125	2	28.41	0.44	60	16	13.63	3.53	89	1	20.24	0.22	176	9	40.00	1.99	450	28	102.01	6.18
Aussie	0	0	0.00	0.00	0	0	0.00	0.00	9	1	2.27	0.22	19	1	4.32	0.22	29	2	6.59	0.44
Aboriginal	15		3.41		4		0.91		4		0.91		61		13.86		84		19.09	
Aborigine	12	2	2.73	0.44	1	0	0.23	0.00	3	6	0.68	1.32	69	0	15.68	0.00	85	8	19.32	2.25

Table 18 Frequency of *Australia*, *Australian*, *Aussie*, *Aboriginal*, *Aborigine* across the 4 periods of the AusE and BrE corpus

While there is the most talk of *Australia* and things and people *Australian* in the first and last period of the corpus, the *Aborigines* and *Aboriginal* are hardly mentioned in the first three periods, only appearing in more substantial numbers in the Differentiation period. Over half of the Australia-related words appear in neutral contexts, with no additional meaning associations. In contrast, nearly all of the Aboriginal-related words occur in contexts that suggest additional associations.

Exonormative stabilisation

Australia

In the Exonormative stabilisation period, where there are any additional meaning associations, *Australia* appears most frequently in connection with **better prospects** (16x), usually from the point of view of prospective immigrants from Britain, for example:

- (102) As for the poor man, he was the real rich man in Australia; high wages, cheap food, lodging, clothing, travelling. What more did he want?
(Boldrewood 1888)

From the start of this period, migration to Australia from Britain was actively encouraged to boost its population, so the positive associations are not surprising. Apart from better (usually financial) prospects, *Australia* is also linked to **better living conditions** (7x), namely climate and safety. Australia’s **natural beauty** is also often remarked on (8x), for example:

(103) Often, since I have learned from you what an exquisite hour the dawn is in Australia. (Martin 1890)

As a colony and still a largely unknown territory, it was several times connected with **adventure** (5x):

(104) “Peggy, you have had adventures,” said Jane. “I wish you could tell my sister and me all that happened to you when you were in Australia.” (Spence 1861)

There are also more negative aspects to early Australia, such as connections with **roughness** (5x), **hostile nature** (4x), **backwardness** or **poverty** (4x) and **danger** (3x). Thus, a poor Englishman faces a danger of “sadly fall[ing] back in his manners in Australia” (Spence 1861), which is “subject to droughts” (Rowcroft 1843). Australia is also where the English sent their “cast-off clothes for Australia” (Leakey 1859) and where danger lurks in the form of the “natives of Australia” (Rowcroft 1843). However, downright negative contexts appear only in about 10.87% of instances, with 21.74% of overtly positive contexts, and the remainder neutral. The percentage of explicitly positive associations is the highest in this period. There are also a couple of instances of association with **freedom** and **patriotism**, where Australia is the place “where people might do as they liked” (Spence 1861) and where the discovery of gold “will precipitate Australia into a nation” (Boldrewood 1888).

Australian

The case of the adjective or noun referring to Australia’s inhabitants – *Australian* – is relatively similar, with references to **climate** (5x) and **natural beauty** (6x). The most common associations are, however, with **roughness** (7x), connected to bush life but also perceived lack of civilisation:

(105) It is very odd that people having brothers, sisters, and relations of various orders in the Australian colonies, take so little trouble to ascertain the real amount of civilization in these islands. (Leakey 1859)

Amongst the other more frequent associations are those with **Australian character** (7x), describing Australian men as “pleasant and intelligent” (Spence 1861), exotic (“of course, being an Australian, they’ll take in anything about me”, Martin 1890), but also as having “the unfortunate Australian temperament” (Martin 1890). Australian girls are described as “brave, intrepid”, and as “not so keenly alive to the fascinations of wealth as those inoculated with the aims and standard of London society” (all Martin 1890). There are also a couple of associations with **freedom** and **patriotism**. The ratio of explicitly negative to explicitly positive instances is slightly more equal, with 14.4% of negative and 16.8% of positive contexts.

Aboriginal, Aborigine

As for *Aboriginal* and *Aborigine*, there are only 15 and 12 instances, respectively, in this period. A third of the instances of *Aboriginal* and half of the instances of *Aborigine* are overtly negative. In the case of *Aboriginal*, the negative instances encompass disdain for Aboriginal culture and mythology as a lesser one (ex 106), and their roughness, i.e., **lack of sophistication or civilisation** (ex 107). The same goes for *Aborigine*, with an added association with **danger** (ex 108).

(106) You may talk of the Aboriginal myths, but I think they are very paltry.
(Martin 1890)

(107) [...] an old Aboriginal, who wanted to be baptized while he carried the remains of an enemy in his hair. (Martin 1890)

(108) Don't alarm yourself, I don't mean aborigines. (Leakey 1859)

All of these conceptions of Aboriginality are from the point of view of the white coloniser, so it is not surprising they are not very favourable, and that there are no overtly positive instances. Notably, there are instances such as the last example, in which the word “aborigines” is not even capitalised. The lack of capitalisation suggests it was used in its original meaning referring to the first inhabitants of a territory, and not to the name of the first inhabitants of Australia specifically. The *OED3* records the first example of the capitalised Australian usage in 1803, but it is possible that for a time the two senses were still interchangeable. The remaining instances are neutral and generally relate to observations about Aboriginal culture and way of life.

Nativization

Australia

There is a significant decrease in the frequency of *Australia* and *Australian* in this period, which is rather unexpected since at its beginning the country reached its independence and nationalism was rife (cf. expectation 3 in 4.1.2.4). In most cases, *Australia* is simply used in its neutral sense denoting the country or name of one of its states, and only in a few instances does it have additional associations. Exx 109-111 demonstrate an association with **linguistic differences** which exemplify Schneider's claim that such differences truly start to manifest in this period and show linguistic awareness:

(109) Maize or Indian corn – wheat is never called corn in Australia.

(110) “Graft”, work. The term is now applied, in Australia, to all sorts of work, from bullock-driving to writing poetry.

- (111) Mother Middleton was an awful woman, an “old hand” (transported convict) some said. The prefix “mother” in Australia mostly means “old hag”, and is applied in that sense.

All of these come from Henry Lawson’s *Joe Wilson and His Mates* (1901), and the first two appear to be footnotes at the bottom of the page explaining the terms. The collection was released when Lawson was living in England and it could be seen as proof that he wrote not for the Australian audience only (see 3.1.1.1.2.2), but for the British market as well, hence the ‘translations’ which add to the allure of exoticism.

Apart from these, there are 2 associations with **great distances**, and then several other solitary associations, for example with the familiar one of **better prospects, roughness, patriotism**, but also **egalitarianism**:

- (112) “Well, he came to my station on the Lachlan years ago without a penny in his pocket, or decent rag to his back, or a crust in his tucker-bag, and I gave him a job. He’s my boss now.”
“Ah, well! it’s the way of Australia, you know, Jack.” (Lawson 1901)

Another interesting association is that with **the tall poppy syndrome**, i.e., the Australian dislike of people who are more successful than the rest:

- (113) [...] because they had failed for one reason or another, it had maddened them to see others succeed. In a wide young country of boundless resources, why is this thing? (Australia) can bring forth writers, orators, financiers, singers, musicians, actors, and athletes which are second to none of any nation under the sun. Why can she not bear sons, men of soul, mind, truth, godliness, and patriotism sufficient to rise and cast off the grim shackles which widen round us day by day [...]? (Franklin 1901)

There are 8.57% of overtly negative instances related to roughness, hardship, and the tall poppy syndrome, and 11.43% overtly positive ones.

Australian

Australian has more overtly nationalistic associations befitting this period, with 7 instances of **patriotism**, 6 associations with **character**, and 5 with **specific culture**, along with a couple of examples of **climate, danger, literature, hardship** and **anti-authoritarianism**. The patriotic examples range from references to “fellow Australians” (Franklin 1901), to the national type of the young and strong “Coming Australian” (Furphy 1903) (for details see e.g., Gelder & Weaver 2017: 25-26), to passionate proclamations such as ex 114 that strongly supports the bush-basis of the national mythology:

- (114) I am proud that I am an Australian, a daughter of the Southern Cross, a child of the mighty bush. I am thankful I am a peasant, a part of the bone and muscle of my nation, and earn my bread by the sweat of my brow, as man was meant to do. (Franklin 1901)

In character, Australians are described largely in positive terms that correspond to the image of the national type as “isocratic and irreverent” (Furphy 1903), “big-hearted impulsive” (Lawson 1901), or “cheerful, honest, brave” (Franklin 1901). The references to specific culture are largely bound with the bush (see examples in 4.2.2.2). The negative instances, which at 18.33% are slightly more frequent compared to the previous period, relate most often to the danger and hardship of the bush from the Australian viewpoint, and from the outsider’s viewpoint to roughness and anti-authoritarianism (“‘Pardon me for saying, but Australians have queer ways of maintaining authority,’ continued the European [...]”, Furphy 1903). The percentage of overtly positive instances is 16.67%.

Aboriginal, Aborigine

There are even fewer instances of *Aboriginal* (4x) and *Aborigine* (1x) in this period, which may relate to the fact that they were not part of the newly created nation and its imagined mythology. 2 instances are overtly negative – there is one reference to “the Aboriginal savage”, and another that places “the Irish Catholics on a lower moral plane than the Aborigines”, suggesting a new moral low (both Furphy 1903). The other instances are neutral references to culture and Aboriginal missions. In ex 115, “aboriginal” is employed in the sense of original inhabitant, but it appears to signify not the real first inhabitants of the continent but white Australians, which further supports the assertions that the Aborigines were excluded from the nation at the time, although the white Australians here also do not appear to be seen very favourably:

- (115) There was no end to them. Week after week, month after month, they came stringing-in from seven-syllabled localities on all points of the compass; some with sunburnt wives, and graduated sets of supple-jointed keen-sighted children – the latter, I grieve to admit, distinctly affirming that disquieting theory which assumes evolution of immigrating races toward the aboriginal type. (Furphy 1903)

Endonormative stabilisation

Australia

Compared to the previous period, the frequency of both *Australia* and *Australian* rises. The majority of instances is again used in a neutral context. Interestingly, the most common association is with a **mythical land** (9x), thanks to the success to be found there or the exoticism of being so far away:

- (116) Australia was still there, more loud-mouthed, prosperous, intractable than ever. Far from being destroyed, the Myth was booming. There were

suggestions that it would soon be supporting thirty million souls. Australia was the biggest success-story of them all. (Malouf 1975)

- (117) Other writers have been hypnotised by ‘kangaroo’. ‘Boomerang’, to a lesser extent. Those words represent the mystery of Australia – its distance and large shape. (Bail 1980)

The second most frequent association is slightly misleading, as it is the phrase “**Fortress Australia**” which features in David Ireland’s *The Glass Canoe* (1976) as a nickname for a house (6x). Nevertheless, there is deeper meaning behind the phrase which was commonly used to signify Australian protectionist policies, such as the White Australia policy, and which has recently been resurrected to describe the way the Australian government handled the COVID-19 pandemic, closing all borders (see e.g., Mao 2021). There are 2 other instances where the word *Australia* appears in connection with **immigration** and **the White Australia policy**.

The other frequent associations portray *Australia* rather unfavourably as **a place to escape from** (4x; ex 118), as **irrelevant** (4x; ex 119), and associated with **roughness** (4x; ex 120):

- (118) I thought of Johnno’s promise, that in seven years every last particle of Australia would be squeezed out of him, he would have freed himself of the whole monstrous continent. (Malouf 1975)
- (119) No one gives a fuck about Australia. (Bail 1980)
- (120) Professor Thrale did not much care for the fact that Grace came from Australia. Australia required apologies, and was almost a subject for ribaldry. (Hazzard 1980)

1 or 2 instances of the known associations with **backwardness/poverty**, **hostile nature**, **freedom**, **adventure**, **egalitarianism** or **natural beauty** also appear, alongside a couple of others. Approximately one fifth of all the instances of *Australia* in this period appear in negative context (20.18%).

Australian

The number of negative instances is even higher for *Australian* – 26.97%. The most common associations are with **roughness** (7x), **specific culture** (4x), **cultural cringe** (4x), and **character** (4x). There are also 3 instances each of **irrelevance**, **tall poppy syndrome**, and **linguistic difference**. As **cultural cringe** was a particular feature of this period, it is not surprising that its presence in Australia is voiced:

- (121) This business of turning to literature as a guide to the passionate life and finding ordinary life, life at home, by comparison thin and inauthentic, was a very Australian pastime when I was growing up, and still is [...]. (Malouf 1975)

The **tall poppy syndrome** is partially related to that and is nicely illustrated here:

- (122) An American, an Englishman and an Australian are digging a ditch. The boss drives past in a Rolls-Royce. The Englishman: “Lovely car, but personally I would always choose the Bentley over the Rolls.” The American: “One day, folks, that’s gonna be me riding up there.” The Australian: “One day that bastard’s going to be back down here in this ditch with the rest of us where he belongs.” (Anderson 1978)

As a former colony and far away from the traditional centres of power, Australia was still seen as somewhat inferior (see 3.1.1.1.3.1), which extended to its language and to devaluing its contribution to the greatness of history of the Western world, illustrated respectively:

- (123) No one, it seems, would employ an Australian to teach them English.
(Malouf 1975)
- (124) Australians could only pretend to be part of all that and hope no one would spot the truth. (Hazzard 1980)

In short, negative perceptions of *Australia* are the strongest and most varied in this period, extending to the external as well the internal point of view.

Aussie

This period also sees the first occurrence of the hypocoristic alternative *Aussie* (10x), which should carry positive connotations (cf. expectation 5 in 4.1.2.4). This is the case with identity labels such as “Aussie Bob” (Ireland 1976), which imply certain affection, or with patriotic praise, such as “[t]here’s nothing like the Aussie accent” (Bail 1980). However, by foreigners the term appears to be used also in negative contexts, be it in the form of a message “GO HOME AUSSIES” targeting Australian tourists, or of an angry admission by a tour guide that he is “always fetching Kiwis, bloody Aussies, and Maple-leafs”, his anger at the *Aussies* amplified by *bloody* (both examples from Bail 1980).

Aboriginal, Aborigine

The frequency of *Aboriginal* and *Aborigine* continues to be very low, with 4 and 3 instances respectively. There is, however, an improvement, in that all the instances of *Aboriginal* are neutral references to aspects of Aboriginal culture, and 1 can even be classed as positive, with an originally Aboriginal word being described as “beautiful” (cf. expectation 1 in 4.1.2.4):

- (125) “The average Australian,” said North, “hasn’t even seen a kangaroo.” Lady Pamela picked it up. “A beautiful word . . . Isn’t that a beautiful word?” “It’s Aboriginal,” Kaddock told her. (Bail 1980)

2 out of the 3 instances of *Aborigine*, however, are negative, associated with laziness or with the referents viewed more like animals than humans:

- (126) You'll probably find they get fed by the government, a bit like the Aborigines.
(Bail 1980)
- (127) Aborigines are herded on to reservations. (Malouf 1975)

Differentiation

In recent decades there has been an increase in frequency of all the keywords in this group – *Australian* has almost doubled its frequency, and *Aboriginal* and *Aborigine* have multiplied several times. As much as can be inferred from the limited data, this increase corresponds with the topics of national identity and the place of Aboriginal people within it that have been resonating in the society. For this reason, the degree of negative instances of *Australian* and *Australia* is still relatively high (cf. expectation 4 in 4.1.2.4), at 17.27% and 23.30%, respectively (compared to 11.51% and 6.25% positive ones).

Australia

The more critical viewpoint towards Australia is reflected in the most common associations – questioning the **national ethos** (8x), **patriotism** (7x), and **immigration** (7x). The national ethos is questioned especially for its treatment of immigrants, Aborigines, and women. The following examples provide an assessment by an Aboriginal character (ex 128), and by a young Asian-Australian woman (ex 129), who emphasises by the usage of the adjective “old” that the times are changing:

(128) This is Australia, y'know? Dead Heart. Meat Pies. Holden Cars. Racists.
(Lucashenko 2013)

(129) [...] to show Bob that he might belong to the old Australia where she'd had to have the rules explained to her, but the tables had turned and now she fitted right in to the new cosmopolitan culture. (Teo 2005)

This sense of change is supported by overt associations with **ethnic diversity** (5x). In ex 130, an Australian comments on the changes taking place in the country, emphasising the transnational elements of the still evolving culture:

(130) Worlds were converging, he thought. Australia was Asian. He saw how various it all was, the zeal of many nations, the emporia of many merchants, the international energy that pulsed between languages and countries.
(Jones 2011)

Most of the patriotic examples come from Peter Carey's *Illywhacker* (1985) and concern “Australia's Own Car” promoted by the novel's very nationalistic hero (see Appendix 2, Differentiation section, for more about the novel). The connections with immigration appear in stories of people who see Australia as their refuge or a dream destination. However, some

instances emphasise Australia's strict immigration policies, such as ex 131, which refers to an Irish couple:

(131) They had applied to immigrate to the States, Canada and Australia, and been rejected on every occasion. (de Kretser 2007)

And even if the immigrants do get in, their perception of Australia is not always positive:

(132) She was in Australia and it was not all sparkles and sunshine. (Jones 2011)

(133) She wept in her shining prison: lost in Australia, a predicament the Indian boy had understood at once. (de Kretser 2007)

Notably, *Australia* also appears more often in connection with **Aboriginality**, either in the context of discussing the past treatment of Aborigines ("That's how we'd sort Native Title out all over Australia", Lucashenko 2013), or Aboriginal culture and mythology ("On the walls were Aboriginal paintings from all over Australia", Jones 2011).

Also, while in the previous period the continent was associated with being **a place to escape from** (accompanied by verbs *be from*, *leave* and *go away*) from the point of view of Australians, in this period it is also seen as **a place to escape to** (co-occurring with verbs *come to*, *arrive*, *live in*) and is most discussed in this context by immigrant characters.

In terms of characteristics associated with *Australia* itself, these are mostly based on the idea of **distance** (ex 134), **the sun** (ex 135), **being upside down** (ex 136), **vast open spaces** (ex 137), and also **the bush**. Ex 138 connects Australia explicitly with the bush in the meaning of shelter:

(134) [...] going faraway, to Australia. (Jones 2011)

(135) This was true Australia, he told himself, sun-cracked and quiet. (Jones 2011)

(136) In Australia everything was reversed. (de Kretser 2007)

(137) Beyond it lay Australia: boundless, open to the sky. (de Kretser 2007)

(138) He lived alone in a shack deep in the bush some miles from the spot where Atwood's car had been found. It was the kind of refuge Australia was still good at offering. (de Kretser 2007)

Australian

Australian, on the other hand, appears from the long list of concordances much more closely tied to identity, with co-occurrences related to **distinctive way of speaking** (8x) (5x "Australian accent", "sound Australian", "Australian way of speaking"), and **an assertion of national identity** and what it means to be *Australian* (17x). These include uses in juxtaposition with other nationalities uttered by mixed-race Australians, illustrated by the following three examples from Hsu-Ming Teo's *Behind the Moon* (2005; see Differentiation section of

Appendix 2 for more info about the novel). In ex 139 Tien contemplates her perception of herself, in ex 140 her Vietnamese mother provides her own point of view that hints at the issue of processing Australia's troubled past, and in ex 141 Bob's racist father Gordon who, despite his hatred of Asians, is friends with one Asian family, offers his opinion:

(139) Did Tien think of herself as Vietnamese or Australian or some hyphenated mixture?

(140) "You're so Australian," Linh complained. "Australians are always moving on, always living in the present. Meanwhile the rest of the world walks hand in hand with the past, but you can't understand other people's grief and pain."

(141) "They're different, that's why," Gordon Gibson said brusquely when Bob ventured to question him. "They've been here since the gold rushes. They're practically Australian. They're the exception that proves the rule."

There are also several instances of association with **specific culture** (9x) and **character** (8x), and it appears there is still a strong connection between Australianness and masculinity ("Australian dread of appealing unmanly", de Kretser 2007; "Australian men" (3x)).

Similarly to *Australia*, *Australian* appears in the context of **questioning the national myth** (8x) and also in multiple instances referencing the **cultural cringe** (8x), suggesting it has not yet disappeared, e.g., "[w]e Australians are a timid people who have no confidence in ourselves" (Carey 1985). There are also multiple others with 1 or 2 instances, mostly similar to what we have seen in the previous periods, perhaps with two new additions: **Americanisation** and **sense of superiority**.

Aussie

The affectionate yet anti-sentimentalising term *Aussie* occurs 19x, twice as many as in the previous period. Many instances refer to the **national type** (2x "Aussie bloke"; "true-blue Aussie"; "the average Aussie male"), again overtly masculine, although there is 1 instance of "ordinary Aussie girl", or they refer to **the (stereo)typical way of life** ("tales of Aussie life"; "the Aussie meal, like a barbecue"), without negative connotations (all Teo 2005). However, the 2 instances where it appears in a negative context come from Christos Tsiolkas's *Loaded* (1995), reporting the Greek-Australian view that draw on the negative aspects of the national type:

(142) [...] some fucked-up blond Aussie guy [...].

(143) Tells me she's tired of Aussie dykes, dykes who can't converse, can't express emotion, can't be affectionate.

Aboriginal, Aborigine

The majority of the instances of *Aboriginal* come from the two Aboriginal novelists included in the corpus – Kim Scott and Melissa Lucashenko. In Scott's *Benang* (1999) which deals with the Stolen Generations, in most cases the term simply designates an **identity** (as opposed to white) or it refers to the ***Aboriginal Protection Act or other laws and policies***. Nearly all instances of *Aborigine* also come from *Benang* and refer to the *Aborigines Act* or *Aborigines Department*. In Lucashenko's *Mullumbimby* (2013), besides similar designations of identity, it also draws on other meanings of Aboriginality and on particularly **Aboriginal experience** – in these cases, it seems to be frustration (ex 144) and the hunger for knowledge (ex 145):

(144) Jo sighed an entirely Aboriginal sigh.

(145) What other thirteen-year-old kid in Byron Shire would know what a living wage was, for Chrissake? Her daughter absorbed information like a sponge. An angry Aboriginal sponge, demanding knowledge from every quarter.

Many instances also refer to **Aboriginal art** (modifying nouns like *painting, art*), but other nouns modified by it include *accent, flags, protesters, and beggars*, testifying to the greater visibility of Aboriginal issues in society. This is in stark contrast to the previous periods, when Aboriginal culture is nearly invisible and if present, it is only in connection with art, language, or in the context of the conquered territory.

There are several instances of use in negative contexts, but most come from Scott's *Benang* (1999) and relate to the **historical perspective** (racism, association with crime). Among the others, an interesting instance is the one where an Aboriginal character relates the unfavourable perception of light-skinned Aborigines by whites on the art scene, suggesting they lack the 'exoticism' required to sell their art:

(146) The jahjam hadn't yet realised that the world didn't want Aboriginal art by pale Goorie girls on the east coast. Buyers wanted exotica, dots and circles, red dust and people of Twoboy's colour – the real Aboriginals, cos they, the dugais, said so. (Lucashenko 2013)

Aborigine, apart from the usage in Scott, appears as a **neutral designation of identity**. There is one example from Tsiolkas's *Loaded* (1995) where a Greek-Australian character screams the following:

(147) I hate fucking Arabs she screams. I move towards my bedroom. She's still screaming. I hate fucking wogs. Fucking Greeks and Italians. I hate fucking Australians and the fucking English. The fucking Chinese and the fucking Vietnamese. Fucking Africans, fucking Indians, fucking Aborigines.

Rather than a racial hatred towards Aborigines then, it expresses a hatred of all such identity labels, which is symptomatic of times of hyphenated identities such as those of children of

immigrants. The only truly negative associations come from Scott (1999) when the novel looks at the historical perception of Aborigines (e.g., “A Menace in our Midst: the Aborigines Camp in our Town”).

Summary

The behaviour of *Australia* and *Australian* largely conforms to the expectations (3-4) set out in 4.1.2.4. In the Exonormative stabilisation period, which records the highest number of instances of *Australia* and *Australian*, the country is mainly presented as a land of better prospects, adventure and natural beauty, which are meant to attract new settlers. At the same time, the country is associated with a bit of roughness, danger from hostile nature and the natives alike, and a certain degree of backwardness and poverty. These associations give rise to a slightly contradictory, yet still largely positive image. There is already a sense of specific Australian character developing in this period that is close to the ideal ‘national type’.

While there is a significant decrease in frequency of both words in the Nativization period, despite it being strongly nationalistic, important new contexts emerge, most notably the awareness of linguistic difference, specific culture and the continuation of references to Australian character as part of the national mythology. Interestingly, the anti-authoritarianism so lauded by Australians themselves is perceived negatively by outsiders. Already an association with the tall poppy syndrome appears, which is carried over to the Endonormative stabilisation period.

In the Endonormative stabilisation period the image of Australia from the insider’s perspective appears more negative, marked by cultural cringe, sense of irrelevance, and being seen as a place to escape from. Outsiders associate it with a mythical land, although also with an inferior variety of the English language and being historically unimportant. There are, however, also positive contexts of freedom, adventure, and egalitarianism, for example, which are in keeping with the national image. *Aussie* appears in this period for the first time, although not only in positive contexts, as was expected (expectation 5 in 4.1.2.4), but also in negative ones used by outsiders.

The Differentiation period sees a marked increase of frequency of both words due to the social circumstances of re-evaluating the national myth and the search for a more inclusive national identity. This leads to a more ambivalent image of Australia and Australians, associated now with the questioning of the national ethos, immigration rules, and ethnic diversity on the one hand, and patriotism and the ‘old’ masculine national ethos on the other. Cultural cringe

also continues to be a relevant association, suggesting the nation still suffers from it. *Aussie* is associated particularly with positive references to the traditional national type and to positive assertions of linguistic difference, even if it also appears in negative contexts used by a Greek-Australian in this case, who in a way also feels as an outsider (see exx 142-143).

Aboriginal and *Aborigine* appear very infrequently and in predominantly negative contexts until the Differentiation period, as they are largely presented from the white colonial supremacist perspective, as expected (expectation 1 in 4.1.2.4). In the Differentiation period, however, Aboriginal authors finally get a voice and provide a much larger range of contexts that reflect the recent struggles for land rights and cultural equality. The fact that they are finally a proper part of the Australian nation is reflected in the co-occurrence of *Aboriginal/Aborigine* and *Australia/Australian*.

BrE reference corpus

In the BrE reference corpus, there are not many occurrences of *Australia*. In the Exonormative stabilisation period, in the 2 instances within the same utterance, it is seen as a kind of last resort if things do not work out in England – an undesirable solution, going by the reaction of the conversation partner:

- (148) “[...] if the worst came to the worst, a hundred pounds would take us to Australia.”
“Australia! Why, Osborne, what could you do there?” (Gaskell 1866)

The 4 instances in the Nativization period refer to it only in the neutral sense as a place of origin, but 1 is linked with someone “accumulate[ing] a huge fortune in Australia” (Glyn 1906). The Endonormative stabilisation period contains the most instances, but they are quite neutral, with occasional references to it being “too far”, and the same holds for the instances in the Differentiation period.

Australian, on the other hand, is slightly more interesting. In the Exonormative stabilisation period it appears associated with opportunity:

- (149) He would become an American or Australian Abraham, commanding like a monarch his flocks [...]. (Hardy 1891)
(150) On an Australian upland or Texan plain, who is to know or care about my misfortunes, or to reproach me or you? (Hardy 1891)

Most of the instances in the Nativization period are quite neutral, however there is 1 that relates to appearance and another to character, which is in keeping with the image of the national type who is strong and ruggedly handsome, even if slightly rough around the edges in manners:

- (151) The six English-speaking girls, grouped as it were towards their chief, a dark-skinned, athletic looking Australian with hot, brown, slightly blood-shot eyes [...]. (Richardson 1915)
- (152) If he had been just an English snob, the social bauble might have proved an immense eye-duster; but when you say Australian it gives me hope. He'll take her away, or break Hector's head, before things become too embarrassing. (Glyn 1906)

A couple of more interesting instances appear in the Differentiation period where the perception of Australians appears to be slightly less favourable. Ex 153 puts them in connection with otherness in the context of this description of Earl's Court:

- (153) [T]here were transvestites and addicts and many disoriented people and con-merchants. There were small hotels smelling of spunk and disinfectant, Australian travel agents, all-night shops run by dwarfish Bengalis, leather bars with fat moustached queens exchanging secret signals outside, and roaming strangers with no money and searching eyes. (Kureishi 1990)

Or the 2 following examples which imply cultural differences:

- (154) The English are very good at those gestures. 'Are we going to have an affair?' she said. She's not English, she's Australian. (Winterson 1992)
- (155) Louise's mother and grandmother lived together in Chelsea. They considered themselves to be Australian aristocracy, that is, they were descended from convicts. (Winterson 1992)

Other examples remark on the number of Australian immigrants, e.g.,

- (156) By 1992 it had transformed again, this time into the focal point of the huge Australian immigrant population of Willesden, who, for the last five years, had been leaving their silky beaches and emerald seas and inexplicably arriving in NW2. (Smith 2000)

In terms of characteristics associated with Australians, in one example they are described as "excitable" (Smith 2000).

Aussie occurs once in a neutral context in the Endonormative stabilisation period, but in a much less favourable context in the Differentiation period where there is a mention of "sixteen squatting Aussies who had dug a hole in the floor and roasted a pig there" [in the flat] (Smith 2000).

There are no instances of *Aboriginal* in the corpus, and only a few of *Aborigine* which are all used in the original sense of the first inhabitants of a territory. These uses are not specific to Australia and for that reason most are not capitalised.

4.2.2.5 Speech act verbs

Keyword	Exonormative stabilisation				Nativization				Endonormative stabilisation				Differentiation				Whole corpus			
	total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm	
	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR
<i>yarn</i>	45	3	10.14	0.66	108	3	24.34	0.66	8	1	1.80	0.22	22	2	4.96	0.44	183	9	41.25	1.99
<i>shout</i>	1		0.23		10		2.25		2		0.45		9		2.03		22	N/A	4.96	N/A
<i>whinge</i>	0		0.00		0		0.00		1		0.23		2		0.45		3	N/A	0.68	N/A
<i>chiack/chyack</i>	0		0.00		2		0.45		0		0.00		0		0.00		2	N/A	0.45	N/A
<i>dob (in)</i>	0		0.00		0		0.00		1		0.23		2		0.45		3	N/A	0.68	N/A

Table 19 Frequency of *yarn*, *shout*, *whinge*, *chiack/chyack*, *dob (in)* across the 4 periods of the AusE and BrE corpus

It is apparent from the frequency table above that the speech act verbs are not at all frequent, perhaps except for *yarn*, which is the only one that can also be found in the BrE reference corpus. While *yarn* and *shout* are the most frequent, as expected (expectation 2, section 4.1.2.5), the overall frequency is lower than expected with the instances not distributed across the whole corpus as predicted (expectation 1, section 4.1.2.5). The remaining speech act verbs were expected to occur mainly in the Differentiation period due to their informality, but there are very few occurrences.

4.2.2.5.1 *Yarn*

Over half of all instances of *yarn* appear in the nationalistic Nativization period (cf. expectation 1 and 4 in 4.1.2.5) and both the nominal and verbal instances denote meaningful and pleasurable conversation rather than idle chatter in most cases. The second highest number of instances appears in the preceding Exonormative stabilisation period where the meaning of idle chatter is present only in one instance of the verbal usage. The frequency drops dramatically in the Endonormative stabilisation period, only to rise slightly in the Differentiation period – a development shared by many of the keywords that are bound to the bush mythology, with even a new verbal sense recorded.

The nominal usage of *yarn* is much more frequent in the earliest period, steadily decreasing across the following periods, where in last period, i.e., Differentiation, the verbal and nominal usages are nearly equal. This suggests the verbal usage developed by conversion from the nominal usage.

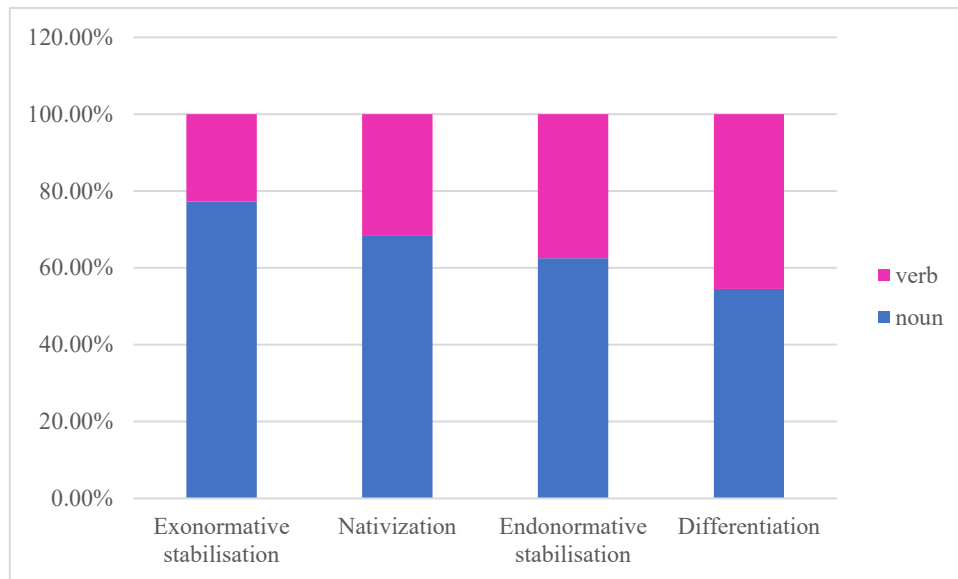


Figure 8 Word class distribution of *yarn*

***Yarn* (verb)**

As a verb, the most common meaning of *yarn* is to “have a conversation” – so there are at least two participants, for whom it is a pleasurable way of spending time together, which is indeed consistent with the mateship ethos. As such, the verb often appears with the preposition *with*:

(157) Armitage had his dinner in a small private sitting-room, and strolled out afterwards to the veranda to smoke and yarn with the men. He spent the evening with them there, and in the bar, hearing the news of the Ridge and gossiping genially. (Prichard 1921)

It is an activity often associated with the campfire (“they lay yarning by the camp-fire before turning in”, Prichard 1921) and extends over a lengthy period of time (“we used to yarn all night”, Scott 1999). The fact that the conversation really extends beyond idle chatter is exemplified in this instance from the Differentiation period where *yarn* is used synonymously with talking about quite serious things that could be important in a Native Title case:

(158) Jo told Kym that, since asking Aunty Sally Watt obviously wasn’t an option any more, she intended to look for Uncle Humbug and get his opinion. That’s if he would agree to yarn. (Lucashenko 2013)

This period also records an instance of transitive usage, which might be an indication of *yarn* widening its scope, as previously it was only used intransitively:

(159) Today had been about meeting with some of the neighbouring traditional owners, yarning them up about the Native Title fight. (Lucashenko 2013)

Here *to yarn someone up* seems synonymous with “to talk someone up”, which appears to be a new meaning.

There are only a couple of instances in the sense of “having and idle chat” (ex 160), and of *yarn* in the sense of “telling stories”, i.e., without interactive conversation (ex 161):

(160) You idle, lazy scoundrel! I suppose you were yarning in the cookhouse [...].
(Clarke 1874)

(161) Uncle Will used to yarn that way, trying the style of all the stories he’d read.
(Scott 1999)

	Exonormative stabilisation	Nativization	Endonormative stabilisation	Differentiation	Total
Verb	10	34	3	10	57
have a conversation	9	31	3	6	49
have an idle chat	1	3			4
tell stories				3	3
talk someone into something				1	1

Table 20 Meaning of *yarn* (verb)

***Yarn* (noun)**

The nominal usage appears most consistently in the sense of “story”:

(162) She had many Bush yarns, some of them very funny, some of them rather ghastly, but all interesting, and with a grim sort of humour about them.
(Lawson 1901)

For some of these stories, there is a suggestion they may not be quite true, hence be tall stories, although this meaning is almost exclusively confined to the first two periods:

(163) “And I want you to listen, Jack,” he said, “and remember every word – and if you can fix up a better yarn you can tell me afterwards.” (Lawson 1901)

Yarn in the sense of “conversation” is consistent through all the periods, and often co-occurs with prepositions *with* or *about*:

(164) You run along and show Miss Bottle Legs them roses and you and me have a yarn about it some other time. (Lindsay 1968)

There are also a couple of instances of *yarn* referring to “idle chatter”, where *yarn* is often modified (while in other contexts it is usually not, although there are a few instances of “good”, “long” or “lovely”). These rather negative senses of *yarn* appear either with the noun proper (“a long yarn about nothing”, Franklin 1901), or more often with the gerund *yarning*: “empty yarning”, “empty vapid yarning” (both Scott 1999).

There are also a couple of instances of *yarn* referring to a spun – usually woollen – material (“woollen yarn from a weaver”, Spence 1861).

	Exonormative stabilisation	Nativization	Endonormative stabilisation	Differentiation	Total
Noun	34	74	5	12	125
Story	13	32	1	4	50
tall story	12	20		1	33
Conversation	7	17	2	4	30
idle chat		4	1	3	8
Material	2	1	1		4

Table 21 Meaning of *yarn* (noun)

BrE reference corpus

There are 9 instances of *yarn* in the BrE reference corpus – 7 nominal and 2 verbal usages and all seem to imply the “telling of a tall story”. Here is an example of *yarn* as a verb:

- (165) She spoke so flatly he could not tell whether she spoke ironically. [...] It was as though she had taken him as far as she could go on the brazen trajectory of her voice, yarning him in knots, and then – stopped short. (Carter 1984)

The noun occurs in the phrase “to spin a yarn” twice, further supporting the suggestion this is the prevalent meaning. But even outside of this phrase, the implication of the fantastical is clear:

- (166) When he had heard everything he looked up and inquired calmly – “This is not a yarn, is it?”
 “A yarn!” exclaimed Philip. “Do you think I would invent such a thing?”
 (Corelli 1887)

The meaning of *yarn* in BrE thus seems to be much narrower than in its Australian counterpart.

4.2.2.5.2 *Shout*

The instances of *shout* in the Australian meaning were manually separated from over 400 instances of verbal or nominal *shout* in the sense of “scream” in the corpus. *Shout* in the Australian sense appears across all periods, although the majority is to be found in the Nativization and the Differentiation periods, with only 2 occurrences in the Endonormative stabilisation period in between. The first and only occurrence in the Exonormative stabilisation period consists of the noun in an unusual combination with an indefinite article (usually it is preceded by a possessive pronoun – *my shout*, *your shout*), but the context is usual – inviting someone for drinks at the bar:

- (167) “Here’s a shout all round for these men here,” says I, throwing a note on the bar. (Boldrewood 1888)

While *shout* as a verb predominates (80% of instances) in the Nativization period, in the Differentiation period the nominal usage is recorded in 5 instances compared to 4 nominal ones. The meaning is steady throughout, most often used in the context of *shouting* somebody a drink, in a couple of instances also food, and it continues to be associated with solidarity (see 4.1.2.5).

4.2.2.5.3 Whinge

There are only 3 instances of *whinge* in the whole corpus – 1 in the Endonormative stabilisation period and 2 in the Differentiation period. In the first occurrence, in fact, *whinge* is a noun and refers to the whining sound made by a dog:

- (168) Then the clearing was full of the whinge and yelping of the red dog, left chained to a veranda post. (White 1955)

This is nearer to a more traditional sense of the word that has no connection to the Australian cult of toughness and stoicism (see 4.1.2.5). The following 2 instances (exx 169-170) from the Differentiation period, however, seem to reflect this cult, as they concern people and designate an action that goes against that cult associated particularly with Australian masculinity.

In ex 169, the whinging is ascribed to Johnny, a transvestite – thus a complete opposite of the ideal Australian. In ex 170, it is ascribed to a 5-year-old boy who cannot yet live up to this ideal either, while this instance also supports Wierzbicka's claim that it is an important verb in relation to children and teaching them norms of behaviour (see 4.1.2.5):

- (169) Johnny looks bored. I hate this song, he whinges, it's so fucking twee. (Tsiolkas 1995)
- (170) "Look, Arnie Jo," Timbo whinged, pushing the creased and folded top towards his aunt. (Lucashenko 2013)

There are also 2 instances of the corresponding noun *whinger* in the Differentiation period, also in reference to people who complain and are thus perceived negatively:

- (171) He longed to inhabit the sphere of the cultural elites so sneered at and damned by talkback shock jocks and right-wing newspaper wingers. (Teo 2005)
- (172) We were not put in the charge of bashers they were right at the top in Grafton – but we got the moaners, the wingers, the ones with flatulence and bad breath, the ones their fellows could not stand to watch eating. (Carey 1985)

While *whinge* and *whinger* are apparently in use, the frequencies do not suggest it is such a 'household word' as Wierzbicka holds.

4.2.2.5.4 Chiack/chyack

There are only 2 instances of this verb in the whole corpus. Both come from the Nativization period and demonstrate its two different spellings.

- (173) I thought it was a low, brutal business all round. Romany was a quiet chap after all, and the chaps had no right to chyack him. (Lawson 1901)
- (174) In a flash, Chook remembered her as the red-haired girl whom he had chyacked in the corner. As he stared at her in surprise, the impudence died out of his face, and he thought with regret of his ferocious jest and her stinging reply. (Stone 1911)

The low frequency and period of occurrence suggest it is now more or less obsolete.

4.2.2.5.5 Dob (in)

Dob (in) first appears in the Endonormative stabilisation period, although without the habitual particle *in*:

(175) “Next time he does it, roar out That’s wet at the edges! So the rest of the office can hear. That’ll put his weights up,” said the Great Lover, who didn’t understand that someone wouldn’t be game to dob the boss. (Ireland 1976)

2 more instances appear in the Differentiation period within the same interaction, this time with the particle. Like the previous example, ex 176 testifies to the stigma associated with *dobbing someone in*, which is why in Peter Carey’s *Illywhacker* (1985) the character Rosa denies this implication about her husband, even though he did indeed betray his brother:

(176) “But why did he have to dob in his brother?” “Not dob in.”

Similar stigma is associated with being labelled a *dobber* – a corresponding noun that appears once in the Differentiation period and that, in the following example, refers to a teenager, whose stepmother accidentally broke his skateboard which he left in the way, and he told on her to his father:

(177) He was waitin on the front lawn for me, the little dobber. He knows I’ll buy him another one. Bugger him, he can save for it. (Winton 2001)

The censure is not so absolute here, but it suggests that had he not told on her, she would have replaced his skateboard.

Summary

Except for *yarn*, the speech act verbs are too infrequent in the corpus to offer any meaningful insights about their development. *Whinge*, *shout*, *dob in*, and *chiack*, however, exhibit signs of containing associations with the traditional national ethos based on the bush and the idea of masculinity, which is supported by the relatively higher frequencies in the Nativization period (cf. expectation 4 in section 4.1.2.5). Most also appear in the Differentiation period, suggesting they may be associated more with informal speech (cf. expectation 3 in section 4.1.2.5), although *chiack* seems to have become obsolete. *Yarn* appears in meanings related to having a conversation and telling stories, with emphasising *yarning* as a meaningful social activity. In contrast, in the BrE reference corpus, the few instances seem to be confined to the meaning of (telling) a tall story, which appears only in a couple of cases in the Australian corpus. *Yarning* is primarily associated with the nationalistic Nativization period and the bush ethos, but there is a slight increase in the Differentiation period.

4.2.2.6 Swearwords

Keyword	Exonormative stabilisation				Nativization				Endonormative stabilisation				Differentiation				Whole corpus			
	total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm	
	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR
bloody	16	5	3.64	1.10	10	8	2.27	1.76	123	93	27.95	20.51	257	195	58.41	43.01	406	301	92.27	66.39
bugger	0	0	0.00	0.00	0	0	0.00	0.00	49	27	11.14	5.96	54	34	12.27	7.50	103	61	23.41	13.46
bastard	2	2	0.45	0.44	4	1	0.91	0.22	65	25	14.77	5.51	80	74	18.18	16.32	151	102	34.32	22.50
bullshit	0	0	0.00	0.00	0	0	0.00	0.00	4	1	0.91	0.22	40	2	9.09	0.44	44	3	10.00	0.66

Table 22 Frequency of *bloody*, *bugger*, *bastard*, *bullshit* across the 4 periods of the AusE and BrE corpus

As the frequency table shows, all the ‘b-words’ are more significantly frequent in the Australian corpus than the BrE reference corpus, most notably *bullshit*. Their presence is largely confined to the last two periods, with a few instances of *bastard* and *bloody* also found in the first two periods.

4.2.2.6.1 *Bloody*

Exonormative stabilisation

While already in the Exonormative stabilisation period *bloody* appears, 10 out of the 16 instances are used in the literal sense of “covered in blood” and all of the British instances are also used in this sense. The remaining 6, however, are used as expressions of anger in exclamations such as “you bloody villain” or “you bloody aristocrats” (cf. expectation 2, for *bloody* section 4.1.2.6), or even references to “Bloody Law” (all Clarke 1874). All instances of *bloody* are adjectival in this period and used by male speakers.

Nativization

There is a slight decrease of *bloody* in the Nativization period, with 10 instances to 8 instances in the BrE reference corpus. There are again 4 instances in the literal sense, and 6 in the sense expressing anger, so this sense now appears to prevail. This is apparent from the BrE reference corpus as well, where out of the 8 instances, only 2 are in the literal sense. Ex 178 from the Australian corpus which observes the linguistic behaviour of a bushman suggests it is still perceived more as a taboo word or at least a cause for raised eyebrows:

- (178) He was now more communicative, and the oaths and adjectives so freely used were surely coined for such circumstances. “Damned” the wretched, starving, and starved sheep looked and were; “bloody” the beaks of the glutted crows; “blarsted” the whole of the plain they drove through. (Baynton 1902)

Interestingly, this period also records 1 usage by a female speaker:

- (179) “By God!” she burst out passionately, turning to Eve, “isn’t it all a bloody mess?” (Cusack 1936)

Endonormative stabilisation

From the Endonormative stabilisation on, *bloody* rises significantly in frequency and its scope widens to other uses beyond expressing anger although that remains its primary meaning that applies to 49.59% of instances. The second most frequent usage is to emphasise sincerity (14.63%) – usually in showing gratefulness (“this is bloody good of you”, Malouf 1975) or offering assessments (“I think it’s got a bloody good future” or “Russians can be so bloody morbid”, both Bail 1980). There are also other relatively frequent usages, for example the use of *bloody* in an effort to sound tough (9.76%), especially when talking about emotional matters, for example:

- (180) My Dad used to change his name now and then when he got in a tight corner.
I forget what they signed us up at the orphanage. Not that I bloody well care.
As far as I’m concerned one bloody name’s the same as another.
(Lindsay 1968)

Bloody is also used to express frustration (6.5%, e.g., ex 181) and anti-sentimentalism (6.50%, e.g., ex 182). Less frequently, there also appear a few cases of the literal usage, and of *bloody* expressing admiration, defiance, disdain, irony, astonishment, and used as part of a threat and in the context of poking fun.

- (181) Jeez ... don’t look so bloody miserable. (Lindsay 1968)

- (182) “So that I can surprise him,” she said, swinging a foot, “with my bloody beauty.” (Anderson 1978)

Based on the variety of context of usage, if *bloody* is used in other than its literal sense, it is no longer solely negative like in the previous periods (cf. expectation 2 in section 4.1.2.6). Out of the 123 instances in this period, 65.85% are negative, 26.83% neutral, and 7.32% positive. There is also an increase in female usage – to 12.20% of all instances. In the BrE reference corpus, quite a few of the instances appear in the literal meaning, and the rest appears in a negative context, mainly as an expression of anger or frustration, apart from 2 instances of “bloody marvellous” (not meant ironically).

From the Endonormative stabilisation period on, *bloody* also appears as a different word class – as an adverb (“They’re bloody mad”, Ireland 1976) and an interjection (e.g., “No bloody fear,” Lindsay 1968, where “no fear” means “no way”). *Bloody* as an adverb appears in 24.39% of instances in the Endonormative stabilisation period, and in 31.13% in the Differentiation period, while the interjection appears in 1.63% and 2.33%, respectively. The correlation of part of speech with negative usage suggested by previous research discussed in 4.1.2.6 is mirrored in the data, although it is not as clear-cut. The adjective *bloody* correlates with negative contexts more than the adverb, however, a significant portion of adverbial usage also appears in negative

contexts. Overall, in the whole corpus, *bloody* as an adjective is negative in 70.49% of instances while as an adverb it is negative in 51.82% instances, and as an interjection in 37.50%.

Differentiation

In the Differentiation period, the frequency of *bloody* in both corpora has doubled, although it is still more frequent in the Australian corpus. The rising trend again reflects the greater acceptability of informal and taboo language in general speech, although as discussed, *bloody* has never been seen as a particularly foul word in the Antipodes.

The loss of its taboo meaning is illustrated by the following example, where the word intensified by *bloody* is further intensified by *fucking*, as *bloody* is not explicit enough:

- (183) It was her misfortune to sit next to a pinched, unhappy woman who told her all men are shits, all men are bastards, fucking bastards, that's what men are, every bloody one of them, shits, all shits, no bloody fucking exceptions [...]. (Jones 2011)

There are, however, cases when it is used in very offensive contexts regarding ethnicity or nationality:

- (184) Hey, I'm talking to you. Bloody chink. (Teo 2005)
(185) Fuckin' slanty-eyed boatie. Bloody fish-breath gook. (Teo 2005)
(186) You'd have done better with me than that bloody Yank who fucked you over and then fucked off at the end of the war. (Teo 2005)
(187) I didn't know you was such a bloody dugai [...]. (Lucashenko 2013)

Exx 184-186 are uttered by white Australians. As Wierzbicka pointed out, the use of *bloody* functions as a means of asserting in-group membership in the Australian community (2001: 1180). Its use with racial slurs thus seems particularly significant in emphasising the 'otherness' of the other party. It is meaningful that this is reversed in ex 187, which is uttered by an Aboriginal man. Here *dugai* means white person and is not used as an address term for someone, only as a derogatory comparison.

The wider range of context of usage is maintained in this period, although expression of anger is still the prevalent one (54.47%), illustrated by the examples above, which means the expectation of prevalent positive usage in this period is not met (see expectation 3 for *bloody* in 4.1.2.6). Other frequent contexts again include frustration (7.39%), the literal usage (7.39%), admiration (3.89%), and anti-sentimentalism (3.50%), with a couple of instances of defiance, astonishment, disdain, sounding tough, irony, sympathy, and assent. There is one instance where *bloody* precedes a name, which might suggest that person is being difficult or obstinate, as

indicated by previous research (although this is not true of all instances where *bloody* appears with a name):

- (188) The boy claimed that he was trying to gather information about that bloody Cuddles. (Scott 1999)

The decrease in the usages of *bloody* to express anti-sentimentalism and to sound tough compared to the previous period may suggest this Australian tendency is slightly diminishing, which may be reflective of the discussions about this kind of toxic masculinity. It may also be connected to the increased usage of *bloody* by women, which in this period amounts to 43.19%. The percentage of instances where *bloody* is used in explicitly positive contexts has risen to 8.95% (with 66.15% of negative contexts).

As far as a comparison with British usage in this period, the examples there are very similar to the Australian ones, with the only difference seemingly being in the frequency of use. The use of *bloody* does not appear any more shocking than in AusE, suggesting that the loss of taboo status has spread to the UK, as discussed earlier (see 2.5.4), even though the majority of contexts is still negative (anger, frustration) and in 1 instance it also appears in connection with racial slurs (“Bloody Pakis!”, Lodge 1984). This does not necessarily dispute Wierzbicka’s assertions of the strong cultural resonance of *bloody* in Australian culture (see 2.5.4). Rather, as language standards are loosening everywhere, the cultural resonance appears difficult to prove from available data as it concerns the feelings of the speakers rather than hard linguistic evidence.

4.2.2.6.2 Bugger

Bugger first appears in the Endonormative stabilisation period, and its instances are almost equally distributed over this period and the subsequent period of Differentiation (49 and 54 instances respectively). In 61.17%, *bugger* is used as a noun, in 20.39% as a verb, in 14.59% as an adjective *buggered*, in 1.94% as an interjection and 1.94% as part of an idiom *to play silly buggers*, meaning “to act stupid”. The interjection and idiomatic usage only occur in the Differentiation period, otherwise the percentages are roughly the same in both periods.

***Bugger* (noun)**

In keeping with Wierzbicka’s assertions (see 2.5.4), *bugger* as a noun is most frequently associated with compassion (one third of all the noun instances) and often collocates with adjectives *old*, *silly*, *poor*, *little* or a combination thereof, for example:

(189) No lice or anything except when some poor little bugger of a kid gets sent there with nits in its head and Matron gets out a bloody great scissors and cuts off its hair. (Lindsay 1968)

“Little bugger”, however, appears to also ascribe a certain craftiness or resourcefulness to someone we might not necessarily expect it from, as in this instance: “Wouldn’t put it past the little bugger” (Lucashenko 2013). This connotation is not mentioned by the literature discussed in 2.5.4. Another popular context is annoyance (one fifth of noun instances), for example:

(190) It is we women should be singun, but we can’t. Get on, you buggers, and let us at least have a good cry, an be done, it is near on milkun time. (White 1955)

In several instances, *bugger* appears to be used as an informal generic term for a man, perhaps similar to *bloke*:

(191) Stan was clever, and that was why he was a queer bugger, coming round the corner, up to something. (White 1955)

Despite *bugger* not usually being perceived negatively, there are several instances where it appears as an expression of anger or contempt (11 instances, so about 10%) rather than harmlessness (cf. expectation 1 for *bugger* in 4.1.2.6):

(192) It took two heavily built Russians cursing and perspiring, and Ivan who gave Gerald his camera to hold, to press the arm back. “You’re a silly bugger,” Hoffman snapped. “You could have had us all shot.” (Bail 1980)

In contrast, there are also affectionate usages of the term (6 instances):

(193) Gis a piggyback?
Yer getting too heavy.
Carn, Lu, ya weak or somethin?
Get up, ya cheeky bugger. (Winton 2001)

Here, *cheeky bugger* also appears to imply certain mischievousness. The meanings seem constant through both periods, perhaps only that the more negative associations with annoyance, anger and contempt are more common in the Endonormative stabilisation period than the Differentiation period, although they were expected to be confined more to the Exonormative stabilisation period (see expectation 1 for *bugger* in 4.1.2.6).

***Bugger* (verb)**

As a verb, in the Endonormative stabilisation period, it is most frequently used as an expression of surprise or wonder, usually in combination with the personal pronoun *me*:

(194) Why, bugger me, said Stan Parker, if it isn’t Con the Greek. (White 1955)

Other contexts – with 1 instance each – include defiance, annoyance, anger, disbelief, and something not being worth it (“She’s too floppy to lift. Bugger it.”, Ireland 1976). In contrast,

there are no examples of *bugger* as an expression of surprise, and the most frequent context is that of defiance:

(195) Oscar interrupted, on the verge of smashing Twoboy himself and bugger the consequences. (Lucashenko 2013)

The second most frequent is the usage of *bugger* in combination with the particle *off* to suggest to someone they should go away:

(196) Bugger off, you idiot. (Lucashenko 2013)

Apart from these, there is 1 instance in the context of annoyance, and 1 in the old sense of “anal penetration”.

Buggered

The adjectival usage is slightly more frequent in the Differentiation period (9 instances) than in the Endonormative stabilisation period (6 instances). One third of the instances serve to express surprise, usually in the phrase “I’ll be buggered”. In the Endonormative stabilisation period, there are also 2 examples denoting defiance, e.g.,

(197) “Sit back and rest. There’ll be a cup of tea in a minute”
Rest be buggered,” says Liz undaunted by the prevailing kindness.
(Ireland 1976)

In this period there is also 1 example in answer to a question – “I am buggered if I know” (White 1955) – suggesting that in no way does the speaker know the answer. Another example does not have sufficient context to be categorised. In the Differentiation period, apart from the expression of surprise, all the other contexts disappear. Instead, *buggered* begins to be used in the sense of “knackered” (3 instances):

(198) He was so buggered by the end of the university week that it was as much as he could do to drag himself home [...]. (Teo 2005)

There are also 2 instances from Winton (2001) in the sense of “broken” (e.g., ex 199 about a snapped fishing rod) and 1 in the sense of “screwed” (ex 200).

(199) The thing is buggered now.

(200) [...] by the time he unhitched the trailer with its incriminating load he’d be surrounded, buggered well and truly.

Bugger (interjection)

As an interjection, *bugger* is confined to the Differentiation period, and as such appears as an expression of anger (ex 201) and annoyance (ex 202) in Lucashenko (2013):

(201) She fell hard against a protruding branch of the fallen eucalypt, shit and bugger and fuck as the muddy ground whirled up to meet her head [...].

(202) [...] the ground on either side far too steep and too soft to ride around–
Bugger.

BrE reference corpus

In the BrE reference corpus, *bugger* is slightly less frequent, but also nearly evenly distributed across the two periods. While there are some instances where *bugger* denotes compassion and collocates with *old*, *poor*, *little*, or *silly*, there are also more openly hostile usages that generally do not occur in the Australian corpus, such as:

(203) I tried to smash the little bugger's head in because I hate his guts.
(Kureishi 1990)

As a verb, it appears to occur in the sense of “leave” as *bugger off* comparatively more than in the Australian corpus and also in mainly hostile contexts, e.g., “Bugger off you Buddhist bastard!” (Kureishi 1990). There do not seem to be any examples of the affectionate usage of *bugger*, which seems to confirm the cultural significance of the word in AusE.

4.2.2.6.3 Bastard

Although *bastard* appears in all periods, in Exonormative stabilisation the 2 instances occur in the meaning of “illegitimate child”. In the Nativization period, 1 instance denotes a crossbreed ewe, however, in the remaining 3 instances it denotes humans. 2 of these are negative expressions of anger (e.g., “They're a dirty lot of bastards,” Mackenzie 1937), but the last is an example of the affectionate usage between friends:

(204) Monty, you old bastard, get hold of his ear. (Mackenzie 1937)

Only from the Endonormative stabilisation period does the term become more frequent, and there is a slight increase in frequency in the Differentiation period. The majority of instances denotes humans, and despite the expectation of mainly positive usage (see expectation 1 for *bastard* in 4.1.2.6), the majority of these have a negative connotation – around 63% in both of these periods, with only 7% and 8% respectively of explicitly positive instances. The negative instances occur in the context of anger or contempt which, along with toughness, are the most frequent contexts of use (43% of all instances are in the context of anger, 16% in the context of contempt, and 19% in the context of toughness). Here are some examples of negative usage:

(205) Danny flew off forwards, did a somersault over the pillow and landed on his back with his feet in the air against a wardrobe. “You rotten bastards!” (Ireland 1976)

(206) I hate the bastards that tell the man on the jackhammer that he's not working hard enough and his machine's too noisy [...]. (Ireland 1976)

Like Wierzbicka suggests (see 2.5.4), in many of the negative instances, *bastard* is unmodified although there are still several instances with a modifier, such as ex 205 above, or a few others, such as “dirty bastard” (Ireland 1976), “a great loafing bastard” (Harrower 1958), “two-timing bastard” (Malouf 1975), or “murdering bastards” (Jones 2011). Many instances, especially in the Differentiation period, co-occur in connection with race, ethnicity or religion:

- (207) My sister can hitch herself up to some uptight Muslim bastard who will make her life misery, but that isn't my concern. (Tsiolkas 1995)
- (208) Go back to where you came from, you commie bastard boatie. (Teo 2005)
[commie = communist, boatie = boat person = immigrant]
- (209) You dugai bastards sitting on a gold mine ere in Mullum! (Lucashenko 2013)
- (210) What about you fuck off back to the other black bastards? (de Kretser 2007)

The positive instances usually appear in the context of affection or admiration:

- (211) “So, I contain multitudes,” Twoboy threw at her with a boyish grin. “Sue me.” You charming handsome bastard, thought Jo, softening. (Lucashenko 2013)
- (212) “He’s a real smart bastard,” Gary said. (Bail 1980)

As the first example demonstrates, *bastard* can also be used as a term of address, both in the negative and the positive or neutral sense. Ex 211 above is only reported speech of the character’s thoughts, but there are other examples where it is used in conversation between friends, such as “Hey, you bastards, [...] come round the back and take a gander at my new vehicle” (Ireland 1976).

In the remaining neutral instances, *bastard* usually appears in the context of pity or as an expression of toughness by using the b-word instead of a stylistically neutral term:

- (213) He realised he was leaning on the table, drinking alone, looking to all the world like some miserable bastard whose girlfriend had just left him. (Jones 2011)
- (214) “He’s got a crook heart. Tough as shit, but. Got to hand it to these old bastards,” said Jack’s son-in-law magnanimously. (de Kretser 2007)

There are also a couple of instances where *bastard* is used as a modifier. While there is 1 instance where *bastard* means “illegitimate” (“a newborn bastard baby,” White 1955), in the remaining instances, it serves a similar function as *bloody* and is used in negative contexts (4x), such as: “Big bastard birds were waiting in the sky to tear them to pieces” (Ireland 1976). In the Endonormative stabilisation period only, there are also 2 instances where *bastard* is part of a simile that functions as an intensifier: “it was raining like a bastard” (Ireland 1976) and “I was coughing like a bastard” (Bail 1980) – meaning “very much”.

There are also a few isolated instances where *bastard* refers to an animal or an object, such as a car or a plane, which appear as an expression of anger or toughness, for example:

(215) And finally the plane flashed across the water, green and beetle shiny. Ugly bastard, innit, said the guide. (Winton 2001)

(216) “I’m so bloody hungry I’ll eat that bastard alive!” [kangaroo] (Ireland 1976)

According to the *OED3*, this sense is “in extended use [...] to denote a circumstance, situation, thing, etc., esp. one which is unpleasant or disagreeable, or which causes difficulty or annoyance”,⁴⁶ with the first quotation listed from 1919, and nothing suggesting it is particularly Australian.

As far as British usage is concerned, while in the Endonormative stabilisation period the term was considerably less frequent in the BrE reference corpus, in the Differentiation period the frequencies are nearly equal. This is largely due to the novels of Kureishi (1990) and Smith (2000) where the majority of instances comes from. In general, *bastard* is most frequently used in the negative sense, often amplified by strong modifiers such as *fucking* or *piss-arse*, or as an insulting term of address *you bastard*. It also appears as a modifier itself – *bastard mortgage*, which carries equally negative connotations. Interestingly, like several of the words discussed above, it does appear in the compassionate context in the novels by Kureishi (“poor bastards”) and Smith (“poor bastards”, “poor little bastard”, “little bastards”) which are populated by immigrants. This begs the questions whether these supposedly specifically Australian usages are not common to more varieties of English influenced by colonialism. However, I have not been able to find any research investigating this connection and it is beyond the scope of the present study.

4.2.2.6.4 Bullshit

True to Wierzbicka’s assertion (see 2.5.4, and expectation 2 for *bullshit* in 4.1.2.6), *bullshit* is much more frequent in the Australian corpus than the British one (44 instances in the former against 3 in the latter), but the frequency overall is low. Most instances are confined to the Differentiation period, likely due to the increasing informality of discourse. 4 instances appear in the Endonormative stabilisation period contrary to the expectation that *bullshit* would not appear in print till the last period (see expectation 1 for *bullshit* in 4.1.2.6). In both periods, *bullshit* is most frequently used by the speakers when they point out something is a lie or nonsense:

(217) I tell her, they’re both studying this afternoon. Bullshit, she says loudly in English. (Tsiolkas 1995)

⁴⁶ “bastard, n., adj., and adv.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 February 2022 from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/16044>.

(218) “Come off it,” Garry Atlas interrupted – this was bullshit. (Bail 1980)

In the majority of cases, it functions as a noun. However, there are a couple of instances of adjectival use, where it serves as modifier indicating something nonsensical, such as:

(219) Mum Jackson and Uncle Cheezel grew older, and more frail, and ever less equipped to keep on top of the whole bullshit saga of proving who they were and where they belonged. (Lucashenko 2013)

Moreover, in one such instance, *bullshit* appears to be close to *bloody* in meaning, functioning more as an intensifier:

(220) Cos there’s more to Law than some bullshit dugai court will ever know, and there’s more to life than politics. (Lucashenko 2013)

In general then, it appears to be associated with catching somebody in a lie or expressing an opinion that something is nonsense, rather than an expression of “a dislike of verbosity, pretentiousness, empty talk, and being difficult to impress” (1997: 228), as suggested by Wierzbicka. Although perhaps the linguistic choice of using *bullshit* could in part be interpreted as hinting at “being difficult to impress”, or rather the Australian cult of toughness.

The usage in the BrE reference corpus is very similar, even though much less frequent. There is also 1 instance, where *bullshit* is used as a verb synonymous with “lie” – “he’ll know you’re not bullshitting about me” (Ishiguro 2005) – which does not appear in the Australian corpus, although it is likely also in use in AusE.

Wierzbicka has also suggested other expressions have been derived from *bullshit* (as discussed in 2.5.4). However, apart from several instances of the clipping *bull* (e.g., ex 221), the corpus search for nouns including *bull* did not reveal many ([lemma=“bull.*” & tag=“N.*”]). Once unrelated words such as *bullock*, *bulldog*, *bullet*, or *bully* were filtered out, there remained only 4 instances of *bullshitter* (i.e., liar: ex 222), and 2 of *bulldust*, which appears to be a euphemism of the original term (ex 223):

(221) He hardly opened his mouth without making a bull. (Martin 1890)

(222) I regretted being a big mouth, a bullshitter and a bully. (Carey 1985)

(223) And the third thing is I’d like to listen to Jack McGrath, our host, who has had to put up with all this bulldust about rabbits. (Carey 1985)

At least in this corpus then, the derivations are not as widespread as Wierzbicka would suggest.

Summary

As expected, the ‘b-words’, most notably *bullshit*, are more common in the Australian corpus than the BrE reference corpus, with the majority of instances confined to the last two periods when informal language became more acceptable. Generally, their increased frequency

in Australia can be attributed to the Australian values of irreverence, anti-sentimentality and toughness, although the last two links might be weakening as a result of discussions regarding the ideal of Australian masculinity. In terms of meaning and contexts of usage, in Australia it appears to be broader particularly in the case of *bloody*, *bugger*, and *bastard*. Affectionate or neutral usages are much more common than in BrE, especially since the Nativization period, although even in BrE the words appear to have largely lost their taboo status by now.

4.2.2.7 Derogatory ethnic labels

Keyword	Exonormative stabilisation				Nativization				Endonormative stabilisation				Differentiation				Whole corpus			
	total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm		total		ipm	
	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR	AUS	BR
wog	0	0	0.00	0.00	0	0	0.00	0.00	5	0	1.14	0.00	87	5	19.77	1.10	92	5	20.91	1.10
chink	0	0	0.00	0.00	3	0	0.68	0.00	0	0	0.00	0.00	5	1	1.14	0.22	8	1	1.82	0.22
pom	0		0.00		0		0.00		3		0.68		4		0.91		7	N/A	1.59	N/A
Yank	0	0	0.00	0.00	0	0	0.00	0.00	6	3	1.36	0.66	21	0	4.77	0.00	27	3	6.14	0.66
Abo	0		0.00		0		0.00		4		0.91		8		1.82		12	N/A	2.73	N/A

Table 23 Frequency of *wog*, *chink*, *pom*, *Yank*, *Abo* across the 4 periods of the AusE and BrE corpus

Judging by the frequency table above and considering the history of these labels outlined in 2.5.5.2, the only comparison across periods will be possible between the last two developmental stages, with the exception of *chink*, which occurs also in the Nativization period. As expected (see 4.1.2.7), the frequencies are relatively low overall, but highest in the Differentiation period.

4.2.2.7.1 *Wog*

Wog first appears in the Endonormative stabilisation period (cf. expectation 1 for *wog* in 4.1.2.7), and all of the 5 instances are a racial slur uttered by a white character, for example:

(224) Git outa here, wog. This is a white man's pub. (Ireland 1976)

While this negative meaning is carried over into the Differentiation period, there the instances are more varied.

The steep increase of *wog* in the Differentiation period is largely due to Christos Tsiolkas's novel *Loaded* (1995; see Differentiation section of Appendix 2), where all but 3 originate. Exx 225-230 from Tsiolkas (1995) illustrate how the Australian community with origins in the Mediterranean adopted this racist term for their own usage as an identity label (cf. expectation 2 for *wog* in 4.1.2.7). They illustrate its usage in contexts asserting one's identity which has positive connotations. For instance, ex 225 implies that using this originally derogatory term denotes a certain pride, perhaps in the fact that the white terminology was subverted by the people it was used against:

(225) I like the word wog, can't stand dago, ethnic or Greek-Australian. You're either Greek or Australian, you have to make a choice. Me, I'm neither. It's not that I can't decide; I don't like definitions. [...] If I was Asian I'd call myself a gook, but I'd use it loudly and ferociously so it scares whitey. Use it to show whitey that it's not all yes-sir-no-sir-we-Asians-work-hard-good-capitalists-do-anything-the-white-man-says-sir. Wog, nigger, gook. Cocksucker. Use them right, the words have guts.

As an established identity, *wog* is also associated with particular ways of dressing (ex 226), ways of speaking (exx 227-228), and behaviour (ex 229):

(226) The men in clean ironed shirts, buttoned up to the collar if they are Asian, unbuttoned to the chest if they are wog.

(227) She dyes her hair blonde, sneaks out at night to fuck with the Australezo and refuses to speak the wog language, to retain the wog name.

(228) Johnny smiles flirtatiously at me, puts on a wog accent.

(229) You're in for a real wog night, Betty says to me.

As discussed (see 2.5.5.2), while the term originally referred to immigrants from Southern Europe, its scope has since broadened and similarly to Britain it now seems to cover all dark-skinned people, as the following example illustrates:

(230) Alex can do what she likes with boys, it's not my place to judge her, but she'd be stupid to fall for an Arab. Like Greeks, like any wogs, they don't have the guts to fight Mummy and Daddy.

Out of the remaining 3 occurrences from other sources, in 2 *wog* is used in its derogatory sense by a white person, while in the last instance it appears to be neutral, used by an Aboriginal person to simply denote non-white and non-Aboriginal. When used by whites, it thus seems to have retained its derogatory meaning, although there are discussions about its current usage in Australia noting the "affectionate" usage of the term by white Australians (see Clark 2005). Conversely, the few instances in the BrE reference corpus show that there it has lost none of its offensive meaning.

4.2.2.7.2 Chink

The offensive term for a person of Chinese origin, *chink*, first appears in the Nativization period (contrary to expectation 1 for *chink* in 4.1.2.7), with 3 occurrences from Joseph Furphy's *Such is Life* (1903). There they appear in the scenes on the gold diggings in immediate contexts that are not overtly negative, although in the novel they are seen as undesirable and inferior. Interestingly, all usages are capitalised, for example:

(231) "Now who'd a'thought them Chinks was so suddent?" he mused, as I woke him with the tidings.

While the word is missing from the Endonormative stabilisation period, it appears 5x (in two texts) in the Differentiation period. It is no longer capitalised, suggesting that the overt connection with the word *Chinese* from which it was derived, has weakened. In this period, even the context of appearances is overtly negative in all the cases, although there is in one instance a sense of awareness that it should now not be used:

- (232) The strip of land along the beach, once the space of outcast migrants, of dagoes and chinks, he might have said, was being redeveloped to construct a group of chalets for a beach resort. (Jones 2011)

The remaining 4 examples all come from Hsu-Ming Teo's *Behind the Moon* (2005) and report the insults piled upon the characters of Asian origin by white Australians when the word is not used as a reference term, but as a vocative and thus truly meant to insult the persons addressed: "Bloody chinks"; "you fucking stupid chinks"; "dirty chinks"; "Bang Bang. Get rid of all you chinks". There is no indication that the word might undergo a similar transformation to *wog* (cf. expectation 2 for *chink* in 4.1.2.7). The only occurrence in the British literature corpus is similarly derogatory.

4.2.2.7.3 Poms

Pom first appears in the Endonormative stabilisation period (contrary to expectation 1 for *Pom* in 4.1.2.7 which expected it earlier). In ex 233, the context is positive rather than negative, although the usage of the term *Pom* creates a bit of an irony or condescension:

- (233) "The English . . . What about the English?"
"Ar, the old Poms are all right," said Doug. "Let 'em go. They're miles better than the Irish."
"You don't find the English have their nose in the air, perhaps a trifle superior?"
"No more than the French," said North. (Bail 1980)

In another instance, the context is slightly more negative, asserting that "[t]he old poms [...] can get a bit uppity" (Bail 1980). The last example from the period is the most negative yet, suggesting there is nothing worse than being a *Pom*, or God forbid, a "pommified Aussie":

- (234) If you stay more than five years you become a pommified Aussie, than which there is no more pitiful creature on God's earth. Unless it's an aussiefied Pom, and that's how you feel when you try to go back. (Anderson 1978)

The adjective *pommified* derived from the verb *pommify* is an interesting example of how the noun has expanded into other categories.

There are 4 instances of *Pom* in the Differentiation period, and the connotations are mostly derogatory. Interestingly, in 2 instances it again appears in juxtaposition with *Australian*, to enhance Australian superiority and the Australian dislike of the English:

(235) His father wanted him to marry a sensible Australian woman, not a ten-pound Pom with women's lib ideas. (Teo 2005; "ten-pound Pom" means an English person who came to Australia on a government scheme that paid for the passage)

(236) The discovery that Australia, or at least this southern corner of it, was not a warm place. The certainty that he would not keep his job, as the senior accountant didn't like Poms and had told him so. (de Kretser 2007)

Ex 237 from Carey's *Illywhacker* (1985) is an exception to the rule which lauds the Poms for their technological superiority when it comes to aircrafts. It is from the part of the book set presumably in the early 20th century when Australia is still under the influence of Britain and suffers from a sense of inferiority:

(237) It's a question of risk versus return, and there's no doubt the poms are more experienced than we are.

There is another interesting example of *pommified* in this context, which refers to Australians consciously altering their speech to imitate RP English to show their allegiance with the 'mother country' and have more prestige, which the narrator Herbert condemns:

(238) I was happy enough to use the natural nasal Australian accent which had so enraged that imaginary Englishman who sired me. I despised those people who pommified their speech. (Carey 1985)

While overall the usages of *Pom* are derogatory, they do not sound as harsh as the racial slurs. Their appearance in juxtaposition with Australia suggests that Britain has and continues to serve as a constant reference which to measure oneself against. Note that the capitalisation or lack thereof seems to be variable. In this period there is also one instance of a hypocoristic *Pommie*, but the context does not have positive implications the form might suggest (see 2.1.2), it appears quite neutral.

4.2.2.7.4 Yank

Conversely, *Yank* did not appear to be used offensively in most instances but rather as an informal name for an American.

There are 6 occurrences in the Endonormative stabilisation period (again, contrary to expectation 1 for *Yank* in 4.1.2.7 which expected it earlier) and apart from 1 instance of "Bloody King's Cross Yanks" (Ireland 1976), all appear perfectly neutral, or even positive, such as the assertion that "[t]he Yanks are alright. They're generous" (Bail 1980).

Most occurrences in the Differentiation period are also rather neutral. Although in a few instances *Yank* appears as part of an insult, such as "you fucking Yank bitch" (Tsiolkas 1995) and "that bloody Yank" (2x; both Teo 2005). The American origin is not the real source of the anger though, even if it is used against the person. Most of the other instances of *Yank* come

from Peter Carey's *Illywhacker* (1985), a novel that criticises the Americanization of Australia after WWII, which is reflected in some of the contexts that discuss the Yanks in connection with being tricked, money, and going home. Carey's punchline of sorts that hints at Australians looking for causes of their problems elsewhere instead of taking responsibility sums up nicely the fact that none of the ethnic minorities or the Brits or Americans are the problem, even if the linguistic means of referring to them may suggest so:

(239) You moaned and groaned about the Pommies and the Yanks but you never did anything.

Similarly, in the BrE reference corpus *Yank* is used in a neutral sense.

4.2.2.7.5 *Abo*

As discussed in 2.5.5.2, despite appearing as a simple clipping that Australians are so fond of (see 2.1.2), the term *Abo* is considered an extremely offensive name for an Aboriginal person, although similarly to the American *nigger* it used to be used widely by the white population (see Mastrosavas 2011). The results suggest that this used to be the case even in the Endonormative stabilisation period where *Abo* appears in a neutral context as part of informal speech (cf. expectation 1 for *Abo* in 4.1.2.7):

(240) What I say is this: if them Russell Street blokes and the abo tracker and the bloody dog can't find 'em, what's the sense of you and me worrying our guts out? (Lindsay 1968)

However, there is an example with a more explicitly negative context:

(241) Abo humpies flung out to the edges of towns by some centrifugal force had it collaged with flattened kero tins. (Bail 1980)

By today's standards, the very usage of the word is considered offensive irrespective of context.

The examples from the Differentiation period support this (cf. expectation 2 for *Abo* in 4.1.2.7), as even though some instances are seemingly neutral, others are much more explicitly offensive. In the following example, a girl of Asian origin is called *Abo*:

(242) One day a few of the older boys yelled at her crudely, 'Hey, Abo!' (Teo 2005)

In another example, a white man comments on the presence of an Aboriginal man in the park:

(243) "Normal people don't want snakes in the middle of town." Pete turned away and added under his breath, "Or dirty old abos either." (Lucashenko 2013)

The fact that no Aboriginal character uses this term suggests again that it has not been adopted by the community in the way that *wog* has. This is possibly due to the fact that Aboriginal people often identify with their tribe or the region they come from rather than simply as Aboriginal. Melissa Lucashenko herself, when asked whether she identifies as an Aboriginal

writer, begins her answer with this qualification: “When I say ‘Aboriginal’ or better yet, ‘Goorie’ or ‘Bundjalung’” (2021), implying that Aboriginal identities too need to be seen as diverse and not lumped under one label.

Summary

Only *wog* appears to have undergone a significant change in that it was adopted by the wog community as a positive term of self-assertion. However, it continues to be used in the derogatory sense by the white community and has extended its reach to all brown-skinned people rather than just those of Mediterranean origin. Neither *chink* nor *Abo* have been adopted by their respective communities and continue to be offensive. *Pom* appears to be used chiefly in contexts juxtaposing Australia with Britain with a slightly negative connotation, but it is not as derogatory as the race-derived terms. Over time it has also developed new forms, such as the hypocoristic *Pommie* and the adjective *pommified* derived from the verb *pommify*. *Yank* seems to be the most neutral term in this sense, appearing in negative contexts only infrequently.

5. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

5.1 Exonormative stabilisation (1830s-1901): *A Mere Chance* (1880) and *Robbery Under Arms* (1888)

5.1.1 Comparison with previous phases and expectations

Whereas in the preceding Foundation period the literary output in the colony consisted mainly of journals and letters describing the long voyages and reporting what life in the colony looks like, in the Exonormative stabilisation period novels and poetry began appearing, written not only by incoming settlers or convicts, but also for the first time by Australian-born writers who started coming of age in the 1830s when this period began. However, as discussed in section 3.1.1.1.2, until the 1880s/1890s there was little literature consciously Australian in style and subject matter, as the literary market in the colony was essentially governed by the British publishing industry. Culturally, the majority of the inhabitants of the colony still felt British, although enriched by the local experience, and they looked up to British cultural models. These included the linguistic standard as well as the literary standards of the period.

Therefore, linguistically, the literary language is expected only to reflect the new environment in the appearance of words coined or borrowed for the flora and fauna, as well as any new social roles that emerged as a result of life in the colony. Analogies, references and allusions are expected to be based on British or classical sources rather than the new Australian environment and the relatively little cultural capital accumulated by this time by the Anglo-Australian population. Based on Webby's (2000) observations discussed in 3.1.1.1.2, vernacular language is not expected to appear until the late 1880s in Rolf Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms* (1888), which is thus expected to stand in stark contrast to the standard English with very few Australia-specific markers expected of most of the preceding texts from this period.

As indicated in 3.1.1.1.1, AusE did not diverge in significant degree from its British model until the two closing decades of the century, when certain changes began to manifest in writing. To illustrate the contrast between the StBE used by the majority of writers for most of the 19th century, Ada Cambridge's novel *A Mere Chance* (1880) was selected, along with Rolf Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms* (1888), which showcases the Australian vernacular in fiction for the first time. Both novels also illustrate that from the beginnings of Australian literature, the bush constituted an essential feature of the Australian environment and identity. This is already signalled in *A Mere Chance*, despite its otherwise very 'English' high society

setting, and foregrounded in *Robbery Under Arms*. More information about the authors and the texts can be found in Appendix 2; below only a brief summary of relevant points will be outlined.

Cambridge (1844-1926) came to Australia from England, at the age of 26, with her husband, a clergyman, and quickly gained access to the Anglo-Australian aristocracy which became a subject of her novels that focused on the position of women in society and the colonial experience (Roe 1969). *A Mere Chance* (1880) is a good example of that, as it tells a story of a young debutante Rachael Featherstonhaugh who, freshly orphaned and having been raised in the bush, comes to live with her aunt in Melbourne. There she is introduced into society and, enchanted by the promise of material wealth, she accepts the proposal of Mr. Kingston, a few decades her senior. However, on a family visit to the bush, she falls in love with Mr. Dalrymple, a charming squatter. Through Rachel's situation, Cambridge examines the contemporary marriage politics in high society and the options women had at the time.

In contrast to Cambridge's focus on the Anglo-Australian aristocracy, Boldrewood (1826-1915) focused on the general population. In his novels, he drew on his extensive experiences of squatter life in the bush and incorporated it into his vivid novels full of sensational adventures, romance, and melodrama (Moore, 1969). *A Robbery Under Arms* (1888) was originally published in serial form in the *Sydney Mail* between 1882-1883, and published in book format in 1888 with considerable differences from the original version. It became very popular not only in England, but also other English-speaking countries (Webby 2000: 63). The novel tells the story of two brothers Dick and Jim who join a gang of bushrangers led by a former English nobleman, the mysterious Captain Starlight, and recounts their love life and adventures in the bush and on the goldfields in 1850s Australia. The bushranging theme and focus on unjust persecution of ordinary people by the police reflects the atmosphere of the period in which it was written when the rural poor suffered and sympathised with the bushrangers (as discussed in 3.1.1.1.1) The story is told by Dick in retrospect as he awaits execution in jail.

5.1.2 General linguistic features

5.1.2.1 The language of *A Mere Chance* (1880)

i) Commentary

A Mere Chance reads very much like an English novel, with relatively few textual indications that the plot is taking place in Australia and not somewhere in England, the language

largely conforming to StBE. There is no relevant commentary in the available criticism, nor does Cambridge offer any metalinguistic commentary. Nonetheless, the novel shows an awareness of differences between Europe and Australia. Yet Australia is the one that is considered ‘strange’ in comparison, as this comment on the reversed seasons shows: “But we must expect cold weather in May. I suppose it is rather strange to you to be finding winter coming on at this season?” (Vol. I, Ch. I). The characters in the novel display no signs of thinking of Australia as anything more than what it was at the time, a British “colony”, as they speak of it, or talk of their “colonial experience” (Vol. I, Ch. IX). The first-person narrator, however, suggests that those Australian-born constitute a different race when describing men at the races in the bush as “fine, handsome specimens of our promising colonial race” (Vol. I, Ch. IX). This is in fact an example of the concept of the ‘coming man’ as a colonial extension of British identity (see 3.1.1.1.1). Cambridge situates these ‘coming men’ again in the bush rather than the city, displaying awareness that that was what the soon-to-emerge Australian identity would be based on. Thus, even though the language of *A Mere Chance* displays little linguistic variation, Cambridge suggests that the bush is where unique Australian identity will draw from.

ii) Style

High register

As noted above, Cambridge’s novel is a near perfect example of StBE, which in combination with the focus on Melbourne high society contributes to the impression that this is a novel set in England. Only once the bush becomes the setting, there is at least some vocabulary for local flora and fauna (“dingo”, Vol. III, Ch. V; “cockatoo”, Vol. I, Ch. X) and social roles (“squatter”, e.g., Vol I., Ch. III). This may have to do with the nature of the publishing industry and the fact that Cambridge was writing for a British audience as much as an Australian one. Moreover, 19th-century BrE was still subject to prescriptivist tendencies of the previous century (see Exonormative stabilisation section of Appendix 3 for more details) when, according to Tieken-Boon van Ostade, “writers wanted to establish [...] a written medium that was free from contamination by the spoken language and that had enough prestige to be able to compete with Latin” (2012: 241). While in 19th century English the advances in society, industrialisation and high mobility were bringing regional and social dialects into the spotlight, which was reflected in some of Victorian literature (e.g., Dickens, Brontë, as discussed Appendix 3), *A Mere Chance* is much closer, both in style and theme, to the fiction of the previous era. It follows the tradition

of the novels of Jane Austen (1775-1817), focusing on the society and the marriage market (e.g., Thomson 1987, who draws a similar comparison with Austen's novels in a review of another novel by Cambridge).

The whole novel is written in StBE which evokes the atmosphere of an English drawing room. Formal vocabulary abounds, notably words and phrases of foreign origin, mostly French, which are often underlined in the text for emphasis: for example, “debutante”, “bona-fide”, “obeisance” (Vol. I, Ch. I); “confidante” (Vol. I, Ch. II); “tout ensemble” (Vol. I, Ch. II); “mien” (Vol. III, Ch. IV); “ennui”, “trousseau” (Vol. I, Ch. VII), , “congé” (Vol. II, Ch. X); or “éclat” (Vol. II, Ch. XI). Most of these are related to social life and they contribute to conjuring the atmosphere of British high society, which only incidentally happens to reside in Australia.

Cambridge also employs what even in the 19th century would have been considered archaisms, such as “by and bye” (Vol. I, Ch. I); “as of yore” (Vol. I, Ch. II); “erewhile”, “quoth” (Vol. I, Ch. XI); or “centuries a-weaving” (Vol. III, Ch. V).

The direct speech of characters is likewise represented by relatively uniform StBE which is slightly less formal owing to the usage of interjections and occasional contracted forms of the verbs *be* and *will*. There are no markers of non-standard speech, with one exception. The exception is the non-standard pronunciation of Hello as “Hullo” (Vol. I, Ch. VIII) by one of the characters, Mr Thornley, who is described “a wealthy landowner” living “in the country”, i.e., the bush. Since it is the only exception, and his speech is otherwise unmarked, it is difficult to interpret as a significant difference. Although, since he is a bush character who has married the cousin of Rachel, the novel's protagonist who is from the city, Cambridge might have used it to mark his country origins in contrast to the urban family he married into.

The use of StBE throughout and the impression of reading about British society is consistent with the identity of the Anglo-Australian inhabitants of the continent, which was still largely British, according to Schneider, as discussed in 3.1.1.1.1. The fact that they are viewing Australia through British eyes is manifested in lexical choices. For example, the phrase “native bearskins” in the following example appears to either refer to Britain rather than Australia, as there were never any bears in Australia, or because bears have been extinct in Britain for centuries, “native” might indeed refer to Australia with the bear of “bearskin” referring to some native animal that the British eyes had had to map onto a familiar frame of reference (e.g., the koala *bear*, which is not a bear at all): “She nestled in a soft corner of a well-appointed Victoria, with a great rug of native bearskins about her knees” (Vol. I, Ch. I). The latter interpretation appears more likely, as there are other instances where *native* refers to Australia (e.g., “native

air”, Vol. I, Ch. X). Interestingly, they appear in passages when the plot has moved to the bush, or “the country” as it is referred to in the novel. This usage appears to follow the British contrastive pair *city* vs. *country* as *bush* (which appears 21x) appears to be used primarily in the sense of vegetation and not yet in the sense of a distinctively Australian environment. Another indication that this distinctively Australian environment is still being perceived through British eyes is the use of the phrase “country seats” (Vol. II, Ch. II) when describing what would more likely be called “bush houses”, or the use of very general vocabulary to describe the landscape employed by Cambridge, which will be discussed in more detail in 5.1.3. None of the other cultural keywords appear in their Australian sense.

5.1.2.2 The language of *Robbery Under Arms* (1888)

In contrast, Boldrewood’s novel is full of the Australian vernacular and includes also phonetic respellings of other regional varieties, such as ScE or AmE. Whereas Cambridge was preoccupied with what could be classified as the Australian upper class, Boldrewood’s focus lies on the lower classes living in the bush and uses language to mark this class difference between the bush characters representing the general population and the upper classes using standard English (as will be discussed in 5.1.5). As such, the language is also much more informal, especially in direct speech.

i) Commentary

There is no available commentary on the language of the novel by Boldrewood himself. In terms of the use of the vernacular, it is considered to be a pioneering text: Webby asserts that the novel’s “wider significance for Australian literature lay in Boldrewood’s pioneering use of a colloquial first-person narrator, and hence of the Australian vernacular as a literary style” (2000: 63). According to Webby, Boldrewood’s style greatly influenced Henry Lawson and through him subsequently all writers emulating his writings, therefore “*Robbery Under Arms*, though usually dismissed by nationalist critics because of its romance elements and aristocratic English hero, must be seen as one of the seminal works of nineteenth-century Australian literature” (2000: 64). Moreover, the novel does not represent a crucial point in Australian literary history only because of the use of the Australian vernacular, but also for character representation – Moore reports that the literary critic Henry Green perceived the Marston brothers as “the first thoroughly Australian characters in fiction” (1969).

ii) Style

a) *Lower register*

Since the novel is narrated in the first person from the perspective of Dick, the general style is, compared to *A Mere Chance*, informal and shows many markers of the vernacular. The direct speech of the bush characters often displays features of non-standard grammar, such as double negatives (“nothing never made no difference to him”; Ch. 14), lack of subject-verb concord (“There’s squatters here that does as bad”; Ch. 2), use of past participle forms instead of past ones (“we done our settling-up next day”; Ch. 12), non-standard pronouns (“hissself” instead of *himself*, “ye” for *you*), or flat adverbs (“he’s so infernal rash”; Ch. 6). Additionally, Boldrewood sometimes employs phonetic respellings to indicate non-standard pronunciation (as will be discussed in 5.1.5). While these grammatical features are habitual means of representing general colloquial speech, the lexis firmly asserts Australian provenience.

Australian vernacular

The Australian lexical items include for example terms for new social roles in the colony, such as for distinguishing between new arrivals and established inhabitants (“new chums” vs. “old hands”; Ch. 23), or those Australian-born and British born (“currency chap/currency lass” vs. “sterling”, the latter not actually present in the text; Ch. 6, Ch. 42), and “squatter” (Ch. 8). There are slang words for alcohol, such as the general “grog” (Ch. 3), or “nobblers” (Ch. 1), meaning “a small quantity of alcoholic drink”⁴⁷ (*OED3*, sense I. 2). Since the bush is the main setting, many words to do with bush life also appear, such as the “bush telegraph” (Ch. 1; written in inverted commas), “weaners” (Ch. 6; *OED3*, sense 2.: “a calf or lamb weaned during the current year”⁴⁸), “kangarooing” (Ch. 3; meaning “hunting kangaroos”), “wallaroo” (Ch. 6; name for a large species of kangaroo), “wood-and-water joey” (Ch. 26; *OED3*: meaning “an odd job man”⁴⁹), “swag” (Ch. 24), or “hard dinkum” (Ch. 5; meaning “hard work”).

Since bushranging is the protagonists’ main occupation, related vernacular expressions are featured, for example “traps” (Ch. 1; used in inverted commas, meaning “policemen”), “to turn dog” (Ch. 5; “to betray”), “to stick up one of them” (Ch. 23; “to rob someone/something

⁴⁷ “nobbler, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/127465>

⁴⁸ “weaner, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/226592>

⁴⁹ “wood, n.1” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 7 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/230005>

at gunpoint”, here it refers to a house), “dart” (Ch. 22; *OED3*, sense 7: “plan, aim, scheme”⁵⁰), or “‘duffing’ yard” (Ch. 4; “cattle-branding yard”, derived from “cattle duffing” meaning “stealing cattle and (usually) altering their brands”⁵¹). Moreover, some hypocoristics are to be found in the text as well – several names, such as “Ailie” for Aileen (Ch. 7) and “Gracey” for Grace (Ch. 1), but also “darkie” (Ch. 16) for “an Aboriginal boy”, and “baccy” (Ch. 33) for “tobacco”.

It is not possible to cite all examples of vernacular expressions here, given the limited scope. However, a testament to how significant Boldrewood was for the representation of the Australian vernacular in writing is that for many of these words, quotes from *Robbery Under Arms* or other Boldrewood’s texts are found in the *OED3*, frequently as the first instance. Interestingly, many of the vernacular expressions appear in inverted commas in the novel, probably signalling their unfamiliarity to not only the readers in Britain, but possibly also some in Australia too, even though their meaning is not explained via binomials or other means. These expressions include “brumbee” (Ch. 11; “wild horse”), or the aforementioned “traps” or “bush-telegraph”, among others. In further occurrences they appear without the inverted commas, but sometimes in variable spelling, such as “brumbie” (Ch. 50), or without the modifying part of the compound (only “telegraph”, Ch. 21). Since the Australian vernacular had by this point rarely, if at all, been represented in writing, it can also signify that it was still developing.

Several words from the Aboriginal languages appear, acknowledging the influence of the native languages on the emerging AusE: apart from the aforementioned “wallaroo”, and “kangarooing”, and other names for flora and fauna, there is also “gunyah” (Ch. 4; “a native Australian hut”⁵²), “bunyips” (Ch. 13; a name for mythical beasts living in swamps), or “Myall blackfellow”. The last example is particularly interesting as “Myall” in non-Aboriginal usage refers to an Aborigine living according to the traditional lifestyle, whereas in Aboriginal usage the word means the complete opposite – a stranger ignorant of the traditional ways of life.⁵³ This usage demonstrates that while Boldrewood does not ignore Aborigines in his novel, including also an Aboriginal character, he represents them through non-Aboriginal eyes and succumbs to stereotypes of his time (as will be discussed in the following sections).

⁵⁰ “dart, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/47339>

⁵¹ “duffing, n.1” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/37692857>

⁵² “gunyah, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/82607>

⁵³ “myall, n.1 and adj.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed 2 October 2022. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/124425>

Cultural keywords

Examples of the cultural keywords discussed in 4.2.2 also appear – *bush* is very frequent and used in the sense of a distinctive environment, particularly in compounds, such as the aforementioned “bush telegraph”, “bush-rangers” (Ch. 7), “regular free bush life” (Ch. 42), “bush girls” (Ch. 42), etc. *Yarn* (both verb and noun; e.g. Ch. 5: “Jim and I walked along, leading our horses and yarning away as we used to do”; Ch. 52: “a yarn I heard”) and *mate* are also in use already in the Australian sense (“this wonderful mate of father’s”, Ch. 5), even though the mythology encompassed in the concept of mateship is only implicit at this point.

Other regionalisms

The Australian vernacular is interspersed with British vernacular expressions throughout the text, demonstrating how the varieties were still in the process of mixing and that apart from creating their own expressions in Australia, relevant British colloquialisms and slang remained in use. Examples include “mauleys” (Ch. 1; fists⁵⁴), “swell” (Ch. 12; *OED3*, 9a. “a fashionably or stylishly dressed person”⁵⁵), “fakement” (Ch. 10; “a scheme or ploy”⁵⁶), “Paddies” (Ch. 12; “the Irish”⁵⁷), or “gammon” (Ch. 17; “to hoax, trick”⁵⁸). There is also an example of an Australian derivation from a British slang verb: “larrupin” (Ch. 21; noun derived from the British verb *larrup*, “to beat, flog, thrash”; this quote cited as the only instance of the derivative form in *OED3*⁵⁹).

5.1.3 Stylistics of landscape

As discussed in 3.2.2.2, the way the novelist uses linguistic means to construct the world of the novel is a means of taking possession of the land, which was all the more important for early Australian writers who were staking their claim on a new territory. In Cambridge’s novel *A Mere Chance* (1880) this claim is still rather tentative as the landscape serves more as a

⁵⁴ “mauley, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/115153>

⁵⁵ “swell, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/195716>

⁵⁶ “fakement, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/67779>

⁵⁷ “paddy, n.2” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/135925>

⁵⁸ “gammon, v.3” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/76530>

⁵⁹ “larrup, v.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 2 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/105907>

background, although there are early signs of the special significance of the bush for Australian culture. In *Robbery Under Arms* (1888), Boldrewood firmly claims the bush as the home of the national type and represents it as an integral part of Australian culture.

5.1.3.1 Conceptualisation of space

A Mere Chance (1880)

In *A Mere Chance*, most of the characters come from the city of Melbourne or from England and view “the country” (i.e., the bush) primarily through British eyes, as discussed in 5.1.2.1, which is consistent with their identity as Brits abroad. This is demonstrated linguistically not only in the absence of the vernacular and some lexical choices, as discussed in 5.1.2.1, but also in the usage of general terms for describing the landscape rather than specifically Australian terms for native flora and fauna. Apart from the identity aspect, this may have to do with Cambridge writing for a British audience as much as (if not more than) for an Australian one. In passages about the city, there is hardly any commentary on the land itself, apart from the climate, particularly the freshness of the air, which is an association that appears in the novel several times as something typical of Australia. This is illustrated by in the following example: “It was a very lovely morning in the earliest dawn of spring, full of that delicate, delicious, champagny freshness which belongs to Australian mornings” (Vol. I, Ch. VI). The freshness the characters associate with Australia is likely not just because of its favourable climate, which is described as “a raw material of happiness” (Vol. I, Ch. VIII) compared to Britain, but also due to the novelty of the colonial experience and the promise of bright prospects in this period. It appears in particular in connection with the bush, as another passage set there demonstrates:

Adelonga at about nine o’clock on the morning of the race day would have presented to the eye of the distinguished traveller [...] a thoroughly typical Australian scene; typical, that is to say, of one distinct phase of Australian life. It was the enchanting weather of the country to begin with; which, say what grumblers will, is not to be matched, one month with another, in all the wide world – clear, fresh and sunshiny, with an air at once so delicate and so invigorating that none but exceptionally unhappy mortals could help feeling glad to be alive to breathe it. (Vol I, Ch. VIII)

Freshness, sunshine, and excitement appear to be the main associations that Australia evokes in this “thoroughly typical Australian scene”.

Nonetheless, apart from favourable weather, the city characters, as members of the upper class, see the colony as culturally inferior to Britain and Europe and measure the worth of everything by those standards, demonstrated linguistically via comparative expressions. Mr.

Kingston, a Melbourne suitor of the novel's protagonist Rachel, in particular foregrounds this ideology by promising her that she will buy everything for their house on their European tour "from the best looms and workshops in the world" (Vol. I, Ch. VII) and calls their Melbourne society a "second-rate Hardy set" (Vol. I, Ch. III) implying it is but a poor imitation of its British counterpart.

The bush is not viewed by the city people very favourably and collocates with words that result in rather negative semantic prosody. Mrs. Hardy, Rachel's aunt who takes her in after the death of her father, sees the bush as an unsophisticated backwater full of equally unsophisticated people. When Mrs. Hardy thinks of Rachel arriving to her for the first time from the bush, she imagines her as "a raw bush girl, rudimentally educated" who lived "in the midst of dull, uncultured people of sordid cares and occupations" (Vol. I, Ch. 1). Mrs. Hardy is not alone in her prejudice as Mr. Kingston, Rachel's affluent and much older suitor, is known to "hate the bush" (Vol. I, Ch. XII) as well as "country travelling – long drives over rough bush roads, and bivouacs at country inns, where the food was badly cooked and the wine detestable" (Vol. II, Ch. V). Even Rachel initially displays a similar prejudice when she answers Mr. Kingston's request to write to him from the bush thus: "in the country, I shall have no news to make letters of" (Vol. I, Ch. VI). Essentially, all except Melbourne and Sydney is considered wilderness, as the comments about Queensland, which was far from these two centres of colonial administration, demonstrate, with the talk of "the lonely wilds of Queensland" (Vol. II, Ch. IX) and "Queensland wilderness" (Vol. III, Ch. VII). Moreover, the bush and the "Queensland wilderness" are associated with danger – one of the characters is describing an accident that happened to Rachel's bush suitor Mr. Dalrymple, who fell off his horse, and was luckily found by his business partner in time, otherwise "the dingoes would probably have made an end of him" (Vol. III, Ch. VII). The city people thus give the impression that the bush is a rough, lonely, uncivilised, dull and unsophisticated place. However, the word *bush* is only used in the text 21x in total (in the examples above in the sense of "uncultivated area", but in most of the others still in the sense of "shrub" or "area overgrown with trees"), and when distinguishing between the city and the bush, "the country" is usually used instead. As discussed in 2.5.5.3, this draws on the parallel British city vs. country distinction that will be replaced by city vs. bush in Australia.

Despite this rather negative perception of the bush, once Cambridge transfers the plot into this distinctively Australian environment, she demonstrates that a positive first-hand experience of the bush may change one's opinion, like Rachel's. Rachel has lived in the bush

before with her father but it was not a very happy time for her, so when she moves to Melbourne and enters high society, she is enchanted by all the wealth and sophistication, and all she desires is a rich husband like Mr. Kingston who will buy her fashionable clothes and take her to the opera. Her materialism is displayed in her musings observing the streets of Melbourne:

If truth must be told, she found the sight of more or less well-dressed men and women, streaming up and down the busy street, more interesting than the most lovely landscape. She took as much pleasure in the exquisite fit of her gloves as in the exquisite colour and fragrance of a Marshal Neil rose that she wore in her button-hole; and she had never seen a moonrise or a sunset that had fascinated her more than that sealskin jacket in Alston and Brown's window. (Vol. I, Ch. I)

Rachel changes her opinion once she stays with her cousin in the bush. Suddenly, she appears to find the landscape interesting and looking at it brings her pleasure:

Rachel looked up, with an absent smile. The moon was beginning to outshine the fading after-glow of a gorgeous sunset; stars were stealing out, few and pale, in a clear, pale sky; the distant ranges were growing sharp and dark, with that velvety sort of bloom on them, like the bloom of ripe plums, which is the effect of the density of their forest clothing, seen through the luminous transparency of their native air. (Vol. I, Ch. X)

While the beauty of the landscape is described in general terms, with no uniquely Australian elements, such as Australian flora or constellations of the Southern hemisphere, and with "forest" rather than "bush", this change in Rachel's attitude is significant and suggests that the opinions of the city people are indeed just prejudice.

Moreover, it is not only natural beauty that causes this change but also the hospitality of the bush people and living in the "most charming of all bush houses" (Vol. I, Ch. VIII), the excitement of bush activities such as the races, which Rachel finds "even better than going to the opera" (Vol. I, Ch. VIII). It is also where she meets her other suitor, the well-travelled Mr. Dalrymple who is venturing into becoming a "Queensland squatter" (Vol. I, Ch. IX.). Her stay in the bush teaches Rachel to appreciate other than material things in life, and when she must return to her fiancé Mr. Kingston to the "hard world of money and fashion", she is left wondering "how it was she could ever have thought Melbourne, as a place of residence, preferable to the bush" (Vol. II, Ch. V.). During her journey back to the city, the narrator remarks as Rachel is observing farmers in "a picture of rural and domestic peace" that Rachel "had suddenly ceased to regard material wealth and splendour as in any way essential to happiness" (Vol. 2, Ch. V). Cambridge thus contrasts the city and its social circle full of gossip and scheming (which eventually results in Rachel marrying Mr. Kingston despite her feelings towards Mr. Dalrymple), with the honesty and simplicity of life in the bush. Cambridge also foregrounds its importance as the Australian environment which is home to honest, hard-

working men like Mr. Dalrymple, another example of the aforementioned “fine, handsome specimens of our promising colonial race” reflecting the concept of the ‘coming man’ (see 3.1.1.1.1.1).

A Robbery Under Arms (1888)

The concept of the bush as the quintessentially Australian environment and its association with the national type is asserted by Boldrewood in *Robbery Under Arms* much more emphatically. As the novel’s subtitle “A Story of Life and Adventure in the Bush and in the Goldfields of Australia” announces, the drawing rooms of the upper classes represented by Cambridge have no place in this “Australian romance”, as it is called in the preface. Set primarily in the bush, the word itself appears 60x (3x as many as in *A Mere Chance*) and in most instances it denotes the bush in the broadest sense of a distinct environment (labelled “an uncultivated area” in the quantitative analysis in 4.2.2.2). It also appears in mostly positive contexts, unlike in *A Mere Chance*. The novel is narrated by Dick Marston, a “bush-bred lad” (Ch. 4), as he is sitting in prison for bushranging. He introduces himself to the reader with a description befitting the national type that is composed of similes based on elements of the Australian landscape and the animals within it, foregrounding the close connection of the land and its native people:

I, Dick Marston, as strong as a bullock, as active as a rock-wallaby, chock-full of life and spirits and health, have been tried for bush-ranging--robbery under arms they call it--and though the blood runs through my veins like the water in the mountain creeks, and every bit of bone and sinew is as sound as the day I was born, I must die on the gallows this day month. (Ch. 1)

Unlike Cambridge’s generalisations, Boldrewood uses Australia-specific imagery like the native “rock-wallaby” and the “bullock”, which in the colonial days was a particularly important animal (see in 4.2.1.2). Through this imagery, Boldrewood conveys Dick’s strength that is closely bound to the land where he was “bred”.

That being a “bush-bred lad” or a “bushman” is an established identity is made clear throughout the novel. It appears to be associated with a particular sartorial style (“We were dressed just like common bushmen”; Ch. 24), but also physical features. In a warrant for Dick and Jim’s arrest, the brothers are described as “both tall and strongly built; having the appearance of bushmen” (Ch. 13). According to the brothers, this appearance is a direct result of the bush lifestyle of hard work and exposure to the elements, particularly the sun:

We couldn’t help looking like bushmen – like men that had been in the open air all their lives, and that had a look as if saddle and bridle rein were more in our way than the spade and plough-handle. We couldn’t wash the tan off our skins; faces, necks,

arms, all showed pretty well that we'd come from where the sun was hot, and that we'd had our share of it. (Ch. 13)

Thus, the uniquely Australian environment, the bush, made them into who they are.

Moreover, being born in Australia is not a prerequisite for being a bushman, it is more a question of attitude and of forming a relationship to the land, as the example of Dick and Jim's father Ben, a former gardener from England who came to Australia as a convict, demonstrates: "Dad had always been a hard-working, steady-going sort of chap, good at most things, [...] and though he was an Englishman, he was what you call a born bushman" (Ch. 1). However, another Englishman who made Australia his home, Captain Starlight does not appear to fit the label of "bushman" due to his gentlemanly behaviour and appearance, despite his bushranging proficiency and bush skills. During elections for a new leader, a young man votes against Starlight for another candidate, justifying it thus: "He's a bushman, like ourselves, and not a half-bred swell," with "swell" referring to Starlight (Ch. 33). Starlight's genteel manners appear to disqualify him from being labelled a bushman, which is reiterated towards the end of the novel: "he was a gentleman to the tips of his delicate-looking fingers, no matter what he'd done, or where he'd been" (Ch. 39).

As noted in the introduction to *Boldrewood* in 5.1.1, both the brothers (along with their father) eventually turn to bushranging, tired of facing constant persecution by the colonial police the ordinary people suffered from at that time. That is why they enjoy the support of other bush people and despite being bushrangers, they are perceived more as the Australian version of Robin Hood than dangerous criminals – in his review, Barlow speaks of them as "benevolent outlaws" (2007: 137). They represent the ordinary people of the bush against the upper classes and the colonial administration oppressing them. The support of the people is manifested in the existence of the so-called (bush) telegraph – a system of word of mouth that warns the bushrangers of any incoming danger and puts the police off their trace, as Dick notes: "Our 'bush telegraphs' were safe to let us know when the 'traps' were closing in on us [...]" (Ch. 1).

Moreover, the bush itself lends them support by offering shelter. There is a place called the "Terrible Hollow", which has long served as a hiding place of convicts and it serves the same role for Captain Starlight's gang. This is Dick's first impression of the Hollow, where the bush has created a natural boundary between them and the rest of the world:

Father took us all over the place, and a splendid paddock it was – walled all round but where we had come in, and a narrow gash in the far side that not one man in a thousand could ever hit on, except he was put up to it; a wild country for miles when

you did get out – all scrub and rock, that few people ever had call to ride over. There was splendid grass everywhere, water, and shelter. (Ch. 5)

Boldrewood makes clear that the bush only offers such shelter to those/ who were born there, or experienced it sufficiently as bushmen. Outsiders, like the policemen, can expect to have a much more difficult time in the bush than the “natives”, as Dick’s comment about the policeman Goring illustrates:

Goring was a real smart, dashing chap, a good rider for an Englishman; that is, he could set most horses, and hold his own with us natives anywhere but through scrub and mountain country. No man can ride there, I don’t care who he is, the same as we can, unless he’s been at it all his life. ... But give a native a good horse and thick country, and he’ll lose any man living that’s tackled the work after he’s grown up. (Ch. 17)

For the same reason, outsiders like Clifford, an Englishman, fear the bush unless accompanied by a native: “Now we shall have company, and not lose our way in this beastly ‘bush’, as they call it” (Ch. 26), picking up on the vernacular word for this Australian space.

Moreover, not only does the bush provide physical shelter, but it is in general considered a safe space, at least in the opinion of Dick and Jim’s sister Aileen who remarks, when on one occasion Dick escapes from jail, “How thin you’ve got and pale, and strange looking. You’re not like your old self at all. But you’re in the bush again now, by God’s blessing” (Ch. 21), as if returning to the bush would soon bring Dick back to his old self. One of the reasons for Aileen’s sentiment is perhaps the association of the bush with freshness which appeared already in *A Mere Chance*, and is voiced several times in *Robbery Under Arms* as well. Dick, for example, notes that “[a] man soon gets right again in the fresh air of the bush” (Ch. 13), or that “[a] man never has the same appetite for his meals anywhere else that he has in the bush, specially if he has been up half the night. It’s so fresh, and the air makes him feel as if he’d ate nothing for a week” (Ch. 5).

5.1.3.2 Analogies

The construction of place in a text, as discussed in 3.2.2.2.2, is also supported by analogies and metaphors that require certain conceptual mappings on the part of the reader in order to visualise the place described. While the more detailed discussion of the stylistics of landscape in 2.7.2.1 illustrated the construction of place through analogies on Wales’s (2017) analysis of Dickens who wrote from a British perspective for the British reader about the ‘exotic other’, Cambridge and Boldrewood were in a more complicated position of writing both for the British and Australian audiences, and both have approached it in different ways. While

Cambridge draws almost exclusively on British and European sources or universal concepts, Boldrewood draws predominantly on the Australian experience, including Aboriginal culture.

Analogies in *A Mere Chance* (1880)

As suggested in the discussion of the language of *A Mere Chance* and in the discussion about the perception of the bush, Cambridge relies on the general and the familiar, rather than the specific and exotic, or on analogies based on British or European culture and history. This suggests that she is trying to make the place as familiar to British readers as possible since they seem to be the primary target audience. Thus the analogies usually serve a familiarising function for the British reader, resembling Wales's Type D (see 2.7.2.1 and 3.2.2.2.2). However, that does not mean a disregard for her Australian audience, although it perhaps signifies that the Australian audience Cambridge had in mind was the one that still felt very much British. Three types of analogies can be identified in *A Mere Chance*: generic analogies based on the natural world, analogies based on British culture, and analogies to fairy tales and legends.

1) Generic nature-based analogies

The first group relies on universal concepts and serves a familiarising function (Wales's Type D), both to the British and Australian audience, apart from the few instances where Cambridge references something specifically Australian. Most frequently these generic analogies rely on natural imagery, and relate to the people rather than the land itself since, as noted in 5.1.3.1, it serves for the most part as a setting that just happens to be Australian. Thus, there are clichés such as Rachel being described as blushing “**like a rose**” (Vol. I, Ch. I), and as someone who “had risen upon the social horizon suddenly, **like a new star** – or, one might almost say, **like a comet**” (Vol. I, Ch. I). Similarly, the meek character of the husband of Rachel's cousin is conveyed via another nature-based analogy: “he was **as wax in the hands of the small person** who owned him” (Vol. I, Ch. II).

One of the few examples where the Australian climate is described via an analogy relates to the wind and uses the general analogy to the sea, but it is followed by a mention of the gum tree (in the adverbial of place), which is native to Australia (and Southeast Asia). While it conveys at least a hint of exoticism to the British reader (resembling the exoticizing function of Wales's Type B), to the Australian one it serves a familiarising function: “[T]he cold night wind made **a sound like the sea** in the gums and shea oaks” (Vol. I, Ch. X). There appears to be only one analogy that draws on the bush, or rather one group within it, the shearers, and it is

disparaging, denoting that displaying behaviour such as the shearers is unbecoming of a gentleman. It is used by one of Rachel's cousins referring to the drunkenness of her brother-in-law: "that such a nice fellow like Ned, with a noble pedigree and the sweetest temper in the world, should take his social pleasures **as a shearer would celebrate pay-day**" (Vol. II, Ch. III).

2) Analogies drawing on British culture and places

The second group consists of analogies based on British culture and places, which again serve a familiarising function for the British reader, and for those still feeling British in Australia, framing what might be considered exotic in familiar terms (Wales's Type D). This was part of the British colonial strategy of claiming new territories as their own and establishing control over them (see 2.4.3). That is not to say that Cambridge is consciously continuing this strategy of colonial control – as seen above, she does acknowledge the uniqueness of the bush in Rachel's transformation – rather, that Cambridge's stylistics of landscape is a consequence of this strategy that has been operating in the colony long before she started writing.

Thus, the Australian setting is disparagingly compared to a "**second-rate Hardy set**", as discussed in 5.1.3.1, suggesting it does not measure up to British standards. Therefore, the occupants of this "set" are contextualised within British cultural history. Mr. Kingston, when describing a lady fond of diamonds, references London's Piccadilly: "She walks about the street in broad daylight with a Sunday-school in each ear **as that fellow in Piccadilly says**"⁶⁰ (Vol. I, Ch. III). Mr. Dalrymple is likened to London criminals by Rachel's aunt who calls him "a kind of superior **Newgate villain**" (Vol. II, Ch. VI), referencing the Newgate novels popular in the first half of the 19th century which were named after the eponymous London prison whose inmates served as inspiration for the novels' heroes (see e.g., Rosenthal 2016). Yet while Mrs. Hardy sees only a villain in Mr. Dalrymple, her daughter and Rachel's cousin compares Mr. Dalrymple and herself to figures from English mythology (and Tennyson's poem "The Lady of Shalott"): "Alas! All her patient work was undone in a moment, **like the web of the Lady of Shalott**, when she left off spinning to look at the irresistible Sir Lancelot riding by [...]" (Vol. II, Ch. VII). Though she disapproves of the possibility of romance between her cousin and Mr. Dalrymple, she draws on this romantic poem when she sees a card left by Mr. Dalrymple only moments ago.

⁶⁰ This is possibly an allusion to a literary text, but I have not been able to find out the source.

3) Analogies based on fairy tales and legends

The last group of analogies employed by Cambridge draws on fairy tales and legends (therefore the Lady of Shalott example would fit here as well), which in the Dickens example discussed by Wales constitute Type B (see 2.7.2.1 and 3.2.2.2) and serve to further exoticize and disorient the reader. In *A Mere Chance* they serve rather to help the reader's understanding drawing on familiar frames of reference, conforming more to Type D. Moreover, some fairy-tale elements are expected of the romance genre.⁶¹ Thus the "raw bush girl" Mrs. Hardy expects is instead upon admittance into high society likened to royalty. Rachel arrives at the races "placed **like a queen** on her royal dais" (Vol. I, Ch. VIII), appears dressed up for the ball "**as gracious vision of youth and beauty as prince could wish to see**" (Vol. II, Ch. II), and is later referred to as "**the Sleeping Princess**" (Vol. II, Ch. II) and "the Sleeping Beauty": "Mr. Dalrymple and Rachel were **in the position of the Sleeping Beauty and her prince** when the spell that held life in abeyance was – or was about to be – broken" (Vol. I, Ch. XI). Conversely, Mr. Kingston is likened to Mephistopheles: "[he was] **smiling to himself like Mephistopheles** under his waxed moustache" (Vol. I, Ch. III), and his smile thereafter several times described as "Mephistophelean" (e.g., Vol. I, Ch. VI). Mephistopheles is a demon from German mythology best known from the story of Dr Faust, who secures the demon's help in exchange for his soul. Rachel's engagement and marriage to Mr. Kingston – who though he tries to convince her he is "not an **ogre**, nor **Bluebeard** either", schemes against Mr. Dalrymple to secure the marriage – (Vol. I, Ch. V) is thus likened to Faust's pact with the devil. The marriage in part costs Rachel her soul, although she is eventually redeemed. These fairy-tale frames of reference further contribute to the sense that the plot is unfolding in a familiar European setting rather than the "distant colony" (Vol. I, Ch. I) of Australia.

Analogies in *A Robbery Under Arms* (1888)

In *Robbery Under Arms*, Boldrewood also develops three types of analogy – apart from utilising fairy tales and British culture, like Cambridge, he utilises domestic sources in a much greater degree, and these can be subdivided into analogies based on the native flora and fauna, and on Aboriginal culture.

⁶¹ Additionally, of course, Anglo-Australia at the time had little mythology and folklore of its own, ignoring the rich Aboriginal one, so drawing on European sources was a natural basis for local folklore. Yet the bush ethos that the national mythology drew on was in principle egalitarian, which is why the princes and princesses of European fairy tales had no place in the Bush Legend that would develop at the end of the 19th century.

1) Analogies based on fairy tales and legends

Unlike Cambridge's familiarising function, the first group of Boldrewood's analogies based on fairy tales serves an othering function (Wales's Type B) in connection with Captain Starlight, to emphasise that while a bushranger and a "mate" of the members of his gang, his genteel English roots still assert themselves in his manners, appearance, and speech (which will be discussed in 5.1.5). There are multiple references to Starlight as "king", "prince", or even "pirate captain" (see examples below), suggesting his natural authority and nobility that seems out of place in egalitarian Australia, implied by Dick's comment about being familiar with what princes look like only from pictures (see second example below):

- As he stood there looking down on the lot of 'em, **as if he was their king**, with his eyes burning up at last with that slow fire that lay at the bottom of 'em, and only showed out sometimes, **I couldn't help thinking of a pirate crew that I'd read of when I was a boy, and the way the pirate captain ruled 'em.** (Ch. 33)
- [...] who should come next, cheek by jowl with the police magistrate, [...] but Starlight himself, **looking like a regular prince** – their pictures anyhow – and togged out to the nines like all the rest of 'em. (Ch. 42)
- He gave Bella a kiss before every one in the most high and mighty and respectful manner, **just as if he was a prince of the blood.** (Ch. 42)

Of course, to a British reader these might serve a familiarising function (Wales's Type D), given their unfamiliarity with and exoticism of the Antipodean colony. Yet as the novel is written from Dick's point of view, it is presented as a text by an ordinary Australian to his fellow Australians and as such, to the Australian audience such analogies constitute markers of otherness, same as the following group.

2) Analogies based on British culture

Starlight's otherness is further emphasised by Boldrewood's second group of analogies based on British culture which also serve an exoticizing function for the Australian reader (Wales's Type B). These appear again in reference to Starlight, for example in a report of his latest exploits by *The Star* newspaper which labels him "the notorious Starlight, the hero of a hundred legends, **the Australian Claude Duval**" and remarks about Starlight's horse Rainbow that "as many legends are current about him **as of Dick Turpin's well-known steed**" (Ch. 43). The two names refer to the English equivalents of the Australian bushranger – highwaymen (in the case of Duval, of French origin, but active in England; see e.g., Cannon & Crowcroft 2015: 465), whose exploits were romanticised in a similar fashion to Starlight's. Also, Starlight himself betrays his origin by using British-based analogies, such as in his assessment of a policeman's shooting skills: he "shot **like a prize-winner at Wimbledon**" (Ch. 6).

3) Domestic-based analogies

The majority of Boldrewood's analogies rely on domestic sources, which can be further divided into two types: native flora and fauna and Aboriginal culture. The effect they provide is the opposite of the two previous categories – they serve an othering or exoticizing function (Wales's Type B) for the British reader, complicating the creation of an accurate picture of Australia on the one hand, while at the same time asserting the novelty element of the colony which was being marketed as its strong point (see 3.1.1.1.1). To the Australian reader, they serve a familiarising function (Wales's Type D) and assert the close connection between the land and its people.

a) Native flora and fauna

Analogies based on native flora and fauna are most often employed to describe the characters. Thus, there is the aforementioned characterisation of Dick who is “**as strong as a bullock, as active as a rock-wallaby**” (Ch. 1) and of Jim who is “**as strong as a young bull, and as active as a rock-wallaby**” (Ch. 7). The characterisation of Aileen extends the analogy to the innocent eyes of a doe, a female deer, to the domestic example of a doe kangaroo. Moreover, it subverts the usual Northern-hemisphere association of September with autumn by asserting that in Australia September signifies spring: “When she was a little raised-like you'd see a pink flush come on her cheeks **like a peach blossom in September**, and her eyes had a bright startled look **like a doe kangaroo** when she jumps up and looks round” (Ch. 7). Different species of kangaroo are a particularly common analogy, as in describing Jim's actions in a fight: “he jumps at him **like a wallaroo**” (Ch. 36), or the chances of catching a runaway member of the gang: “There was about **as much chance of running him down there as a brumby with a day's start or a wallaroo that was seen on a mountain side the week before last**” (Ch. 50).

Interestingly, not only people, but also animals are sometimes characterised by such analogies, such as Starlight's horse Rainbow carrying his injured master – as if to assimilate the noble thoroughbred to the Australian bush, Boldrewood describes him “**as steady as an old mountain bull or a wallaroo** on the side of a creek bank” (Ch. 6). Sometimes the characters themselves employ analogies to the natural world when describing their situation, like Starlight describing their predicament: “if we stick here till we're **trapped or smoked out like a 'guana out of a tree spout**” (Ch. 33), Dick describing the disguised Starlight as “gammoning to **be as green about all Australian ways as if he'd never seen a gum tree before**” (Ch. 26), or when Jim describes the sea as “**the big waterhole**” (Ch. 12).

The more dangerous specimens of the Australian fauna provide the basis of analogies to describe the novel's antagonists. The bloodthirsty bushranger Moran, "quiet and savage-looking, **just as like a black snake** as ever twisting about with his deadly glittering eyes, wanting to bite some one" (Ch. 33), is later also likened to a dingo: "he was **as treacherous as a dingo**" (Ch. 45), with his angry face growing "**black as an ironbark tree after a bush fire**" (Ch. 45), where the imagery of the devastation of nature signifies the blackness of his soul. Dingoes also serve as an analogy to characterise the police: "every police trooper in the colony'll be after us **like a pack of dingoes after an old man kangaroo** when the ground's boggy" (Ch. 6). The half-caste Aboriginal character Warrigal, who is an ambivalent character playing both sides, is likened not only to a black snake like Moran ("**this black snake of a Warrigal**"; Ch. 9) but also to a bush (in the sense of shrub), suggesting he is almost at one with nature: "He came gliding up to the old hut in the dull light by bits of moves, just **as if he'd been a bush that had changed its place**" (Ch. 11).

b) Aboriginal culture

Another subtype of the domestic analogies are those based on Aboriginal culture. However, in his representation of Aborigines, Boldrewood replicates the cultural and literary stereotypes of the period, in that the Aborigines are neither represented very favourably nor in any detail. The only substantial Aboriginal character is the aforementioned Warrigal, who cannot be trusted. This is implied by his name which appears to be rather than a real name, a reference to the meaning of "warrigal" in an Aboriginal language, which is twofold. It can either mean "the wild dog of Australia, the dingo", which has been described as treacherous, or "an Australian Aboriginal person living in a traditional manner",⁶² which, however, does not characterise Warrigal living amongst white people at all. Other Aboriginal characters are only mentioned, without a name, as trackers for the police, for example, so essentially serving "the enemy". Aboriginal tracking skills and general bush skills are nonetheless upheld as superior and thus serve as the basis of some of the analogies describing Dick, who claims he can "**track like a Myall blackfellow**" (Ch. 1; myall = an Aboriginal living amongst white people, as discussed in 5.1.2.2), or Dick and Jim's father Ben, an honorary bushman, about whom "people said he **was as good as a blackfellow**, but [Dick] never saw one that was as good as he was, all round" (Ch. 1).

⁶² "warrigal, n. and adj." (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 8 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/225870>

The only reference to Aboriginal mythology appears in an analogy based on the mythical beast the bunyip when describing the steamboats on the sea in Melbourne that Jim and Dick are seeing for the first time. The boats seem as strange to them as the mythical creature: “Sometimes a big steamer would be coming in, churning the water under her paddles and **tearing up the bay like a hundred bunyips**” (Ch. 13).

Another notable analogy that displays a little sympathy with the Aboriginal population appears in relation to Jim not handling imprisonment well: “after the free life he’d always led **he’d fall sick like the blacks when they’re shut up**, and die without any reason but because a wild bird won’t live in a cage” (Ch. 31).

5.1.4 Allusions and references: Australian culture and identity in context

The discussions of the general linguistic features of *A Mere Chance* and *Robbery Under Arms* revealed that Cambridge indexes Australianness almost only via sporadic references to the Australian landscape, particularly the bush, but that otherwise her characters and plot resemble a typical English romance novel, whereas Boldrewood indexes the Australianness of his characters much more overtly through the use of the vernacular and frequent references to the unique Australian setting and the new identity developing on the continent as a result. Nonetheless, Australian culture and identity has its roots in British and European culture, as it was brought there by the white settlers, and later developed in its own unique way, formed by the land, the experiences within it, and the intersections with Aboriginal and other cultures, as discussed in 3.1.1.1.1. In this period, when Australian literature is only in its beginnings and readers are still exposed much more to British literary production than the local one, authors acknowledge this connection to outside literary traditions via allusions or direct quotations, entering into a dialogue with the literary canon of the world to find their own place there.

A Mere Chance (1880)

As discussed in the previous section, Cambridge presents the Melbourne society of her novel from Mr. Kingston’s perspective as “a second-rate Hardy set”, establishing the superiority of the British original in the novels of the famous Victorian novelist Thomas Hardy. Hardy is alluded to again by Rachel, once she renounces her earlier materialism in favour of the simplicity of bush life as she imagines life with Mr. Dalrymple “‘far from the madding crowd,’ in the lonely wilds of Queensland” (Vol. II, Ch. IX). Unlike Mr. Kingston, Rachel does not imply the British original is superior; instead, she shows that since she is unfamiliar with

Queensland, she forms an idea of what it might be like based on Hardy's portrayal of the rural southwest of England which can be both idyllic and harsh, illustrating her usage of British cultural frames of reference when any domestic ones are unavailable.

Mr. Dalrymple displays the same tendency to apply British cultural frames of reference, which is even more understandable as he, unlike Rachel, was born in England. As discussed in the previous section, Rachel's cousin likened him to Sir Lancelot, and he essentially does the same. When contemplating the consequences of dancing with Rachel at a ball in front of Mr. Kingston to whom she is engaged, Mr. Dalrymple quotes Tennyson's poem "Lancelot and Elaine", where Lancelot is being asked to use "some rough discourtesy to blunt or break her passion" (Vol. II, Ch. IV) which, like Mr. Dalrymple at the ball, he refuses. This allusion serves to frame Rachel and Dalrymple as star-crossed lovers from English mythology. The ladies also utilise quotes from English poetry to convey their feelings. Rachel quotes Emily Brontë's poem "Remembrance" (Vol. III, Ch. VIII) to convey her love and passion for Mr. Dalrymple. Her cousin Lucilla quotes Wordsworth's poem "The Excursion" to illustrate that while Rachel may appear weak in succumbing to her love for Mr. Dalrymple, she is like the water-lily "[w]hose root is fix'd in stable earth, whose head / [f]loats on the tossing waves" (Vol. III, Ch. IV), suggesting that her roots will not let her be swayed from her course to marry Mr. Kingston. Through these allusions, Cambridge not only helps the British readers' understanding, but also implies that these famous British authors constituted the literary canon in the colony as well, rather than any local authors of the era, who are not referenced at all.

The abundance of allusions to British literature, along with British- and European-based analogies, implies that British/European culture is considered superior, which is voiced in the novel explicitly several times. This occurs particularly in connection with trips to Europe where "the best looms and workshops in the world" (Vol. I, Ch. VII) are to be found, where fashion trends are defined ("[Rachel wearing] a pale blue French dress of the highest fashion"; Vol. III, Ch. II), and from where Rachel, once "a raw bush girl", returns "an experienced and cultured woman" wearing "a rich raiment, 'composed' by the most distinguished Parisian artists, [... which] symbolised the change that all her individuality seemed to have undergone" (Vol. III, Ch. IV). The superiority of European culture is further suggested by the music played at society events, which is chiefly European, from Strauss, Mozart, and Bach to Schubert and Beethoven.

A Robbery Under Arms (1888)

Conversely, Boldrewood uses very few references to the cultural capital of British or European civilisation, and if any are employed, they come from works before the Victorian era. This perhaps suggests Boldrewood's awareness that while Australian culture has roots in the culture of the motherland, an independent culture has been developing since the establishment of the colony, even if its own cultural capital is still limited, which is signified by the absence of any allusions to Australian texts. Moreover, Boldrewood's choices of literary references appear more relevant to the colonial experience than the English one, which is illustrated by two references to Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. In the first one, when Dick and Jim discover an abandoned bush hut that constitutes an excellent hiding place, they recall the novel's eponymous protagonist by calling the man who built it "this Robinson Crusoe cove" (Ch. 22). In the second reference, Aileen describes their hiding from the police in their version of a rural idyll as playing at "Robinson Crusoe, only there's no sea" (Ch. 39). As most of *Robinson Crusoe* takes place on an exotic island rather than England, this reference is much more applicable to life in the Australian colony, which is after all one big island, than to life in Britain (which although a cluster of islands, has no exoticism for the British reader), and is used to suggest the characters' resourcefulness. Additionally, in response to Aileen's comment, Starlight likewise expresses his contentment with their current situation and likens it to "an Australian Decameron without the naughty stories" (Ch. 39), referencing Boccaccio's 14th century tales told by a group of people hiding from the plague. The fact that Starlight as the only one of the bush characters references a literary text outside the Anglophone tradition is another proof of his genteel status and education.

The other handful of references are employed for dramatic effect in Dick's narrative. Dick uses the only other allusion to English literature when talking about Jim suffering while they are on the run due to being separated from his wife:

Poor old Jim, he's a deal too good for the place. Sad mistake this getting married. People should either keep straight or have no relatives to bear the brunt of their villainies. "But, soft," as they say in the play, "where am I?" I thought I was a virtuous miner again. Here we are at this devil-discovered, demon-haunted old Hollow again – first cousin to the pit of Acheron. There's no help for it, Dick. We must play our parts gallantly, as demons of this lower world, or get hissed off the stage. (Ch. 32)

A possible interpretation of Jim's allusion – "But soft, where am I now?" – is that it comes from Sir John Suckling's 17th-century poem "The Deformed Mistress" and describes the speaker tracing his way down his mistress's body, reaching the lower half at this point and getting

distracted. This mirrors Dick's own distraction continuing the story as well as Jim's distraction caused by the separation. However, Jim refers to a play, so it is possible he means a different text, or that the poem was used as part of a play performed in Australia.

As this passage also illustrates, dramatic effect is achieved also through classical allusions which Dick employs to draw a parallel between their quintessentially Australian adventure and the deep-seated traditions and mythology of the Western world. In the passage above, Dick speaks of the Hollow (the gang's hiding place) as the "first cousin to the pit of Acheron", referring to the river which in Greek mythology served as the entrance to the underworld. Boldrewood thus places the emerging Australian mythology of the bush in line with the ancient tradition. There is one more classical allusion, this time to the Bible, where a minor character is described as "this limb of Satan" (Ch. 33), again for dramatic effect. The only other reference to British literature is employed with similar effect, used by *The Star* in a eulogy for Starlight. The newspaper compares the leading bushranger to a Scottish warrior rather than an English one – to Lord Douglas from Sir Walter Scott's poem "Marmion" about 16th century Scotland:

Adieu! fare thee well, Starlight, bold Rover of the Waste; we feel inclined to echo
the lament of the ancient Lord Douglas –
"Tis pity of him, too," he cried;
"Bold can he speak, and fairly ride;
I warrant him a warrior tried." (Ch. 43)

Despite Starlight's own English origins, the fact that it is a Scottish rather than an English warrior he is likened to may be significant in the sense that the Scottish were long trying to gain independence from the English, just as Australians are beginning to revolt against the English administration represented here by the police Starlight has so long been evading successfully.

The small number of references and allusions to British and European cultural capital signifies that Boldrewood's novel is relying rather on becoming Australian cultural capital itself. As asserted earlier, *Robbery Under Arms* represents the point of view of ordinary Australians of the mid-19th century struggling with the colonial administration that oppresses them. As the colonial administration represents the British, it is no wonder that unlike Cambridge, the characters do not view British or European culture as superior. Although newcomers sometimes display similar prejudice, as exemplified by a young traveller commenting on Starlight's gang avoiding justice and enjoying the support of the people that "if it was in England the whole countryside would rise up and hunt such scoundrels down like mad dogs; but in a colony like this people didn't seem to know right from wrong" (Ch. 24), the majority of the novel's characters speak of Australia in positive terms. They assert Australia's

singularity and particularly commend its egalitarian society. For example, Mr. Falkland, who arrived young to Australia from England and became a successful squatter, claims that “[t]his was the best country in the whole world [...] for a gentleman who was poor or a working man” (Ch. 8), which is consistent with Australia being marketed a working-man’s paradise at the time (see 3.1.1.1.2). It is also lauded for its hospitality, as manifested in Starlight’s experience: “he’d been told Australia was a rough place, but he never expected to find so much genuine kindness and hospitality and, he might add, so much refinement and gentlemanly feeling” (Ch. 41). Dick, who in the end avoids execution and after serving 12 years in prison becomes a station manager, concludes that “in any part of Australia, once a chap shows that he’s given up cross doings and means to go straight for the future, the people of the country will always lend him a helping hand” (Ch. 52).

5.1.5 Use of language in characterisation

Another means at Cambridge’s and Boldrewood’s disposal of conveying additional information about the protagonists of their novels is via the use of folklinguistic ideas and the associations of certain linguistic features with markers of social class, origin, and education (see 2.6 and 2.7.1). Cambridge avails herself of this resource in a very limited way as all her characters, be they in the city or in the bush, speak in an unmarked language, essentially StBE. This befits the social group that she is focused on – the upper classes, and helps to give the impression that apart from the setting, they are very much like the British upper classes in the motherland (as discussed in 5.2.2). Even the characters in the bush, like Rachel’s cousin or Mr. Dalrymple are members of the upper classes, rather than ordinary bushmen, who have no voice in the novel. Therefore, *A Mere Chance* will not be discussed in more detail in this section. In contrast, Boldrewood utilises a broad range of non-standard linguistic features and their approximations in writing to not only represent the emerging Australian vernacular, but also to represent the melting pot of the varieties of English that were mixing in the early colonial days.

A Robbery Under Arms (1880)

Unlike Cambridge’s upper classes, *Robbery Under Arms* portrays predominantly the opposite end of the social spectrum. Therefore, in the representation of the speech of the bush characters and sometimes even in Dick’s narration, Boldrewood employs, apart from vernacular vocabulary specific to Australia, many non-standard linguistic features traditionally associated with lower social class, regional varieties, and lack of education. These include non-standard

past forms, double negatives, lack of subject verb concord, or non-standard pronouns (as discussed in 5.1.2). He also employs phonetic respellings to suggest non-standard pronunciation or elision of certain syllables or sounds, such as in this example from Dick's narration: "You'd'a thought no mortal men could 'a kept 'em in that blind hole of a place. But father headed 'em, and turned 'em towards the peak. [...] in five minutes they were all a-moving" (Ch. 5). Neither this transcription nor the non-standard grammar suggest any uniquely AusE features. However, considering the vernacular expressions and abundance of analogies based on Australian nature and experience, the resulting representation of direct speech clearly suggests that these characters are of the Australian continent.

The speech of the bushmen, who constitute the basis for the national type (as discussed in 5.1.2), is contrasted with the outsiders – the police officers and the upper classes, who conform to StBE, such as Sergeant Stillbrook, whose English is unmarked:

My name is Stephen Stillbrook. I am a sergeant of detective police in the service of the Government of New South Wales. From information received, I proceeded to Canterbury, in New Zealand, about the month of September last. (Ch. 18)

Similarly, the newspapers, like the examples from *The Star* discussed in 5.1.2, follow this linguistic standard, as would be expected of the media at the time, with the publishing industry dependent on the British administration (as discussed in 3.1.1.1.2).

Boldrewood also asserts that whether a person speaks in the vernacular or standard English is a conscious choice. He demonstrates that the characters are capable of switching between registers, displaying linguistic awareness. For example, when Jim and Dick are working on a station of Mr. Falkland, a rich squatter of English origin, his daughter addresses Jim when she sees he has cut himself shearing sheep: "Oh! poor fellow. What a dreadful cut! Look, papa!' she cried out. 'Hadn't something better be bound round it? How it bleeds! Does it pain much?'" Her perfectly standard English, demonstrated not only by correct grammar but also via lexical choices such as "papa" and exclamations like "poor fellow", denotes her high social status. Jim, enchanted by her, reacts by switching to standard English to mirror her speech: "'No, miss; my grateful thanks, miss,' said Jim, opening his eyes and looking as if he'd like to drop down on his knees and pray to her. 'I shall never forget your goodness, Miss Falkland, if I live till I'm a hundred'" (Ch. 9).

The mysterious Starlight is likewise capable of switching between different varieties, and the broad range that Boldrewood assigns him only feeds the mystery around his exact origins, while also demonstrating the linguistic diversity of colonial Australia. Generally, he speaks more or less standard English, betraying his genteel English origins, with certain spoken-

language features such as the omission of pronouns: “‘Well, boys!’ says Starlight, coming forward quite heartily, ‘glad to see you again; been taking a walk and engaging yourselves this fine weather? Rather nice country residence of ours, isn’t it?’” (Ch. 22). Starlight also incorporates Australia-based analogies (“if we stick here till we’re trapped or smoked out like a ’guana out of a tree spout”, Ch. 33), and Australian lexis such as *mate* (“We’ve been good mates and true friends”, Ch. 32), demonstrating language mixing in practise. When the context demands it, such as during a romantic encounter with Aileen, Starlight switches to poetic, high register, signified by Latinate vocabulary, that reinforces his gentlemanly status: “And there’s that much-abused luminary, the moon; you’ll see her before we get home. We’re her sworn votaries and worshippers, you know” (Ch. 39).

Moreover, throughout the novel Starlight adopts various disguises, including linguistic ones. When he dresses up as “a new chum” in a “tweed suit”, carrying an “English hunting whip”, he adopts what could be a Northumbrian accent, going by the suggested uvular pronunciation of /r/, which resembles the *Northumbrian burr* (see Pahlson 1972):

Oh! – a – here is a letter from my friend, Mr. Bernard Muldoon, of the Lower Macquarie – er – requesting you to sell these horses faw him; and – er – hand over the pwoceeds to – er – me – Mr. Augustus Gwanby – aw! (Ch. 24)

Interestingly, when in disguise, Starlight’s way of talking is sometimes described as a “drawl” (Ch. 12, 43), which is now a common association particularly with the Broad variety of AusE. It originated from the varieties transported to Australia in the 18th century and possibly had to do with the drift towards non-rhoticity which resulted in elongated vowels that was already on the way in Britain, even though most of the accents were still rhotic then (see Burridge 2019: 183). This drawl is also attributed to the “natives” later by Jim when he remarks on the gold fields that “most of the natives have a sort of slow, sleepy way of talking” (Ch. 40), and the evil bushranger Moran is also said to have “a drawling way of talking” (Ch. 26). This signifies that already at the end of the 19th century, it was a characteristic associated with AusE. Besides the drawl, AusE is also frequently associated with swearing (as discussed in 2.5.4), a characteristic that likely has some roots not only in the convict settlements but also among the bush workers. Dick notices this as well when describing the language of the shearers on the station where he is working: “Shearers are rough in their language now and then” (Ch. 9).

In contrast to Starlight, the English gentleman-turned-bushranger, there is Dick and Jim’s father Ben, an English gardener and convict, whose speech is the most marked by non-standard grammatical features, pronunciation, and even malapropisms, suggesting his low social status and lack of education. Thus, besides using past participle verb forms for the past

or vice versa (“I never liked that imported bull being took”, Ch. 12; “I’ve know’d”, Ch. 26), not respecting subject-verb concord (“you was”, Ch. 32), or using non-standard pronouns (“ye” for *you*, “hisself” for *himself*), he speaks of Starlight as an “educated man” (Ch. 5), conflates grammatical words together (“Tain’t no ways likely”, Ch. 11), and uses “dubersome”⁶³ instead of “dubious”. Similarly to Starlight, the Australian environment has left its mark on Ben’s language as well, which manifests in his use of vernacular expressions such as “wood-and-water Joey” (meaning “an odd job man”; Ch. 26). His speech is thus the most marked, along with that of Billy the Boy, a young “Monaro native” (a settlement in NSW), which displays the same features, for example: “My word, governor, you was all in great luck as I come home last night, after bein’ away with them cattle to pound. Bobby, he don’t know a p’leeceman from a wood-an’-water joey; he’d never have dropped they was comin’ here unless they’d pasted up a notice on the door” (Ch. 21). Despite Ben being English and Billy Australian, Boldrewood’s representation of their speech is nearly identical, suggesting that in their case, he draws on folklinguistic ideas about class and education rather than region.

However, Boldrewood sometimes employs language to convey the multinational character of the colony. As Jim observes when he is at the gold digging:

I once tried to count the different breeds and languages of the men in the big room one night. I stopped at thirty. There were Germans, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Russians, Italians, Greeks, Jews, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Maltese, Mexicans, Negroes, Indians, Chinamen, New Zealanders, English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Australians, Americans, Canadians, Creoles, gentle and simple, farmers and labourers, squatters and shepherds, lawyers and doctors. (Ch. 27)

Thus, to exemplify this diversity, Boldrewood approximates an American accent: “‘Wa-al!’ said one of our Yankee friends, ‘what ’yur twistin’ your necks at like a flock of geese in a corn patch? How d’ye fix it that a lord’s better’n any other man?’” (Ch. 28), or a German one, as that of Dr. Schiller, “a great scholar”: “Good heafens! [...] are you men, and will not say nodings when you haf such an ovver as dis?” (Ch. 45), to denote his origins and amplify the association of European culture with intellectualism. The Irish origin of Dick and Jim’s mother is suggested in her using “ye” for *you* most consistently, while her English husband and children employ it only sometimes, possibly adopting this feature from her. There is also Mr. M’Intyre, an overseer on Mr. Falkland’s station, a good-natured man, whose Scottish accent Boldrewood represents in phonetic respellings and includes Scottish vocabulary such as “fash”:

“Why should ye fash yoursel’,” I heard him say once to Mr. Falkland, “aboot these young deevils like the Marstons? They’re as good’s ready money in auld Nick’s

⁶³ “duberous | dubersome, adj.” (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 9 October 2022, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/58144>

purse. It's bred and born and welded in them. Ye'll just have the burrs and seeds among the wool if ye keep losing a smart shearer for the sake o' a wheen cards and dice; and ye'll mak' nae heed of convairtin' thae young caterans ony mair than ye'll change a Norrway falcon into a barn-door chuckie." (Ch. 8)

Compared to the seriousness of the upper-class standard-English-speaking characters, Mr. M'Intyre is represented as being much more light-hearted and is seen as such by the Australians as well, which the Scottish accent contributes to, as indicated by Jim's retort to his speech: "What's all that lingo, Mr. M'Intyre? [...] Is it French or Queensland blacks' yabber? Blest if I understand a word of it", suggesting the unintelligibility of M'Intyre's Scottish accent, while adding that "[t]hat was the way old Mac always talked. Droll lingo, wasn't it?" (Ch. 8). By calling his variety of English "droll", Jim also reveals his own linguistic prejudice.

In his representation of Warrigal, the half-caste Aborigine in Starlight's service, Boldrewood draws on those stereotypes of Aboriginal English(es), which are, however, common to many vernacular Englishes, such as double negatives, non-standard pronouns, omission of copular verbs, lack of subject verb agreement, or formulaic clause structure (see Dickson 2019: 134-154). His speech is thus very similar to that of Ben Marston or Billy the Boy discussed above, except that his omission of auxiliary and copular verbs and absence of third-person -s is the most consistent, for example: "Sergeant Goring, he very near grab us at Dilligah. We got a lot of old Jobson's cattle when he came on us. He jump off his horse when he see he couldn't catch us, and very near drop Starlight" (Ch. 6). Nevertheless, there are moments when Boldrewood is inconsistent in this, such as the following example a few chapters later, where he uses the correct verb forms, including auxiliaries, and employs relatively formal syntax: "I was to tell you, and show the camp; and now gimme some grub, for I've had nothing since sunrise but the leg of a 'possum" (Ch. 11). This may either be an indication that Warrigal is likewise linguistically aware enough to switch between registers, yet given that in both cases he is addressing members of the gang it is unlikely. More likely, it is just Boldrewood's inconsistency left over from when the novel was being released in the newspapers chapter by chapter. Nor does Boldrewood employ any words from Aboriginal languages that have not been adopted into the general Australian vernacular (such as the names for animals, etc.). Thus Boldrewood's linguistic representation of Warrigal conveys his low social status and lack of education more than his Aboriginality.

5.1.6. Conclusion

The analysis of Ada Cambridge's *A Mere Chance* (1880) and Rolf Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms* (1888) has revealed two opposing trends in the Exonormative stabilisation period. Cambridge represents the majority of authors whose literary language followed largely the norm of standard English as the prestigious variety as well as the variety of the publishing industry. To make the world of her novel come alive for the reader, she relies predominantly on frames of reference from British culture and life experience, with only very few specifically Australian references to unique flora, fauna and social roles, which are reserved for the bush as the distinctively Australian environment. Her novel thus confirms what Schneider's model suggests – that linguistically, the emerging differences concerned mostly vocabulary describing the environment, and that many Australians still felt to be British, even if they had additional colonial experience, and thus looked up to British culture and linguistic norms. Conversely, Boldrewood's novel is a precursor to literature of the Nativization period which does not shy away from representing the Australian vernacular to emphasise the unique Australian culture. Boldrewood employs many Australian vernacular expressions and in constructing the world of the novel relies on analogies based on the local environment rather than external sources, which serves an othering function to the non-Australian reader. In his references, like Cambridge, he draws on British or classical cultural capital, since there is as yet comparatively little Anglo-Australian capital available, yet he chooses sources that appear more relevant to the colonial experience than to life in the motherland. Boldrewood also records the linguistic diversity of 19th century Australia by attempting to portray the different varieties of English and its different registers spoken in the colony, and what social implications these varieties held at the time.

5.2 Nativization (1901-1942): *My Brilliant Career* (1901) and *The Young Desire It* (1937)

5.2.1 Comparison with previous phases and expectations

The Exonormative stabilisation period was characterised by compliance with British cultural and therefore literary and linguistic norms, giving rise to texts that showed little deviation from StBE, up until the last decade of the 19th century when literature became a platform for expressing nationalist sentiments in the campaign for independence. As demonstrated in the analysis of Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms* (1888) (see 5.1), for the first time, the Australian vernacular appeared in literature which worked with overtly Australian

topics and scenery, although Boldrewood's novel also shares a certain dependence on British frames of reference and its protagonist is a mysterious aristocratic Englishman. As such, it lies on the intersection between Exonormative stabilisation and the Nativization phase that is the subject of the present subchapter.

Based on Schneider's scenario (see 3.1.1.1.2.1), the language of the Nativization period should display more deviation from StBE than previously, showing especially lexical differences, but also grammatical and phonological. Considering also the Australian literary scene (see 3.1.1.1.2.2), literature of the beginning of the century should continue to display the vernacular and continue to focus on constructing an image of Australia as a nation, which is expected to manifest linguistically in Australia-based analogies and references. As the focus shifts from nationalism to realism or political activism with the horrors of the war and subsequent crises, and dependence on Britain increases, distinctive features of AusE might appear in literature less frequently. Australia's cultural isolation might lead to a lack of external cultural references, perhaps with the exception of British ones.

The analysis thus concentrates on two novels that cover both ends of the spectrum of this period, discussing Miles Franklin's *My Brilliant Career* (1901) written under nationalist influence⁶⁴ and representative of the associated bush realism genre, and on Kenneth Mackenzie's *The Young Desire It* (1937), produced during the cultural isolationism of the 1930s, yet displaying modernist and therefore international influence. More detailed information about the authors and novels can be found in Appendix 2; below only a brief summary of relevant points will be outlined.

Franklin (1879-1954) spent part of her childhood in the bush where her family unsuccessfully attempted to take up farming, before moving to Sydney. Franklin utilised her childhood experience in writing the semi-autobiographical *My Brilliant Career* (1901) which follows the struggles of the young Sybylla Melvyn. Sybylla's family experiences downward social mobility due to financial difficulties. Before having to work as a governess to pay off her father's debt, Sybylla lives with her grandmother who has retained her prominent social position, and it is there that she meets the handsome squatter Harold Beecham who asks for her hand. Due to her self-esteem issues, she eventually rejects him. Instead, she wants to focus on

⁶⁴ Lawson's *Joe Wilson and His Mates* (1901) would have been an equally valid choice, as it is also one of the canonical texts of the Federation period. However, given that in the previous period Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms* was analysed, which in terms of the use of the vernacular is similar to Lawson's text, the decision was made to select a text written by a female which is no less interesting in terms of the use of the vernacular, but which also includes a feminist perspective.

making a career as a writer. Besides bush realism, the novel also offers an excursion into the social inequality in the supposedly egalitarian society and the position of women in a male-dominated environment.

Similarly, Mackenzie's (1913-1955) experience of growing up in a farming family and being sent to boarding school is reflected in his novel *The Young Desire It* (1937). It follows a young boy from the bush who is sent to a British-run boarding school, his grappling with the new environment, life in an all-boys collective, and an intellectual as well as a sexual awakening. One of the masters, Mr. Penworth, feels attracted to Charles, but he does not reciprocate because he falls in love with a girl at home. Rather than plot, the novel focuses on the inner life of Charles and Penworth, and lyrical evocations of the scenery that mirror it, displaying the influence of modernism as one of the first Australian texts.

Both texts were first published in Britain before any Australian publisher would accept them, which demonstrated the difficulties writers experienced on the domestic publishing scene, as discussed in 3.1.1.1.2.2.

5.2.2 General linguistic features

5.2.2.1 The Language of *My Brilliant Career* (1901)

i) Commentary: a correlation between language and genre

My Brilliant Career is a novel full of contradictions which are foreshadowed by its preface and introduction. In the preface, Henry Lawson, who helped Franklin find a British publisher, on the one hand praises the novel for its bush realism, on the other hand he dismisses its romantic elements:

I saw that the work was Australian – born of the bush. I don't know about the girlishly emotional parts of the book – I leave that to girl readers to judge; but the descriptions of bush life and scenery came startlingly, painfully real to me, and I know that, as far as they are concerned, the book is true to Australia – the truest I ever read. (1901, Introduction)

Lawson's comment amplifies the gendered nature of Australian literary nationalism which relied on men in the bush and was written by men in unsentimental language, as distinguished from romance traditionally associated with female writers. As Henderson (1997: 166) observes,

in the late nineteenth-century Australian cultural scene, realism was part of the construction of a nationalist ideal centred around the independent male bush worker (Lake). My reading of *My Brilliant Career* presumes the novel's participation in this explicit cultural debate about nationally appropriate models of writing: in part a genre war fought on gender lines.

In *My Brilliant Career*, Franklin takes bush realism as well as colonial romance and adapts it to her own purpose, proving that even this mix of genres can create a quintessentially Australian piece of literature.

In Sybylla's introduction, addressed to the nation ("My dear fellow Australians"), she announces that her work – told in the first person from Sybylla's point of view – is neither a novel, nor a romance, but a genre of its own: a "yarn – a *real yarn*" (see 4.2.2.5). This links the text firmly to the bush tradition. She also assures the readers that they should not fear the "yarn" will contain "thrash descriptions of beautiful sunsets and whisperings of wind", drawing on the national trait of unsentimentality. Yet this announcement is proved false time and again throughout the novel, proving Sybylla to be an unreliable narrator. Her mixing of genre and consequently the linguistic means associated with it can be read as part of Franklin's feminist perspective which revolts against gender stereotypes, including the associations of specific genre and gender: as Henderson observes, "Sybylla herself can never settle comfortably or decisively into 'male' realism or 'female' romance" (1997: 165).

ii) Style: the language of romance versus the language of realism

This apparent contradiction is reflected in the language of the novel which switches between the formal, flowery, lyrical, even melodramatic language of romance, associated with British Victorian literature (and early Australian literature following British models), to the Australian vernacular and phonetic respellings suggesting the non-standard pronunciation associated with the nationalist realism of the period.

a) High register: romance and melodrama

The promised absence of lyrical descriptions of sunsets is broken several times, for example:

It was sunset – most majestic hour of the twenty-four – when we drove up to the great white gates which opened into the avenue leading to the main homestead of Five-Bob Downs station – beautiful far-reaching Five-Bob Downs! Dreamy blue hills rose behind, and wide rich flats stretched before, through which the Yarrangung river, glazed with sunset, could be seen like a silver snake winding between shrubberied banks. (Ch. 15)

The lyricism is ensured by lexical choices expressing beauty and greatness, such as "most majestic", "great", "beautiful", "rich", or "dreamy", figurative language, such as the simile "like a silver snake", and the repetition of "Five-Bob Downs" together with an exclamation point.

Franklin uses this style most often when describing the bush, as in the example just discussed. However, it also appears at the times when Sybylla is overcome by emotion. Then her speech is punctuated by exclamation points and full of repetitions which adds melodrama. This is illustrated by the following example when Sybylla is invited to live with her grandmother at Caddagat. She is excited by the idea, although less so by the prospect of her grandmother wanting to find her a husband:

I laughed at the idea of love, and determined never, never, never to marry. [...] Caddagat, the place where I was born! Caddagat, whereat, enfolded in grandmotherly love and the petting which accrued therefrom, I spent some of my few sweet childish days. Caddagat, the place my heart fondly enshrines as home. Caddagat, draped by nature in a dream of beauty. Caddagat, Caddagat! Caddagat for me, Caddagat for ever! I say. (Ch. 7)

On other occasions, Sybylla's use of formal language is more conscious and ironic, such as when she speaks to Frank Hawden, a jackeroo at Caddagat, who at first dismisses Sybylla as insufficiently pretty, only to form an attraction to her later. Sybylla dislikes him and his conceited behaviour, and mocks him with her lady-like speech, as in this example when he offers to give her his opinion of her:

"Nothing would please me more. I would value your opinion above all things, and I'm sure – I feel certain – that you have formed a true estimate of me."
At any other time his conceit would have brought upon himself a fine snubbing, but today I was in high feather, and accordingly very pleasant, and resolved to amuse myself by drawing him out. (Ch. 8)

Webby likewise comments on this interaction between Sybylla and Frank, using it as an example of Sybylla consciously channelling a Victorian heroine of the romances she has read. Despite Sybylla's proclamations to the contrary, she longs for the kind of love to be found in romance novels, as Webby observes: "At times of stress, Sybylla falls back on the sort of language associated with the heroines of Victorian romance and melodrama" (2002: 354). Her performance of a lady is thus both ironic, subverting the romance genre, and sincere at the same time, even if Sybylla will not admit her desires even to herself.

Apart from the features mentioned above, the more formal style that appears in Sybylla's speech in certain situations, and in the speech of upper-class characters like Sybylla's grandmother (see 5.2.5 for more detail), it is also marked by archaisms such as adverbs and conjunctions *whence*, *therefrom*, *hereaway*, *thence*, *ere*, *thither*, *therewith*, *wither*, *perforce*, etc.; noun phrases such as "heartless harridan" (Ch. 2; 17th century, probably from French, meaning "a haggard old woman; a vixen"⁶⁵), or *fal-de-rals* (Ch. 19, "He could give you fal-de-

⁶⁵ "harridan, n." (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 31 December 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/84358

rals and rubbish to no end”; referring to “unmeaning sounds”⁶⁶); and archaic syntax (“this her lost love’s son”, Ch. 34; absence of auxiliary *do* as in “Fear I knew not”, Ch. 1; “We fell a-talking”, Ch. 22; “Methinks I can”, Ch. 26).

b) Lower register

When not embroiled in the romance plot or in romanticising the bush, Sybylla’s narration uses a more colloquial style, such as the example below, which consists of one long sentence with several coordinating clauses connected by the conjunction “and”, and includes informal vocabulary such as “kitchen-folk” and “fiddle-faddle”, and the cultural keyword “yarn”:

After graphic descriptions of life on big stations outback, and the dashing snake yarns told by our kitchen-folk at Bruggabrong, and the anecdotes of African hunting, travel, and society life which had often formed our guest’s subject of conversation, this endless fiddle-faddle of the price of farm produce and the state of crops was very fatuous. (Ch. 3)

Besides the informal linguistic features displayed in the example above, quotational compounds also add to the informality of parts of the text, for example Sybylla’s assessment of Harold Beecham as having “an air of I-have-always-got-what-I-desire-and-believe,-if-people-fail-it-is-all-their-own-fault” (Ch. 13), or Sybylla’s “ideal, dream-of-a-poet nook among the pink-based, grey-topped, moss-carpeted rocks” (Ch. 18), the latter showing Sybylla’s fondness of hyphenated compounds in general.

The speech of the bush characters is also marked by vernacular features, suggested – similarly to Boldrewood’s *Robbery Under Arms* – via phonetic respellings (e.g., woman at the post office: “You’d better come in an’ ‘ave a drop of tay-warter, miss, the kittle’s bilin’, and I have the table laid out for both of yez.”, Ch. 17), and to a lesser degree than in Boldrewood by non-standard grammar, such as lack of subject-verb concord (“you was belonging to the Bossiers”, Ch. 8), non-standard pronouns (“a new fowl-house which Horace and Stanley build all by theirselves”, Ch. 33), and occasional ungrammatical morphological forms such as “men are the uselessest, good-for-nothingest, clumsiest animals in the world” (Ch. 20), as will be discussed in more detail in section 5.2.5.

⁶⁶ “folderol, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 31 December 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/67812

Australian vernacular

Similar to *Robbery Under Arms*, it is the lexical features that distinguish the informal language from general colloquial English. Vernacular expressions appear throughout the novel, and as Vickery observes, “such colourful vernacular underscores how Franklin mobilises a living language, as much as a bush landscape, to generate national distinctiveness” (2020). Thus, there appear slang terms from various areas. Food and drink are represented by “grog” (Ch. 3, meaning “alcohol”) and “tucker” (Ch. 14, meaning “food”). Greetings are represented by “say good-day to a chap” (Ch. 19). An example of a specific local activity is the phrase “to go on the wallaby” (“I’d as soon go on the wallaby”, Ch. 6, meaning “wandering about on foot, whether in search of work or aimlessly as a vagrant”⁶⁷).

Hypocoristics also appear, usually referring to people, such as “swaggie” (“swagman”, Ch. 3 and 14), “Gussie” and “Gus” for Augusta (Ch. 15 and 20), and “kiddies” (Ch. 30). Informal quantifiers also feature, such as “heaps of things” (Ch. 14), “lots funnier” (Ch. 37), and “choke full of Possum Gully” (Ch. 33; a variant of “chock-full” and likely predecessor to the Australian vernacular expression “chockers”⁶⁸ (*OED3, Urban Dictionary*)).

Similar to the previous period of Exonormative stabilisation, words for the new social roles in Australia also appear, such as “squatters” (Ch. 1) and associated coinages “squattocracy” (*OED3*: “The class of squatters as a body possessed of social and political importance”) and its equivalent “squatterdom” (Ch. 9), “boundary-riders”, “drovers”, “bug sunburnt bushmen” (all Ch. 1), “jackaroo” (Ch. 13; “a person working on a sheep or cattle station with a view to acquiring the practical experience and management skills desirable in a station owner or manager”⁶⁹) or “rouseabout” (Ch. 18; meaning “a general worker on a farm or sheep station, esp. one employed in a shearing shed”⁷⁰).

These are closely related to expressions connected to bush life (“boiled the billy”, Ch. 22, meaning “to boil tea in a pot”; “damper”, which is a type of bread eaten in the bush, Ch. 22) as well as words connected to Australian architecture (“veranda”, Ch. 5; “wide-veranda’ed, irregularly built, slab house”, Ch. 1), and flora and fauna: e.g. “dingoes”, “gums and

⁶⁷ “wallaby, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 29 December 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/225293

⁶⁸ See “chock-full, adj.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 29 December 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/32096; and “chockers.” *Urban Dictionary*. Retrieved 29 December 2022, from <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Chockers>

⁶⁹ “jackaroo, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 31 December 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/100503

⁷⁰ “rouseabout, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 31 December 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/168027

stringybarks”, “hybrid wattle” (all e.g., in Ch. 2), “kurrajongs” (type of native tree, Ch. 13), “cockatoo” (Ch. 22), etc..

Cultural keywords

In terms of cultural keywords, *yarn* and *yarning* appear multiple times, subtly underlining Sybylla’s assertion that her story is itself a yarn, contextualised in the emerging bush mythology.

There are only 2 instances of *mate* – one where Sybylla refers to her father as “mate” (Ch. 1), and another where her father refers to Sybylla in this way. The latter appears at the novel’s opening recounting Sybylla’s memory of spending time in the bush with her father as a three-year-old child, burning her hand. Her father consoles her, calling her “Daddy’s little mate,” (Ch. 1) with *mate* used more in the sense of “companion”, since the father & daughter relationship is not one between equals, same as in the first instance (see 4.2.2.1.4.2). Nonetheless, the use of what was at the time a predominantly masculine term to refer to Sybylla is in line with her oscillation between ladylike and masculine behaviour (droving, vulgar language, desire to become independent and a writer), and the female and male genres of her narrations as discussed above.

Bush appears multiple times (13x *bush*, 9x *bushman*, several other compounds as it serves as the setting and part of the novel’s agenda is to mythologise it as part of the Bush Legend, hence there are several occurrences of phrases such as “the mighty bush” (e.g. Ch. 7), and descriptions of its fine inhabitants, the national type represented by bushmen (“a bushman tremendously tall and big and sunburnt”, Ch. 13) and their “bushcraft” (Ch. 31). However, there are also instances where *bush* simply refers to “shrub”, not the distinctively Australian environment.

Other regionalisms

Unlike in *Robbery Under Arms*, *My Brilliant Career* incorporates hardly any British colloquial or regional expressions, demonstrating that Franklin in her text concentrates on making use of the expressions emerging in the local variety. Thus, there are only a couple of instances, such as the slang expression *dicky* as in “trifle dicky” (Ch. 9, “in poor health;

unwell”⁷¹), or the regional *anent* from ScE as in “tame old yarn anent this world being merely a place of probation” (Ch. 9, ScE, meaning “about”⁷²).

5.2.2.2 The Language of *The Young Desire It* (1937)

In contrast to Franklin’s often colloquial language and consequently more informal style in *My Brilliant Career*, Mackenzie’s use of language is more literary and formal.

i) Commentary: modernism versus realism and the centre versus the periphery

In his introduction to the novel, David Malouf observes an affinity with the style of D. H. Lawrence, especially in terms of Mackenzie’s passages about nature (to be discussed in more detail in 5.2.3), noting that Mackenzie is, nonetheless, “more inward and passionately lyrical” (1937)⁷³. As the comparison with Lawrence, one of the figures of literary modernism, suggests, Malouf further observes that *The Young Desire It* was “perhaps the earliest novel in Australia to deal with the inner life in a consistently modernist way” (introduction), representing the workings of the young mind of the protagonist Charles rather than focusing on a conventional plot.

This also means there is less direct speech and therefore perhaps less opportunity for colloquial language. Moreover, since this novel was written towards the end of the Nativization period, long after the nationalistic phase around the Federation, the text displays the consequences of the colonial mindset and Australia’s insecurity in the interwar period, as discussed in 3.1.1.1.2.1, which led to a lack of confidence in themselves and their culture in comparison to Britain. The school where the novel takes place is very much a British institution established in the vein of British public schools to cultivate Australians. It aims to instil British values in them, and it is where, in the words of one of the masters, the students “pa[y] a high price in money for that [English] accent” (626) they are being trained to use. As previously discussed (see chapter 1 and 3.1.1.1.2.1), English accent was the prestigious variety in Australia certainly at the time when the novel was written and to a degree remains so to this day, although in the 1970s AusE began to be seen as a source of pride among Australians. The school (or

⁷¹ “dicky, adj.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 31 December 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/52271

⁷² “anent, prep. and adv.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 31 December 2022, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/7413

⁷³ As the book is not divided into chapters, for reference regarding the text of the novel itself, the location number in the Kindle edition was provided.

rather the “School”, as it is capitalised in the text) with its education in English manners, speech, and cultural traditions serves, as Malouf summarises, as

an outpost of the empire, an establishment devoted to the making, through classical studies, music, sport, and very British notions of manliness and public service, of young men. Masters are imported Englishmen, the students for the most part country boys who have grown up close to the Australian bush and to Australian values and traditions. (Introduction)

As such, the masters see the students as “crude, unchangeable young animals, who had never seen an English spring or an Oxford dusk” (626), as one of the masters, Penworth, ponders. The contrast between the British masters and Australian pupils is underscored in their direct speech, where the pupils use the (Australian) vernacular outside the classroom (to be discussed in 5.2.5).

ii) Style: British masters versus bush boys

a) High register

The majority of the novel consists of Charles’s inner thoughts, interspersed with Penworth’s and occasionally someone else’s point of view. These inner musings and observations employ a formal, literary and sometimes lyrical language, e.g.,

On the flats the grass was changed from gold to a bleached grey in the weeks of merciless sun. It frayed and split, seething with cicadas and insects that kept from dawn to dusk the sibilant waves of their immortal susurrus; and this sound, filling the whole world, became an unheard background to all the noises of day in the School; even at night, taken up by the crickets, the song never ceased and the air was mad with it. (835)

The markers of literary language in the passage above include attributing emotions to the elements – to the sun by using the adjective “merciless” and to the air by using the adjective “mad”, the use of Latinate vocabulary (“sibilant”, “immortal”, “susurrus”), participle clauses (“seething with...”, “filling...”, “taken up...”), and the capitalisation of “School”, which occurs throughout the text emphasising its status of an important institution. Apart from “School”, “Home” in the sense of Britain is also capitalised throughout, and there is one instance where cricket, previously referred to as “the gentlemen’s game” (1636), is referenced as the “Game” (1703) – notably all the three words refer to Britain and British culture, the capitalisation suggesting their superiority compared to the local culture, which corresponds to the school’s mission in Australian society.

As the passage above suggests, the majority of the novel is thus written in StBE and employs formal vocabulary, such as words of Latinate origin as discussed above. Another interesting example is “masculine braggadocio” (2117) where the noun is formed from the verb *to brag* and the Italian augmentatives *-occio*, *-occhio*, which comes from Edmund Spenser’s

Faerie Queen.⁷⁴ There are occasionally even Latin phrases (“bene factum”, 664) or Italian musical terminology (“merciless *obbligato* [sic] of the cicadas” (1223), where *obbligato* means “a musical line indispensable in performance”⁷⁵). All contribute to conjuring up the context of sophisticated learning, along with occasional archaisms such as “hither”, “yonder” (1513), “a man burningly athirst” (2373), as well as frequent personification of the elements, as demonstrated in the passage discussed above by the adjectives that attribute human emotion to the elements (to be discussed further in 5.2.3).

b) *Lower register*

In direct speech, as mentioned, there appear the only instances of vernacular language, which differentiates the speech of the boys and bush characters from that of the British masters, but it is relatively rare, since there is so little direct speech. For this reason, there are hardly any slang lexical items or hypocoristics, although there appear at least some of the cultural keywords such as *bloke*, *bloody*, and *bastard*, as well as some phonetic respellings suggesting non-standard pronunciation to distinguish the bush boys from their British masters, as will be discussed in more detail in 5.2.5. Markers of ScE also appear in the speech of one of the bush characters, as will be discussed in the same section.

5.2.3 Stylistics of landscape

5.2.3.1 Conceptualisation of space

The way both authors construct the world of their novels corresponds to the sociocultural context, when by the Nativization period the bush was established as the quintessentially Australian environment. Since *My Brilliant Career* (1901) was written pre-Federation, it participated heavily in the agenda of building the national mythology around the bush, like Henry Lawson, Banjo Paterson and other authors centred around *The Bulletin* magazine (as discussed in 3.1.1). Thus the novel, set entirely in the bush, focuses on portraying the characteristics of the Australian landscape and the people within it more overtly than *The Young Desire It* (1937), written much later, when the national mythology was already established. Therefore, the focus on the bush is much smaller in Mackenzie’s novel which takes

⁷⁴ “braggadocio, n. and adj.” (2021) *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 4 January 2023, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/22482

⁷⁵ “obbligato, adj, n. and adv.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 4 January 2023, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/129514

place between the bush and a public school, yet the Australian landscape in general plays an important role in the life of the main character Charles and in the way the British masters perceive their Australian pupils.

My Brilliant Career (1901)

From the beginning, *My Brilliant Career* is presented as a story from and of the bush written by “a little bush girl” who captures the real bush experience which, in the words of Henry Lawson, portrays the real Australia “where people toil and bake and suffer and are kind; where every second sun-burnt bushman is a sympathetic humorist, with the sadness of the bush deep in his eyes and a brave grin for the worst of times, and where every third bushman is a poet, with a big heart” (Preface). Franklin’s text is full of passages capturing the Australian environment in its distinctiveness. Besides terms for the local flora and fauna (*gum-tree*, *dingo*, *black snake*, *stringybark*, *wattle*, *magpies*, *myall*, *kurrajongs*, *mulga* [the latter 3 are Australian native tree species], *kookaburra*, *platypus*, *emu*, etc.) and social roles (*drovers*, *jackaroo*, *rouseabout*, *station hands*, *boundary riders*, *shearers*, *squatters*, etc.), which safely localise the text in Australia, there are many passages which celebrate the beauty and distinctiveness of the bush, as well as its harshness.

As discussed in 5.2.2.1, the word *bush* and its compounds appear over 20x, and often together with qualitative adjectives expressing positive attributes that support Franklin’s mythologising agenda, such as the aforementioned “mighty bush”, where the adjective suggests its superior powers and consequently status (“My ambition was as boundless as the mighty bush in which I have always lived”, Ch. 7; “the weird witchery of the mighty bush”, Ch. 9; Sybylla describing herself as “a child of the mighty bush”, Ch. 38). The characteristics transfer on the individual elements of the bush as well, such as when Sybylla is recalling her very first memory of life, which is a snapshot of the bush: “I remember the majestic gum-trees surrounding us, the sun glinting on their straight white trunks, and falling on the gurgling fern-banked stream” (Ch. 1). There, the adjective *majestic* confers a similar status of importance on the bush by proxy, attributed to the trees.

The bush is also associated with great beauty, as demonstrated by the passage about the sunset discussed in 5.2.2.1, and is inhabited by the native creatures, such as the mythical platypus, that contributes to making the bush such a singular space that has a positive effect on its visitors, as this poetic passage incorporating onomatopoeia and alliteration demonstrates: “the plop, plop of a platypus disporting itself mid stream, came to me as sweetest elixir in my

ideal, dream-of-a-poet nook among the pink-based, grey-topped, moss-carpeted rocks” (Ch. 18).

However, the mightiness of the bush manifests not only in its natural beauty, but also in its power, represented among else by the power of the elements, particularly the sun. This mightiness can manifest in spectacular sunsets or beautifully lit landscape, but at the same time it can lead to drought, sunburn, and bush fires. To highlight the power of the sun and the huge role it plays in Australian life, it is often personified in the novel, as in the following passage that appears at the end of the novel and demonstrates both its positive as well as negative qualities:

The great sun is sinking in the west, grinning and winking knowingly as he goes, upon the starving stock and drought-smitten wastes of land. Nearer he draws to the gum-tree scrubby horizon, turns the clouds to orange, scarlet, silver flame, gold! Down, down he goes. The gorgeous, garish splendour of sunset pageantry flames out; the long shadows eagerly cover all; the kookaburras laugh their merry mocking good-night; the clouds fade to turquoise, green, and grey; the stars peep shyly out; the soft call of the mopoke arises in the gullies! (Chapter 38)

Here Franklin masterfully combines the imagery of the damage caused by the sun with the intense beauty of spectacular sunset. The sun, like the bush itself, is a contradiction – beautiful and pleasant on the one hand, but dangerous and harsh on the other.

Similarly to *Robbery Under Arms* (1888), this novel implies – as also suggested by Lawson’s preface discussed above – a strong connection between the local environment and the national type represented by the “big sunburnt bushmen” (Ch. 1) that populate the novel, their appearance and character conditioned by exposure to the elements, hard work and need for cooperation with others necessary to survive in the bush. Sybylla’s suitor Harry Beecham is the perfect representative of a bushman. When Sybylla sees him at the races, she notes: “the tall, broad, independent figure of the bushman with his easy gentlemanliness, his jockey costume enhancing his size” (Ch. 19). She further elaborates on his appearance and character towards the end of the novel:

There was an unconscious air of physical lordliness about him, and he looked such a swell – not the black-clothed, clean-shaved, great display of white collar-and-cuffs swell appertaining to the office and city street, but of the easy sunburnt squatter type of swelldom, redolent of the sun, the saddle, the wide open country – a man who is a man, utterly free from the least suspicion of effeminacy, and capable of earning his bread by the sweat of his brow – with an arm ready and willing to save in an accident. (Ch. 36)

Her description highlights the role of the sun (“sunburnt squatter type”, “redolent of the sun”) and the bush itself (“redolent of [...] the wide open country”), and emphasises Harry’s manliness, toughness and hard-working nature, compared to the effeminate city types.

This contrast between the bush and city is consistent with the nationalist cultural production that saw the bush as the home of the national type, which was exclusively masculine, as befitting the harsh environment (as discussed in 3.1.1.1.2.1). The effeminate nature of city men is further suggested by comments on contemporary shaving habits of men: the bushmen shave every Sunday only, “to obviate the blue – what they termed ‘scraped pig’ – appearance of the faces of city men in the habit of using the razor daily, and to which they preferred the stubble of a seven days’ beard” (Ch. 16). Besides appearance and character, like in *Robbery Under Arms*, the bush is associated with a certain set of skills, as these expressions indicate: some characters are described as possessing certain “bushcraft” (Ch. 31), “the bushman’s art of handling a stock-whip” (Ch. 13), or “bushman ability” (Ch. 18).

Sybylla shares many of the bushmen’s characteristics and abilities. She is independent, spends time with other bushmen, goes droving with them, works hard, and adopts the “slang used by the station hands” (Ch. 1). On the one hand, while her uncle is “glad to see [she] had the spirit of an Australian” (Ch. 19), when he realises that it is inconsistent with a lady behaving “properly”, he criticises her for it. Her mother and grandmother do the same – they accuse her of being “vulgar” (Ch. 6) and despise “her larrikinism” (Ch. 21; about larrikinism see 4.2.2.3), concluding that while Sybylla “might have the spirit of an Australian, [she] had by no means the manners of a lady” (Ch. 19). What is desirable behaviour in a man in the bush, is inconsistent with the demands made of women still based on Victorian ideals, so Sybylla feels “the world was made for men” (Ch. 24). As discussed in 5.2.2.1, her oscillation between male and female behaviour, sometimes even appearance, on a larger level parallels the oscillation between genres in the text, and calls attention to the gender bias of the newly created Australian national mythology.

Nonetheless, while home to the prototypical Australians, the bush is also portrayed as a somewhat “out-of-the-way place” (Ch. 1), remote and removed from the cultural resources of the city. On some of the stations, like Possum Gully, where her family has to move after losing their wealth and consequently social position, descending from squattocracy to peasants, life feels too slow and stagnant, with the days punctuated only by work and sleep, especially for the women like Sybylla’s mother previously used to social calls filling their days: “Possum Gully was stagnant – stagnant with the narrow stagnation prevalent in all old country places” (Ch. 3). Sybylla is hungry for cultivation of the mind, “long[ing] for the arts”, but there seems to be no place for intellectual pursuits in the bush (for the working-class, at least):

Hard graft is a great leveller. Household drudgery, woodcutting, milking, and gardening soon roughen the hands and dim the outside polish. When the body is wearied with much toil the desire to cultivate the mind, or the cultivation it has already received, is gradually wiped out. Thus it was with my parents. They had dropped from swelldom to peasantry. (Ch. 5)

Sybylla's comment highlights not only the class distinctions in the supposedly egalitarian Australia at the turn of the century (see 3.1.1.1.1 for a discussion of the basis of the social inequality which stemmed from the land acquisition politics), but also essentially justifies the claims that in terms of culture, Australia was indeed lagging behind Britain. Moreover, it is not only Sybylla who feels the bush is too far removed from cultural life. When a family friend from Sydney comes for a visit and witnesses Sybylla's theatrical performance, he states: "Do you know, gran, that you are robbing the world of an artist by keeping Sybylla hidden away in the bush?" (Ch. 11), and wants to take Sybylla to Sydney. This does not happen, although he at least sends her books and magazines to quench her hunger for cultivation.

The Young Desire It (1937)

The idea that culturally, Australia is in need of cultivation permeates Mackenzie's *The Young Desire It*, where the British masters at the school feel like they are bringing civilisation to the Australian wilderness, to "their 'little wretches' [who] were wild with the raw, crude strength of a young nation beginning to feel its horns" (453) and whose handwriting is "uncultivated, gross" (3736). True to the imperial mindset of the time, to which Australia itself subscribed (as discussed in 3.1.1.1.1), the British look down on Australians, as further demonstrated by Penworth's assertions that he possesses "an intelligence not frequently to be met with in this strenuous new country" (3223). While Australian cultural norms have been formed on the basis of the British ones, as Penworth notes, it is not British culture he encounters when he moves to Australia, which is

infinitely more foreign even to his imagination than would have been a European country where men spoke a foreign tongue. It was to him the very end of the earth. The language was his own—almost his own. He found that his own ideas of culture, of behaviour and of conduct were considered right and unarguable; [...] . [Yet] under this surface of promise and willingness in which even a century or so had planted and germinated seeds of culture, and sometimes a being of full genius, he was being made aware of forces beyond his comprehension, powers of the earth itself that would corrupt and conquer his mind [...] (3229)

Penworth observes that despite the British imperial mission to spread their culture to new territories, in Australia it has failed, and he seems to attribute this failure to "the earth itself" – to its wilderness and remoteness by being at "the very end of the earth". Thus the differences in "national personality" (453), culture, and language seem to be the result of the environment,

as suggested also by the national mythology constructed by Australians themselves (discussed in 3.1.1.1.1.1), and exemplified by Franklin's novel discussed above, as well as by Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms* (see 5.1).

Yet while for (at least some) Australians, their differences have started to become a source of pride in the Nativization period, the British masters in the novel perceive these differences as negative, as the passage above demonstrates, where Australia is constructed as the foreign, uncivilised colonial Other. This is underscored by comparisons of British and Australian landscape, which parallel the state of the cultural landscape. The British landscape is lush, "passionately green" (453) and wet, with Penworth painting in his head "a loose enchanting picture of lanes and woods wet with spring rain and brilliantly in leaf again, and [going] over the names of the flowers he knew caressingly" (2286), with the centre of culture being "that rich fountain, Oxford, the left breast of England" (3229), which is likened to a body part to demonstrate its importance in England's culture. Australia, on the other hand, is the land parched by the "merciless sun" (835), "still and scalding" (1067), which often turns it into "a dry and lonely place" (1348). This makes one of the masters, Mr. Jones, exclaim that it is "impossible to work properly in this country" (3699). For him, it is also the country that his wife abandoned to return to England as she "couldn't stand the climate" (1092). Penworth likewise curses Australia when he is too hot in his collar and tie at dinner: "This damned country – a man can't even eat in comfort" (536).

Moreover, the images of drought, loneliness and remoteness conveyed by descriptions of the landscape, which suggest a hunger for rain, can be metaphorically taken as a further assertion of Australia's lack of culture. Charles's hunger for learning, which, unlike Sybylla in *My Brilliant Career*, he develops at the school after having grown up in the bush with similarly little access to it, thus parallels the land's hunger for rain: "The desire to know was coming to life like a fire in his heart. He wanted to learn. Now in his innocence he perceived that to live lost in the country he knew, with learning to nourish his mind and the earth to gladden him, was the finest of all living" (887). Charles feels that his study of the classics and the greats of British literature is opening his eyes to experiences beyond the boundaries of Australia, revealing that to an extent at least, the mission of the British masters was successful.

The negative view of Australia shared by the British masters is contrasted with Charles's perspective, who despite perhaps acknowledging that his childhood in the bush lacked the cultural resources he is gaining access to now, has a deep appreciation for the Australian landscape and particularly the bush where he grew up. To him, Australia is a "mysterious

country” (3665) where the bush represents freedom, solace, and a place where he has enough space to think, compared to the overcrowded school corridors and dormitories. It is a constant that resists the flow of time, and Charles feels an integral part of it, as this passage suggests:

He was enraptured, remembering the spaciousness and freedom there, among the rolling fields that rose against the sky in uplands from which he could see the hills five miles away, covered with a mist like the bloom on plums, and as purple and dusky as plums in the soft distance of evening. Without his knowledge, the agelessness of those lonely places made him understand in some degree how brief and immaterial his own life was. He looked upon a world that had not changed and was without knowledge of time, and was himself the product of change and of unreckoned thousand years. As he grew more at one with it, there were moments when its timelessness became his own. (1052)

This passage is just another example of the deep bond the people seem to share with the land, and this idea is foregrounded even more by passages where descriptions of nature utilise analogies with humans and vice versa. For instance, when Charles is thinking about Margaret, a girl he met in the bush who caused his sexual awakening, he likens her to sunny days and the promises they hold, and in turn compares those days to a girl:

She was very beautiful, he thought. She reminded him, with her effortless stillness, of a sunny day in the hollow valleys of those remote hills hidden now in rain. Such days were always waiting, still and golden but terribly alert, shining like a girl, but as watchful, and as full of disturbing secrecy. (1507)

In the following description of flowers beginning to emerge from the soil, which appears just before Charles first encounters Margaret, there also is an undeniable sexual undertone that foreshadows Charles’s upcoming preoccupation: “the smooth white crowns breaking up through the moist virginity of the soil” (1320).

Furthermore, this connection between the land and its inhabitants is foregrounded in Charles’s assessment of Margaret’s Australian aunt of Scottish origin who has retained her “Scottish nature”, yet has also been formed by the Western Australian wheat belt, full of the hardships the harsh Australian bush offers:

Hers was not the empty talk and laughter of women who spoke without thought; it was the vivid cheerfulness of a heart that had outfaced the hardships of the land itself and was still able to laugh and find life good. No man would have remained serene after half a lifetime spent in suffering the rigours and torments of that country where the wheat belt lay; few women, too, came through such a life without the bitter brown claw-marks of the land scarring their faces and deforming their minds. (2941)

Mackenzie foregrounds the idea of the land leaving physical scars, of visibly making its mark on the people who live in it. Yet despite those scars, they remain cheerful and strong, although the hardships and isolation can also drive some mad, as Charles acknowledges about the wheat belt: “I’ve heard of men going mad in this country” (1450). The resilience conveyed by this description of Margaret’s aunt is an integral part of the myth of Australian national character

(see 2.5.2 and 3.1.1.2.1.1), formed by the hardships experienced in the bush, which also acknowledges the danger of madness, as for example in Lawson's stories (1901). Mackenzie is thus consistent with the bush mythology and echoes the ideas expressed in Franklin's novel discussed above.

The idea of the land leaving physical scars attributes human powers to nature, which underscores the connection further. Natural elements have not only a physical presence, but also agency, conveyed by active verbs denoting movement and intention, such as when "a sudden angry ray [...] struck Penworth violently in the eyes" (541), which also attributes the sun the human emotion of anger. There are numerous other examples of nature exhibiting emotions or feelings (e.g., "tired air", 233; "merciless sun", 835, "the infinite sadness of bush country at evening", 1257) or human actions ("sigh of the wind", 1348, "leaves [...] gasping joyously at the ultimate release from the buried seed", 1283; "shower [of rain] that whispered", 1735). This is partly due to the literary style of Mackenzie's novel which often uses figurative language to create the poetic diction. However, it also serves to highlight the significant role the Australian landscape and the elements within it have played in the formation of character and experience – both on the national level, as well as on the personal level, as is demonstrated by the way Charles uses nature as a mirror of his experiences and feelings.

5.2.3.2 Analogies

Both Franklin and Mackenzie also utilise analogies and the conceptual mappings they involve in order to construct place in the novel (as discussed in 2.7.2.1). Following Wales's (2017) approach (outlined further in 3.2.2.2.2), these analogies are categorised according to the semantic field they draw on and their function in terms of reader-helpfulness is assessed.

Even though both novels were first published in England, their authors rely on different frames of reference in the construction of place in their texts. Franklin's novel (which she had to make certain changes to because of the British publisher, as discussed in Appendix 2) adheres to the popular bush realism of the period, thus actively contributing to forging an Australian literary and cultural tradition. Therefore, she relies more on domestic sources, thus catering to the Australian audience, while partially also satisfying the British desire for exoticism in colonial novels. Mackenzie's novel, on the other hand, shows an influence of cosmopolitan modernism, and consequently relies largely on generic frames of reference.

Analogies in *My Brilliant Career* (1901)

As discussed in the preceding paragraphs, *My Brilliant Career* is presented as a story born directly in the bush. Franklin supports this principal role of the uniquely Australian environment by basing the majority of her analogies on uniquely Australian features of this environment. This constitutes the first type of Franklin's analogies which, following Wales's classification (see 2.7.2.1), serve a familiarising function for the Australian reader, relying on familiar frames of reference. At the same time, this type also serves an exoticizing function for the British/international reader, thus fulfilling an expectation of colonial novels about distant territories. Franklin's second group of analogies is based on fairy tales or legends, and appears to serve neither a familiarising nor an exoticizing function, used instead to underline the mythical status of the bush.

Before discussing the individual groups, it needs to be noted that the landscape itself is rarely described by means of an analogy, as is apparent from the discussion in the preceding section. Franklin possibly does not utilise analogies in order to emphasise the uniqueness of the landscape which cannot be expressed by comparisons with other concepts. On the rare occasion that it is, it is a comparison with something suggesting nature's superiority, such as "the gum-trees gleaming in [the sun] like a myriad gems" (Ch. 22). This theory is supported by other instances where features of the Australian environment are described in superior or hyperbolic terms. Such examples somewhat echo Wales's Type A analogies covering expressions of indescribability and evaluative comments, which in their subjectivity are unhelpful to the reader (see 2.7.2.1). Besides the examples discussed above, there are instances such as the heat being referred to as "excessive" (Ch. 20), a "summer day" described as "glorious" (Ch. 23), or Sybylla's "pleasure, so exquisite as to be almost pain, which [she] derived from books, and especially Australian poets" who portrayed "the wholesome life beneath these sunny skies, which [they] depicted with grand touches of power flashing here and there" (Ch. 9), as well as Australians themselves being described as "second to none of any nation under the sun" (Ch. 14).

1) Domestic-based analogies

Rather than describing the landscape, Franklin employs analogies mainly to describe the people within the landscape. The first group – domestic analogies – can be divided into two sub-groups. The first sub-group relies on the flora and fauna, while the second relies on the

national type or unique social roles. These mirror Wales's Type D relying on the concrete/the familiar, although their function depends on the audience (as discussed above).

a. Flora and fauna

The flora and fauna in its association with mightiness (see 5.2.3.1) is used to lend credibility and weight to many of Sybylla's assertions. For example, to emphasise the authenticity of her "yarn" as a true bush tale, she describes it as being "**as real** in its weariness and bitter heartache **as the tall gum-trees**, among which [she] first saw the light, [...] **real in their stateliness and substantiality**" (Introduction).

When Sybylla is bemoaning the position of women compared to that of the men, she additionally relies on the masculine association of the bush as an environment to denote the height of her ambition, which she describes "**as boundless as the mighty bush** in which [she] ha[s] always lived," (Ch. 7) showing that even though she is of the bush as well, the fulfillment of her ambitions is much less likely because she is a woman.

To further underline the strong connection between the bush and its human inhabitants, they are at times described in terms of animal analogy. Thus Sybylla's father is characterised as a "broken-down **farmer-cockatoo**" (Ch. 22), where "farmer-cockatoo" appears to be a variant of the expression *cockatoo farmer*, used to distinguish small farmers from the squattocracy. According to folk etymology, it was based on such farmers "scratching for a living in the dirt like a cockatoo after seed" although it likely originated from the term Cockatoo used for convicts on Cockatoo Island (see "Cockatoo Settler", 2014).

In another instance, Harry Beecham, on first meeting Sybylla and assuming her to be a servant, calls her "**a mighty well-shaped young filly**" (Ch. 13). On another occasion, children are likened to one of Australia's national symbols as they "clung to [their mother's] skirts, attempting **to hide their heads in its folds like so many emus**" (Ch. 27).

One of the few occasions where an animal analogy is used to describe the landscape is the following description of the river, where it contributes to the lyricism of the passage: "Yarrangung river, glazed with sunset, could be seen **like a silver snake winding between shrubberied banks**" (Ch. 15).

b. National type

The second sub-group of the domestic analogies is based on the national type of the bushman and other Australian social types, to aid Franklin in characterisation. By using these

Australian frames of reference, she further emphasises the singular nature of the Australian people, while also subtly pointing to the masculine bias, because all these roles have strong masculine associations.

This is most apparent in the figure of the bushman. Sybylla herself is often described by means of these masculine analogies, as for example, when she asserts she can ride “**as gamely as any of the big sunburnt bushmen**” (Ch. 1). This further emphasises her oscillation between femininity and masculinity that is seen as problematic by her family, as discussed above.

The positive evaluation associated with bushmen is suggested throughout the novel, for example in this assessment of Harry Beecham and a young woman standing beside him: “They were fit for an artist’s models. **The tall, broad, independent figure of the bushman** with his easy gentlemanliness” (Ch. 19), where he is lauded as a typical representative of a bushman and his superior physical features. On another occasion, Sybylla continues this positive comparison that even more strongly emphasises the connection between the land and its people, including this example: “**He looked such a swell... but of the easy sunburnt squatter type of swelldom, redolent of the sun, the saddle, the wide open country**” (Ch. 36).

At the same time, during Harry and Sybylla’s first meeting, Sybylla also compared him to a larrikin, saying his behaviour “shows **what a larrikin Don Juan sort of character**” he is (Ch. 13), i.e., a sort of lovable rogue (see 2.5.5.1).

Furthermore, Sybylla also likes to emphasise the egalitarian values she advocates for, which are associated with bushmen. When she encounters “a socialistic fellow” she describes him as being “**as ready to take a glass with a swaggie as a swell**” (Ch. 3), whereby she draws on the class division between the peasants and the squattocracy. Relying on these Australian cultural concepts (bushman, larrikin, swaggie) situates Sybylla’s yarn firmly in the bush and within the emerging nationalist tradition.

2) Analogies based on fairy tales and legends

The second group of Franklin’s analogies includes a small number of instances which rely on the frame of reference of a fairy tale or legend. In Wales’s analysis of Dickens, such analogies (Type B) serve an exoticizing, disorientating function, obstructing the readers’ understanding.

Franklin, however, draws on very general concepts like magic, in order to support her portrayal of the bush as a “mighty” environment with superior powers, mystery and uniqueness. Thus she writes of “the weird witchery of the mighty bush” (Ch. 9) where “the wild moaning

cry” of the curlews “[f]rom the rifts in the dark lone ranges [...] **comes like a hunted spirit**” (Ch. 14), where “the plop, plop of a platypus [...] came [...] **as sweetest elixir**” (Ch. 17), and where Harry Beecham’s fortune at the end of the novel “**seems like a fairy yarn**” (Ch. 34). Notice how in the last example Franklin has substituted fairy tale for a more Australian vernacular variant “fairy yarn”, appropriating the fairy tale for the Australian context. Because Franklin relies on very general concepts in this type of analogies, they may not necessarily be helpful to the reader in helping to construct the place Franklin is describing in more specific terms. However, because of their association with fairytale and romance, they certainly help to convey the mystery and almost mythical status that the cultural nationalists were trying to attribute to the bush.

Analogies in *The Young Desire It*

Whilst Franklin’s use of domestic-based analogies is consistent with her mission of cultural nationalism, Mackenzie’s use of analogies suggests a more cosmopolitan, international outlook which was associated with modernism (as discussed in 3.1.1.1.2.2), whose techniques such as the stream of consciousness and multiple perspectives Mackenzie employs. Mackenzie’s novel is a good example of Cooper’s assertion that the national and international interests were not necessarily polar opposites (discussed in 3.1.1.1.2.2), but that some Australian writers adapted modernism for Australian literature and even if their outlook was international as opposed to the cultural isolationism of some of the cultural nationalists, it still contributed to establishing the Australian literary tradition.

The Young Desire It embodies this double perspective via switching the points of view of Charles, raised in the Australian bush, and his British master Penworth, offering both a domestic and a more cosmopolitan outlook on Australia’s landscape and culture. Perhaps due to the cosmopolitanism of modernism, as well as due to the fact that Mackenzie had to publish his novel in London, as the few Australian publishers in operation only wanted nationalist texts, the analogies that Mackenzie employs rely almost exclusively on generic concepts familiar to any reader, thus catering to an international audience.

Due to the generic nature of the analogies, they are rather difficult to categorise, but two overarching groups can be identified. The first is based on nature, and the second on the military and violence in general. Because of their very generic nature, they serve mostly a familiarising function, with the individual subgroups each also emphasising different features of the

Australian landscape. In terms of Wales's categories, they are thus the closest to Type D reliant on domestic/familiar concepts.

1) Nature-based analogies

The first group can be further divided into three sub-groups: one relies on water imagery, another on fire imagery, and the last one on the animal kingdom. While almost no specifically Australian elements figure in the analogies, all of these three areas have played a prominent role in the Australian landscape and the associations connected with it.

a. Water imagery

In a couple of instances, water imagery is used to describe the landscape, such as Charles's perception of his home: "He found that this limestone country was the dearer to him for its hard openness and **the massy roll of it up and down, like an ocean swell**" (2527), where the "swell" evokes the wavy nature of the terrain.

Water imagery is also employed in connection with the climate, describing a heatwave: "the first heat of summer came westward **like the waves of a tide rising over the hills**" (3501). The conceptualisation of one element of the landscape in terms of another helps to convey the self-sufficiency of the natural world, which can be explained in its own terms.

Moreover, water is an important element in Australia, both due to frequent droughts, and due to it being an island surrounded by the ocean. In several instances, water imagery is used in connection with sounds, such as silence in a room "**roar[ing] like surf in their ears**" (1870), or the sound of a bell "spreading out **as relentlessly as a ripple spreads on the face of still water**" (2112).

At times, a water analogy is also used in connection with a person, for example when Charles is contemplating Penworth's looks: "From the bays of his wide temples Charles could see how **the hair was already receding, as though into the bays of a coastline a tide were being sent**" (1109), the passive voice emphasising it is a process Penworth has no power over. These water analogies that describe the sound or the people are all from Charles's perspective and can be read as revealing his familiar frames of reference.

b. Fire imagery

The second sub-group relies on fire imagery and proves the point about the importance of water in the Australian landscape. This is best represented by the following example that

encapsulates the burning nature of the harsh Australian sun: “The mid-afternoon sunlight was still and scalding, **blinding like a fire too closely peered into**, yet as dull in colour as brass” (1067). Due to such harshness, the landscape itself looks burnt: “Against that western colour **all the trees were as charred as though its fire had consumed them**” (1240).

Not all of the fire imagery is so negative. There is one description of a flower, bonfire salvia, that “blazed defiance [...], **redder than any flame would have been in that still, tempestuous sunlight**” (4089), which conveys the flower’s resilience against the sun because the flower itself seems to be almost as strong as fire, as the analogy implies. The resilience of this plant could be representative of the resilience required of all that wishes to survive under the Australian sun.

c. Animal imagery

The last sub-group of nature-based analogies relies on animals. Several are used to refer to the boys at the school, echoing Penworth talking about them as “unchangeable young animals” (626). The generic “animal” appears in describing one of the newcomers who is “**as alert as an animal**” (233), but most draw on specific animal species. In two instances, the boys are compared to sheep, an animal crucial for the Australian economy (as discussed in 3.1.1.1.1.1), known not for its intelligence but mob mentality, which is consistent with the British masters’ sense of superiority. Thus a group of boys is described as having “a destination, towards which they must surge **as ruthlessly as a mob of sheep**, and with very little more deliberate intention” (1571) and Charles himself as “running helter-skelter **as madly as sheep down the ramp**” (856).

On another occasion, a group of boys is described as talking to a master, “yapp[ing] and fidget[ing] **like terriers teasing a young bull**” (294) – here the comparison with a dog is more favourable, yet still no match for a bull who stands for the master. The same master, right after this, chastises another group of boys for jumping over chains, calling them “**you donkeys**” (294), again suggesting their stupidity. So while the animal analogies are not restricted to the boys, they are more frequent and used to suggest their inferior status compared to the masters.

However, when the narrative follows Charles’s perspective, Charles at times compares himself to an animal, for example when on a visit home and to his favourite bush spot he is “perched on his log **as motionless as a heron**” (1268), or when he is keeping indoors due to the rain, “lurk[ing], **like a spider** to teach a fly the intricacies of the web”, able to focus on “his

individuality” and study (1756). Such analogies emphasise Charles’s strong relationship to nature.

Nature itself is rarely captured by an animal analogy, the exception being “big drops and scatterings from the living leaves f[alling] on the dead leaves of the floor, **running about like little animals in the shadowless depths**” (1507), which both with the help of the active verb “run” and the analogy to “little animals” emphasises nature’s agency and almost human capabilities.

2) Analogies based on military/violence imagery

The agency of the natural world is amplified by the second group of analogies found in Mackenzie’s novel, which relies on the military or violence in general and emphasises the violent, harsh and dangerous aspect of the Australian environment. This particularly concerns the sun, which “**thrust[s] like a sword into all things**” (3511), whose light falls “**in long broken blades**” (1078), striking “**like a blow from a giant hand**” (4232). People, such as Charles’s housekeeper, have to protect themselves against it “even at sunset, as though while ever the sun was above the horizon its light was personally dangerous and malicious to her uncovered” (3988).

Perhaps thanks to its resilience against the power of the sun, the flora is at times compared to the army, with “**leaves march[ing] [...] like an army in the shallow water**” (835), “**the bright green spears of the grass standing like the lances of a tiny army** upwards from the soil’s clinging darkness” (2210).

Lastly, besides the underlying implication of violence, analogies with blood are used to emphasise the human-like qualities of nature and the strong connection there is between nature and its human inhabitants. Thus the sound of the cicadas is compared to “**blood heard in the ears**” (3501), a plant – “bonfire salvia” is portrayed being “**as red as blood**” (4089), and a “red-barked tree” has “**suppurations of crusted and partly reabsorbed gum [that] looked like great gouts of dried blood** on that comely trunk” (1513).

5.2.4. Allusions and references: Australian culture and identity in context

My Brilliant Career (1901)

In the preceding Exonormative stabilisation period, Cambridge’s *A Mere Chance* (1880) drew almost exclusively on British and European culture, while Boldrewood’s *Robbery Under Arms* (1888) contained relatively few references to either foreign or domestic cultural capital

since at the time Australia had little cultural capital of its own that was not a derivation of British or European material (see 5.1.4). Boldrewood's novel itself came to constitute the domestic cultural capital future Australian writers could draw on, and by the time Franklin was writing *My Brilliant Career* (1901), she had the literary output of the late 19th century produced with the nation-building agenda available to her. As the nationalistic writers were consciously trying to establish Australian literature as a distinctive concept, Franklin in *My Brilliant Career* references her fellow Australian authors, along with other cultural figures, to help cement the idea of a distinctive Australian culture no longer reliant on British and European imports.

As discussed in 5.2.3.1, Sybylla is hungry for culture, but those around her, be it her parents or girls of the same age, have no time for or interest in such frivolities among the hard work. This makes Sybylla feel out of place: "they all moved in the one little, dull world, but they were not only in their world, they were of it; I was not" (Ch. 7). Interestingly, however, the ignorance of Sybylla's peers is proven by their lack of familiarity with not only the Australian cultural figures but predominantly British and European ones. Sybylla is presumably familiar with them thanks to her parents who as former members of the squattocracy would have been relying on international culture as superior. Thus there is only one Australian representative on the list, Dame Melba, the internationally famous soprano: "Patti, Melba, Irving, Terry, Kipling, Caine, Corelli, and even the name of Gladstone, were only names to them" (Ch. 7).

Sybylla's hunger is quenched when she moves to her grandmother's, who has kept her privileged social standing. Sybylla finds a bookshelf in her room "containing copies of all our Australian poets, and two or three dozen novels which [she] had often longed to read" and immediately "lo[ses] [her]self in Gordon" (Ch. 9), referring to the poet Adam Lindsay Gordon, one of the pioneers of nation-building poetry a bush ballads (Webby 2000: 60). The fact that these books are to be found in the house of Sybylla's grandmother who is one of the squattocracy appears to only confirm that culture seems to be a privilege of the upper classes, even if it is written about the bush peasantry.

This is further reinforced for example when Sybylla is describing how when her parents were still well off and had farmers visiting, her mother was bored of their "yarning", and instead "attempted to entertain them with conversation of current literature and subjects of the day, but her efforts fell flat. She might as well have spoken French" (Ch. 3), drawing on the status of French as a language of culture and upper classes in the comparison. A certain reservation towards the bush people is also suggested on the part of Aunt Helen, who also lives at the grandmother's house, and who observes upon seeing Sybylla's dishevelled appearance after

working outside: “A sketch of you would make a good item for *The Bulletin*” (Ch. 13), referencing the nationalistic literary magazine focusing on fostering the egalitarian Bush Legend.

Nonetheless, it is at her grandmother’s that Sybylla truly discovers Australian literature. She confesses that reading especially Australian poets gives her “pleasure, so exquisite as to be almost pain, which [...] is beyond description” and lauds them for their brilliant works inspired by the bush: “The wind and the rain had a voice which spoke to Kendall, and he too had endured the misery of lack of companionship. Gordon, with his sad, sad humanism and bitter disappointment, held out his hand and took me with him” (Ch. 9). Gordon and Kendall, along with Lawson and Paterson are referenced numerous times, their position as national writers truthfully recording the Australian experience being cemented throughout. Even Sybylla’s last chapter begins with a lengthy quote from Gordon’s poem “Wormwood And Nightshade” which, like Sybylla’s final address to her fellow Australians, speaks of the toil and hardships ordinary people face (Ch. 38).

Importantly, for Sybylla the greats of Australian literature are on par with the representatives of the British canon – she discusses them as equals, asserting their equal value: “Byron, Thackeray, Dickens, Longfellow, Gordon, Kendall, the men I loved, all were dead; but, blissful thought! Caine, Paterson and Lawson were still living, breathing, human beings – two of them actually countrymen, fellow Australians!” (Ch. 9). It is with these two she feels a special kinship, and hoping to “one day [...] clasp hands with them, and feel and know the unspeakable comfort and heart-rest of congenial companionship” (Ch. 9), thus sharing in their mission to put Australia’s unique culture to paper.

While the majority of cultural references rely on the Australian context, there are several references to British or European culture as well. In terms of historical references, some draw on the convict past and the hardships the convicts endured, which are seen to have influenced the national character, as in this instance: “We were not ashamed to look day in the face, and fought our way against all odds with the stubborn independence of our British ancestors” (Ch. 5). Others are used for comparison, highlighting the difference between the two cultures, which despite having the same roots, have since diverged. For instance, Sybylla is exemplifying Australian egalitarian principles by asserting that “to venerate a person simply for his position I never did or will. To me the Prince of Wales will be no more than a shearer, unless when I meet him he displays some personality apart from his princeliness – otherwise he can go hang” (Ch. 1), subtly criticising the supposed superiority of people of higher social status.

Nonetheless, as revealed in the discussion of the novel so far, the social situation in Australia was far from an egalitarian society, which was a mere ideal, as class distinctions were present. Even Sybylla's mother, despite her later fall down the social ladder, "was a full-fledged aristocrat [...], one of the Bossiers of Caddagat, who numbered among their ancestry one of the depraved old pirates who pillaged England with William the Conqueror" (Ch. 1). Yet her French ancestors are portrayed more like criminals than respectable noblemen. Sybylla is thus more inclined to compare the plight of common Australians to Russian peasants than to contemporary British society – in her final address, she predicts that unless the class boundaries are erased, "a few more generations and [they] will be as enslaved as were ever the moujiks of Russia" (Ch. 38).

In terms of literary references, besides those discussed above, there is also one reference to the Bible in the title of two chapters: Ch. 24 is titled "Thou knowest not what a day may bring forth", while Ch. 25 is titled "Boast not thyself of tomorrow", which comes from the King James Bible Proverbs 27:1, where the order is, however, reversed: "Boast not thyself of tomorrow; for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth". Franklin's inversion of the order might draw on the concept of things being inverted in Australia. Australia's exoticism is further suggested by Frank, the jackeroo from Britain who, when trying to woo Sybylla, tells her he would take her "home", meaning England, adding that she would "surprise some of the English girls [he] know[s]" (Ch. 11).

My Brilliant Career focuses primarily on the prototypical Australian, i.e., the bush type, and on establishing a unique national culture and self-image. However, there are notable absences in the novel of the Aborigines, who are only passingly mentioned as either servants or a threat and labelled "blacks" (Ch. 22), or of the immigrants from beyond Britain. There is only one exception, when during travelling on a coach, one of Sybylla's fellow passengers is a "Chinaman", about whose stink another passenger complains, talking about "that bloomin' chow". When Sybylla cautions him to speak quietly so as not to hurt the Chinaman's feelings, he exclaims: "Fancy a bloomin' chow havin' any!" (Ch. 27), participating in the dehumanising orientalist discourse about the Other which was one of the strategies of the British Empire.

Dalziell (2004) discusses at length orientalist discourse in *My Brilliant Career* where such discourse contributes to establishing the Anglo-Australian hegemony and confirms what has been discussed in 3.1.1.1.1.1 – that whilst Australia sought independence from the Empire, it also subscribed to its imperialist ideology. Besides the "chow" example above, Dalziell names for instance the opening scene of the novel, where Sybylla's father cautions her not to "turn

Turk”, Ch. 1, meaning “not to act like a savage”). As Dalziell puts it, “at the same time nationalist projects sought to reject the authority the centre of empire presumed for itself, they also often involved ideological premises that were similar to the structures of power they apparently opposed” (2004: 53). So whilst Franklin attempts to present Australia as an independent nation with its own unique culture that is equal to British culture, supporting this with a number of superlative references to domestic literature in particular, the orientalist discourse she at times employs situates Australia still firmly within the colonial world.

The Young Desire It (1937)

The frames of reference Mackenzie exploits in *The Young Desire It* also reinforce the idea that Australia still belongs to the colonial world. The institution of the School is very much a British institution and its masters promote British and European culture as superior. This is suggested by their frequent nostalgic reminiscences about Oxford and England in general (discussed in 5.2.3), their fondness of European music (Penworth plays Bach and César Franck, e.g., in 2433), but primarily in the syllabus that they are following, which promotes the classics and the British literary canon.

None of the Australian characters employ cultural allusions or references, the only exception being Margaret’s Scottish-Australian aunt, who fondly remembers the folk songs about love of the Scottish bard Robert Burns: “Oh, Robbie Burns was a pet of a fella noo. We ustna sing just those verra words – not the words you sing in this country. Ours were a deal more ruid, y’ken (2957)”. There are no references to Australian culture at all, as if there was none. The boys are presented as blank pages, unfamiliar with neither the British nor the newer Australian traditions, which in the case of Charles, a boy raised in the bush, seems to echo Franklin’s suggestions that there was no time for such intellectual pursuits in the bush.

That the British system is considered superior is apparent in the prestige the mothers accord to the institution to which they entrust their sons, like Charles’s mother, who tells her son: “This holy place is ours; this is the hatching-house of all that is decent in the country’s men. Betray it if you dare. [...] [I]t makes all the difference to your success in the world, if you’ve been to a good Public School” (365).

When Charles joins the School, he is introduced to the pleasures of learning, and it is suggested that through the study of Latin he gains a better understanding of his own language:

He knew only that he was learning, as he had never learned before, the beauties of his own language and of that from which so much of it had grown. He had the ideal experience of being in harmony with the close brotherhood of Latin and English

learned at the same time and in the same way; his heart was full and overflowing, at such times, with the passionless ecstasy of knowing. (1620)

His education concerns not only the classics and literature, but also sexuality, and the two become intimately intertwined through the figure of Penworth, whose physical features echo Latin grammar and whose enthusiasm for the English literary giants inspires the same in Charles:

Penworth's sensual, smiling lips driving creases into the flat pallor of the cheeks, his bold, white brow already straightly seamed, and above all his grey eyes in their arched and beautiful setting of brow, lid and nose, all became associated for Charles with irregular Latin verbs and the obstinate eccentricities of the fourth and fifth declensions. They gave particular urgency to the understanding of the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, and to the elucidation of obscure word-usages in *Hamlet*, which Penworth joyfully insisted on reading with him out of class, in addition to conducting the whole form through it soberly in the classroom. He was a young man who loved his work. Charles began to have some understanding of the joys and travails of studying Shakespeare and Chaucer with an enthusiast whose Master's degree entitled him to expound richly and with force. (1614)

Shakespeare in particular weaves in and out of the text, most notably *Henry V*, which Charles begins to read after *Julius Caesar* he studied in class. He reads *Henry V* in his free time and is particularly fascinated by Mistress Quickly's report of Falstaff "babbl[ing] of green fields" which "turned his lips in a smile of delight [...]. He was ready to imagine himself, that hot silent afternoon, babbling of green fields in the rapt incoherence of death" (1061). The awareness of his own manhood (despite the appreciation of Penworth's physical features, he is attracted to Margaret, as discussed in 5.2.3.1) and the complete works of Shakespeare are a revelation to Charles, which he describes as "two of the greatest discoveries of his life, happily made, and in his mind to be contemplated as one would contemplate the vast shores of a land unknown to the world, with wonder and longing" (1181). This confirms Charles's status of a blank page before coming to the School, with the British system of education designed to raise young men according to British cultural standards (as discussed in 5.2.2) – a system that not only awakens his manliness but also rescues him from ignorance. This seems consistent with the cultural climate of the time that awoke insecurities about the validity of Australian culture, and proof of its cultural isolationism, as discussed in 3.1.1.1.1.

The juxtaposition of the perceived ignorance of the Australian boys in comparison to their British masters is further emphasised through classical references the masters employ, or their use of Latin outside the classroom (e.g., "'Stroke bene factum,' said Penworth", 664). Thus, they see themselves as Oxford graduates having ascended the "divine Parnassus where schoolmasters seem—to their pupils at least—feliculously to dwell" (453), referring to the Greek mountain familiar from Greek mythology. When Penworth is contemplating his

attraction to Charles, he likewise turns to ancient Greece, as “passages of Phaedrus haunted his mind” (3266), which he goes on to quote and consider the parallels between his experience and Plato’s words. Even in describing appearance, the masters seem to draw on ancient references, such as when Penworth is describing the Headmaster and “[t]he impression of his head [which] [...] [s]uggested a subtle parody of the head of an Apollo as sculptured by an ancient master” (244). Nonetheless, the fact that the boys’ education is having an effect gradually manifests itself in their own usage of classical references, such as when Charles’s classmate Mawley pities the maids who have to live in such a masculine environment, observing – with a slightly hyperbolic analogy – “what a tragic Tantalus life [...] those maids [...] must have had” (1513), or Charles’s own contemplations about learning discussed above.

Besides their role of demonstrating the cultural differences between the boys and their British Masters and their supposed intellectual superiority, the usage of classical references, however, is also one of the features of modernist literature Mackenzie was influenced by, which was in dialogue with the cultural canon, and international in nature (see e.g., Jamet 2015). Mackenzie’s text thus seems to work on two different levels, on the one hand, through the point of view of the British masters as well as the opinions of the Australian mothers, Australian culture and level of education is considered inferior to the British system. On the other hand, Mackenzie shows that Australian culture does not need to be isolationist, but can benefit from a cultural dialogue with the traditions upon whose foundation it was built, as demonstrated by Mackenzie’s incorporation of modernist techniques and the character of Charles, who through his absorption of the Western canon and other British values expands his horizons, without losing any of his enthusiasm or love for his own country and the bush he came from.

5.2.5 Use of language in characterisation

Franklin and Mackenzie in their novels also rely on certain folklinguistic ideas to convey additional meaning about the characters and about the world of their novel as a whole.

My Brilliant Career (1901)

Franklin, as discussed in 5.2.2.1, switches genres and consequently also registers in Sybylla’s narration and direct speech, to emphasise Sybylla’s contradictory nature, embodied in her oscillation between masculinity and femininity, which parallels the genre debate on realism and romance. Sybylla herself notes her idiosyncratic language use combining the vernacular of the bush people with the formal language of the upper-class circles her family

moved in: “In flowery language, selected from slang used by the station hands, and long words picked up from our visitors, I propounded unanswerable questions which brought blushes to the cheeks of even tough old wine-bibbers” (Ch. 1). This could almost be read as the origin story of AusE. For such language she is chastised by her mother, who complains that she is “getting very vulgar”, to which Sybylla retorts: “my style of talk is quite good enough for [her] company. What on earth does it matter whether I’m vulgar or not. I can feed calves and milk and grind out my days here just as well vulgar as unvulgar” (Ch. 7). Franklin thus reinforces the correlation between social class and language use – with the decline of Sybylla’s parents down the social ladder and the consequent need for her manual labour, she feels no need to speak like her genteel grandmother.

Franklin uses language and metalinguistic commentary to denote the characters’ social position not only in relation to Sybylla but also others. Thus Sybylla’s grandmother, aunt and mother, of the aristocratic Bossier family, all speak very formally, without any usage of the vernacular, and with the incorporation of Latinate vocabulary and formal syntax. This is exemplified for instance when Sybylla’s grandmother is berating her for her behaviour towards Frank Hawden: “Mr Hawden has complained of your conduct. It grieves me that any young man should have to speak to me of the behaviour of my own grand-daughter” (Ch. 12), where she uses the verb “complain” of Latinate origin and putative “should”.

As there is comparatively little direct speech in Sybylla’s first-person narration, Franklin also suggests that the language of the members of her maternal side of the family is elevated and cultured through metalinguistic commentary. Thus Sybylla observes about her aunt that “there was something in her high-bred style which went right home” (Ch. 8). When living with the M’Swats, whose language use will be discussed momentarily, one of the grounds upon which Sybylla deems them ignorant and uncultivated is the difference in how they speak compared to her family:

Lack, nay, not lack, but utter freedom from the first instincts of cultivation, was to be heard even in the great heavy footfalls and the rasping sharp voices which fell on my ears. So different had I been listening in a room at Caddagat to my grannie’s brisk pleasant voice, or to my aunt Helen’s low refined accents; and I am such a one to see and feel these differences. (Chapter 28)

When Sybylla returns home after her nervous breakdown, she rejoices: “After Mrs M’Swat it was a rest, a relief, a treat, to hear my mother’s cultivated voice” (Ch. 33). Sybylla’s assertions are very subjective and concern style and accent, without describing the features of such accent. Nonetheless, the comparison with the Irish M’Swats, whose direct speech is rendered in phonetic respellings to suggest their “uncultivated” pronunciation suggests that the cultivated

accent is the opposite of that. In fact, Franklin may be alluding to the Cultivated accent on the Broad-General-Cultivated spectrum (see 2.1.1), which was the closest to RP English and associated with social prestige and thus fitting for the squattocracy.

At the same time, there is an awareness of difference between the English accent and the Australian one, as when Sybylla meets Frank, an Englishman, she concludes he was not “a colonial” based on “his accent and innocent style” (Ch. 8). Conversely, Harry, the prototypical Australian bushman, speaks in a “slow twangy drawl, which would have proclaimed his Colonial nationality anywhere” (Ch. 22), suggesting a strong accent with the infamous drawl associated particularly with the Broad variety (see 2.6 and 5.1.5.), even if Franklin does not indicate it in Harry’s direct speech via phonetic respellings. Thus Australianness is linguistically suggested only through the use of specific lexical items, as discussed in 5.2.2.1., and metalinguistic commentary.

The only occasions on which Franklin uses phonetic respellings is to denote a lower social class of minor characters in the bush, for example, the servant Jane, in whose speech there is elision of certain sounds (“There was more life at Bruggabrong in a day than you crawlers ‘ud see here all yer lives”, Ch. 3), a groom and rouseabout Joe, whose usage of “yuz” for the singular pronoun *you*, or *intrusive r* in “torkin” (talking), or a lady at the post office who uses sound elisions, raised vowels (“the kitle’s bilin”) and “yez” for plural pronoun *you* (Ch. 17).

Conversely, the speech of Sybylla, her family, and her suitors is unmarked, conveying their higher social class and level of education, characterised only by the metalinguistic commentaries and lexical choices discussed above. The only exception being when Sybylla mimics other accents in the spirit of mockery, but with the same effect – to convey someone of a lower social class, such as an Irish working-class woman (as will be discussed shortly). Franklin is thus drawing on what Hodson calls “the primary effect of respellings”, which is usually “to denigrate the speaker in terms of their social status, intelligence and education” (2016: 30).

This is most apparent in Sybylla’s representation of the M’Swat family which she is sent to serve to pay off her father’s debt. Sybylla’s associations of their speech with ignorance and lack of cultivation discussed in the paragraph above are accompanied by respellings such as the following example of Mr M’Swat’s speech, marked by elision of certain sounds on the one hand, and excessive rhoticity on the other:

“You damned fool, to miss such a chance wen I was goin’ to town with the wagonette! I mightn’t be groin’ in again for munce [months]. But sugar don’t count much. Them as can’t do without a useless luxury like that for a spell will never make much of a show at getting’ on in the wu-r-r-r-ld,” concluded Mr M’Swat, sententiously. (Ch. 28)

Sybylla (or Franklin) even feels the need to translate for the reader, in case of the pronunciation of “months”, reinforcing the denigrating effect of such representation. Franklin thus suggests that despite their upward social mobility, their speech, manners and lack of education still betray their origins, and socially their “place was quite tabooed on account of its squalor and dirt” (Ch. 26).

This association of the Irish family with dirt, ignorance, uncultivated language, and even savagery is an example of the perpetuation of colonial ideology. Dalziell notes this is made explicit particularly by the constant association of the Irish with dirtiness, which is a substitution for blackness (2004: 51). One evening at her grandmother’s, Sybylla is imitating an Irish working-class woman, and smudges her faces with dirt to achieve the desired effect, accompanied again by phonetic respellings to convey Irish accent (Ch. 10). The Irish are thus represented as the wild savages, who Sybylla as a white Australian and supposedly culturally and socially superior, has come to tame and civilise. Despite her proclamations of egalitarianism and desire to eliminate class distinctions, Sybylla is participating in upholding those class distinctions when it comes to those she does not consider Australian. As Dalziell observes, “race is a means by which to represent and resolve class conflict. Sybylla is white because she is an ‘authentic’ Australian middleclass subject. In contrast, the M’Swats are encoded as black because they are colonial *parvenus*” (2004: 52). Sybylla’s example demonstrates how Australians themselves replicated the colonising strategies and discourse the British applied towards them on minorities within Australia, such as the Irish or the Aborigines, as they did not fit into the image of the national type Australian nationalism was built on, but were designated as the Other.

The Young Desire It (1937)

Similarly, Mackenzie in *The Young Desire It* relies more on metalinguistic commentary and lexis than on phonetic respellings in the utilisation of language for characterisation. Whereas *My Brilliant Career* was mainly about Australians as a newly emerged nation, *The Young Desire It* focuses on the continued tension between the British and Australians. The British are continuing their civilising mission represented in the novel by the School and its British masters, whose language differs from that of their native students. Whilst in class, the

students conform to the StBE used by their masters. The following examples demonstrate how their speech changes when they talk among themselves outside the classroom:

- You lying bitch, Saunders. It's not. Thomas is that thin bloke with the ugly mug like yours. (898)
- Monty, you old bastard, get hold of his ear. (319)
- "Good old Maxie..."
[...] "They're a dirty lot of bastards, all that mob are." (3648)

They show that the boys (as well as some bush characters) use simpler syntax and informal vocabulary, such as swearwords, including *bastard*, which belongs to Australian cultural keywords (see 4.2.2.6) and does not have a derogatory meaning in this instance, or hypocoristics like "Maxie". *Bloke* likewise belongs to the cultural keywords (see 4.2.2.3) and serves to distinguish the boys' speech from that of the masters, same as *bloody*, which appears in the phrase "bloody English paper" (3342) uttered by one of the boys.

Conversely, the masters maintain their StBE even outside the classroom. At the same time, they frequently show they are aware of the linguistic difference. On one occasion Penworth, addressing Charles, even imitates the boys' speech: "kinda gets yer, eh? As your friends outside would say" (1121), where among else he draws on the habitual use of the tag particle "eh" in Australian vernacular English to establish solidarity (*Australian Word Map*, n.d.). Moreover, Penworth displays prescriptivist tendencies, which would certainly have been at work at the time (see 3.1.1.1.2.1), especially at a British-run school with extended exposure to colonial ideology of British cultural and linguistic superiority. Thus, he keeps correcting Charles, for example in this exchange where he corrects his pronoun usage, suggesting that incorrect usage puts him at a disadvantage with intelligent women:

- "But you can't go asking a—another person questions and poking about and—can you? when you don't know them..."
"Her'. Mind your grammar, you young ass, or you'll be at the mercy of any intelligent female."
"Her', then." (2354)

On another occasion, Penworth corrects his usage of *me* as a subject pronoun: "'It's not 'me', he remarked coldly. 'It's 'I'." (3128).

Penworth's pedantry regarding Charles colloquial pronoun usage corresponds to his sense of linguistic superiority, which he feels despite technically speaking the same language. He therefore sees it as his mission to teach Australians about their language and teach them his superior accent, even if to them it seems foreign, but worthy of imitation: "The pure, cultured accent of his voice was always strange, even though they learnt to imitate it. They paid a high

price in money for that accent, and for his knowledge of dead languages and their living tongue” (626).

Unlike in *Robbery Under Arms*, but similarly to *My Brilliant Career*, Mackenzie only very occasionally uses phonetic respellings to denote Australian pronunciation, only indicating sound elisions that are common to all varieties in colloquial speech, such as “kinda” and “yer” above, or “D’you reckon?” (378) discussed in connection with the speech of the boys. Similarly, the speech of the bush characters, such as Jim, who is employed by Charles’s mother at the farm, is also marked as non-standard by informal vocabulary (“us old blokes”, “dashed glad”), lack of subject-verb concord (“you was having a bit of a sleep”) and sound elisions: “‘Well, Mist’ Charles,’ Jimmy mumbled sibilantly across his pipe-stem, ‘I s’pose you’re dashed glad to get back home again?’” (1988). Like the boys, the contrast such linguistic representation creates in relation to the masters clearly helps distinguish Jim as Australian. While the boys are able to switch between StBE and their vernacular, Jim’s speech is consistent given the non-standard grammar and optically higher degree of sound elision compared to the representation of speech of the boys, this also marks him as a member of the working class.

Interestingly, Mackenzie uses phonetic respellings more heavily in representing the specific features of the speech of Scots, possibly to suggest an even lower social status than that of the Australians, or simply to distinguish them from the native-born Australians by their even more marked speech. This is the case of Margaret’s Scottish aunt: “‘Meg,’ said the woman inside, ‘there’s a body there noo. See who it is, lamb. [...] Och, then! Ay, bring um in’” (2930), where the representation of *now* as “noo” and *him* as “um” marks the speech as recognisably Scottish, which is supported with the interjection “Och”, and lexical items such as “lamb” used as a term of address, or “a body” (anybody). In the limited space Margaret’s aunt gets in the novel, she appears to be a very honest, good-natured character speaking with the Scottish accent. Mackenzie underscores her personality which he sees as intrinsically bound with Scotland, even though she never visited it: “Her Scottish nature, into which no Highland ice and fire had burned, still shone clearly like the bright colour of her face and the sharp laughter in her eyes” (2941).

5.2.6 Conclusion

The analysis of Franklin’s *My Brilliant Career* (1901) and Mackenzie’s *The Young Desire It* (1937) has shown that the two novels mirror the sociohistorical context in which they were produced. *My Brilliant Career*, much like *Robbery Under Arms* (1888) in the preceding

period, is a product of the nationalist surge of the turn of the 19th century. Through the use of the vernacular and the prominence of the bush setting, which is linguistically foregrounded via lexical choices cementing its mythical status, as well as via analogies rooted in legends and domestic sources, Franklin actively contributes to creating the national ethos. She supports the creation of the national ethos further by foregrounding Australian literature, particularly the bush poets, in her references.

By the time Mackenzie's novel was published more than three decades later, nationalist sentiments were replaced by insecurities over Australian culture and cultural isolationism from the cultural decay of the West. The cultural insecurities manifest in references and allusions to primarily European and classical cultural capital and in the language of the novel. The language largely conforms to StBE. The conceptual mappings involved in constructing place via analogies rely on generic, familiar concepts rather than Australia-specific ones. This is also connected to the setting of a British-run boarding school with a mission to civilising the wild Australian bush boys into respectable men adhering to British values, which include the linguistic superiority of StBE. Nonetheless, the novel incorporates both points of view, the British and the Australian one. Via the Australian perspective of Charles and his perceptions of his surroundings, the bush is not just associated with wilderness and danger (as it frequently was in the Exonormative stabilisation period, see 4.2.2.2), but also with freedom and peace, and is foregrounded as an important setting. It is also in the bush where the vernacular surfaces in the speech of the characters, further foregrounding its national importance.

5.3 Endonormative stabilisation (1942-1980s): *The Long Prospect* (1958) and *Johnno* (1975)

5.3.1 Comparison with previous phases and expectations

The previous period of Nativization (5.2) showed that at the beginning of the 20th century, Australian literature focused on creating the national ethos rooted in the bush. The vernacular was a part of that ethos, as demonstrated in the analysis of Franklin's *My Brilliant Career* (1901), which incorporates the vernacular and utilises Australia-based references and analogies to convey a sense of place. However, the literature of the later decades, exemplified by Mackenzie's *The Young Desire It* (1937) conformed largely to the StBE norm, which was still considered superior, and made use of more universal frames of reference.

According to Schneider's general characterisation of the Endonormative stabilisation period (2.3.1.4), at this stage the society in question should be culturally self-reliant enough to

decide linguistic matters independently, so that codification of the national variety should take place and the variety should be considered an expression of national culture. As discussed in the Australian scenario (3.1.1.1.3.1), although Schneider dates the beginning of Endonormative stabilisation to 1942, when Australia moved away from Britain, the acceptance of the national variety as a source of pride and linguistic self-reliance did not come until the 1970s. For most of this period, Australia was plagued by cultural cringe (1.4.3. and 3.1.1.1.3.1), which was manifested also in the attitude to language. Australian artists were especially prone to it, as discussed in 3.1.1.1.3.2. Therefore, the language of this period is expected to include less of the Australian vernacular and Australian frames of reference than in the previous period until the 1970s, when another linguistically nationalist surge similar to the beginning of the Nativization period is expected.

Two novels from both ends of the spectrum were thus selected for analysis. Elizabeth Harrower's *The Long Prospect* (1958) shows influence of the conservatism of the 1950s and the cultural cringe, in that Harrower offers a critique of said conservatism and provincialism of Australian culture. Therefore, it is expected that linguistically the novel will betray little of its Australian origin, with comparatively little vernacular and few Australian cultural references. In contrast, David Malouf's *Johnno* (1975) was written in the 1970s, when the cultural atmosphere and language attitudes have changed, so the vernacular is expected to have an increased presence compared to *The Long Prospect*, as are the Australian frames of reference, although not to the extent of the Nativization period. More information about the authors and the texts can be found in Appendix 2; below only a brief summary of relevant points will be outlined.

Harrower's (1928-2020) brief period spent in Newcastle, NSW, influenced the setting of *The Long Prospect* (1958), which takes place in the industrial town of Ballowra, Newcastle's fictional twin. The novel follows the childhood of Emily, a young girl abandoned by her parents and sent to live with her grandmother Lilian. Lilian is the embodiment of the provincialism Harrower and other intellectuals grew to despise – she is only interested in herself and finding a suitable man, and lives for gossip and the manipulation of others. She neglects Emily and puts her down at every opportunity, nor does she support her interests in books and learning. When one of her boarders, Max, assumes the position of Emily's friend and partner for intellectual conversation, Lilian together with her friend, whose advances Max rejected, insinuate that Max and Emily's relationship is more than an innocent friendship, forcing Max to leave. Emily returns to live with her parents in Sydney, feeling even lonelier than before. Emily's social and

intellectual isolation reflects Harrower's interest in women's rights and their position in society, which in the conservative 1950s still placed them largely in the home in the role of a married housewife who had no need for university education. The industrial setting also explores a largely unmapped territory in Australian literature dominated thus far by bush realism, reflecting modernity, while also successfully conveying a unique sense of space through many evocative descriptions of the industrial landscape.

Similarly, Malouf's (*1934) *Johnno* (1975) brings to life the cityscape of post-war Brisbane which, although considered by the novel's characters as a backwater, is rendered as a unique and dynamic space that leaves its mark on its inhabitants, as the narrator Dante realises after his European experience, which does not quite fulfill his expectations. The novel is a semi-autobiographical account of growing up in Brisbane, where Dante prompted by an old high-school photograph begins to recall his friendship and experiences with Johnno, a school mate with great contempt for Australia's provincialism and lack of cultural capital. The novel juxtaposes Johnno's conviction that Australia has no culture with Dante's more nuanced opinion and poetic sensibility. Unlike Johnno, whose mind remains unchanged, Dante comes to realise, partly through his European experience, that Australia may not be a lost cause after all.

5.3.2 General linguistic features

5.3.2.1 The language of *The Long Prospect* (1958)

i) Commentary: landscapes mental and physical

Much like Mackenzie's *The Young Desire It* (1937) from the previous period, *The Long Prospect* (1958) focuses as much on mental landscape as on the physical one and in both manifests the influence of modernism. In her introduction to the novel, McGregor notes how Harrower's studies of psychology are reflected in her astute observations of the mental processes of the novel's characters (1958/2012, Introduction). The modernist disillusion with modernity and feelings of alienation are apparent from the focus on the emotions the characters are feeling, and the industrial setting that is unfavourably compared to the bush (to be discussed in 5.3.3). McGregor labels Harrower "a writer's writer" and asserts that

The Long Prospect survives decades also for its evocation of place and time. The ACIL steelworks, where Thea and Max work, belches black smoke across the pages, its 'shuddering machinery' punctuating Lilian and Thea's conversation in the fateful opening scene. Always beyond is the glittering ocean. (1958/2012, Introduction)

Other criticism of Harrower's work pays little attention to her language beyond similar observations regarding her discerning verbal rendering of emotion and evocation of place (e.g.,

Indyk 2017), nor have I uncovered any commentary by the author herself that would be relevant for the present study.

Likewise, there is no metalinguistic commentary addressing the vernacular. There is only one instance when Emily is chided by her mother Paula: “Don’t say ‘nope’” (Ch. 2), which is nothing unique to AusE, although the comment suggests the demands on children to speak in StBE. The lack of metalinguistic commentary as well as the attitude demonstrated by Paula is consistent with the sociohistorical context (see 3.1.1.1.3.1).

ii) Style

c) High register

The majority of the novel is composed of the thoughts of the protagonists, most often Emily and Lilian, but the points of view of other characters such as Emily’s mother Paula, her father Harry, Max, and even the minor characters are also included. Harrower often shifts perspectives and timelines, mirroring the at times haphazard trains of thought of the characters. These inner monologues and the characters’ perceptions are written in quite formal, literary language. The following example is from Harry’s perspective, as he is walking towards Lilian’s house to visit Emily:

The smell of over-ripe fruit, fried fish and new leather composed the dusty air. A double-decker bus lazing at the terminus overslept the time-table: its driver, leaning out of the window, was suddenly recalled to the idea of time and motion by the sight of a cart and horse returning to the dairy. With a jolt of alarm – for he was normally conscientious – he was inside and off so quickly that the conductor had to swim the blue stream of the exhaust for twenty yards before he could jump on. (Ch. 3)

Harrower begins the passage with an evocation of the smells of the air, and continues with a poetic description of the bus which is attributed human qualities as it is “lazing” and “oversle[eping]”. The poeticism continues in the way Harrower describes the conductor making his way to the bus with a metaphor of “swim[ming] in the blue stream of exhaust”. The formality of the language is also achieved via the use of Latinate vocabulary, such as “compose”, “conscientious” or “exhaust”. The syntax also contributes to the formal style – the sentences are long, composed of multiple clauses, including parenthetical clauses, such as the participial one (“leaning out the window”), or the one between m-dashes (“for he was normally conscientious”). These linguistic features suggest that this is not reported speech or a faithful representation of Harry’s thoughts; it is filtered through Harrower’s stylised prose, as are the perspectives of all of the characters.

This style is sustained throughout the novel's narrative passages. Poetic descriptions of the scenery will be discussed in the following section (5.3.3). In terms of vocabulary, words of Latinate origin and less frequent words populate the text, for example "propinquity", "satiation", "aperture", "augured" (all Ch. 1), or "vertiginous" (Ch. 2). Moreover, two words from French that have their English spelling are consistently used throughout the novel in their French spelling: *rôle* and *connexion*, possibly to emphasise the importance of social roles and connections that seem to be Lilian's main occupation, as she observes and manipulates people's lives. The use of the French spelling might, besides calling attention to the importance of those concepts, also suggest the artificiality of such roles and connections of Lilian's, as it appears slightly pretentious. There appear also expressions that could be considered almost archaic, such as "the girls adangle with earrings and bracelets and curls" (Ch. 3), where the adjective *adangle* is a derivation from the verb *to dangle* and the no longer productive prefix *a-*⁷⁶; the use of "henceforth" (Ch. 4), or the verb "to bestir themselves" (Ch. 6).

d) Lower register

In direct speech, Harrower's characters most often employ general English, such as in this example by Lilian: "She's alright. She always plays up a bit when you're here" (Ch. 2). The simpler syntax, contracted forms, the phrasal verb "play up", and more common lexis of Germanic rather than Latinate origin indicate a lower degree of formality. In a few instances, Harrower utilises phonetic respellings, however, these again indicate general English rather than specifically Australian pronunciation as in some of the examples discussed in the preceding two periods (5.1.2, 5.2.2), such as "Wha' d'ya know?" (Ch. 7), "Hullo" or "Oke" (both Ch. 6).

Australian vernacular

There are very few specifically Australian linguistic features. There is one instance of the phrase "[t]oo right" (Ch. 3) which the *OED3* defines as a colloquial expression originating in Australia/New Zealand "expressing emphatic agreement or approval".⁷⁷ This is said by Emily's father Harry upon Lilian's observation that Emily has grown. As Harry has been working in the bush, his use of this phrase may be Harrower's way of drawing on the bushman type and his association with the vernacular established in the previous periods.

⁷⁶ "adangle, adj." (2021). *OED3 Online*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved 20 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/2105?redirectedFrom=adangle>

⁷⁷ "right, adj. and int." (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 10 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/165855>

Another instance of Australian vernacular is the appearance of “sandshoes” (Ch. 3), an Australian vernacular expression for “sports shoes/sneakers”⁷⁸ which is used in Emily’s description of her friend’s outfit. *Veranda* also appears multiple times throughout the novel as the Australian architectural feature (see 4.2.1.2), contributing to evoking the Australianness of cityscape that Harrower describes.

Cultural keywords

In terms of cultural keywords, *mate* does not appear in the novel at all, suggesting that the mateship ethos, in this period still chiefly associated with masculinity, is not something Harrower is interested in in a novel where her main characters are women. *Bush* appears only a few times (12 including compounds), but most instances appear in the meaning of “shrub”. There are two instances of “bush fire” in Ch. 4, where *bush* denotes the Australian space referring to an “uncultivated area” (see 4.2.2.2 for an analysis of the *bush* keyword), as it also does in the following example where Harry describes his views on Ballowra on his arrival to visit Emily: “To prefer the bush to Ballowra was to be an outcast, a bushwhacker. To come back clean-handed, well-dressed, from the bush was not good” (Ch. 3). According to Harry and contrary to his own opinion, the bush is perceived negatively, as a backwater full of unsophisticated people, whose appearance should reflect said lack of sophistication and civilisation. This negative view of the bush is markedly different from that presented in the Nativization period, particularly Franklin’s *My Brilliant Career* (1901), and suggests that the relevance of the bush myth might be in question.

Bloody (3x) and *bastard* (1x) also appear, however, their connotation is negative in all instances (see 4.2.2.6.1 and 4.2.2.6.3 respectively). *Bloody* is used in arguments, for example between Max and Lilian’s boyfriend Fred, who calls Max “you bloody Boy Scout” and wants Emily to “stay in her own bloody little bed” (Ch. 6). Similarly, *bastard* is also used in the original negative sense, when Lilian calls Rosen “a great loafing bastard” (Ch. 6; as opposed to the more affectionate sense now associated with Australian usage, see 4.2.2.6.3). Therefore, while these constitute Australian keywords, the way *bloody* and *bastard* are used in this novel conforms to their original British usage and thus conveys little of the Australian values associated with them.

⁷⁸ The *OED3* does not list *sandshoe* as Australian vernacular, probably because it is also used elsewhere, nonetheless, it is considered Australian vernacular and has been studied as such. See for example McPhee (2021).

Other regionalisms

Just as there are few Australianisms, there are only very few regionalisms from other varieties of English. The perceived Americanisation (2.1.2) of Australian culture and language is manifested only in the occurrence of the interjection *gee* in “Gee, she’s fat” (Ch. 9) uttered by Emily’s friend, where *gee* is a clipping of Jesus and according to the *OED3*, originates in the U.S.⁷⁹

There is also a British slang expression “[w]hat the blue blazes” (Ch. 9; an exclamation similar to what the hell)⁸⁰, or the more formal expression for a piece of furniture – “fitments”⁸¹ (Ch. 1).

The absence of the vernacular and the bush ethos and its associated values is likely a consequence of Harrower’s sense of cultural cringe and part of her critique of the conservative, provincial Australian society. While the bush ethos is not addressed directly, apart from that one observation of Harry’s discussed above, its omission is a commentary in itself, implying its irrelevance for urban Australia and the women that populate the novel.

5.3.2.2 The language of *Johnno* (1975)

i) Commentary: finding poetry where none was thought possible

Like Harrower, Malouf shares the feelings of cultural cringe (see 3.1.1.1.3.1). *Johnno* is, besides being a bildungsroman, an interrogation of those feelings so common in this era, as Malouf notes in his Afterword, especially for readers and writers like his characters and himself: “This business of turning to literature as a guide to the passionate life and finding ordinary life, life at home, by comparison thin and inauthentic, was a very Australian pastime when I was growing up, and still is, perhaps, but not uniquely Australian” (1975/2015, Afterword). Like many intellectuals of his time, Malouf also went looking for authenticity and culture abroad, and he wrote the novel in Florence, which inspired the narrator’s nickname – Dante. The location so far removed from his hometown of Brisbane which he wanted to capture in *Johnno* allowed him to “see more clearly, for having to shut out the obvious, because European, poetry of the place [he] was in, the more elusive, as yet non-existent poetry (since it had not yet made

⁷⁹ “gee, int.2” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 11 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/77302>

⁸⁰ “blaze, n.1” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 11 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/20003>

⁸¹ “fitment, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 11 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/70771>

its appearance in any book) of the place where [he] had grown up” (1975/2015, Afterword). His preoccupation with defining the poetry of Brisbane, giving it a literary presence, is reflected in the many descriptions of place that will be discussed in the following section, but critics have noted the poetic language Malouf uses in his descriptions (he began his literary career as a poet) transforms something ugly, raw, and crude into an aesthetic experience (McKew 2017; Gibson 2015).

In the following passage, Malouf beautifully summarises the point of the stylistics of landscape and the mission of postcolonial literatures like the Australian one, which have to set down the local landscape – physical and cultural – in writing, to take possession of it and assert their independence and unique character (see 2.4.3):

As for places, cities, even the cities we grew up in, there is a sense in which they only become real to us when they appear in books. By the time I began *Johnno* I already knew this. The cities we know from books, the London of Dickens, Balzac’s Paris, that are so real to our senses that we believe we could find our way in them, street by street, are cities of the imagination. They never existed anywhere but in the mind – first of the writer, then, because he put them there, in the mind of his readers. I wanted to do that, even with the most unlikely material (but such material, till it has been remade in the imagination, is always unlikely) for the city I had in mind, poor, shabby, unromantic Brisbane. But in doing so, I was sharing with my narrator the belief that it could be done [...]. (1975/2015, Afterword)

While much of the novel and especially the character of Johnno is sceptical and dismissive of Australian culture and of Brisbane, Malouf’s novel contains an optimism that Australian culture has some value, as Dante comes to realise. In contrast, in Harrower’s *The Long Prospect*, Emily’s move to Sydney does not signify any improvement in her situation or promise the intellectual development she is hungry for since Max’s tutelage. This reflects Malouf’s own beliefs, as the end of the passage above indicates. He believed he could create a Brisbane of the imagination, and so increase the city’s cultural capital and by extension the cultural capital of Australia. His belief in the potential of Australian culture is consistent with the improved cultural and language attitudes of the 1970s (see 3.1.1.1.3) and is reflected in the language Malouf utilises in *Johnno*.

ii) Style

Unlike Harrower’s third person narration switching between various characters’ perspectives, Malouf’s *Johnno* is told in the first person from Dante’s point of view. Consequently, there is not such a great difference between the narration and direct speech, as in Harrower’s *The Long Prospect*. Even the narration approximates the spoken word, although

stylised, reflecting Malouf's poetic sensibility that transfers onto his fictionalised self, Dante, who is likewise a writer.

In most of the narrative, the style is close to general English with the use of contracted forms (e.g., *wasn't*, *isn't*), simpler syntax with more coordinating clauses rather than subordinate ones, comparatively fewer Latinate vocabulary than in *The Long Prospect*, use of hyphenated expressions (e.g. "big-boned", Ch. VII; "two-timing", Ch. VIII; "rag-bag", Ch. VIII; "bruise-coloured", Ch. IX; "motels all glass-and-polished-wood", Ch. XIII), adjectives formed with the *-ish* suffix ("show-offish", Prologue; "brownish stain", Prologue; "whiteish-grey lips", Ch. I; "darkish water", Ch. XI), use of phrasal verbs, and Australian vernacular expressions, which will be discussed momentarily. The following passage illustrates many of these features:

What impressed me most, I think, was the cats cradle of television aerials and the greasiness of the cobbles as we flashed past cafes already lighted, at four in the afternoon, behind smoky glass. When I got off at last at the Gare de Lyon and Johnno wasn't there to meet me I was already colder and more miserable than I had ever felt in my life before. (Ch. XI)

There are instances, when Dante's narration adopts a more informal style, as if he were indirectly quoting his friend Johnno. This is illustrated in the following example, which mixes high and low style in Dante's observations and Johnno's indirect quotes respectively:

He had been caught while his resistance was low by the most insidious bloody madness of them all, the subtlest and most self-destructive invention of the whole rag-bag of bourgeois delusions, romantic fucking love! What's more the girl was an idiot. A silly bitch of a librarian who read comics off-duty because she "worked all day with books", and had nothing to talk about but horses, weekends at the Coast, and how many of the sons of big station-owners up north she had been "practically engaged to". (Ch. VIII)

Johnno's use of language will be discussed in 5.3.5, however, only he and a couple of minor characters use vulgar or non-standard English expressions in their speech, which is at times indicated by phonetic respellings, however, only to a minor degree.

Malouf's language is at its most formal in evocations of the scenery, be it nature or the cityscape. Such passages show Malouf the poet, who makes use of alliteration, metaphors, more formal vocabulary and syntax (e.g., "garden aswarm with insects", Prologue; "its tramlines aglow", Ch. VII), and highly evocative language that concentrates on the senses, for example this description of Dante's father's garden:

The whole garden sizzled and hummed. Big slow-flying grasshoppers, so heavy they could barely stay airborne, barged across the lawn or lofted over a wall to the hibiscus. The air glittered, and bees were busy in the cups of creepers that were just bursting into flower, cascading over a trellis or choking a fence. [...] Deserted for just a fortnight, my father's garden was already half wild. The darkness under the thickening boughs was alive with midges and heavy with the smell of rotting vegetation, jungle-damp and sickeningly sweet. (Prologue)

The style Malouf chooses for the descriptions of the scenery is consistent with his mission declared in the Afterword and discussed in the section above of creating poetry for a place which has been thought to have capacity for none (this will be discussed in more detail in 5.3.3).

Australian vernacular

Malouf does not make use of phonetic respellings to indicate Australian accent, likely because Dante is from a “middle[-]class” (Ch. III) environment where the Cultivated accent would have been preferred – Dante’s mother is English and post-war Australia still accorded the Cultivated accent higher social status (see 3.1.1.1.3). The “nice accent” (Ch. III) that Dante claims to have is thus likely the one closest to StBE.

Australian lexis, however, is distributed across the whole text in much greater degree than in Harrower’s *The Long Prospect*. There is a number of hypocoristics, be it the title of the book itself, named after Dante’s friend Johnno (formed from his surname Johnson), or “metho” (someone addicted to drinking methylated spirits,⁸² Ch. V), “nasho” (“a person doing national service”,⁸³ Ch. VI), “mozzies” (“mosquitos”, Ch. VI); “kiddies” (“kids”, Ch. VI), “Churchie” (Anglican Church Grammar School in Brisbane, Ch. VIII; see “About Churchie”, n.d.), and “swaggies” (“swagmen”, Epilogue). There are other abbreviations (without the diminutive suffix), such as “chooks” (“chickens”, likely abbreviation of *chookies*, Ch. II), “sub” (“submarine”, Prologue), “fibro” (“fibro-cement or a house constructed from it”⁸⁴, Prologue), and “anzacs” (“anzac biscuits” – “a kind of biscuit made from rolled oats, flour, butter and sugar, and now typically also containing desiccated coconut”⁸⁵, Ch. II).

Other Australianisms include “Speedos” (close-fitting men’s swimming costume, formed from the brand name Speedo⁸⁶, Prologue), “frenchie” (“condom”⁸⁷, Ch. I), “yabbies” (type of Australian freshwater crayfish⁸⁸, Ch. III), “end-of-term hops” (“beers”, Ch. IV),

⁸² “metho, n.1” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 11 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/117558>

⁸³ “Nasho, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 11 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/125206?redirectedFrom=nasho>

⁸⁴ “fibro, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 11 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/69773>

⁸⁵ “Anzac, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 11 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/8990>

⁸⁶ “Speedo, n.1” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 11 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/262021>

⁸⁷ “Frenchy, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 11 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/273018>

⁸⁸ “yabby, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 11 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/231090>

“G’night” (variation on *G’day*, Ch. VI), “dunny” (“toilet”⁸⁹, Ch. VIII), “piker” (a person “who would opt out of an arrangement or challenge or not do their fair share”, Ch. XI; see “Are you a piker?” 2019), “wallabies” (Ch. XIII), “verandah” (e.g. Ch. I) or “boiling the billy” (Ch. XIV). All of these are from a wide range of areas, covering the fauna, the bush, social life, and objects of use.

There is also a number of placenames from the Brisbane or Queensland region that will likely not be familiar to international audience, and some possibly not even to non-Queenslanders. These are also often abbreviated, such as *Bribie* (Bribie Island), *Troc* (Trocadero dance hall), or *Surfers* (Surfers Paradise).

Cultural keywords

The most frequent of the cultural keywords are *bloody* (13x) and *bastard* (3x). *Bloody* is twice used in the literal sense of “covered in blood”, while in the rest of the instances it is used mainly by Johnno as an intensifier, indicating his strong feelings e.g., about his city (“bloody arsehole of the universe”, Ch. VI) or country (“There’ll be nothing left in me of bloody Australia”, Ch. VIII). Similarly, it is Johnno and a couple of minor characters who make use of the word *bastard*, although with the traditional negative connotation, e.g. “You bastard. You fucking shit!” (Ch. VII). The only instance where it could be considered to have a somewhat endearing connotation is in Johnno’s last letter to Dante, where the term appears to express both anger and love: “Answer me you bastard! And please come. Love Johnno” (Ch. XIII).

There also appears one usage of the derogatory ethnic label *Abo* (Aboriginal; see 2.5.5.2), when Dante is describing homeless men “following Abo women up Fish Lane near the bridge” (Ch. V). In this instance, it does not appear to be used in an intentionally derogatory sense, although now that is its primary connotation.

Mate appears 3 times: “old boxing mate” (Ch. VI) and “school mates” (Ch. VIII), where it is used in the meaning of “friend”, and “old mates like Peg-leg” (Epilogue), which from the surrounding context (this example was discussed in 4.2.2.1.4.2, ex 33) also draws on the values of solidarity and loyalty originating from the mateship (bush) ethos.

Bush appears only in the sense of “shrub”, which reflects the urban setting and decreased relevance of the bush as the quintessentially Australian environment in this period.

⁸⁹ “dunny, n.3” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 11 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/58517>

Other regionalisms

Similarly to Harrower's *The Long Prospect*, there are only very few signs of the professed Americanisation of AusE: "lowboy" ("a low table with drawers"⁹⁰, Prologue), "dicks" (detectives⁹¹, Ch. VII), and "bleachers", which appears twice – the first time in quotation marks indicating its foreign origin, and the second time without them (roofless seating area at sports events⁹², Ch. VI).

One British expression that stands out is "lorry" (Ch. VII), which in AusE is now commonly called by the AmE expression "truck".

Overall, Malouf's style in *Johnno*, which combines poetic, sensuous prose used for evocations of the scenery with general English peppered with some AusE vernacular expressions, signifies that Malouf's attitude to the vernacular is not as cold as Harrower's, and that its use is not incompatible with literary language that draws on the cultural capital of the Western tradition. The bush parlance of the bush realism of the late 19th and early 20th century is replaced by a form and setting more relevant for the majority of the Australian population living in cities, while still maintaining a connection with the established tradition.

5.3.3 Stylistics of landscape

5.3.3.1 Conceptualisation of space

Unlike most of the novels analysed in the two previous periods, the physical spaces brought to life in *The Long Prospect* (1958) and *Johnno* (1975) have moved away from the bush towards the city, from pastoral idyl to industrial and suburban reality. This is in part a reflection of real life in Australia, where most of the population has been living in the city, and in part due to cultural cringe, which affected intellectuals especially (see 3.1.1.1.3). Both Harrower and Malouf draw on their own experience in creating their Ballowra (fictional Newcastle) and Brisbane respectively, offering a sharp critique of Australian society and culture (or lack thereof). Both are refusing to subscribe to the bush realism of their predecessors through revivals of the idealised past, as some of their contemporaries (see 3.1.1.1.3.1) and attempt to make room for a new, modern Australian literary and cultural tradition, which was to an extent

⁹⁰ "lowboy, n. and adj." (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 12 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/110659>

⁹¹ "dick, n.4." (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 12 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/52260>

⁹² "bleacher, n." (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 12 March 2023, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/20045>

attempted in the previous period by Mackenzie (see 5.2). While Harrower's version of contemporary Australia and its culture remains bleak throughout her novel, Malouf's text ends on a much more hopeful note, asserting that the Australian cultural landscape may not be as barren as it seems.

The Long Prospect (1958)

As discussed, the main setting of Harrower's novel is the industrial town of Ballowra, which is inspired by Newcastle, near Sydney. While not conventionally beautiful, Harrower's prose injects Ballowra with a certain charm through the poetic language: "a moat of steelworks and factories surrounded hills and plains of drab bungalows and shops. Cinemas, hotels, reared up from the encircled plain like small cathedrals. At night the sky glowed dusky red with industry" (Ch. 1). Also, Ballowra is not just the steelworks – when Emily climbs a hill near her house, she overlooks the river valley, where beside the factory, there lies an old monastery surrounded by trees, its roof "singled out each afternoon by the sun, and the mellow red flared among the unlit dark blue-green" (Ch. 5). It stands out from the industrial part of town and as such is to be appreciated: "To Emily the monastery's isolation was poetic, therefore admirable, and, too, it gave a kind of romantic focus to the valley which, in smoke-ringed Ballowra, was to be valued fiercely" (Ch. 5). Yet beyond the poetic language, as implied by Emily's description, still lies a place dominated by the steelworks and the impact they have on its surroundings, their smoke painting everything grey. So not only are the steelworks buildings "black and grey" (Ch. 3), but the town's school has "high grey windows" (Ch. 3), the river is "grey" (Ch. 5), and always even in the "polished pale-blue sky" among "white streaky clouds" there is that "grey smoke – relentless" (Ch. 9).

This cloud of smoke that hangs over the town can be read as a metaphor for the greyness of Australian life represented in the novel especially in the character of Lilian and her friends, who care only for themselves and their scheming, and have no interest in others, or in culture and intellectual pursuits. These characters demonstrate the complacency and materialism that were felt to be the chief values of post-war Australia, as discussed in 3.1.1.1.3.1, and the reason many intellectuals wanted to leave this greyness for the bright foreign shores. That this cringe was felt by the intellectuals rather than the general population is articulated by Max, as he is describing his meeting with Thea:

The following day he met Thea. Adult, intelligent, feeling, the opposite of frivolous and yet not earnest, she was the opposite of the popular ideal of her place and time. Then and there, in the cities, great wealth masked a naïvety one would hesitate to

call childlike. A contradictory striving after perpetual adolescence, sophistication and an accumulation of wealth were the motives of action. The chief conviction was one of superiority; this was brought about by the Pacific isolation of the continent, and, contrariwise, by trips to a Europe where all the famous treasures were old and frequently dirty, where there were peasants, and the city-dwellers were peculiarly poor. What the fuss was about Europe few Australians could imagine. Not all of them believed in its existence.

To be one of the self-critical minority was to be not so much politically unsound—for there was very little, it seemed, to be political about—as thoroughly, disagreeably, un-Australian. (Ch. 5)

Contrary to cultural cringe, Max asserts most Australians thought themselves superior to Europeans, due to their geographical isolation as well as ignorance, which lies at the heart of cultural cringe. Lilian and her cohort indeed appear to think themselves superior, although there is no indication they consider their position vis-à-vis the whole world, since they do not show any interest in anything beyond their own bubble – a perfect example of the problematic ignorance. On the other hand, Max and Thea, both educated scientists and avid readers, are susceptible to the cringe precisely because they have taken the trouble to learn about the cultural capital elsewhere, looking beyond the “Pacific isolation”. For this they are considered “un-Australian,” since they dare to look beyond the Australian border and find their home country lacking. By awakening in Emily the desire to learn and discussing the classics of Western learning with her, they are sending her on the same path to un-Australianness, disrupting the comfortable ignorance in which her family lives, which is part of the reason Lilian ensures both Thea and Max disappear from Emily’s life.

Despite the cultural ignorance of most of the novel’s characters, the strong link between culture and nature that appeared to a certain extent in all of the novels discussed so far in the qualitative analysis, also appears in this novel. The strength of the connection between culture and nature is proved by characters like Lilian. They have no appreciation for the cultural landscape and who, interestingly, display no appreciation for the physical landscape either, which only confirms their ignorance. For example, this is Lilian’s dismissive reaction to the beautiful view of the sea from Thea’s apartment:

There, below, and straight ahead, was that much-praised view of the sea. A lot of water, yes, but nothing to make a fuss about. She had once said, ‘For all I care the Pacific can jump in the lake.’ It had been a success. On the strength of that success she now relaxed her mouth at the Pacific and admitted that it was blue. (Ch. 1)

Conversely, Emily is highly sensitive and appreciative of nature and notices the dismissive reactions of Lilian and her friends, which she accounts for by their lack of willingness to believe in seeing something so beautiful. This essentially suggests that the reason for their ignorance is

the lack of imagination, which Emily certainly does not lack. She looks around her, interprets what she sees and finds solace in small things like the rainbow in the sky:

There was the sea below, a cliff – some incalculable feet above which hovered the miraculous end of a rainbow – where Emily had contrived to isolate herself for some seconds before they all came up. And how full of meaning might that not be? A rainbow arching the sea. But they had taken it calmly enough, of course, walking stodgily up to it, scoffing at it as if to say ‘mirage’ or ‘go away’. But that could have been jealousy; they were obviously unwilling to believe what they could so clearly see. It outstayed them on the cliff, though, and that seemed to prove something. (Ch. 4)

Nature appears to be Emily’s escape from the unloving environment she is living in, and she finds it not only in the rainbow as in the example above but also the stars in the night sky, and often the sun:

Soon it would be gone, soon it would be dark, but meantime the earth gave up earthy evening scents, dampness in spite of heat. Frail pink clouds feathered the translucent sky and Emily clutched at the stake and breathed the air, looked with unthinking eyes, was uplifted, transported, gave herself to the present beauty and the coming night. (Ch. 10)

While in this instance, she is “uplifted, transported” by it, on another occasion “[s]he felt utterly soothed, incredibly soothed, to be sitting in the sun listening to Thea” (Ch. 9).

Emily is so attuned to the natural world, it appears to mirror her feelings – on the day of her departure for Sydney, when she is closing the door on her acquaintance with Max, the day welcomes her with a “sky of clay-coloured clouds hung full of threat” (Ch. 10), reflecting Emily’s fears of what awaits her in Sydney. This works both ways – when Emily is considering her own feelings, she (or rather Harrower) also articulates them in terms of the natural world: “Salt waves of mortification washed over Emily” (Ch. 1). Even Emily’s mother Paula notices the connection, describing Emily’s expression on one occasion as “a sunburst of comprehension” (Ch. 4). So even though Harrower sets her novel in an urban setting, nature and its role in people’s lives remains as important as it was in the bush settings of the preceding periods, although only for the few who come to appreciate it. These are, besides Emily, Thea and Max, who are open to the world, the imagination and learning.

In terms of the elements, sun imagery is especially strong, again continuing the established patterns from the preceding two periods, where the sun and its heat and harshness appear to be one of the chief associations with Australia. Apart from its soothing powers that Emily finds solace in, it also has the power to stifle, burn and harm. That the warmth the sun provides can be stifling is exemplified by Paula who feels like she cannot speak: “[s]he was gagged by the wintry Sunday dimness and warmth” (Ch. 2). The heat also appears to be one of the reasons she does not want to join her husband Harry in the outback: “she could not endure

the thought of a small hot country town” (Ch. 2). Moreover, the heat the sun generates is perceived as an excuse for laziness, as exemplified by Harry’s description, which implies that the climate directly affects one’s character. Yet while in the Bush Legend, this effect was positive, as discussed for example in 5.2 in the analysis of *My Brilliant Career*, here the effect is negative:

He was a lazy man. He was lazy with the physical laziness common among Europeans who live in hot climates; unthinking, with the masochistic laziness of an adult whose mind has gone inadequately trained, but the lack of moral and emotional force might have been said to be an inherent limitation, rather than a wilful or accidental withholding of effort. (Ch. 3)

The warmth of the sun also influences other elements, producing for instance “hot wind” (Ch. 3), which thus loses its cooling powers, and making the air “too hot to breathe” (Ch. 6). That the sun stands for almost another character is suggested by Harrower’s word choice, which attributes it human powers. It appears to dictate the life of the town: “Under the sun’s curfew, Ballowra remained indoors” (Ch. 6), and exert such power as to kill:

Above, the sky was drained of colour, the sun so glaring that no cloud survived to float across its face and bring an illusion of relief. In a world so hot it seemed that the sun might dissolve and merge with the spaces of the sky without a lessening of that fierce power whereby it drew up moisture from the earth, and life and virtue from plants and mortals. (Ch. 6)

Another suggestion of its animate nature comes from Emily who is playing with the sunlight illuminating the room, attempting “to capture a piece of living light” (Ch. 6). That same light has the power not only to kill, as in the example above, but to revive, and not only memories, but also, metaphorically, people. In this scene, Max, who was cool towards Emily in explaining why he must leave, is illuminated by the sun: “[he was] covered in light, made suddenly round and whole, brought back to recognizable life, made again her kindest friend, breathing, brown-skinned” (Ch. 8).

Finally, even though the bush does not play a major role in Harrower’s novel, nor the bush ethos, it is singled out by Harry who, at the beginning of the novel has for years been working in a town in the bush. To an extent he is also attuned to nature like Emily, likely because of his affinity with the bush. Thus when he comes to visit Emily in Ballowra, he finds the town wanting compared to the bush, which remains unspoiled by the industrialisation and alienation of modernity:

After years in the country, this subjection to industry, the smoky sky, the matured deterioration immanent at the birth of such towns as Ballowra left him oppressed and indignant. [...] There were no trees. The steelworks which, at a great distance, surrounded the rise where Harry stood were the only reason, and, he was forced to suppose, justification, for the existence of Ballowra. (Ch. 3)

The absence of trees and artificial nature of the town existing solely because of the steelworks, make him feel detached from his hometown and even the “names and emotions” which had “once” been printed on “the depressing plain” (Ch. 3). In contrast, he associates the bush with openness, freedom, and health:

Recalling the healthy, weather-beaten faces of Coolong, the clear, tremendous sky that arched the miles of open country, Harry felt he knew where was the better place to be. [...] To prefer the bush to Ballowra was to be an outcast, a bushwhacker. To come back clean-handed, well-dressed, from the bush was not good. (Ch. 3)

At the same time, he knows that among the urban population, his preference for the bush will be derided and he labelled a “bushwhacker”, an unsophisticated person, whose appearance should match this association with roughness. The fact that it does not is “not good”, which could be interpreted in many ways – possibly, signifying a lack of authenticity. So while Harrower avoids idealisation of the bush ethos, the bush – through Harry’s perspective – still, at least implicitly, remains a culturally significant environment, which one can form ties to, unlike the impersonal industrial Ballowra. The fact that the urban population dismisses it speaks not so much of the decline of the role of the bush as of their capacity to see beyond their little suburban bubbles of complacency and materialism.

Johnno (1975)

In *Johnno*, Malouf accomplishes his declared mission of putting Brisbane on the map, setting down in his novel the names of the city’s streets, suburbs, and popular venues, and finding poetry where he had not thought possible. Gibson, who explores the relationship of place and identity in the novel and observes how the conservative, provincial city so far removed from the Northern Hemisphere cities, outposts of civilisation, shapes the identities of Johnno and Dante, asserts that Brisbane serves as a “third character” (2015: 94) in *Johnno*. While in many ways Johnno and Dante share a very critical opinion of their hometown, Dante does not discard the possibility that there is potential for poetry, while Johnno is absolutely categorical in his dismissal of Brisbane and all of Australia.

To Johnno, whose perspective is filtered through Dante’s narration, Brisbane is “the bloody arsehole of the universe” (Ch. VII). So far removed from the capitals of the Northern Hemisphere, which produced most of the literature he is avidly consuming, and so provincial and conservative, Johnno is completely dismissive of the Queensland capital:

Brisbane was nothing: a city that blew neither hot nor cold, a place where nothing happened, and where nothing ever would happen, because it had no soul. People suffered here without significance. It was too mediocre even to be a province of hell.

It would have defeated even Baudelaire! A place where poetry could never occur.
(Ch. VII)

Johnno does not even criticise specific aspects of Brisbane, he negates its very existence by the repeated use of negative pronouns “nothing” and “no”, as well as the use of adverbial “never” employed to dismiss the possibility that the city could give rise to any poetry. From Johnno’s perspective, the absence of poetry essentially equals the absence of life, because as Dante observes “what Johnno called life bore an uncanny resemblance [...] to what the rest of us called ‘literature’” (Ch. VII). Since Brisbane never served as inspiration of any of the literary greats such as Baudelaire, Dostoevsky, or Rimbaud, nor does it in any way resemble the cities of the imagination of those writers, Johnno decides there can be no life for him there.

Johnno’s negative view of Brisbane is only an extension of his view of Australia. His aversion is so strong, it is expressed in an equally strong language full of expletives:

“I’m going to shit this bitch of a country right out of my system,” he told me fiercely. “Twenty fucking years! How long will it take me, do you think, to shit out every last trace of it? At the end of every seven years you’re completely new — did you know that? New fingernails, new hair, new cells. There’ll be nothing left in me of bloody Australia. I’ll be transmuted. I’ll say to myself every morning as I squat on the dunny, there goes another bit of Australia. That was Wilson’s Promontory. That was Toowong. Whoosh, down the plughole! (Ch. VIII)

Thus, soon after finishing school – at twenty – he leaves, first for Africa where as a trained geologist he is employed by a copper mine, where he wants to earn money to continue on to Europe, which indeed he eventually does.

Dante in many ways shares Johnno’s view of Brisbane and Australia and he partially also compares it with the literary versions of cities, which proves what a significant impact the construction of place in literature plays in the readers’ perception not only of the literary but also physical spaces. Like Johnno, Dante denies Brisbane’s existence by the negative pronoun “nothing”, but he is not as categorical, and makes an effort to look for something out of the “ordinary”. Yet he fails, and is terrified that the emptiness of Brisbane will shape who he is:

I have been reading Dante. His love for his city is immense, it fills his whole life, its streets, its gardens, its people; it is a force that has shaped his whole being. Have I been shaped in any way – fearful prospect! – by Brisbane? Our big country town that is still mostly weatherboard and one-storeyed, [...]. Brisbane is so sleepy, so slatternly, so sprawlingly unlovely! I have taken to wandering about after school looking for one simple object in it that might be romantic, or appalling even, but there is nothing. It is simply the most ordinary place in the world. (Ch. IV)

Dante’s Brisbane is provincial, and boring, yet described as such in a much more poetic language than Johnno’s version – notice for example the alliteration and parallelism of “so sleepy, so slatternly, so sprawlingly unlovely,” where the effect of the use of these poetic figures

somewhat mitigates the negative evaluation expressed by the surrounding text. Moreover, it suggests that Brisbane might after all inspire poetry, despite “the city’s reputation as a tropical backwater, sluggish, colonial, degenerate” (Ch. XIII).

Since Dante, Malouf’s semi-autobiographical alter-ego, is an aspiring writer, he himself is creating that poetry in his descriptions of the city. This is manifested in the example of his Grandpa’s garden discussed in 5.3.2.2, or his poetic and onomatopoeic rendition of the sounds heard at night at his parents’ house where “[o]utside little treefrogs are clinking away under a wall – clink, clink, the sound that stars might make” (Ch. IV), or his evocation of early morning Brisbane:

I liked the city in the early morning. [...] It was so fresh, so sparkling, the early morning air before the traffic started up; and the sun when it appeared was immediately warm enough to make you sweat. Between the tall city office blocks Queen Street was empty, its tramlines aglow. Despite Johnno’s assertion that Brisbane was absolutely the ugliest place in the world, I had the feeling as I walked across deserted intersections, past empty parks with their tropical trees all spiked and sharp-edged in the early sunlight, that it might even be beautiful. But that, no doubt, was light-headedness from lack of sleep or a trick of the dawn. (Ch. VII)

In all of these extracts, the narrative targets the senses – in this last example evoking the sunlit scenery that is “sparkling” in the light, smelling of “fresh” air, with “tramlines aglow”. The “sparkling” is evoked also by alliteration (e.g., “past empty park”, “tropical trees”). Yet in light of Johnno’s conviction, Dante is reluctant to believe Brisbane could be so beautiful, as suggested by the use of the modal verb “might”. He is not convinced yet, but unlike Johnno, he is prepared to give the city a chance, which is why when Johnno leaves, he stays in Australia for another three years: “I was determined, for some reason, to make life reveal whatever it had to reveal here, on home ground, where I would recognise the terms” (Ch. X).

Nonetheless, like Johnno, Dante extends his opinion of Brisbane to the whole of Queensland, and the entire country. While Brisbane is a “sleepy subtropical town” (Ch. II), Queensland, whose capital it is, is according to Dante “a joke” about which there is “nothing to be said”. Nonetheless, Dante does elaborate, asserting that “half of it is still wild [...], the rest detained in a sort of perpetual nineteenth century”, where the main streets of towns still have “hitching-posts” and where children “go to school all the year round with bare feet” (Ch. IV). The association with wilderness, the past century, and lack of civilisation exemplified by the absence of shoes, is reminiscent of the early perceptions of Australia as an uncivilised wilderness in need of cultivation (see 5.1).

Finally, the entire country is according to Dante “familiar and boring” (Ch. II) and lacks events that would be worthy of historical record in textbooks and literature. Again, it seems to

be literature that informs his opinion of what constitutes historical events, as his favourite past time is “reading my favourite Dumas and dreaming myself back into those marvellous Olden Days when people wore satin and spoke French and when everything that happened was History” (Ch. II). Unlike Europe’s civilization, Dante feels there are no grand historical events and personages to look back onto, such as the Wars of the Roses and the Plantagenets he likes reading about. Not even the events of WWII, which brought the U.S. Army to Brisbane, or the bombardment of Darwin appear to be enough excitement. Thus, Dante’s overall impression is that “[t]here was nothing in our own little lives that was worth recording, nothing to distinguish one day of splashing about in the heavy, warm water inside the reef from the next. Only the appearance once of a turtle, stranded at the bottom of one of the red-soil cliffs” (Ch. II). Australia seems to be defined by the elements, the ebb and flow of the water, and the animals within it, which do not seem to Dante to be significant. Again, it is the negative pronoun “nothing” that defines Dante’s Australia.

That he perceives Australia as an empty space, a blank canvas, is emphasised by his answer to the question “What is Australia anyway?” (Ch. IV), where he describes its outline:

the half-circle of the Great Australian Bight, the little booted foot of Eyre’s Peninsula, Spencer’s Gulf down to Port Phillip, up the easy east coast, with its slight belly at Brisbane, towards Sandy Cape and Cape York; round the Gulf of Carpentaria and Arnhem Land to the difficulties of King Sound and the scoop towards North West Cape where I always go wrong, leaving the spurred heel of Cape Leeuwin so far out in the Indian Ocean that it would wreck every liner afloat, or so close in to the Bight that far-off Western Australia looks as if it’s been stricken with polio. [...] But what it is beyond that is a mystery. It is what begins with the darkness at our back door. (Ch. IV)

The shapes of the continent are conceptualised in terms of the human body – the “booted foot”, the “slight belly”, or the “spurred heel” – which is susceptible to diseases, such as “polio”. Yet the resemblance to the human body appears to be only physical, as the continent lacks character, which is expressed by the negative space beyond the continent’s outlines, defined by it being shrouded in darkness. With that, Dante concludes that “Australia is impossible! Hardly worth thinking about” (Ch. IV), since it is essentially void.

Both Johnno and Dante’s opinions are yet another manifestation of the feelings of cultural cringe (see 3.1.1.1.3.1), as educated men hungry for cultivation of the mind suffer in the conservative, small-minded values of Australian suburbia, which Johnno refers to as “the suburbs of limbo” (Ch. X), and which seems like a cultural and intellectual wasteland. In Dante, this view might be partially inspired by his English-born mother, who “was reproducing for [them] her own orderly childhood as the last of a big family in pre-war (that is, pre-1914)

London” (Ch. II). She did not want Dante to play with “barefoot state-school kids” (Ch. II) like Johnno, and she kept a collection of British and European artefacts that Dante describes as “a suburban V. and A.” (Victoria and Albert Museum; Prologue) as a sort of memento of the superior imperial culture. Like many intellectuals of the time feeling the cultural void, Dante and Johnno thus go in search of culture and their own identity abroad. As mentioned above, Johnno first goes to Africa, before moving to Europe. Interestingly, it is Africa where Johnno is said to be acquiring “civilisation, [...] [so that] no longer a barbarian, he would arrive in Europe with six thousand pounds in his pocket and the capacity for living at last among civilised men” (Ch. X). This is a somewhat rare notion, as the civilising mission is usually ascribed to the former colonial centre, Europe, not Africa. This implies that at least in Johnno’s eyes, Africa is more civilised than Australia.

Yet Johnno and Dante’s expectations of Europe are largely disappointed – no matter how much of the cultural capital of Europe they have adopted as their own, they cannot erase their roots and transform themselves into another person. When Dante arrives in Paris to visit Johnno, his friend greets him in “Johnno’s version of Scots”, which he had to adopt, as “[n]o one, it seemed, would employ an Australian to teach them English. It was the accent. Effroyable!” (Ch. XI). In the 1950s, Australian accent apparently did not equal ‘good English’ and marked one as essentially a colonial, since the hierarchy of varieties of English still held fast at the time (see Endonormative stabilisation section of Appendix 3). Randall asserts that “Johnno can only take his place in Europe as an Australian outsider, drifting unenlightened from Paris to Greece, from one empowered site of Culture to the next. Neither European books nor on-site European experience enables Johnno to transform himself” (Randall 2007: 36).

Dante likewise learns that such transformation is not possible and that what irritated him about Brisbane is to be found in Europe as well, as he settles in “a bleak industrial town, all blackened brick, in the north of England, and [i]s gathered into a life as suburban and ordinary in its way as anything [he] might have settled for at home” (Ch. XII). Even if his friends believe him to be an expatriate, he asserts that he “had never left Australia in more than fact” and that falling asleep was for him still “to climb high into the glossy dark leaves of the old fig tree outside our kitchen window in Edmondstone Street, with flying-foxes rushing in its darkness, and long golden strands hanging from its branches like a giant’s beard, and butcher-birds or mynahs picking about in the sunlight” (Ch. XII). Therefore, there is no reason why the poetry that was created out of European cities of the imagination cannot be created out of Brisbane. The European experience is transformative for Dante in that he realises this, as well as the fact

that our perception and memory of a place is largely formed by our imagination: “the Brisbane I knew had its existence only in my memory, in the fine roots it had put down in my own emotions, so that a particular street corner would always be there for me in a meeting that had almost changed my life” (Ch. XII) . He thus returns to Brisbane, still not uncritical of the Queensland capital, but much more benevolent as to what it might become, in reality and in people’s imagination.

Similarly to *The Long Prospect*, the bush is replaced by the city, but nature constitutes an important component of the city’s constructed image. Brisbane is a river city, with the stream winding around its parts and surrounded by native flora:

The river, visible from the terrace outside my parents’ bedroom, widens here to a broad stream, low mudflats on one bank, with a colony of pelicans, and on the other steep hills covered with native pine, across which the switchback streets climb between gullies of morning glory and high creeper-covered walls. (Ch. IV)

Its water glitters in the ever-present sunlight, which lets the city sparkle, as discussed in the examples above. The sun imagery that appears to be strongly associated with the stylistics of landscape in Australian literature (as the qualitative analysis of all of the periods shows) is also a strong element of the text, with the sun not only illuminating the scenery, but also providing heat and inflicting harm. Thus there are images of “sunstruck paddocks” (Ch. II), lamentations over the “scorching summer” (Ch. X), days so hot that “the pavements gave off a heat that rose right up through your shoes” (Ch. XII) and when “dry grass could catch and be ablaze in seconds” (Ch. XII). Like in the previous novels, the sun makes the landscape beautiful, but is also dangerous, violent even, with an agency that can wield harm: “We shuffled out into a solid wall of sunlight. After the coolness of the chapel it was like the edge of an axe” (Ch. XIV).

Other elements share a similar capacity to harm, which is emphasised by the lexical choices from the sphere of fighting and violence, as was the sun (the comparison to an axe) – there is the strong “westerly” the city’s inhabitants have to “battle” with, Dante asserting that “wind still cut [his] face and smarted in [his] eyes” (Ch. VI). Similarly, there are “sharp midsummer thunderstorms that [...] roll their bruise-coloured clouds across the range, explode, bubble for an hour or so in gutters, then vanish” (Ch. VI). The rains then turn the beautiful and “usually placid” river into “swollen and brown” force of nature that floods and carries trees, furniture, dead cattle, and other things that have crossed its path (Ch. IX). This creates the image of a city that is strongly influenced by nature and its whims, that is shaped by it in a similar way that we have seen in the bush realist novels (see 5.1) and 5.2) which asserted the connection between the harsh environment and the national character that arose out of it.

5.3.3.2 Analogies

Harrower and Malouf also employ analogies and the conceptual mappings they involve in order to construct place in the novel (as discussed in 2.7.2.1). Following Wales's (2017) approach (see 3.2.2.2.2), these analogies are categorised according to the semantic field they draw on and their function in terms of reader-helpfulness is assessed.

Compared to the previous period (5.2.3.2), where Franklin relied to a great extent on domestic frames of reference, in this period both Harrower and Malouf are closer to Mackenzie's use of analogy in that they draw mainly on generic frames of reference, with few recognisably Australian sources, with Malouf additionally using international frames of reference. In Harrower, this appears to be a sign of cultural cringe and a demonstration of the isolationism of Australian culture (discussed in 3.1.1.1.3), whereas the abundance of international frames of reference in Malouf represents – besides cultural cringe – also an attempt to bring Australian culture into a dialogue with the rest of the world.

Analogies in *The Long Prospect* (1958)

Following in Mackenzie's (5.2) footsteps in abandoning the cultural nationalist tradition for a new kind of Australian tradition that is more consciously literary and less political, Harrower's analogies utilise universal concepts, which makes her text more accessible to an international audience. Yet it also makes her analogies difficult to categorise. Moreover, analogies in *The Long Prospect*, which is more concerned with Australian culture and the interior world of the characters than the specifics of the Australian landscape, serve more to characterise people than place. Nonetheless, like in Mackenzie's novel, nature-based analogies and analogies based on fairy tales or legends constitute the first two groups, followed by a group of generic analogies, among which some tendencies can be identified. Again, similarly to Mackenzie's analogies, all groups mostly serve a familiarising function for the reader and resemble Type D from Wales's categories, which relies on familiar or domestic concepts.

1) Nature-based analogies

The biggest group of analogies are those based on the natural world. These can be divided into two subtypes – those based on the flora and the inanimate natural world, and animal-based analogies. These foreground the importance of the natural world in Australia, asserted in literature from its beginnings, as demonstrated in the analysis of the previous period.

a. Flora and inanimate nature

The close relationship Emily seems to share with nature, discussed in 5.3.2.1, is emphasised via nature-based analogies. That Emily's emotions are mirrored by the natural world and vice versa is also conveyed in this manner. For example, Emily's anger is likened to a bushfire, which is a force to be reckoned with in Australian culture and constitutes one of the few analogies that has a stronger domestic resonance: "She burned with **anger hot and gusty as a bushfire** – an appalled, helpless kind of anger" (Ch. 4). Similarly, when Emily is observing the beauty of the scenery all of her companions ignore, her mental process is compared to the tide: "**Emily returned to herself as the tide returns to an empty beach**, giving meaning to what was before an enigmatic waste" (Ch. 4), emphasising that the meaning we ascribe to things – in this instance the landscape – is arbitrary, which explains why her unimaginative companions see nothing where Emily finds beauty and solace (see 5.3.2.1). The impassivity of Lilian and her friends, who care only for themselves, is enhanced by the analogy with stones: "their faces gradually **set like stone**" (Chapter 9).

Max, who like Emily is appreciative of nature and displays the capacity for imagination, resembles a comet in Emily's eyes, when she considers why Lilian and her friends leave their friendship be, at least initially: "His physical presence among them was a phenomenon, to which they accustomed themselves with the ease of savages, **as if he were some extinguished comet dropped out of the sky**: to keep off the fear of the unknown, training themselves to think of him as **part of the natural formation of the land**" (Ch. 4). Not used to give anything much consideration, they simply accept Max's presence, until it hinders their own agenda, as a fact, a natural phenomenon which is part of the landscape. That Max truly becomes part of Ballowra is suggested by Emily's description of his face upon his departure, which resembles the perpetual smoke of the steelworks: "His face had been grey – grey as that paling fence, **grey as that twist of smoke**" (Ch. 9).

b. Animals

There are several analogies that compare people to animals, but not specifically Australian ones. Rather, these draw on general associations people have with certain animals, such as Lilian saying about Emily's father that "**he was a pig to [them]**" (Ch. 2), Harry observing he is "sweating **like a horse**" (Ch. 3), or Lilian's friend Billie observing that Fred and Billie's husband both "look up **like a couple of stunned mullets**" (Ch. 7). These are all

habitual, almost clichéd expressions that reflect the unimaginative nature of the minds of the characters whose perspective they express.

Emily is likewise likened to an animal, from Max's viewpoint, but by a less clichéd expression. When Max suggests the possibility of his leaving, Emily is sad, and upon accepting a nut from Max, "she nibble[s] at the nut **like an exhausted mouse**" (Ch. 5) – an analogy that reflects her helplessness and the futility of her efforts to escape the small-mindedness of Lilian and her circle.

2) Analogies based on fairy tales and legends

There is a small number of analogies drawing on the world of fairy-tale or legend. In Wales's analysis, these analogies (Type B) fulfill an exoticizing, disorientating function, hindering the understanding of the text. In case of *The Long Prospect*, much like in *My Brilliant Career* of the previous period (see 5.2.3.2), Harrower relies more on the general concept of magic and the supernatural, than exotic figures or princes and princesses. Thus, rather than exoticize, these analogies which appear in Emily's point of view, enhance her strong capacity for imagination, and convey that her inner world is much richer than the culturally stifling Ballowra. When Emily follows one of her teachers who she looks up to and whose favour she would like to win, she observes her "small black kid shoes into which Miss Bates tapered **like a genie into a bottle**" (Ch. 2). The illusive nature of a "genie" corresponds to the illusive Miss Bates who, despite Emily's yearning for her attention, does not single her out among her other students.

On another occasion, when Emily is talking to Max again about the possibility of him leaving, she observes that "the emanation of panic that sprang from her and lay between them **like a ghost**" (Ch. 5), with the panic embodied by the "ghost" foreshadowing Max's eventual exile and the empty space his departure will leave in Emily's life.

3) Generic analogies

The rest of Harrower's analogies are based on generic, universally understandable concepts that likewise serve mostly a familiarising function. Lilian in particular is fond of using clichéd expressions, which are another way of conveying her lack of imagination and provincialism. Examples include Lilian's assertion that at times Emily is "**as good as gold**" (Ch. 2), or that Max and Thea having shared a flat is "**bold as brass**" (Ch. 5).

It is difficult to find any common denominators among the generic analogies, but there are a couple of instances from the lexical field of religion, which attempt to inject some spirituality into Ballowra's materialistic world. In the first example Emily accords Ballowra's buildings that do not belong to the steelworks the status of landmarks, speaking of them as a place of worship, unlike the site of work that is the factory: "[c]inemas, hotels, reared up from the encircled plain **like small cathedrals**" (Ch. 1). The second example concerns a "big unshaded globe" which, as per Billie's perception, gives the kitchen where it is placed "**the look of a shrine** dedicated to the domestic gods" (Ch. 7), proving that unlike Emily who looks for spirituality in nature, Billie (and Lilian, whose kitchen it is) seeks it in material things.

Other analogies that help characterisation include Lilian being described "**like some insane despot**" (Ch. 3) or "gaz[ing] out, **like a ship's captain from his eminence**" (Ch. 9), which further emphasises her commanding personality and sense of being above everyone else. Billie, who like Lilian likes to listen to other people's conversations, is described snooping around the house, with her "face uplifted **like an antenna**" (Ch. 7), prepared to receive any signal.

Analogies in *Johnno* (1975)

Like Harrower, many analogies employed by Malouf are generic and universally understandable. However, Malouf's international outlook and adoption of the Western cultural capital is manifested in the largest group of analogies that work with international frames of reference, comparing Australia and its inhabitants to foreign places, literary characters and historical events. The second and much smaller group consists of analogies drawing on Australian culture, which were completely missing in Harrower. Three more groups can be identified: those relying on the natural world, on military/violence imagery, and on fairy tales and legends. Their functions are not as straightforward as the almost universally familiarising function of analogy in Harrower, so they will be discussed in the respective sections below. The generic analogies that do not fit into any of these categories will not be mentioned, as unlike in Harrower, they are not as closely tied to the characterisation of the novel's protagonists, nor can any further common denominators be identified in them.

1) Analogies based on international culture

This group is the most numerous, which can be interpreted as a consequence of the feeling of cultural cringe, with Malouf turning to sources beyond the Australian borders for

cultural capital, but also trying to bring Australian culture into dialogue with the rest of the world. These analogies may serve a double function, a disorienting as well as a familiarising one, depending on the reader. They serve a disorienting function for those readers, who are unfamiliar with the places or works of art that Malouf references, following Wales's Type B analogies using fairy tales or the exotic other. This can be taken as proof of the perceived isolationism of Australian culture. For educated readers, however, these serve a familiarising function (Wales's Type D) and integrate Australian culture within the cultural canon of the world, whereby Malouf is showing the possibility that it can be done.

Many of these analogies are based on literary characters and most relate to Johnno, whom Malouf introduces as the central character, now dead, in the Prologue, noting that he may be "off-stage, but never absent [...] occasionally [...] he makes a comeback **like Banquo's ghost**". To convey Johnno's rebellious personality, Dante notes that among their group of friends they "accepted him as, **[their] very own Tamburlaine and Al Capone**" (Ch. III), while on another occasion he is seen "to resemble **Rogozin of The Idiot**" (Ch. VI). Furthermore, when saying goodbye to Dante before his journey to Africa, he gives him "**a Dostoevskian bearhug**" (Ch. IX), suggesting the intensity of emotion involved. As discussed earlier (5.3.3.1), Johnno models his way of life on literature. The way Malouf characterises him by comparisons to literary characters reinforces this idea, as well as the idea that Johnno is out of place in Australia, where none of the referenced literature comes from. That he is somewhat out of place in his home country is also suggested by another assessment of his passionate personality, which places him on the Balkans: "He seemed quite capable one day of **running amok like the Yugoslav** and killing half a dozen strangers with a tomahawk" (Ch. VII).

Johnno is not the only one described in terms of foreign analogies, in this case downright exotic. Dante's father, whose origin is not explicitly discussed in the novel, but whose parents – if modelled on Malouf's family – came to Australia from Lebanon, seems to Dante "comfortingly foreign": "his one solid gold tooth that glowed when he laughed **like a miraculous image in a southern monastery**; [...] strutting about **like some exotic bird**, carrying his body through the air **as if it were plumage**, heavy, extraordinary" (Prologue). Going through the old house after his father's death, Dante feels "**like a housebreaker [...], a grave-robber**, stumbling in among the ruins of an abandoned empire" (Prologue), evoking Australia's colonial past, when it belonged under the British Empire. The colonial past is evoked also by Dante's recollection of his admiration for "colourplates" in his childhood, which "seemed **as beautiful to [him] then as anything [he] had ever seen or could imagine, a sort**

of colonial Book of Hours” (Epilogue). This comparison with the famous medieval illuminated manuscript is qualified by the adjective “colonial”, which has a slight connotation of being second-class – nonetheless, unlike in Harrower, at least the comparison is made, and the two cultural traditions appear side by side.

The American influence on post-war Brisbane is represented by the analogy of girls in Brisbane brothels dressing “**like Betty Grable**” (Ch. IV), an American actress and dancer.

2) Analogies based on Australian culture

While there are far fewer, Malouf bases some of his analogies on Australian culture, as if testing the waters of its relevance. The most interesting case is Dante’s discussion of the Elizabethan age and its architecture “when the great houses, out of compliment to her, were built in the shape of an E **like Queensland state schools**” (Ch. II). Here, the antipodean schools constitute the basis of the analogy that describes the English Elizabethan houses, even though historically the relationship would be reversed. Thus it serves a familiarising function for the reader, adopting the E-shaped structure as Australia’s own.

There are two more analogies based on national events or institutions. The flooded river is carrying bits of furniture that “**bucked about on the surface of the water like the Tilt-a-Whirl at the National Show**” (Ch. IX). The second example concerns a biography of an Australian entrepreneur, which Dante’s father considered a “palpable record of a great national mythology” (Epilogue). Therefore, when Dante is cleaning out his house after his father’s death, he decides he cannot burn it, as “it would have been **like putting a match to the National Gallery**” (Epilogue). Especially the last example implies that the National Gallery houses cultural artefacts worth keeping, mitigating the assertions of the emptiness of the Australian cultural landscape discussed in the previous section.

3) Nature-based analogies

Similarly to all of the previous novels discussed so far, nature-based analogies feature in *Johnno*, emphasising the close relationship between the country and its people. However, the nature that is utilised is not necessarily Australian, but more universal, although in some cases with special significance in Australia. The analogies can be divided into two groups – those based on animal imagery, and those based on the elements.

a. Animals

The animal analogies are usually used to describe people and utilise common animals, thus serving a familiarising function aiding the readers' understanding. Johnno, coming back to the classroom after being thrown out by the teacher declares he is “**as innocent as a milk-white lamb**” (Ch. I). As a leader of his group of friends, they follow Johnno “**like whipped dogs**” (Ch. I), “wheeling about on the road **like big heavy birds**” (Ch. III), which suggests both their physical bulk and their obedience toward their leader. Similar examples occur, but they speak little of the Australian landscape or character in general. The only exception is the description of “giant Moreton Bay figs” growing in the Brisbane Gardens, which are “**huge-girthed like elephants**” (Ch. VII), where the comparison with the elephants conveys the size and majesty of the native trees named after Moreton Bay in Queensland.

b. The elements

As noted above (5.3.3.1), water is a big part of the character of Brisbane, the River city. That this important feature of the cityscape leaves its mark on its inhabitants is apparent from some of Dante's observations. For example, when describing the floorboards in the city library in winter, he notes that “the dingy brown linoleum lifted under your feet, it **was like walking on the muddy waves of the river whose mangroves and sluggish grey-brown waters lapped beyond the sill**” (Ch. V). That it is the Brisbane river and not just any river is indicated by the definite article.

The ocean, which is part of the Australian identity, is likewise evoked – the noises Dante hears during a phone call are characterised as “**a roar like ocean waves** crashing and sucking away” (Ch. VI).

Pearls, produced in the water, are also employed in analogies – firstly, at the brothel, Dante observes the girls' “nylon stockings that **shifted their lights like mother of pearl**” (Ch. IV), and secondly a hammerhead's belly is described as “**pearl-like**” (Ch. X).

All of these serve a familiarising function and affirm the importance of water in Australian culture.

4) Analogies based on military/violence imagery

In Mackenzie (5.2.3.2), this group of analogies was employed to convey the agency and harsh nature of the Australian environment, and in Malouf they serve a very similar function.

The violence of the sun discussed in 5.3.3.1 is exemplified by sunlight being likened to **“the edge of an axe”** (Ch. XIV), cutting into people’s eyes.

The military imagery, however, can also be partially inspired by the novel’s historical setting, for instance this example, where the stalks of “big red Christmas lilies” break and are revealed to be **“hollow like gun barrels”** (Ch. II). This analogy speaks less of the harshness of nature, and more of the effect the presence of the American troops had on Dante the writer.

Finally, even the cityscape is described in military terms, when new buildings start appearing as the city is being transformed from a colonial backwater to a modern city: “[i]n the old city centres **slim tower-blocks were staggering towards the moon like grounded rockets aimed at nowhere**” (Ch. XIII). Here, the tower-blocks seem to be the threatening element, a weapon, but aiming at no one in particular, just threatening the old.

5) Analogies based on fairy tales and legends

Similarly to Wales’ analysis of Dickens (Type B), in Malouf the fairy tale/legend analogies serve to an extent to exoticize Brisbane and its characters, lending them a mythological aspect. Thus, when Dante while living in England realises that his identity will always be bound to Australia and his hometown, he reminisces about the “old fig tree” outside the window of his childhood room, from whose branches “long golden strands hang[] [...] **like a giant’s beard**” (Ch. XII), which lends the tree a certain majesty and mythological status.

The Condamine River, where Johnno drowns, is described by Dante as **“the ghost of a river** for two seasons of the year” (Ch. XIII), which suggests not only the low levels of water, but also adds to the mystery surrounding Johnno’s death. Dante to Johnno seems equally mysterious, as he admits that at school he “used to think of [him] as the most exotic creature – so strange and untouchable. **Like a foreign prince**” (Ch. XIII), which also fuels the mystery around Dante, whose real name the readers of *Johnno* never learn, and who like Johnno himself feels such a strong affinity to the old Western cultures which had princes, unlike Australia.

5.3.4 Allusions and references: Australian culture and identity in context

The Long Prospect (1958)

While at the beginning of the 20th century, Franklin referenced almost exclusively Australian culture in *My Brilliant Career* to assert its value (see 5.2.4), half a century later Harrower’s *The Long Prospect* offers a much bleaker picture, with the majority of the citizens of Ballowra living in a sort of cultural void. Therefore, allusions and references are relatively

rare, compared to both texts from the previous period as well as Malouf's *Johnno*, and largely confined to Emily, Max and Thea, the only characters in the novel that are interested in learning and life beyond the confines of the town.

As discussed in previous sections, this novel articulates the feelings of cultural cringe and Harrower appears to have found very little of Australian culture she would like to reference. There are only two cases. In one, Lilian claims that "if she had not had her tonsils removed at the age of eighteen, she might have been another Melba" (Ch. 3), referencing the internationally famous Australian singer from the Victorian era and early 20th century. Such an ignorant character like Lilian likely only knows her because of her international acclaim, her value confirmed by the arbiters of taste in the cultural capitals of the world. The second instance is a reference to Aboriginal culture, which appears in the form of art on the walls of a hotel Emily, Lilian, and her friends visit, and stare "at the murals – reproductions of aboriginal [sic] drawings of hunters, animals, and boomerangs" (Ch. 10). In the late 1950s, the Aborigines were still discriminated against, and their cultural production was not accorded much attention (see 3.1.1.1.3). It is thus significant that what hangs on the hotel wall are only reproductions, subtly signalling the exploitation of Aboriginal culture that was going on at the time.

All the rest of the references draw on the Western cultural canon and the majority, as mentioned, come from Emily, Thea, or Max. The only exceptions come from Lilian and concern popular culture. Firstly, when she enters Thea's flat through the open door uninvited, she inwardly scolds Thea for leaving herself open to danger, thinking "I might be Jack the Ripper for all she knows" (Ch. 1), comparing herself to the famous 19th century London serial killer. Secondly, when talking of her daughter Paula and her husband Harry, she asserts that "[t]heir world was Greenhills, their literature and philosophy Hollywood" (Ch. 1), describing their suburban life where the only culture consumed appears to be that of Hollywood, which is another indication of American influence on Australian culture seen as corrupt by some (as discussed in 3.1.1.1.3). Unlike the literary, philosophical, or musical classics referenced by the aforementioned trio, Lilian, Paula and Harry's only interaction with non-Australian culture appears to be popular/low culture.

Conversely, the references employed by or in relation to Emily, Thea and Max all essentially fall under high culture and their usage attempts to signify that at least the intellectuals (in case of Emily, an aspiring intellectual), were in dialogue with Western culture and tried to apply it in the Australian context. Thus, they reference Joyce (Ch. 1), Shakespeare (Ch. 4), Wagner (Ch. 4), or classical mythology. Unsuccessfully, it seems, given the lack of

interest from the remaining characters, and their own positions as outsiders with respect to the majority represented by Lilian. That Thea is aware of this position and the fact that it stems from Lilian's ignorance is signified at the beginning of the novel, when Lilian comes to Thea's flat and Thea thinks of all the subjects she cannot discuss with Lilian for her lack of interest in them:

In return, Thea did not mention Max. She did not give her opinion of the United Nations' resolution on the European crisis, or ask for Lilian's. She did not say that she had last night, with great pleasure, rediscovered Housman. Neither did she attempt to summarize what she knew of the work of Jung, nor try to convince Lilian of its great value. (Ch. 1)

Current European events or the work of poets and philosophers is too far removed from Lilian's isolated world, but it is what unites Thea, Max, and Emily. As discussed in 5.3.3.1, their critical view of Australian culture, based on a comparison with the rest of the world, is in the novel seen as "un-Australian".

However, Emily's interest in learning is driven by her desire for love and attention she does not receive at home. Miss Bates, Emily's teacher by whom she would like to be singled out, has a "fondness for Joyce" (Ch. 2). Emily is jealous of the famous Irish writer, because he "alone caught all those special friendly smiles" Emily so longs to receive (Ch. 2). So with Max, she learns that instead of being jealous, it might be better to acquaint herself with the writers and subjects Max is interested in. She begins to learn and read widely, then discussing her observations with Max, while her ignorant aunt Lilian does mundane housework: "while Emily's days were occupied by Max, mathematics, syntax, Shakespeare, French and picnics at the beach, Lilian passed her time with a small amount of housework" (Ch. 5). Yet when Max suggests the possibility of his leaving and her going to university, she is sad and disappointed, hinting at the fact that she studied more for the discussions with Max than anything else: "Oh, Max! It wasn't what, not the things...I mean – Max – I liked the things, but it was the way, you..." (Ch. 6). Nonetheless, Max's work was not in vain, and on their parting, Emily promises him: "My Greeks and my Romans, I'll never forget. I'll keep on reading till I know as much as you" (Ch. 8), which signals hope that she will not become as complacent and ignorant as her aunt. This is further emphasised by Emily's awareness of the divide that is between them, symbolised by Lilian's scorn for everything Emily values: "It was only necessary, she had discovered, for a person, place, or thing to be admired by her, to become the object of hilarity and scorn. They'd even laugh at Shakespeare" (Ch. 4). To laugh at Shakespeare is the peak of ignorance.

That Emily is free of such ignorance is also suggested by her use of allusions, for example to Ellen Wood's 19th century novel *East Lynne* (Ch. 2), or to Mary Howitt's poem "The Spider and the Fly". Emily quotes from Howitt's poem after Max has been forced to leave, likening him and perhaps also herself to the fly, ensnared in the spider's web woven by her aunt and her friends (Ch. 9).

It is not only literature that broadens Emily's horizons, but also music, which appears to have a similar effect on Emily as nature (see 5.3.3). Listening to Wagner, Emily's imagination is stimulated, and her mind soothed: "[a] spiral wall was woven by the music – a tower from which Emily leaned at leisure, to gaze out over strange lands and fancies. She listened to Wagner's trumpeting with a quite incongruous sensation of peacefulness" (Ch. 4). Emily's description of the power of music to transport emphasises how culture broadens the mind – something most of the characters in Harrower's novel are in great need of.

Johnno (1975)

The analysis of the stylistics of landscape (5.3.3) revealed that allusions to the Western cultural capital, and particularly literature, which often appeared in analogies, are very frequent in Malouf's *Johnno*. The novel thus illustrates extremely well the transnational character of Australian literature (see 3.2.2.3), as Malouf's sources of inspiration are both domestic and international.⁹³ Where Harrower's *The Long Prospect* was set in a relatively closed off world of Ballowra, with Max, Thea and Emily being the only three characters with any interest beyond its borders, the world of *Johnno* is much more entrenched in world events and world culture, be it numerous references to WWII, world politics & geography, sports events, and the arts.

The nameless narrator's nickname Dante from the beginning announces the connection to the 14th-century Italian writer Dante Alighieri, which he acquired from Johnno after his poem "To Beatrice" appeared in the school magazine. While Dante did not like it, this nickname caught on, and shaped who he became: "[a]t the very moment when I was most in doubt about who I was, or where I stood, I had developed a new identity and now not even the name sewn into my gym things was true" (Ch. IV). As discussed above, Dante, on reading Dante, compares the Italian's love for and influence of his city with his own, and is terrified that Brisbane should exert such influence over him. Yet the resulting novel is proof that the city does influence him. It is his perception of the city combined with all the accumulated cultural capital he consumes

⁹³ Malouf's writing as a whole has numerous times been discussed as transnational, see for example Smith, Y. (2014).

through literature that shape his writing, and thus allows him to put Brisbane on the literary and cultural map and contribute to Australian literature.

That *Johnno* is in dialogue with the Western literary canon is suggested from the very beginning of the novel, which starts with an epigraph from the beginning of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*:

I have great comfort from this fellow. Methinks he hath no drowning mark upon him; his complexion is perfect gallows. Stand fast, good Fate, to his hanging: make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our own doth little advantage. If he be not born to be hanged, our case is miserable. (Act I, Scene 1)

Besides introducing the topic of death and drowning, which foreshadows Johnno's drowning in the river at the end of the novel, the use of Shakespeare establishes a connection between what was then a first novel of a beginning author in a former colony with the literary giant. This mining of the strong cultural capital of the English language lends the novel an aura of gravity supported by the numerous references to other works from the Western literary canon, such as the references to Dante, Dostoevsky, Dumas, Cicero, Baudelaire, or Rimbaud (as many of them were discussed in 5.3.3, they will not be elaborated on here), even the occasional quotation in Latin, German, and French. Despite Dante's initial assertion that Brisbane is "[a] place where poetry could never occur" (Ch. VII) and that the Australian cultural space is essentially void (see 5.3.3.1), with this novel Malouf proves that poetry (in the sense of poetic language) about Brisbane is possible. This poetry was partially enabled by his dialogue with "the world republic of letters".⁹⁴

Nonetheless, as discussed in 5.3.3, both Johnno and Dante continuously express their scepticism about the value or even existence of Australian culture, which is why they rely so much on outside resources. While the contrast with the other characters is not nearly as big as in *The Long Prospect*, the other characters are certainly more insulated than Johnno and Dante and absorb mainly popular culture when it comes to outside resources. Johnno sometimes attempts to educate them, as is the case with his one-time girlfriend Binkie, "an idiot [,] a silly bitch of a librarian," who habitually flicks through "old copies of Harpers and Vogue" (Ch. VIII), while Johnno brings her the classics:

"For God's sake," Binkie would say, half-laughing at it all, "he's trying to educate me! Look at this."

It was Lermontov's *A Hero of our Time*. He had also sent her on other occasions Tolstoi's *Resurrection*, Goethe's *Elective Affinities* and a glossy presentation recording of Mozart's Requiem. (Chapter VIII)

⁹⁴ "The world republic of letters" is a central concept and the title of a study on transnationalism in literature by Casanova (2007).

Judging by Binkie's reaction, his efforts are not met with much excitement.

The colonial mindset implying the superiority of the mother country, or the 'old world' to an extent still survives (which is consistent with the sociohistorical context, see 3.1.1.1.3). It is implied in Dante and Johnno's literary choices and opinions on Australian culture, i.e., its absence. However, it is not manifested in uncritical acceptance of everything foreign – even among the classics of British literature, Johnno has favourites and those he cannot stand, such as “Somerset Maugham, for whom he had a particular loathing” (Ch. VII). Nor does he have any reverence for the Empire, as suggested by Johnno's assertion that he had:

no loyalty to his country or to his House, no respect for anything as far as we could see. It meant nothing to him that minor servants of the British Raj had sent their sons to be educated here in the years before the Great War, or that a tree had been planted in the grounds by a Royal Duke, the son of Queen Victoria [...]. (Ch. I)

His reliance on outside cultural resources stems from the perceived absence of any culture at home, not loyalty to the 'old world'; although, as discussed in 5.3.3.1, he does associate Europe with civilisation, and during his time in Africa he is having seminal literary and philosophical books sent to him “from Blackwells in Oxford” to gain the “capacity for living at last among civilised men” (Ch. X) before setting off for Europe. Unlike Johnno, Dante feels if not loyalty than a certain kinship to the 'old world' and is fascinated by its history, which is so much richer and exciting than that of his own country (as discussed in 5.3.3.1).

Members of Dante's family likewise display a similar kinship to the 'old world'. Dante's father builds a new house and fits with “Victorian armchairs covered with French velvet” (Prologue). Dante's mother originates from England and tries to maintain her English way of life, which is reflected in how she is raising her children, as discussed in 5.3.3, in what she reads and what she surrounds herself with. She loves British “old-fashioned novels”, as Dante recalls:

John Halifax Gentleman, The Channings, David Copperfield, [and] These Old Shades – they were the first adult books I ever knew. [...] The world of those novels and our own slow-moving world seemed very close. The Channings were almost like next-door neighbours – and preferable certainly to our real neighbours [...]. (Ch. II)

These novels remind Dante's mother of the 'old world' and allow nostalgic reminiscences, same as the things she surrounds herself with, which Dante describes as he is cleaning away his father's things:

Her dressing table was the Library of Alexandria, a suburban V. and A. Just opening its drawers was like stepping back into my earliest childhood. There were [...] a replica of the anointing-spoon used at the coronation of Edward VII, [...] little blue bottles of Evening in Paris and huge ones of Potter and Moore Lavender [...]. (Prologue)

When going through the old house, Dante, as discussed, feels like “stumbling among the ruins of an abandoned empire” (Prologue), implying both the connection to colonialism as well as the fact that the time of the Empire has now passed.

Yet although the era of the Empire has passed, that Australia is dependent on the cultural production of other countries is apparent from the low number of references to Australian cultural production. Australian literature virtually does not exist in the cultural landscape of the novel, save for a biography of the Australian-born “genius young Scot, James MacRobertson,” an entrepreneur and founder of a chocolate factory MacRobertson’s, whose success story his father considered “the palpable record of a great national mythology” (Epilogue). The bush myth, which formed the basis of the national mythology of the previous period, no longer seems to be relevant in post-war Brisbane. It is referenced in the text only by Dante’s mention of listening to “The Search for the Golden Boomerang” (Ch. II), a children’s radio programme of stories set in the bush. Its reincarnation in the form of the ANZAC legend (see 3.1.1.1.2.1), lauding the bravery of Australian soldiers, is referenced by Dante’s high school teacher in his exaltations of the “Spirit of Anzac” (Ch. IV), but does not resonate with his pupils. What the status of MacRobertson’s biography as a “national mythology” signifies is that the bush myth was replaced by the story of capitalist success. This is in line with the other references to Australian culture that appear, such as names of brands like “Tristram soft drinks” (Prologue), “Stromberg Carlson radiograms” (Ch. II), “Coles” (Ch. XII) supermarket, or the “S.S. Koopa” (Ch. II) steam ship, which are all examples of material rather than intellectual culture.

The novel also records the influence of American popular culture, which was enhanced by the American military presence in Brisbane during the war. Thus there are references to popular American mid-century songs, such as “Victory Polka and Mairzy Dotes” (Ch. II), actors used in analogies, such as the example of Betty Grable discussed in 5.3.3.2 or Johnno described as having “Cagney-style middle parting and brilliantine waves” (Prologue) after the actor James Cagney, or American candy “Babe Ruths” (Ch. II).

5.3.5 Use of language in characterisation

Given the linguistic and cultural context discussed in 3.1.1.1.3 and the discussion of the general linguistic features of the two novels in 5.3.2, it is not surprising that both Harrower and Malouf make relatively little use of language in characterisation. Both novels focus largely on the inner lives of its characters and are written in a highly literary style, with less direct speech and little differentiation between characters within it, who usually share the same social class.

This may be a reflection of the linguistic attitudes of most of the era, which still stigmatised AusE as the lesser variety compared to StBE, especially the accent, which is why phonetic respellings hardly occur.

The Long Prospect (1958)

The one character that stands out the most in terms of direct speech is Lilian. To emphasise the melodramatic nature of some of Lilian's proclamations, Harrower makes frequent use of repetition, for example Lilian arguing with Fred: "Laugh! Laugh! Why, I wonder? Now, I wonder why?" (Ch. 6), or Lilian putting Emily down: "Blubber, blubber, blubber" (Ch. 9). Furthermore, her sentences are often exclamations or questions, as exemplified in the preceding passages, which emphasises her pushy personality. To an extent, Emily sometimes also employs repetitions in some of her direct speech, also to melodramatic effect, but not to the same degree.

In terms of phonetic respellings, there are very few. There are a couple of instances of "Hullo" (Ch. 5 and 6) from Emily and Max, but this simply signifies the general English used for most of the direct speech throughout the novel, as discussed in 5.3.2.1. The only character that is more consistently colloquial than the rest is Fred, Billie's lover and a member of Lilian's group of friends, who uses strong language (e.g., *bloody*, as discussed in 5.3.2.1) and slang expressions such as calling Max "not a bad cove" in Ch. 7, where *cove* means "chap" and originates from cant,⁹⁵ which draws on the penal history of Australia. It is also through occasional phonetic respellings that Harrower indicates that Fred speaks in a more non-standard way than the rest: "Fred, idleness and boredom personified, uttered an inane, 'Wha'd'ya know?'" (Ch. 7). Since Billie is attempting to flirt with Max, the polished and educated scientist, this linguistic difference contributes to setting Fred apart as the less sophisticated, more vulgar among the two, with Harrower drawing on the habitual associations of non-standard speech with lack of education and lower social standing.

Johnno (1975)

As discussed in 5.3.2.2, most of the novel consists of Dante's narrative voice. Direct speech is relatively infrequent, although sometimes the voice of Johnno seeps through Dante's narrative, as also discussed in 5.3.2.2. Dante's narration is characterised by lyricism, poetic

⁹⁵ See "cove, n.2." (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 23 March 2023, from www.oed.com/view/Entry/43316/

language and predominantly standard English, which is interspersed with some lexical items from the AusE vernacular (see 5.3.2.2 and 5.3.3). Dante's language thus helps Malouf in drawing an image of him as a writer and its closeness to StBE, and possibly the Cultivated variety, given his "nice accent" (Ch. III), contributes to characterising Dante as a member of a higher social class than Johnno. Nonetheless, the presence of some vernacular vocabulary foregrounds Dante's connection with Australian culture and displays that even the vernacular can be part of a high literary style. This attitude is consistent with the improved evaluation of AusE in the 1970s (see 3.1.1.1.3.1).

The only character that stands out in his direct speech is Johnno. In contrast to Dante, Johnno's more colloquial and sometimes vulgar language ranks him lower on the society ladder. Moreover, the incorporation of strong language into his speech also supports his characterisation as a passionate, even angry young man. The following passage illustrates his vulgarity, use of the keyword *bloody*, and a variant of the typically Australian greeting *G'day*:

"Really Dante, this is bloody good of you. It is! I want to be frank with you, I've been drinking. In fac', I am absolutely — bloody — PISSED."

[...] "G'night, Dante," Johnno called from the depths of his chair. (Ch. VI)

On another occasion, he also displays the use of non-standard second person plural pronoun *youse*, which is reported to be more frequent in AusE compared to other varieties (see 2.1.3): "Get fucked all youse!" (Ch. VII). Johnno's idiolect displays more features of vernacular AusE than Dante's narration, which incorporates only some vernacular vocabulary (see 5.3.2.2), although to a much greater degree than *The Long Prospect*. It is interesting that the character that voices the strongest criticism of Australian culture, or rather lack thereof, speaks in the novel in a voice that is the most recognisably Australian, suggesting what Johnno himself learns in the end, that he cannot escape his Australianness, however much he tries.

Similarly to *The Long Prospect*, phonetic respellings rarely appear – those that do are confined to minor characters, such as a waitress at the milk bar ("There y'are love. That'll put lead in yer pencil", Ch. IV) and a hot dog seller at the stadium ("If you've been t' the fight and yer going t' fuck, y' need a hot dog", Ch. II). Here the phonetic respellings indicating the elision of certain vowels, or intrusive *r* in *yer*, serve to indicate their lower social class, much like in Franklin's *My Brilliant Career* in the previous period (see 5.2.5).

5.3.6 Conclusion

The analysis of Harrower's *The Long Prospect* (1958) and Malouf's *Johnno* (1975) has shown that although in the Endonormative stabilisation period the local linguistic variety is

supposed to be fully independent and used with confidence and pride as an assertion of national identity, in the Australian context and especially among the intellectuals, Australian culture was still considered lacking, which impacted language use (see 3.1.1.1.3). In *The Long Prospect*, this is manifested in the near absence of the Australian vernacular, which appears only in a few lexical items and cultural keywords, and the near absence of references to Australian culture. The literary style of the novel and the critique it voices of the provincialism and cultural isolationism of Australian society lie behind the closeness to StBE, betraying very little of its Australian origin, and the generic frames of reference that place the novel in a kind of cultural void. In terms of the stylistics of landscape, the bush is replaced by a more modern setting of an industrial town, but the emphasis on a connection between nature and its inhabitants established in the previous periods remains a strong one.

Johnno also substitutes the bush for the cityscape, and likewise through an emphasis on nature being the formative force in Australian culture Malouf places what was once considered a Queensland backwater on the literary map. The use of language in *Johnno* reflects to a degree the improved position of AusE from the 1970s (see 3.1.1.1.3.1), which is particularly manifested in the inclusion of vernacular vocabulary which blends with the largely StBE narration. Despite the main characters' continuous assertions that Australia has no culture, which is suggested also via many descriptions of Australia that deny its very existence and culture through negative pronouns, Malouf works with both international and domestic frames of reference and thus manages to bring Australia into dialogue with other cultures. This blending of domestic and international frames of reference, and literary language nearing StBE with AusE vernacular features shows that it is possible to create domestic forms of literature that blend the cultural capital accumulated over the centuries in the 'old world' with the Australian experience, producing authentic forms of art comparable to the established traditions of the 'old world'.

5.4 Differentiation (1980s-present): *Dirt Music* (2001) and *Mullumbimby* (2013)

5.4.1 Comparison with previous phases and expectations

During Endonormative stabilisation, cultural cringe (see 2.4.3 and 3.1.1.1.3.1) led to a literature that at times consciously refrained from betraying its Antipodean origin, with comparably neutral language following StBE, as demonstrated in the analysis of Harrower's *The Long Prospect* (1958) in 5.3. As discussed in 3.1.1.1.3, some novelists set their texts either outside of Australia, or perhaps within but with as little attention drawn to the fact as possible,

and with few references to the Australian cultural capital, as demonstrated by both novels discussed in 5.3. For many of the authors, Britain was still the cultural norm to aspire to and emulate, although in Malouf's *Johnno* (1975) (see 5.3) there was an apparent change in the cultural and linguistic attitude.

Even though according to Schneider's model, in the Differentiation period the language and culture should be fully independent and self-confident (see 2.3.1.5 and 3.1.1.1.4.1), cultural cringe is still alive and well (see 3.1.1.1.4.1). Nonetheless, Australian writers have now gained the confidence to face it without masking their Australianness, while not shying away from the resources offered by the Western cultural canon, which they utilise in a much more playful manner with a self-confidence that was lacking before. As a time of increased nationalism all over the world in response to the migration crisis (see 3.1.1.1.4.1), the Differentiation period shares some similarities with the Nativization period, which was marked by an increase in the use of the vernacular and focused on Australian topics (see 5.2).

Therefore, the literature of this period is expected to be more overtly Australian in terms of the setting, use of the vernacular, domestic frames of reference, and discussion of local issues. The frequency of use of the vernacular, cultural keywords, as well as local-context-specific references is expected to be higher in this period than in the Endonormative stabilisation period as well as the Exonormative stabilisation period. Since the Differentiation period is according to Schneider (see 2.3.1.5) marked by an increase in regional variation as well as variation based on ethnic or community ties, the presence of regionalisms and ethnic varieties of AusE is expected to increase.

In order to examine not only the presence of the vernacular and cultural keywords and references, but also the regional or ethnic variation, Tim Winton's *Dirt Music* (2001) and Melissa Lucashenko's *Mullumbimby* (2013) were selected for analysis. Winton is considered a regional writer and his novels are all tied to WA, so the analysis of *Dirt Music* allows for the assessment of the possible development of regionalisms in AusE. Lucashenko's novel constitutes an interesting subject for analysis because of her mixed origin (Australian, Russian/Ukrainian and Bundjalung) and focus on modern Aboriginal life, therefore presenting an opportunity to examine ethnic variation. More information about the authors and the texts can be found in Appendix 2; below only a brief summary of relevant points will be outlined.

Lucashenko (*1967) identifies very strongly with her Bundjalung ancestry, which she examines in her texts, which are informed by her own experience as an Indigenous woman in Australian society that has only recently started to appreciate and integrate the rich cultural

heritage of the Aboriginal peoples into contemporary Australian life. *Mullumbimby* tells the story of a divorced Aboriginal woman Jo, who buys a plot of land in her ancestral country in order to explore her roots. Through her interactions with nature, which serves as another character in the novel, she finds a common language with which she is able to communicate with the flora and fauna and by proxy with her ancestors. Moreover, she falls in love with Twoboy, an Aboriginal man whose family is embroiled in a Native Title dispute over a piece of land. Language plays a crucial role in the novel, not only in Jo's communication with her ancestors, but also in the Native Title dispute, where it is used as evidence, foregrounding the strong ties between language and the land.

In Winton's (*1960) *Dirt Music* the Western Australian landscape also serves as another character, which is tied to the protagonists' identity and foreshadows and mirrors their emotions. Georgie, the main character, returns to Australia from working overseas and lives with Jim, a widowed fisherman prominent in the local community, and his sons. She feels lost, and when she stumbles on the enigmatic poacher Lu, she falls in love with him. Yet Lu's poaching provokes a violent response and he is forced to leave, hiding on a remote island, where he is trying to come to terms with the traumas of the past and the possibilities of the future.

The language of both texts is quite noteworthy. Lucashenko offers an interesting insight into current Aboriginal English(es) by combining influences from Indigenous languages and the Australian vernacular into a form of English that challenges the reader. Winton's text also includes much of Australian vernacular, while incorporating influences from British and American slang, which contrasts with his lyrical and stylised narrative.

5.4.2 General linguistic features

5.4.2.1 The language of *Mullumbimby* (2013)

i) Commentary: asserting difference through a shared language

Nearly all reviewers of *Mullumbimby* comment on the language of the novel, and even to the ordinary reader it seems striking. Many reviews on *Goodreads*, for example, discuss how difficult the language was to understand at first. For example, Estela Anders says how she was close to giving up on the novel because of it:

I took many pages to feel comfortable with the language of the book. It vaguely resembled the English (Aussie) I have grown used to, but thicker, denser, harder to follow. I had an e-whinge with the other 'bookclubbers', I briefly considered giving up. I'm so grateful I persisted. Suddenly I became fluent in this wonderful mix of aussie and goorie! (2016)

Considering one of the novel's themes is the place of Aboriginal culture and the nature of Aboriginal identity in predominantly white Australia, I daresay fostering intercultural understanding is one of its aims, symbolised by this interweaving of linguistic features. However, as Lucashenko points out, it is also an assertion of difference, symbolising the singular experience of the Indigenous population within the Australian nation:

I am not writing to make people feel warm and comfortable. When my readers enter the world of my book I want them to feel like they can find a place to belong in my story. But it is not their story, and the language is familiar but it is not their language. It is a novel about belonging and it is a novel about difference, too. (qtd. in Chenery 2013)

The mixed language thus appears to have been one of Lucashenko's ways of situating the non-Indigenous readers out of their comfort zone. To give an example of such mixed language, the following quotation is by *Mullumbimby*'s main character Jo:

Yeah, nah she'll get out alright in the Pajero, Chris's already flooded in, but. Those creek crossings on the way to her place aren't up to shit. And you wanna hope this gwong stops pissing down by tomorrow, but, or there won't be any good loving for ya, it'll be owner-operator all the way, bunji [...] (Ch. 7)

Typical Australian vernacular features include the discourse marker "Yeah, nah" (see Burridge & Florey 2002), *final but*, or the use of the non-standard pronoun "ya" instead of *you*. Mixed with these are words from Indigenous languages: "gwong" and "bunji". Their meaning can usually be inferred from the context, so predictably, the former means "rain", while the latter means "friend or partner", according to the glossary provided at the end of the novel.

The glossary is an interesting feature that has been discussed by Patrick Leslie West in connection with the acclaimed postcolonial novel *The Bone People* (1984) by the New Zealand author Keri Hulme, which was also published with a glossary of Maori words. This was perceived by some critics as an assertion of otherness in a novel written predominantly in the colonising language. As such it can be seen as promoting a binary view of New Zealand culture emphasising the divides between the former coloniser and the colonised, but also as being subservient to the dominant language by providing a translation. West offers an alternative view that draws on the concept of 'tidalectics' connected with Oceanic cultures that emphasises their circularity in opposition to the linearity of Western culture. He views these glossaries as "glossary islands" – a concept that "engages with the inevitable intermingling of languages of post-colonial and multi-cultural nations" (2016). Thus, the different cultures that have been in contact can be seen as currents that ebb and flow on those islands, creating a unique mix of influences that further shape each culture. This seems a useful way of approaching Aboriginal, and in fact Australian identity now, as each of the cultures in the mix influences the others, and

while they are not moulding into one unified culture, through all the intermingling they become connected into the Australian whole.

The glossary appears at the end of *Mullumbimby* and in her introduction to it, Lucashenko directs the reader to more sources on Indigenous languages:

In this novel, Jo speaks a mixture of Bundjalung and Yugambah languages, interspersed with a variety of Aboriginal English terms. Readers wanting to learn more may refer to *A Dictionary of Yugambah and Related Languages*, or the several dictionaries of Bundjalung, all of which were compiled by Dr Margaret Sharpe with the guidance of Aboriginal informants.

Her commentary emphasises that there is a clear difference between Aboriginal English and individual Indigenous languages. While this difference is naturally quite clear, in general discussion the term Aboriginal English appears to encompass any usage of English by Aboriginal people, both with its grammatical idiosyncrasies as well as usages of words from different Indigenous languages.

ii) Style

The novel is narrated in the third person, filtered mostly through Jo's consciousness, meaning the language of the narrative is close to general English, with contracted forms, coordinated clauses rather than complex subordinate ones, and simpler, Germanic vocabulary. The direct speech of many of the characters is of a lower register, combining vernacular AusE with Aboriginal forms of English.

Aboriginal way of using English

As no character in the novel speaks purely an Indigenous language and there are only individual words within English sentences, it easily falls under the label of Aboriginal English. Yet this term conflates the diversity of how Aborigines use English and elements from multiple Indigenous languages depending on regions and tribes. That is why in the most recent comprehensive treatment of AusE, the chapter on Aboriginal English is titled "Aboriginal English(es)", recognising the plurality reflecting the nearly 300 Indigenous languages that were once spoken on the continent (Dickson 2019: 134).

Aboriginal Englishes share many features with other vernacular Englishes, not just Australian, for example h-dropping, double negatives, non-standard pronouns and verb forms, formulaic clause structure (e.g., *too X that Y* as in *too stiff that back*), and omission of copular *be* (see Dickson 2019: 134-154). Thus, the main distinguishing feature is lexis – both borrowings from Indigenous languages as well as English words used in different senses, such

as *gammon* (fake) or *fork* (vagina). This is demonstrated in the novel through examples such as “‘Ah, gammon, busted strings.’ Kym said” (Ch. 1).

In terms of the social aspects of language, Dickson (2019) notes previous research has shown the importance of relationships and respect reflected in the usage of kinship terms and in indirectness. This is also strongly reflected in the novel through constant usage of terms *Auntie* and *Uncle* for older Aborigines that are not related to the speaker, or the usage of *mob* to refer to one’s Aboriginal community which is also not necessarily blood-related. Dickson also provides examples of regional variation such as the discourse particle *la* associated with some areas in QLD. While *Mullumbimby* is set in NSW, the area is near the border with QLD. The presence of the *la* particle in the novel could thus be accounted for by the proximity to QLD as well as by Lucashenko’s QLD origin. The particle is used for example by the Aboriginal elder Humbug: “I’m the eldest and that makes me the one true blackfella for this place la” (Ch. 4). Code-switching is also characteristic of Aboriginal Englishes and will be discussed in 5.4.5.

Cultural keywords

As the first quote from *Mullumbimby* suggested, features of Aboriginal English mix with the Australian vernacular. Apart from those mentioned above, other examples include frequent use of certain keywords such as *bloody*, *bush*, and *mate*. *Mate* is particularly significant, as in the original bush mythology there was no place for the Aborigines, while here it is used most frequently by the main character Jo, an Aboriginal woman, and often in reference to her female friends. She is also often called *mate*, illustrating the democratisation of the term and also its possible convergence with *friend* suggested by recent studies (see 3.2.1.2) as well as the corpus findings (see 4.2.2.1). Jo also uses it to indicate friendliness and solidarity to strangers, as in this example where her dogs approach a white man entering her property: “You’re right mate, they won’t bite” (Ch. 2). The indexing of solidarity also plays a role in the usage of *mate* in the context of showing care or offering consolation: “You right there, are ya, matey?” (Ch. 7). Ironic usages of the term also appear, e.g., “[i]t’s a sacred site for the bloody RSL, mate, not your lot” (Ch. 10), where *mate* is used in reference to Humbug by a stranger.

Hypocoristics

One of the most striking linguistic features of the novel that denotes Australianness is the use of innovative hypocoristics which, as discussed in 2.1.2, index in-group membership, solidarity and informality, rather than being strictly motivated by economy of communication.

The usual suspects such as “arvo” (“afternoon”; Ch. 8), “sunnies” (“sunglasses”; Ch. 5), “mozzies” (“mosquitoes”; Ch. 12), “barbie” (“barbecue”; Ch. 13), “ute” (“utility truck”; Ch. 2), “roo” (“kangaroo”; Ch. 8), “brekkie” (“breakfast”; Ch. 5) etc. appear alongside rarer ones, such as “git” (“guitar”; Ch. 13), “toes” (“tomatoes”; Ch. 5), “demo” (“demonstration”; Ch. 9), “vego” (“vegetarian”; Ch. 5), “rellies” (“relatives”, which is usually *rellos*; Ch. 9), “troopie” (“troop carrier”; Ch. 2), “ocky strap” (“octopus strap”; Ch. 5), “anthro” (“anthropologist”; Ch. 12), “flannie” (“flannel shirt”; Ch. 9), “flattie” (“flat fish”; Ch. 10) or “topo map” (“topographic map”; Ch. 12). Many of the names of characters and places are likewise abbreviated/embellished: *Johnno*, *Simmo*, *Basho*, *Jase*, *Dicko* (Dick – Richard); *Brissie* (Brisbane), *Goldie* (Gold Coast), *Straddie* (Stradbroke Island). The frequency of occurrence of the hypocoristics and their usage in a range of social situations confirms that they are seen as an integral part of AusE and they give the novel an unmistakably ‘Aussie’ flavour.

5.4.2.2 The language of *Dirt Music* (2001)

i) Commentary: the vernacular and literary prose

Many critics have noted Winton’s idiosyncratic style that combines narrative lyricism with the Australian vernacular. Morrison, who wrote a detailed analysis of the use of the vernacular in Winton’s other acclaimed novel *Cloudstreet* (1991), notes that this is an aspect of Winton’s writing that has been noted and praised internationally, even by English critics and publishers (2014: 49). Moreover, Morrison observes that the way Winton infuses his highly literary style with the working-class voice through the vernacular asserts the cultural capital of the Australian idiom. According to Morrison (2014), Winton thus disputes the colonial association of vernaculars with the low and popular as opposed to the high culture and prestige associated with the standard. Morrison asserts that Winton’s use of language proves that “the non-standard, the local and the homegrown languages have more than enough capacity to hold the potentially lyrical subjectivity of Australian men” (2014: 70).

Similarly, Doney (2014) notes that the novelist’s style reflects his own idiolect, as he “writes as he talks, in vivid vernacular”, yet at the same time “there is something of the sunburnt nature-poet about his descriptions of ocean, beach, and scrub” (to be discussed in more detail in 5.4.3). Winton admits that his appreciation of the vernacular stems from his working-class roots and time spent listening to other people’s conversations: “I think it was the distinctive sounds of people’s voices, which may explain my love of vernacular” (qtd. in Doney 2014).

In terms of metalinguistic commentary in the novel itself, there is very little. One interesting instance addresses internal variation in AusE, displaying an awareness of regional difference associated with Winton's Western Australia. The following passage demonstrates the issues a character called Lois, a foreigner, had with understanding the local idiom: "Lois, he said, had a thing for Abbott and Costello, though her English was sketchy. The way White Pointers used the language made it a challenge even to those born to it, so Lois really had her work cut out for her." It is not only foreigners to whom the local variety presents a problem, but also other native speakers. Though all native speakers of English have the same language at their disposal, this passage emphasises they all 'use' it differently – in this case dependant on the region, the town of White Point.

ii) Style

a) *High register*

Compared to *Mullumbimby*, the narrative language of *Dirt Music* is more consciously literary, utilising a broad range of stylistic means and cultural references to paint a vivid picture, through literary vocabulary (e.g., "lucent eye", "plangent heat", both Ch. I) and lyrical descriptions, such as in "She saw the moon tip across the lagoon until its last light caught on bow rails and biminis and windscreens, making mooring buoys into fitful, flickering stars" (Ch. I), which paints a verbal image soundtracked by alliteration. This contrasts with the characters' direct and free indirect speech, creating a tension that perhaps mimics the immense beauty of Australia that goes hand in hand with its roughness – both in terms of the landscape, as well as the culture which arose out of such the specific circumstances.

b) *Lower register*

Australian vernacular

Like in *Mullumbimby*, the speech of the characters populating Winton's *Dirt Music* draws heavily on the Australian vernacular. In its representation, Winton is trying to capture the pronunciation through spelling. This is illustrated in the following examples by Yogi, who is represented with one of the strongest accents, although the speech of all characters is noticeably Australian (to be discussed in more detail in 5.4.5):

Whossat? [...] Jim's missus? [...] Won't be a tick. [...] Just get the soap orf' (...)
Righto!
[...] Try the surfshop, eh. I'll get me strides on.
[...] Oy, you lazy, fat hippy bastard, get ya missus down the ambo shed and tell her to put her teeth in!

[...] Well, mate, excrement occurs and this is ya small community arrangement. [...] Yairs, well there's more bells and whistles, I sponse. (Ch. I)

Apart from the lexical features, such as the use of “Righto”, “bastard”, “ambo” (ambulance), and “mate”, spellings such as “yairs” (yes) and “orf” (off) suggest the longer vowels characteristic of the Australian drawl typical for a Broad accent (see Burrridge 2019: 183).

Another feature of (not only) AusE that is represented with striking frequency is the tag *eh*, as in “Feel like a swim, eh?” (Ch. I), used in conversation by most of the characters. Rather than an expression of surprise or suggesting a question, it is used in nearly all cases to invite assent or simply as a question tag establishing solidarity between the speakers, which corresponds to its *Macquarie Dictionary* definition (“The Australian Word Map”, n.d.). The cases which lean more towards the solidarity aspect rather than inviting assent appear also without a question mark: “Yeah, destitution, eh” (Ch. I).

Cultural keywords

Many of the cultural keywords (see chapter 4) appear frequently, such as *bloody*, *bugger*, *bloke*, *bastard*, and *mate*. *Bloody* is used as a frequent intensifier. The usage of *bastard* is interesting in that although it does appear a few times in the Australian almost affectionate sense (“Your own fault, he thinks, you cocky bastard, you had to lairize around like you owned the bloody bay”, Ch. I), in more cases it is meant in the derogatory sense, as in “I can’t believe you’d do it. You vicious bastard” (Ch. I), indicating, similarly to the corpus findings, that this is the more common usage now. *Bugger*, on the other hand, appears to denote compassion or affection in most of its usages as a noun. Nearly a quarter of the total occurrences of *bloke* come from this novel. In line with the corpus findings, in most instances it is synonymous with “man”, and it often appears in narrative, e.g., “[w]hereas this bloke was a citizen” (Ch. I). It also appears as self-identification, denoting masculinity, however, also through the cultural consciousness hinting at the characteristics of the Australian bloke:

You banman? the young man whispers, staring fearfully.
Bad man? No. I'm just... just a bloke, Axle. (Ch. V)

This meaning is also denoted by the adjective *blokey*, used in characterisation of Jim, Georgie’s partner: “He was blokey and, yes, a little dull, especially of late, but he wasn’t a narcissist or a whiner” (Ch. I).

Mate appears most often as a term of address and in line with both Lucashenko and recent research, it is used by women and in reference to women. While in most instances it indexes friendliness, there are several instances of antagonistic usage as well, e.g., “[d]on’t

compare yeself to me, mate, he said hotly” (Ch. IV). A certain irreverence is conveyed by “old mate Shostakovich” (Ch. III) and a reference to another European composer which is accompanied by wordplay on his name: “Arvo, she said, play Arvo in the arvo! Our little Estonian mate!” (Ch. III) referring to Arvo Pärt (both mentioned in 4.2.2.1.4.2). This usage of *mate* seems to establish equality between the speaker and the referent and in its familiarity it also suggests their adoption into Australian culture.

A negative reference to the mateship/bush ethos is facilitated by the word *dobber* – Georgie refers to her partner’s son as “the little dobber” (Ch. I) when he tells on her to his father that she accidentally broke his skateboard. *Battler*, the underdog, also makes an appearance, when Lu thinks about his struggling family saved by its musical talent: “It made you battlers, not losers; it was what earned you that last grudging shred of respect in the district” (Ch. VII).

Hypocoristics

Hypocoristics also appear, although they are not as frequent as in *Mullumbimby*. To name some of the rarer ones: “dash” (“dashboard”; Ch. I), “Stoli” (“Stolichnaya vodka”; Ch. I), “lippy” (“lipstick”; Ch. II), “croc” (“crocodile”; Ch. VIII) or “vollies” (“volunteers”; Ch. II). A similar creative tendency is displayed by the acronym “sads” that is used by one of the characters and stands for “See Australia And Die” (Ch. III), referring to retired Australians travelling the country.

Australian regionalisms

As noted in 5.4.1, Winton is considered a regional writer for his novels’ close connection to WA. Given that regionalisms are one of the characteristics of the Differentiation period (see 2.3.1.5), the expectation was several might appear in *Dirt Music*. However, there were only a few, which supports the earlier hypothesis that this last phase of development is not yet complete (see 3.1.1.1.4.1).

The regionalisms that were identified are connected to the coastal landscape and related activities (for all of these, see “The Australian Word Map”, n.d.). “Deckie” (“a deck hand”; Ch. I) is marked by the *Macquarie Dictionary* as a WA regionalism, although contributors’ comments indicate it is now used all over Australia. “Gibber” means “stone” or “pebble” and is used in the novel to describe “the gibber plains and red dunes to the east” (Ch. III) where “gibber” means “rocky”, originating in the Aboriginal Dharug language, which is now also used in most Australian states. “Rock lobster” signifies a marine crayfish which, as one of the

contributors to the *Macquarie Dictionary* notes, was forced onto Western Australians by the marketing industry, otherwise they call it *crayfish*. The narrator comments on this change himself: “Before the export boom, when most of the catch was canned, rock lobsters were called crayfish” (Ch. I).

As this is fishing region, there is also fishing vocabulary, some of it specific to Australia, but not necessarily regional, such as the Australian/New Zealand name for a bluefish – “tailor” (Ch. II).

Other regionalisms

The Australian slang is peppered here and there with Americanisms and British slang. Along with the numerous references to non-Australian culture, which will be discussed in 5.4.4, the American and British slang portrays Australia as the product of cultural exchanges that may leave linguistic consequences. Such level of international influence on culture and consequently language negates the image of Australia as an insulated continent, like it was perceived by some in the Endonormative stabilisation period (see 3.1.1.1.3) and emphasises that English is a language shared by many nations, as is the Anglophone cultural canon.

Americanisms such as *dumpster* (“A kid bagging bottles by the dumpster”, Ch. I), *shuck*⁹⁶ (“he shucked off his jeans”, Ch. I; “he shucks out of the wetsuit”, Ch. I; “shucking her shorts”, Ch. II) or *corral* in the sense of “confine” or “capture” (see “corral”, *Collins Dictionary*, n.d.) appear in the narrative (“three sofas corralled around the TV”, Ch. I; “a chain corraling him against the mainland”, Ch. VII).

British slang is represented by “gels” (girls,⁹⁷ Ch. II), “matelot” (sailor in nautical slang, borrowed from French,⁹⁸ Ch. II), “doss down” (to sleep in rough accommodations,⁹⁹ Ch. I), “boffin” (an intellectual,¹⁰⁰ Ch. V). There are also some rather archaic expressions such as “her modest box of chattels” (Ch. II).

⁹⁶ See “shuck” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 22 August 2021, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/178988>

⁹⁷ “gel, n.1” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 22 August 2021, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/270055>

⁹⁸ “matelot, n. and adj.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 22 August 2021, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/114915>

⁹⁹ “doss, v.2” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 22 August 2021, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/56951>

¹⁰⁰ “boffin, n.” (2021). *OED3 Online*, Oxford University Press. Retrieved 22 August 2021, from <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/20951>

5.4.3 Stylistics of landscape

As has been established in 2.4 and 2.7, people's relationship to the landscape that surrounds them is crucial for the development of national identity and language in postcolonial societies. This relationship is an important topic in both novels where it is linguistically foregrounded through detailed descriptions and personification of nature, which becomes another character in both works. Both *Mullumbimby* and *Dirt Music* continue the nation-building tradition begun in the late 19th century (see 5.1). Both Lucashenko and Winton "claim possession" (see 3.2.2.2.1) of the Australian landscape for their characters, each in their own ways, while illustrating what has already been suggested by the analysis of the previous period (5.3) – that the bush is not the sole representative of a uniquely Australian landscape anymore. It is closely followed by the desert (see Carter 2006), and as Clark (2020) added recently, also the beach. While *Mullumbimby* revolves around the bush, *Dirt Music* ventures along the WA coastline, across the desert, into the northern rainforests.

5.4.3.1 Conceptualisation of space

Mullumbimby (2013)

In *Mullumbimby*, the plot revolves around the dispute over Native Title. Due to her relationship with the claimant Twoboy, Jo becomes entangled in it. Struggling with a sense of belonging, she finds herself in the position of being able to communicate with the land and by proxy with her ancestors. The bush thus functions almost as one of the characters, as it has agency and the power to communicate. This is suggested in several ways, for example by Jo addressing the land with respect:

[...] where the lilli pillis had finished fruiting months before. Walking past, Jo greeted them. 'Jingawahlu baugal jali jali,' she whispered, touching the trunks with a soft hand. No call to ignore someone just cos they don't have a feed for you. (Ch. 1)

In fact, the land is personified, as Jo attributes it a human-like consciousness, reflected here in the verb "to know":

It'll be worth it, one day, when the place looks like somebody loves it. When the land knows somebody loves it, she corrected herself. (Ch. 3)

The individual elements of nature also have agency, suggested here by the active verbs denoting movement and the power to see, and by the transitive verb *made* that attributes it an ability to create:

The sun was creeping above the slash pines, and its early slanting rays bathed the twenty acres with a brilliant golden sheen. To her left, Bottlebrush Hill gazed benignly down over the old farmhouse and paddocks. To her right, the heavily forested ridgeline made a thick green barrier between her and the rest of the world.

[...] a large eucalypt – a mountain ash perhaps – raised its curiously heart-shaped canopy in outline against the lightening sky. (Ch. 2)

Moreover, the animals within speak an Indigenous language: “the ibis were muttering to each other in Bundjalung” (Ch. 5). Jo also addresses nature in an Indigenous language. Her addresses to the land do not remain unanswered as throughout the novel she hears a talga, a traditional song. At the novel’s end it is revealed it is not sung by ghosts, as Jo feared, but by a lyrebird. As Granny Nurrung, an Aboriginal elder, reveals, “the lyrebirds were repeating the song they had heard, and passing it down through hundreds of generations” (Ch. 13). The talga, according to Granny Nurrung, signifies to Jo that she had “found the right jagan there” (Ch. 13).

The language of the novel reflects this strong rootedness of Aboriginal people in the land as the Aboriginal English they speak uses words from Indigenous languages precisely for words connected to nature and belonging. Thus land is called “jagan”, and the animals and plants within are also called by their native names, such as the eagle – “mibun” (Ch. 6), which includes an inline translation in the text (unlike most of the Indigenous words), “mulanyin” (blue heron; Ch. 9), or “kubbil” (carpet snake; Ch. 5). Most of the glossary, in fact, consists of nature-related terms. This is significant because while the Aborigines have adopted the new language of the colonisers in its Australian variety, as demonstrated by their use of the vernacular, the words they have kept from their Indigenous languages are those that connect them with the land. There appears to exist a direct link between the Indigenous languages and the land, which is reinforced by the fact that in Native Title disputes, language is used as evidence:

[...] linguistic clues travelled far. There were words on Brisbane street maps that Goories still used every day, and a clutch of terms like binna and jinung had currency across the entire east coast. Twoboy had been told by the lawyers that he had to piece together the cultural jigsaw that had been exploded by his family’s diaspora, or else accept defeat. The court wasn’t interested in the gaps, only in the complete picture: songs, sites, family trees, language, ceremony. Especially songs. (Ch. 9)

Aboriginal English, as used in *Mullumbimby*, thus indexes a double identity – both Aboriginality and Australianness, yet the access to the spiritual relationship with the land and hence a sense of belonging seems to be reachable via the Indigenous language.

This relates to the British/Anglo-Australian practises of fencing off, dividing, numbering, or otherwise marking individual pieces of land and thus disrupting its continuity, which is a concept that feels foreign to the Aborigines. This is suggested in the following example by the words “dismembered” and “orphaned”, which again emphasise the human-like nature of the land and the disruption of the unity of the land and its people:

The taking of the land had been more absolute and thorough than she'd realised. Jo found that the pieces of land, dismembered each from the other, the orphaned parts of a now-dissolved whole, were to be found on the maps all numbered in the way that the graves at the Mullum cemetery were numbered in her groundkeeper's register. The way that convicts – rapists and murderers – were numbered in prison. Jo found this numbering deeply disturbing. (Ch. 8)

Besides Native Title, Indigenous languages remain a way of transcending these borders erected between pieces of the same land by once again calling it and what resides within it with its original names and perhaps uncovering more talgas to be sung. This linguistic practice can be seen as a manifestation of the abrogation process (see 2.4.3), whereby Aboriginal way of using English is adapting the imposed language of the coloniser to its own purposes to better reflect the Aboriginal experience and worldview, which sees all elements of the universe as animate and worthy of respect.

Dirt Music (2001)

A similarly deep spiritual connection with the land is represented in *Dirt Music*, although as it deals with predominantly white Australians, the link between the language and the land is not as direct as in Aboriginal culture – it has had to be 'translated' via English. None the same, the characters recognise the pull of the land, it is just harder to articulate. Georgie lived abroad for a long time and despite her better judgement acknowledges what she had felt was homesickness – not necessarily for fellow Australians, but the land itself:

Sentimental attachment to geography irritated her, Australians were riddled with it and West Australians were worst of all, but there was no point denying that the old predawn ritual was anything more than bog-standard homesickness, that what she was sniffing for was the highball mix you imbibed every night of your riverside Perth childhood, the strange briny effervescence of the sea tide stirring in the Swan River, into its coves, across the estuarine flats. (Ch. I)

Instead of a direct connection through a native language, in *Dirt Music* the connection is forged through the senses. Unlike in *Mullumbimby*, it is not limited to ancestral land but spans the whole continent, as the non-Indigenous population had no opportunity to lay down their roots so deeply yet, which is mirrored in Georgie and Lu being drifters wrestling with their sense of belonging. The fact that Georgie feels the strongest attachment to the land on a remote island she stumbles upon on a sailing trip illustrates that no deep roots are required to feel a sense of belonging – she simply feels the pull:

Georgie couldn't understand this feeling of recognition. It was iconic Australian landscape but not even twenty years of nationalist advertising could account for this sensation. It even smelt right, as familiar as the back of her arm, like a place she came to every night in her sleep. (Ch. II)

She cannot explain the connection, she just feels it, which is again foregrounded by the mention of the familiarity of the smell. Significantly, when Lu makes his escape, he heads for this island Georgie mentioned, to both feel a connection with her and to face his past.

Nearly all of Winton's vivid imagery of the Western Australian landscape, from the rugged coastline, plains, and sand dunes to the lush tropics of the north, where Lu escapes and Georgie eventually follows, relies on the senses in its construction. Winton's descriptions evoke that the land is a part of the people – they feel it, smell it, taste it:

[Lu] Fox stands amidst the limestone pinnacles smelling the baked dryness of the land and the tang of abalone slime on his skin. The briny southerly rushes, full of crowsong, across the hill and the upright stones whistle. (Ch. I)

Even the verbs “rush” and “whistle” attribute human-like capabilities to the wind and the stones. This is only emphasised by Lu's memory that sees the landscape as a living being:

At night in bed he felt the ooze of sap, the breathing leaves, the air displaced by birds, and he understood that if you watched from the corner of your eye the grasstrees would dance out there and people wriggle from hollow-burnt logs. (Ch. I)

Of course, the natural world is a living organism, however, in the novel, similarly to *Mullumbimby*, it becomes a character that influences other characters' lives and communicates with them, although not yet in the same language, as Georgie has to interpret the words rather than directly understanding them. For example, when she hears the crows give out “single syllables”, she “[takes] the sounds as irony,” (Ch. II) as she arrives at Lu's abandoned house.

To drive this point home, the land displays emotion (e.g., “brooding air”, Ch. II) and its individual parts are frequently referred to as parts of the human body. The riverbank has “open veins” (Ch. I), the ranges have “saurian feet” on which they might “stalk away at any moment” (Ch. III), while the continent is described as “a craggy frown and half the frown is Western Australia” (Ch. I), the gulf as “a long gut of milky-blue water” (Ch. II) that has a “mouth” around which there is a “rash of islands” (Ch. II). The land has “scars and open wounds” (Ch. V) and “rivers run like green gashes towards the sea” (Ch. V). Like the main protagonists, the land has a history that has left many scars, but it can also be perceived as an analogy to the current situation in Australia, where the wounds of the past are still being re-examined. In fact, in postcolonial literature the wounded body is frequently used as a metaphor for the colonised (e.g., Boehmer 1993). Here, it extends not only to the people, but the land as well, and works in both directions, encompassing not only the white Australians colonised by Britain, but also the Indigenous population colonised by white Australians.

Those scars also serve as a reminder of the immense power of nature. As a fishing town, White Point, the main setting, depends on the produce of the sea: “They lived and died by

chance, by fluctuations in weather and ocean current, by momentary changes in spawning patterns and migration. Crustacea was a fickle kingdom” (Ch. I). Not only can the sea be fickle, but so can the sun, illuminating the sea with glittering sunrays one minute, and setting bushfires the next. The novel abounds in sun imagery which expresses the harshness of the Australian climate in the violent terms of the “murdering sun” where “the heat was killing” and “the sun beat into [Georgie’s] head” (all Ch. I). The active verbs in those examples referring to physical actions evoke the brutal force of nature, even suggesting intent on the sun’s part, as “murdering” and “beating” require agency. This harshness, present in nearly all of the previously analysed texts (see 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3), however, establishes a connection with the bush mythology where it played a part in forming the characteristics of the national type.

Like the talga in *Mullumbimby*, music plays an important part in *Dirt Music*. Lu is a musician, although he gave up on music after a tragic accident that killed the rest of his family. Nonetheless, his words in answer to what kind of music he used to play are emblematic of how music is treated in the novel – as an expression of the land, a way of forming a connection with it:

Oh, I dunno. All kinds, I spose. Anythin you could play on a verandah. You know, without electricity. Dirt music.
As in...soil?
Yeah. Land. Home. Country. (Ch. I)

In the absence of lyrebirds to teach people the ancient songs, they have to listen to signals and create their own ‘tribal’ songs, singing that connection into existence. As Harris remarks in his exploration of the role of music in the novel, “Winton might be said to be voicing the recurrent dream of modern human beings – the collective memory of the enchanting powers of music to ‘sing’ us back to pre-lapsarian unity with nature” (2015: 2).

5.4.3.2 Analogies

To further aid in their construction of place, Winton and Lucashenko utilise analogies that involve various conceptual mappings that rely on domestic sources much more than the analogies used by Malouf and Harrower in the preceding period (see 5.3.3.2). Unlike Dickens’ *Pictures from Italy* discussed in 2.7.2.1, which was written for the Victorian reader from the British Empire about the exotic other, *Mullumbimby* and *Dirt Music* were written by Australian authors primarily for an Australian audience, with at least the general terms of the place already established in the national consciousness. While Winton thus draws almost exclusively on

domestic sources, Lucashenko also works with the distinction between Aboriginal, non-indigenous, and British.

Analogies in *Dirt Music* (2001)

Let us first look at Winton's analogies rooted purely in the Australian experience. These can be divided into two groups that both assert in-group membership and may serve an othering function for overseas readers (Wales's Type B, see 2.7.2.1 and 3.2.2.2), while reinforcing the idea of the land and its people being one (serving a familiarising function for the Australian reader, like Wales's Type D). This is consistent with the expectations of the Differentiation phase and asserts Australia's independence in relying on its own and often unique frames of reference.

1) Analogies based on the Australian experience

a) *Heat*

The first group utilises the Australian heat and is part of the aforementioned sun-imagery conveying the harshness of the land. The sun, bushfires and cooking/baking are especially prominent in those analogies, reinforcing the power of nature. The sun is so hot, even towels are affected, as this example suggests: “[He] feels the **sunbaked towel rough as bread**” (Ch. I). The analogy to the “rough[ness] of bread”, which is likewise a product of baking, conveys the destructive power of the sun. That the baking rarely produces good results is indicated by another example, where “the land” is described as “**look[ing] like a badly baked cake** and all those sandy white gouges in the khaki scrub **like random gobs of icing**” (Ch. I). The “badly baked cake” suggests an image of a cracked surface, perhaps even a little burned. The “cake” and “icing” metaphor, however, has naturally positive connotations, which softens the harshness evoked by cracked earth.

Analogies to bushfires are even more indicative of the destructive power of nature. In the following example, Winton uses the destructive force of a bushfire to evoke a feeling of desolation, utilising an interesting mapping of a force of nature onto human emotion: “I already felt **like a ghost**. [...] **Like in a bushfire that rolls over you so fast you're cooked inside** but still running” (Ch. I).

The negative connotations of *bushfire* are so strong that they give Winton the opportunity for creating a paradox, such as in the following example: “Above the murky hinterland, stars hang **like sparks and ash from a distant bushfire**” (Ch. III). Here, Winton

takes something usually perceived as beautiful – the stars – and likens them to products of a bushfire, a destructive force, thus reinforcing the Australian paradox of intense beauty and simultaneous harshness, and by extension the mix of high and low culture, as discussed above. There is another very similar example: “**The sky was a bushfire** on the seaward horizon; another sunset, a lost day” (Ch. IV).

b) *Flora and fauna*

The second group that can be identified in *Dirt Music* relies, similarly to *Mullumbimby*, on the flora and fauna, which is used to describe the appearance and behaviour of humans. Thus, one person has “**toenails like iguana claws**” (Ch. I), another has “**the stare of a cattle dog**” (Ch. I), one man “**is the colour of a boiled crab**” (Ch. III), kids are described as “**giggling, cheeky and loud as cockatoos**” (Ch. III), surfers “**sat like kelp bunches**” (Ch. VI) in the ocean. In one instance Lu is on the beach “**stand[ing] there like a stunned mullet**” (Ch. VII), and a girl that he wanted to talk to on another occasion was “**impervious as a lizard to his frequent looks**” (Ch. III). There is also an interesting analogy that uses a reference to an outside space to denote the size of an object – “**that great paddock of a bed**” (Ch. I). While many of these are not uniquely Australian, they are either an integral part of the Australian bush or the WA seascape and thus build on the familiarity of the local audience, while foregrounding the strong relationship between the Australian landscape and its people.

Analogies in *Mullumbimby* (2013)

In contrast, Lucashenko’s analogies work with the distinction between Aboriginal, non-Indigenous Australian, and British, producing 4 different types.

1) Analogies based on the Australian experience

The first group is in line with Winton’s analogies in that it builds on the Australian experience – the local flora and fauna, the shape of the continent, or its cultural artefacts. These serve a familiarising function for the Australian reader (Wales’s Type D), but an othering or even exoticizing function with respect to a non-Australian reader (Wales’s Type B). Lucashenko utilises, for example, Australia’s strong association with spiders, comparing a character’s hands to a local, rather large, species: “[h]is hands were so meatless that they **resembled great huntsman spiders**” (Ch. 4). Even though huntsman spiders not unique to Australia, they are very much connected with the continent in people’s minds.

Descriptions of physical appearance, such as the one above, that rely on the features of Australian landscape, nature, or its produce reinforce the idea that the people and the land are one. For example Jo's brother Stevo is described with the setting sun "making his face **glow the colour of bush honey**" (Ch. 3), while Twoboy, a surfer, is introduced with the help of sun and sea metaphors as "w[earing] the **sun in his eyes, the surging strength of the ocean in his body**" (Ch. 5). The idea of the country as a bodily presence and part of the human body itself is emphasised through images such as "blood [...] seep[ing] through the striped **cotton in an oddly Australia-shaped blot**" (Ch. 4) and "a small **boomerang of a bruise**" (Ch. 6). These suggest the strong bond between place and its inhabitants.

2) Analogies based on Aboriginal culture

The second group consists of analogies that view the world from the Aboriginal perspective in contrast to the non-Indigenous one. Thus there is, for example, Jo thinking to herself that she is beginning to sound "**like a pickled old dugai propping up the bar at the Billi pub**" (Ch. 1), which draws on the stereotype of the rambling drunk at the pub, *dugai* denoting a white person.

The Indigenous viewpoint is foregrounded in analogies such as this one, which comments on the absence of the usual difference in skin colour between Aborigines and white Australians: "a Wurundjeri woman burdened and blessed with **skin as milky-pale as any whitefella**" (Ch. 5).

Other examples rely, for instance, on the assumption that the bush is a traditional domain of the Aborigines, and that the non-Indigenous population fears the real, deep bush, as indicated by Twoboy's question to Jo and other Aborigines: "Or are youse **like the dugais – scared of the bush?!**" (Ch. 12).

Some analogies may be difficult to interpret for a non-Indigenous reader, since they rely on the reader's experience and imagination, such as Jo being described as "sigh[ing] **an entirely Aboriginal sigh**" (Ch. 5), which can refer to anything, but perhaps frustration or resignation.

At times, the tables are turned and something Indigenous is conceptualised via something foreign, such as Twoboy standing like "**an upright black exclamation mark upon the green page of the farm**" (Ch. 6). This image painted via a writing metaphor conceptualises the Aboriginal Twoboy through something foreign to traditional oral Indigenous culture. The black exclamation mark and green page are thus rather a representation from the white point of

view, the black question mark suggesting not only the stark contrast with the page, i.e., the skin colour, but also a metaphorical mark ‘tainting’ the conquered territory.

Another interesting example is a description of a bird locked up in a cage in pet shop, from Jo’s viewpoint: “Look at it, poor thing, sitting there **like a fucken martyr to white Australian values**” (Ch. 11), which hints at the racism of Australia and the obsession with numbering, building fences and borders, and locking things (and animals and people) up in cages that Jo bemoans earlier.

All of these underlie the point Lucashenko made earlier that the novel asserts similarity as well as difference. On the one hand, the usage of Indigenous words in some of the analogies, as well as references to policies or Aboriginal concepts, has an othering function for the non-Indigenous audience (Wales’s type B). On the other hand, such analogies rooted in Aboriginal culture serve a familiarising function and assert in-group membership with Indigenous readership (Wales’s type D).

3) Analogies drawing on colonial history

The third group consists of analogies that draw on the colonial history of Australia and its former ruler – the British Empire. For Australian readers, these assert the coveted superiority of Australia and can be seen as the aforementioned ‘writing back to the Empire’ (see 2.4.3) by turning the power relations on their head, in which they resemble Wales’s Type A analogies offering evaluative comments.

In her description of the Byron Bay area, Jo singing its praises states that there are “**enough shades of green to put Ireland to shame**” (Ch. 3). Green is certainly a colour strongly associated with Ireland and although it is also one of the national colours of Australia, it may come as a surprise characteristic in the minds of many – especially overseas – readers.

The second example is not strictly an analogy, but a name for a shade of green – *British Racing Green*, which appears a couple of times. In one instance, Jo examines the she-oaks she planted in her garden: “Jo stroked the soft leaves of the seedlings, healthy and brightly **thriving in British Racing Green as was proper and correct**” (Ch. 1). Seen in the context of Jo’s resolution to weed out all non-native plants from her garden, the usage of a shade of green bearing the coloniser’s name can be viewed as slightly ironic, yet also metaphorical for the emergence of Australian culture from a mix of British and Indigenous roots.

4) Analogies based on fairy-tales and legends

The final group are analogies that draw on fairy tales. While the Aboriginal culture has its Dreamtime stories that could perhaps be likened to the European folklore most fairy tales originate from, princes, princesses, and medieval castles that populate them are a foreign concept on Australian soil. Hence the description of the Indigenous Twoboy as “**a black prince**” (Ch. 3) feels almost like an oxymoron, even though it is used to denote his beauty, nobility, and his function in the novel in relation to Jo. While he partially fulfills these, he is no knight in shining armour – Jo proves capable enough to not need him to rescue her. Interestingly, *Dirt Music* appeals to the same frame of reference in describing Jim as “the uncrowned prince” of White Point, likening him to royalty in terms of his political power rather than a love story though, while at the same time acknowledging royalty has no place in Australia by the modifier “uncrowned”¹⁰¹.

Another example is the evocation of the magical world of Narnia in the description of Jo’s property: “It’s like Narnia [...] it’s so lush, and so peaceful” (Ch. 3). Apart from the literal meaning, the comparison suggests through the knowledge the readers have about Narnia that the bush in Aboriginal culture is also a magical world. Whereas in Dickens the fairy tale analogies served to disorient the reader (Wales’s Type B), here they help the non-Indigenous reader’s understanding (Wales’s Type D), even though the usage of “prince” also has subversive connotations in both cases.

5.4.4. Allusions and references: Australian culture and identity in context

As established in the overview of the language of the novels (5.4.2), both authors employ markers of AusE to index Australianness. Moreover, Lucashenko employs features of Aboriginal Englishes and the local Indigenous languages to index the Aboriginal variety of Australianness, denoting both ethnicity as well as region. Winton also draws on some local Western Australian features to support the setting linguistically, while also acknowledging the global nature of English and the intersections of its varieties through Americanisms and British slang. Both novels thus acknowledge the mixed origins of Australian culture which are further reflected in the use of allusions or direct quotations that place the novels in dialogue with the cultural canon of the world (see 3.2.2.3). Both *Mullumbimby* and *Dirt Music* are manifestations of the transnational approach to literature and culture (see 3.2.2.3) through the number of allusions and quotations they contain.

¹⁰¹ As it is the only such occurrence, I have not included it as a separate type above.

Mullumbimby (2013)

In *Mullumbimby*, Lucashenko dives right in, as not only does the novel begin with an epigraph from Toni Morrison but the beginning of the first sentence is one of the most recognisable in all of English literature: “It is a truth universally acknowledged, reflected Jo, that a teenager armed with a Nikko pen is a pain in the fucking neck, and if it isn’t then it fucken well oughta be” (Ch. 1). Unlike Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*, however, the truth has nothing to do with marriage, but rather the behaviour of teenagers, specifically Jo’s daughter, who becomes integral to the resolution of the Native Title plot. Utilising the beginning of this emblematic sentence and then changing course and narrative tone is a device that sets the reader’s expectations only to completely subvert them. The subversion lies in turning something familiar and defamiliarizing it via the use of vernacular, even vulgar language, and applying it to a subject more universal and prosaic (behaviour of teenagers) that is very different from the original context of marriage politics of the Georgian era. This ironic play on the English classic is continued in the closing sentences of the novel, which echo its beginning:

It is a fact universally acknowledged, she thought, bending to kiss the top of Ellen’s head, that a teenager armed with a Nikko pen is a wonder to behold, a precious, precious thing that we all must keep close to our hearts, and protect by any means necessary. And if it isn’t, then it fucken well oughta be. (Ch. 13)

Jo has changed her attitude towards her daughter after the dramatic climax of the story, so she re-words her earlier statement, thus framing *Mullumbimby* in a play on Austen’s words. Notice how the “truth” of the original is switched here for “fact” – a word perhaps less grand than the “truth”. This subtle change, as well as the reassessment of Jo’s earlier opinion introduced by Austen’s iconic sentence, suggest the importance of being open to change and re-evaluation of one’s attitude. It also claims the literary tradition amassed in English and shamelessly appropriates it for Australian purposes, much like the linguistic abrogation (see 2.4.3). Contrary to the earlier periods (see 5.1.4, 5.2.4, and 5.3.4), allusions to English cultural context are not used to appeal to the British audience and to familiarise the exotic land to their experience, but quite the reverse.

Jo has a degree in Australian history and comparative literature, so similar references abound. For example, when Jo decides to return to cleaning her property after having taken a break, a famous line from Shakespeare’s *Henry V* appears: “Once more into the breach, dear friends” (Ch. 2), which suggests a requirement for a heroic effort. However, a battle and a clean-out are not exactly comparable, which is why the majestic Shakespearean line is tinged with

irony and brought ‘down to earth’ through this mundane task. It is also worth noting that the original “unto” has been changed to the modern “into”, reinforcing the idea that Shakespeare is being made to suit the new setting.

There is also one instance, where an allusion to English literature is used in a negative sense, even though the character in question is usually understood in a positive light. Nonetheless, when Jo compares Twoboy, who went on a wander through the bush, to Tolkien’s Bilbo Baggins, it is not a compliment: “Serve him right for pissing off and not coming back, not even thinking of the kids, looking for unfindable answers to questions nobody else is even asking. Who does he think he is, Bilbo fucken Baggins?” (Ch. 12). There is a suggestion of the pointlessness of and annoyance at Bilbo’s and, by extension, Twoboy’s quest.

While these allusions to English literature are subverted in a postcolonial response to the coloniser, this does not seem to be the case with references outside the English tradition, as for example allusions to the American poet Walt Whitman. In one instance, Jo quotes several lines from *Song of Myself*:

I think I could turn and live with animals,
They are so placid and self-contained
I stand and look at them long and long...
Not one kneels to another,
Nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago,
Not one is respectable or industrious over the entire earth. (Ch. 1)

A celebration of equality and connection with nature, this seems quite apt for the Australian context and the celebrated values of egalitarianism as well as the Aboriginal ties to nature, hence why Jo muses: “Yeah, the old poofter genius was on her wavelength, alright” (Ch. 1). While her reference to Whitman is not politically correct, there is no suggestion of subversiveness in Lucashenko’s usage of this reference. The other instance of a Whitman reference appears in a slightly more playful context: after Twoboy says something contradictory and Jo calls him out, he retorts “So, I contain multitudes” (Ch. 11). Similarly, the allusion to the Irish author James Joyce and his character from *Ulysses*, Molly Bloom, is used to give additional meaning to the scene of Twoboy leaning down to kiss Jo as she finally surrenders to her attraction for him, alluding to the closing lines of *Ulysses* and Molly’s musings about meeting Leopold, echoing her *Yes*: “[...] holding my face between his hands and leaning down to – oh! – kiss me – turning me yes (oh yes I will) into Molly Bloom, oh yes” (Ch. 4). Besides placing Australia firmly within the English-language canon, these allusions also counter the assumptions about the low level of education of the Indigenous population and the insularity of Australian culture.

In contrast, there are not many allusions to the Australian canon. These draw on characters that will probably not be recognisable for most of the overseas audience. Only a couple appear and both in connection with Jo. While they refer to male figures, their identification with Jo works to subvert the traditional gender roles. In one instance, Jo upon seeing a diamond ring on a woman's finger "fantasise[s] about turning into Captain Thunderbolt" (Ch. 10), who was an Australian bushranger. That same woman has stopped to take Jo's photo as she sees her on her horse, upon which Jo muses: "A fabulous shot. Akubra, stockhorse, tan skin: yep, I'm the woman from Snowy River alright" (Ch. 11), referring to the famous poem *The Man From Snowy River* by Banjo Paterson, where a young man, an underdog, chases escaped horses down a steep slope the others find impassable. Besides subverting the gender roles, these allusions also evoke the bush mythology underlying the national ethos, although in an updated version that disregards the traditional connection with white masculinity.

There are also many pop-culture references (e.g., Eeyore, The Waifs, the Coen brothers, etc.), however, for reasons of space they will not be discussed in detail. They simply testify to the transnational currents running through all cultures, carrying music, novels, cartoons, and the like all over the world.

Dirt Music (2001)

Pop-culture references and mentions of overseas places also abound in Winton's *Dirt Music*, where they are used more overtly and situate the characters as citizens of the world, especially Georgie. Georgie and Jim watch old Hollywood movies about love and debate the qualities of Bette Davis and Marilyn Monroe. The glittering world and passionate love stories of the films are in stark contrast to their relationship which lacks communication and knowledge of one another, and is set in a fishing town where life is decidedly unglamorous. However, Georgie seems hungry for the world, for culture, and a deep connection – both to place and to her partner. She reminisces about her life in Saudi Arabia and past travels around the world, and we find her browsing the internet for virtual tours of the Uffizi gallery, then move on to "Frank Zappa fan club of Brazil, [then to] se[e] Francis Drake's chamberpot in the Tower of London and stumbl[e] upon a chat group for world citizens who yearned to be amputees" (Ch. I). Yet none of these virtual experiences satisfy her. Instead, she finds satisfaction in her relationship with Lu.

Like *Mullumbimby*, *Dirt Music* is preceded by an epigraph. It takes the form of a poem by Emily Dickinson, "There is a solitude of space," that hints at the theme of the novel and the

profound solitude of both Lu and Georgie, and instantly claims its place in the Anglophone literary world. Allusions to works and authors from the Western canon abound, as Lu boasts a vast library full of “serious books [–] George Eliot, Tolstoy, Forster, Waugh, Twain” (Ch. I) and a good knowledge of its contents, and Georgie is not far behind. Like Lucashenko, Winton sometimes employs allusions to English works in a subversive manner that appropriate them for the local context and at least in part breaks the aura of grandeur around English classics. A great example is a play on William Blake’s famous poem “The Tyger” that Lu performs when talking to and about his dog, which is the opposite of the fearsome tiger:

Did he who made the Lamb make thee, mutt?
The dog lifts an eyebrow.
I’m talking fearful symmetry. (Ch. I)

A similar example of bringing the literary classics “down to Earth” is a scene where Lu and a former English teacher Bess, who is amazed at having met a real reader in the Australian wilderness, discuss his favourite writers. A reference to Keats and a play written about him – *A name writ in water* – is followed by the very prosaic invitation to eat by Bess’s husband:

So who do you identify with?
This week? Keats.
Oh, you sad boy. A name writ in water.
Let’s eat this bloody meat, says Horrie. (Ch. III)

The association of English literature with high culture, even snobbishness, is reinforced by another example. During a row, Georgie debunks the validity of Jim’s education based on the English model: “You think you’re so bloody civilized, she said with her last gasp of defiance. Because you went to some snob-factory school and read Shakespeare and rowed like a champion. But I know what you are. I know now” (Ch. II). There is a sense that the English standards that were once universal around the former Empire no longer hold in Australia – Shakespeare and rowing are no longer a guarantee of a civilised man.

Corresponding to the subversive nature of some of the allusions to English writers, the distinction between the English and other Anglophone writers is explicitly marked in Lu’s books. As Georgie moves to his abandoned house and picks books from the library, she notices that “Wordsworth, Blake and Keats were bruised with underscorings. Robinson Jeffers, Heaney, R. S. Thomas, Les Murray and Judith Wright bore asterisks and exclamation marks in various hands” (Ch. VI). While the first group consisting of Wordsworth, Blake and Keats is English, those from the second group are all from countries once colonised by England: Robinson Jeffers is American, Heaney is Irish, R. S. Thomas is a Welshman, while Les Murray and Judith Wright are Australian. Whereas the underscorings emphasise important passages, the asterisks and

exclamation marks in the texts by authors from once colonised countries suggest the need for explanations and more elaborate notes or particularly acute messages respectively, alluding perhaps to the more complex relationship to identity and culture in those areas affected by the colonial experience and their relevance to the Australian experience.

However, not all references to English literature are tainted by the colonial past. Having established that the classics belong also to Australian literature and brought them down to the same level, especially the English Romantics and Emily Dickinson represent useful parallels. In fact, Lu seems to view their literature in itself as a landscape one travels through, the words having a physical presence: “He scrambles up through the crags of *The Prelude* and *Tintern Abbey*, across hot, bright Emily and into the spiky undergrowth of Bill Blake. The lines come to him [...] as though it’s a sea of words he’s swimming in, an ocean he could drink” (Ch. VII). In the spirit of Australian familiarity, notice that he is on first-name basis with Emily Dickinson and William Blake has been affectionately shortened to Bill (a similar strategy is apparent in references to Shostakovich and Arvo Pärt discussed in 5.4.2.2). Furthermore, not only do the words have a physical presence, their works, according to Lu, convey a “sense of the world alive, the way they articulate your own instinctive feeling that there is indeed some kind of spirit that roll; through all things, some fearsome memory in stones, in wind, in the lives of birds” (Ch. VII). This strong connection between the words on the page and a living spirit running through the natural world mirrors what Winton is trying to achieve in *Dirt Music*.

This is supported by references to Australian literature, which too are only a few. Besides the mentions of the great poets Les Murray and Judith Wright, another poet is referenced. Lu’s beloved niece Bird sings the first two lines of Dorothea Mackellar’s poem “I love a sunburnt country / A land of sweeping planes” (Ch. I). If the next two lines are supplied, it summarises nicely the image of Australia which Winton conveys in this novel: “Of ragged mountain ranges, / Of droughts and flooding rains,” as discussed in 5.4.3.1. The importance of the Australian landscape and the bush in particular is suggested by another example, where the magical world of Narnia (by the Irish C. S. Lewis) loses to the bush magic of a native story by Mem Fox: “Bird insists on sitting in Fox’s lap to read *Possum Magic*. She’s already halfway through the Narnia novels but the picture book, a hangover from infancy, retains a ritual hold over her” (Ch. I). The usage of the word “ritual” conveys the power that familiar things have over us, while also alluding to the power of the bush mythology created in the book.

5.4.5 Use of language in characterisation

Both Lucashenko and Winton utilise folklinguistic ideas about language in the representation of characters to convey additional meaning by drawing on assumptions about social class, education, and origin. As discussed in 2.6, Penry Williams' recent study has discovered that many markers of AusE are perceived by Australians as connected with lower social class, rural areas, and the types of the Other in the form of the bogan, ocker, and Queenslander. Both authors draw on these markers heavily, as explored in 5.4.2, which is consistent with the small-town settings, where the inhabitants are expected to speak in an accent leaning towards the Broad end of the spectrum, based on the folklinguistic perception. However, both writers show that the correlation between language and the identifiers of the social types is not straightforward.

Mullumbimby (2013)

Although *Mullumbimby* takes place in a small country town, the area of NSW hinterland is very trendy and expensive. It is no bush backwater, even though it contrasts with the city. Many of the characters, such as Jo and Twoboy, come from the city and have a university education, yet their speech contains stigmatised features such as *final but* or phrases such as *G'day mate*, and is mixed with Aboriginal features of English in the case of Indigenous characters. In this way, Lucashenko can be seen as building on folklinguistic ideas, while subverting them at the same time, through the range of linguistic usage displayed by the characters. Jo's speech presents the most illustrative example, as it has several context-dependent registers.

While the novel is told in the third person, it is filtered through Jo's consciousness. The narration is closest to StBE, only passages in free indirect speech are marked by colloquialisms which appear also in general English (e.g., *oughta*, *fucken*, etc.). The only exception are passages of free indirect speech that discuss nature, which is mostly referred to by words from Indigenous languages to emphasise the direct connection between the Indigenous population and their land (see 5.4.3). When addressing her friends, Jo's speech is the most marked – she uses *final but*, non-standard pronouns (*ya* for *you* and *your*), *bloody*, the discourse marker *nah*, and hypocoristics. Moreover, when talking to Indigenous friends she incorporates features of Aboriginal English and sometimes omits verbs (“Auntie a bit broke this week”; Ch. 1) and uses Indigenous words (“Don’t be fucken myall,’ Jo told Kym. ‘Mooki not gonna hurt ya’”; Ch. 1)

and specific expressions (“us mob”, “blackfellas”, both e.g., Ch. 2) to index her Aboriginal identity. Jo thus freely switches between different varieties according to her social context.

Jo’s linguistic behaviour resembles code-switching, which is traditionally defined as “[t]he process whereby bilingual or bidialectal speakers switch back and forth between one language or dialect and another within the same conversation” (Trudgill 2003: 23) and is usually associated with societies where there is a dominant and a marginalised culture, such as the colonies. Ashcroft et al. (1989: 72) talk of code-switching even in monolingual societies such as Australia, referring to the switching between StBE and the local abrogated variety, the vernacular, giving Joseph Furphy’s novel *Such is Life* (1903) as an example. Ashcroft et al.’s application of the term is less strict in that the switching does not have to occur in the same conversation, but within the same novel. As indicated by the preceding paragraph, Jo code-switches according to the social situation. She switches to Aboriginal English with fellow Aborigines, the marginalised group, but addresses non-Indigenous speakers, of the dominant group, either in unmarked general English, o/r if that person conforms to the idea of the national type, to index her Australianness and solidarity, she uses *mate* as a term of address and *G’day* as a salutation. One of the men, Rob Starr, is described as having a “tough” face, “freckled” skin and “the hair on his muscled arm shone copper in the hot sun” (Ch. 2), while the other, Darren Ferrier, as “a fiftyish blond bloke sporting an akubra and permanent sunburn” (Ch. 2). Both men conform to the idea of the white tough male roughened by the Australian sun that is the basis of the national type (see 2.5.2 and 3.1.1.2.1.1).

Starr’s and Ferrier’s association with the national type is supported linguistically, as their speech is marked by features associated with the ocker (see 2.6). Starr uses non-standard pronouns (“shot it meself”; “get yerself one”), pronouns instead of demonstratives (“wild dogs in them hills”), and altered vowels suggested by spellings (“yella” for *yellow*). Similarly, Ferrier uses non-standard pronouns (“yerself”), greets Jo with “G’day”, and uses other Australian expressions such as “a fair bit of yakka” (all examples from Ch. 2). Apart from the Australianisms, many of these are traditionally associated with the colloquial speech of the lower classes. Here, they denote rural origin and a social role, rather than socio-economic status, as from the cars they drive and their ownership of large properties the readers learn they can hardly be poor.

Another social type the novel might index is the Queenslander (see 2.6), which is associated with frequent usage of *final but* that is used primarily by Jo, perhaps reflecting her Brisbane origins. Sometimes rural origins are hinted at via metalinguistic commentary, as is the

case with Jo's non-Indigenous friend Annie who breeds horses and speaks in a "slow country-raised accent" (Ch. 11), alluding to the Australian drawl (see Burrige 2019: 183), for which slow speech and raised vowels are characteristic.

While Starr and Ferrier's speech leans more towards the Broad end of the spectrum and Jo oscillates all over the scale depending on the social situation, her daughter Ellen tends more towards the General/Cultivated end, as her speech is largely unmarked – she uses very few Australianisms (one instance of *final but*) and practically no Indigenous words. This may be a linguistic reflection of the fact that she grew up in the city and is very reluctant to embrace Aboriginal culture. Moreover, as Penry Williams' results indicated, her young respondents did not dispute the associations of AusE with uncouthness, ignorance and being second-class in the eyes of the outside world (2020: 176), even if they personally did not see it that way, so Ellen's usage of English might reflect this attitude.

In stark contrast is the speech of the Aboriginal elders. Uncle Humbug, who announces himself with "an unmistakable Goorie-holler" (Ch. 4), showcases many of the stereotypical features people associate with Aboriginal English (see 5.4.2.1): apart from specific vocabulary, there is h-dropping and lack of person and number agreement ("I'se terrible ungrly, my girl"; Ch. 5), lack of copular verbs ("I hear you a big landowner"; Ch. 5), or the assimilation of initial /f/ to /b/ ("You can't pucken touch my brother"; Ch. 10). The representation of the phonetic changes marks a difference from the speech of Jo and the other younger Aboriginals, suggesting a generational change that has led to greater assimilation to the English sound system. Nonetheless, even Humbug is capable of code-switching, as demonstrated when he is having a very minimalistic breakfast with Jo at a café and notices he has become the centre of attention: "A faint, saintlike expression fixed on Humbug's face as he gazed about him at the tourists. And then, suddenly developing the ability to speak standard English, 'Hello! Good morning to you, ladies'" (Ch. 5). This earns him a much better breakfast. Interestingly, his name has a different meaning in Aboriginal English than in general English, where it refers to a "sham" or "nonsense", whereas in Aboriginal English it means "to annoy", referring usually to pestering relatives with unreasonable requests (see Adams 2014) – a detail which may be lost on non-Indigenous readers.

Lucashenko's representation of Aboriginal way of using English is much more nuanced than in the previous periods, where Aborigines were habitually conflated to a linguistic stereotype, or not present at all (as in the novels analysed in 5.3). While Lucashenko largely adheres to this stereotype in the speech of the elders like Humbug, she reminds the reader that

it is only one register out of a range at their disposal. The fact that Humbug and also Auntie Nurrung choose to adhere to it is their way of foregrounding their Indigenous identity.

Dirt Music (2001)

Indigenous characters play a minor role in *Dirt Music*, as Lu stumbles on two Aborigines – Axle and Menzies – in the bush in the Kimberley region. Both lack a ‘mob’ and traditional country of their own – Menzies is half-Chinese and grew up on a Christian mission and he met Axle as he came running out of the bush all wild and confused, claiming to be looking for the ‘old people’. Even Lu is confused upon first seeing Menzies, noting that “[t]here’s an oriental cast to this man’s features but his accent is Aboriginal” (Ch. V). Rather than incorporating Indigenous vocabulary as in *Mullumbimby*, Winton focuses on the grammatical and phonetic aspect, resulting in the lack of copular verbs (“Well ya not a blackfella”, Ch. V), h-dropping (*im* for *him*), overuse of the word *fulla* (also spelled *fella* = fellow, e.g., “Science fulla, are ya?”, Ch. V), and various alternative pronunciations due to fewer vowels in Indigenous languages (see Dickson 2019: 139) and contractions, such as in *thas* for *that’s*, *guvmint* for *government*, or *carn then* for *come on then* (all Ch. V). The indirectness characteristic of Aboriginal culture is reflected in Axle’s answer to Lu’s question of how long they have been there: “All time, says Axle. Everywhen” (Ch. V). The lack of words from Indigenous languages is probably a consequence of the lack of traditional ties to country and therefore a traditional tribal language and serves as a linguistic representation of Axle and Menzies’s displacement.

Compared to *Mullumbimby*, the characters in *Dirt Music* do not seem to switch between registers. As noted above, Winton makes heavy use of Australian vernacular that appears in varying degrees in the speech of all the characters. Georgie’s speech appears the least affected, with mainly features of general English (such as *spose* for *suppose*, etc.) interspersed with occasional use of profanities, and some of the Australian keywords like *bugger* (“Bugger this”, Ch. I) or *bloody* (“bloody civilised”, Ch. II), use of *mate*, and *G’day*. However, while the difference is largely of degree, it is the men whose speech most approximates the Broad end of the spectrum, as the features Georgie uses occasionally appear much more frequently in their speech accompanied by stigmatised features. The fact that Georgie is a woman who comes from the city, has travelled widely, and feels displaced at White Point might also be a factor.

This difference between male and female usage seems to reinforce the traditional associations of this kind of speech with masculinity and the various social types (see 2.1 and 2.6). In terms of the White Pointers Jim, Lu, Yogi and Beaver, their occupations as fisherman,

farmer/poacher/musician, ambulance driver and mechanic respectively suggest they can all be characterised as working class, which is supported by their language. Yogi, the ambulance driver, appears to be a prime example of the ocker, with his use of the stigmatised words such as “missus”, possessive use of the personal pronoun *me*, frequent profanities, hypocoristics and non-standard pronunciation, along with going “shirtless in a bib and brace overall” that he calls his “Sundy best” (Ch. I) and a suggestion of a fondness for drinking:

Whossat? [...] Jim’s missus? [...] Won’t be a tick. [...] Just get the soap orf! (...)
Righto! [...] I’ll get me strides on.
[...] Oy, you lazy, fat hippy bastard, get ya missus down the ambo shed and tell her
to put her teeth in [...] ya cheeky prick. (Ch. I)

Yogi is capable of switching registers (the only instance in the novel to my knowledge), as demonstrated by his saying “Scuse me, George. Must convey a chap to his physician” (Ch. I) in perfectly polite and rather formal English, which is, however, intended as irony, as he says so after an altercation. Assuming the vernacular is his default speech, also indexing the proverbial friendliness, the switch to formal English seems antagonistic.

Beaver, the mechanic, “a great hairy retired biker” who sports a “rat’s tail [...] dangl[ing] down the length of his sweaty neck” and favours “black 501’s and blue singlets which displa[y] his bum crack and his monster gut” (Ch. I) is missing only a stubby to conform fully to the image of the ocker. His speech is very similar to Yogi’s, populated with the words *bastard*, *bugger*, *bloody*, *fuck*, and *prick*, addressing others as *mate*, and phonetic representations of the typical drawl, as in “Cher-rist”, or “Ra-a-a-fe Fiennes” (Ch. I), along with some general English markers (*nothin* for *nothing*; *gimme* for *give me*).

The speech of Jim and Lu is slightly toned down in that it does not involve as much swearing as Beaver’s and Yogi’s and displays fewer of the stigmatised features, even though it still ‘sounds’ very Broad. The following example demonstrates Jim’s realisation of vowels, use of *bloody*, and an omission of an auxiliary verb: “You orright? [...] How your sisters takin it? [...] Gawd. [...] I woulda thought you’d be grateful for complete bloody indifference” (Ch. II). In his appearance and class, however, Jim does not conform to the ocker stereotype, as he is a wealthy fisherman with a thriving business who had a good British-style education. Physically and in terms of character, he is the embodiment of the national type (see 2.5.2 and 3.1.1.2.1.1) – he does not talk much about his emotions or his past, is “a stickler for hard work, for education and upright behaviour” and is characterised as “blokey”, someone whom “from any distance you could have picked (..) as an Australian. He had crow’s feet like knifecuts. Handsome in a blocky way” (all Ch. I). Yet his role in the White Point community as the unofficial local

'policeman' is determined by the legacy of his violent father, which requires him to be tough, that is why Georgie thinks it was him who butchered Lu's dog and drove Lu out of town. The entire community of White Point is full of this coarse and at times violent masculine energy, which is supported by the similarities in the men's language. The fact that Jim is fighting this energy and his role in the community might be reflected in the lesser degree of stigmatised features in his speech.

Similarly, Lu also eludes the classification as an ocker, despite displaying many features of the Broad end of the spectrum (usage of *bugger*, *mate*, *Fair dinkum*, representation of non-standard pronunciation). He flees from the fight that would await him in White Point had he stayed, and he defies the anti-intellectualism associated with this social type by being extremely well read in world literature and knowledgeable about classical music. Which is perhaps why the environment of White Point which oozes toxic masculinity does not suit him and why his language reflects it.

Winton thus seems to employ the vernacular largely in a manner consistent with folklinguistic beliefs that attribute the strongest or most stigmatised features to coarse, working-class Australian men from rural areas. Whereas Yogi and Beaver conform to this stereotype, which coupled with their physical description best corresponds to the ocker, Jim and Lu do not feel like they belong into this community, and it is reflected in the slightly toned-down version of the Australian vernacular they speak. Georgie, as a well-travelled city woman who feels no sense of belonging in White Point fits this stereotype least of all, which is why her speech is the least marked (however, compared to StBE, it is still recognisably Australian). While at first glance, Winton's usage of language in characterisation appears less nuanced than Lucashenko's due to the lack of different registers, Winton employs it successfully to denote the character's origins and state of mind.

5.4.6 Conclusion

The analysis of Winton's *Dirt Music* (2001) and Lucashenko's *Mullumbimby* (2013) largely confirmed the expectations defined in 5.4.1, in that both authors use the Australian vernacular extensively, draw on established folklinguistic ideas in their characterisation, and foreground the connection between land and national as well as personal identity. Winton's and Lucashenko's use of language and their liberal use of the Western cultural canon, which they exploit and bend to suit the Australian context, exhibits much more of the self-confidence and pride in one's culture than the texts of the Endonormative stabilisation period (5.3). This is

especially evident in Harrower's *The Long Prospect* (1958), even though the self-confidence should have been characteristic of that period already, according to Schneider's general characterisation (see 2.3.1.4).

Lucashenko's representation of the mixing of Aboriginal way of using English with the Australian vernacular and Winton's occasional use of Western Australian regionalisms signify that AusE has truly transitioned to the Differentiation stage. Yet the degree of regionalisms is relatively low, with only a few instances in *Dirt Music*, which suggests that internal variation is still in the process of developing and that the Differentiation stage is not yet complete, as was proposed in the discussion of the Australian scenario in 4.1.1.4.

Nonetheless, thanks to the positive changes in language attitude and societal developments that encourage increased informality, the vernacular is highly represented in both novels. A significant development is that the association of the vernacular with the lower class and lack of education is disputed through the linguistic behaviour of the novels' characters, especially Jo in *Mullumbimby*, and Lu and Jim in *Dirt Music*, who are all educated, Jim even in a British-style school. Thus, both Winton and Lucashenko assert the cultural value of the vernacular and dismiss the associations with low culture which are still present in the public consciousness, as explored by Penry Williams (2020; discussed in 2.6).

The qualitative analysis also confirmed the results of the quantitative analysis of the culturally significant keywords (4.2.2), as exemplified by the increased presence of the keywords in both novels, particularly the swearwords, and the instances of *mate* which demonstrate that its strict association with white heterosexual males no longer holds, being used by and in reference to women and ethnic Australians.

6. CONCLUSION

6.1 Findings

The story of Australian English and how it strayed from its parent variety is inseparable from the history of the colonisation of the Australian continent. The different groups of people that met there in a unique ‘mixing bowl’ and the unique environment all shaped what is now an independent and fully developed variety of English according to Schneider’s Dynamic Model (see 2.3). This dissertation explored the connection between language and national identity on a corpus of canonical Australian literature from the 1830s up to the present, which has not been done before. The interdisciplinary methodology combining linguistics with literary and cultural studies produced a complex picture of linguistic manifestations of national identity through time. The methodological approach was twofold: a quantitative study of keywords, utilising cultural keywords theory and corpus-generated frequency-based keywords, was followed by a qualitative analysis consisting of close reading of selected novels informed by ecostylistics, folklinguistics, and the Australian historical context. The analysis confirmed the central hypothesis (see 1.1) that the sociohistorical and cultural context manifests linguistically, in that the vernacular as an expression of national identity, along with other linguistic means of foregrounding Australianness, are more strongly represented in periods of increased nationalism and suppressed in periods before the development of national identity or during its crises.

6.1.1 Quantitative analysis

The quantitative analysis explored keywords from two perspectives and in two parts: corpus-generated keywords and selected cultural keywords. In the first part, the corpus-generated lists of keywords (with the BrE corpus and the rest of the AusE corpus used as reference, respectively) revealed the main topics of literature in each of the four periods, which reflect the historical context and identity construction. Thus, for the Exonormative stabilisation period (1830s-1901), the lists are populated by words related to transportation, colonisation and the flora and fauna. In the Nativization period (1901-1942), words from the domain of the bush as well as vernacular expressions appear, testifying to the nationalistic sentiments around the establishment of the Federation in 1901. Words from the domain of the bush appear also in the Endonormative stabilisation period (1942-1980s), yet unlike in the previous period they usually refer to concepts not unique to Australian culture and landscape. The keywords for this period

also manifest the influence of urbanisation and the cultural cringe and resulting discussions about Australian culture in the presence of nation-related words. The Differentiation period (1980s-present) likewise mirrors the societal developments with words from the domains of the nation, social types, landscape, fauna, modern developments, ethnicity, and Aboriginal culture.

The second part of the quantitative analysis explored the development of selected cultural keywords identified for Australian culture. Only *mate* and *bush* were sufficiently frequent to draw any relevant conclusions. The story of *mate*, the most representative keyword of Australian culture carrying the values of loyalty, solidarity and egalitarianism (Wierzbicka 1997), confirmed expectations in that the highest number of occurrences appears in the nationalistic Nativization period when *mate*, used most often in the sense of “fellow X”, which is a predecessor to the current prevalent sense “friend”, became associated with the national ethos and thus acquired its cultural value. The second highest number of instances appears in the Differentiation period when interests in re-evaluating the national ethos reawaken, and the concept of mateship itself is being reassessed. *Mate* and *mateship* are much more frequent in the AusE corpus than the BrE corpus, which confirms their high cultural significance. The referential *mate* dominates until the Differentiation period when the vocative takes over, likely due to the increased acceptance of informality and broadening scope. In the BrE corpus, two thirds of the occurrences of *mate* appear in the speech of immigrant characters, whereas in AusE research suggests that the use of *mate* by ethnic Australians is not always received positively because of its strong association with Australian identity (see 2.6). Nonetheless, in the Differentiation period there are also uses of *mate* by ethnic Australians or Aborigines in the AusE corpus, as well as an increased usage by and in reference to women, reflecting the broadening scope of usage of *mate*.

The story of *bush* is likewise closely tied to the national ethos. The lemma *bush* occurs most frequently in the Exonormative stabilisation period when the new environment was being conceptualised, which continued in the Nativization period where the more specifically Australian meanings were solidified (supported by the frequencies of *bushman* and *bushwoman* and multiple *bush* compounds describing elements of the specific lifestyle), only to drop in the Endonormative stabilisation period due to the decreasing significance of the bush ethos, and rise again in the Differentiation period, when it was being re-evaluated. *Bush* is again much more frequent than in the BrE corpus, appearing most frequently as a noun (76% overall) but used also as a noun adjunct modifying another noun (22.03% overall). Adverbial usage (e.g., *to go bush*) appears to be a more recent development confined to the Differentiation period. While

it was expected that at least in the Exonormative stabilisation period, the original meaning of “shrub” would be the most frequent, from the first period the more specifically Australian senses of “an area overgrown with trees” and “uncultivated area”, describing the unique physical and cultural environment respectively, dominate. “Shrub” becomes dominant only in the Endonormative stabilisation period marked by cultural cringe and decreasing importance of the bush, but the two culturally specific meanings dominate again in the Differentiation period when the bush is regaining its importance. The analysis of meaning associations has shown that from the initial negative associations with danger and hardship, the bush has become associated with specific culture/knowledge, spirituality and lifestyle, which further proves its continued cultural significance.

The remaining keywords were too infrequent to draw any meaningful conclusions. Nonetheless, from the available data, most of the keywords appear to have acquired their Australian meaning in the Nativization period as expected, and their pattern of usage reflects the sociohistorical and cultural context of each period. Among the social types/labels (*ocker*, *bogan*, *larrikin*, *battler*, *Queenslander*, *bloke*) which all show a strong association with national identity, *bloke* (201x) and *larrikin* (29x) were the only ones to appear throughout the corpus. Despite expectations, *larrikin* seems to have a negative connotation throughout. *Bloke*, as expected, appears in neutral or positive contexts and unlike in other varieties, it has also been used as an address term in recent decades. As for the keywords associated with the nation (*Australia*, *Australian*, *Aussie*, *Aboriginal*, *Aborigine*), the contexts of use and frequencies reflect the cultural and socio-historical context of each period. *Aboriginal* and *Aborigine* appear very infrequently and in predominantly negative contexts, as they are largely presented from the white colonial supremacist perspective, until the Differentiation period when Aboriginal authors have finally gained a voice. The speech-act verbs (*yarn*, *shout*, *whinge*, *chiack/chyack*, *dob (in)*) display lower frequencies than expected, although all exhibit signs of containing associations with the traditional national ethos based on the bush and the idea of masculinity. The swearwords (*bloody*, *bugger*, *bastard*, *bullshit*) are all much more frequent in the AusE corpus than the BrE corpus, reflecting the greater acceptance of informality in all contexts and their association with the Australian values of irreverence, anti-sentimentality, and toughness. Affectionate usages are also much more common than in BrE. The derogatory ethnic labels (*wog*, *chink*, *pom*, *Yank*, *Abo*) are infrequent, and only *wog* appears to have undergone a significant change as it was adopted by the wog community as a positive term of self-assertion.

6.1.2 Qualitative analysis

Whereas the quantitative analysis offered a macro-perspective on how the selected keywords reflect the relationship between language and the formation of national identity, the qualitative analysis of selected novels provided a micro-perspective via close reading. This allowed for a more detailed and nuanced analysis of this relationship of how the authors used language to “claim possession” (see 3.2.2.2.1) of the Australian continent. The analysis showed that in all the periods, there were both writers whose language conformed to the general expectations of the period based on Schneider’s model and those whose language defied those expectations, depending on their cultural preferences (British/Australian) as well as publishing possibilities and artistic aims. In general, the degree to which authors used the Australian vernacular reflects the socio-historical and cultural context. The discussion also showed that the distinctive Australian landscape has from the beginning been one of the most important themes in Australian literature that is strongly tied to the national character. This is linguistically foregrounded through all the periods, although in varying degrees depending on the same factors as the presence of the vernacular.

For the Exonormative stabilisation period (1830-1901), the analysis of Ada Cambridge’s *A Mere Chance* (1880) and Rolf Boldrewood’s *Robbery Under Arms* (1888) revealed two opposing trends. Cambridge represents the majority of her contemporaries who followed British literary, linguistic and cultural norms. She uses StBE in a formal register, relying on British cultural references to convey a story revolving around essentially English aristocracy transported into a colonial setting, which is not at all distinctive until the plot moves to the bush where the reader gets a glimpse of the singular nature of the bush experience. Conversely, Boldrewood writes about ordinary people in the bush which is pictured as the quintessentially Australian environment populated by men who have been shaped by it – the national type. To foreground the Australianness of his characters, Boldrewood uses the Australian vernacular, slang and non-standard grammar and in many analogies he relies on native sources, thus serving as a forerunner to the writers of 1890s and early 1900s who supported the nationalist cause. For this reason, it seems the Nativization period in Australia could have begun in the late 1880s and not in 1901, as proposed by Schneider.

In the Nativization period (1901-1942), Miles Franklin’s *My Brilliant Career* and Kenneth Mackenzie’s *The Young Desire It* reflect the circumstances in which they were produced. Franklin continues in Boldrewood’s footsteps writing about ordinary people in the bush, yet with a female protagonist who is remarkably similar to the (exclusively male) national

type. Franklin combines a formal, lyrical language of British Victorian literature with the informal Australian vernacular and phonetic respellings depending on whether she describes the romantic subplot of her novel or the nation-building one. The bush is foregrounded via lexical choices cementing its mythological status and association with the national type, and the references and analogies used rely on domestic sources, including the existing Australian literature. Over thirty years later when Mackenzie's novel was published, Australian culture and English were once again regarded as inferior even within Australia. This is evidenced in the novel by the setting in a British school aiming to educate the uncivilised Australians and teach them the 'proper' accent as well as in Mackenzie's use of StBE. Apart from the setting, the classical and British references and analogies based on generic frames of reference also reflect these insecurities about Australian culture. The vernacular appears only sparingly when the Australian boys talk amongst themselves. At the same time, the Australian bush is once again foregrounded as an important setting that plays a crucial role in the life of all the characters and is represented as the formative force of the national character.

The cultural insecurities are in varying degrees manifested in the novels of the Endonormative stabilisation period (1942-1980s) – Elizabeth Harrower's *The Long Prospect* (1958) and David Malouf's *Johnno* (1975). This is somewhat contrary to Schneider's definition of this period which assumes the linguistic variety to be fully independent and used with confidence and pride as an assertion of national identity. This is certainly not the case in Harrower's *The Long Prospect* where hardly any Australian vernacular and references to Australian culture are used, and where the bush is replaced by an industrial town setting even though the relationship between nature and its inhabitants is still represented as important. Harrower uses the novel as a platform for a critique of Australia's provincialism and isolationism of the time, which is foregrounded by the use of StBE and generic frames of reference. Malouf's *Johnno* likewise moves away from the bush to the city and brings Brisbane on the literary map. The use of language in *Johnno* reflects the positive turn in attitudes to AusE in the 1970s (see 3.1.2.1.3.1) via the inclusion of the vernacular which is, however, used within mostly StBE narration. While there is much discussion in the novel about Australia having no culture, the novel itself is a proof to the contrary in the way it blends StBE with the AusE vernacular, as well as domestic and international frames of reference. These frames of reference draw on the cultural canon of the 'old world' in creating new local forms of art which are in dialogue with the old tradition while being faithful to the new cultural as well as physical environment that produced them.

The linguistic and cultural self-confidence which should have been characteristic of the previous period is finally manifested in the novels of the Differentiation period (1980s-present) – Tim Winton’s *Dirt Music* (2001) and Melissa Lucashenko’s *Mullumbimby* (2013). Both authors employ the vernacular extensively, draw on established folklinguistic ideas in characterisation, and foreground the connection between the land and the national and personal identity via linguistic means. While both draw on the Western cultural canon in their references, they handle it more freely and confidently, adapting it to the Australian experience. Lucashenko’s representation of the mixing of the Aboriginal way of using English with the Australian vernacular and Winton’s occasional use of Western Australian regionalisms serve as evidence of AusE’s transition to the Differentiation stage (5.4.2). Yet the rather small number of regionalisms in *Dirt Music* and their absence in *Mullumbimby* suggests that internal variation is still low, meaning that the Differentiation stage is ongoing (see 4.1.1.4). The positive changes in attitude towards AusE are reflected in the patterns of use of the vernacular which used to be associated with the lower classes and a lack of education, but both Winton and Lucashenko now use it for educated and middle or even upper-class characters.

6.2 Evaluation of the methodology and data

To analyse the relationship between language and national identity from a diachronic perspective on a consistent set of data is a difficult task, which is likely why there is so little research of this type. Most studies on language and identity (for AusE see e.g., Willoughby 2019) look at commentaries by linguists, politicians or writers which provide direct evidence of language attitude, yet only isolated instances of it. Moreover, the relationship between language and identity is difficult to measure objectively as it is dependent on a range of social, cultural and historical factors and can thus have different manifestations. Therefore, an interdisciplinary approach seemed fitting. To cover the history of AusE and examine more evidence than mere metalinguistic commentary, this dissertation used a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis in the context of Schneider’s Dynamic model of development of PCE varieties of English which takes into consideration precisely the historical and cultural context.

Even though a few contestable points arose in Schneider’s scenario described for AusE, as discussed in 6.1, the Dynamic model served as an excellent basic structure for the division of the corpora as well as the basis of the formulated hypotheses. As such, it was a fitting

theoretical framework for the present analysis of how British English changed into Australian English in the Antipodean context, especially thanks to its attention to identity rewritings.

For the quantitative analysis, lexis was chosen because it is seen as one of the most typical features of AusE and can be easily measured by quantitative methods. Cultural keywords were chosen specifically because they are considered expressive of national identity. However, apart from *mate* and *bush* the cultural keywords were too infrequent to make meaningful generalisations, which is one of the shortcomings of this approach. Wierzbicka (1997) herself notes that frequency is not necessarily a criterion in the identification of cultural keywords, and this was confirmed by the corpus results – while culturally significant, some of the words appeared only a handful of times, and thus contributed little to the bigger picture across Australian history. The size of the corpus was also limited to 32 novels, which adds to the difficulty in generalising the results.

The qualitative analysis of two novels from each period in the form of close reading informed by folklinguistics and ecostylistics enabled the examination of linguistic manifestations of the relationship between language and identity that are not easily quantifiable as every author may use different means, so predefined criteria for quantitative analysis were impossible to set. The close reading allowed to examine metalinguistic commentary, the frames of reference used in analogies and allusions, the linguistic construction of space, and the folklinguistic ideologies underlying character representation, which together provided a complex picture of the relationship between language and identity. At the same time, the same difficulty with the generalisation of the results holds in this qualitative approach. The results, while certainly expressive of the cultural and sociohistorical context of the period, are largely limited to the specific text and author, and since only eight novels were examined in this way, the analysis reflects only a small sample of the literature produced. Moreover, the selection of features that were analysed via close reading is by nature subjective, as is their interpretation.

Another limitation of the results, which is acknowledged in the title of the present work, is the coverage of literary language only. Canonical literature was selected because it was the most readily available in the chosen historical timeframe because of the role of Australian writers in the establishment of the national ethos, and also because I was familiar with much of the material. The language of literary fiction, however, is often more stylised and artificial than writing in other genres and the analysis of direct speech often reveals more about the meaning of stereotypes associated with certain linguistic features than about language change.

6.3 Further research possibilities

In light of the limitations of the present research discussed in 6.2, the current results could benefit from a comparison with other types of written text, be it popular fiction, journalism, and ideally also diaries and letters. These text types would reveal more about the language of the general population. However, as discussed in 3.1, such corpora that would cover the whole history of AusE are not available. The closest to it is the Corpus of Early Oz English which includes a variety of genres but covers only the period between 1788 and 1900.

Another possible avenue of research would be a re-evaluation of the periodisation of Schneider's model with respect to AusE. The texts from the 1890s display linguistic features and attitudes Schneider sees as typical of the Nativization period, even though the texts belong to Exonormative stabilisation. It would be interesting to see whether this is the case only with texts associated with the promotion of the independence cause, or whether this was a more general tendency. While Schneider finds 1901 a suitable marker of the transition to the Nativization stage, as it provides a clear historical division marking the year Australia gained independence, the 1890s might be more accurate.

Similarly, the Differentiation period of AusE could benefit from a more detailed examination. Despite expectations, regionalisms, which should be characteristic of this final developmental stage, are few and far between, and AusE in general is considered to be very uniform. Peters (2014) also observes in her study of the Differentiation period in AusE that again, despite expectations, the degree of ethnic and social variation is low, and the most apparent difference is between the Aboriginal way of using English and the English of the Anglo-Australian population. The findings of the present study are very similar. Again, it would be helpful to analyse texts from different genres and registers to see whether the situation is different in different contexts. Moreover, since languages never stop evolving, it would be interesting to examine what happens when the Differentiation stage is complete. Clearly, this is not yet possible to demonstrate on AusE but perhaps on a different variety of English that has completed this stage.

Finally, the study of language and identity in Australia would benefit from a folklinguistic study among Australians following Penry Williams's (2020) methodology, but on a larger and more varied demographic sample – different age groups, social classes and ethnic groups in different Australian states. The survey could ask about their Australian keywords and confront them with the results of the present study and quotations about language from the

novels discussed to see to what degree they identify (or do not identify) with the results and quotations.

6.4 Closing remarks

Language might be seen by some as just a set of words, sounds and rules, yet it has the power to create new worlds. As this dissertation has shown, in postcolonial societies such as Australia, it was one of the instrumental tools that allowed the new Australians to take control of the discourse about their country and culture. By setting the new land and way of life on the page in writing, they began to solidify the Australian experience which was born of the distinctive environment – the bush. This distinctive environment shaped not only the national character but also much of the language, as demonstrated by the cultural keywords discussed in the present work as well as in the qualitative analyses of the selected novels which linguistically foreground the role of the land.

The abrogation process English in Australia went through in the last century now appears to be mirrored in the Aboriginal way of using English, which takes the English of the Anglo-Australians and adapts it to suit the Aboriginal Australian experience. This is achieved via incorporating the Aboriginal worldview for example with respect to nature, which is foregrounded linguistically via personification and the use of Indigenous words, as was demonstrated in the analysis of Melissa Lucashenko's *Mullumbimby*. As reconciliation with the First Nations is an ongoing concern in Australian society, this linguistic process can be seen as one important aspect of the reconciliation, as a language that serves all needs of its people is an important step towards empowerment. The Aboriginal way of using English is thus one way for the Indigenous population of asserting their difference within Australian culture of which they are an integral but also a distinctive part.

As previously discussed (see 2.4), modern nations produced by colonial displacement or prominent migration are 'imagined communities' rather than historically given entities. A unifying national ethos needs to be not only defined, but constantly redefined to keep its unifying power. In his monograph on David Malouf, Randall comments on the importance which Malouf accords both the language and the landscape, perceiving both as the cornerstones of a modern nation – a way to transcend differences and find wholeness in the unique Australian environment: "His sense of the importance of language as a meeting-place for the negotiation of difference recalls Fichte's faith that the sharing of language founds all contemporary understanding within diversity and bears also the promise of ever improved, ever increasing

understanding” (2007: 3). Randall’s observation holds to a lesser or greater extent for all of the writers discussed in this dissertation, which showed how Australian writers have contributed to this (re)definition.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Wierzbicka's definitions of Australian keywords (1997: 232-234)

1. Anna Wierzbicka's definitions of Australian keywords discussed in 2.5 (1997: 232-234)

chiack (e.g., X was chiacking Y)

- (a) for some time, X was saying some bad things about person Y
- (b) X wanted Y to hear it
- (c) X was saying these things as people say bad things about someone
- (d) when they think something like this at the same time:
- (e) I want to say these things about this person
- (f) because I want people here to feel something good
- (g) not because I want this person to feel something bad
- (h) I can do it because this person is someone like me
- (i) people think: men feel something good when they can do this with other men

yarn (e.g., X had a yarn with Y)

- (a) for some time, X was saying some things to Y about some things
- (b) as people say things to someone
- (c) when they think something like this at the same time:
- (d) I want to say some things to this person about some things
- (e) I want to do it for some time, not a short time
- (f) I think this person wants the same
- (g) I think this person will say some things to me about these things during this time
- (h) I think I will feel something good because of this
- (i) I think this person will feel the same
- (j) people think: it is good if men can do this from time to time with other men

shout (e.g., X shouted a round for everyone)

- (a) X said something like this:
- (b) I will have a drink now
- (c) I want everyone else to have a drink at the same time
- (d) I will pay for this
- (e) X did it as men often do when they are with other men
- (f) people think: it is good if men do this with other men

- (g) it is good if one person does it after another person
- (h) when men do this, they feel something good because of this

shout2 (e.g., X shouted Y a trip to Sydney)

- (a) X said something like this to someone:
- (b) I want to do something good for you
- (c) I will pay for this
- (d) people think: it is good if people say this to other people
- (e) when people do this, they feel something good because of this

dob in (e.g., X dobed Y in)

- (a) X said something like this to Z about Y:
- (b) "I want you to know that Y did something bad"
- (c) X knew:
- (d) X is someone like Y
- (e) Z is not someone like Y
- (f) Z can do bad things to someone like Y
- (g) people think: if someone does something like this, it is very bad
- (h) people feel something bad when they think about things like this

whinge (e.g., X was whinging)

- (a) for some time, X was saying something like this: "something bad is happening to me"
- (b) X was saying it as people say things
- (c) when they want to say something like this:
- (d) something bad is happening to me
- (e) I feel something bad because of this
- (f) I can't do anything ("about it")
- (g) I want someone to know this
- (h) I want someone to do something because of this
- (i) I think no one wants to do anything
- (j) I want to say this many times because of this
- (k) people think: it is bad if someone does this

bloody (e.g., bloody X!)

- (a) when I say something about X, I feel something

- (b) I don't want to say what I feel
- (c) I want to do something else
- (d) some people say that some words are bad words
- (e) I want to say something of this kind

a bastard (e.g., he is a bastard)

- (a) I think about him like this:
- (b) I know men of this kind
- (c) men of this kind are bad men
- (d) men of this kind can do very bad things
- (e) because of this, when I think about him I feel something bad
- (f) I want to say something bad about this man
- (g) people say that some words are bad words
- (h) I want to say something of this kind

bastard (e.g., poor bastard, clever bastard)

- (a) I think about this man like this:
- (b) I know men of this kind
- (c) because of this, when I think about him, I feel something
- (d) I don't want to say what I feel
- (e) I want to say something else
- (f) some people say some words are bad words
- (g) I want to say something of this kind

bugger! (interjection)

- (a) I think: something bad happened
- (b) I don't want to say "very bad"
- (c) because of this, I think:
- (d) I want to do something
- (e) I can't do it
- (f) because of this, I feel something bad
- (g) because of this, I want to say something
- (h) some people say that some words are bad words
- (i) I want to say something of this kind

bugger (noun)

- (a) I know: something bad happened
- (b) I don't want to say "very bad"
- (c) because of this, I think:
- (d) this man wants to do some things
- (e) this man can't do things (like other people)
- (f) because of this, I feel something bad
- (g) I want to say something bad about this man
- (h) some people say that some words are bad words
- (i) I want to say something of this kind

bullshit

- (a) I know: some people say many things
- (b) no one can know anything about anything because of these things
- (c) they want other people to think that they say something good
- (d) some other people think this
- (e) I don't want to be like these other people
- (f) when I think about it I feel something bad
- (g) because of this, I want to say something
- (h) some people say that some words are bad words
- (i) I want to say something of this kind

APPENDIX 2: AusE corpus: Overview of authors and their texts

Exonormative stabilisation (1830s-1901)

Henry Savery (1791-1842), *Quintus Servinton* (1830)

Savery was born in Somerset, England, into a family of a prominent Bristol banker. As an adult, his business ventures were not successful enough for him to provide for his family, so he resorted to forgery. He was convicted and sentenced to transportation to Tasmania, where he arrived in 1825. He began writing about life in the colony for the *Colonial Times*, and later published these stories as *The Hermit of Van Diemen's Land* (1829) under a pseudonym, as convicts faced punishment for being published. Savery wrote *Quintus Servinton*, agreed to be the first Australian novel, while serving on the farm of Major Hugh Macintosh where he was given time to write beside his responsibilities. The novel is heavily autobiographical and in the preface Savery insists it describes real events and people. From the preface it also becomes

clear he wrote for a British audience, as the author entrusts the text to the English nation. Even though the colonial audience is also mentioned, it is only an extension of English culture at this point, which has its centre in England (Dixon 2005).

Quintus Servinton offers a glimpse into the life of an educated convict in the colony. It opens in Devonshire on a country estate, which Quintus's father is forced to mortgage, and Quintus has to learn the ropes of the emerging world of commerce. He is eventually corrupted, resorts to crime, and is punished by being transported to Van Diemen's Land. While it is a tale with a strong moral undertone, it is also a story of redemption. As Dixon asserts, "[i]n a magical resolution, the text upholds the values of moderation, prudence and unselfishness, as Quintus regains his place in respectable society and returns to live in rural seclusion in Devonshire, shutting out the forces of commercial speculation that have destabilized his life" (Dixon 2005). Savery was not so lucky, as he committed another forgery in the colony and was transported to Port Arthur, where he died.

Charles Rowcroft (1798-1856), *Tales of the Colonies* (1843)

Rowcroft was born in London into a family of a British merchant and diplomat and educated at Eton. He became one of the first free settlers in Australia, taking up a large chunk of land in Tasmania when he arrived in 1821. He held various offices in the colony, including that of the justice of the peace. In 1827 he returned to England, but he utilised his experience from the colony in his writing – in 1843 he published *Tales of the Colonies, or, the Adventures of an Emigrant, Edited by a late Colonial Magistrate*, considered to be the first Australian example of the emigrant novel. The novel is full of exciting adventures in the bush of Van Diemen's Land in the 1820s recounts the dangers that lurk there in the form of the savage natives and bushrangers with much melodrama via diary entries of the settler William Thornby. Yet it also includes practical information about life in the colony as a settler and attempts to convince the reader to experience the advantages of relocating to a new land for themselves. These attempts are the most explicit in the introduction, where Rowcroft heavily promotes the idea of settlement in the colonies, as unlike in England where they would labour on another man's field, in the colonies they can acquire their own. It also presents a romanticised idea of nature and the wilderness in the colonies, associated with a return to something purer. (Hadgraft & Horner 1967/2000)

Caroline Leakey (1827-1881), *The Broad Arrow* (1859)

Leakey, a poet and novelist, was born in Exeter, England, and moved to Tasmania in 1848 for 5 years. She had chronic health problems, and was fiercely devoted to her evangelical faith, both of which is reflected in her writing. Her first published work was a collection of poems *Lyra Australis; or, Attempts to Sing in a Strange Land* in 1854. Adelaide observes that “[t]he maudlin obsession with death in these poems is understandable given her illnesses at the time, while the cloying religiosity, the stereotyped images, and archaic diction are doubtless due to the author's strict evangelical outlook” (2005). Her only novel, *The Broad Arrow* (1859), published under the pseudonym Oline Keese, is a significant contribution to Australian literature. It was one of the first novels written by a woman, with a female convict heroine, providing a detailed description of life in the penal colony. Maida Gwynnham is a young middle-class woman who is sent to Van Diemen’s Land as a punishment for a crime she did not commit, but which she is convicted of because of her deceitful lover – a typical example of the “fallen woman” trope popular in 19th century literature (Webby 2000: 61-62). Adelaide notes the novel does not shy away from criticising the conduct of the church, treatment of the Aboriginal population, and the position of women in the colony, and remarks that as the novel was “[c]onstantly republished until the end of the nineteenth century, [it] made a substantial contribution to the growing suspicion in Britain that the so-called convict class was just a myth and that the convicts were themselves victims” (2005). Markus Clarke acknowledged *The Broad Arrow* as inspiration for his now much more famous novel *For The Term of His Natural Life* (1874), which developed a very similar theme of an innocent convict, but with a male hero (Webby 2000: 62).

Catherine Helen Spence (1825-1910), *Mr Hogarth's Will* (1861)

Spence was born in Scotland and emigrated to Adelaide, SA, with her family at the age of 14, and went on to work as a teacher and governess before becoming a writer (Adelaide 2005). Considered to be the first female Australian novelist with her *Clara Morison* (1854), a novel about the Australian gold rushes, Spence was also a journalist and one of the leaders of the Australian suffrage movement (Webby 2000: 69). The position of women was one of her central topics, which is already suggested by the first novel, often compared with Charlotte Bronte’s Gothic romance *Jane Eyre* (1847), as the central character Clara, despite her social position, chooses to become a servant instead of marrying a rich man. Webby asserts that “[w]hile perhaps reflecting current and continuing concerns over the class position of the

colonial lady, who often could not afford to emulate the English ideal, the white-handed lady of leisure, *Clara Morison* also endorses women's capacity for both practical and intellectual work" (69). She wrote several other novels, including *Mr Hogarth's Will* (titled *Uphill Work* in Australia), which tells a story of Jane and Alice Melville, two Scottish sisters who have been given a gentleman's education. They are disinherited by their uncle, who believes women and men have equal capabilities, and who by leaving his fortune to his illegitimate son wants to force his nieces to exercise these capabilities to earn their living. Yet they cannot find a job despite their qualifications, as their sex disqualifies them from the traditionally masculine positions in 19th century society, such as clerk, bookkeeper or writer. Eventually they travel to Australia as the land of opportunity and their situation is resolved there (Paolini 1989: 34).

Not only in theme, but also in the writing style, the novel resembles those of Jane Austen, with long flowing sentences, irony, and still relatively formal language, although conversation in direct speech is less formal, yet without any apparent distinction between the speech of the British and the Australian characters. This absence of major differences suggests Spence saw the two still as one nation, although she noticed and expressed some emerging differences. Adelaide asserts that in her novels Spence expresses both a strong bond to the motherland, as well as faith in the new country, "[c]onstantly juxtaposing English and South Australian qualities, she always finds the latter less rigid, more liberating in terms of class and gender, with a more optimistic future. In this sense she was a true patriot" (Adelaide 2005).

Marcus Clarke (1846-1881), *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874)

Clarke was born in London into a family of colonial officers, diplomats, and lawyers. His father had a prosperous law practice, and his son enjoyed a sophisticated lifestyle and dabbled with poetry, with little thought to preparing himself for a career that would earn money. When his father suffered a financial and physical breakdown, Clarke was sent to Melbourne, where he arrived in 1863, to live with his uncle, who found him a job at a bank which he was unfit for. Clarke later travelled inland to try out life at a station, but eventually returned to Melbourne and started writing witty observant columns about Melbourne life for the *Argus* newspaper, and later for other emerging publications. Besides his journalistic work, he wrote several novels serialised in Australian papers, and was active in the theatre as a translator and dramatist. He led a rather extravagant lifestyle that resulted in debts, alcoholism, and problems with his health, which led to an early death (Elliot 1969).

Clarke's most famous work, *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874), was first serialised in the *Australian Journal* between 1870-1872 before being published in book form by British publishers. Like *The Broad Arrow*, it follows the story of a convict sent to the penal colony for crimes he did not commit. Through the tale of Rufus Dawes, Clarke spotlights the horrors of the convict system and the effect the corruptive and bleak environment has on an innocent young man. Webby observes that despite all the trials Rufus is subjected to in the form of brutality from the officers and fellow convicts, as well as the company of much less sophisticated and sometimes downright feral inmates he must associate with, he still retains his inherent goodness (2000: 62). This originally earned him a happy ending in the serialised version of the novel, however, British publishers demanded a more tragic ending as they did not believe he could be redeemed after experiencing the horrors of Van Diemen's Land. Webby asserts that the changed ending also completely changed the image of Australia presented in the text: "[w]hereas the serial version of *His Natural Life* had presented post-goldrush Australia as a land transformed, a place to make a new start, in the revised version it remains at the charcoal stage" (2000: 63). Nonetheless, this novel is considered one of the best of 19th century Australian literature, and Elliot accords it high praise, placing it besides the literary geniuses of the time like Victor Hugo and Dostoevsky, who also explored the topic of crime and punishment in fresh ways, and notes that *For the Term of His Natural Life* "has outlasted all his other writings, and is the one work of fiction produced in the whole first century of Australia's history to justify description as monumental" (1969).

Ada Cambridge (1844-1926), *A Mere Chance* (1880)

Cambridge was born in Norfolk, England, as a daughter of a gentleman farmer. In 1870 she and her husband, who was a clergyman in colonial service, sailed to Melbourne, and due to her husband's profession, they moved all over the continent. This gave Cambridge ample opportunity to experience life in the colony from different perspectives, which she later utilised for her book *Thirty Years in Australia* (1903). Throughout her writing life, she wrote fiction, poetry, and some religious writings, and is thought to be the first significant female poet in Australia. One of the chief concerns of Cambridge's writing was the position of women in society, about which she expressed very modern opinions – Roe (1969) observes that "her ideas were considered a little daring and even improper for a clergyman's wife". Her first novel *Up the Murray* was published in serialised form in 1875. Webby asserts that Cambridge was the

only female writer of her time that also achieved publication in book form in Britain, which made her popular both in Britain and Australia (2000: 70).

The success of her first novel gained her access into the circles of the Anglo-Australian aristocracy, which became a popular subject of her novels (Roe: 1969), such as in *A Mere Chance* (1880) (analysed in 5.1), a novel about a young debutante Rachael Featherstonhaugh who, freshly orphaned, comes to live with her aunt in Melbourne where she becomes engaged to the much older and rich Mr. Kingston, before falling in love with Mr. Dalrymple, a squatter, in the Australian bush. Through her story, Cambridge explores the workings of the marriage market and the choices women faced at the time. Webby notes that in recent years Cambridge's work has finally been receiving scholarly attention, whereas until recently she was often dismissed "as a mere romance writer" (Webby 2000: 70). Such a dismissal was unfair, as the framework of the romance novel allows her to "question and ironise the position of women, the institution of marriage and, frequently, the conventions of romance itself" (Webby 2000: 70).

Rolf Boldrewood (1826-1915), *A Robbery Under Arms* (1888)

Boldrewood was born in London as Thomas Alexander Brown. His father, who was a ship captain working for the East India Company, moved the family to Australia when his son was 5 years old, and they settled first in Sydney and later in Melbourne. In the 1840s Boldrewood became a squatter and farmed cattle and later sheep for nearly two decades, before moving back to Melbourne and working first as a police magistrate, then a gold commissioner, he later held several other government-official positions. Alongside his squatter and administration career, he also embarked on a writing career in the late 1860s to support his large family, beginning with articles for magazines before turning to fiction, publishing over ten novels in serialised form in various Australian magazines in the 1870s. He chose to publish his work under the pseudonym Rolf Boldrewood, with "Rolf" coming from Norse and "Boldrewood" from Walter Scott's poem "Marmion" (1808). In his novels, Boldrewood drew on his experiences of squatter life, and incorporated it into his vivid novels full of sensational adventures, romance, and melodrama (Moore 1969).

Boldrewood is remembered as one of the greatest writers of the colonial period for his novel *A Robbery Under Arms* (1888) (analysed in 5.1), which was originally published in the *Sydney Mail* between 1882-1883 with considerable differences between the original serialised text and the later version published in book format, which became very popular throughout the English-speaking world (Webby 2000: 63). The novel centres around two brothers Dick and

Jim, from a poor family persecuted by the police. Following their father, they join a gang of bushrangers headed by the mysterious Captain Starlight, likely an English nobleman, and embark on a series of adventures in the bush and on the goldfields in the 1850s Australia. As discussed in 3.1.1.1.1, in this period many people were experiencing unjust police persecution and thus sympathised with the bushrangers – the novel reflects this climate.

Besides pioneering the use of the vernacular in Australian literature and introducing properly “Australian” characters, as discussed in 5.2.1, Boldrewood serves as a great example of the identity of Brits abroad typical for the Exonormative stabilisation period when an awareness of the developing cultural differences in the Antipodes rises. T. Inglis Moore observes:

A transitional figure, he was colonial in his conservative views, belief in the superiority of the ‘gentry’, and affection for English traditions, yet reflected the nationalist 1890s in his democratic kindness, respect for character irrespective of class and fervent Australian sentiment. Far from having a purely British outlook, as often asserted, he was proud of being an Australian and thought that ‘the native-born type’ showed ‘progressive development’ over its parent British stock. (1969)

Catherine Martin (1848-1937), *An Australian Girl* (1890)

Martin was born on the Isle of Skye, Scotland, into a poor family, which moved to South Australia in 1855. From an early age she was interested in literature and the German language. She likely encountered German through contact with the community of German immigrants in Mount Gambier, SA, and her writings show influences of German philosophy and literature (Sedgwick 2010). In the 1870s she helped her sister run a school. She started her literary career by writing poems and translating German poetry. When she moved to Adelaide in 1875, she befriended Catherine Helen Spence and tried her hand at journalism but had to earn a living as a clerk. She published several novels and essays under a pseudonym and focused on conveying the female point of view, feminist ideas, and drawing on her experience and observation of the Australian landscape – she has been praised particularly for her lyrical descriptions of the bush. Her work also contains many references to German literature. She also sympathised with the Aboriginal population and the only book she published under her own name, *The Incredible Journey* (1923), was written from the perspective of an Aboriginal woman who journeys in search of her son (Allen 1986).

Martin is best known for her novel *An Australian Girl* (1890) which follows the life of an educated and intelligent young woman, Stella Courtland, who lives in Adelaide in the 1880s and moves in the social circles of the squattocracy as well as the large community of German

intellectuals, which gains her two suitors who she has to choose from. The novel is set both in Europe and Australia and through Stella's fate it highlights the social constraints women faced at the time and captures the emerging spirit of nationalism. Webby asserts that while in her novel *Martin*, like many of her contemporary female writers, portrays a heroine who traps herself in an unhappy marriage, unlike many other novels here Stella's decision to stay in that marriage is framed as a positive one by Martin. Webby asserts that this is "in part because her now reformed husband is an Australian and the text shares some of the burgeoning nationalism characteristic of the 1890s as well as an interest in socialist politics, usually only associated with male writers of the realist school" (2000: 71).

Nativization (1901-1942)

Henry Lawson (1867-1922), *Joe Wilson and His Mates* (1901)

Lawson was born in a small town on the goldfields of NSW, son of a Norwegian miner and an Australian mother, Louisa Lawson, a poet, publisher, and a feminist. The family moved around the goldfields before eventually settling on a selection at Pipeclay, where the whole family had to work hard to support themselves, with Henry also doing building jobs with his father in the Blue Mountains, before moving to Sydney with his mother. There he met political activists campaigning for independence as well as writers and artists, and began to write himself – poems, journalism, and short stories. He was one of the principal figures writing for *The Bulletin* in the 1890s, helping to create the Bush Legend, yet unlike some others, he had first-hand experience of life in the bush which prevented him from romanticising it (Matthews 1986).

The Bulletin also became famous for adhering to the so-called 'new-journalism' in its writing style, characterised by its sparseness with short simpler sentences and paragraphs. This is also apparent in Lawson's work (Webby 2000: 64). Lawson's bush stories represent sketches of life in that distinctively Australian environment and record the familiar bush types, such as the swagman. In their time, they were original, according to Webby, in that they "have very little in the way of plot, are usually quite short and give the impression of artlessness, achieving their effects from carefully chosen, vividly realised detail" (Webby 2000: 65). Notably, continuing in Boldrewood's footsteps, Lawson also utilises the vernacular to support characterisation. When the short-story series *Joe Wilson and His Mates* (1901) was published in the year of the Federation, Lawson was at the height of his career, and as discussed in 3.1.1.1.2.2, his work came to be seen as exemplifying the national character and showing the influence of the harsh environment on its inhabitants (Goldsworthy 2000: 107). He likely wrote

most of this collection during his two-year stay in London where he went in search of better opportunities, and which he regarded as creatively very fulfilling. Yet like with many of his predecessors and contemporaries, his stories reveal he was writing with a foreign audience in mind, as some of the explanations of Australian experience and vernacular illustrate (Goldsworthy 2000: 106).

Miles Franklin (1879-1954), *My Brilliant Career* (1901)

Franklin was born to Australian-born parents at Talbingo, NSW, with her family engaged in several farming enterprises whose failings caused the family to move to a Sydney suburb of Carlton instead in 1915. Her childhood spent in the bush, experience of downward social mobility, and love of literature, contributed to her becoming an acclaimed novelist, feminist and nationalist. The fame that *My Brilliant Career* brought her when she was just 21 years old led her to withdraw from public life for a time, and eventually even from Australia – she spent some time in America and England, working various jobs while also continuing to pursue writing, but eventually she returned to Australia. All her life she was committed to creating and supporting Australian writing and her literary legacy lives on in the annual Miles Franklin Award given to a novel representing Australian life (Roe 1981).

Franklin's nationalism as well as feminist ideas which seem incompatible with the strong masculinity of the national ethos come together in *My Brilliant Career*. It is a semi-autobiographical novel, whose protagonist Sybylla Melvyn is growing up in the bush in the 1890s, while her family experiences financial difficulties, which forces her to work as a governess. She dreams of a literary career and of love, but her low self-esteem leads her to reject her suitor Harold Beecham, so the ending of the novel leaves her without the promise of either a writing career or a husband. As noted in 3.1.1.1.2.2, Franklin had to seek the help of Henry Lawson to get the novel published, eventually in Edinburgh in a heavily edited version, since it was twice rejected by the Sydney-based publisher Angus & Robertson who at the time was the main publisher of (mostly nationalist) domestic literature (Webby 2000: 55). Webby observes that “[l]ike many Australian writers before and since, her work was adapted to the supposed demands and prejudices of non-Australian readers, who were assumed to form the bulk of its audience” (56), despite the fact that the novel sold better in Australia. The combination of romance, anti-romance, nationalism, and feminism was perhaps why local publishers rejected it, and even Lawson himself, who wrote the novel's preface, was very selective in his appreciation of the text, dismissing the “girlishly emotional parts of the book”,

while applauding “the descriptions of bush life and scenery [that] came startlingly, painfully real to me, and ... as far as they are concerned, the book is true to Australia” (Lawson’s preface in Franklin 1901).

Barbara Baynton (1857-1929), *Bush Studies* (1902)

Baynton was born in Scone, NSW, to Irish immigrants, and received a home education in the course of which she gained appreciation of the works of Dickens and the Russian novelists. At 23, she married a selector who later ran off with their servant. Securing a divorce, she moved to Sydney and married an old wealthy retired surgeon with literary and academic friends who helped her pursue her literary career which began with writing stories and articles for *The Bulletin* in the late 1890s. Like Franklin, she failed to find a publisher for her short story collection in Sydney, and had to go to London to secure the publication of *Bush Studies* (1902) by Duckworth & co. with the help of the critic Edward Garnett (“Baynton, Barbara Jane” 1979).

Unlike Lawson and Franklin’s work, *Bush Studies* is less concerned with contributing to the national ethos than with offering a realistic portrayal of life in the bush, particularly the hardships faced by women, focusing – like Lawson – on the effects of the harsh environment on human character, and subverting the mateship myth (discussed in 4.2.2.1.4.2 in connection with Baynton’s potentially ironic usage of the word *mate*). Goldsworthy notes that “gender relations in the context of a relentlessly harsh and sinister bush landscape are a central theme of her work. Women in Baynton’s stories are the victims of their menfolk and the landscape: trapped, exploited, deceived, bereaved, humiliated, raped and murdered” (2000: 117). Fitting with this theme is thus Baynton’s incorporation of Gothic elements in her stories to convey the dangers a lonely woman faces in the bush, such as in one of the stories titled “The Chosen Vessel”, where a woman is threatened and eventually killed by a swagman. By supplanting the haunted castles and ruins of the English Gothic tradition with dilapidated bush dwellings and the eerie atmosphere of the remote bush, Baynton appropriates the genre to the Australian experience and thus contributes to the emancipation of Australian literature as much as Franklin or Lawson.

Joseph Furphy (1843-1912), *Such is Life* (1903)

Furphy was born in Yering, VIC, to an Australian-born tenant farmer father and an Irish immigrant mother. He was largely educated at home by his mother, who introduced him to the Bible and Shakespeare. As a young man, he was helping his father with his farming enterprises.

He married a woman of French origin and together they bought a selection together, unsuccessfully tried their hand at farming, so eventually Furphy became a bullock-driver. In the 1890s he started writing for *The Bulletin*, yet unlike the Bohemians Lawson and Paterson, he had a more optimistic outlook and his writing reflected his strong religious beliefs and conventional principles of morality. As Clark (1981) observes,

Furphy held very passionate opinions on human behaviour in Australia. He had called his work ‘offensively Australian’. He certainly believed in the virtues and capacities of the Australian bushman. [...] He believed in moral enlightenment. [...] Yet, paradoxically, the good time would not be accompanied by the pleasures which appealed to the Australian bushman such as drinking and general profanity. (1981)

Through his work, Furphy wanted to inspire Australians to adhere to the kind of morality he was preaching. (Clark 1981)

His most famous novel *Such is Life* (1903) is presented to the reader as a series of diary entries of the narrator Tom Collins in the space of one week. The entries capture the lives of the bush people, such as bullock-drivers, squatters and swagmen through little sketches or yarns around the campfire, and the narrator’s philosophising. Goldsworthy describes the text as a “sprawling, opaque and very funny novel [...] [which] was at once a late experiment in realism and a very early anticipation of postmodern techniques of fragmentation, allusion, pastiche and authorial self-consciousness” (2000: 108). Ahead of its time in its literary technique, it tried to capture bush life in Australia from another perspective than Lawson’s, but also employing the Australian vernacular, along with trying to represent other linguistic varieties present in Australia at the time, which are contrasted with sometimes very formal and literary language that reflects Furphy’s appreciation of classical literature.

Louis Stone (1871-1935), *Jonah* (1911)

Stone was born in England and did not move to Australia till he was 13, when his father retired from the Royal Navy and took the family to Brisbane, QLD, from where they moved to Sydney a year later. Stone had a passion for literature and music, and became a primary school teacher, whilst writing drama and fiction on the side.

One of the first Australian writers to leave the habitual bush settings behind, he utilised his experience of life in Sydney suburbs in his novel *Jonah* (1911), which like many of its contemporaries was published in London. The novel follows the life of two larrikins Jonah and Chook (for a discussion of larrikin, see 4.2.2.3.4), members of the same ‘Push’ (a street gang), as they move on with their lives. Kiernan asserts that “[w]hile the novel has its share of contrivance and sentimentality, its evocation of Sydney working-class life and of the city itself

were to win Stone the reputation of being one of the first Australian writers to present urban existence both realistically and imaginatively” (1990). While the novel was not widely popular in its time, contemporary critics appreciated it for its focus on the urban working class and predicted it would become a literary classic (Kiernan 1990).

Katherine Susannah Prichard (1883 – 1969), *The Black Opal* (1921)

Prichard was born in Fiji to the family of a newspaper editor and a seamstress, and spent her early years in Launceston, Tasmania, and Melbourne, perusing her grandmother’s extensive collection of English and European literature. She worked as a governess and journalist and in 1908 she set off for England, eventually taking her journalistic career from London to Paris and New York. On her travels, her sense of social injustice acquired through a life of poverty was strengthened by the misery, struggles, and war she encountered. Her life experience drew her to the ideas of socialism and communism, and she became one of the founding members of the Communist Party of Australia in 1921 (Hay 1988).

Apart from journalism, she wrote poems as well as novels, and her literary career truly blossomed after her return to Australia in 1916 when she started to move in literary and intellectual circles in Melbourne, before moving to WA with her husband in 1919, where her career continued (Hay 1988). One of her early novels, *The Black Opal* (1921) captures the life in a small opal-mining town in NSW and explores the principles of mateship and ideals of independence in the face of a lucrative offer from an American buyer to purchase the mine, through which Prichard expresses her critique of capitalism. Such critique becomes one of the central topics of her work, along with trying to accurately capture the specifics of life in Australia (Goldsworthy 2000: 118). Her work is also notable for exploring the expansion into Western Australia and the relationships of white men with Aboriginal women, such as in her subsequent novels *Working Bullocks* (1926) and *Coonardoo* (1929) (Hay 1988).

Dymphna Cusack (1902-1981), *Jungfrau* (1936)

Cusack was born in Wyalong, NSW, to Australian-born Irish-Catholic parents. Her writing career began when studying at the University of Sydney, where she began writing plays for the Sydney University Drama Society, incorporating feminist themes. She continued to write during her career as a high-school teacher, producing novels and plays. She also collaborated with Miles Franklin on several satirical pieces. She was politically active, concerned with

women's rights and social injustices, and was a member of the Communist Party, like Prichard (North 2007).

Cusack's political inclinations are reflected in her work, which focuses on the lives and struggles of the poor, and most often poor women. *Jungfrau* (1936) is her second novel, set in 1930s Sydney. The novel tells the story of three young women, with the central plotline revolving around the schoolteacher Thea and her affair with a married university professor. Through this story, the novel discusses the then controversial but current issues of unwanted pregnancies and abortions that modern women were facing (Goldsworthy 2000: 120).

Kenneth Mackenzie (1913-1955), *The Young Desire It* (1937)

Mackenzie was born in Perth, WA, to a farming family, and he was raised by his mother and grandmother after his parents divorced when he was six. He worked as a journalist for the *West Australian* newspaper, before moving to Melbourne and then Sydney in his early twenties, where he worked odd jobs before writing for local newspapers, and where he joined the Bohemian circle formed around the writers Normand Lindsay and Kenneth Slessor (Brady 2000).

His first novel *The Young Desire It* (1937) was informed by his experience at boarding school. In his introduction to the reprinted edition of the novel, David Malouf notes that Mackenzie wrote this novel in the period of five weeks when he was just 17, even though it was not published until years later by Jonathan Cape in London (1937/2013). The novel's protagonist Charles is sent to boarding school, having to leave the idyllic world of his home at a farm hidden in the bush, and suffers in the new environment, getting used to the dynamics of life in an all-boys school and the demands of study. One of the tutors, Mr. Penworth, develops an attraction for Charles, which he finds unwanted, especially after he experiences his own his sexual awakening after he meets a girl while on holidays at home. Rather than plot, the novel portrays the inner world of Charles (and to an extent Penworth), which is interspersed with lyrical descriptions of nature that reflects Charles' feelings. Malouf asserts that as such the novel was somewhat revolutionary on the Australian literary scene, constituting "perhaps the earliest novel in Australia to deal with the inner life in a consistently modernist way" (1937/2013). On a larger level, the novel explores the tension between Britishness and Australianness. As Malouf observes, in the 1920s, when it is set, the boarding school constitutes

an outpost of the empire, an establishment devoted to the making, through classical studies, music, sport, and very British notions of manliness and public service, of young men. Masters are imported Englishmen, the students for the most part country

boys who have grown up close to the Australian bush and to Australian values and traditions. They are lively and well meaning enough, but from the masters' point of view uncultivated even when, like Charles Fox, they are also sensitive and talented. (1937/2013)

Endonormative stabilisation (1942-1980s)

Patrick White (1912-1990), *Tree of Man* (1955)

White was born in London to Australian parents who owned properties in NSW, where they moved six months after White was born. His mother incited in him the love of the theatre and from a very young age he was writing plays and poetry. Aged 13, White was sent to a public school in England, where he felt estranged. Yet on his return to Australia four years later White did not feel any more at home there, disillusioned by the local provincial culture. Therefore, he moved back to England to study modern languages at Cambridge and soon began publishing his poetry and plays in England as well as Australia, although he was more appreciated abroad than at home. Towards the end of the 1940s, he decided to return to Australia permanently and took it upon himself to fight against the provincialism of Australian culture (see 3.1.1.1.3.2) (Webby 2012).

Throughout his career, he published 11 novels, 8 plays, an autobiography, and collections of essays, short-stories and poetry, dominating the Australian literary scene from the mid-century for several decades and exerting influence on future generations of writers (Goldsworthy 2000: 126). While the classicist, anti-modernist poet A. D. Hope famously called White's writing, influenced by modernism and mysticism, "pretentious and illiterate verbal sludge", towards the end of the 1950s he began to be appreciated also at home (Goldsworthy 2000: 127). This was due to his possibly three most famous novels –*The Tree of Man* (1955), *Voss* (1957) and *Riders in the Chariot* (1961). *Voss* is based on the life of the German explorer Ludwig Leichhardt, who set out on an expedition of the Australian outback and never returned, which White renders with the help of much religious symbolism and metaphysical communication. *The Tree of Life* tackles Australia's pioneering days in a modernist, poetic manner different from the customary bush realism. *Riders in the Chariot* follows four characters of diverse background connected through a mystical experience and offers a social critique of Australia's culture, but Goldsworthy notes that with this novel, White "began to be seen as one of the country's great artists, constructing a nation and its social history in his writing, and suggesting possibilities for a spiritual dimension to life in a relentlessly secular country"

(Goldsworthy 2000: 127). His last novel, *The Twynborn Affair* (1979) is his first novel where he directly addresses homosexuality, a personal subject he avoided for a long time (2000: 129).

In 1973, White was the first Australian writer to receive the Nobel Prize in Literature.

Elizabeth Harrower (1928-2020), *The Long Prospect* (1958)

Harrower was born in Sydney, where she lived for most of her life, apart from a few childhood years spent in Newcastle, NSW, and 8 years she spent in the UK in the 1950s. From a young age, she loved visiting libraries and immersing herself in books, and soon began writing her own diaries, letters and stories (Ripley 2020). While considered “one of Australia’s most important postwar writers”, she stopped writing in the late 1960s, her novels went out of print, and were it not for the republication of her texts by *Text Publishing* since 2012, she would have been largely forgotten (Ripley 2020). The republication gained her international acclaim, for example a large piece in the *New Yorker*, which praises her “witty, desolate, truth-seeking, and complexly polished” writing with psychological depth (Wood 2014). Her novels, originally published between the late 1950s and the late 1960s, like many texts of the era offer a critique of the conservative, provincial culture of the Australian suburbia. However, the novels, influenced by the women’s movement and Harrower’s political sympathies with Labour, deal largely with universal topics of gender, power and class relations, and the struggles of women under the controlling influence of men (Ripley 2020).

The Long Prospect (1958), set in the industrial town of Ballowra, modelled on Newcastle, NSW, tells the story of Emily, a 12-year-old girl who is abandoned by her parents and comes to live with her manipulative and domineering grandmother at her boarding house. There Emily meets Max, a kind and caring scientist in his thirties, who encourages her intellectual development. Yet their innocent friendship is turned into a scandal by Emily’s grandmother, who is jealous of Max’s attention. Christina Stead, another famous Australian writer, stated about *The Long Prospect* (1958) that “it has no equal in our writing” (qtd. in Wood 2014).

Joan Lindsay (1896-1984), *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1968)

Lindsay was born in Melbourne to a prominent family of a barrister and her parents had good social connections. She studied painting at the National Gallery of Victoria Art School and it was there that she met her husband Daryl Lindsay, also a painter. They married in 1922, after which Joan turned to writing, first producing articles about art, followed by short stories,

plays and novels. The couple also travelled England, Europe and the USA, providing further inspiration (O'Neill 2012).

Lindsay's work showed interest in the uncanny and the macabre, while also showing a particular fascination with the perception of time and how to render it in writing (O'Neill 2012). Her most famous novel *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1967) was received favourably by critics and remains one of the pillars of the Australian literary canon (O'Neill 2012). Set in 1900, it tells the story of a group of girls from a girls' boarding school who go on a picnic at the Hanging Rock, a real-life place – a former volcano in central Victoria – from which they never return. Lindsay hinted it may be based on true events, however this remains unconfirmed. The mystery is left unresolved, and the sinister events are underscored by Lindsay's portrayal of the Australian landscape. Steele (2010: 45) has identified it with the Gothic tradition and suggested that the girls' perception of the landscape through European-settler eyes and English ideas about orderly landscape, coupled with their ignorance of its ancient history as if it only started with the arrival of the First Fleet, is marked by the notable absence of the Aborigines, whose haunting presence is only hinted at indirectly. The book was adapted to film in 1975.

David Ireland (1927-2022), *The Glass Canoe* (1976)

Ireland was born in Lakemba, NSW, and worked various odd jobs to support his writing career, including work at an oil refinery. He brought the urban landscape to life in Australian literature and critics particularly appreciate his novel *The Unknown Industrial Prisoner* (1971), inspired by his experience from the refinery. It constituted a previously unrepresented genre in the Australian letters – the urban wasteland novel about industrial working life in a time when most fiction was set in the country (Steger 2022). He won three Miles Franklin Awards in the 1970s, the most prolific period of his writing career (Steger 2022). His novels represent the working-class and incorporate the vernacular, for which he was also praised (Steger 2022). Webby (2000: 187) asserts Ireland was a precursor to the 1980s experimental fiction, his work marked by “a capacity to unsettle the mimetic functions of traditional realist writing”. *The Glass Canoe* (1972) is an exploration of Australia's pub culture, centred around a group of men whose life revolves around drinking in the Southern Cross hotel.

David Malouf (*1934), *Johnno* (1975)

Malouf was born in Brisbane, QLD, to a Lebanese father and an English-born mother of Portuguese origin. He studied at the University of Queensland and eventually went on to

teach English at the University of Sydney. Before that, he worked as an English teacher and travelled in Europe extensively, and to this day he continues to divide his time between Australia and Italy (Tikkanen 2019). He began his writing career by writing poetry, before adding fiction to his creative reach. His work has been widely appreciated by critics: he has been praised for his nuanced explorations of the self that is always evolving, through which he addresses a wide range of topics. Randall, for example, notes that

Malouf is both wilfully cosmopolitan and wilfully Australian, a writer of various worlds for whom Australian experience and identity represent an enduring but by no means exclusive concern. As his career progresses, Malouf shows an increasing interest in the cultural and racial otherness represented, for white Australians, by the Aborigine. (2007: 1)

Due to his focus on subjectivity and also the power of language and the landscape and their connection with the nation, he has been labelled a post-Romantic writer (Randall 2007: 3). All of these aspects are reflected in *Johnno* (1975), his first, semi-autobiographical novel about growing up in post-war Brisbane. Among else, it explores the feelings of cultural cringe, and the search for cultural stimulation and a transformation of the self in the culturally superior Europe, which is left unsatisfied (Randall 2007: 36). To underline the point that Australia is not a cultural wasteland, despite what Dante, the narrator, and his friend Johnno might feel, Malouf brings the Brisbane cityscape to life. He includes a lot of detailed descriptions of the city, to “affirm the city as a site of valid personal and social history”, even if it lacks the historical depth of European cultural capital, and to emphasise that “all worlds are full; no place is an empty place” (2007: 37).

Jessica Anderson (1916-2010), *Tirra Lirra by the River* (1978)

Anderson was born in a small Queensland town and grew up in Brisbane, where she studied at an art college, before moving to Sydney when she was 18. In an era when the woman’s place was at home, married with children, she travelled to London in 1937, where she moved in with her partner without getting married. She worked administrative jobs to support their life in London, before returning back to Sydney at the start of WWII, where they eventually married (Goldsworthy 2015). She began her writing career by producing stories for magazines under a pseudonym and writing radio plays to support the family income. Her financial situation improved only after her second marriage in 1955, when she could leave commercial writing and follow her artistic aspirations (Goldsworthy 2015). Similarly to Malouf, her novels focus on the construction, repression, and reconstruction of the self in response to one’s circumstances (Goldsworthy 2015). *Tirra Lirra by the River* (1978), which

won her both critical and popular success, tells the story of an old childless lady who returns to Brisbane after decades abroad and reflects on her life and her search for home and artistic expression. These issues, as Goldsworthy notes, are common to all European settler societies, as they negotiate their position vis-à-vis the mother country, and in her novel Anderson “negotiates the opposition between Australia and Britain that has dominated the lives and imaginations of so many Australian artists, [and] she evokes with a tender, luminous clarity the bright sub-tropical colours of her home cities” (2015) – Sydney and Brisbane.

Shirley Hazzard (1931-2016), *The Transit of Venus* (1980)

Hazzard was born in Sydney to a Scottish mother and a Welsh father, who worked in diplomacy, so from a young age, she experienced life abroad, when he was posted to Hong Kong and New Zealand. In 1951, the family moved to New York, with Hazzard working for the United Nations (McClatchy 2005). In the following decades, she lived in Europe and the U.S., belonging to the group of those cosmopolitan Australian artists and intellectuals who left and never returned to the country Hazzard considered “remote” and “philistine”, yearning instead for the traditions and cultural capital of England (Gregory 2020). Bird thus notes that claiming Hazzard as an Australian writer is somewhat uneasy, because of both her relationship to Australian culture and a lack of Australian subjects in her fiction (2000: 184). Nonetheless, her critically acclaimed novel *The Transit of Venus* (1980) does include Australian settings and characters, telling the story of two orphaned Australian sisters arriving in England determined to start a new life in post-war Britain. The novel uses some fairy-tale tropes, and revolves around interpersonal dramas of the two protagonists, with love and power being the central topics in their journey through life (Gregory 2020).

Murray Bail (*1941), *Homesickness* (1980)

Bail was born in Adelaide, SA, where he has lived most of his life except for a few years in India and England. After graduating from high school, he worked in advertising before becoming a writer, publishing short stories, novels and non-fiction (Stringer 1996: 38). Bail, along with Peter Carey and Michael Wilding, was at the forefront of the new experimental writing emerging in the 1970s and 1980s, which “developed forms of surrealism to negotiate the restrictions of formal realism” (Bird 2000: 190). In his work, Bail explores Australia’s cultural as well as literary past, often entering into dialogue with the bush realism of the Federation period, while offering a social satire (Bird 2000: 186, 206). *Homesickness* (1980),

Bail's first novel, follows a group of Australian tourists on their trip around the world's real and imagined museums, discovering the different cultural artefacts from the history of the world, and attempting to discover themselves, their roots, and what it means to be Australian in the process. While Bail often satirises these characters and the national type, ultimately he asserts that everyone, no matter their origin or historical depth of cultural capital, can make an impact on the world (Ackland 2014).

Differentiation (1980s-present)

Peter Carey (*1943), *Illywhacker* (1985)

An accomplished novelist, short-story writer, and essayist, born in Bacchus March, VIC. He dropped out of a science degree due to a serious car accident and went on to work in advertising – all of these have been an influence on his writing, which is a prime example of historiographic metafiction. In his novels, he counters the official accounts of history with his own playful yet critical versions that focus on the marginalised and produce interesting discussions of national identity (see Císlarová 2018). He has lived in New York since 1989 and the distance gives him a unique perspective on his homeland which he sees as a product of continuous cultural exchanges. Bird notes that his oeuvre “is Australian precisely in its continuing preoccupation with movements between the ‘new world’ Australian culture and others, variously American and European” (2000: 185). *Illywhacker* is one of his earlier novels that follows the journey of a trickster (which is the meaning of the colloquial term *illywhacker*), Herbert Badgery, as he traipses through Australian history from the late 19th century to the beginning of the 21st. The novel explores the tensions between the pro-British Australians and the Australian nationalists, as well as the new immigrant generations, and the American and Asian influence, and portrays an Australia that moves from one form of colonialism to another, instead of growing into a confident and independent nation.

Christos Tsiolkas (*1965), *Loaded* (1995)

Tsiolkas was born in Melbourne to Greek immigrant parents and his novels reflect the complicated interweaving of these two cultures and the historical baggage they carry. He is gay, which is also a theme in his writing. He graduated with an Arts degree from The University of Melbourne (see e.g., Tsiolkas 2010 for more biographical information). He is a representative of grunge fiction, which emerged in the 1990s and focused on “sex, drugs, and life on the margins of society, [... and] generational conflict with authority figures” (Bird 2000: 206). *Loaded* follows a day in the life of a young gay Greek-Australian, Ari, as he roams around

Melbourne experimenting with drugs as well as his sexuality, and explores the relationship between the migrant generation and their Australian-born children in relation to identity.

Kim Scott (*1957), *Benang* (1999)

Scott was born in Perth, WA, and is part Aboriginal as his father is descended from the Noongar people. He graduated from Murdoch University in Perth and worked as a secondary-school teacher before switching to a full-time writing career. His writing is semi-autobiographical and deals with issues of race, history, and identity in contemporary Australia, especially with how Aboriginal culture might function in modern society (see “Kim Scott” 2010). *Benang* was the first novel by an Aboriginal author to have won the Miles Franklin Award in 2000. The novel portrays the attempts at cultural assimilation by removing Aboriginal children and women from their tribes and forcing them to assimilate into white society. One of the victims of this assimilation policy was Harley, the young protagonist, who delves three generations deep into his family history to better understand his identity. Like Carey, his work draws heavily on historical sources and creatively adapts them with the same aim – according to Huggan, in *Benang* “the factual and fictional elements of the accounts often cut across one another in such a way as to draw attention to the flimsiness of historical evidence, to challenge the fixed temporalities of official histories, and to cast history itself into dispute” (2007: 98). At the time, the novel was an important tribute to the suffering of the Stolen Generations, as well as a firm indictment of the white supremacist policies.

Tim Winton (*1960), *Dirt Music* (2001)

Another accomplished Western Australian writer from the suburbs of Perth, Winton studied creative writing to fulfill his dream of becoming a professional author. His family moved to the port town of Albany when he was 12. It was there that he found joy in fishing, camping, and surfing – topics he has later incorporated into his writing which is strongly tied to the coastal landscape of WA. He is also an advocate of the protection of the environment (see “Tim Winton” 2019). He is viewed as a regional writer belonging to a group of Western Australian authors along with Elizabeth Jolley, Peter Cowen, Robert Drewe, and others, who have produced a particularly lively literary scene there that is on the one hand specifically of that region, on the other hand has nation-wide – even global – validity and reach (see Bird 2000: 194). For them, the land itself is a character – as Bird notes, these “Western Australian writers [...] use landscapes, evoking space and distance, not just as descriptive settings but as a narrative presence in their work” (2000: 194). Thus in *Dirt Music* the hot and dry land, the temperamental

sea, and the uncharted territory of a remote island serve as a foreshadower of events and mirror of emotions in the novel and play an active part in the fate of the characters. Georgie, the protagonist, has returned from abroad and is trying to find her place in a fishing town as the girlfriend of Jim, a prominent fisherman. Yet she falls for a poacher, Lu, who subsequently gets run out of town and retreats to a remote island. It is an interesting mix of a lyrical love story, a thriller, and a road trip notebook, full of the use of the Australian vernacular in dialogue with the Western cultural canon.

Hsu Ming Teo (*1970), *Behind the Moon* (2005)

A novelist, cultural historian, and an Associate Professor at Macquarie University, Teo was born in Malaysia to a Chinese father who grew up in Malaysia and a Singaporean mother. She moved to Australia when she was 7 with her family who wanted to assimilate into Australian society and educated their children accordingly. She hardly felt discriminated against by white Australians, as she spoke perfect English and knew about the significance of ANZAC Day and Australia Day. Yet she faced discrimination from the other Chinese immigrants, who made her feel as a “faux-Chinese” who can never be part of their culture (see Teo 2007). Her novel *Behind the Moon* deals with these crossings of the boundaries of nationality, culture, class, and language through the story of three teenage friends of different backgrounds: Tien, whose origins are Vietnamese, Chinese, and Métis but who she wishes to be an ordinary Australian; Justin, a son of ambitious Chinese immigrants who wrestles with his homosexuality, and Gibbo, a white Australian, who wants to be part of his friends’ Asian cultures rather than live up to the standards of Australianness set by his ocker father. It is a compelling glimpse into the realities of finding oneself in a multicultural society.

Michelle de Kretser (*1957), *The Lost Dog* (2007)

Born in Sri Lanka, she moved with her Sinhalese-Dutch parents to Melbourne aged 14, and now lives in Sydney. She studied French at the University of Melbourne and went on to do her MA in Paris. She worked as editor for Lonely Planet for a long time, before turning to novel writing in the late 1990s (see “Michelle de Kretser” 2019). Her work explores the questions of dislocation and transcending borders – physical, mental, and cultural, and the role of history. According to Trapé, “[h]er fiction is both vividly grounded in place and transnational. Her settings include Australia, Ceylon/Sri Lanka, France, Italy, and India” (2020). De Kretser offers a very contemporary view of identity that is shaped by global forces, without discounting the

possibility of belonging. Her novel *The Lost Dog* follows Tom Loxley, an Indian-Australian professor, who searches for his dog that goes missing in the Australian bush. Within this frame de Kretser explores his relationship with his aged Indian mother and a mysterious female artist who comes to help him in his search. The novel incorporates the bush trope with all its accumulated connotations and associations with nationalist Australia in a transnational journey through past and present.

Gail Jones (*1955), *Five Bells* (2011)

Jones was born in Harvey, WA. She studied at the University of Western Australia, where she completed a PhD on the narrative representation of the racial other. She teaches writing at the Western Sydney University. Along with her academic work, she writes novels and short stories, which have received a number of awards (see “Gail Jones” 2020). Her work is marked by an acute attention to the power of language and narrative strategies that draw on the influence of photography and other visual arts (see Block 2018). Similarly to Teo, Jones is drawn to the topics of diversity and border crossings. Her novel *Five Bells* is a prime example of this. The story is centred around one day in the lives of four characters of various cultural backgrounds walking around Sydney Harbour. The narrative collapses the boundaries between the past and the present as it follows the characters’ thoughts which constantly drift towards their personal history, trying to negotiate their sense of belonging: Pei Xing, who escaped the Chinese Cultural Revolution; Emma, an Irish journalist processing the death of her brother; schoolteacher James who is overwhelmed by guilt he feels about an accident that happened at a school trip, and who arranges to meet with Ellie, with whom he shared a sexual encounter in their youth. The Sydney Harbour and images of the sea serve as a binding force connecting the characters. The novel takes its name from Kenneth Slessor’s eponymous modernist poem about grief and loss, echoed in Jones’s text, which is full of other cultural references ranging across the whole Western canon.

Melissa Lucashenko (*1967), *Mullumbimby* (2013)

An accomplished novelist, essayist, and short-story writer, Lucashenko was born in Brisbane, QLD, and is of Bundjalung and Russian/Ukrainian ancestry. She graduated from Griffith University in Brisbane with a degree in public policy. She has admitted she identifies more strongly with her Indigenous ancestry and that her writing portrays “one version of modern Aboriginal life” (Lucashenko, Q&A, n.d.). She started writing in the 1990s when

Aboriginal literature was just fighting to get into the spotlight. Her texts often reflect her own experience as an Aboriginal woman and the limitations of this status and explore the ways in which the rich Indigenous cultural heritage can be woven into contemporary Australian life. Van Toorn notes that along with Alexis Wright, Lucashenko broke the male dominance in Aboriginal literature and steered the focus on “the complex, politically ambivalent situations that arise when differences of gender, sexuality and class cut across lines of racial and cultural difference” (2000: 40). In *Mullumbimby*, a divorced Indigenous woman Jo, who mows the local graveyard, buys a piece of land in the Byron Bay hinterland in northern NSW to have her own direct connection with her ancestors. Jo finds ways to communicate with them via the landscape which becomes another character in the novel, similarly to Winton’s *Dirt Music*. This personification of the landscape and its ability to communicate emphasises the strong ties between the land and the Indigenous culture, and especially language, which originates directly of the land, as the text asserts. Jo also becomes entangled in a conflict over Native Title between two Indigenous families by dating one of the claimants, Twoboy. The language of the novel is an interesting mixture of Australian slang, Aboriginal English, and words from Indigenous languages. This mix has thrown some of its readers, yet this linguistic dislocation echoes the task that Australian literature had a century ago when it was asserting its independence from BrE through the process of abrogation (see 2.4.3) to reflect the unique experiences it portrayed. Aboriginal literature and the Aboriginal way of using English might be going through the same process of abrogation right now.

APPENDIX 3: BrE corpus: Sociohistorical and cultural context

Exonormative stabilisation (1830s-1901)

The Exonormative stabilisation period in Australia roughly corresponds to the Victorian period in England named after Queen Victoria, who reigned from 1837 until 1901. During that time, Britain saw many changes through advances in science, took steps towards a more liberal society (extending the right to vote to more people, religious freedoms, beginnings of women’s suffrage movement), experienced a rapid growth of urban areas, and expanded the British Empire.

Linguistically, the industrial age added many new words to the English lexicon, and the doctrine of progress was reflected there as well – technology allowed the circulation of texts among a wider audience, and education reforms led to an increase in literacy, meaning that

people from more and more areas and social classes had not only access to the written word, but could produce their own diaries, letters, and books, which record the extent of language variation (Mugglestone 2006: 274-275). However, the prescriptivist ideology that dominated in the previous century and promoted the standard as the most prestigious and sophisticated variety superior to regional and social dialects and accents was still alive and well. This was manifested in the suppression of multilingualism within Britain, with the 1870 Education Act making English compulsory in all schools, contributing to the decline of Welsh, and Irish and Scottish Gaelic, and in similar policies adopted in the colonies, where standard English was promoted as the correct variety at the expense of developing local varieties (Mugglestone 2006: 276-277). None of this could, however, stop language change nor erase linguistic variation completely, and some of the linguistic diversity is reflected in contemporary literature, be it Dickens's approximations of Cockney in his workings-class characters, or Emily Brontë's approximations of the Yorkshire dialect, where language serves as another element of characterisation drawing on folklinguistic ideas about language (as discussed in 2.6).

The Victorian era is commonly considered to be the golden age of English literature and the realist novel, as the rapid progress and the uncertainty it generated led authors to produce some of the finest writings in literary history in an attempt to process these changes and capture how they affected all the strata of society. As Sanders asserts in his introduction to Victorian literature,

[i]t was an age of conflicting explanations and theories, of scientific and economic confidence and of social and spiritual pessimism, of a sharpened awareness of the inevitability of progress and of deep disquiet as to the nature of the present. Traditional solutions, universally acknowledged truths, and panaceas were generally discovered to be wanting, and the resultant philosophical and ideological tensions are evident in the literature of the period. (1996: 398)

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the works of Charles Dickens (1812-1870) whose fiction questions the social order and the workings of English institutions. In *Oliver Twist* (1837) Dickens juxtaposes the bleak life in the workhouse with the comforts of the upper classes, and calls attention to the social position of women and children in Victorian society to appeal to his readers' conscience (Sanders 1996: 404).

Dickens's depictions of London life of the poor are echoed in Elizabeth Gaskell's (1810-1865) novels set in urban Manchester, as the northern capital, according to Sanders, "exposed human problems of rapid industrialization as starkly as it embodied the commercial success of manufacture" (1996: 409). Yet besides exploration of the effects of the industrial revolution and the gap between the rich and the poor, in her last novel *Wives and Daughters* (1864) she offers

acute insights into the life of several connected families in a small country town, exploring, among else, the inequality between the sexes.

In contrast to Dickens' vocal critique of contemporary society, Anthony Trollope's (1815-1882) work contains fewer open judgements. Sanders asserts that Trollope was a great political novelist very observant of the political scene of his time, who learned that "heroes and ideals are constantly challengeable and that judgement is always conditional" (1996: 417). He was a very prolific writer, and his works explore politics in many forms, from national and communal politics to the politics of interpersonal relationships. In *Can You Forgive Her* (1864), Trollope explores – via parallel stories of two women and their suitors – the themes of power and the conflict between desire and social norms of behaviour, so topical in the Victorian era preoccupied with morality.

Emily Brontë's (1818-1848) only novel *Wuthering Heights* (1847) is likewise concerned with this conflict, but it offers a much more passionate and darker rendition of it, set in the equally temperamental landscape of the Yorkshire moors, merging the realist style of Victorian novels with elements of Romanticism and the Gothic popular at the turn of the century.

In the 1860s, the literary scene was stirred by George Meredith (1828-1909) – as Sanders reports, his first novel *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1859) about the dissolution of marriage was found to be morally offensive due to its scandalous subject matter and its frankness about sexuality and was therefore banned by Mudie's Circulating Library (1996: 439). His novels were also innovative for their attention to human psychology.

Another author concerned with rural life in the countryside of the working classes was Marian Evans, who wrote under the masculine pseudonym of George Eliot (1819-1880). Sanders notes that her real identity had to at first be kept secret, as her "highly moral narrator" would be in too much contrast with her as "a woman who according to the narrow standards of her time, was an outcast, an adulteress and a religious sceptic" (1996: 440). Her last novel, *Daniel Deronda* (1876), looks outside of the British shores and offers a cultural comparison of the world of the English aristocracy with that of European intellectuals and artists, and of the Jewish outsiders (Sanders 1996: 442).

Like Eliot, Maria Corelli (1855-1924), who was very popular with British readers of her time, turns in her novel *Thelma* (1887) to offering a cultural comparison, this time between Britain and Norway. Her focus is in particular on religion and the Viking past amidst her romance plot, and the mystery and magic that lies at the root of Norwegian culture and

landscape is sharply contrasted with the rational but corrupt British culture (Walchester 2014: 152-153).

Sanders observes that by the last two decades of the 19th century, the Victorian obsession with morality and confidence in progress was going out of fashion – as such it was either mocked, for example by the satirical work of Oscar Wilde, or subjected to serious scrutiny (1996: 457). While Queen Victoria remained the paragon of virtue, “‘Victorian’ values, beliefs, and standards of personal and social behaviour were already being challenged, sometimes angrily, by a new generation of writers and intellectuals” (1996: 457). One such writer was Thomas Hardy (1840-1928), whose novel *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* (1891) already portrayed the existential dread which came to be known as ‘the ache of modernism’ (1996: 458) through the story of Tess Durbeyfield who is raped, wrenched from her roots, and constantly struggling to find freedom and happiness in a world obsessed with female purity and their subjugation to man.

The following novels were included in the corpus for the Exonormative stabilisation period:

- Charles Dickens (1812-1870), *Oliver Twist* (1837)
- Emily Brontë (1818-1848), *Wuthering Heights* (1847)
- George Meredith (1828-1909), *The Ordeal Of Richard Feverel* (1859)
- Anthony Trollope (1815-1882), *Can You Forgive Her* (1864)
- Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865), *Wives and Daughters* (1864)
- George Eliot (1819-1880), *Daniel Deronda* (1876)
- Marie Corelli (1855-1924), *Thelma* (1887)
- Thomas Hardy (1840-1928), *Tess of d’Urbervilles* (1891)

Nativization (1901-1942)

The twentieth century is largely perceived as the time when English expanded throughout the world, becoming the lingua franca of our time (McArthur 2006). At the beginning of the century, despite increased interest in regional varieties awoken in the preceding century (as discussed in 2.4), the ideology of the standard was still prominent, and most speakers of English were not aware of the range of varieties spoken. McArthur notes that speakers “also tended to assume, notably in Great Britain and its empire, that ‘good English’ was a birthright of the upper reaches of society, whose children increasingly attended ‘good schools’” (2006: 364). These ‘good schools’ were the public schools, which were in fact private

boarding schools with education fees, where this standard of an essentially upper-class non-regional English was reinforced. As McArthur asserts,

such public school usage was *ipso facto* ‘correct’ in pronunciation and grammar, was lexically rich for social rather than educational reasons, and ‘standard’ for its social group (and by projection also for ‘the best’ speakers and writers in ‘society’, a sense of the word which, in use from 1823, did not mean the whole of British society, but ‘high society’ alone. (2006: 364)

This variety thus constituted ‘good English’ and as an accent unmarked by geographical location it came to be known as Received Pronunciation (a term used already in late 19th century by Alexander Ellis), which came to be used in the 1920s by the BBC when it launched its radio service, so it is also known as BBC English, and which to this day constitutes the standard in teaching English as a foreign language (2006: 365). The standards of “good English” also permeate much of the literature of the period, although the modernists took more liberties with language in their experimental works.

Early twentieth-century British literature continued to move away from the Victorian values of morality, conservatism and belief in progress towards relativism, disillusionment with modernity, and social and political issues. The Edwardian era (1901-1910) was a relatively peaceful time for Britain and her great Empire, although at home trouble loomed in Ireland, the women’s suffrage movement was growing increasingly militant, and the Labour Party was formed and gained seats in Parliament in 1906 to represent the interest of the lower classes and further the necessary social reforms (Sanders 1996: 484). The greater visibility of previously marginalised social groups such as women was projected into Edwardian literature, which focused on “the common man (and woman)”, before modernism shifted back to focus on the elites (1996: 485). The Great War only confirmed the need for a radical break with the past, as Sanders notes: “The feeling that a new start ought to be made, in politics and society as much as in art, was accentuated rather than initiated by the war and its immediate aftermath” (1996: 505). In the 1910s, London was captivated by exhibitions of the European post-impressionists that challenged the established styles of painting through fragmentation and abstraction that went to inspire modernist literature that later also took inspiration from cinematic techniques (1996: 506, 511). The war also signalled a radical change in Europe’s geographical and political status quo, with empires and monarchies crumbling, and the rise of socialism. This shift was likewise reflected in literature in the experimental texts of the 1920s, marked by “a sense of fragmentation, which was as much geographical and historical as it was cultural and psychological” (1996: 507).

The importance of the public school as a British institution is reflected in the first published novel *The Pothunters* (1902) of P. G. Wodehouse (1881-1975), short-story writer, novelist and playwright, who is famous for his simple and entertaining tales which, however, did not ignore the political and social issues of their time, despite appearing like escapist entertainment (1996: 552). *The Pothunters* follows a group of schoolboys as they try to solve the mystery of the disappearance of two sports trophies ('pots') and is full of Wodehouse's comic brilliance known from his subsequent titles.

Not only comedy, but also romance writing blossomed in the early decades of the 20th century, in a form that broke with the Victorian obsession with morality and female chastity, as exemplified by the work of Elinor Glyn (1864-1943), a novelist and later a Hollywood scriptwriter (Blakemore 2015). *Beyond the Rocks* (1906) follows the high-society life of Theodora, who is married off through an arranged marriage to an older gentleman to save her family from financial ruin, but finds love with another, having to deal with the consequences.

The great scientific progress of the turn of the century also counts as one of the great influences on literature which contributed to the rise of genres such as science fiction, best exemplified in this period in the work of H. G. Wells (1866-1946). Nonetheless, besides science fiction, Wells's work also displayed an awareness of current social and political issues and socialist inclinations (Sanders 1996: 487). His novel *Ann Veronica* (1909) is an example of such work, reflecting the rising popularity of the suffragette movement, as it shows its heroine, a student of biology, pursuing her independence in spite of her family's wishes.

While the three aforementioned authors were to a lesser or greater degree connected to the Victorian era, D. H. Lawrence (1885-1930) took it as his mission to break with the past and advocate for a thoroughly modern novel that should discuss all aspects of human life – “[m]an alive’, feeling, experiencing, learning, and integrating was the central concern of the supreme human achievement – the novel” (1996: 520). His work often shocked society and was subject to censorship especially for its secularity and open portrayals of sexuality (1996: 522). One of his most famous novels, *Sons and Lovers* (1913) follows the life of Paul as he grows into a man, exploring his complex relationship with his mother and later his two lovers, whilst also exploring the contrasts between the city and country and mining and farming, which betray Lawrence's Romantic sensibilities with respect to nature versus industrialisation (1996: 521).

A similarly radical break with the Victorian novel is represented in the work of Dorothy Richardson (1873-1957), who is known as one of the first English authors to have employed the stream of consciousness technique to faithfully represent the workings of the human mind

in a literary text, dispensing with the demands of conventional plot (1996: 518-519). *Pointed Roofs* (1915), which follows a young English teacher working in Germany, is the first novel in a sequence of 13 novels called *Pilgrimage* (1915-1938) which Richardson viewed as a cohesive whole. There she utilised the stream of consciousness to express specifically the workings of the female mind, as most of her contemporary experimental novelists were men. Linguistically radical, Sanders notes that “[h]er sentences are unanchored either by strict syntax or by formal reference to an exterior world; they fragment, drift, dissolve, and form themselves into new, ambiguous, and suggestive shapes” (1996: 519).

Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) employed a similar technique, but in a manner that was less unapproachable than Richardson’s. As Sanders asserts, “Woolf insists that the twentieth-century novelist could evolve a new fictional form out of a representation of the ‘myriad impressions’ which daily impose themselves on the human consciousness” (1996: 515). *Mrs Dalloway* (1925) is full of such impressions, as it captures one day in the life of Clarissa Dalloway preparing for a party in post-war London, and experiencing a series of flashbacks and associated thoughts, through which Woolf explores the themes of identity, consequences of WWI, and mental illness.

Another response to the post-war disillusionment was the emergence of The Bright Young Things, a 1920s group of young Bohemian socialites determined to enjoy life to its fullest. For a time, this group included the writer Evelyn Waugh (1903), who eventually came to satirise the exploits of The Bright Young Things in his novel *Vile Bodies* (1906), where he employs cinematic techniques to maintain a non-subjective perspective of the narrator (Patey 1998: 78).

Not all authors experimented with literary techniques the way Woolf or Waugh did. Daphne du Maurier (1907-1989), for example, is best known for her romantic suspense novels, where she blends romance with crime, Gothic, horror, suspense, and psychological realism (Hoffman 2020: 183). All of this is embodied in her novel *Jamaica Inn* (1936) which follows a young woman who travels to Cornwall to help her aunt with the running of her inn where sinister activities such as smuggling take place.

The following novels were included in the corpus for the Nativization period:

- P. G. Wodehouse (1881-1975), *The Pothunters* (1902)
- Elinor Glyn (1864-1943), *Beyond the Rocks* (1906)
- H. G. Wells (1866-1946), *Ann Veronica* (1909)
- D. H. Lawrence (1885-1930), *Sons and Lovers* (1913)

- Dorothy Richardson (1873-1957), *Pointed Roofs* (1915)
- Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925)
- Evelyn Waugh (1903-1966), *Vile Bodies* (1930)
- Daphne du Maurier (1907-1989), *Jamaica Inn* (1936)

Endonormative stabilisation (1942-1980s)

In the post-war period, English was still enjoying the role of a global language, which led to, on the one hand, borrowings from other languages into English, but in a much greater degree to other languages borrowing words from English (Bailey 2006: 354). The interaction of English with other languages in the multilingual world is manifested also in a greater presence of code-switching and language mixing in the arts, particularly postcolonial literature (Bailey 2006: 355). While according to McArthur (2006: 361), English went from global prominence to dominance (boosted by WWII and the Cold War), interest in varieties beyond Britain, Ireland, North American, and to an extent Australia, did not come until the 1970s, and remained confined to standard language. Another change affected the concept of ‘good English’, which became “more ‘democratic’ and less judgemental” (McArthur 2006: 365) in the free-spirited 1960s. By the 1980s, there was a much greater awareness of the variety of English spoken worldwide, but the certain tendencies to improve it or to protect it from corruptive influence (e.g., maintaining the Queen’s English) were still present (McArthur 2006: 372). Despite those tendencies, national standards were being codified in dictionaries and grammars (Australian, Canadian, etc.), declaring autonomy from British norms (McArthur 2006: 372).

In terms of literature, the late 1940s and 1950s were greatly influenced by the devastation brought by the war. The bombed-out landscape often served as a metaphor for the devastated lives and souls and in a more abstract sense for Britain itself, although some authors managed to find joy and pleasure even amidst the ruins (Sanders 1996: 577). Graham Greene (1904-1991), described by Sanders as “by far the best known and most respected British novelist of his generation” (1996: 580), produced some of this best writing in this period and under the influence of the world events, he thematized ruined landscapes and ruined people. *The End of the Affair* (1951) is set in London’s Clapham during the war and examines the emotional and spiritual turbulences that arise out of love. Greene’s work exhibits what has been called “un-English” beliefs – he was an anti-imperialist and a Catholic, which might have contributed to his popularity abroad.

The post-war period was also marked by Britain's loss of its Empire, with most of its colonies being granted independence, while remaining loosely connected through the Commonwealth of Nations (Sanders 1996: 583). This also led to increased immigration, particularly from India and the West Indies, increasing cultural diversity on the British Isles (1996: 584). Responses to these changing circumstances in the 1950s fiction varied, with more experimental novels such as those by like Samuel Beckett, dystopian texts such as William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* (1954), or the work of Iris Murdoch (1919-1999), the more traditional in form but interesting in their philosophical background. Murdoch concentrated on ethical subjects, the human mind and its spirituality in an age which she felt was too scientific and ordered (Sanders 1996: 598). *The Bell* (1958), her fourth novel, tells the story of religious community in Gloucestershire searching for a deeper inner life. Another author of more traditional fiction was Agatha Christie (1890-1976), famous for her detective stories. *The Hallowe'en Party* (1969) constitutes another case of her popular Belgian detective Hercule Poirot.

The 1960s were sometimes labelled the age of 'New Morality' – it was then that Penguin Books received the 'not guilty' verdict for the publication of D. H. Lawrence's banned novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* which became one of the most influential novels of its era, and the verdict marked the loosening of censorship and prudishness (Sanders 1996: 610). It was also a time when women's opportunities increased, and their position in society began to change, which was reflected in much of the literature (1996: 614). One of the writers that reflected the role of women in society as well as contemporary politics was Doris May Lessing (1919-2013). Her novel *The Golden Notebook* (1962) counts among her "inner space fiction" and concentrates on mental processes, moving away from the realist mode towards a fragmented narrative which mirrors the characters' mental fragmentation (1996: 615). The novel represents a set of notebooks a writer Anna Wulf keeps, attempting to organise her life and thoughts.

Angela Carter (1940-1992) responded to the changes in society in the 1960s and 1970s in a different way – according to Sanders, she "reinvented the fairy-tale for a knowing adult public, infusing her narratives with macabre fantasy and erotic comedy" (Sanders 1996: 616). Her theatrical novel *Nights at the Circus* (1984) about a circus performer who claims to be a virgin hatched from an egg, and who eventually grows wings, explores topics of female empowerment and politics in a playful extravagant narrative reusing fairy-tale tropes (1996: 617).

The male writers of the generation also reflected the sexual liberation of the period in their own ways. In many of his novels, Jonathan Fowles (1926-2005) examined the topics of love and repression (Sanders 1996: 617). In *Daniel Martin* (1977), Fowles tells the life story of a Hollywood scriptwriter who returns home to England, examining what it means to be English in the post-war world, as well as his suppressed feelings.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the campus novel also remained a popular form, represented for example in the works of David Lodge (born 1935), author, critic and professor of literature. His novel *Small World* (1984) centres around the University of Rummage, as several of his other novels do, and examines the misunderstandings that occur in the academia. The novel also reflects Lodge's role of a critic and professor in the sense that it is "self-consciously literary [...], seek[ing] to explore the implications of literary theory and to prod inherited narrative shapes into life" – in *Small World*, Lodge draws on the medieval concepts of pilgrimage and quest (Sanders 1996: 635).

The 1970s and 1980s British fiction also saw continued interest in Gothic fiction, with the 'new Gothic' developed by Angela Carter adopted for example by Ian McEwan (born 1948). *The Cement Garden* (1978) is a disconcerting tale of children disposing of the dead body of their mother. The cement which encases her body "reflects the drab uniformity of a London of concrete tower blocks" (Sanders 1996: 636).

- Graham Greene (1904-1991), *The End of the Affair* (1951)
- Iris Murdoch (1919-1999), *The Bell* (1958)
- Doris May Lessing (1919-2013), *The Golden Notebook* (1962)
- Agatha Christie (1890-1976), *Hallowe'en Party* (1969)
- John Fowles (1926-2005), *Daniel Martin* (1977)
- Ian McEwan (*1948), *The Cement Garden* (1978)
- Angela Carter (1940-1992), *Nights at the Circus* (1984)
- David Lodge (*1935), *Small World* (1984)

Differentiation (1980s-present)

Culturally and socially, Britain at the turn of the 20th century was facing similar issues to Australia – high immigration, particularly from Muslim countries, as well as continued immigration from its former colonies and the related issues of racism and integration. Additionally, there have been tensions within the UK itself, with Scotland expressing its wishes

to separate, which grew even stronger after Brexit in 2020. The key difference is that the foundations of British culture had been laid many centuries before those of Australian culture, therefore national identity is not such an issue, at least not for its white inhabitants, although the cultural and ethnic diversity in Britain is high.

Like in Australia, the contemporary literature has been shaped by the social and cultural climate and by historical events – “external decolonization and internal reconsideration that followed”, as Sanders puts it (1996: 639). In his assessment of the post-modernist literature of the 1980s and 1990s, Sanders is quite critical:

British writing now seems to be still living off the accrued fat of the twentieth-century past. [...] It also seems to be taking its time in assimilating the import of the substantial changes that have taken place in the world since the end of the Cold War, since the fragmentation of the Soviet Empire and its former satellites, and since the resurgence of Islam and the redefinitions of Orthodox and Catholic Europe. It may have taken post-colonialism in its politically correct stride and it may have awkwardly flirted with the notion of ‘multiculturalism’, but it will have to learn the true significance of other histories and other ways of telling stories. Despite the United Kingdom’s prominent place in the European Community and despite the significance of the English language both to Europe and the world as a whole, English literature still shows a marked tendency to be insular and to dwell on a narrow view of the past. (1996: 633-634)

Where its postcolonial daughters were writing against the mother country, the mother country itself went on as normal. It is not surprising that Sanders finds authors of different ethnic background to have produced the greatest literary achievements, such as the Indian-born Salman Rushdie, or the Japanese-born Kazuo Ishiguro, who both profit from an “awareness of how a non-European cultural awareness can shift the sometimes narrow temporal and intellectual perspectives of European, and specifically British, literature” (1996: 638-639). That is exactly what the novels by the aforementioned Kazuo Ishiguro, and by the Jamaican-English Zadie Smith, and by the Pakistani-English Hanif Kureishi do, exploring British past through fresh eyes and negotiating their place within modern Britain and its diversifying society.

While their voices might have sounded the freshest to Sanders’s ears, there have been other authors who dealt with important topics of the time that were scarcely discussed in literary fiction by the previous generations, giving voice to those on the fringes of society. Jeannette Winterson’s novels explore female sexuality, issues of gender, homosexuality, and the intersections of past and present through lyrical and somewhat experimental writing. A. S. Byatt’s novels go even further in blending the past and the present – in *Possession*, for example, she weaves an interesting tale full of parallels focusing on two modern-day academics, who are doing research on two Victorian poets – a quintessentially postmodern novel that falls under the

historiographic metafiction label. Regional voices also appear, such as Pat Barker whose earlier novels focus on the life of working-class women in Yorkshire, though in her later work, of which *Another World* (1998) is an example, she broadens her scope to interrogate the legacy of the First World War. Memory and the past are also the main themes of Julian Barnes's novel *The Sense of an Ending* (2011). Barnes's oeuvre is firmly rooted in postmodernist techniques that blur the boundaries between reality and fiction, utilise intertextuality, and display a sophisticated use of language, in order to pose questions about contemporary English society. An even more direct critique of it is served by the work of Edward St Aubyn whose earlier semi-autobiographic novels from the Patrick Melrose series deal with the British upper-class and topics such as sexual abuse, drugs, and anxiety – *At Last* (2012) is the closing novel of the series.

The following novels were included in the corpus for the Differentiation period:

- A. S. Byatt (*1936), *Possession* (1990)
- Hanif Kureishi (*1954), *The Buddha of Suburbia* (1990)
- Jeannette Winterson (*1959), *Written on the Body* (1992)
- Pat Barker (*1943), *Another World* (1998)
- Zadie Smith (*1975), *White Teeth* (2000)
- Kazuo Ishiguro (*1954), *Never Let Me Go* (2005)
- Julian Barnes (*1946), *The Sense of an Ending* (2011)
- Edward St Aubyn (*1960), *At Last* (2012)