

# Using film texts to teach about the English Language

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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# USING FILM TEXTS TO TEACH ABOUT THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

## INTRODUCTION

Language plays a key role in the formation of national and group identities. Languages change over time and vary according to context. Language is as political as it is personal and is inextricably linked to social power and cultural capital.

Australian English is one of many varieties of English and is both dynamic and multifaceted.

Amongst native-born Australians, at least three categories of English exist: Standard Australian English, varieties of Aboriginal English, and various ethnocultural Australian English dialects. Australian English functions as a significant and extremely powerful symbol of national identity. It is one of the well-known World Englishes and is a mature dialect with its own internal norms and standards. All Australian English dialect types significantly reflect Australian identity but, in addition, reveal the cultural affiliation of the speaker, whether Australian, Lebanese, Greek, Indigenous, Vietnamese or the myriad of other cultural choices available to Australians in the 21st century. The label “Australian English” should be considered a term that embraces all of these various dialectal types. Such a modification to the traditional concept of Australian English will help capture the linguistic landscape of the changing Australian culture.

*Australian Voices*, Macquarie University, <http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/australian-voices>

This resource offers suggestions for using film (and some sound only) texts to introduce students to the different varieties of Australian English. Film clips can be grouped to give students an understanding of the way the Australian language has changed over time. A number of these clips also demonstrate synchronic variation within Australian English and provide a focus for exploring and learning to apply the metalanguage of linguistic analysis.

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## AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH AND IDENTITY

In this section, we focus on a range of clips that highlight the connection between Australian English and different understandings of identity: national, regional, class and gender.

### ADAM HILLS

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KpBYnL5fAXE>

In the first part of this clip (0:00 – 1:30), Adam Hills creates a bond with his Australian audience through the connection forged by a shared use of Australian English – something that unites Australians and distinguishes them from other English speakers.

## QUESTIONS:

- What are some of the ways that Hills creates a sense of group identity through language?
- What are some of the linguistic features he refers to?
- Do the audience members need to speak in the way that Hills describes to feel a sense of shared recognition?
- Can students provide other examples where someone has used shared language to create a sense of group identity?

Many Australian films and television shows have used Australian English to form a bond with the Australian audience.

## THE SENTIMENTAL BLOKE (1919)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/sentimental-bloke/>

One of the reasons CJ Dennis's verse was so popular in Australia was his use of slang. The comic poem (or verse novel) *The Songs of the Sentimental Bloke* was a celebration of colloquial Australian language and became a huge favourite with soldiers on the battlefields during World War I. The film version of *The Sentimental Bloke* was very popular with Australian audiences.

Dialect was a distinguishing feature of Dennis's verse and *The Sentimental Bloke* featured dialect in the intertitles. Dennis's story was simply and humorously told in verse that used colourful language. This language owed as much to the London stage as it did to the Melbourne larrikin and could as easily be spoken as read silently. In this clip the intertitle "Jist 'eadin 'em, an' doin' in me gilt" refers to Bill losing money (gilt) when he bets on heads (just heading them) in the two-up game.

*Australian Screen*, <http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/sentimental-bloke/clip1/>

The magic thing about 'The Bloke' is the use of lines from Dennis's poem as the titles in the film. You hear the words in your head, with an Australian accent. You don't have to hear it from the screen. That's why it works so superbly.

Ray Edmondson, Archivist,

<http://www.abc.net.au/tv/rewind/txt/s1189092.htm>

The film toured Britain successfully, but the intertitles needed to be rewritten in American slang in order to be understood.

## QUESTIONS

- What is slang?
- What are some of the features of the slang used in the intertitles in these clips?
- Why did CJ Dennis's language have such great appeal for an Australian audience?

- Why were the British able to understand the vernacular language used in *The Sentimental Bloke* but not the Americans?

## ON OUR SELECTION (1920)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/on-our-selection/>

*On Our Selection* is another film that appealed to Australian audiences as a celebration of authentic Australian culture. The film's use of the Australian vernacular was a key part of this appeal.

This clip is an example of Australian comedy, which is characteristically dry, anti-authoritarian, self-mocking and ironic, using humour to cope with difficult situations and also using uniquely Australian slang. Performers and characters who have exhibited at least some of these qualities are Dad and Dave, Graham Kennedy, Barry Humphries, Paul Hogan, and Kath and Kim....

Australian slang, like all language, is a living and changing thing and, as the slang used in the intertitles demonstrates, is a reflection of particular times and places in Australia. 'Clean off his pannikin', which describes somebody who is silly or angry, is not used now but a similar slang expression of the time, 'mad as a cut snake', is still used today. 'Crikey' was on a downward path to little use until Steve Irwin (1962–2006) made the expression popular again.

*Australian Screen*, <http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/on-our-selection/clip3/>

## QUESTIONS

- Compare the intertitles that appear in the clips from *The Sentimental Bloke* with those in *On Our Selection*. What are some of the similarities and what are some of the differences between them?
- *The Sentimental Bloke* and *On Our Selection* were made in the years immediately following World War I. The deaths and injuries caused by this war led to enormous social upheaval in Australia. How might the experience of war have contributed to the Australian audience's enthusiasm for the vernacular used in the intertitles?

## DAD RUDD MP (1940)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/dad-rudd-mp/clip2>

The Dad and Dave 'talkies' of the 1930s are generally considered to have been constructed for a middle class audience and to lack the authenticity of the 1920 film depicting Steele Rudd's classic characters.

However, in this clip from the final Dad and Dave film, *Dad Rudd MP*, the difference between the ordinary but true blue Dad and the stuck up, untrustworthy Henry Wentworth is depicted through the different variety of English they use.

## QUESTIONS

- What are some of the differences between the variety of English used by Henry Wentworth and the one used by Dad Rudd?
- Describe some of the ways that Australian English depicted class affiliation during this period.

## THEY'RE A WEIRD MOB (1966)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/theyre-weird-mob/>

In the 1950s, in the period following World War II, Australians became increasingly interested in establishing a unifying national identity that no longer depended on former ties with Britain but were much more about establishing Australia as a unique and independent nation. In this climate, there was a greater willingness to lay claim to those aspects of Australian culture that set it apart, including Australian English.

The growing awareness that Australian English was different but not inferior to the Received Standard Pronunciation that had become the British benchmark was a sign of national maturity. However, many post-war migrants discovered that Australian English could be used just as effectively as Received Pronunciation to exclude newcomers.

In the 1966 film *They're a Weird Mob*, newly arrived Italian migrant Nino Culotta is initiated into the Australian way of life and one of the keys to this initiation involves language. The film uses Australian English to explore, assert and, to a certain degree, police Australian identity. In this film, the broad Australian accent tends to be seen as more authentic and is a marker of a 'good bloke'. Significantly, Nino's Australian girlfriend Kay, whom we don't meet in this clip, speaks with a general Australian accent, as the broad Australian accent does not have the same cultural value when used by a woman.

The famous scene where Nino is taught how to speak Australian English can be found here:

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/theyre-weird-mob/clip1/>

## QUESTIONS

- Nino is being trained by his new friend in how to adapt in order to fit into Australian society. What are some of the distinctive features of Australian English as it is explained to Nino?
- How might the English spoken by Nino be described?
- The 1970s policy of multiculturalism recognised the interconnection between language and identity and the right of migrants to maintain their language and cultural identity. What are some of the ways that migrants' native languages are recognised in Australia today?

## OCKER: THE MAVIS BRAMSTON SHOW (1964-1968)

The caricature of the 'ocker' was created for the satirical comedy series *The Mavis Bramston Show*. As played by Ron Frazer, Ocker embodied the worst traits of the Australian male and his broad Australian accent was indicative of his uncouth nature. However, in this clip, Ocker's use of

language metamorphoses into a kind of authenticity when placed in relation to Hugo. The portrayal of Hugo demonstrates the capacity for language to be used to exclude certain groups of people. Teachers may prefer not to screen the second half of this clip, but it might also provide an opportunity to explore the relationship between language, sexual identity and power.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JlIXw18v92A>

## QUESTIONS

- How does the depiction of language and identity in this clip signify the attitudes of a particular historical period?
- Why is language such an important aspect of comedy?
- How do both comedy and language work to create a group identity?

## 1970s NATIONALISM

By the 1970s the broad Australian accent was still coupled with uncouthness as an indication of a particular kind of Australian male culture, but this was no longer seen as a negative or shameful aspect of the national image. It was now something that could be boldly celebrated as an indication of the Australian disregard for formality.

In the renaissance of Australian cinema during the 1970s, Australian English became a symbol of the new nationalism as well as a distinctive feature of Australian films. Australian English was one of the things that set these films apart from films made anywhere else and was a marker of independence and originality. The following are just a few examples of films from this period:

- *The Removalists* (1975), <http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/the-removalists/>
- *Alvin Purple* (1973), <http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/alvin-purple/>
- *Sunday Too Far Away* (1975), <http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/sunday-too-far-away/>
- *Caddie* (1976), <http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/caddie/>.

## THE ADVENTURES OF BARRY MCKENZIE (1972)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/adventures-barry-mckenzie/clip1/>

*The Adventures of Barry McKenzie* began the cycle of ocker comedies that boldly turned their back on social convention. The character of Barry McKenzie featured in a comic strip created by Barry Humphries to satirise the uncouth Australians he observed in London. This comic strip was produced for the British public and published in the satirical magazine *Private Eye*. Yet, thanks to the Australian film, the chundering Barry became a kind of folk hero in Australia. In this clip, the genuine and unpretentious larrikins are placed in contrast with the stuck up, judgemental and class-driven British. The pivotal indicator of a character's authenticity is his/her use of the English language. As represented in *Dad Rudd MP*, British Received Standard Pronunciation and broad Australian can be used to illustrate the integrity of the ordinary Australian.

Of added interest for language students is the way that Barry Humphries, as a satirical performer, uses the character of Dame Edna Everage to critique the fake gentility that he associated with many Australian women of the period. Edna's accent has evolved over the years but in this clip it is an interesting hybrid, a naturally broad Australian accent pretending to be genteel. Whatever



status the cultivated Australian accent had in the first half of the twentieth century, in the Australian film of the 1970s it was more often than not an indicator of fakery.

## QUESTIONS

- Comment on the choice of register of the speakers and the social implications for each variety of English used.
- How appropriate is the language used by the speakers? Consider the context of the discourse.
- Think about how the colourful slang used by Barry McKenzie might link up with the use of the Australian vernacular in *The Sentimental Bloke* and *On Our Selection*.

## NORMAN GUNSTON: LITTLE AUSSIE BLEEDER

- Interviews with Frank Zappa and former Prime Minister John Gorton, <http://aso.gov.au/titles/tv/gunston-tapes/>
- Interview with American film star Warren Beatty, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u5jlOFSIXWE>
- Interview with American sitcom star Sally Struthers, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cW2kSkurQFs>
- Interview with Mick Jagger, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69zoOUUxbJl> (Although the image is of very poor quality, students are more likely to recognise Jagger than any of the other personalities.)

The comic character Norman Gunston was originally created by actor Garry McDonald for the sketch comedy program *The Auntie Jack Show* (1972-73). Gunston's broad Australian accent marked him out as coming from the large regional town of Wollongong.

In the spoof tonight show *The Norman Gunston Show* (1975-6 and 1978-9) Gunston pioneered the satirical ambush interview, a form where the adoption of a gormless persona gives a performer the leeway to ask inappropriate questions and make tactless comments.

Gunston's broad accent and use of malapropisms were often placed in contrast with the overseas celebrities that he interviewed. He used Australianness, Australian references and the Australian dialect as way of creating a group feeling among Australian viewers and deliberately mystifying overseas visitors. For the Australian viewers who understood Gunston's satirical intent, Gunston's Australian English worked as a lethal but undetected weapon which would lay bare the foreigners' assumption of superiority and sophistication.

The questions Gunston asked were often designed to puncture the inflated egos of those he interviewed or to undercut the reverence with which celebrities and other well-known people are treated by the media. An example of such a question, put to the former prime minister in this interview, is "who do you stand round with on the lawn at playtime?"

*Australian Screen*, <http://aso.gov.au/titles/tv/gunston-tapes/clip1/>

Other performers who have used the Gunston interview technique are *Ali G* (Sacha Baron Cohen), *The Kumars at No. 42* and *Effie* (Mary Coustas from *Acropolis Now*). These characters use an ethnolect to expose the connection between language, power and identity within their society.

Gunston's most memorable moment took place in 1975 when he was present during key moments in the historic dismissal of the Whitlam Labor Government by the Governor General John Kerr: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K9hZ7kjgFh4>

## QUESTIONS

- What are some of the main linguistic features of the Australian English spoken by Norman Gunston?
- Why is Gunston's use of language such an effective way of exposing the expectations that language use creates?
- How does Gunston challenge the conventional relationship between language and power?

## PAUL HOGAN AND CROCODILE DUNDEE (1985)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/crocodile-dundee/>

A performer who has famously made the Australian language the major feature of his performance and persona is Paul Hogan. The film *Crocodile Dundee* continues to be used as a marker of the broad Australian accent.

John McCallum has suggested that Australian comedy moves between two ways of imagining the Australian relationship to the rest of the world: 'cringe' and 'strut'. Language is clearly integral to the way that this relationship is imagined. In the case of Paul Hogan, his use of the Australian language is that of the 'strutting' self-confident Australian.

## QUESTIONS

- *Crocodile Dundee* was made for an international audience and the character of Mick Dundee was constituted accordingly. Is this reflected in his use of language?
- Compare Mick Dundee's Australian English with that of his American love interest.
- Watch the Australian tourism advertisement that first launched Paul Hogan into the American market - [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xn\\_CPrCS8gs](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xn_CPrCS8gs). What is the effect of the term 'g'day' as a cultural identifier?

## KENNY (2006)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/kenny/>

A factor contributing to the popularity of the film *Kenny* is the main character's colourful use of Australian English. It has been called a 'linguistic comedy' and focuses on the creation of character through the use of language rather than on narrative. At the same time, critics have argued that Kenny's turn of phrase appeals to a nostalgia for the Australian vernacular of the past, rather than being an accurate representation of any genuine Australian vernacular.

## QUESTIONS

- What are some of the distinctive features of Kenny's use of Australian English?
- Why has *Kenny* been described as a 'linguistic comedy'?
- Which features of Kenny's language may be identified as a variety of Australian English?
- Which features are attributable to his distinctive idiolect?

# ACCENT AS THE THEATRE OF IDENTITY

## SOME HISTORY

Lexicographer Bruce Moore in his book *Speaking Our Language: The Story of Australian English* sheds some interesting light on the diachronic development of the Australian accent by pointing out that communication and commonality were integral to the development of the colony. In order to be readily understood, the new settlers modified the more extreme dialectal elements of their speech - a process described by Moore as levelling. For most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Australian accent that emerged out of this levelling process accrued little negative commentary. However, beginning in the late 1880s and continuing into the twentieth century, the Australian accent - in particular the vowels and diphthongs began to be “judged against an ‘ideal’ or ‘standard’ pronunciation recently ‘invented’ in England” (Moore) - because in fact what the British call received standard pronunciation was an arbitrary norm imposed on British English and worked to exclude some English speakers from certain social positions.

What Moore describes is a move from an adaptation of language to build a community in the new country to an impulse to reconnect with England and to emphasise Australia’s place in the British Empire. According to Moore, from the 1890s to the 1950s, there was a huge demand for elocution teachers who could “teach British vowels and diphthongs to the socially aspirational classes. This modified form of Australian speech came to be called Cultivated Australian”. And if you think about the word cultivated, it implies an active effort rather than something that comes naturally.

At the same time as some Australians began to rework the evolving Australian accent to be more like the new British standard, others began to speak in an accent that “moved the Australian vowels and diphthongs even further away from what was now the British standard of pronunciation, and emphasized nasality, flatness of intonation, and the elision of syllables”.

This is the variety of Australian English referred to as ‘broad’. If you think about language and accent as connected to group membership, it is perhaps unsurprising that these distinctive varieties should have emerged around the same period. Certainly, the class-based aspect of the varieties of Australian English was something of which Australians were very aware and was explored in both Australian film and literature.

According to historian Michael Cathcart both the cultivated and broad variations of the accent became more clearly delineated in the first half of the 20th century as Australians tried to identify with - or separate themselves from - the British Empire. After World War II, Australians became increasingly focused on nation-building and sought to establish a national identity independent of Britain. An Australian accent was an important marker of this process.

## STRINE

In the 1960s, a series of books on ‘Strine’ written by Professor Afferbeck Lauder was hugely popular. *Let Stalk Strine* and *Nose Tone Unturned* were a comic celebration of the unique way that Australians spoke and *Fraffly Well Spoken* and *Fraffly Suite* were a guide to the accent of the British upper class.

## QUESTIONS

- This series has recently been republished in a single volume. It would be useful to consider how many – if any – of these comical observations still apply to Australian speech.
- Spoken French is distinguished by a process called *enchaînement* where the end of one word becomes connected to the beginning of the next. Do you agree with ‘Professor Afferbeck Lauder’ that this is also a feature of Australian English? Have you noticed this tendency?
- Most English speakers elide words leaving out sounds and syllables when speaking. However, it has been suggested that this is a distinctive feature of Australian English. Do you think this is true? Can you give some examples?

## THE SOUNDS OF AUS (2007)

In the documentary on the Australian language *The Sounds of Aus*, Michael Cathcart comments that: ‘Accent is like theatre; it is the theatre of identity.’

## QUESTIONS AND FURTHER READING

- What do you think he means by this?
- What kinds of things do you learn about people from their accents? Why do you think this?
- For some background commentary on *The Sounds of Aus* see Mate, There’s No Accent Like It - <http://www.smh.com.au/news/tv--radio/mate-theres-no-accent-like-it/2007/11/04/1194117870297.html> - and Our Dinkum Dialect - <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/features/our-dinkum-dialect/story-e6frg6z6-1111114758117>.

## HOLY SMOKE (1999) AND THE SUNDOWNERS (1960)

For *The Sounds of Aus* writer and creator Lawrie Zion, a key moment in formulating the central idea for his documentary on the Australian accent was seeing Kate Winslet’s performance in *Holy Smoke* (1999). Zion was struck by the authenticity of Winslet’s performance of the Australian accent. The Australian accent is demonstrably difficult for foreigners to imitate and, for Australians, it is generally excruciating listening to non-Australians wrestling with an Australian accent.

## COMPARE

- Winslet’s performance - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jgFMdjjdJG88> - with the attempt by Robert Mitchum and Deborah Kerr to play ordinary Australians in *The Sundowners* (1960) - <http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/the-sundowners/>.

For Australian viewers, the struggle that Mitchum in particular had reproducing the Australian accent strikes at the very heart of his performance.

## QUESTIONS

- What sounds and words do Mitchum and Kerr struggle over?
- Kerr is British and Mitchum American. How do their native accents affect each of their attempts to sound Australian?
- What are some of the similarities and differences between this 1960 film and *The Simpsons*' more contemporary mangling of the Australian accent in the episode The Simpsons in Australia? <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJOdpwL6X6A>

## GORDON CHATER AND THE AUSTRALIAN ACCENT

According to (British expatriate) actor Gordon Chater, the secret to creating a convincing Australian accent was to avoid moving the upper lip.

I noticed that the upper lip doesn't move and if the upper lip doesn't move and the accent goes up at the end of the sentence, you get a nasal quality...and slowly you're saying 'g'day, how are you going?'

In this clip from *The Mavis Bramston Show* you can hear Britain's Gordon Chater and Carol Raye performing the Australian accent - <http://aso.gov.au/titles/tv/mavis-bramston-show-series-2/clip1/?nojs>

## QUESTIONS

- How successfully do Chater and Raye 'perform' the Australian accent?
- The *Mavis Bramston* audience was very familiar with Raye and Chater's actual cultivated British accents. How might this have contributed to the comic effect of their sketch?

## YORAM GROSS

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/tv/blinky-bills-fire-brigade/clip3/>

Animator Yoram Gross began making children's animations in the 1970s in a conscious effort to celebrate Australia. Gross's initial animations combined live footage of the Australian bush with the animated characters. Another distinctive feature of animations like *Dot and the Kangaroo* and *Blinky Bill* was the celebration of Australian English and the inclusion of a variety of Australian accents ranging from broad through to cultivated.

## ACTIVITIES

- Watch the clip and identify some of the different characters and their accents.
- Describe the effect of the characters' accents. What does each character's accent and use of language tell us about them?

## KATH AND KIM/PRUE AND TRUDE

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/tv/kath-and-kim-money/>

Language is a key component of a large percentage of comic performances. Within Australia, the broad Australian accent is seen in terms of the carnivalesque – an unlicensed, inherently comic form of communication.

Australians have been trained to find the broad Australian accent funny. *Kath and Kim* is very much a language-based comedy with malapropisms a major source of laughs. However, they are most identified by their accents, particularly their identifiably Australian use of diphthongs (“Look at Moye”).

While there is no doubt that Australian viewers feel great affection for Kath and Kim, some commentators have expressed concern that the representation of these characters smacks of elitism and condescension. In combination with their misuse of English, the broadness of the characters’ accent marks them out as being poorly educated and ignorant.

However, the position of superiority that the viewer is asked to assume in relation to Kath and Kim does not sit easily within a culture that tends to reject obvious class prejudice. To counter this critique, comedians Gina Riley and Jane Turner countered their portrayal of Kath and Kim with the overprivileged Prue and Trude whose fruity accent and self-satisfaction make them much more ridiculous than Kath and Kim - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vdGxLesHn84/>.

## QUESTIONS

- Focus on a scene from *Kath and Kim* and identify the context in which the action takes place. What kind of spoken language is being used? How would you describe the accent/s?
- What phonetic/prosodic features are being used? Provide some examples – in phonetic script. [http://clas.mq.edu.au/phonetics/transcription/broad\\_transcription/systems.html](http://clas.mq.edu.au/phonetics/transcription/broad_transcription/systems.html)
- In what ways does the program *Kath and Kim* use accent and spoken language to express individual, group and/or national identity?

## KATH AND KIM IN AMERICA

In 2008, an American remake of *Kath and Kim* was released and screened in Australia.

Here is a link to the opening of the American pilot -

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VPsD1frh25s>.

The introductory episode of the Australian *Kath and Kim* is not available online, but it is worth tracking down the DVD in order to compare the respective openings of the Australian and American episodes. A comparison between the two versions highlights the differences between American and Australian English.

## ACCENTS AND AUSTRALIAN IDENTITY: PRIME MINISTERS

For the first half of the twentieth century the Australian accent was a marker of class affiliation.

Traditionally, Labor Prime Ministers spoke with a broad Australian accent whereas Robert Menzies the bastion of the Liberal Party for so many years could be identified by his cultivated accent.

The film *The King's Speech* has highlighted how important radio was in connecting political leaders with the people - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AHY2UzOonig&feature=related>.

Here is a recording of Prime Minister Robert Menzies' declaration of war in 1939 - <http://aso.gov.au/titles/radio/menzies-speech-declaration-war/>.

John Curtin became Prime Minister of Australia in 1941 and here is his announcement in December 1941 that Australia was at war with Japan - <http://aso.gov.au/titles/radio/curtin-japan-second-world-war/clip1/>.

Another distinctively broad Australian accent belongs to Frank Forde who was Labor Prime Minister for 8 days after the death of Curtin - <http://aso.gov.au/titles/newsreels/alp-forde-election-1946/clip1/?nojs>.

The accents of these figures are indicative that accent and identity were much more clear-cut in the first half of the twentieth century. By the end of the twentieth century, long-serving Liberal Prime Minister John Howard built his popularity on his affinity with the 'battler' and was able to produce the broad Australian accent to back this up.

John Howard on Climate Change - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e5jtjPlv4Y>.

It has been argued that Australians are becoming increasingly likely to speak Australian English with a general accent, but despite, or perhaps because of, this standardisation, accent continues to be a marker of difference. Linguist Jennifer Peck points out that present-day Australians are constantly making judgements about other Australians based on their accent.

Different types of Australian accent have been shown to encode different values to listeners. When Australians were asked to evaluate Australian voices with a range of accents – termed cultivated, general and broad – it was found males with broad Australian accents were rated as reliable, strong and trustworthy, while women with broad Australian accents were rated as uneducated and unlikely to be in professional positions.

<http://theconversation.edu.au/when-julia-talks-does-her-gender-speak-louder-1342/>.

Peck suggests that this has affected Julia Gillard's standing as Prime Minister in contrast to the 1980s Prime Minister Bob Hawke, whose broad accent gave the impression that he was one of the people.

Here is a famous interview where Richard Carleton asks Bob Hawke about the blood on his hands after taking over the leadership of the Labor Party from Bill Hayden - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LRz06GrF-1I/>.

In this piece on the news and commentary website *Crikey*, the writer argues that Gillard's accent is not the issue it is built up to be - <http://blogs.crikey.com.au/fullysic/2010/07/01/gillards-intellect-and-blanchetts-voice/>.

Interestingly, both Julia Gillard and Bob Hawke have become the subject of famous impersonations. Satirist Max Gillies' impersonation of Bob Hawke became so well-known that it overwrote Hawke's actual accent in the national imagination - <http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/gillies/clip1/?nojs>.

In this clip you can see how actor Amanda Bishop capitalised on Julia Gillard's accent to create a recognisable character - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6wlvBoTOC1w/>.

## ACTIVITIES AND QUESTIONS

- Focus on an Australian Prime Minister and analyse his/her use of Australian English. What is distinctive about his/her spoken language? How much does his/her variety of Australian English express his/her individual, group and/or national identity?
- Do you think that a politician's accent might really affect his/her political standing?
- Why is language and accent so integral to satirical impersonations of political leaders?

## THE AUSTRALIAN DOCUMENTARY VOICE

It could be argued that the status of a particular accent within Australian society can be assessed by thinking about the cultural authority it is granted within the media landscape. In particular, think about the kind of accent that provides factual information. There are quite strict rules determining which cultural groups get to deliver the facts in the media to the broader community and in which accent.

The documentary voice is one of power dependent on the possession of the facts that will then be communicated to the audience. The shared understanding of what the authoritative voice sounds like is based on convention and changes over time but continues to be based on the same relationship to the facts. The following clips demonstrate the way that the authoritative accent has changed over time.

### A NATION IS BUILT (1938)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/nation-built/>

This film was made as a patriotic celebration of 150 years of white settlement – the sesquicentenary. The accent of the narrator is undeniably cultivated; in fact he is using Received Standard English pronunciation also known in Britain as BBC English. This cultivated pronunciation was particularly favoured in Australia by people providing the narration for documentaries and newsreels. This way of pronouncing English with a cultivated accent was considered at the time to lend authority to the message being communicated. For Australian cinema-goers of 1938, this voice would have seemed a natural and unremarkable accompaniment to the images they were watching.

### THE BACK OF BEYOND (1954)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/back-of-beyond/>

This is a documentary that explores the idea of the outback which by the 1950s has become a significant element of the Australian national identity. The narrative voice is distinguished by its cultivated tones while the script strives for both poetry and drama.

To a modern audience the theatrical cadence and poetic use of language in the voice-over narration appears melodramatic. The poet Douglas Stewart (1913–85) was brought onto the project to give a lyrical tone to the script. Some film damage and possibly the desire for more 'polished' voices meant that the voices of [Australian man] Tom Kruse and other characters were revoiced in the studio by actors, which added to the theatricality of the soundtrack.

*Australian Screen*, <http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/back-of-beyond/clip1/>



## NOVEMBER VICTORY (1955)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/november-victory/>

This is a newsreel made by the Waterside Workers Federation film unit. It has a much more down-to-earth voiceover. In the mid 1950s it was still common for newsreels to have a voiceover narrator with a cultivated accent. However, in this newsreel, *November Victory*, the general Australian accent provides a different kind of authority. So, this accent tells us about the changing documentary voice over time but also points to its function as a different narrative voice within its own time.

Like *A Nation is Built*, *November Victory* tells the nation's history. However, the history that it asked its audience to unite behind was a worker-centred version of labour history that begins with the Eureka Stockade and which wasn't being presented in the mainstream newsreels of the day. (Nevertheless other Waterside Workers Federation documentaries are voiced by a narrator – always male – with a cultivated Australian accent.) You will notice, however, that there is still a formality to the way that the narrator of *November Victory* speaks.

It is interesting to compare the authoritative Australian documentary voice from the first half of the twentieth century with this one from 1998. In this documentary others speak but David Goldie's neutral general Australian accent marks him out as the authority –

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/spirit-2000-countdown-sydney/>.

SBS in particular has worked to challenge the idea that the authoritative documentary voice should be perceived as neutrally accented/inflected. Here you can note the neutral-sounding German accent of the filmmaker and the Australian-inflected German accent of the interviewee –

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/some-many-germans/clip3/>.

## QUESTIONS

- What varieties of English are being used in each of these clips?
- What function does each serve?
- What are the prosodic features of each variety? You may like to refer to this summary when answering – <http://clas.mq.edu.au/phonetics/phonology/intonation/prosody.html>.
- How has the Australian accent/Australian English changed over time? (Consider attitudes within society to different varieties, register, linguistic features etc.)

## MOCKUMENTARY

Reality and lifestyle television uses this convention of the authoritative voice but invite satire and/or caricature partly because of their availability and ubiquity and partly because of the banality of the subject matter.

The mockumentary form that has become a new genre in its own right provides an interesting insight into the authoritative documentary voice. For instance, in his *All Aussie Adventures*, Russell Coight played by Glenn Robbins uses the documentary voice that has become synonymous with television, particularly magazine style shows. This style of delivery has become the default documentary voice and the accent used is the general Australian accent -

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9i8IVX0cuJ4>

In creating the character of Russell Coight, Robbins was astute in not adopting a broad Australian accent as this is generally not considered to have sufficient authority to be used in presenting factual information.

Steve Irwin's *Crocodile Hunter* program is an obvious exception to this rule, but Irwin's over-the-top personality was always as important as the information he communicated. This show was made for an overseas audience and Steve Irwin packaged himself as a brand, drawing heavily on the success of the fictional crocodile hunter who preceded him, *Crocodile Dundee*. In his *Crocodile Hunter* show, Irwin's broad accent gave him a different kind of authority dependent on his status as someone knowledgeable about the Australian bush -

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=raCmXRwzLGw> .

## ACTIVITIES

- Try to track the features of both the authoritative and the neutral Australian voice on Australian television.
- Focus on Irwin or another well-known Australian television presenter and classify his/her speech in terms of accent, idiolect and dialect.
- The mockumentary form parodies social, cultural and linguistic conventions with which we are familiar. However, it does this with the utmost seriousness. Focus on a mockumentary (film or television) and describe its use of linguistic conventions.

## THE ETHNOLECT IN AUSTRALIA

The children of immigrant families typically adopt the majority speech patterns of the adopted country rather than those of their parents due to children's need to conform to their peer group...Multiculturalism as a governmental policy has led to extensive immigration from Asia and the Middle East and has contributed to a vast increase in cultural diversity and the desire for individuals to freely express their cultural identity within the Australian context. This has resulted in an increase in the variety of dialects spoken by young people in Australia. Today there is a growing trend for Australian-born children of migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds to embrace their cultural heritage and express their niche identities by using new Australian Ethnocultural dialects.

*Australian Voices*, <http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/ethnocultural-voices>

Comedy has been an important way that particular ethnic and cultural groups have used language to place themselves at the centre of Australian cultural expression.

## MO (HARRY VAN DER SLUICE): ETHNOLECT AS (SELF) CARICATURE

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/strike-me-lucky/>

Mo, played by Roy Rene, the hugely successful Australian comedian of the first half of the twentieth century, opted for a Yiddish-inflected Australian accent in order to construct the kind of outsider character that is such a comedy staple. (Find out about Yiddish - [http://www.yivoinstitute.org/yiddish/yiddish\\_fr.htm](http://www.yivoinstitute.org/yiddish/yiddish_fr.htm))

Although Mo is frequently cited as Australia's greatest comic, the Mo in *Strike Me Lucky* conforms to the anti-semitic caricature of the Eastern European Jew. Jon Stratton (*Coming Out Jewish*, 2005) suggests that this performance was imbued with ambiguity for an audience that was never quite sure "if it was laughing with him or at him". On the *Australian Screen* website, Mo's physical and linguistic performance is described as follows.

His facial expression, gesture, stance and movement were welded within the black and white caricature of a Jewish comedian, with Australian mannerisms, delivering local vernacular with a Semitic lisp.

*Australian Screen*, <http://aso.gov.au/titles/features/strike-me-lucky/clip2/>

Mo invented his own language which people referred to as 'Mo-isms'. Many of these phrases became popular slang in Australian society and some are still in use today. They include 'strike me lucky!', 'you beaut', 'strewth' and 'fair suck of the sav'.

'Fair suck of the sav' is still used today but like many of the other terms listed, is imbued with a kind of nostalgia for a version of colloquial Australian that is losing currency and recognition. When Kevin Rudd repeatedly used the expression, fair shake of the sauce bottle (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2LjE9I3Cp-U>), it aroused interest because people thought he had got the expression wrong. Bruce Moore has used Rudd's attempt to be a man of the people as an opportunity to demonstrate the complex history of this Australian colloquialism here - <http://news.anu.edu.au/?p=1450>. See also - <http://www.thepoliticalsword.com/post/2009/06/11/The-sauce-bottle-saga.aspx>

### ACTIVITY

- Read Bruce Moore's description of the linguistic history of 'fair suck of the sauce bottle (or sav)' and use it as a model for researching one of the other expressions identified with Mo's performance.

## CON THE FRUITERER

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sAwoJAUvZBE&feature=related/>

Con the Fruiterer was one of the most popular characters in the very successful 1980s sketch comedy show *The Comedy Company*. As well as evidence that times have changed, this clip provides an opportunity to explore the way that accent and language can be used as a way of excluding one group of people in order to strengthen the connection between another.

## QUESTIONS

- What attitudes are evident about the ethnolect being parodied in this clip?
- Who is being included and excluded in this clip?
- Compare this example of an ethnolect being mimicked by someone from outside that culture and Chris Lilley's performances in *We Can Be Heroes* (<http://aso.gov.au/titles/tv/we-can-be-heroes-episode-3/>), *Summer Heights High* (<http://aso.gov.au/titles/tv/summer-heights-high-episode-5/>) or *Angry Boys* (<http://www.youtube.com/angryboys>).

## WOGS OUT OF WORK/WOGBOY

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HuG-Nlo17IQ>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YPeoGo6GjV4>

In the 1980s the stage show *Wogs out of Work* became a sensation. Unlike the comedy created by Mo, *Wogs out of Work* was initially made for Australians from non-English speaking backgrounds. After the show became a hit with all Australians, the team created the sitcom *Acropolis Now*, while Nick Giannopoulos went on to write and star in the commercial hit *Wog Boy* (2000). The key to the main character played by Giannopoulos is that 'he is not considered a Greek man from Greece, [but] a Greek man from Australia'

(<http://wwwmcc.murdoch.edu.au/ReadingRoom/film/dbase/2001/wogboy.html>). This is also the key to the dialect he speaks; it is the English spoken by a Greek-Australian man.

## QUESTIONS

- Describe Giannopoulos's 'performance' of the Greek-Australian ethnolect.
- How does the character Steve's language become an expression of his identity?
- Describe some features of the Australian dialect that Steve speaks?

## EFFIE

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/big-hair-woman/>

The character Effie that Mary Coustas developed for *Acropolis Now* became incredibly popular and has lived a life well beyond the show. In this travelogue Mary Coustas takes on the role and voice of Effie to tell Australians about Papua New Guinea. Effie's distinctive and caricatured Greek Australian accent was considered to forge a particular connection with the Australian audience.

## QUESTIONS

- What is the effect of Coustas's ethnocultural dialect in this context?
- How does Coustas's comic performance of an exaggerated ethnocultural dialect function in a context that is not otherwise defined by humour?

## THE DA VINCI CUP (PIZZA, 2006)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oIL-bUvORHU&feature=related> (Warning: only screen the opening of the clip: 00:00-00:31)

Comedian Paul Fenech explores the idea that some cultural groups and some Australian English dialects are granted more authority in Australian society than others.

In the SBS mockumentary *The Da Vinci Cup*, Fenech's alter-ego Pauly Falzoni's voiceover lays bare the conventional understanding of the neutral and authoritative documentary voice.

In this clip, Falzoni's ethnolect voiceover is offered as funny but not deficient. He is not mistaken about himself in the way that, for instance, Kath and Kim are. One of the main sources of comedy in *Kath and Kim* is the gap between how they see themselves and how the audience sees them, whereas Fenech's comedy works quite differently.

This spoof was made as part of SBS's preparation for the 2006 world cup and picked up on the popular TV series *Pizza* described as confrontation ethnic comedy. Paul Fenech has argued that *Pizza's* characters and voices offer a comic picture of Australian life that is authentic because it represents the multi-ethnic nature of Australian life and does this from the inside with ethnic actors. "When ethnic actors play stuff they know, it's more authentic and I think it's funnier." (<http://www.theage.com.au/news/TV--Radio/Pizza-with-the-lot/2005/06/06/1117910239513.html>)

The mockumentary form is subversive because it plays with one of the conventions of 'truth-telling' in Australian society. It questions the authoritative documentary voice. As well as drawing attention to the language expected from the narrator of a documentary, Fenech highlights the lack of cultural authority given to ethnolects and the pervasive but invisible hierarchy applied to the public use of Australian English.

### QUESTIONS

- How does Pauly Falzoni's variety of Australian English reflect his identity?
- *Pizza* introduced the expression 'fully sick' into Australian English. What does this expression mean?
- What is the role of slang in forging group identities?
- Paul Fenech insists that ethnic actors have a completely different relationship to the comic articulation of an ethnolect from Australians from English-speaking backgrounds.

"Con the fruiterer and Guido Hatzis are two cases in point where you've got people who aren't really part of it cashing in on it and they're really taking the piss, sometimes in a nasty way, whereas all our guys poke fun in a nice way at themselves. When ethnic actors play stuff they know, it's more authentic and I think it's funnier." (Paul Fenech, <http://www.theage.com.au/news/TV--Radio/Pizza-with-the-lot/2005/06/06/1117910239513.html>)

What does Fenech mean? Do you agree?

- How can a comic performance of language be authentic?

# INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

## STOLEN GENERATIONS

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/stolen-generations/>

For generations Aboriginal Australians were depicted, written about and spoken about but were rarely given the capacity to speak for and about themselves. Note for instance the snippet from a 1950s newsreel in this clip from Darlene Johnson's *Stolen Generations* -

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/stolen-generations/clip2/>.

Darlene Johnson is one of a number of Indigenous filmmakers who in recent decades have made it a priority to tell Aboriginal stories from an Aboriginal perspective. She is the narrator of *Stolen Generations* and announces at the beginning that she is a Dunghutti woman from New South Wales. Like most Aboriginal documentary filmmakers, Johnson considers it a priority to give Aboriginal people the opportunity to tell their stories in their own voice.

Daisy Howard's account of her sorrow at her separation has its own particular authority, partly because she is able to offer her personal testament but also because of her Aboriginal English.

Darlene Johnson's documentary shows in excruciating detail years of government-sanctioned injustice, the status of Standard English associated with this rule of unjust law is diminished.

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/stolen-generations/clip3/>

Researcher Diana Eades has written of the problems faced by speakers of Australian Aboriginal English, particularly that they can be classified as speaking bad English. Instead, the differences between Standard English and Aboriginal English are differences in dialect.

Standard English (whether the Australian, British or American version) has no linguistic status or characteristic which separates it from all the other dialects of English. It is simply the dialect of English which is spoken by the more powerful, dominant groups in society, and which has therefore become the language of education, the media, government and the law.

Diana Eades, *Aboriginal English*,

[http://centralaustralianesl.wikispaces.com/file/view/Aboriginal\\_English.doc](http://centralaustralianesl.wikispaces.com/file/view/Aboriginal_English.doc)

## QUESTIONS

- What might be an explanation for so few Aboriginal words having been incorporated into English?
- Watch all three clips from *Stolen Generations* on the *Australian Screen* website and describe the different types of authoritative voice. What is the context of each voice's authority?
- Why is it important for individual Aboriginal people to be given a chance to tell their story in their own words?

## WIRRIYA: SMALL BOY (2004)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/wirriya-small-boy/>

A short documentary film *Wirriya: Small Boy* made by Indigenous filmmaker Beck Cole about Ricco Japaljarri Martin who is being cared for by a foster mother in Indigenous community near Alice Springs. In this documentary, Cole does not offer a voiceover but gives Ricco and the members of his community the opportunity to tell their own stories in their own words. This film is constructed with an awareness of the challenges Indigenous Australians face telling their stories and being heard.

### QUESTIONS

- What is the effect of the subtitles?
- At school Ricco is learning the Warlpiri language, spoken in Alice Springs and areas north-west of Alice Springs. Why is language preservation and reclamation such a key issue for Aboriginal individuals and communities?
- What are some of the distinctive features of Ricco's Aboriginal English?

## 5 SEASONS (2004)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/5-seasons/>

This documentary is narrated by Indigenous actor and musician Tom E Lewis and documents the tradition of respecting the land.

This clip has three different Aboriginal ways of speaking including Kriol -

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/5-seasons/clip2/>.

Kriol is spoken in the Barkly and further north but not generally far south of Tennant Creek. Kriol is a north Australian creole, a 'creole' being a language that arises among children of adults who speak different languages. Speakers often reject the name Kriol because they have often been 'shamed' for speaking 'rubbish language'. They more often refer to what they are speaking as pidgin, camp English or Aboriginal English. Although it contains some English-based words, these words may not have the same meaning in Kriol, and the language structure is like the Aboriginal languages.

[http://www.clc.org.au/People\\_Culture/language/language.html](http://www.clc.org.au/People_Culture/language/language.html)

### ACTIVITY

- Compare the two different dialects of Australian English (Tom E Lewis's Standard English and Moses's Aboriginal English) with Kriol.
- Describe the linguistic features of each speaker's use of language. There is a transcript on the *Australian Screen* website.

## THE OLD MAN AND THE INLAND SEA (2005)

<http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/old-man-and-inland-sea/>

This short documentary is directed by Warwick Thornton, known for his award-winning feature *Samson and Delilah*. In this film Mr Norman Hayes Jagamarra talks about his experience of the minefields of Coober Pedy.

In the film *The Old Man and the Inland Sea*, from which this clip is taken, Jagamarra speaks in Aboriginal English. As well as being integral to identity, Aboriginal English is an important form of communication for many Aboriginal people. Aboriginal English is a recognised dialect of English. Its form and structure incorporate words and language structures from English and from traditional Aboriginal languages.

*Australian Screen*, <http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/old-man-and-inland-sea/clip3/>

### ACTIVITY

- Analyse the Aboriginal English of Norman Hayes Jagamarra. Identify the linguistic features that make the dialect distinctive.
- You may like to refer to this website to guide you - <http://www.hawaii.edu/satocenter/langnet/definitions/aboriginal.html/> .

## WIRRANGUL WOMEN

Doreen and Gladys Miller are the last speakers of the Wirangu language - <http://aso.gov.au/titles/documentaries/wirrangul-women/> .

Refer also to the transcript of a *Message Stick* interview with these two women - <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/messagestick/stories/s1909969.htm> .

### QUESTIONS

- Why are stories such a good way of teaching a language?
- Why is it so important for the last two Wirangu speakers to pass it on to future generations?
- What are some of the factors that contribute to language loss or decline?

## AUSLAN

<http://generator.acmi.net.au/gallery/media/strong-woman>

In this digital story, Meg describes her journey into depression and her recovery. A feature of this story is the absence of the conventional voiceover. Instead, Meg has been filmed presenting her commentary in Auslan.



## QUESTIONS

- How did Auslan develop as a distinctive Australian language?
- Auslan has been recognised by the Federal Government as a community language. Why is this recognition important?
- In the case of Meg's digital story *Strong Woman*, why do you think the decision was made not to mention Meg's unique way of speaking?

## SOME EASILY ACCESSED RESOURCES:

ACMI *Generator* is an online resource that offers digital stories, first person accounts and interviews which can be downloaded.

- A highlight is the Indigenous Australian Voices theme - <http://generator.acmi.net.au/education-themes/indigenous-australian-voices-1>.
- Other useful themes are Community Voices - <http://generator.acmi.net.au/education-themes/community> - and Belonging and Identity - <http://generator.acmi.net.au/education-themes/belonging-and-identity>.

ACMI's *Screen Worlds* is a permanent free exhibition that features:

- *Sounds of Aus*  
Created in consultation with the makers of the 2007 documentary *Sounds of Aus*, this multi-channel video installation brings together clips from *Four Corners*, *Summer Heights High* and *Fat Pizza* to illustrate how the Australian accent has changed over time and continues to evolve. It also illustrates how moving image representations of the Australian accent have fed into and reflected wider cultural and social shifts.
- *Dreaming in Colour*: ACMI has commissioned a specific section devoted to Indigenous representation on screen from the 1970s until today. This section has been curated by Indigenous moving image practitioners.
- *Community Voices*: This section explores a wide variety of alternative pathways for moving image makers and celebrates sub-cultural communities from surfing, skating and music to multicultural television.

*Australian Screen* (<http://aso.gov.au/>) is a searchable resource that provides easily downloadable clips, many with accompanying educational material.

- Colonisation: <http://aso.gov.au/education/history/colonisation/> This directs you to a number of clips containing Aboriginal voices.
- Language and Identity: <http://aso.gov.au/education/indigenous/language-and-identity/>  
This will take you to a list of clips that contain education support material relating to language and identity.

*Australian Voices*, Macquarie University, <http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/australian-voices> - an accessible and informative resource on Australian English.

Central Land Council, [http://www.clc.org.au/People\\_Culture/language/language.html](http://www.clc.org.au/People_Culture/language/language.html). This website offers a good overview of Aboriginal languages spoken in Central Australia.

Eades, Diana, 'They don't speak an Aboriginal language, or do they?'  
[http://lryb.aiatsis.gov.au/PDFs/keen\\_ch6.pdf](http://lryb.aiatsis.gov.au/PDFs/keen_ch6.pdf)

Eades, Diana, 'Language and Communication',  
<http://www.aija.org.au/online/ICABenchbook/BenchbookChapter5.pdf>

*Language Varieties: Aboriginal English*,  
<http://www.hawaii.edu/satocenter/langnet/definitions/aboriginal.html>

Moore, Bruce on *Lingua Franca*:

- Explaining the etymology of the word 'wog' (for an illness)  
<http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/linguafranca/wog/3122654>
- Reviewing Robert McCrum, *Globish: How the English Language became the World's Language*, <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/linguafranca/globish-is-all-the-worlds-english/3027448>

Moore, Bruce, *Speaking Our Language: The Story of Australian English*, Oxford University Press, 2008

Raynor, Kate, *The Sounds of Aus: The Story of the Australian Accent Study Guide*,  
[http://www.abc.net.au/programsales/studyguide/Stg\\_Sounds.of.Aus.pdf](http://www.abc.net.au/programsales/studyguide/Stg_Sounds.of.Aus.pdf)

*Wordmap* - website mapping Australian regionalisms, <http://www.abc.net.au/wordmap/>