Folklinguistics and Social Meaning in Australian English

Folklinguistics and Social Meaning in Australian English presents an original study of Australian English and, via this, insights into Australian society. Utilising folklinguistic accounts, it uncovers everyday understandings of contemporary Australian English through variations across linguistic systems (sounds, words, discourse and grammar). Focusing on one variation at time, it explores young speakers' language use and their evaluations of the same forms. The analysis of talk about talk uncovers ethnic, regional and social Others in social types and prevailing ideologies around Australian English essential for understanding Australian identity-making processes, as well as providing insights and methods relevant beyond this context. These discussions demonstrate that while the linguistic variations may occur in other varieties of English, they are understood through local conceptualisations and often as uniquely Australian.

This book harnesses the value and richness of discourse in explorations of the sociocultural life of language. The findings show that analysis attending to language ideologies and identities can help discover the micro–macro links needed in understanding social meanings. The volume explores a wide range of language features but also provides a deep contemplation of Australian English.

Cara Penry Williams has a master's degree in applied linguistics and a PhD in linguistics from the University of Melbourne. After many years of teaching and researching at the University of Melbourne and La Trobe University, she is now a lecturer in English Language at the University of Derby in the UK and an honorary research fellow at La Trobe University.

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Folklinguistics and Social Meaning in Australian English

Cara Penry Williams

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Abbreviations

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission > Corporation
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AmE	The English of the United States of America
AusE	Australian English
BrE	British English
CanE	Canadian English
EngE	English English
ICE-AUS	The International Corpus of English-Australian component
IrE	Irish English
IU	Intonation unit
MD	Macquarie Dictionary, online edition (2003–2019)
NZE	New Zealand English
RP	Received Pronunciation
SAfE	South African English
ScotE	Scottish English and/or Modern Scots
SES	Socio-economic status
SRT	Subjective reaction test

Transcription symbols

Reference list of discourse transcription symbols: “DT2” Version 2.1.0, revision of September 6, 2007, with some adaptations and additions. Double parentheses within the comments column enclose my explanation and notes on my operationalisation.

<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Comments</i>
timestamp	<TIME=X>	time in seconds from start of recording
word truncated/cut-off	wor-	word not completed as projected (en dash)
final intonation	.	intonation signals finality (period/full stop)
continuing intonation	,	intonation signals continuation (comma)
appeal intonation	?	appeal intonation
truncated intonation	—	aborting projected IU (em dash)
high rising tunes	<H↗>	equivalent to H* H-H% in ToBI notion
(on statements)	<L↗>	equivalent to L* H-H% in ToBI notion
overlap (first set)	[]	align left square brackets vertically
overlap (2nd set)	[₂]	align left bracket and index with subscript number
hold/micropause	..	less than 150 milliseconds; brief silence, break in phonation
pause, timed	(1.2)	pause duration in seconds ((over 150 milliseconds to nearest tenth of a second))
stressed word	^	((unpredictable stress or a heavily stressed word)) (circumflex accent)
lag/prosodic length	:	lengthening of segment, slowing of local tempo
heavy aspirated	word_h	suffixed, for strongly aspirated stop consonant release; not = exhalation
variant	—</æ/>	IPA symbol(s) for varying forms in AusE attached to word. Largely those the focus of study
sound	—/æ/	((IPA symbol(s) attached to word. Used for clarity in some instances))
in-breath	(H)	audible inhalation

(Continued)

(Continued)

<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Comments</i>
nasal in-breath	(H) ^N	in-breath with mouth closed
laugh-gasp	(H) [®]	in-breath when out of breath from laughing ((or breath with a laugh quality – heavier))
out-breath	(Hx)	audible exhalation
laugh	@	one symbol per pulse of laughter
laugh, voiceless release	@ ^H	superscript upper-case H
laugh, nasal release vocalism	@ ^N (<i>DESCRIPTION</i>)	superscript upper-case N various notations: (COUGH), (SNIFF), etc. ((just (VOCALISM) for partial sounds which aren't recoverable))
glottal sound	(%)	separate "word" marks separate vocalism
comment	((WORDS))	analyst's perspective inserted in transcript
unintelligible	###	one # per indecipherable syllable
uncertain hearing	#you're #sure	marks transcribed word as uncertain
pseudograph	~Jill	name change for anonymity (tilde)
creaky	<%> um </%>	((For all manners / (slash) marks the end))
voice quality	<SMILE>	marks e.g., smiling, breathy production
laugh voice	<@>	laughing while speaking ((more of a laugh quality than pulses))
vox: voice of another	<VOX>	((sometimes just a change in pitch or loudness, etc., but clearly representing someone else's speech))
voice of another, ((+type))	<VOX=DUMB>	specify voice quality (e.g., stereotype voice)
vos: voice of self	<VOS>	self or Self (group).
forte, loud	<F>	
piano, attenuated	<P>	quiet speech ((quieter than surrounding speech, usually by about 10dB))
high pitch (region)	<HI>	
slow speech	<LENTO>	
non-vocal event	{ <i>EVENT</i> }	general pattern for acts, events (open-ended)

1 Introduction

1.1 A background for Australian English

When the English language first arrived in Australia, the invaders brought with them diverse regional varieties and histories. For a long time, perhaps until well into the twentieth century for some speakers, English in Australia was used to express Englishness or at least Britishness. The transported varieties did, however, lose their foreignness, converging and changing to create a new variety of English: Australian English.

The first discussions of Australian English being a variety were met with outrage from many Australians (Damousi, 2010; Delbridge, 2001; Schneider, 2007). Differing from “motherland” English varieties was seen as error; in fact, divergence from Received Pronunciation (henceforth RP) was seen as an abomination and perversion. Delbridge (2001) suggests that the first changes in this opinion were due to the work of A. G. Mitchell. Mitchell advocated for Australian English from 1940, although his ideas were frequently met with hostility and the campaign was a lifetime’s work (Damousi, 2010, p. 237; Delbridge, 2001).

Schneider (2007) links changes to much greater historical events. Although some aspects of the formation and recognition of Australian English are unique in their specific historical, social and political details, the general experience parallels those of other countries in similar positions. Schneider has proposed the Dynamic Model, which describes the processes through which postcolonial societies transform English from a borrowed language into their own established varieties: becoming New Englishes. The transplanted English moves through five phases: foundation, exonormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilisation and differentiation. Transition from phase 3, nativisation, to the next is often the result of *Event X*. This event is an extraordinary happening which calls into question the relationship with the “mother country”. Specifically, it reveals that the esteem held for the “mother country” is not reciprocated. Event X is a catalyst with the linguistic consequence of starting a movement from the English just incorporating local elements, to a phase where new norms are accepted. Schneider proposes that for Australia, Event X was during the Second World War, when under threat of an attack from the Japanese air force in 1942, after the Fall of Singapore, Australian troops fighting overseas were not permitted to return and defend

2 Introduction

Australia. The Australian government had to ask the United States of America (US) for assistance. The view that this was a defining moment in national history is supported by Blainey in the classic historical work *The Tyranny of Distance* (1966). Blainey points out that these events marked not only the cessation of the previous type of relationship with the United Kingdom of Britain (UK) but the beginning of a reconceptualisation of Australia, with an awareness of its geographical position. The accompanying desire for greater self-sufficiency and local identity was, according to Schneider, also evidenced in the position of Australian English.

In accord with Schneider (2007), Horvath (1985) states that it was in the 1940s and 1950s that it began to be permissible to sound Australian. However, B. Moore (2008) argues that the UK's ambition to join the European Economic Community in the early 1960s, suggesting a change in trade and political alliances, was the key event that fundamentally changed the "mother country" relationship and understandings of Australia, with linguistic changes following. Clyne (1997) and Blair (1993) see movement to acceptance of local norms as occurring later again, in the early 1970s. Leitner (2004b) views real acceptance of Australian English as beginning in the 1970s, starting with the accent and flowing on to other linguistic systems. Contrary to all these authors, Eagleson (1982) suggests that complaints about Australian English from the general public were as common in 1982 as they had ever been. Few other authors note continuing disapproval of Australian English. Such unhappiness with local forms of speech and feelings of linguistic insecurity though are commonplace in postcolonial societies.

Another major event, which scholars agree on the significance of, occurred at the height of nationalist pride around the bicentenary (in 1988): the recently elevated status and increased acceptance of the new variety was encapsulated in dictionaries of Australian English. The *Macquarie Dictionary* was a dictionary that aimed to codify a national standard rather than listing slang and colloquialisms as earlier dictionaries had. First published in 1981, it was emblematic of a new period, and the *Australian National Dictionary* was published soon after (Delbridge, 2001).

It seems likely, bringing these accounts together, that the rumblings of change regarding acceptance of local norms began in the early 1940s and that such views were mainstream by the 1970s. The celebration of Australian English led to codification in the 1980s, but there remained, and continues to be, diversity in opinion on its legitimacy and merit, especially when compared to (the ideals of) British English (BrE).

From a contemporary perspective, Australian English can be considered as a variety of English spoken by many people in Australia, potentially along with other languages and varieties of English (for a discussion of other varieties of English in Australia, see Leitner, 2004a). It is the English taught in schools, used in the media and frequently heard on the street as well as codified in dictionaries and style guides. Australian English may be used by people from diverse backgrounds, including Indigenous Australians, long-term migrants and more recent migrants who have studied in the Australian education system.¹ My definition does not include the problematic notion "standard" and hence exclude commonly used

forms (Lippi-Green, 1997; Milroy & Milroy, 1985/2012). Furthermore, I do not want to equate Australian English with being Australian; someone could speak Australian English and not identify as Australian or indeed identify as Australian but not speak Australian English. The definition of Australian English outlined here is henceforth AusE.

1.2 Understanding Australian English via social meanings of variation

The endeavour described in this book is an empirical exploration of social meanings of variation via the analysis of linguistic practices and folklinguistic evaluation. It is a contemporary sociolinguistic study and contributes to the field by placing “centre stage” data which are often dismissed or only mentioned fleetingly to support analysis rather than being the object of analysis themselves. The study adds to what is known about variation in AusE and sheds light on some of the important language ideologies and local identities in Australian society. The insights have potential implications for studies elsewhere in theoretical and methodological approach but also the language ideologies and identities in English and even other languages. The incorporation of mechanisms for the evaluation of language, *mention* and *voicing*, allow new insights into the achievement of folklinguistic accounts. This book therefore contributes to the literature on Australian English and World Englishes but also the study of folklinguistics and sociolinguistics.

As a volume on variation, it engages with research in the variationist tradition, but it departs radically from traditional methodology in numerous ways. Labovian methodology was a reaction to what had gone before it, in particular introspective data and claims that variation was usually free and best ignored. Labov’s work and the tradition that follows it demonstrates that variation is linguistically structured, correlates with social categories and can model language change (Cameron, 1990). It is systematic, principled and quantitative, giving it great strength as rigorous analysis. As with all methodologies, it imposes a set of restrictions on what can be studied and learnt. Most notably the linguistic variable has limitations placed on it which rule out a good deal of variation, perhaps even complete linguistic systems (see Section 2.5.2). Furthermore, the quantitative mass of data often leads to a lack of consideration of social meanings and speakers’ views, which are not easily represented numerically, except in extremely generalised forms. The social context of variation is also deemphasised and only presented in broad terms.

The qualitative turn in many fields has made clear that qualitative data can provide powerful insights. Variationist work has been supplemented with qualitative methods such as ethnography and discourse analysis, greatly enriching the work and better representing speakers and their own understandings of their social world. Recent greater engagement in theory has encouraged looking outside of sociolinguistics to better understand language usage (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Coupland, 2001b, 2016). This is evident in research investigating very different topics and engaging with diverse theories and disciplines to illuminate sociolinguistic

4 Introduction

practices (e.g., Bucholtz, 1999; Coupland, 2001a; Eckert, 2000; Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008; E. Moore & Podesva, 2009; Rampton, 1995; Schilling-Estes, 2004; Snell, 2010; Zhang, 2008). These studies have uncovered new understandings of linguistic practices, enlivening the field and making a space for contemporary sociolinguistic scholarship.

The project presented in this book in fact does not employ the usual quantitative approach so crucial to most studies of variation. This is in the belief that such analysis is insufficient for full understandings of social meaning. By attending to language in context and using discourse analysis to look closely at how people talk about language, as well as use it, new insights can be gained with respect to both variations and their social meanings. The study explores Discourse (with a capital <D>) via discourse: learning about prevailing ideas in a culture by examining the discussion of language within a context. The data sources for the analysis here are also somewhat at odds with traditional sociolinguistic research, in that self-reporting and the speaker's discussion of language are often viewed as highly unreliable. I argue that, with due attention to the ideological nature of such reports, they are both valid and rich sources of information.

This book might be described as a third wave study, in Eckert's (2018) terminology, because its primary concerns relate to social meaning, although it differs on other criteria so the alignment is only partial. It could also be described as socio-cultural linguistics in the frameworks it relies on and its interdisciplinary borrowing (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008). Alternatively, it could be seen as part of sociolinguistics in its original, open conceptualisation and its more recent embracing of newer perspectives from social theory: contemporary sociolinguistics. It thus provides a very different account of AusE than found in most existing books on the topic in addition to using novel methods.

1.3 Overview of the book

In the next chapter (Chapter 2), the focus turns to outlining the concept of social meaning and the ideas it encompasses. I present a detailed model of the social meaning of language variation, based on an integrated account that draws particularly on the ideas of indexical orders (Silverstein, 2003), indirect indexicality (Ochs, 1992), the positionality principle (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), the indexical field (Eckert, 2008) and the semiotic processes of language ideologies (Gal & Irvine, 1995; Irvine & Gal, 2000). This creates a whole of the deeply related parts of language ideologies, indexicality, identity and linguistic variation. In Chapter 3, consideration turns to folklinguistics, a medium through which the social meanings are instantiated at varying levels of explicitness. The study of social meaning and folklinguistics are brought together in the presentation of the details of research, including an outline of analysis, participants and the Australian city of Melbourne.

In the analysis chapters following Chapters 2 and 3, their ideas and details are applied to Australian English one linguistic system and variable at a time: Chapter 4, phonetic and phonological; Chapter 5, lexical; and Chapter 6 discourse and grammatical variations. Each of these provides valuable detail on variations in English

and an account of their occurrence and evaluations in AusE. In Chapter 7, the findings are drawn together across linguistic systems, providing the Salient Local Others as local type identities which were key in the folklinguistic accounts examined in this project. The uncovered language ideologies relating to Australian English are also described with reference to the findings of the current study but also how they are evident elsewhere. Chapter 7 includes the book's conclusion, showing that the study has provided rich insights into folklinguistics and social meaning in Australian English.

Note

- 1 Malcolm and Königsberg (2001) suggest that Indigenous Australians may never feel they can truly enact Indigenous identities through Australian English. It is important though to recognise that many Indigenous Australians may use Australian English and the existence of Aboriginal Englishes is not a reason to exclude Indigenous people from definitions.

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share insights yet the existing literature does not offer a complete account of their relationships to one another.

At this point, the interactants have barely been mentioned, but of course, this is a hugely important part of social meaning. For social meaning requires, on at least some level, interlocutors who agree on what is happening in an interaction. As Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz state, “the ideologically inscribed distinctions of language operate as resources to enable members of a group to select or highlight certain features of speech that others bound by the same ideology recognize” (2007, p. 485). This shared recognition is pivotal to all of the concepts subsumed here under *social meaning*. In the next chapter, the focus turns to exploring the design of this study of social meaning, examining dimensions of folklinguistic discourse and its investigation, and the people and context of this study.

Notes

- 1 *Speaker* includes those who use sign languages. While *speakers* reduces social actors to one element of their cultural practice, this is probably accurate given my focus on linguistic meaning making over all other semiotic resources.
- 2 There is no symbolism in the relative amount of space taken up by each part of the circle; this is a function of their orthography in English. Likewise, the use of the same font size is a graphic device to form the ring, not a suggestion that these elements are equal in size.

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(Niedzielski & Preston, 2000), and these participants can still be thought of as folklinguists, despite having studied regional and social variation in AusE (see also Severin, 2016).

3.6 In conclusion

To understand the place of folklinguistics within (socio)linguistics, I have presented some of its history and various claims of the limitations and “nature” of folk-metapragmatic accounts. I have discussed how evaluations of language are not limited to overt mention but can be done through voicings. The analysis of folklinguistics, in its many guises, is not “problematic”: it has strengths, limitations and dilemmas. I have also described the data and its analysis followed by introducing the context and people of the study. In Chapters 4 to 6, the interview and sometimes questionnaire data are analysed by linguistic system and by variation with the use, mention and voicing of each considered, as applicable. In these analyses, what studies of folklinguistics *can do* is shown, providing new perspectives on variation in AusE.

Notes

- 1 I refer interested readers to Preston’s work (especially, Preston, 1993, 1996, 2000).
- 2 I suggest that, subclassifying them using Goffman and Bakhtin’s insights outlined here, performance speech, short-lived crossing, mock varieties and stylisation can all be considered within a framework of *voicing* as I present it in this book (Penry Williams, 2018).
- 3 Melbourne’s population continues to rapidly increase, and the 2016 Census data show 4.48 million residents in Greater Melbourne and the ABS estimate a 2.5% growth from 2017–2018 to 4.96 million (see www.abs.gov.au/).

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of AusE. It is important also to understand that the sociolects and their associations, as employed in the literature and by questionnaire participants, often function as a proxy for social class. Indeed, this may be part of the common reversion to three types of accents in AusE despite contradictory findings, with Broad, General and Cultivated tacitly representing working, middle and higher social classes, although this has been shown to be inaccurate by Horvath (1985) and Cox and Palethorpe (2010). Furthermore, judgements of forms as *posh* or *bogan* create social types with strong indexical links to social class. Whilst origin was often important, it was usually less clearly discussed and attributed, with this largely functioning to Other a form (those who use it) and erase variation.

The language ideologies found in the discourse surrounding this linguistic system, with varying levels of engagement and conviction, included notions of correctness, particularly of only one form being correct in one time and place. There was also some discussion of the Americanisation of AusE as a source of innovative forms. My discussion of the tradition of sociolects in the AusE literature highlights another ideology, hinted at elsewhere in this chapter – that the imagined egalitarianism of Australian society is evident in its language use. While there are elements of this that I do not object to, when presented in this way, its simplification of history, society and culture relies on erasure, iconisation and naturalisation that should not be ignored.

In the following two chapters, analysis turns to lexical and then grammatical and discourse variations, building on what has been found here whilst simultaneously providing insights into very different parts of AusE.

Notes

- 1 The study is also notable for its inclusion of participants who were not monolingual native speakers. Her analysis included the categories of “Ethnic Broad” and “Accented” for some interviewees of Italian and Greek heritage.
- 2 This usage, “banned” in many Victorian schools due to it being perceived as offensive to gay people, means something similar to “unfashionable or annoying” (MD) or generally a negative evaluation. *Lame* was used in the same way around the same time.
- 3 I did examine the textbooks for the subject, and some of the features in the questionnaires were included, but it is not possible to know precisely what the students from the large number of schools had studied. Furthermore, the diversity of responses and the negative assessments suggest that they were not simply reproducing what they had learnt in class. Again, I note the resistance to non-evaluative understandings of one’s own language (variety).
- 4 I have recently told a large number of AusE speakers that I am moving to Derby, UK, using *START*: the local production. Many of them responded with *NURSE* or asked me about the pronunciation.
- 5 *Shall* was also voiced alongside /dɜːns/ by Ojal and *darling* evaluated as pretentious (see Section 5.5).
- 6 This extract is also presented in Penry Williams (2019) with expanded analysis to support the argument original to that paper.
- 7 Those pronunciations listed with the full vowel as “Originally US” were not in the MD in older editions (e.g., they were not listed in 2011).

- 8 I have on occasion heard folklinguistic comment on these particular words and together. I have a recording of such comment from a local community radio station. This centres on one of the presenters' pronunciation of *milk* being noted, "picked up", which leads to a long explanation. At the last moment, he playfully adds that he needs to *have a good look at himself in the mirror* voicing the *mirror* with a /e/-like pronunciation.
- 9 *Well* is known to be produced quite differently (Loakes, 2008).

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Social meanings of lexical variation engaged with ideologies of “Americanisation” but not to the extent suggested by commentators on the topic, and the evaluations of *cookie* and *elevator* were different. For some participants, *cookie* was understood as different to *biscuit*; amongst others, there was support for the idea that *cookie* in particular was a “threat” to something Australian, although no one particularly highlighted a fondness for *biscuit*. From their accounts, regional variation appeared a less important social meaning, with the social types which existed beyond this introduced and words evaluated as *ocker* or associated with pretention without this being clearly tied to place. In addition to engaging with the previously found social types of the *ocker* and posh types (those associated with pretentious language), there was engagement with *the wog*.

Notes

- 1 There is also *white out* which is not a trademark but *Wite-Out* is.
- 2 While these numbers are small to be converted into percentages, it is useful in this study to allow quick comparison with the much larger survey population.
- 3 Distinguishing Frankston North from Frankston implies finer local distinctions due to the relative proximity of Pakenham. Sarah discussed an Old Pakenham/New Pakenham divide which, from her description, is multifaceted but partly exemplified in voting preferences. The larger issue related to the increasing population Sarah viewed as Pakenham becoming increasingly suburban rather than rural.
- 4 This extract is also presented in Penry Williams (2019) with expanded analysis to support the argument original to that paper.
- 5 In informal discussions, an English linguist and etymologist suggested that EngE also distinguishes *cookie* from *biscuit*, although we did not discuss the properties of each. Note also that, like BrE, AusE *biscuit* can include savory items, but AmE does not have a term which is superordinate to its *crackers* and *cookies* (Algeo, 1989, p. 239).
- 6 In response to my query to online support, regarding if there was a way I could search the dictionary for trademarks, the editor kindly supplied this list of words.
- 7 *Dead horse* is a fairly common rhyming slang phrase that references, via rhyme, *tomato sauce*, traditionally the most common condiment, for example, at barbeques.
- 8 Soccer has sometimes been referred to as *wog ball* in opposition to other football codes (Tsolidis & Pollard, 2009, p. 433), although this is no longer common now it is far more mainstream.
- 9 High numbers of discontinued IUs were typical of Ian’s speech.

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6.5.5 Conclusions

The final feature discussed, final particle *but*, was not used by participants but had a high level of self-report in the questionnaire. The evaluations from these two sources aligned, but the interviews did not also report the positive assessments of the form. Unlike other forms, it was attributed to stigmatised places within Melbourne in addition to be regionally Othered as from Queensland. Mentions and voicings produced phonetically accurate productions of final particle *but* yet failed to recognise that the usual contrastive function was retained in the new position. It was understood as meaningless in the traditional sense but as socially meaningful.

6.6 In conclusion

The data on discourse, syntactic and morphosyntactic features were particularly rich. There was not a lot of citing of grammatical “rules” or pundits, as there was from Niedzielski and Preston’s (2000) participants. It is clear though that there were quite negative judgements surrounding the use of some forms with stigmatisation often more explicit than for other linguistic systems. This was frequently true of features shared with other varieties, such as IrE, northern EngE and ScotE, although they were usually seen as uniquely Australian.

Clippings and (ING) were frequent enough that the use data provide new information for the AusE literature. Use of the velar in (ING) was the only feature here associated with being articulate, formal or proper with the other assessments focusing on being a(n) *ocker*, *Queenslander* or *bogan* with the forms they vary with not assessed. The questionnaire data complemented and supported the evaluations of the interviewees providing a broader picture of views of the final particle *but*, potentially with more acceptance indicating change in use. *The Queenslander* was frequently invoked in the discussion of this linguistic system presenting another local social type to be discussed across systems in the following and final chapter.

Notes

- 1 Some of the examples and discussion are also explored in Mulder and Penry Williams (2014), including Figure 6.2.
- 2 I thank the Celeste Rodríguez Louro for sharing this in-draft paper with me.
- 3 For the vast majority of speakers, *Australia* contains a different initial vowel to *Aussie* (note possible <ozzie>). There were no instances of the possible *telly* (TV/television). For those interested specifically in hypocoristic forms, there was one instance of *Tassie* (9 *Tasmanias*), *KG* (4 *Kangaroo Ground*) and *Macca*(’s) (8 *McDonald’s*).
- 4 An important difference is that Bradley and Bradley (1979) saw the student-researchers’ data (D. Bradley, personal communication, April 21, 2011).
- 5 Note that *I didn’t do nothing* involves some very interesting positioning of parties (see footnote 3 in Penry Williams, 2019 where this extract is also presented).
- 6 The second person plural form *you guys* was present in voicings too. It occurred on eight occasions. However, there did not seem to be any evidence of these indexing any particular types or situations. This form has been suggested to be the new unmarked plural with the loss of the masculine meaning of *guys* for a group of people (Heyd, 2010). Taylor attributes its presence in AusE to AmE influence (1989, p. 240).

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researching such language ideologies does not simply recirculate them but allows for their identification and therefore their denaturalisation and contestation. Their examination reveals many similarities to language ideologies in professional accounts of AusE (Penry Williams, 2011). This is not surprising given that there is “no gaze that is not positioned” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 36), and scientific knowledge is grounded in social life (Woolard, 1998, p. 10). Awareness and understanding of folklinguistic views and language ideologies should be part of reflexive consideration of linguists’ own discussions of language. This may also assist in better engagement in public debate (for a consideration of this, see Lewis, 2018 and responses in that same issue).

Across this book, piece by piece, I have shown that there is more variation in AusE than is usually described and alongside this provided a consideration of how that variation is understood via my model of social meaning. This sort of approach allows rich insights into AusE and its place in the world, including among other varieties of English. I have also aimed to show that even apparently simple metapragmatic discourse contains a depth of beliefs about language and culture when examined: that these “bad data” can be used to good effect.

Notes

- 1 The MD suggests that *apples* here might relate to the rhyming slang *apples and rice* “nice”, based on a dessert from the early 1900s, but that this is uncertain.
- 2 Before this, *yobbo* was perhaps more used. Arguably, *yobbo* is more directly linked to lower SES, social disruption and being “rough”, similar to *lout* or *ruffian*. Jacqui and two questionnaire participants used *yobbo* in discussing language.
- 3 A wealthy/prestigious area within Sydney, the capital city of New South Wales.
- 4 This extract is also presented in Penry Williams (2019) with expanded analysis to support the argument original to that paper.
- 5 In AusE, usually only young children refer to or address their parents as *Mummy* or *Daddy*.
- 6 There are also “posh types”: the minor characters Prue and Trude, whose pretension is evident in their speech (Willoughby et al., 2013). They have been noted in the linguistics literature for their use of fricated /t/ (Loakes & McDougall, 2010).
- 7 I thank an anonymous reviewer for this insight.

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