DOCUMENT RESUME

ABSTRACT
        Cape Barren English is clearly the most aberrant
dialect of English spoken in Australia. Descended from English
sealers, whalers and ex-convicts and their Aboriginal wives, the
inhabitants of Cape Barren Island, Tasmania, have lived in relative
isolation for the last 150 years or more. Their dialect is not a
creolized pidgin; it has a number of lexical and phonological
elements traceable to the rural dialects of southwest England, which
are not found elsewhere in Australia. There are also strong traces of
Aboriginal "foreign accent" at a phonological level. The specialized
terminology of whaling and sealing has been adapted to the insular
environment, especially in the exploitation of mutton-bird rookeries.
(Author)

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CAPE BARREN ENGLISH

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INTRODUCTION

This is a brief and very incomplete study of the English spoken
by the part-Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island, Tasmania.
Lack of time has forced it to be in the nature of a preliminary
report only, but since no previous study of this variety of English
has been made, this report should be useful as a stepping-off point
for further investigation should anyone wish to make it.

An A.B.C. television documentary programme shown in 1964
first brought the existence of the Cape Barren Islanders to the
writer's attention, and it included some interviews with Islanders,
mainly in connection with the social problems of the Island and the
sensational treatment they had occasionally received in the
Tasmanian press. The writer was impressed by some phonological
pecularities of the Islanders' speech, and at the beginning of 1969
made enquiries by letter to the zoologist (Dr. D. Dorward, Monash)
who had made a study of the Cape Barren goose, and to the school
master resident on the Island. The replies confirmed a suspicion
that some sort of dialect other than Australian English was spoken
by the "Cape Barreners" (as they are called by the white people
of the neighbouring Flinders Island), and in May 1969 I went to

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the Island to investigate. A portable fi-Cord tape recorder and
tapes were supplied by the department of English, University of
Sydney, as the work was to be done as part of the fourth-year course
in Early English Language and Literature.

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE AREA

The Furneaux Group of islands lies off the north-eastern tip
of Tasmania. There are about forty-five islands in the group, the
largest being Flinders Island, approximately 513,000 acres and
roughly 40 x 20 miles. It is a rural community with several
thousand people, mostly engaged in sheep and cattle or mixed farming.
Its main town is Whitemark on the West Coast and it has a fishing centre
at Lady Barron on the southern coast. Cape Barren Island (40°25S.
145°15E), to the south of Flinders, is the second largest in the group
with about 110,000 acres. Its population in 1969 was about 58
including eighteen children. These two are the only islands now
inhabited, although up to about fifty years ago several of the
smaller islands were able to support a family or two each. Several
of the older people on Flinders Island were born on, say, Green Island
or Long Island, although these are now inhabited only by sheep.
Chappel Island is inhabited by a large number of venomous snakes,
and also by mutton birds when they are breeding. Mutton bird
rookeries are found on most of the bigger islands.

Some time between 1800 and 1810 a band of sealers and whalers set
themselves up in Bass Strait with native women as consorts. Little is
known of them before the 1820's, but it seems that they carried on
sealing around the islands, and possibly some whaling, until these
industries began to wane in the 1820's. At about this time, a
piratical group, led by James Munro, had its headquarters on what is
now Vansittart Island (it was then known as Gun Carriage Is.) There is
a Mount Munro and Munro Bay on Cape Barran Island. Apart from
occasionally raiding settlements (as well as Tasmanian Aboriginal
tribes) on the north coast of Tasmania, in early times involving

murder and violence, this group, by 1832, was exporting $2\frac{1}{8}$ tons
of mutton bird feathers annually. This would involve the slaughter
of about 112,000 young birds, a considerable task for such a group.
Originally there appear to have been eight white men, nine
Tasmanian Aboriginal women, four mainland Australian Aboriginal
women, one Maori woman, a Negress, and an Indian woman.[1]

The men were: James Munro, Thomas Mansell, George (or James Everett,
Henry (or Richard) Maynard, John Smith (née Barwood or Burwood)
Thomas Tucker, James Beedon (or Beaton, née Isaacs), John Thomas.

Later additions in the 1870's were: Sam Bligh (1851), Henry Burgess,
William Brown, John Summers. The original founders of what
are now known as the Cape Barren Island Hybrids were a colourful
group. In 1831 they were moved from Gun Carriage Island to
Preservation Island because the Tasmanian Government wanted the
former island as a place to settle the Tasmanian Aborigines.
The Government also demanded that the de facto wives of the men
be placed on Gun Carriage along with the other natives. Munro
made a deal with the officials - he would round up all the natives
in Tasmania if his group could be allowed to keep their women.
Naturally, his side of the bargain was not kept, but the women
were. Most of the founding fathers seem to have come from Britain,
and to have been born between about 1700 and 1800. Thomas Mansell
came from Sydney, although it is not known whether he was born
there. (George Everett married a South Australian Aborigine, and
later a Maori girl called Mattai.). Richard Maynard was English,
and apparently fairly well-educated. He was a convict who had
been transported to Van Diemen's Land. On escape he had lived
with the Tasmanian Aborigines, and married the daughter of the
tribal chief - a girl called Manalagana. They had a daughter

[1]Much of this material is from A.L. Meston, "The Halfcastes of
the Furneaux Group", Rec. Queen Victoria Mus., Launceston, July 1947.

who later married John Smith (née Burwood or Barwood). Smith also married a Tasmanian woman, Tanganitara, but it is not clear that she was Maynard's daughter, as she seems to have a full-blood. Smith's daughter Fanny, said he was called Noota (see Moyle 1899 record). Maynard later married a Victorian Aborigine and had nine more children. James Beacon (or Beeton) was a London Jew, née Isaaca, who arrived in 1827. He married a pure-blood Tasmanian, Emarinna. He was a remittance man, and probably of the middle class. His daughter Lucy, born 1829, was literate and renowned, and became a type of leader of her people in the mid-19th century. Thomas Tucker married an Indian woman and had several children. John Thomas was a Welshman who arrived before 1810. He married a full-blood Tasmanian woman, and his great-great-grandson Mr. Ron Thomas, was postmaster on Cape Barren Island in 1969. Sam Bligh was an Irishman, but no more is known of him at present. His surname appears as a middle name of one of the islanders today (as does also the name "Burwood").[2]

By 1872 there were 84 people in what, by then, would have been the Cape Barren Island community. These included 32 adults and 52 children. In 1947 there were about 120 people, and were then said to be "dispersing". In 1969 there were only six surnames on the Island: Mansell, Everett, Maynard, Thomas, Brown and Summers. However, there are about as many Cape Barreners living elsewhere, and these include Burgess and Beaton among their names. Some live on Flinders Island, and many in Launceston (particularly Invermay) and other parts of Tasmania. Dispersal is now proceeding fairly quickly. There is no work on the Island, [and it would not be welcome, as it would intrude upon a workless tradition of one and a half centuries.]. The mutton-birding industry is seasonal only, and although quite profitable, is hard and dirty work. The school has its holidays in the birding season, so that even quite small children can take part in this traditional occupation [(see Transcripts)].

[2]The Christian-names of the present-day Islanders are of considerable interest, as many are no longer at all common, and those of the females

have an interesting phonological peculiarity. Among the males today there are: Alwyn, Brendan, Cecil, Claude (Burwood), Dalton, Darcy Daan, Deavony, Earl, Edwin, Edmund ('Edavine') (Bligh), Guy, Haydon (Boyd), Lenna, Leon, Liecester, Lyall, Morton, Phillip ('Pip') Reubin (Castle), Vance, Vivian.

Among the women and girls there are the following:
Amelia Anita, Daphne, Clydia, Carlita, Marlene, Delia, Clarissa ('Clissia'), Lavinia, Mona, Tania, Sarah, Vanessa, Hilda, Linda

THE DIALECT

It has become traditional to say that there are no regional dialects of Australian English. One argument sometimes put forward to explain this homogeneity is that nowhere in Australia has there been a relatively immobile community with a long history of isolation to provide the conditions where a local dialect may develop. This in turn assumes that regional variants would come from a common linguistic stock, the differences which are evolved being simply a product of separation from the mainstream. But a speech community may be different from the mainstream right from the start, and then isolation could perpetuate these initial speech differences. This appears to be partly the situation with the speech of the Cape Barren Islanders.

Looking at their history we can see three main sources of cultural influence - that of their original British forebears, that of the Aboriginal women who were the wives of those forebears, and that of the Australian society of which they form a part. At the present time the latter influence is advancing rapidly to extinguish any traces of the two former factors. This situation is reflected in the speech-forms of the Cape Barreners. Traces of early nineteenth-century or dialactal British English, and traces of Aboriginal foreign accent, are clearly discernable in what I have called, for convenience, Cape Barren English (CBE).

The present state of social upheaval the community is undergoing
makes it difficult to obtain clear and consistent versions of the
dialect. Often a dual response may be given to a question – perhaps
a traditional form followed by the "correct" standard form (e.g.
one informant gave [wInblIəz] and then [b ɛɹ əz] for "the things
you use to get the fire going".) It is also difficult to determine
whether some features of the dialect are there because Australian
English has made inroads over the decades, or because this dialect
has simply shared those features with Australian English since
earliest times.

At first hearing, CBE sounds like very Broad Australian, and
this might lead us to classify it as a sub-dialect of Australian
English. But it is different from most local variants in that many
of its phonological pecularities are really a kind of "creolized
foreign accent" derived from the non-English-speaking ancestors of
the present Islanders. There are other types of "Aboriginal English"
in the Northern Territory, Queensland and Western Australia[3] which
have been studied, but these represent the contact of Aboriginal
languages or pidgins with Australian English, whereas CBE has its
origins in the contact of (mainly Tasmanian) Aboriginal languages
and early 19th century British English.

Finally, before describing the features of the dialect, it
should be quite clear that this description is partly a reconstruction
of what could be called "Original CBE", while much that is presently
spoken is "modified CBE". Where there is fluctuation between
standard and non-standard forms, and there is also a reasonable
hypothesis as to the origin of the non-standard form, I have taken

[3] See B. H. Jernudd, "Social Change and Aboriginal Speech Variation
in Australia", Working Papers in Linguistics, No. 4, May 1969
(Univ. of Hawaii).

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the letter to be "Original CBE". Education, intermarriage, terms
spent working in Tasmania, and the interview situation all tend
to aid in the modification of the dialect towards the standard form.
It was noticeable that whenever Islanders could be observed speak-
ing to one another their talk was often quite unintelligible to an
outsider, and there were even times when their speech to me was
hard or impossible to understand. The ideal situation for an
investigator would be to record a conversation between two elderly
Cape Barreners, and then get an "interpretation" of it later. The
main obstacle to comprehension of the speech is its often extreme
degrees of assimilation and elision.

1. Phonology

This is perhaps the most tentative aspect of this study, since
there was so much variation between speakers, or between different
utterances of the same speaker, that firm statements (especially
about vowels) are impossible. Furthermore, severe restrictions on
time and self-imposed restrictions on what kind of material could
be elicited from informants makes the available material limited in
scope. There was, because of the interviewing situation, little
chance to test phonemic distinctions with adult informants, and
child informants were often unreliable because of their exposure
to standard English.

Short Vowels			Long Vowels	
i			i	
ɪ		ʊ	ɪü	
	ə			3
ɛ			ɛ		ɔ
	ʌ			
æ		ɒ	æ		ɑ

The <u>short vowels</u> are: i ɪ ɛ æ ə ʌ(central) ɒ ʊ
The <u>long vowels</u> are: i ɪ ü(front) ɛ æ 3 ɤ ɔ

Short Vowels : example

i	individual	ɪndividyəl	ʌ	some	sʌm
	telephone	tɛlifʒün		thumb	sʌm
	follow	fɒli		industry	índʌ̀stri̩
	my	mi			
			ə	they	d̪ə
I	get	git		the other	d̪ʌ̀ðə
	hill	ɪl		nephew	nɛvyə
	he's	ɪz		happen	æpən
	leg	lɪg		risk	rəsk
	again	əgɪn			
	sheds	čɪdz		odd	hɒd
	bellows	wɪnbɪɪəz		Barren	bærɒn
				cushion	kɒʃən
ɛ	head	ɛ̣d		one	wɒn
	insides	ɛ̣nsaidz	ʊ	hoops	ʊps
	match	mɛ̣č		crook	krʊk
	rinse	rɛ̣nṣ		muscle	mʌsʊ
	squeezed	sḱwɛz		peddles	pædʊz
	cat	kɛt			
æ	factories	fæktrɪz			
	keg	kæg			
	mesh	mæʃ			
	paddlee	pædʊz			

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Short Vowels : Comments

/i/ The phonemic status of short /i/ is rather dubious, and
seems rather to be an allophone of a single high front unrounded
vowel, which is phonetically shortened in unstressed position
or when followed by a fortis consonant. The fact that it does
not reduce to /ə/ in the words "individual", "telephone"
"television" - respectively /ɪndɪvɪdyəl//tɛlifʌün/ /tɛlivɪʒən/
may be explained simply as a result of these words being
"imperfectly learnt" at the time of their introduction to the
speech community, but the pattern seems quite clear and
characteristic of the dialect. The pronunciations [swɒli] [fʊli]
for "swallow" and "follow" respectively testify to the dialectal
background of the founders of the Cape Barren community.
J. Wright's English Dialect Grammar gives this form as charact-
eristic of certain Scottish and South-Western dialects,
including that of Berkshire. According to Dobson[4] the most
likely sequence of developments behind this form is MEw >u> ə> i

It was a form apparently also found in the vulgar
speech of London in the 17th century, although it seems likely that
the CBE version is derived from a provincial dialect since the first
English speakers of the Cape Barren community were born in the
late 18th century. I pause to question a scholar like Dobson
on this matter, but it seems to me his account of the sound-
changes behind this form may be mistaken. He derives it from
early ME 3> w> ü , but there was a ME dialectal form
"fulien" (12th century) found in the South-West - in fact, it
occurs in a MS whose author lived in Hampshire, and whose scribe
came from the South-West Midlands. The county immediately to the
north of Hampshire is Berkshire - a region where the "folli" form

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[4] E.J. Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500-1700 OUP 1957 Vol II p867

has especially survived to modern times. The 12th century occurrence
is found in the "Poema Morale", where a line reads:

a muchel fulieð his wil, himself he beswikeð   5

Thus it would seem that the more likely sequence was

3ə>yə>iə>i   . It is further of interest that

Hampshire includes the ports of Southampton, Bournemouth and Portsmouth,
the source of a number of the seafaring men who founded the Pitcairn
Island Settlement under similar circumstances to those of the Bass
Strait settlement. Pitcairnese shares certain dialectal features of
this region, and has certain similarities to CBE. Unfortunately, the
two words "swallow" and "follow" do not occur in Orton and Wakelin's
survey of the Southern English dialects[6], and evidence for the
distribution of the /foli/, /swoli/ pronunciations in modern times
has to be taken from less reliable sources. Wright's Enolish Dialect
Grammar[7] shows these forms as fairly widely scattered:

follow   -   foli   -Edb., Sir, other Scots.
                      voli   -Glo, Brks, I.W., W:L, Dar, Dev.

Swallow   -   swoli   Cumberland
                -     zwali   IW, Dor.
                -     zwolə   W. Som

5   line 12 of excerpt in F. Mosse, Handbook of M.E. 1952, p.136
6   H. Orton & M. Wakelin (eds) Survey of English Dialects (B),
      The Basic Material Vol. IV. The Southern Counties. Leeds, 1967.
7   J. Wright, The English Dialect Grammar, Oxford 1905

Tha dialect of an Exmoor Scolding published in 1879[8] as an
example of Devonshire English contains "roily" as the
infinitive form of the verb " to rail", and the Grammar
of the Dialect of West Somerset published in 1877[9] states
that for this dialect (in the Devon region) the regular
form of intransitive verbs in the present infinitive has final
"-ea". None of this evidence is very conclusive, except
to indicate that a form like /foli/ is Southern and possibly
South-Western.

/I/   Short /I/ is often very high in CBE, and quite close
to /i/. It occurs regularly in the words "get" and "leg",
and according to Orton and Wakelin (op. cit.) it is commonly
found in "get" in Davon and Dorset, South Hampshire and parts
of Kent (sea Dialect Chart 3 for locations of counties), and in
"lag", mainly in South Devon and a pocket of the SE (See
Dialect Chart No. 4)

Short /I/ is also found in the word givan by Morrie Brown
for "bellows" - /wInbIləz/ . This whole form is not found
in the Southern counties, but the form /bɪ|əz/   or something
close to it is found in many parts of the S-W. In Tha Dialect
of Hartland, Devonshire published in 1891[10] the form is given
as "billas". Orton and Wakelin do not show the form with /I/
as occurring in Devonshire, but give /beləs/   as the typical
Devonshira pronunciation (Sea Dialect Chart No. 5), and the
/I/ form as mainly being Cornish and Central South.

8   English Dialect Society, Series D, No. 25, 1879, Specimens
     of English dialects.
9   English Dialect Society, Series D, No. 19, 1877, p.49
10   R.P. Cope, The Dialect of Hartland, Devonshire, English
     Dialect Society, Series C - Original Glossaries 1891, p.12.

However, since we have only one case of this word in the CBE material, and the two sounds are potentially so close in this phonetic environment, no conclusion can be drawn about it except that the CBE form is probably S-W.

/ɛ/ This sound occurs in "catch" very regularly in CBE (Also two separate occurrences of [kič] – Orton has this in one Wiltshire locality.) and according to Orton and Wakelin (See Dialect Chart No. 6) it is typically South Devon and S-E. However Wright (op cit.) also gives it as NW Dev. and W. Som. and its distribution in the S-W may be wider than Orton's results indicate. The form also occurs in Lancs, Chs, Stf, Shr, and London, so this is not a strong indicator of local dialect except in combination with other forms. Similarly the sound occurs in "rinse" in Devon according to Wright (as well as in Midl. and N.)., although Orton shows only one location in all of the South with this form (a village in Surrey). The sound also occurs in "cat", and according to Orton this is exclusively S-E (mainly Sur. and Ken.).

The occurrence of /skw ɛz/ as the equivalent of "squeezed" (in the speech of Ron Thomas) may be idiosyncratic or accidental, but it does occur twice in one passage. Nevertheless all the other people said /skwi:zd/, except for Morrie Brown who once said /skw æi zd/ or something near to it. The latter form is tantalizingly historical, but probably merely accidental. (Hartland Dialect has this particular form though.)

/æ/ This sound occurs in "keg", and the spelling form "cag" is in OED as an "obsolete" form. The word does not occur in either Wright or Orton, so I have been unable to trace its dialectal distribution. It also occurs in "mash" but this may be a mistake.

/ə/ We noted earlier that in some cases where standard English reduces unstressed vowels to schwa, CBE does not. Conversley, CBE reduces some unstressed vowels where standard English does not.

Thus in case of "they": which regularly becomes / ðə /

when unstressed. In the case of "risk" there may be an

alternative explanation, since NZ English also has something

like schwa for short /I/ here. In the case of "nephew" -

/nɛvyə/:   - there is no exact parallel among the dialects

of S. England, since they generally have /nɛvyu/ ,

occasionally with the final vowel shortened. Other areas have

/nɛvi/   . In the case of "hundred" - /ʌndəd/ (CBE) -

the nearest parallel in Orton is in parts of Surrey and Kent,

both near London, while the rest of the South has / 3ʕ:d/   .

/ɒ/ This occurs in the word "one", and this is quite a

common pronunciation in many parts of England. In the South it

only occurs in Brks, Sur., Kent and part of E. Hants. (See

Dialect Chart No. 7). Also regular in CBE is the pronunciation

/bærɒn / in both "Cape Barren" and "Lady Barron". I have

no idea how such a pronunciation could come about, but there

would seem to be some connection with the spelling in the second

case. Lady Barron is the town on Flinders Island nearest to

Cape Barren Island.

/ʊ/ The only non-standard occurrence of this sound was in

Ron Thomas's /ʌps/ for "hoops" although several times he also

gave me / ü ps/. The former pronunciation may have been a

slip into a more traditional form, or it may have been a slip

of the tongue (connected with "oops-a-daisy"!) Other speakers

always gave the expected form.

Long Vowels : examples

i:	he	i:		beak	bi:k
	me	mi:_		cheeks	či:ks
	teeth	ti:s		three	sri:
	tea	ti:		hiccups	ɪi:kʌps
	Queenstown	kwi:nztɛ:n			

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I:	beard	bɪ:d	3	first	f3:s
	here	ɪ:		birds	b3:dz
	years	yɪ:z		working	w3:gən
	near	nɪ:		thirty	s3:di

ɛ:	air	ɛ:	a:	March	ma:ɣ
	where	wɛ:		hard	a:d
	shearing	ʃɛ:rən		parts	pa:ts
	clear	klɛ: (?)		car-buckle	ka:bʌkəl
	nurse	nɛ:s		far	fa:
	Furneaux	fɛ:nʌü			
	year	yɛ:	ɔ:	four	fɔ:
				scald them	skɔ:dəm
æ:	mouth	mæ:s		all	ɔ:l
	house	æ:s		gone	gɔ:n
	tobacco	təbæ:gə		off	ɔ:f
	spank him	spæ:ŋgɪm		across	əkrɔ:s
	band	bæ:nd			
	count	kæ:nt	ü	two, too	tü
	carry him	kæ:rən		do	dü
				coop	kü:p
				roof	rü:f
				cooling	kü:lən
				used to	ü:stə
				museum	müzim

Long Vowels : Comments

Returning to the long vowels for comment, the most striking
thing about the analysis I am suggesting is that it does not include
the typical Australian English compound peaks as found in[11]

11 from A.I. Jones, Phonetics. a Phonological Introduction,
      Sydney U.P., 1968.

O.E.		CBE
iə	beer	I:
ɛə	bear	ɛ:
æə	bad	æ:
ɨə	burr	3:
əi	bee	i:
əu	boo	ü:
aə	bar	a:
uə	endure	ü: or üwə
ɔə	bore	ɔ:
aə	gone	ɔ:

Nor does it include the compound peak /æu / except in marginal
cases (e.g cow, bow (of boat) where it is not so much /æu/ as /æə/).
But this should not be taken to imply that nuclei with these
Australian glides do not occur. Often they seem to be clearly
a result of linguistic influence - either that of the interview
situation or that of historical development in proximity to
Australian English. Some speakers seem to have adopted parts
of the Australian vowel system but have retained the CBE system
elsewhere. The speech of Mr Devony Brown is a good example
of mixture. His versions of the words "March", "cask" are
[ma:č ka:st] while he gives "last" and "half past" as
[las a:pa:s], and his brother, Mr Morrie Brown gives
"heel" and "teeth" as ʰəil , dəiz   ] but "feet" as [fit].
Analysis is usually a matter of taking what appears to be the
original form from examples given by all the speakers, and
then combining them to form the postulated "Original CBE".
All speakers who were interviewed showed this inconsistency
and variation, and obviously there is a danger of taking some
speaker's verbal idiosyncracy to be part of the original dialect.
Furthermore, it is very likely that not all compound peaks with

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schwa glides are the result of influence from AE. There are
instances of long /I/ in open monosyllables where the peak is
clearly compound - eg "here" [Iə] "keg of beer" [kægəbɪə]
and this may be in fact the original form. In view of the wide
variations of this type, however, I have decided to interpret the
phonological system of CBE as one with a dual pattern of short
and long vowels, since there are a number of clear-cut cases
where such a pattern obtains unambiguously.

While most of the dialect-features of CBE which distinguish
it from Australian English are either in vocabulary or in the
pronunciation of particular words, some of these features are
basic to the phonology. Consonants will be dealt with later.
Among the vowels, two of the long vowels are the clearest dialect
indicators. Corresponding to R.P. /uː/ and /aː/ CBE has/ü/ and
/aː/ Dialect Charts 1 and 2 show the distribution of the latter
among the dialects of Southern England. It is clear that the
only Southern dialect area with /ü / is one covering all of
Devon, the north-east of Cornwall and the north-west of Somerset
(Chart No. 1). With one of the current Christian names on
Cape Barren Island being "Devony" this may not be very surprising.
The distribution of /aː / is more widespread, including part
of the above area, as well as the S-E counties (See Chart No. 2).
Other evidence will imply that the English influences on CBE are
largely from these two areas - Devon and Kent. This evidence
and the conclusions drawn from it are tentative for many reasons,
one being that no thorough dialect survey of the Midlands is at
present available, and only evidence concerning the Northern and
Southern counties has been used. Nevertheless it is felt that
sufficient evidence has been collected to justify some attempt
at "genealogizing" the dialect.

/i:/ The purity of this vowel is best exemplified by the speech of the children of Cape Barren Island. Among the adults it fluctuates, as usual, between the glide of Australian English and the pure vowel of R.P. In the word "hiccups" – phonetically something like [ɪi:kʌps] as a rule – it seems broken into a glide in an untypical way. This particular form is found in Sur., Sus., and I.W. while the [i:kʌps] form is found scattered from SW to SE. No form is found in the South corresponding to Australian English / hɪkʌps /.

/ɪ/ In accord with the general rule in CBE which excludes diphthongs with centring off-glides, words like "beard" are [bɪ:d] and even sometimes [bəɪ:d]. In S. England the counties east of I.W. (excluding Sussex) have [bɪəd] (or [biəd] – Kent); while the western counties and Sus. have [bɪəʳ:d] – i.e. with lengthening and r-colouring.

CBE has /yɪ 𝔷 alternatively /yɛ:𝔷/ for "years". S-E counties have [yɪəz] while S-W has [yəʳ:z].

/ɛ:/ CBE has / ʃɛ:rən / for "shearing", and this is definitely a S-E form (See Dialect Chart No. 8) belonging to Kent and E. Sus. Evidence for a regular occurrence of this sound in the vicinity of /n/ where R.P. has /ɜ:/ is inconclusive – c.f. "Furneaux" /fɛ:nʌü/ "nurse" [nɛ:s].

/æ/ This is regular in CBE where R.P. has /au/, although sometimes in an open final syllable there is some movement towards a rounded off-glide. Thus "mouth" is CBE / mæ:s /. The nearest to this in Orton's Southern dialects is n Kent [mæᵘ.θ] but Kent is otherwise [mɛωθ]. The next nearest form is [mæɔ:θ] with concentrations in Devon and Hampshire. (See Dialect Chart No. 9).

/ɜ:/ This is generally standard, though in "working" it shows typical lengthening before a lenis medial consonant – /wɜ:gən/

/ɔ:/ In the words "gone" "off", "across", this sound is common
throughout S. England and is found in much Australian English of
a more old-fashioned type.

Complex Nuclei (a)

æi	they're	ḍæi	ʌü	goes	gʌüz
	table	tæil		Furneaux	fɜ:nʌü
	staves	stæiv z		rows	rʌüz
	eighteenth	æidins		rolled	rʌüd
				whole	ʌül
ai	five	faⁱv		those	ḍʌüz
	night	naⁱt		Hobart	ʌüḅa:t
	tired	taⁱd			
	white	wait			
ɔi	oil	hɔil			
	boy	b ɔi			
	oiling	ɔilɪn			
	Trefoil	tri:fɔil			

There are no cases in the material of simple or complex vowels
following each other within the word, thus:

| iron | aⁱn |
tired	taⁱd
ruined	rü:nd
museum	mü:zim

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Complex Nuclei (a) : Comments

/æi/ Where standard English generally has something like
/ðɛə / for "they're, CBE has /æi / . This might be interpreted
as simply the form for "they" which has been extended in its
use with all trace of the verb "to be" having been elided. How
did this come about? One explanation may be that this is a
legacy of "native English", but I think a more plausible
explanation exists in deriving it from dialectal / ðeim /,
a S-W English form (See Dialect Chart No. 10). This latter
explanation is much simpler than one deriving it from "they're"
or "they be" as it involves less phonetic steps.

/ai/ This complex nucleus frequently merges with /ɑː / as in
[dɑːlənd] "the island" or even with /ɒ / as in [nɒt] "night".
Similarly / ɔi / frequently merges with / ɔː /. /aⁱ / is
mainly a Kentish form in Orton, While there is a single case
of /ʌː / in S-W Devon (but Devon generally /æⁱ/ here - i.e.
the reflex of M.E.i i-).

/ʌü This is frequently [ʌu] as in Australian English, but
the fronting of /u/. is also often present (as one would expect
on grounds of consistency) and this is even in one or two cases
unrounded to give something close to [ʌi]; e.g. "Hobart"
is [ʌibaːt] in Morrie Brown's speech. Before /l/ this may be
retracted - eg. [aɶz] "holes" (Devony Brown), but usually not
so far as in that example. More often before /l/ it is a high
central sound as in [rʌulɘmæːt] "roll them out" (D.B.) But
the regular form is / ʌü/,   as in

rows	/rʌüz/
groceries	/grʌüsɘ riz/

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Complex Nuclei (b)

i
ɨ ————————→ ʊ
ɛ
æ
a
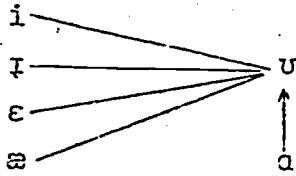
Complex Nuclei (b) are historically from Vowel+ / l / and need
not detain us long.

Examples

wheel	wiʊ
silvar	ʂɪʊvə
else	ɛʊs
child	čaʊ

The case of / æʊ / is more complicated, since it represents the
nucleus in both "fowl" and "cow" - the former case being from
Vowel + / l / as above, and the latter case being the allophone
of long / æ / in an open monosyllable.

Consonants:

The following consonants were recorded in the available material:

p			t	k
b	ḍ		d	g
φ̣	f	θ	s	ʃ
ʒ̣	v	ð	z	3
				č̣
				ǰ
m			n	ŋ
w			l r y h	

A mere list of phones such as this is quite uninformative, but
their relations with each other and their correspondence with the
consonants of standard English proves quite interesting.

A phoneme-inventory will be given later.

(a) <u>Stops</u>

p,b,t,d,k,g (for ḍ see ð).

The pairs of stops distinguished by the complex of features
we may summarize as fortis/lenisness are phonemically distinct
except intervocalically, where this opposition appears to be
neutralized and the lenis stop is the one usually found. This
is not regular as observed in present-day CBE, but may have
originally been so. (In Devon English the lenis consonants
tend to be the only ones in all positions.)
Thus we have

       mɔ:nɪlsʌbə   "the first meal of the day"

but

       æpən   "happen"

       wɑɪnpɑɪp   "throat"

Occasionally the situation is reversed and we get e.g.:
[ɒʌtæ:s] "butt-house". Also [ɸʌdɪm]   "butt him".
(see below for f,v).

Where the stop is adjacent to a vowel or voiced consonant
during running speech it is usually lenis, whatever it might
be in isolation. The overall quality of the speech is "lenis"
to use the term impressionistically, in the sense that Devon
English is, partly for this reason. Even where the fortis
stops survive, they are not highly aspirated.

(b) <u>Fricatives and affricates</u>

      ɸ, β, f v, θð, s z, ʃ3, č ǰ

The labial fricatives are fairly rare. When they occur,
they generally replace labio-dentals - e.g.

      ɸ3:s   "first"

      rɪβə   "river"

Sometimes the replacement might be a stop:

s li:b   "sleeve"

This is the only occurrence of final /v/ being rendered /b/,
but it was quite clear and definite. In the Devonshire dialect
of Hartland[12] "cleave" is given as /kli:b/and "marvels" as
"marbles." It should be noted also that the Aboriginal languages
of the native ancestors of the Cape Barren people would have
included no fricatives (with the possible exception of a velar or
uvular fricative[13]), and that much of the fluctuation observed in
this section may be due to this influence.

Both /f/ and /v/ otherwise occur in the standard English way,
and are less prone to lenis neutralization intervocalically than
other fricatives.

Not so with /θ /, /ð /. Although /θ / occurs on rare
occasions, and / ð / more regularly.in intervocalic position,
neither of these fricatives could be said to.be.original CBE.
Where standard English has /θ / CBE has /s/, except when initial
before / r /, where CBE has /f/, /s/or /d̡/. Thus:

thumb	sʌm	(initial)
tooth	tüs	(final)
everything(pl.)	evrisɪŋks	(intervocalic)
throw	frʌü srʌü d̡rʌü	(initial before /r/).

(Note that S-W English dialects generally have /dr /, and S-E
generally /θr / or /fr/.)

12 · R.P. Chope, op.cit. p. 8
13   See W. Schmidt, "Tasmanien", in Meillet and Cohen,
     Les Langues du Monde p. 714. also R.B. Smith,
     The Aborigines of Victoria. Vo. II, London 1878 p. 415.

Where standard English has /ð/ , CBE has /d/ or /ḍ /
or /z/ (initially), /z/ or / ð / (intervocalically), and
/z/ (finally). Sometimes by assimilation /d/ or /ḍ/
become /n / - e.g.

/æːt kʌmnə hɔilən gʌri/   "Out come the oil and gurry"

Thus we have:

"the other" [ʌ̃ðə   ]   "they're" [ḍæi   ]   "there" [zɛː   ]
     (The most regular version initially is / ḍ /).
"mother" [mʌðə   ] "breathing" [bri:zɪŋ] "with" [wɪz   ]
(There were insufficient examples of final / ð   / to be at all
sure about whether /z/ or /ḍ / is the regular form in CBE.)
/s/ and /z/ have standard distribution, except that
intervocalically standard English /s/ is often CBE /z/ -
e.g.
"outside" [æːzɔⁱd   ]   "glasses" [glɑːzəz   ]
/ ʃ / and /ʒ / present a complicated problem, since it seems
that most of the palatal fricatives, affricates and the semivowel
/y/ are in free variation with each other to varying extents.
/ʃ / occurs in the standard way as in /ʃɒp / "shop", / ʃɛd/
"shed" but we also find
"shins" [čɪnz]   "sheds" [čɛdz]
and conversely,.
"chest" [ʃɛst]   . "chooks" [ʃuːks].   "chop" [ʃɒp]
"stretching"   [strɛʃon   ] .
Although there was one occurrence of / ʒ / for / ʃ /in "shop"
most occurences of /ʒ / are where standard English has /. j. /:
"generally" [ʒɛnli]   "job" [ʒɒb]   "just" [ʒɛs]
"bargeboard" [bɑːʒbɔːd]

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/č/ and /ǰ/ occur in standard English, but with the kind of variation mentioned above. Additionally, /ǰ/ is sometimes /y/ as in

"Jeanette" [yenɛt] "engine" [henyən] "dock-engine" [dɒkɪnyən]

This is possibly a "soft" version of / ʒ /. There are also one or two examples of lenis /ǰ/ for standard /č/-

"Chappell"   ǰæbl   :

This effect is more likely to occur when the speaker is running out of breath and dropping his intonation levels to end a "paragraph" of conversation.

(c) _Nasals_

After / ŋ /, /g/ tends to disappear - e.g.

       "fingernails"   fɪŋənailz

       "uncle"   Aŋl

but there are also

       "bungalow"   bAŋgəlʌü

       "blinking"   blɛŋgən

and even

       "strong enough"   strɒŋgənʌɾ

(d) _Glides and Liquids_

/w/ - There is a tendency for /w/ to become fricativized in running speech: e.g.

       "water"   βɔ:də

Otherwise standard.

/l/ - This is standard, but sometimes sounds slightly retroflexed after an initial stop (as does /r/ also -

e.g. "bricks" brɪks (?) (P. Thomas)

Spectrographic evidence is unsure here, but a spike of noise which could be a retroflex tap is visible on the spectrogram, and the formant pattern is that typical of /l/ rather than /r/ (See Spectrograms: - No/s 1 and 2 are from my own speech, and No/s 3 and 4

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are from the speech of Phillip Thomas).

/ kɔdriβerɔ:ᵏ| / for "cod-liver oil" may represent some
original weakness of the /l/ - /r/ distinction.

(e) /h/

This sound does not appear to have phonemic status in
CBE, and tends to occur randomly before initial vowels. I
have attempted to find whether it mainly precedes stressed
syllables or not, but if this is the rule it is one with
many exceptions.

Thus we get:

"hills"	ɪl z
"half past"	ɑːpɑːs
"end"	hɛnd
"Abert Everett"	hælbət hɛvrət
"owners"	hʌünəz

Phonotectics

Substitution of /s/ for / θ / produces /sr/ in a number of
syllable onsets, and this is a non-permissable sequence in
standard English.

Standard English "cask" is regularly CBE /kɑːst /, but
this may not represent a prohibition of the velar stop after
the alveolar fricative since "risk" /rask/   also occurs.
The occurrence of / ɑːkst/ for "ask" and /stræps/ for
"scraps" may however indicate that /sk/ was originally a
prohibited sequence. It should be noted that /æks/for
"ask" is quite regular in S-W counties of England, and that
/ast/ also occurs in Devon and Hampshire.

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Miscellaneous Phonological Points

1. CBE regularly has /klɛkt/ for "collect" and the word is in much more frequent use than in, for example, Australian English, where "take", "get", "gather" etc. would receive more use. /kelɛkt/ / is common in SE counties but not in S-W, where the CBE form predominates. cf /rʊ kri/ "rookery", /hɛvrət / "Everett" etc.

2. CBE /ɪvri/ for "every" is particularly Devon and Somerset (but also to a lesser extent Surrey).

3. CBE /iː ðə / for "either" seems to be regular, and the alternative pronunciation not found.

4. Philip Thomas gave his name as [fᵊləp· ɛnri tʊməs] / - the elision of the (usually) stressed vowel in his name being a most unusual feature, though nothing further parallel to this was discovered.

5. It was noted earlier that CBE does not regularly have any centring off-glides. In the case of "there" it has / ḍɛ/ for "they're" it has / ḍei /, and for the word "square" there is a case of /skwaiyə /.

6. CBE has all conceivable "vulgarisms" which any schoolmaster might wish to despair over. Thus final - ing is regularly /ən /; "next" is /nɛ ks/, "something" is ʂʌmsɪŋk / and "everything" is / ɛvrɪsɪŋk /; "chimney" is /čɪmbli/ čɪməli ·and "film" is /fɪləm /. Some words may be pronounced in a way that is "mislearnt" rather than dialectal - e.g. "similar" - / sɪmyə ə /, "deteriorating" - /ditɛrivæitn /, "individual" - /ɪndɪvɪdvəl /. These items all came from a speaker whose nickname on the island is "Big Words."

7. CBE has / nüː / for "new" (common in S. counties of England).

8.   Stress and intonation: virtually no study of this has been made, but the following are some superficial observations. Stress: "industry" is / índʌstrí /   : (+ unreduced vowel in 2nd syllable).

Standard stressing on "Whitemark" (main town of Flinders Island) is Whítemàrk. Morrie Brown 3 times gave Whitemark –

[ɪts mð: laček wàidmá:krə] "It's more like W. here"
– /i:ž ɪn wàid má:k řə   / "He's in W. here".

Intonation: this seems to have distinct patterns not unlike some patterns of English speech. For some good examples of this the tape of Devony Brown is about the best.

9.   "What's another word of if ?"   ]
        "He didn't care much on it." (M.B.)] should be in Section
                                                 (b) below.

Phoneme Inventory: Consonants

p	t	k
b	d	g
f	s	ʃ č
v	z	3 ǰ
m	n	ŋ
w	l r y	

I have excluded /d/ because I am not sure as to its actual independence in original CBE – it may be an approximation of modern times to /ð / and it frequently is indistinguishable from /d/. I also doubt whether there was any / ʃ / –: /č/ distinction originally because of the over-crossing of their distributions in present-day CBE.

2. Syntax

1. General but irregular use of singular verb inflexions and forms for plural subjects: - e.g.

"The birds is whistling" (Fanny Smith)

"There are also Launceston people that goes away down Trefoil Island ..."

"Then, the owners of the sheds takes delivery of them from there and ships them away to markets as farther afield as New Zealand".

2. Use of "done", "come" where standard English has "did", "came".

	CBE	Standard English
Use of	"he don't"	"he doesn't"
	"we was"	"we were"
	"you was"	"you were"
	"the floods was on"	"were on"
	"they rose the rings up"	"raised the (price of the) rings up"
	"something might have went wrong"	"gone wrong"
	"we got"	"we have got"
	"it's all took down to the beach"	"taken down"
	"the gurry go to the bottom"	"goes"

3. Pronouns: regular use of "he", "him" for 3 pers. impersonal pronoun ("it" very rare) of Standard English in reference to "middle sized" objects - eg. animals, tools, etc. An activity, or some object like a land mass is usually "it" - e.g. " parts as got a bit of hard ground on it", "it pays well out of it". "them feathers", "them islands" is common.

4. Prepositions: People are usually "from off" an island or "off Flinders", "off Cape Barren" etc. e.g. "People off here works the sheds". When a bung has been driven into a cask of salted mutton birds it is said to be "up" or "up tight" - eg "With that bung up". Things done at night or during the day are done "of a night" or "of a day". One time given to me was "half past five o'night" - /aːpaː faivanait/. This "o'" may represent "at" also.) To be working all day is to be "going the day out". To extract a drum of oil from a season of mutton-birds is "to get one drum off them". The phrase "that there" is used, as in "that there round hole". "In the round" was (once) used in the sense of "in diameter". "Till" is frequent where standard English would have "to".

5. Miscellaneous: CBE "Happen my dog seen him" - seems to be British dialectal form, in the sense of "It happened that ..." CBE very frequently has forms like "two, three days" where standard English might usually have "two or three" etc. CBE "I haven't been gone (going?) for about 18 years" - here the word "gone" may have been a slip for "going". CBE "All depends on the crew what they get, see" - use of "what" here fits in with the general pattern of broad speech. "By ordinary tongue" - a phrase used by Ron Thomas - seems a little archaic or dialectal. "In the olden days" - not such a common phrase now in Australian English but used in CBE.

"It's only a harvest" - these exact words were used by two
separate Islanders on the same day in interviews. [It refers
to the mutton-birding industry - possibly it is an "old jungle
saying" of "_The Phantom_" comic variety.]

"Hello old man" - customary greeting among Cape Barreners.

"By Keast" - customary exclamation among Cape Barreners.
(gained indirectly, along with the above greeting, from several
independent sources on Flinders Island, complete with
imitations of CBE accent etc.).

"What are you doing of?" - this is my guess as to what was (is)·
said by Davony Brown's wife [(see page 2 of transcript)]; when
she comes out to find her husband talking to someone with a
tape recorder in the nearest paddock. The phrase "What's
that child _doing of_?" or something approximating it is found
scattered around the southern dialects of England. ·Orton has

Cor. 2	dʒ:ɪn	ɔ:
7	dʊ:ɛn	bv
Dev. 3	dʒ:ɪn	ʌv
Som.10	dʊ:ɛn	oɔ
Ken 2	dɔɪn	ɔv
Wil. 4	dʊ:ɪn	ɪn

Most of these are S-W and there is some possibility it was
the form used by Mrs Brown. Further testing required, here as ··
elsewhere.

6.   Note fish plurals: "salmon", "flounders", "mullets",
        "blue heads".

3. General vocabulary

band   "cuff" of e.g. shirt- probably contraction of
                "wrist-band".

barge-board   given for "part of top of roof where 2 sides meet "
                not the conventional meaning.

barring   "except".

best   given for "that slab of wood or stone across the bottom of the doorway" ie. threshold. "Bast" is a type of fibre matting, so the informant may have had "doormat" in mind.

bungalow   used for what Aust. Eng. would simply call "house".

chain   i.e. 66 feet. Used by D.B.: "About a chain off the beach" may be archaic now in standard English, possibly nautical, or sealing/whaling terminology.

club   used of any rough stick (sealing term?) - c.f. "wattle"(q.v.)

crowd   (abstract) term for a group of people, not necessarily numerous - as in "this crowd went down there" - the people involved may have gone individually. (Used in this sense in Australian English).

damnation   "Thats the whole [dɒnæiʃən] of "it" (R.T.) - i.e. that's the whole ruination of (the industry). Unusual use.

door stubs   i.e. the door jambs. Probably mistake for 'studs' which is standard also for "jambs".

duck feet   given for meaning of "pigeon-toed" - this may be a reversal by mistake, but Orton's Surrey No. 2 has also [dʌkfɔtid] for "pigeon toed". See "walk out"(q.v.)

duskified   when it is getting dark it is "getting duskified"

ear holes   meaning of "ears" - not just the holes.

evening-time   "That was in the /hiːvnəntaim/". (P.T.)

everywheres   c.f. "nowheres" (q.v.)

first-of-the-season

> seems to be used as a temporal adjective
> (see its occurrence twice near end of M.B.
> transcript) with meaning "early in the season",
> as opposed to "through the season".

flicking   general for "snapping" of the fingers.

flooring-boards   i.e. floor-boards - / flɔːnbɔːdz /(M.B.)

fowls   chooks, chickens - general also Flinders Is. and
apparently also Tasmania. Applications:
fowl yard, fowl pen, fowl roost (the latter
referring both to the shelter in which they
roost and the bars on which they roost).

iron   (n) given for"what would you use to heat water in,
on the stove?" Chmabers and Webster give
this for a utensil made of iron (e.g. an iron pot)

knee-knocker   someone who walks with knees together.

knock-leg   i.e. "knock-kneed" (possibly in error)

lob   (v) "When I lobbed over" (R.T.) i.e. when I
arrived here, or came over.

meals   M.B. gave the following as the meals of the day,
in this order:

1 morning supper (first meal)

2 dinner   (mid-day meal)

3 afternoon tea/afternoon supper (mid-afternoon)

4 tea (evening meal)

5 ten o'clock lunch (before retiring)

This is probably "lunch" in the dialectal sense
of "a snack" between main meals, used in all the
southern counties except Cornwall (Orton p.867)

morning wood   (also "morning sticks") light wood used to kindle
the fire (occurs in S-E in Orton, but probably also
Midl.). "brush sticks" also given for this.

neck   the caller of e shirt - "collar" not used.

necklace   [nɛgələs]   - see "peas"

nowheres   "nowhere".

peas   "string of peas" given by M.B. as similar
to "necklace" i.e. what a woman wears around her
neck. Ona dictionary gives "small pieces
of coral" as meaning for "peas", and this is
probably what M.B. was referring to. Not
standard English.

pendlets   [pɛnələts]   another word given under
the above heading, meaning probably "pendants"
and it may be a mistaken version of this word.

picks   small pecks on the hand inflicted by struggling
mutton-birds as they are taken out of the burrows.

pitch   (n) part at the top of a roof where the two
sides meet (M.B.) Webster gives this as obs.,
but Chambers gives "apex" as current meaning.

poke   (vb) "poke a match to it" ie put a match to it.
"poke your tongue out" (not "put" or "stick" etc.).

rang-tang   "on the rang-tang" i.e. drunk and on tha rampage.

setting room   i.e. "sitting room" (M.B.)

short-winded   i.e. short of breath

sidelocks   usually "Long sidelocks", i.e. sideboards or
sideburns. Not found in Orton's southern
dialects, once in N.

silvery   i.e. "avaricious" or "expensive" R.T. "That's
a bit silvery". (reminiscent of the traditional
Miller's thumb.)

skirting board	given for the apex of a roof.
splaw	to spread, said of a bird's wings, synonymous with "splay". According to Orton a Surrey and Sussex form in the S.
stirrer	trouble-maker - traditional slang on Flinders Is. known by M.B. (has had recent currency in mainland English, but evidence in Patsy A. Smith's <u>Moonbird People</u> suggests it is long-established as popular in Bass Strait. Often used jocularly.
stop	(vb) used in the sense of "to stay" - e.g. M.B. "The women stopped." i.e. stayed behind - found in many Brit. dialects.
sura	used in sense of "secure" - "he's made sure" (said by R.T. of barrel of birds).
throat	M.B. gave several words to describe this when I pointed to it:
	1 goitre (prob. a mistake)
	2 heeeled (?) [hæbeləd] (untraceable so far)
	3 windpipe [wɒinpʋip] (a S-E form in Orton) M.B. also gave "apples" as the word for the external appearance of the larynx (Adam's apple).
walk out	(vb) M.B. - to walk splay-footed (sounds as though it was made up on the spot).
wattle	R.T. describes the "spit" as "a wattle sort of a stick effair" - most likely "wattle" is here used in the S-E English dialectal sense (Sur. Ken., e. Sus.) as a general word like "stick" without reference to the type of tree it is taken from.

wind-bellows "M.B. gave /wɪnbɪləz / for "bellows" - the
form / bɪləz / can be traced to Southern
English dialects, but not in combination with
"wind".

4.   A note on Elision and Assimilation

CBE is characterized by often extreme degrees of elision, and
by extensive assimilation. Speech between Cape Berreners is
far less intelligible than speech to outsiders (less intelligible
that is, to the casual listener). Articles and particles etc.
are often lost altogether, or leave little behind when lost
partially.

e.g.   [ʃfæːnɪm̩]   "she found him"
          .[ðæɔːltʊk dæːn ə bič]   "they're all took down
                                        the beach"

          [naː ɔ·d pẽz ˜ d̪ə   "no, (it) all depends on
            krüwɒ d̪ə gɒt sɪ]   the crew what they get, see"

          [ʃest ə ki· d̪ʌs ɔ·l yɛː] "just a kid, that's all, yes"

          [nʌ wǯ·gɪ frəm næː]   "there's no work here
                                     for them now"

          [ḷ ɪ̃spɪ̃ɒ̃ð̃ɛː]   "(you) leave the spit on
                                      there"

Assimilation:

          [ðɪʃɪː n̩ |aː ʃɪ] .   "this year and last year"
          [ɪn nə ʃɛdz dæː nɛ]   "in the sheds down there"
          [tti:]   "the tea"
          [čʌð̃ə]   "the other"

On the latter two examples, Wright's English Dialect Grammar
(p.237) notes that in those dialects of England which have both
/t/ and / ð /, the former is used before consonants (t man etc.)
and the other before vowels (ð / æ pl/etc). However, before a

consonant CBE more often has / d̥ə / or /d̥i /, although / d̥ /
is regular before vowels. It also has /t/ - "the tea" [t‿ti].
CBE has in one case / kæːr əm tü və ʃɛd/ "carry them to your
shed", and here / kæːr / may simply be "carry" with elision,
but it is of interest that in the Devonshire dialect of the
Exmoor Scolding (op.cit) this is the regular form, which the
editor writes "phonetically" as "kaar" and says (p. 36) that
"the y is always dropped."

5.   A NOTE ON FLINDERS ISLAND SPEECH

Flinders Island has been settled since about 1830, and it is
possible that its relative isolation in the past may have led
to its remaining dialectally distinct in some ways from the
mainstream of Australian English. About two hours of tape
was made with a farmer who had been born on Flinders, and who
was able to answer a great many questions on the Orton and
Dieth questionnaire. His responses were more interesting lexically
than phonologically, but the speech of his nephew (Mr Leedham
Walker, Whitemark Garage) shows extreme degrees of assimilation
and elision on the par with much of that of CBE. The farmer
mentioned (Mr Geoff Walker) has had experience of sheep, cattle,
wheat, pigs, chooks, ducks, horses, wagons, drays etc. and
gave many responses which differed from what Orton and Dieth
list as the forms of standard English. He gave / ʃəiə   / for
the "share" of a mould-board plough, / ʃaːvz / for the
plural of shaft, / frʌilz   / for threshing-flails, /trpvz /
for the plural of trough, and / həikʌps / for hiccups. He
gave "winkers" for horse blinkers, and "crush" or "race" for
a fenced ramp for loading livestock onto trucks. He also noted
that that part of a cart which he called a "swingle tree" was
called a "whipple tree" in the wheat country of W.A. Many other
details of farming vocabulary were no doubt standard Australian
English, but the Australian standard is apparently different from

the British, and this could bear studying.

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