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Computerised Experimental Methods of Studying Australian Aboriginal English

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Abstract. This paper aims to describe certain phonetical, morphological and lexical features of Australian Aboriginal English that have been detected throughout the analysis of Australian Aboriginal English texts in LingvoDoc and Praat. The study outlines the methods, goals, and benefits of using the linguistic platform LingvoDoc to identify and systematize the grammatical and lexical features of Australian Aboriginal English. Numerous researchers note that Australian Aboriginal English is a distinct ethnolect, differing from the English spoken by Australians of British descent. By using LingvoDoc to create a collection of Australian Aboriginal English dictionaries that describe features specific to particular localities in Australia, it is likely we can draw conclusions about correlations between the lexical and grammatical features of this ethnolect and various extralinguistic factors. The texts under scrutiny include transcripts of interviews with Aboriginal Elders, musicians, teachers and artists, song lyrics, and personal stories. Informants originate in various places across Australia and belong to various age cohorts from adolescence to late adulthood. Texts were grouped based on informants' places of origin, and a separate dictionary for each of those places was created in Lingvodoc. Each dictionary was attached to a human settlement on the world map, which helped us track the correlation between the speakers' origin and the grammatical and lexical characteristics of their speech. This method reveals which linguistic patterns may be characteristic of speakers from certain geographical areas, thus unveiling potential correlations. The phonetical part of our study aims to discover differences between vowel formants in Standard Australian and Australian Aboriginal English.

Keywords: Lingvodoc; Praat; vowel formants; ethnolect; English; Australian Aboriginal English.

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Компьютерные экспериментальные методы изучения английского языка австралийских аборигенов

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Аннотация. Целью данной работы является описание некоторых фонетических, морфологических и лексических особенностей английского языка аборигенов Австралии, обнаруженных в ходе анализа текстов на этом варианте английского языка с помощью платформы LingvoDoc и программы Praat. В исследовании изложены методы, цели и преимущества использования лингвистической платформы LingvoDoc для выявления и систематизации грамматических и лексических особенностей английского языка аборигенов Австралии. Многие исследователи отмечают, что английский язык австралийских аборигенов является отдельным этнолектом, отличающимся от английского, на котором говорят австралийцы британского происхождения. Используя LingvoDoc для создания ряда словарей, описывающих особенности, характерные для английского языка аборигенов в конкретных регионах Австралии, мы можем делать выводы о корреляциях между лексическими и грамматическими особенностями этого этнолекта и различными экстралингвистическими факторами. Исследуемые тексты включают записи интервью со старейшинами, музыкантами, учителями и художниками коренного австралийского происхождения, а также тексты песен и личные истории. Информанты происходят из разных мест по всей Австралии и принадлежат к различным возрастным группам от подросткового до пожилого возраста. Тексты были сгруппированы по местам происхождения информантов, и для каждого из этих мест был создан отдельный словарь в Lingvodoc. Каждый словарь был прикреплен к населенному пункту на карте мира, что помогло нам отследить корреляцию между происхождением информантов и грамматическими (лексическими) характеристиками их речи. Этот метод показывает, какие лингвистические паттерны могут быть характерны для говорящих из определенных географических областей, тем самым раскрывая возможные корреляции. Фонетическая часть нашего исследования направлена на выявление различий между формантами гласных в стандартном австралийском английском и в английском языке аборигенов Австралии.

Ключевые слова: платформа Lingvodoc; программа Praat; форманты гласных; этнолект; английский язык; английский язык австралийских аборигенов.

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1. Introduction

At the time of British settlement (1788), Aboriginal Australians spoke at least 200 languages. However, more than half of those languages are now considered extinct. Only 12% of Aboriginal Australians speak an Australian language. For the majority of Aboriginal people in Australia, English is their L1 [1]. However, numerous researchers [1-7] believe that Australian Aboriginal English is different from other varieties of English, including Standard Australian. Moreover, Australian Aboriginal English is not a monolithic ethnolect but a continuum of local dialects that vary from region to region, differing to a greater or lesser extent from the standard. Basilectal forms of Australian Aboriginal English have not been recognised as independent language variants that can be efficient forms of communication in many contexts until the 1960s [1]. The study of Australian Aboriginal English could justify the notion that it is a valid and effective language variant, while

212

paying attention to its local varieties could provide insight into the impact of extralinguistic factors (such as literacy levels and dominant cultures) and local Indigenous languages on the particular kinds of English that are spoken in certain regions of Australia. Besides, awareness of the phenomena that distinguish Australian Aboriginal English from other variants could help to avoid misunderstanding and misinterpretation in contexts where Aboriginal Australians interact with non-Aboriginal English speakers [4].

2. Literature review

It is worth noting that the term “Australian Aboriginal English” is interpreted diversely by different researchers. A detailed commentary on this is given in [5]. According to this paper, some linguists have used the term to exclusively describe varieties of English that are spoken by Aboriginal people as a second language (that is, acquired after the native language) and deviate from the norms of Standard Australian English under the influence of the speakers' native language. Other scholars have described Aboriginal English as a variant that differs little from standard English in formal structure but is used in a distinctive way that reflects Aboriginal ways of interacting (that is, the differences are primarily pragmatic). In some studies, Aboriginal English has been understood as a set of features of spoken Australian English that are characteristic of Aboriginal Australian speech.

Many studies have examined the phonetics, grammar, semantics, and pragmatics of Australian Aboriginal English, usually drawing on short everyday dialogues. Recently, attention has often been paid to sociolinguistic aspects [4].

Most studies focus on analysing recorded dialogues. For example, [5] uses audio recordings where Aboriginal informants discuss the features of their native language Kaytetye and recount legends in English.

An interesting method is described in [6]. Instead of extracting information by conducting a typical sociolinguistic interview, the authors collected data through a special way of storytelling, which in Australian Aboriginal English is called yarning. Yarning is a conversation that involves sharing stories and personal experiences. This method of communication is considered the most culturally acceptable one among Aboriginal people. According to [6], direct questions are viewed as disrespectful in most Australian Aboriginal cultures, which is why yarning (long informal conversations about life experiences) turned out to be a more natural way for Nyungar people to interact with linguists.

However, hardly any studies focus on written texts in English produced by Aboriginal Australians (such as song lyrics). Therefore, the similarities and differences between spoken and written forms of Australian Aboriginal English virtually remain out of the spotlight.

Not only does our study trace patterns of similarity between written and spoken texts, but it also includes a broad range of genres and focuses on territorial variation. This kind of diversity may make it possible to identify correlations between linguistic phenomena and the extralinguistic context in which these texts were created, and to track the distribution areas of certain lexical and grammatical features.

3. Data and methodology

This study can be split into two parts that have different aims and draw on different data. However, if we combine those aims, the key goal is to pinpoint some phonetical, morphological and lexical features of Australian Aboriginal English while tracing general patterns.

The first section focuses on morphology and lexicology. The data includes transcripts of interviews with Aboriginal Elders, artists, teachers, and musicians, personal stories, and song lyrics. While most of the songs have been written by young people (adolescents and young adults), the interviewees are mostly older adults (over 50 years old). The geographical scope is also fairly diverse, covering central, northern, and southern New South Wales, southern and northern regions across the Queensland coast, as well as central and northern areas of North Territory. This kind of diversity could provide us with

information on features that can be found in Australian Aboriginal English in various contexts. The following steps were undertaken once the data had been gathered:

- The data were grouped based on the localities which the informants originate from;
- Tables listing and describing the features of Australian Aboriginal English that were found in the data and were not characteristic of other English varieties were created;
- The tables were uploaded to LingvoDoc, a platform for compiling, analysing and storing dictionaries, corpora and concordances of various languages and dialects.
- The tables were utilised to create dictionaries, with each dictionary being assigned a specific human settlement on the world map in the Properties section. In the dictionaries, each entry described a single occurrence of a phenomenon that is not typical for Standard Australian English. The descriptions included the phenomenon itself (e.g. *songline*, a word that is not found in other variants of English), the sentence where it occurred, and the type the phenomenon belonged to (e.g. all words that were unique to Australian Aboriginal English were marked as “special lexemes”, which made it possible to search for groups of similar phenomena by typing the name of their type in the search bar). Some entries were accompanied by definitions of lexemes that are not typical for English and Standard Australian English equivalents of the sentences where the phenomena could be found;
- Using the Search and Mapping tool, specific features of Australian Aboriginal English could be searched for, and places where they could be found were displayed on the map. Distribution areas could be easily outlined.

The second part of our study is only a pilot project, since it is based on a small selection of data, and it is hardly possible for us to obtain more data at the moment. However, it has proven to be successful, since the results seem to demonstrate a deviation from the Standard Australian English norm that is quite similar to the one described in more large-scale works on the topic [2]. This part of our study focuses on phonetics of Australian Aboriginal English, namely, on vowel formants in the speech of an Aboriginal English native speaker.

The data is derived from a 40-minute recording of the speech of a 50-year-old Ayapathu man from Coen. Although English is his first language, he can speak Ayapathu at a basic level and calls it “my language”. Numerous Cape York Peninsula languages are spoken in his family (Ayapathu, Thaayore, Wik, Kaantju, etc.). Besides, the informant helps organize linguistic fieldwork with native speakers of Australian languages. All these factors allow us to assume he often hears those languages spoken and has probably been hearing them since childhood. This might indicate a possibility of interference in his speech.

Throughout the course of this part of our study, we aimed to:

- Segment the recorded speech of an Australian Aboriginal English speaker into vowels and analyse their formants using Praat;
- Compare vowel formants in the recording to mean vowel formant values in Standard Australian English (standard values taken from [3]);
- Identify recurring deviations from the norm and trace patterns.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Morphology

Most of the morphological features were associated with verb morphology. The map below illustrates the distribution of all discovered phenomena that are related to verb morphology.

Fig.1 indicates that the greatest number of verb morphology anomalies could be found on Groote Eylandt, which sets it apart from other regions, even ones where Australian languages are also actively spoken and interference is thus also expected to occur. One of the reasons behind this situation on Groote Eylandt could be the fact that it is predominantly populated by Warnindilyakwa

people of whom the vast majority speak the Anindilyakwa language. English is not the native language of most Groote Eylandt inhabitants, and only 3.7% of the local population exclusively uses English at home [8]. This possibly explains why Australian Aboriginal English speakers in this area struggle with English verb morphology.

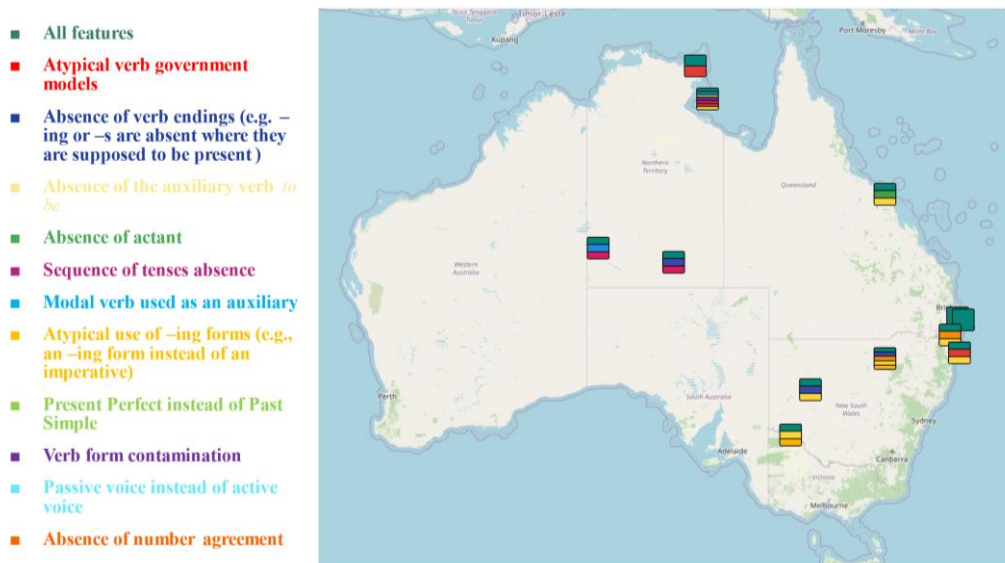


Fig. 1. Map of Verb Morphology Anomalies.

However, the sociolinguistic situation on Elcho Island is similar to that on Groote Eylandt, yet hardly any verb morphology anomalies were found there. It is challenging to find a definitive explanation for this. The discrepancy might be explained by the fact that Anindilyakwa, the substrate Aboriginal language on Groote Eylandt, belongs to the non-Pama-Nyungan Gunwinyguan family [9], while Yolŋu, the language of Elcho Island, along with Aboriginal languages in other localities that were taken into account in this study, are Pama-Nyungan [10]. It is notable that, apart from Groote Eylandt and Elcho Island, no other two geographically close points on our map show such a striking contrast in the number of registered English verb morphology anomalies, which may argue in favour of the hypothesis that suggests the family to which the substrate language belongs may play a certain role here.

Below examples of phenomena that are featured on the map are provided:

Atypical verb government models (e.g. verbs form infrequent collocations with prepositions)

Elcho Island:

- (1) *Maybe there is not enough teaching happening about land.*
- (2) *My body is owned by this land.*

Maclean:

- (3) *Sit around by the campfire.*

Groote Eylandt:

- (4) *Our language was maintained, when we were sort of hung around amongst one another.*

Absence of verb endings (e.g. -ing or -s are absent in wordforms where they are required to be present by the grammatical norm)

Walgett:

(5) *My songline criss-cross from coast to coast.*

Wilcannia:

(6) *We belong where the Baaka flow even when the Baaka low*

(7) *Welcome to Wilcannia where the Darling flow*

Santa-Teresa:

(8) *We've played small festivals and bush bashes here with Indigenous bands from all over come and play*

Absence of the auxiliary verb 'to be'

Wilcannia (note that all examples from Wilcannia and Walgett occurred in written texts):

(9) *This my mob*

(10) *This my future*

(11) *My people sick*

(12) *My heartbeat never far from home*

Walgett:

(13) *This the black soil plains where the songline start*

(14) *This a song for my people*

(15) *This a message and it's special*

(16) *This how we do it*

(17) *This a call out from the north to west*

(18) *Ya bored*

Bowen:

(19) *We dancing on the beaches through the changing of the seasons*

Groote Eylandt:

(20) *That's where the church, we're gonna build church.*

Muli Muli:

(21) *Welcome to the place where the bellbird song means the sun settin' over*

(22) *We gonna sort it, bin it*

Coomealla:

(23) *This my land*

(24) *We still true*

(25) *We black, strong and proud*

Maclean:

(26) *We singin' the same tune*

Absence of actant (i.e. a transitive verb lacks an object)

Bowen:

(27) *We gonna set and deploy play with the system like toys*

Sequence of tenses absence (the forms of subordinate verbs do not depend on those of verbs in the main clause)

Santa-Teresa:

(28) *We set up an old lounge, had a bonfire, and were under the stars. Even the cops come out and sit down and have a listen.*

Groote Eylandt:

(29) *I expect your people to try and understand our language and try and speak it too so you can understand it ... Because early settlers **come** to our country, our land and they expected us to learn theirs and speak theirs.*

Kintore:

(30) *I had to think my dialysis before I think other things*

Modal verb used as an auxiliary

(31) *That's what the nurses told me... 'If you miss the dialysis you **gotta** be sick.'*

Atypical use of -ing forms

Walgett:

(32) *Stories of my culture that we holding close (-ing form used instead of Present Simple)*

Coomealla:

(33) *Get it into your head and stopping hating (-ing form used instead of an imperative)*

Present Perfect used instead of Past Simple

Groote Eylandt:

(34) *And that stone, it's landed there.*

Verb form contaminaton

Groote Eylandt:

(35) *And the old fella, he said, 'well I've got a stone here. If I throw that stone, if we see that stone where it's **gonna landed**, that's where the church, we're gonna build church.' (contamination of "has landed" and "gonna land")*

Passive voice used instead of active voice

Groote Eylandt:

(36) *Our language was maintained, when we **were** sort of hung around amongst one another.*

Absence of number agreement

Walgett:

(37) *This the black soil plains where the songline **start** ('start' used instead of 'starts')*

(38) *Copy what ya mum and dad does*

Muli Muli:

(39) *The system don't work*

A notable distribution-related tendency is associated with the absence of the verb *to be*. As Fig. 2 indicates, this phenomenon is virtually ubiquitous. Almost every dictionary contains more than one sentence which lacks the verb *to be* where it is required to be used by English grammar norms. A clearly visible exception, however, is the central region, where the absence of *to be* has not been registered. This tendency is yet to be confirmed and potentially explained, for our corpus of data is too small for any conclusions to be drawn yet, however, the contrast between the central region and all the others seems to be quite visibly defined at this stage.

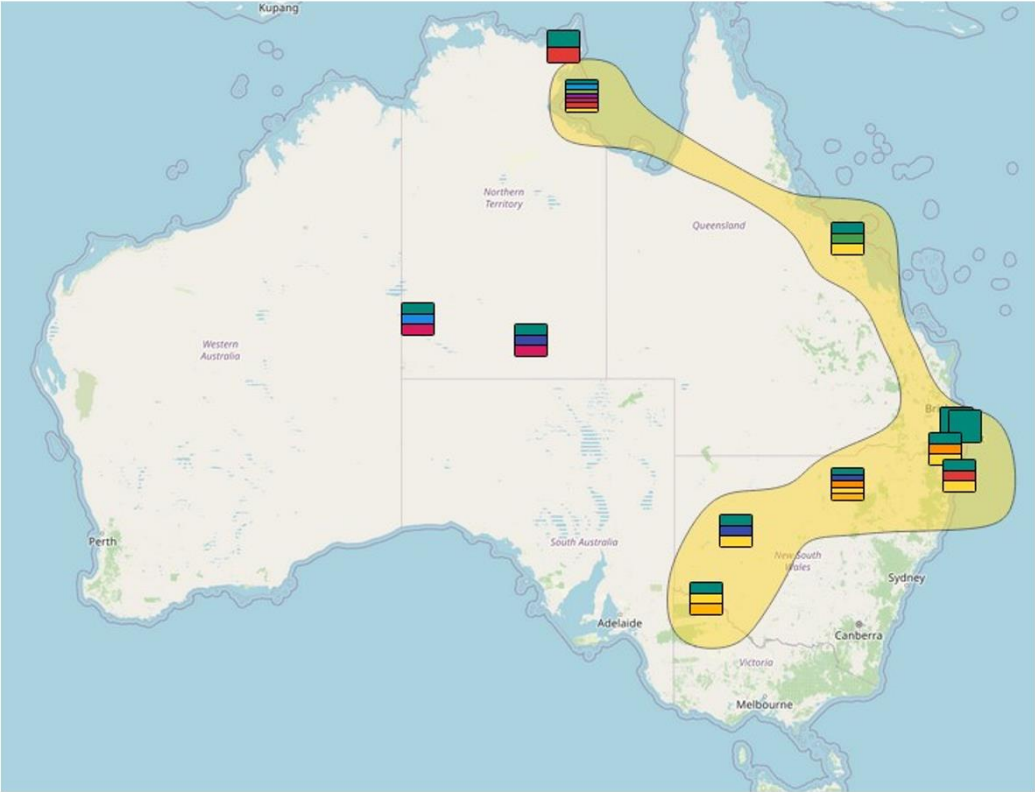


Fig. 2. Absence of the verb *to be*: areal distribution.

Yet another feature that appears to demonstrate areal distribution is the absence of verb endings (see Fig. 3). It is noteworthy that this phenomenon occurred in written texts (e.g. this line from song lyrics that have been published in a book: *We belong where the Baaka flow even when the Baaka low*), which means it cannot be simply written off as a consequence of reduced articulation at the end of a word. Verb endings are absent in texts from small, predominantly Aboriginal settlements in the southeastern part of central Australia. Some possible explanations include the fact that most of the texts that come from these localities have been written by school students who might not have gotten accustomed enough to English verb conjugation norms yet as well as the fact that speakers of Standard Australian English are a minority in these regions, which means that Australian Aboriginal English speakers are less likely to reproduce standard patterns when speaking English.

There were no anomalies found near large cities on the east coast (i.e. in Brisbane and on North Stradbroke Island). Possible reasons include the predominance of Standard Australian English speakers, the accessibility of high-quality education, and the fact that most Aboriginal languages (which could have otherwise caused interference) are extinct in this region.

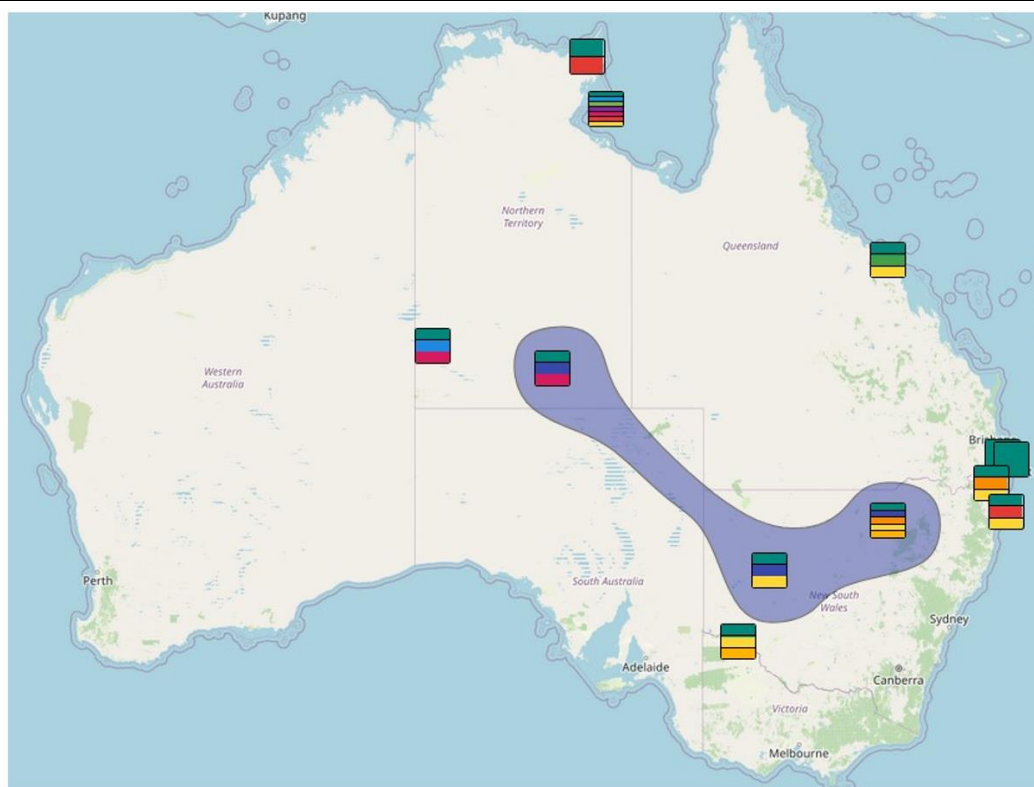


Fig. 3. Absence of verb endings: areal distribution.

4.2 Lexicology

Some lexicological processes that have been identified in the texts under scrutiny include personification that manifests in formally diverse ways (examples are provided below).

Wilcannia:

(40) *The cotton farmers keep the Paaka [river] low <...> **River got sick** it's like it affected my mob it's like my people ditched fishing for smoking and sipping grog*

Elcho Island:

(41) *My body is owned by this land*

Maclean:

(42) *If I'm looking after my country then **she**'s looking after me*

Another widespread phenomenon is semantic shift. For instance, *pass down* means *move past something* rather than *give something to someone who is younger or has a lower status than the giver* (which is the standard definition provided in the Cambridge Dictionary):

Groote Eylandt:

(43) *Run run down the way that we go,
Pulling up, picking up the sand in our toes,
Pass down the whistling trees,
Lady blue, she is calling me*

The following sentence is another example of semantic shift.

Muli Muli:

(44) *Recycling's a mad trick, re-use some plastic*

Here *mad* means 'excellent, wonderful, amazing', although this meaning does not appear in Cambridge Dictionary, Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, or Macquarie Dictionary. All these dictionaries distinguish only three meanings of the word: 'insane', 'outraged', and 'excited'. None of these dictionaries note that the word can be used to convey a positive connotation. Even Macquarie Dictionary, which often comments on the differences between Australian Aboriginal English and Standard Australian English, does not mention this feature.

Yet another example of semantic shift is present in this sentence from a text created by an Indigenous resident of Wilcannia:

(45) *My people sick, so clean this tip check out and cash collect*

Based on the context, it can be assumed that *cash collect* here means 'to collect money (to put the land in order)'. However, this meaning of this phrase is not recorded in dictionaries (Cambridge, Longman, and Macquarie), which suggest this collocation describes a method of counting the money a company has received during a month.

Examples of such shifts in meaning are ubiquitous, occurring in 10 of the 12 dictionaries (excluding Brisbane and North Stradbroke Island, where no anomalies were found at all). When it comes to lexicology, no clear areal tendencies have been discovered, as most features were either unique to a particular text (such as new word meanings unrecorded in dictionaries) or occurred in regions that are far apart from each other. Lexemes that are unique to Australian Aboriginal English (e.g. *songline*, *dreaming*, or *bred* 'brother') have been found in localities that are far away from each other. For instance, the word *dreaming* (a mythological spirit realm or a time period when spirits created the world) is found in texts from Bowen (northern Queensland) and Walgett (north-central New South Wales).

Bowen:

(46) *We dancing on the beaches through the changing of the seasons got the sky sand and the Deep Sea Dreaming*

Walgett

(47) *If you know the emu dreaming yarn, y'all connected to the black dirt that's beneath ya feet*

The same applies to the word *songline* (a path across the land that is said to trace the routes of "creator-beings"), which has been found in texts from Walgett and Elcho Island (off the northern coast of North Territory).

Walgett:

(48) *My songline criss-cross from coast to coast*

(49) *This the black soil plains where the songline start*

(50) *My country where the songlines are*

Elcho Island:

(51) *He knows the history and all the story about that land from the songlines*

The word *bred* (which means 'brother') has been found in entries from Walgett and Coomealla.

Walgett:

(52) *Got young fellas lookin' up to you, bred*

(53) *No matter which opportunities, I'm takin', bred, where my relations from the start of creation come together ... we one nation ... yet?*

This tendency for lexemes that can only be found in Aboriginal English to occur in distant regions may be explained by certain cultural concepts (such as *songline* and *dreaming*) being near-universal or universal in Australian Aboriginal cultures, yet not present in other cultures.

4.3 Phonetics

The results are provided in the tables below. The first column lists word tokens in which the sounds occurred, the next two contain the formant values of vowels in these words, the fourth column includes the symbols for Standard Australian English sounds that are most similar to the ones that were found in the recording (obtained from [3]), while the fifth and sixth columns specify the mean formant values of these Standard Australian Aboriginal vowels (also acquired from [3]). Formant values in the recording were subtracted from standard formant values, and the differences were placed in the seventh and eighth columns (if the Australian Aboriginal English formant was greater than the standard one, the emerging difference was negative). Values that exceeded or fell short of the standard values by 200 Hz or more were considered abnormal, and those differences were marked as bold in the tables. Values that exceeded or fell short of the standard values by almost 200 Hz were considered near-abnormal, and those differences were marked as cursive in the tables.

As can be observed in Table 1, the second formant exceeds the standard value for back rounded vowels in most examples, which may indicate that these vowels are fronted. A similar pattern is described in [2]: “...of the second formant values, only those of the high front and central vowels (/i:, ɪ, e, ʌ, ε:/) **are lower; all others are somewhat higher**. This suggests that the AAE speakers are using a somewhat smaller overall vowel space than the SA group” (emphasis in bold added by us, AAE stands for “Australian Aboriginal English” and SA means “Standard Australian”).

As Table 2 indicates, the second formant has a considerably lesser value than the standard for the front vowels [e] and [ɪ] in all examples, which may suggest their backing and again seems to follow the tendency mentioned in [2] (see quote above).

Table 1. Formant values for ‘o’ and ‘u’ sound types.

Word	F1	F2	SAA Sound	F1	F2	F1 Difference	F2 Difference
<i>so</i>	650	1197,72	o:	480	920	-170	-277,72
<i>old</i>	697	940,57		480	920	-217	-20,57
<i>record</i>	576,9	914,06	ɔ	750	1185	<i>173,1</i>	270,94
<i>recording</i>	672,7	1959,34		750	1185	<i>77,3</i>	-774,34
<i>on</i>	563,1	1712,69		750	1185	<i>186,9</i>	-527,69
<i>youse</i>	393,4	1907,25	u	450	1125	56,64	-782,25
<i>you</i>	383,3	1936,09		450	1125	66,73	-811,09

Table 2. Formant values for ‘e’ and ‘i’ sound types.

Word	F1	F2	SAA Sound	F1	F2	F1 Difference	F2 Difference
<i>they</i>	482,8	1484,8	e	685	2330	202,2	845,2
<i>there</i>	458,7	1707,12		685	2330	226,4	622,88
<i>there</i>	425,6	1709,99		685	2330	259,5	620,01
<i>skin</i>	429,8	1914,61	ɪ	430	2625	0,2	710,39
<i>skin</i>	459,1	1857,51		430	2625	-29,11	767,49
<i>skin</i>	447,2	1889,5		430	2625	-17,19	735,5
<i>be</i>	432	1783,38		430	2625	-1,96	841,62

It is also worth noting that the places where the informants come from in [2] and in our study are quite far apart. According to [2], their informants “live (most of the time) in Alice Springs”. Our informant, however, comes from Coen. Nevertheless, “it can be seen that the vowel space of a typical Australian language is quite small” [2]. This is true of both Ayapathu and the native languages of the informants in [2] (Eastern Arrernte, Warlpiri, and Western Desert language). The number of vowels in all these languages does not exceed 5. According to [2], the vowel spaces of Indigenous Australian languages are likely to influence those of Australian Aboriginal English, which might be the pattern observed in our case as well.

As to the a-like vowels, their second formants exceed the standard values in some cases, but this happens irregularly, which may suggest that the pronunciation of these vowels is closer to the Standard Australian English norm (see Table 3).

Table 3. Formant values for the ‘a’ sound type.

Word	F1	F2	SA Sound	F1	F2	F1 Difference	F2 Difference
<i>lump</i>	729,3	1385,69	ɐ	955	1550	225,7	164,31
<i>but</i>	610	1205,55		955	1550	345	344,45
<i>couple</i>	663,7	1656,31		955	1550	291,3	-106,31
<i>come</i>	825,9	1377,24		955	1550	129,2	172,76
<i>government</i> (1 st syllable)	531,2	1340,74		955	1550	423,8	209,26
<i>cut</i>	611,2	1399,29		955	1550	343,8	150,71
<i>language</i> (1 st syllable)	699	1514,67	æ	1020	1875	321	360,33
<i>land</i>	594,8	1911,87		1020	1875	425,2	-36,87
<i>land</i>	618,3	1786,45		1020	1875	401,7	88,55

5. Conclusion

Morphological, lexical, and phonetical features that distinguish Australian Aboriginal English from Standard Australian English are generally quite typical and are repeated across different, even distant regions.

The only locality that stands out significantly from the general background is Groote Eylandt, since the number of anomalies found there is greater than in the other localities, and many of those anomalies have not been found elsewhere. This is also the only region in our selection where the substrate language is non-Pama-Nyungan. Therefore, it may be worth looking into the features of Australian Aboriginal English in other regions where the substrate language does not belong to the Pama-Nyungan family.

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