

Voices of the Currency Generation: Reconstructing the Emergence and Spread of the Australian Accent

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Abstract

The emergence and uniformity of the Australian accent have long been a subject of inquiry, with existing theories typically emphasising adult-initiated dialect mixing followed by child-driven stabilisation. This study refines that framework by demonstrating that, in early colonial Australia, children were not merely stabilisers but the primary agents of system formation itself. This study builds upon Trudgill’s model of new-dialect formation, which identifies children as the primary agents of linguistic change, and refines it through an interdisciplinary analysis of demographic, social, and historical conditions in early colonial Australia. Using demographic reconstruction, systems analysis, and sociolinguistic theory, the research identifies the Hawkesbury River region north-west of Sydney as the locus of accent stabilisation before 1810. The study highlights the foundational role of the first generation of native-born children of European descent—Currency Generation Children (CGC)—in shaping Australia’s earliest linguistic identity.

The research introduces the *Hawkesbury Child-Driven Convergence Model* (HCDCM), a new framework explaining how dense child peer networks, caregiving structures, and frontier social dynamics enabled the rapid emergence of a stable *pediogenic* variety within a single generation. In doing so, the study shows that early Australian English is best understood as a child-constructed colonial variety, formed through peer-driven system building rather than the adult-driven koinéisation processes that shaped other colonial Englishes such as New Zealand or South African English. Migration data and genealogical evidence reveal the structured pathways—termed the Accent Corridor—through which the Hawkesbury accent spread into regional New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, becoming the dominant linguistic variety across the continent by the mid-nineteenth century.

This study demonstrates how demographic structure, child socialisation patterns, and frontier mobility were central to the rapid formation and diffusion of the Australian accent. By situating accent formation within the broader processes of colonial expansion, economic transformation, and environmental constraint, this research offers a refined explanatory model for the origins of Australian English and its role in the development of a distinct national identity.

Introduction

During the early decades of Australian settlement, newcomers from Britain and Ireland brought with them a wide array of regional dialects that would not ordinarily have co-existed in their places of origin. This unusual concentration of dialect diversity in Sydney has traditionally been interpreted through the lens of speech levelling, the process by which variant forms are reduced as speakers accommodate to one another. Under this prevailing view, the interaction of these dialects is thought to have produced the relatively uniform Australian accent that later became characteristic across the continent.

A leading articulation of this levelling-based explanation comes from British linguist Peter Trudgill, whose model of new-dialect formation—developed from empirical work in New Zealand—has frequently been invoked to account for the emergence of Australian English. However, despite its influence, this framework has not been empirically tested against the demographic, social, and historical conditions specific to early New South Wales. The current study re-examines the Australian case directly, using new demographic reconstruction and systems analysis to evaluate whether the assumptions of adult-driven levelling are compatible with the evidence.

This study was therefore undertaken to determine the extent to which conditions present during the early Australian settlement conformed to the theoretical criteria posited by Trudgill. To this end, a comprehensive analysis of archival datasets was conducted employing an epidemiological framework, with a focus on identifying the geographic and demographic origins of the distinctive Australian accent along with its host population and elucidating the sequence and mechanisms by which it disseminated the accent across the Australian continent.

Trudgill (2004) argues that the development of New Zealand English—and the formation of isolated new dialects more broadly—follows a deterministic trajectory driven by linguistic probability rather than social factors. He contends that variables such as social status or background exert minimal influence; instead, over time, probabilistic mechanisms ensure that the most frequently used speech variant becomes dominant across the community. Trudgill outlines this process as unfolding in three distinct stages, and based on the NZE study typically over ~50 years, and two successive generations of native-born children within a stable population. Central to this theory is the pivotal role of first-generation children in shaping accent emergence, with community socialisation and educational institutions serving as key environments for the consolidation and transmission of linguistic norms.

Table 1.1. Trudgill's process of accent emergence; (Baxter, Blythe, Croft, McKane, 2009, p. 265)

Stage	Generation	Variety	Process
I	Immigrants	Essentially same as in region of origin	Elimination of very low frequency and geographically restricted variants
II	First native-born generation	Highly variable mixture of variants from different regions of origin; much intra-, interindividual variation	Elimination of low frequency variants (less than approximately 10% frequency)
III	Second native-born generation	Focusing, leading to choice of usually one variant	Propagation of majority variant

1.1 Cumberland Plain study

The initial phase of European colonisation in Australia commenced in 1788 and was concentrated within the Cumberland Plain, corresponding to the area now known as Greater Sydney. Owing to its demographic weight during the formative decades of settlement, this region almost certainly served as the primary locus for the emergence of what would become the Australian accent. To investigate this early period, the current study undertakes a longitudinal reconstruction of the demographic systems operating at the time, drawing on archival datasets to model population structure, movement, and social organisation.

Because this is a study concerned with the formation of an emerging accent, the analysis engages with the theoretical frameworks of leading scholars of new-dialect formation—most notably Peter Trudgill, Paul Kerswill, Ann Williams, and William Labov—while also incorporating insights from Bruce Moore’s work on Australian English. These frameworks provide the comparative and conceptual grounding against which the Australian case is re-examined.

In line with Trudgill’s observation that the children of ‘colonial founding populations’ play a central role in shaping the speech of new communities (2004, p. 246), this study focuses on first-generation, native-born children of European descent as the cohort most likely to have driven the formation of the earliest Australian accent. Labov (2001, p. 447) notes that children begin to move beyond parental linguistic dominance around ages 4–5, shifting toward the peer-based norms of the wider community. His age-stratification analysis (2001, p. 455) identifies approximately age 17 as the upper boundary for active participation in linguistic change, with clear evidence of ongoing innovation among 13–16-year-olds. Trudgill (2004, p. 55) similarly observes that New Zealand children aged 5–15 were receiving elementary education during the formative period of dialect emergence, indicating that school-aged children formed the core of linguistic restructuring in that context.

Drawing on these insights, the current study employed purposive sampling to identify native-born children within this broad school-age range as the primary agents in the formation of the earliest Australian accent. Moore (2008) situates the emergence of the Australian accent within New South Wales, particularly the Greater Sydney region, providing the spatial frame for this analysis.

Participants were drawn from families whose eldest child was either born in, or arrived at a very young age to, Australia between the landing of the First Fleet in 1788 and the year 1813, marking the first 25 years of European settlement. A total of 792 families, comprising 4,339 first-generation children, met the criteria for inclusion in the study. These children were categorised based on several factors: the geographic location in which they resided during their school-aged years; their adult partnerships and the regional origins of their partners; and, where possible, their adult residential locations and the areas in which they raised their own children.

To assist in the ease of reading this paper, first-generation native-born children of European descent will be referred to as *Currency Generation Children*—abbreviated to *CGC*. The term Currency Generation Children was derived from the term ‘currency lads and lasses’ meaning first-generation children of Australian native-born individuals of European descent in the early 19th Century.

1.2 Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River Accent Corridor study

Moore (2008, p. 68), in *Speaking Our Language*, presents genealogical evidence indicating that James Kelly—born in 1859 and later residing in the Riverina, Strathbogie, and Upper Murray River districts of southern New South Wales and Victoria—spoke with a broad Australian accent. Kelly’s case is significant because it provides one of the earliest securely dated attestations of the accent outside the Cumberland Plain. This study therefore incorporates a detailed case analysis of Kelly’s childhood environments to assess whether his accent can be traced to population connections with communities in the Cumberland Plain during the critical period of accent formation.

To address this question, Kelly’s residential history was situated within a broader reconstruction of population movements linking the Cumberland Plain, and the inland districts in which he later lived. Temporal windows were established to identify whether migration pathways existed that could plausibly transmit a stabilised accent from the Cumberland Plain to the regions associated with Kelly’s upbringing. These windows were then integrated into a system-wide view of inter-regional movement, enabling the Kelly case to be evaluated not in isolation but as part of a wider demographic network.

The case study was supported by a substantial migration dataset comprising 142 families and 1,097 children, assembled from historical birth, death, and marriage records, genealogical archives, and TROVE resources. This dataset allowed for the reconstruction of family-level movement patterns, the identification of bridging families linking coastal and inland settlements, and the assessment of whether children with Cumberland Plain-origin speech could have been present in the districts where Kelly spent his formative years. Background information on Kelly, his extended family, and associated households is provided in Appendix 1.

1.3 Positioning the Study: Contribution and Significance

This study approaches the emergence of the Australian accent not from a traditional linguistic perspective but through a systems-analysis lens shaped by engineering, software, and organisational design. The project began as an attempt to understand the demographic, historical, and movement patterns of early New South Wales using the same principles applied to complex technical systems: identify the components, map the flows, define the constraints, and model the interactions. Within the study design the accent was deemed to behave like an agent moving through a host population, and the analysis incorporated an epidemiological framework to track transmission pathways, exposure windows, and threshold effects. What emerged from this combined systems and epidemiological approach is a new, data-driven account of how the first stable accent formed in the Hawkesbury River locality before 1810. Rather than assuming gradual linguistic blending, the study reconstructs the system conditions—population structure, age distributions, caregiving patterns, and settlement timelines—that made rapid convergence not only possible but inevitable. In doing so, it provides a fresh, empirically grounded explanation for the origins of Australian English that arises directly from the behaviour of the underlying demographic system.

A key contribution of this work is the identification of three functionally distinct child cohorts—*Child-Minders* (9–12), *Fixation-Engines* (6–10), and *Early Receivers* (0–5)—whose roles in the system differ in predictable ways. This distinction emerged not from linguistic theory but from analysing family age structures, household responsibilities, and peer-network density in the early colony. Wide-span families created natural information-flow hierarchies in which older children acted as intermediaries, filtering and regularising input before it reached younger siblings. The opening of a school in 1803 brought the Fixation-Engine Cohort into daily contact, and the system reached a convergence threshold, producing a stable local accent within a few years. This engineering-style decomposition of the problem—breaking the process into interacting subsystems—offered an effective way of understanding dialect formation that complements, but also sharpens, existing linguistic models. As part of this conceptual refinement, the study introduces the terms *pediogenisation* and *pediogenic variety* to describe a child-driven pathway of dialect formation that is not captured by existing models of koinéisation, as well as *Austrigenic*, which designates the Hawkesbury variety as a system whose structural coherence emerged in situ within the Australian colonial environment. These terms provide conceptual clarity for a mechanism that emerges uniquely under frontier demographic conditions, where adults were structurally absent as linguistic models and children became the primary agents of system formation.

The study also maps the inland dissemination of this early accent as a stepwise transmission system driven by family movement, birth sequences, and settlement timing. By treating each district as a node with defined receiver and transmitter windows, the research reconstructs an Accent Corridor running from the Hawkesbury through the Southern Highlands, Goulburn/Gunning, the Riverina, the Monaro, the Murray, and into Victoria and South Australia. This corridor is not inferred from linguistic features but derived from demographic flows, cumulative-count tipping points, and genealogically attested migration chains. The result is a systems-level explanation for why inland Australian English developed the coherence it did, and why certain regions share a common accent lineage. The study contributes a new methodological framework—rooted in systems thinking rather than traditional linguistics—that explains how a stable accent could arise rapidly in a small frontier population and propagate predictably across the inland districts.

1.4 Historical Context

Convict transportation to New South Wales commenced in 1788 with the arrival of the First Fleet, followed by the Second Fleet in 1790 and the Third Fleet in 1791. During the 1790s the colonial population in Sydney was comprised mainly of convicts, emancipated convicts, and a lesser number of non-convict free individuals including government employees and settlers.

Most of the early Sydney settlement was situated on what today is known as the *Cumberland Plain*. A name derived from Cumberland County conferred by Australia's first Governor Arthur Phillip in honour of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland.

Land grants were distributed to free individuals and emancipated convicts from 1792. Initially most of these grants were in the fertile areas of the Cumberland Plain such as the Hawkesbury River, the Parramatta River, Prospect Hill, along Toongabbie Creek, and at Seven Hills.

Tracks were constructed connecting Sydney Town to Parramatta—opened in 1791—and from Parramatta to the community along the Hawkesbury River—opened in 1794. Over the years these tracks were developed into roads that still appear on maps as 'Parramatta Road' and 'Old Windsor Road' covering a total length of 65 Km from Sydney Town to Windsor.

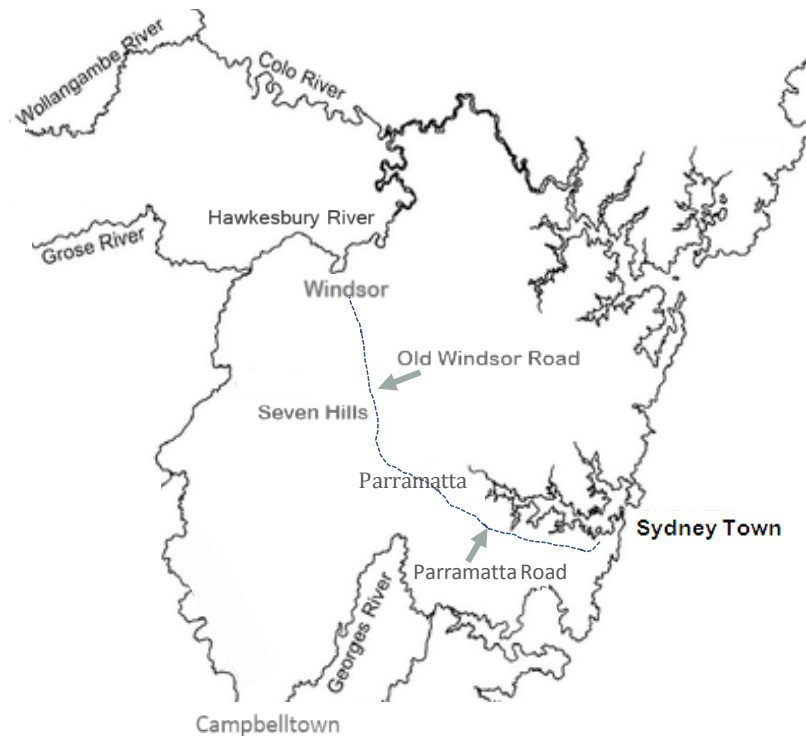


Figure 1.1 Map showing early roads/tracks connecting Sydney Town to Windsor on the Hawkesbury River.

Analysis of data collected in the current study, using historic parish maps, marriage records and Colonial Secretary's Papers (1788–1825) suggest the population of the early settlement formed a well-defined socio-economic class structure with Government/Military/Church at the apex, Free Settlers as a middle tier and, with Convicts and their families at the base. Sub-groups that spanned the above classes are evident in the data, often defined by social groups and marriage patterns including: Capitol/Entrepreneurs, Livestock farmers, Agriculture farmers, Trade, Skilled/Professional, and Unskilled.

Early government policy focused on settlement issues—namely, food production, infrastructure, and societal concerns—and favoured families, who were regarded as a stabilising influence on the predominantly convict population. Efforts were made to ensure that both male and female convicts were included in the early transportation program.

Many convicts wrote petitions to the governor. These appear as requests in the *Memorials To The Governor* (1810-1826) and from these submissions can be seen varying degrees of desperation depending on the writer. Those possessing few skills from which to make a living, particularly individuals residing in Sydney Town, often saw agriculture as a solution and sought a land grant. Many of the 792 families studied fell into this category.

It was on the small acreages in these fertile areas along reaches of the Hawkesbury River that most of the first-generation of native-born children of European descent (i.e. CGC) grew up; honing their farming skills digging in Australian soil. The years 1788–1825 was the era of the Convicts’ colony. Karskens (2021, p. 283, p. 300) describes how government policy during this period, particularly during the Macquarie years, promoted family enterprise, and the idea that the sons and daughters of convicts were destined to inherit this new land.

Convicts arriving at the docks in Sydney Town often found work, or were assigned to work, on farms run by CGC parents in order to boost the food production workforce. It was through the associations made on these farms that many CGC marriages/partnerships were formed. A large number of these convict assignments were in the Hawkesbury River region north-west of Sydney. In 1801 Governor Philip King wrote about the Hawkesbury saying ‘almost the whole of private industry has been centred there, which has produced a great dependence on that quarter for supplying grain to other parts of the colony.’

In 1805 the overall Population of Sydney Town was 3,163; Parramatta 1,629 and Hawkesbury 1,953. At that time fifty-three percent of Sydney Town’s Population and forty-four percent of Parramatta’s Population were on rations compared to only twenty-two percent of those living in the Hawkesbury (HRNSW Vol. 5).

From 1815 the entry of foreign-born—mainly convict—immigrants to Australia increased dramatically, representing a noticeable transition point in the graph shown in Figure 1.2 which presents the population of New South Wales in the first forty years of settlement.

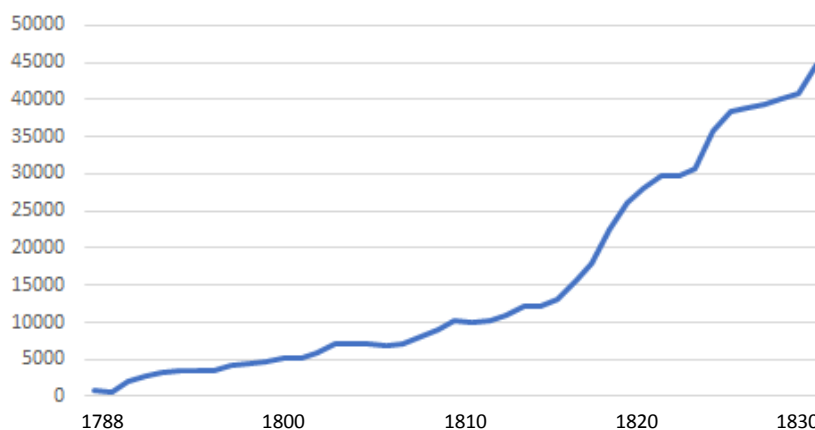


Figure 1.2 Line graph showing New South Wales population of European descent 1788–1830 (Australian Historical Population Statistics-Australian Bureau of Statistics)

Between 1822 and 1823 John Thomas Bigge released three reports on the state of the New South Wales colony resulting in government policy switching focus from settlement issues to economic expansion. Bigge also recommended harsher treatment of convicts and the Norfolk Island settlement which had been closed since 1814 was re-opened as a place of secondary punishment. The notion of a Convicts' colony fell by the wayside and the practice of posting newly arrived convicts to work on small farm holdings ceased; in favour of them being sent to work on larger farms. This was in part influenced by John Macarthur and George Best, two people Bigge respected and who advocated for large-scale livestock farming and wool exports; seeing these industries as the future of Australia's economy.

Bigge also commented in 1820 on the distinctive rural culture and identity that existed in the outlying areas, versus the artesian culture of the towns, and the sometimes-bitter enmity between the two populations (Karskens, 2020, p. 104). The policy changes following the release of the Bigge reports significantly altered the composition of convicts arriving in New South Wales. Between 1826 and 1840, a total of 38,443 convict men arrived, compared to just 6,812 convict women. In 1825, the practice of granting small farms to emancipated convicts was abolished, and by 1831, free land grants were discontinued altogether. While there were exceptions, the general policy from that point onward dictated that crown land be sold at public auction (HRA 1.16.22).

The ending of small farm grants in 1825 impacted the availability of affordable land within the Cumberland Plain. This initiated a population shift that eventually saw just over half of the CGC migrating away from the locality they had grown up in. Some CGC remained within the Cumberland Plain and moved between localities. Campbelltown being a new area established from 1817, experienced the largest growth. The old areas like Seven Hills and Hawkesbury received far fewer new residents.

The changes brought about by the Bigge reports were not only restrictive for emancipists but were equally restrictive for the CGC. According to the Museums of History NSW, Bigge advocated for a more hierarchical society where land was concentrated among free settlers and a gentry class, with convicts serving as labor. These policies, reinforced class divisions and aligned the Greater Sydney colony more closely with British aristocratic norms. The result of these demographic restrictions within the bounds of the Cumberland Plain are evident in the current study which indicates that from the mid-1820s about a third of the CGC migrated to points north, west and south from the Cumberland Plain. Figure 1.3 shows the earliest times and exit points for these migrations into regional New South Wales.

The route north from the Cumberland Plain was opened by John Howe in 1819. This route commenced at Windsor and connected the Hawkesbury River community with the upper Hunter River region. Data collected in the current study suggests that this route was very popular with adult CGC, particularly those who had grown up around Richmond, Windsor, Pitt Town and Wilberforce. This cohort settled in numbers around localities known today as Maitland, Singleton, Muswellbrook and north into the New England. Names of these initial settler families still dot maps of this region today. The data reveals some of these early settlers ended their lives in what eventually became Queensland, where their second-generation and later families remained.

The route west across the Blue Mountains was blazed in 1813 and a rough road was constructed by William Cox in 1815. But it wasn't until 1818 that Governor Macquarie authorised settlement around Hartley and Bathurst that migration to locations west of the Cumberland Plain started to take place in earnest. Historic parish maps show the Cox family holding several large properties on the Hawkesbury River at Richmond and Mulgoa—upstream from Richmond. They, along with other adult CGC from this section of the Hawkesbury River, tended to migrate west over the Blue Mountains.

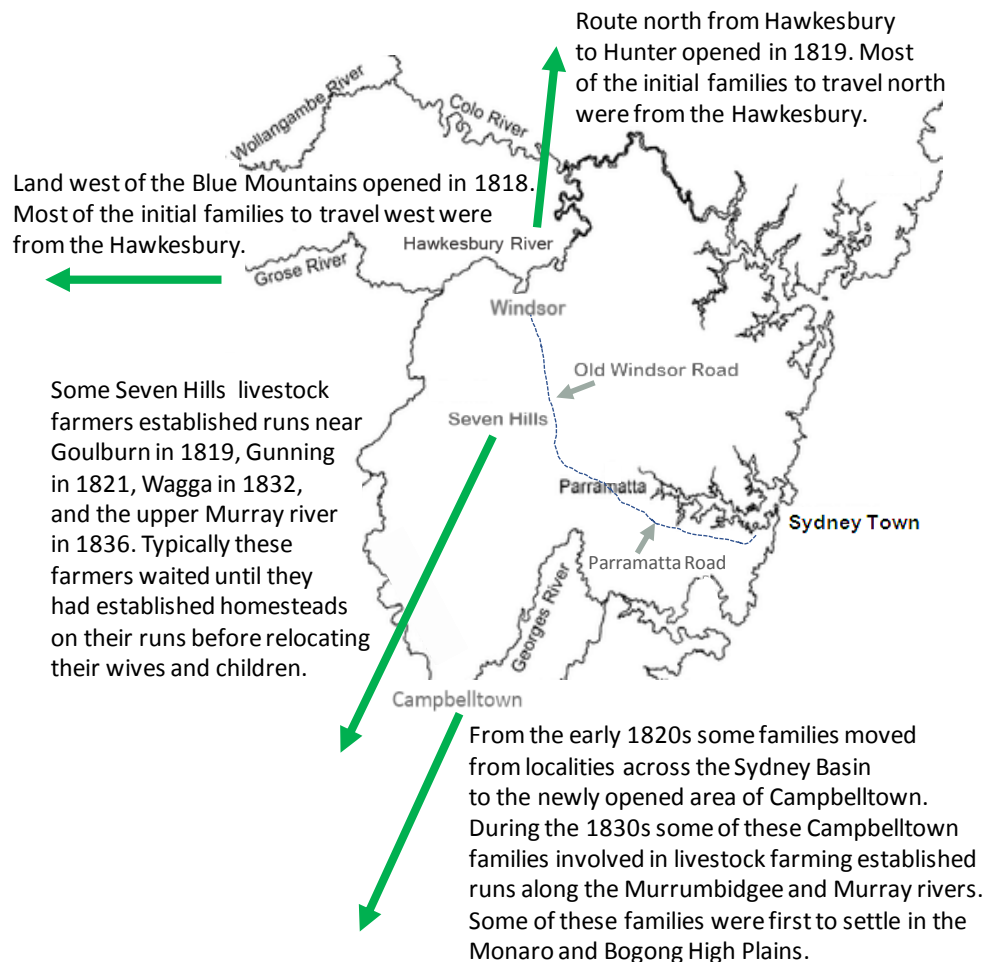


Figure 1.3 Map showing early CGC Migrations from the Cumberland Plain to the regions started before 1820.

Migrations south and southwest away from the Cumberland Plain comprised a significant number of individuals from the Old Windsor Road communities of Hawkesbury, Parramatta and Seven Hills as well as Campbelltown. The initial southern migrations were undertaken by livestock farmers who by 1819 were grazing their flocks and herds in the Southern Highlands. That year a pastoral run named Arthursleigh, run by families from Seven Hills, was located on the Wollondilly River.

Governor Macquarie recorded in 1820 that he visited Arthursleigh and other Southern Highland settlements such as Bungonia. On that journey Sutton Forest was named and by 1821 that location boasted a wind powered flour mill. The South Road commenced in 1819 and was completed to the Cockbundoon Range east of Goulburn in 1820 and had crossed Paddys River by 1821.

Also, in 1821 Hamilton Hume established the ‘Farther Out’ pastoral run at Gunning. Hume was born and raised on his family’s farm at Seven Hills, an area then renown for livestock farming, where much of the early cattle and sheep breeding was undertaken by the free settler and convict families whose farms lay in the vicinity of Old Windsor Road. Between 1820 and 1824 Hume undertook several explorations into the surrounding districts outside the Cumberland Plain reaching as far as Port Phillip, often accompanied by members of his extended family. Inspired by Hume et al., other families with CGC children residing along Old Windsor Road established pastoral runs around Goulburn, Bungonia, Gunning, Taralga, Yass, Wagga, Wodonga and Wangaratta. Data collected in the current study indicate that by the mid-1830s some of these families had spread as far as Melbourne.

In 1836 Thomas Mitchell, on his third expedition, passed through lush pasture in parts of western Victoria and named the area *Australia Felix* which continued to be used to describe the area south of the Murrumbidgee River well into the nineteenth century.

Jackson (1977, p. 4) describes how during the late 1820s and 1830s, Australia underwent an amazing transformation. After approximately forty years of an economy structured around a Public Service Gaol, literally within one generation, Australia’s economy transitioned into a predominantly ‘Private Sector wool-based export powerhouse.’ An outcome of this wool boom transformation was that the balance of economic and political power swung from the colonial government in Sydney Town, to the inland settlements and towns. During the early stages of the wool-boom pastoral land was at a premium and some enterprising individuals and families moved outside the Cumberland Plain, beyond the *limits of location* and established pastoral runs to take advantage of the new economy. These were primarily livestock farmers and were known as *squatters*.

History often describes squatters as illegally occupying crown land however, there is another way of looking at this. Many of the early squatters were CGC, a generation born in Australia who had known no other country. Through circumstance the CGC found themselves in a social enclave; distinguished from the free settler society. Their alienation from those of foreign birth was codified by the derogatory terms *Currency Lads and Lasses* defining their stratum status as native-born Australians.

Karskens (2020, p. 300) makes it clear that the CGC knew that the colony had been intended for them in the original plan for New South Wales, and that through implementing Bigge’s recommendations, the colonial government had arbitrarily changed the rules to their disadvantage. The changes advocated by Bigge, and implemented by Governors Brisbane and Darling, left emancipists as well as the CGC unable to easily secure land or status. This structural marginalisation is reflected in the current study, which reveals that about a third of the CGC were motivated to migrate to frontier areas—presumably where social mobility was more attainable.

During the early wool boom the CGC were young and many were clearly adventurous, and skilled in farming endeavors. It is likely that those CGC who ventured into regional New South Wales in search of new pastures and became squatters on crown land regarded policies that were specifically aimed at curbing their access to land and improvement, made by a colonial government that they perceived had moved the goal posts, were better being honored in the breach.

Jackson (1977, p. 4) describes the late 1820s and 1830s as Australia's *pastoral age* during which the 'demand for Australian wool and wool products in Britain was insatiable.' Through this period the British market was many times larger than the output of the infant Australian wool industry, and so to meet this demand, the expansion into the interior of eastern Australia was extremely rapid. It is evident from the current study that CGC and their offspring were predominant amongst this early wave of regional expansion, highlighting the crucial role played by native-born persons in the establishment of the wool production and export industry.

It is evident from marriage patterns, parish maps and historical texts that many of the families who migrated beyond the Cumberland Plain coordinated their activities and co-operated with each other in developing various aspects of their new business ventures. Both Stephenson (1985) and Andrews (1916) describe how squatter families on both sides of the Murray River jointly operated their pastoral business to supply products to multiple markets.

Clearly life in the frontier was hard—and not helped by a government enacting policy stacked against the CGC—so it is perhaps not surprising to find examples of mateship and support amongst CGC culture. One example on public display at Gunning cemetery is an inscription on the tomb of Hamilton Hume's brother, John Kennedy Hume dated 1840. The inscription describes how Hume heard gunshots nearby and rushed to render assistance; knowing bush rangers were in the vicinity. Hume found the *Whitton Gang* had bailed up his neighbours and in the ensuing confrontation was shot and killed.

The contribution of CGC women to frontier life is also displayed in the public record. When Clara Best's husband Robert was killed in a horse-riding accident in 1853, Clara assumed ownership and management of the families sprawling Wagga Wagga pastoral run which ran around 40,000 sheep under her stewardship. Clara eventually remarried but her skills, and those of other CGC country women, are evident throughout the economic transformation period.

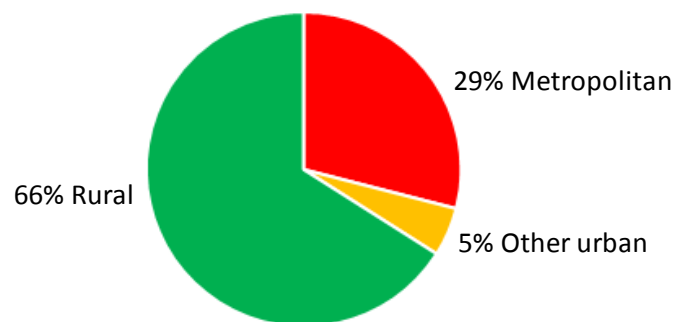


Figure 1.4 Pie chart showing the Population distribution of Australia in 1846. At this time two thirds of the entire population resided outside the main urban areas (Jackson 1977, p. 7).

It wasn't until 1831 before a concerted effort was made to encourage free settlers from overseas to New South Wales. In that year an emigration scheme for unmarried women was introduced to address the imbalance of males to females in the colony. In 1835 this was expanded in what was known as the *Bounty Scheme* to enable the sponsoring of immigrants (Hunt, 1969, p. 124). While these schemes contributed to Australia's pre-gold rush population, their impact wasn't fully realized until the 1840s, by which time most of the initial ground work for the transition from a public service focused economy, to a private sector wool-based export economy, had been laid down.

AATSE (2001) states that by 1838 there were seven woollen mills in New South Wales and by 1841 most people in the colony were dressed in tweeds made at Parramatta. The output of woollen cloth reached 235,000 yards per annum in 1852, and when the product reached England it received such high recommendation that Bradford manufacturers began producing a tweed which they called *Parramatta cloth*. The export income generated by the wool boom was in today's terms akin to the mining boom. Additionally, Australia benefited from the industrial revolution arriving earlier in Britain as well as locally than most other countries. These conditions created the early stages of Australia's modern outward looking economy which would not be as it is today without the capital injection that resulted from the economic and political transition that took place during the 1830s.

However, Australia's economic transition was not always linear. Rolls (1981, p. 142) and White (2004-2010, p. 7) describe the prolonged *champion drought of the century* which reportedly set-in around Sydney in 1835 and spread to most of Eastern Australia before finally breaking in 1844. During the drought many land holders sent their stock on the roads to save them from starvation. The drought necessitated wheat imports and payment for this drained liquidity from the colonies. In 1839 a financial crisis occurred in Britain which scaled back wool imports, resulting in an over production of livestock. A depression followed which saw a number of bank failures. However, the situation was mitigated somewhat by the introduction of tallow production; a by-product of the wool and cattle industry. Tallow, a key ingredient in the production of glycerine—a component of explosives—was highly sought after in England. By the mid-1840s, over two million sheep and two hundred thousand cattle were processed annually to produce tallow, making it a significant portion of Australia's exports.

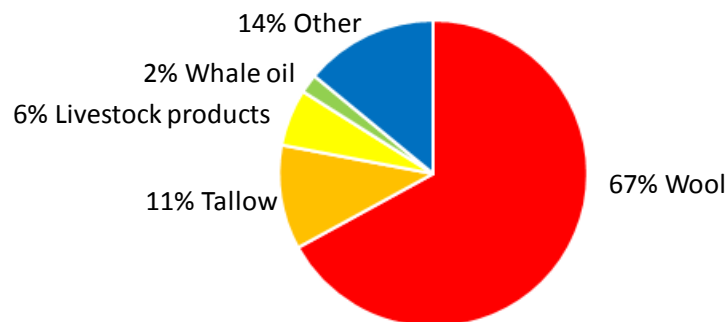


Figure 1.5 Pie chart showing the mix of Australia's export industries during the late 1840s (Jackson 1977, p. 7).

While the century drought caused economic and personal hardship, it also forced livestock farmers to drive their flocks and herds from affected areas in search of surviving grassland. As such, the drought was the catalyst for much of the pre-1845 regional expansion. Many squatters settled permanently in favorable farming areas, including along the big inland rivers that continued to flow or retained water holes. Through their migrations they created tracks and communities that form the basis of infrastructure and towns that are still home to rural populations.

In 1846 the *Sale of Wastelands Act* was passed which was a victory for the squatters, giving them the right to lease their pastoral runs for up to fourteen years, and purchase any part or all at the end of that period (Hunt, 1969, p. 118). Through this act, squatters were now secure in the possession of their pastoral runs, and on land that was now legally theirs many developed their properties into significant pastoral stations.

Bisman (2007, p. 9) describes how many squatters who became licensed pastoralists held both economic and political sway and over time came to represent the most influential pressure group in the colony. Musgrave (1926) states ‘In the 1850s and 1860s the squatters maintained their supremacy politically, economically and socially, controlling the land, representing their districts in parliament, as magistrates on the bench, and in establishing hospitals, schools and churches.’ Those holding extensive economic and political sway were referred to as belonging to the *Squattocracy*, a social class in which the CGC were highly represented.

Beyond New South Wales early settlements were established in Tasmania (1803), Queensland (1824), Western Australia (1826), Victoria (1835) and South Australia (1836). In 1851 gold was discovered at Ophir, near Bathurst, New South Wales, and also in Victoria which spurred a gold rush leading to a huge influx of people from overseas. There had been rumors circulating for years about the presence of gold in Australia, but Government officials kept all findings secret for fear of disorganising the young colony; but in 1851 all that changed.

At the time the European Population in New South Wales and Victoria numbered 270,000 and around 430,000 nationally. Within twenty years the national population had increased nearly four-fold to 1.7 million (Figure 1.6). Victoria had more substantial gold fields than either New South Wales or Queensland consequently, from 1851 to around 1880, Victoria received by far the largest share of foreign-born immigrants engaged in gold prospecting. Most of these immigrants settled in regional Victoria where the gold fields were located.

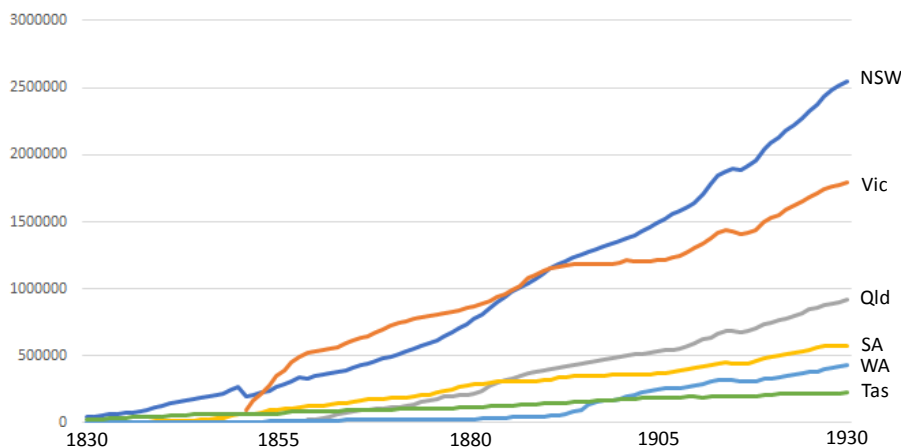


Figure 1.6 Line graph showing the Population of European descent from 1830 to 1930 for each Australian state. Key: New South Wales-NSW; Victoria-Vic; Queensland-Qld; South Australia-SA; Tasmania-Tas; Western Australia-WA. (Australian Historical Population Statistics – Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008)

Between 1851 and about 1855, gold produced a substantial increase in Australia’s export income, but also caused disruption to wool production. This displacement was short lived and wool production resumed its growth in the following decades (Jackson, 1977, p. 11, p. 57).

In 1861 the Robertson Land Acts were introduced in New South Wales and opened ownership of small selections of Crown land. Between 1860 and 1869 the Victorian Parliament passed a series of Land Acts which offered settlers land, within defined agricultural areas. These and similar initiatives in other states along with migration spurred on by events such as the Palmer River gold rush in Far North Queensland and the tin and gold prospects in northeast Tasmania during the 1870s and 1880s, encouraged yet further significant migration events throughout the regions.

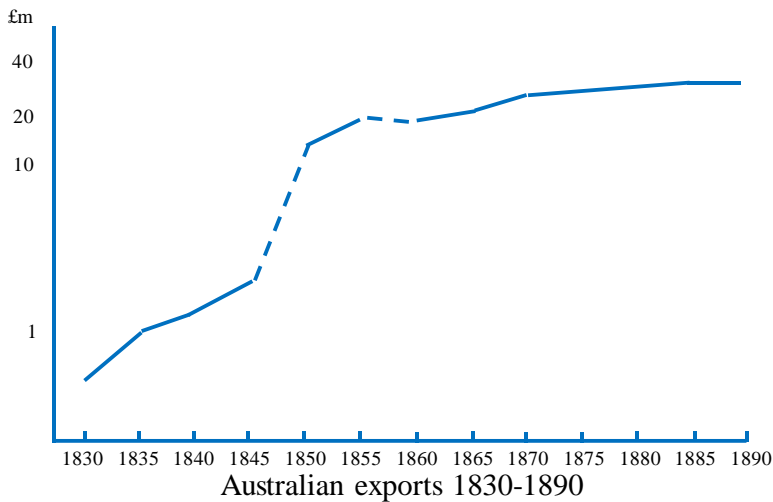


Figure 1.7 Line graph showing Australia’s export revenue growth between 1830 and 1890 (Jackson 1977, p. 12)

Interestingly, several data sources suggest that these migration events were predominantly confined to foreign-born individuals. This pattern is further corroborated by a subset analysis of the 1901 census returns presented in Figure 1.8 which document that throughout much of the nineteenth century inter colonial migration among native-born Australians was minimal. The census data reveal that, at the time of enumeration, most states exhibited a clear predominance of locally born residents compared to those born in other Australian colonies.

The exception to this was Western Australia which in the 1890s saw significant numbers of miners and their families migrate from the Victorian gold fields and settle in the western parts of the continent; attracted to new gold finds at Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie. This event can be clearly seen in Figure 1.6 and shows that the Western Australian population swelled from 49,000 in 1891 to 184,000 by the time of Federation in 1901. This influx of people from the eastern states is cited as swaying the vote in favour of Western Australia joining the Federation.

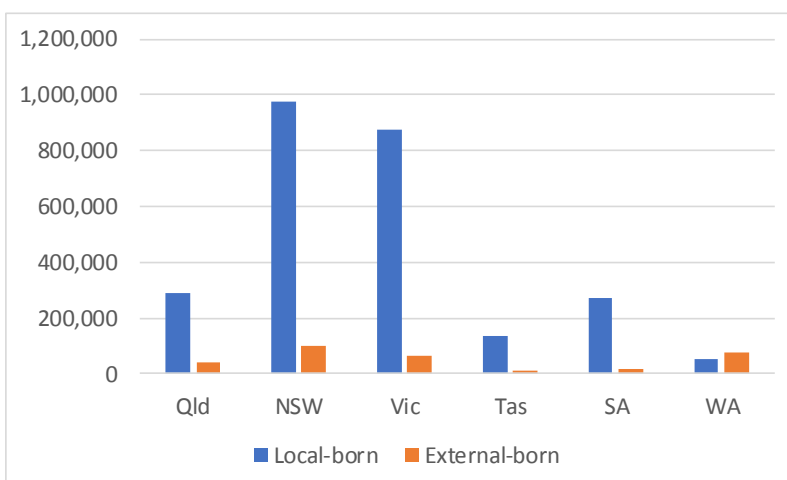


Figure 1.8 Bar chart showing data derived from the 1901 census: a) locally-born population within that state; b) native-born population born external to that state. Key: Queensland-Qld; New South Wales-NSW; Victoria-Vic; Tasmania-Tas; South Australia-SA; Western Australia-WA

It is against the backdrop of the *Convicts’ colony* period, the *pastoral age* and the *gold rush era* that the emergence and early spread of the Australian accent played out.

Chapter 2. Method

The methodological framework employed in this study was grounded in the epidemiological triangle model, which comprises three interrelated components: *agent*, *host*, and *environment*. In the context of this research, the agent was conceptualised as the accent. The host is defined as the population who carry the accent and drawing on the theoretical perspectives of Trudgill and Labov, within the current study, are primarily identified as native-born children of European descent—defined earlier as *CGC*. The Environment encompassed the various factors that influenced the host population’s ability to flourish—as outlined in the Historical Context section—thereby facilitating the emergence and dissemination of the agent, which was inherently linked to the social environment and mobility of the host.

The interdisciplinary approach adopted in this study requires a limited set of new terms because existing linguistic vocabulary does not adequately capture the demographic, developmental, and interactional mechanisms revealed by the evidence collected in the current study. Traditional models of koinéisation describe broad stages—mixing, levelling, focusing—but they do not specify the internal dynamics through which these stages operate in small, child-dense frontier populations. By integrating demographic reconstruction, systems analysis, and insights from epidemiological transmission modelling, this study identifies mechanisms—such as role-defined child cohorts, exposure windows, and stabilising peer networks—that have not previously been named or theorised within sociolinguistics. The introduction of new terms is therefore not a stylistic choice but a methodological necessity: it provides precise labels for processes that are empirically observable in the Hawkesbury case yet conceptually invisible within existing frameworks. These terms allow models to be stated with clarity, tested against evidence, and compared systematically with other pathways of new-dialect formation.

Stages 1 and 2 of the current study were structured to examine and delineate the demographic and environmental contexts in which the agent emerged and to which the host was exposed. These stages aimed to assess the extent to which these contextual conditions corresponded with the generational timeline of accent development as proposed by Trudgill (2004, p.23).

Stages 3 and 4 were designed to investigate the determinants of migration within the host demographic. Given that the agent was transmitted via the host, these migratory patterns were instrumental in shaping both the geographic diffusion and temporal arrival of the agent across various regions. Furthermore, these stages contributed to identifying the origin and chronological emergence of the agent.

Integrated into Stages 3–4 was a comparative analysis involving historical population data sourced from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2008) alongside census returns from New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia and Victoria for the years 1836–1901. This analytical review served as a critical validation step, enabling assessment of the accuracy and relevance of the study’s data against established external datasets and setting parameters for data analysis. The objective of this procedure was to enhance the methodological robustness of the research and to determine the degree of confidence warranted in the resulting findings.

From a chronological perspective stages 1–3 represent a longitudinal study of *CGC* and their offspring, with stage 4 involving a spatial and cohort study confined to a specific geographic region. The results and ensuing conclusions of which are presented in this Empirical Discussion Paper.

2.1 Stage 1: CGC Family composition and place of residency during School Age

Stage one of the investigations involved: identifying within the Cumberland Plain where the families whose eldest child was born between 1788 and 1813 (first 25 years of settlement) lived during their children's school-aged years (5–15 years) and whose children had arrived from overseas before the age of five years. It was determined that a comprehensive understanding of Stage II accent levelling is required to make an assessment of how the Stage III focused stable accent emerged. Hence, the time of 25 years was selected as a means of isolating families with first-generation children and identify where and when these families were located during Trudgill Stage II and Stage III accent development. And, by excluding overseas children of 5+ years of age it was possible to eliminate foreign accents that may have been imported and impacted the study.

In cases where the parents of CGC had multiple partners (referred to as *blended families*) an extra analysis of the data was required to identify and include in the study, only the partners who had the longest standing relationship with their children during their formative years (0–5 years) were included. A total of (n=184) blended families were identified.

Furthermore, the number of CGC within each of the (n=792) families and age differential between the birth years of the eldest and youngest CGC in each family were recorded. Families that had an age differential of ten or more years were specifically noted as well as the number of families per year who had their first CGC were recorded. In cases where CGC moved between localities, they were allocated to the locality in which they had spent most of their school years. CGC who did not reach the age of seven years were excluded from the study as it was deemed their long-term influence on accent spread would have been limited. These results are shown in Table 3.1.

During 1788–1816 four significant and distinct populations of families with CGC (n=792) with school aged children (n=4339) were identified within the Cumberland Plain by using several published documents such as: parish maps, governor Macquarie's journals, land grants data, muster data, TROVE and family history resources, baptismal, marriage and death records. The four populations were grouped into four localities as follows:

- Sydney Town - St Philip's (Sydney Cove), Concord and Botany parishes.
- Parramatta – St John Parish (Parramatta), Liberty Plains and Eastern farms.
- Seven Hills - Prospect Parish, Seven Hills, Toongabbie and Hills district.
- Hawkesbury- Macquarie towns, Portland Head and Kurrajong.

From 1816 Campbelltown emerged as a fifth significant population centre located in the south of the Cumberland Plain. The Campbelltown Population centre was defined as:

- Campbelltown - Bunbury Curran, Airs, Liverpool, Camden, Cobbitty and Appin.

The following abbreviations were used throughout this paper to aid clarity and conciseness: CGC – Currency Generation Children; Hwksby- Hawkesbury; Syd Town- Sydney Town; PA- Parramatta; C Town- Campbelltown.

2.2 Stage 2: Adult CGC who married or were partnered

A search using multiple sources such as convict arrival records, government muster records, 1828 Census, New South Wales Genealogy data, baptismal and marriage records, it was possible to identify records for 3,025 individuals from a total of 4,339 CGC who had married and/or found partners later in their lives. Those who had not partnered, died at an early age or for whom records could not be found, were excluded from the study. These results are shown in Table 3.2a.

From the current study, it was possible to track the partners of adult CGC who originated within (n=1611) and outside (n=1414) the Sydney Settlement. These results are shown in Table 3.2a. This tracking also allowed for a more accurate placement of CGC to one of the four localities, as listed in Stage 1 above.

In cases where CGC had multiple partners, further analysis was undertaken to record the partner with whom the CGC had the longest standing relationship. This method of analysis was necessary to ensure the relevance of the data presented as well as avoiding over-counting of CGC partnerships.

2.3 Stage 3: Later life area of residency for CGC (migration analysis)

Adult CGC's place of residencies after leaving school were found using several resources such as death/marriage records, Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788–1825, 1828 Census, TROVE and family history resources. A total of 3,837 out of 4,339 CGC were found. However, 502 CGC were not included in the study due to early death, migration outside the study area or incomplete or inaccurate records. The CGC who were found were placed within three groups depending on where they lived; those who remained and lived within their local area; those who migrated outside of their local area but remained within the Cumberland Plain and those who migrated and lived beyond the Cumberland Plain, such as north of the Hawkesbury, west of the Blue Mountains and south of Campbelltown. These results are shown in Tables 3.3 and 3.6.

CGC who migrated away from Australia i.e. to New Zealand, India, England or elsewhere were excluded from the study.

2.4 Stage 4: Bridging analysis of families migrating to the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River districts (James Kelly case study).

The objective of this study was to examine the origins of the broad Australian accent purportedly spoken by James Kelly, the younger brother of outlaw Ned Kelly (Moore, 2008, p. 68). The underlying premise of stage 4 was that the Australian accent emerged within the native-born host population identified and recorded in Stages 1–3 of the current study; and disseminated with the migrations of the host. Accordingly, this investigation sought to trace the origins of native-born individuals—specifically parents and/or their native-born children—who either migrated to, or were born within, the designated study area.

The study area encompassed the corridor that extends south / south-west from the Cumberland Plain to the localities known to have been frequented by James Kelly between the ages of 5–21. Born in 1859 Kelly relocated with his family in 1864, at the age of five, to Avenel, situated north of Melbourne. In 1867, at age eight, the family moved to Greta West near Glenrowan, Victoria. Between the ages of 8–14 Kelly lived in the broader Wangaratta region,

encompassing the smaller communities of Glenrowan, Greta, Taminick, and Wangandary. From 14–18 years of age, his residence shifted to the Beechworth area, which included Yackandandah and Woolshed. Finally, between the ages of 18–21 Kelly lived in Wagga.

Labov, (2001) cites 6–10-year-olds as the most phonologically plastic and peer driven, and by age 17 the phonetic system is typically stabilised, meaning the dialect features they use at this age generally remain with them for the rest of their lives. Accordingly, it is assumed that James Kelly acquired his accent through exposure to the communities in which he resided and socialised during his formative years.

The stage 4 study included a total of 142 families who were involved in migrations along the study corridor between 1800–1865. These included (n=288) parents of whom (n=198) were native-born and their (n=1097) native-born children. As these were generally large families (avg. 7.7 children/family) a *bridging family method* for reconstructing the migration pathways was employed. In this process the reconstruction of inland migration pathways is based on a demographic method that uses families whose children are born in two or more distinct localities along the migration corridor. Because each child's birthplace and birth year are recorded in contemporary baptismal or civil registers, these families provide a reliable, time stamped record of movement across space.

Note: since stage 4 relies on birth data from families who migrated along the specified corridor and registered the births of their children at multiple locations, and Stage 3 data had no such restriction, the results tallies from Stages 3 & 4 will differ.

In order to track the migrations of these families, specific administrative centres where typically churches or government recorded births, deaths and marriages were used to flag these events and create a standardised set of *temporal anchors*. The locations used in the current study were:

Sydney Town; Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; Campbelltown; Southern Highlands; Goulburn/Gunning; Wagga (used to designate the Riverina region); Cooma (used to designate the Monaro region); Albury/Wodonga; Beechworth/Yackandandah; and Wangaratta/Taminick/Wangandary. These locations span an area from the Cumberland Plain, through the Riverina and Monaro districts, terminating in the Upper Murray River districts.

For each family, the eldest child born in each locality is used as the temporal anchor for the family's arrival in that district. Aggregating these eldest child birth years across all families associated with a locality produces a distribution from which a median establishment year can be calculated. This median is interpreted as the central birth year of the first locally born cohort and forms the basis for deriving the *receiver window* (median → median+7), corresponding to the 0–7 year accent acquisition period (Labov 2001). The first locally born child in each administrative centre are here termed *Early Receivers*.

The Early Receivers in turn must have acquired their accent from a transmitting population. To infer when transmitting individuals must have acquired their accent, a generational offset is applied. Because during these migrations we are looking at the transmission of an already stabilised and spreading accent, the transmitting cohort must include parents and older siblings. For this study these are assumed to be, on average, 10–15 years older than the eldest locally born child. Subtracting this offset from the receiver window yields a transmitter side latest acquisition window. The resulting transmitter acquisition windows represent the period during

which these parents and older siblings must have already been accent-bearing before being present in each down-stream locality during its Early Receiver cohort's acquisition window.

When applied across all settlements, this method produces a coherent spatial and temporal cascade of movement. The sequence of birthplaces within each family provides directionality, while the medians and transmitter/receiver windows provide chronological structure. The resulting pattern reveals the inland spread of the accent through successive Early Receiver cohorts, each locality becoming a transmitter only after its own first cohort matures. This approach offers a high-resolution reconstruction of migration flows that is not achievable through land records or muster lists alone.

The study period of 1800–1865 was selected for several key reasons. Firstly, commencing the study in 1800 enabled the inclusion of the earliest documented migrations of families with CGC parents within the study corridor. Secondly, this timeframe encompasses the approximate date proposed by (Trudgill, 2004) for the emergence of the Australian accent—circa 1840—thereby facilitating an analysis of potential shifts in migratory patterns during the accent's formative phase. Thirdly, the cut-off date of 1865 was chosen to ensure that the host population included only families with children of comparable age to the Kelly family, thereby enhancing the relevance of the data to the linguistic influences that may have shaped James Kelly's accent.

In conjunction with the stage 4 data collection, an analysis was undertaken of New South Wales and Victorian census data 1841–1881. From this analysis it was determined that the level of migration of native-born children from New South Wales into Victoria post 1851 would not have been at a level sufficient to have had a meaningful linguistic influence upon the Victorian native-born population. Hence, this census analysis provided a southern book-end for the bridging family data analysis and so a truncated version of the stage 4 data (1800–1851) was used to determine the median year estimates.

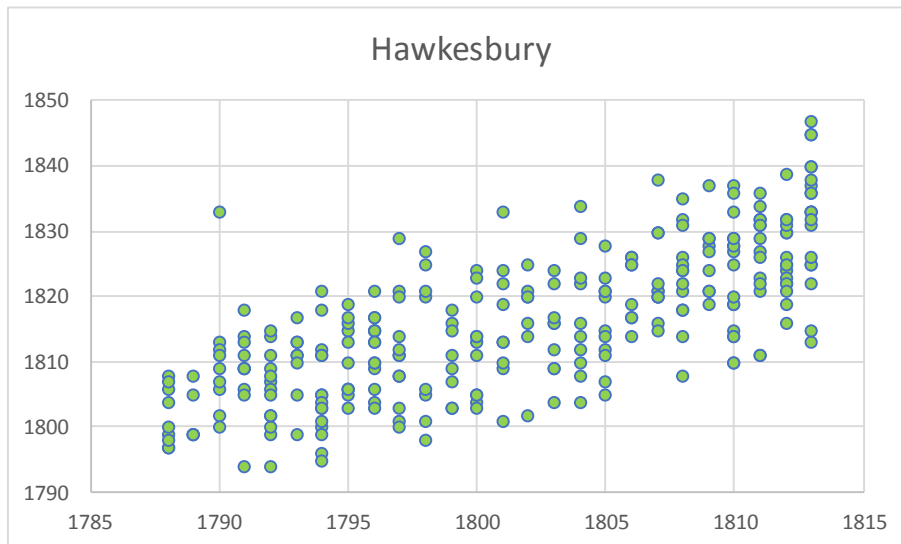
2.5 Stage 4a: Seven Hills school cluster study

During the data collection process, a significant cluster consisting of (n=53) native-born children and their (n=30) native-born parents was observed in the data. This cluster was associated with a single school located at Seven Hills situated on Old Windsor Road. As the children and their parents could reliably be isolated in the data, an extension of the stage 4 study was conducted during which the school's history, its students, and the social networks that existed within and beyond the Seven Hills community was undertaken.

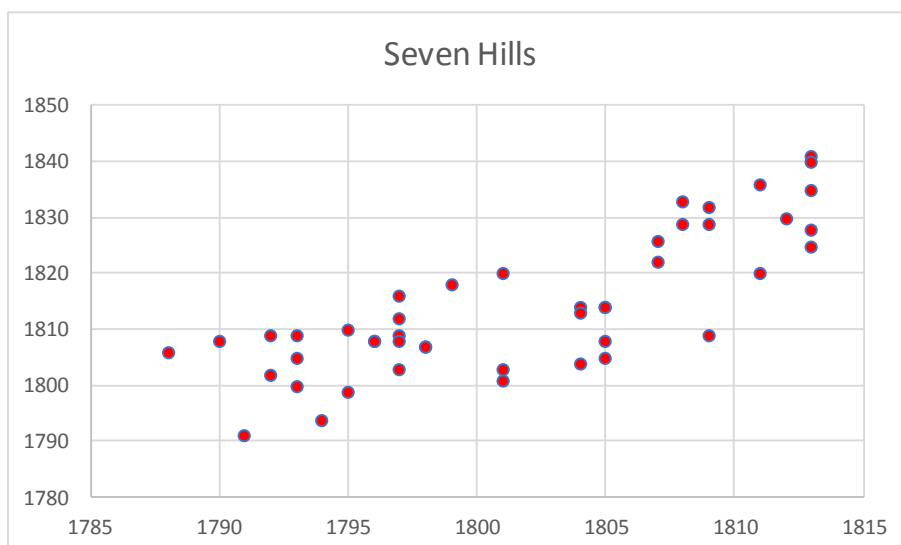
Chapter 3. Results

3.1 Stage 1: CGC Family composition and place of residency during School Age

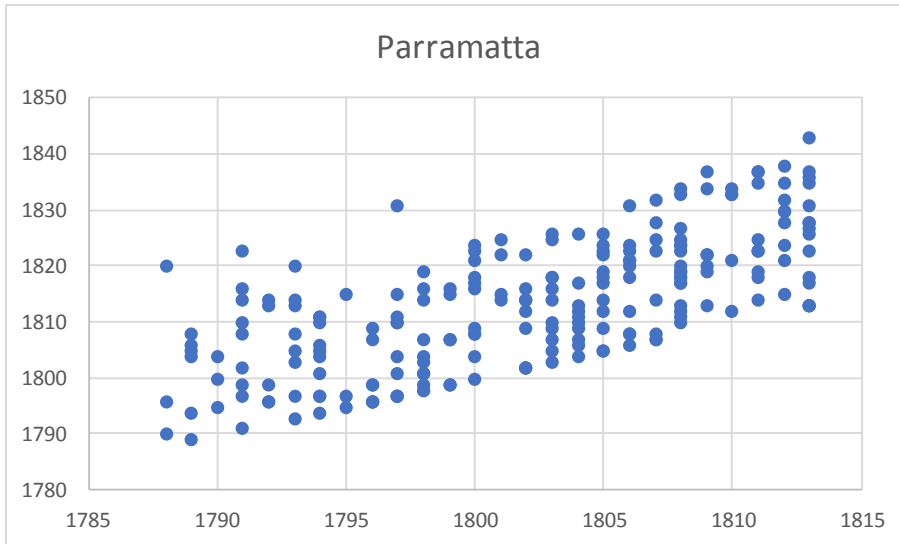
Scatter Charts 3.1–3.4 present the age-spread between the birth year of the eldest and youngest children in each of the 792 families studied. Each family is allocated to one of the four localities studied (Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; Sydney Town) which indicates the location where these families were raising their children during their children’s school-aged years.



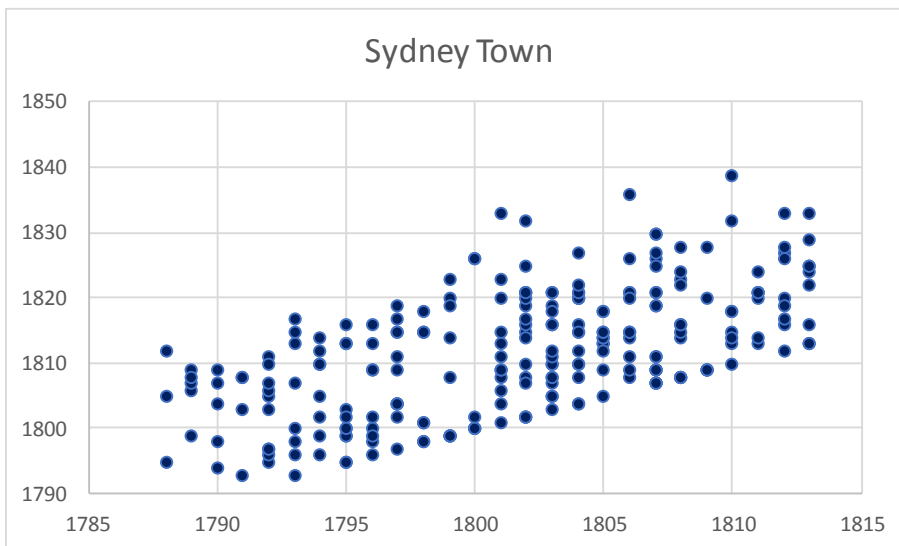
Scatter Chart 3.1. Presented is age-spread data for the families who met the selection criteria and who resided in the Hawkesbury locality during their children’s school-aged years (n=284). Each dot represents one family. The X-axis indicates the birth year of the eldest child within each family, while the Y-axis represents the birth year of the youngest child in the same family.



Scatter Chart 3.2. Presented is age-spread data for the families who met the selection criteria and who resided in the Seven Hills locality during their children’s school-aged years (n=45). Each dot represents one family. The X-axis indicates the birth year of the eldest child within each family, while the Y-axis represents the birth year of the youngest child in the same family.



Scatter Chart 3.3. Presented is age-spread data for the families who met the selection criteria and who resided in the Parramatta locality during their children’s school-aged years (n=219). Each dot represents one family. The X-axis indicates the birth year of the eldest child within each family, while the Y-axis represents the birth year of the youngest child in the same family.



Scatter Chart 3.4. Presented is age-spread data for the families who met the selection criteria and who resided in the Sydney Town locality during their children’s school-aged years (n=244). Each dot represents one family. The X-axis indicates the birth year of the eldest child within each family, while the Y-axis represents the birth year of the youngest child in the same family.

Scatter Chart analysis.

Scatter Charts 3.1–3.4 present data relating to the 792 families recorded in Stage 1 of the current study. In general terms, those families whose dot is placed high on the Y-axis indicate that they were large families conversely, those families whose dot is placed low on the Y-axis indicate they were families with a small number of children. Those families with dots placed at the same point on both the X and Y-axis indicate a single child family.

CGC Family composition data was available for 792 families, comprising 4,339 first-generation children and, were classified by childhood location and family structure. This data is presented in Table 3.1. Note: this dataset represents a cumulative portrayal of evolving family patterns over time, rather than a discrete snapshot of any singular historical moment.

Table 3.1 CGC Family Composition and Place of Residency during school age (5-15 years).

This table presents data relating to Stage 1: CGC Family composition and place of residency during School Age and includes; a) the number of families with CGC located within each of the four localities of: Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; and Sydney Town; who met the criteria of this study; number of CGC located within each of the four localities; average number of children per family in each of the four localities; number of families in each of the four localities that had an age spread of ten or more years between the birth of their first born child that attained the age of seven years and last born child who attained the age of seven years; a calculation of the average age differential per family in each of the four localities between the birth of their first born child that attained the age of seven years and last born child who attained the age of seven years; number of families in each of the four localities that had children as a result of unions between multiple partners (blended families).

CGC Family Data	Localities within the Cumberland Plain				Total/Ave
	Hawkesbury	Seven Hills	Parramatta	Sydney Town	
Number of families	284	45	219	244	792
Number of school-aged children	1857	263	1128	1091	4339
Average children per family	6.5	5.8	5.2	4.5	5.46 (Ave)
Families with 10+ years age differential	220	29	127	121	497
Average family age-differential in years	14.9	12.9	11.6	10.3	12.4 (Ave)
Number of blended families	97	7	35	45	184

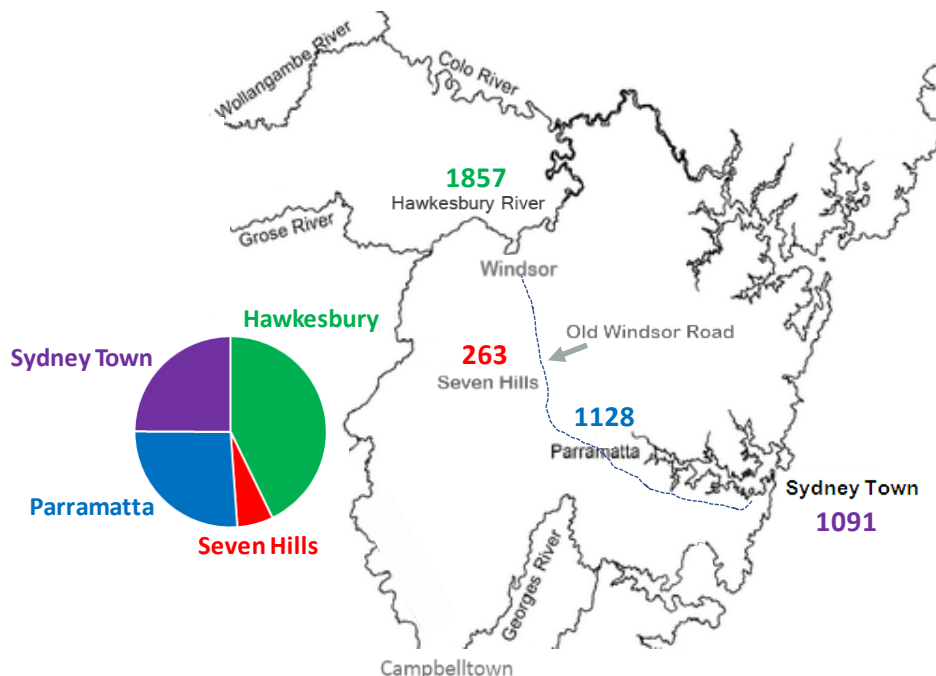


Figure 3.1 Location of school-aged CGC (n=4339).

This Figure presents a map of the Cumberland Plain overlaid with results data relating to Stage 1: CGC Family Composition and Place of Residency during school age (5–15 years). This Figure presents data from Table 3.1. The number of school-age CGC located in each of the four localities: Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; and Sydney Town. A pie chart is presented to display the overall ratios of CGC per locality. Note: due to ageing, not all of these CGC were school-aged at the same time.

3.2 Stage 2: Adult CGC who married or were partnered

Marriage/partner data was found for 3,025 CGC and was collected for several reasons. Firstly, to be used as an indicator to test if the necessary conditions to support the Trudgill theory of accent emergence existed in the early Australian colony. Secondly, because marriages (or equivalent) between families during the late 18th and early 19th centuries are a good indicator of the social networks a given family had; this data may be useful in tracing the migration of the host population. Thirdly, marriage (or equivalent) data assists in the correct placement of families to a locality or localities.

The marriage/partner data analysis of 3,025 CGC living within the Cumberland Plain was recorded and showed that on average forty-seven percent of the CGC population (n=1414) married/partnered with foreigners; twenty-nine percent of the population (n=867) had married/partnered with persons from their own locality; and fifty-three percent of the population (n=1611) had married/partnered with an Australian born person from within or outside their own locality. For the specific regions within the Cumberland Plain the following data was collected and presented in Table 3.2a and 3.2b.

Table 3.2a Adult CGC who married or were partnered (n=3025).

This table presents data relating to Stage 2: Adult CGC who married or were partnered and includes: the Region from which CGC partners originated; The specific origin of CGC partners; CGCs allocated to one of the four localities studied (Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; Sydney Town) Based on the location where each CGC spent their school-aged years; The total number of CGC per partner origin: Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; Sydney Town; Campbelltown; Norfolk Island; and Foreign born.

Region	CGC Partner Origin	CGC and the localities they spent their school-aged years				Total
		Hwksby	Seven Hills	PA	SYD Town	
Within Sydney Basin	Hawkesbury	527*	16	62	40	645
	Seven Hills	19	46*	32	6	103
	Parramatta	104	52	138*	89	383
	Sydney Town	93	8	78	156*	335
	Campbelltown	20	8	42	23	93
Beyond Sydney basin	Norfolk Is.	17	3	13	19	52
	Foreign	535	79	393	407	1414
Total CGC		1315	212	758	740	3025

Key: Hwksby- Hawkesbury; PA- Parramatta; SYD Town- Sydney Town

* Donates the number of CGC who grew up in the same locality as their partners (n=867)

Table 3.2b Adult CGC whose partners originated within the Cumberland Plain compared with those who originated beyond the Cumberland Plain (i.e. Norfolk Is. or Foreign) (n=3025).

Total CGC Partner Origin	CGC and the localities they spent their school-aged years				Total
	Hwksby	Seven Hills	PA	SYD Town	
Total within the Cumberland Plain	763 (58%)	130 (61%)	352 (46%)	314 (42%)	1559
Total beyond the Cumberland Plain	552 (42%)	82 (39%)	406 (54%)	426 (58%)	1466
Total CGC	1315	212	758	740	3025

Key: Hwksby- Hawkesbury; PA- Parramatta; SYD Town- Sydney Town

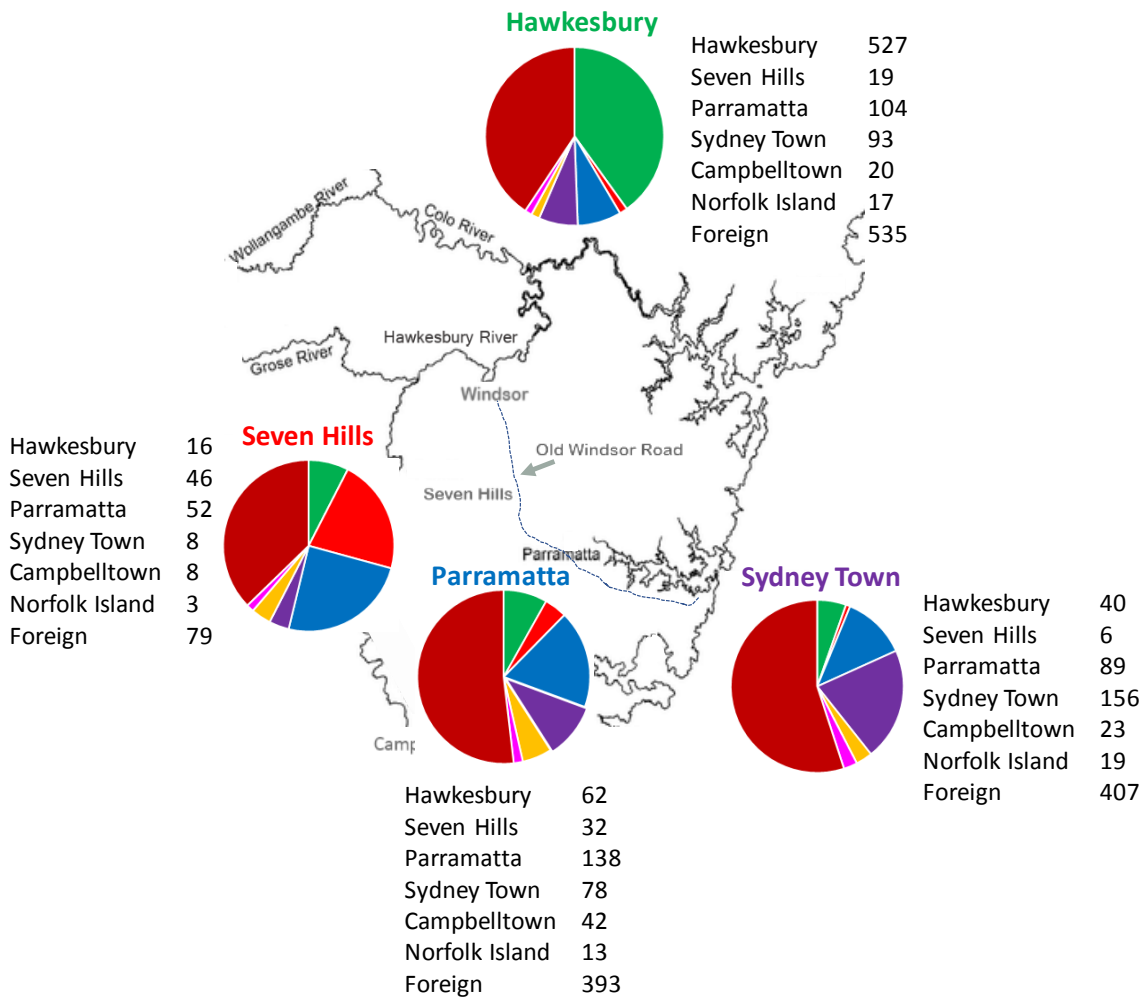


Figure 3.2 CGC spouse/partner origin for each locality.

This Figure presents data from Table 3.2a. Stage 2: Adult CGC who married or were partnered. The data is presented numerically as well as graphically using pie charts for each of the four localities studied: Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; and Sydney Town. Each locality identifies where CGC spent their school-aged years, the numeric and graphic data indicate the school-aged origin of each CGCs partner. Foreign represents a catch-all category for non-native-born partners.

Notes on marriage/partner data:

A number of trends appear in the marriage/partner data. Notably, pre 1830 marriages appear to reflect the social groupings of families that were limited by constraints placed upon the various social tiers. Most obvious are families within the free settler tier who generally have marriage partners showing a strong bias towards remaining within that tier, regardless of the geographic distance that lay between the marrying individuals. Conversely, marriage/partner data for convict individuals presents a more restricted geographic spread, with the vast majority of unions formed between individuals located within a short distance of each other. One exception to the latter were a social stratum of convict families that became upwardly mobile, many of whom economically connected with the emerging wool boom. These had marriage patterns similar in structure to the free settler tier but in their case the tier was more occupation based e.g. families engaged in livestock farming were clearly connected over large distances with examples of marriages amongst this cohort between individuals located many kilometers apart.

3.3 Stage 3: Later life area of residency for CGC (migration analysis)

From the total population of adult GCG (n=4339), only 3,837 individuals' later life place of residency were found. This population of 3,837 individuals were then placed into one of three broad categories of where they lived during their school days, to where they migrated to during their adult years (Tables 3.3, 3.5 and 3.6: Migration Analysis).

The first category included CGC who remained and did not migrate outside their local area. The second category included CGC who left their local area and migrated within the Cumberland Plain. And, the third category included CGC who left their local area and migrated outside the Cumberland Plain. The total population size of school-aged CGC living in each area prior to migrations was recorded in Table 3.1.

Table 3.3 Migration analysis of CGC - total CGC migrations (n=3837).

This table presents data relating to Stage 3: Later life area of residency for CGC (migration analysis). Across the Cumberland Plain an average of forty-two percent (n=1599) from the population of (n=3837) CGC remained and lived their adult lives in their local school-aged area, twenty-six percent (n=1007) from the population of (n=3837) migrated outside their local area but remained within the Cumberland Plain and thirty-two percent (n=1231) migrated beyond the Cumberland Plain. This table presents data for each of the four localities studied: Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; and Sydney Town. Showing the number of CGC who fell into each category. Note: this dataset represents a cumulative portrayal of evolving family patterns over time, rather than a discrete snapshot of any singular historical moment.

Migrated From	CGC who remained within their school-aged locality	CGC who migrated beyond their school-aged locality, and remained within the Cumberland Plain	CGC who migrated beyond their school-aged locality, and exited the Cumberland Plain	Total
Hwksby	745	266	640	1651
Seven Hills	62	94	93	249
PA	250	402	349	1001
SYD Town	542	245	149	936
TOTAL	1599	1007	1231	3837

Key: Hwksby- Hawkesbury; PA- Parramatta; SYD Town- Sydney Town

Table 3.4 Migration analysis of CGC who moved beyond their School-aged locality (n=2238).

This table presents data relating to Stage 3: Later life area of residency for CGC (migration analysis). This table presents data showing the number of CGC who in later life remained within the Cumberland Plain, or migrated beyond the Cumberland Plain. A total of fifty-eight percent (n=2238) CGC, as adults moved beyond their school-aged locality. The data displayed shows the four localities studied: Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; and Sydney Town and presents the contribution each locality made to these migrations. Note: this dataset represents a cumulative portrayal of evolving family patterns over time, rather than a discrete snapshot of any singular historical moment.

Migrated From	CGC who migrated beyond their school-aged locality and remained within the Cumberland Plain	CGC who migrated beyond their school-aged locality and exited the Cumberland Plain	Total
Hwksby	266	640	906
Seven Hills	94	93	187
PA	402	349	751
SYD Town	245	149	394
TOTAL	1007	1231	2238

Key: Hwksby- Hawkesbury; PA- Parramatta; SYD Town- Sydney

Table 3.5 Migration analysis of CGC who as adults, remained within the Cumberland Plain (n=2606).

This table presents data relating to Stage 3: Later life area of residency for CGC (migration analysis). An average of sixty-eight percent (n=2606) from (n=3837) CGC, as adults remained within the Cumberland Plain. The data presented show the five localities studied: Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; Sydney Town; and Campbelltown which emerged as a significant growth area from 1817. Campbelltown attracted thirteen percent (n=326) of CGC who remained within the Cumberland Plain. Note: this dataset represents a cumulative portrayal of evolving family patterns over time, rather than a discrete snapshot of any singular historical moment.

Migrated From	Destination localities of CGC who remained within Cumberland Plain					Total
	Hwksby	Seven Hills	PA	SYD Town	C Town	
Hwksby	745*	13	53	154	46	1011
Seven Hills	7	62*	65	18	4	156
PA	50	30	250*	175	147	652
SYD Town	42	4	70	542*	129	787
TOTAL	844	109	438	889	326	2606

Key: Hwksby- Hawkesbury; SYD Town- Sydney Town; PA- Parramatta; C Town- Campbelltown.

* donates CGC who remained in the locality where they had spent their school-age years

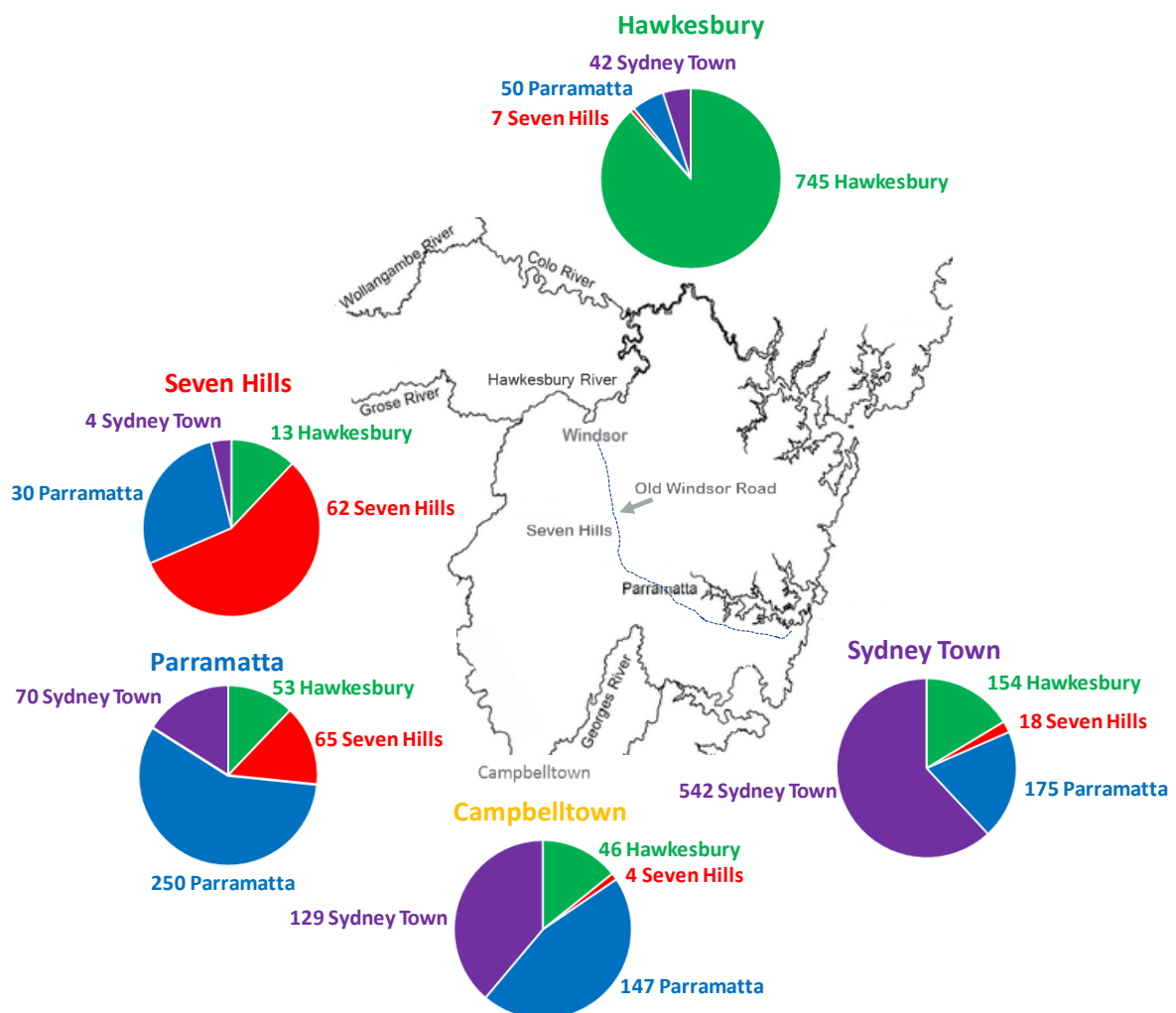


Figure 3.3 Distribution of CGC who as adults, remained within The Cumberland Plain (n=2606).

This Figure presents data from Table 3.5. Stage 3: Area of Residency for CGC (Migration Analysis). Pie charts with labels are used to display the number and origin of CGC who migrated to each of the five localities studied: Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; Sydney Town; and Campbelltown.

Table 3.6 Migration analysis of CGC who moved from the Cumberland Plain to downstream districts beyond the Cumberland Plain (n=1231).

This table presents data relating to Stage 3: Later life area of residency for CGC (migration analysis). An average of thirty-two percent (n=1231) CGC from the population of (n=3837) left their local area and migrated beyond the Cumberland Plain, that is, eleven percent (n=435) of the population migrated north of the Cumberland Plain, fourteen percent (n=525) migrated south of the Cumberland Plain, and seven percent (n=271) migrated west of the Cumberland Plain. The data displayed show the four localities studied and the contribution of CGC each locality made to these migrations. Note: this dataset represents a cumulative portrayal of evolving family patterns over time, rather than a discrete snapshot of any singular historical moment.

Migrated From	Migrations of CGC to beyond the Cumberland Plain - analysis			Total
	North	South	West	
Hwksby	293	172	175	640
Seven Hills	17	57	19	93
PA	76	221	52	349
SYD Town	49	75	25	149
TOTAL	435	525	271	1231

Key: Hwksby- Hawkesbury; SYD Town- Sydney Town; PA- Parramatta; C Town- Campbelltown

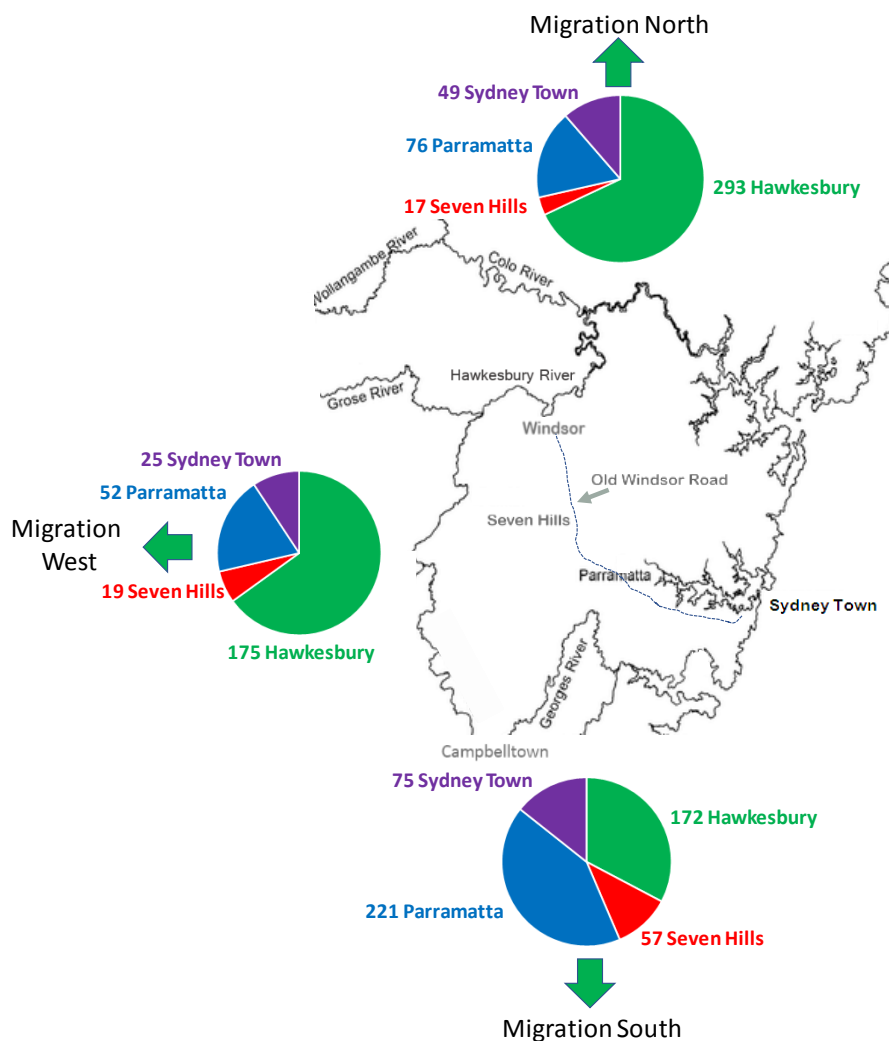


Figure 3.4 Migration distribution of CGC beyond the Cumberland Plain (n=1231).

This Figure presents data from Table 3.6. Stage 3: Later life area of residency for CGC (migration analysis). Pie charts with numbering are used to display the number and origin of CGC who migrated to each of three directions out from the Cumberland Plain: north; west; and south.

Table 3.7 Migration analysis of CGC who originated from within the Hawkesbury and in later life migrated out of that locality (n=906).

This table presents data relating to Stage 3: Later life area of residency for CGC (migration analysis). A total of 906 CGC were recorded leaving the Hawkesbury. Of these, an average of twenty-nine percent (n=266) remained within the Cumberland Plain from the population of (n=906) and the remaining seventy-one percent (n=640) migrated to downstream districts beyond the Cumberland Plain. Note: this dataset represents a cumulative portrayal of evolving family patterns over time, rather than a discrete snapshot of any singular historical moment.

CGC who originated from within the Hawkesbury and migrated out of that locality to downstream districts					
Seven Hills	Parramatta	SYD Town	C Town	Outside Cumberland Plain	Total
13	53	154	46	640	906

Key: SYD Town- Sydney Town; C Town- Campbelltown

Table 3.8 Migration analysis of CGC who originated from outside the Hawkesbury and in later life migrated into the Hawkesbury (Sub-set of Table 3.5).

This table presents data relating to Stage 3: Later life area of residency for CGC (migration analysis). A total of 99 CGC were recorded entering the Hawkesbury in later life. This represents four percent of the total CGC migrations within the Cumberland Plain (n=2606). Note: this dataset represents a cumulative portrayal of evolving family patterns over time, rather than a discrete snapshot of any singular historical moment.

Origin of CGC who migrated into the Hawkesbury locality in later life			
Seven Hills	Parramatta	SYD Town	Total
7	50	42	99

Key: SYD Town- Sydney Town

Table 3.9 Analysis of CGC who undertook southern migrations beyond the Cumberland Plain but paused (i.e. lay-over) at Campbelltown during their migrations.

This table presents data relating to Stage 3: Later life area of residency for CGC (migration analysis). This table shows a breakdown of the (n=525) CGC who migrated south of the Cumberland Plain, of these, (n=159) were identified in the data as initially pausing at Campbelltown, and after some years, continued their migrations south (i.e. 159 CGC transited at Campbelltown). Note: this dataset represents a cumulative portrayal of evolving family patterns over time, rather than a discrete snapshot of any singular historical moment.

Migrated From	Southern migrations of CGC beyond Cumberland Plain	
	Total CGC who migrated south of Cumberland Plain	CGC who migrated south of the Cumberland Plain, but with their migration interrupted by a lay-over at Campbelltown
Hwksby	172	45
Seven Hills	57	14
PA	221	84
SYD Town	75	16
TOTAL	525	159

Key: Hwksby-Hawkesbury; PA-Parramatta; SYD Town – Sydney Town

Notes on Table 3.9. The CGC migrations that took place south of the Cumberland Plain were impacted by the founding of Campbelltown. From before 1820, families were taking up land grants in this locality in what was at the time a newly established settlement area. In 1822 Lachlan Macquarie visited the area just prior to returning to England. In his journal Macquarie described Campbelltown as a ‘Populous Neighborhood, and making a good stage for Persons travelling to the Southern and Western Districts.’ This clearly did eventuate as data from the current study indicates that (n=159) CGC who initially migrated from across the Cumberland Plain to Campbelltown, paused there for some years, before continuing their travels and migrating to points further south and southwest.

3.4 Stage 4: Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River Accent Corridor study

The stage 4 study was designed to sample families with native-born children who migrated within a corridor stretching south / southwest from the Hawkesbury in the north, towards the downstream districts of Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River in southern New South Wales and north-east Victoria between 1800–1865.

The reconstruction of inland migration pathways in this study relies on a demographic method centred on Bridging Families—families whose children are born in two or more distinct localities along the migration corridor. Because each family produces a sequence of children whose birthplaces and birth years are recorded in baptismal, civil, or burial registers, these families provide a natural chronological track of movement across space. When aggregated across multiple families, these tracks form a dense, overlapping network that reveals the spatial and temporal structure of migration flows.

Administrative centres where typically churches or government recorded births, deaths and marriages were used to flag these events. The locations used in the current study were: Sydney Town; Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; Campbelltown; Southern Highlands; Goulburn/Gunning; Wagga; Cooma; Albury/Wodonga; Beechworth/Yackandandah; and Wangaratta/Taminick/Wangandary. These locations span an area from the Cumberland Plain, through the Riverina and Monaro districts, terminating in the Upper Murray River districts.

This study found records for (n=142) families. Of these (n=4) were blended families giving a total of (n=288) parents and (n=1097) children. Sixty-nine percent of parents in the sample (n=198) were native-born and thirty-one percent (n=90) were foreign-born. Of the (n=142) families sampled, ninety percent (n=128) had at least (n=1) native-born parent, whilst ten percent of families (n=14) had both parents foreign-born (n=22).



Figure 3.5 Map of the migration corridor stretching from the Hawkesbury to the downstream districts of the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River - shown within the red oval.

Table 3.10 Eldest Child Year and Place of Birth for Bridging Families (n=142).

This table presents data relating to stage 4: Case Study of families migrating to the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River. It summarises the year of birth (YOB) and birthplace of the eldest child in each of the Bridging Families (n=142), grouped by Administrative Centre: Sydney Town; Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; Campbelltown; Southern Highlands; Goulburn/Gunning; Wagga; Cooma; Albury/Wodonga; Beechworth/Yackandandah; and Wangaratta/Taminick/Wangandary. These families migrated along an 'Accent Corridor' from the Cumberland Plain toward the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River districts between 1800 and 1865. The eldest child's YOB is used as the earliest indicator of each family's presence at a given Administrative Centre.

Year of birth of the eldest child of each family born at the specified Administrative Location												
Cumberland Plain						Outer Sydney		Riverina	Monaro	Upper Murray River		
Family	Sydney Town	Hwksby	Seven Hills	Parra	Campbell-town	S/H	Goulburn/Gunning	Wagga	Cooma	A/W	B/Y	W/T/W
F1		1800		1808								
F2				1801	1817							
F3		1802			1816							
F4			1804		1814							
F5				1805	1818							
F6				1808	1822							
F7				1809	1822							
F8		1818			1820							
F9			1812			1820						
F10				1801	1821							
F11				1804	1825							
F12				1816	1818		1826					
F13					1820	1830						
F14			1827			1830						
F15				1816			1826					
F16				1807	1826							
F17				1816	1818	1836						
F18		1805			1823							
F19					1830		1834					
F20					1823		1831			1836		
F21					1826							1845
F22				1810						1840		
F23				1814	1818	1827						
F24					1825							1840
F25				1828			1837					
F26						1839			1843			
F27				1836			1843					
F28							1844					1848
F29			1825							1840		
F30		1828										1840
F31			1835			1840				1848		
F32						1826					1844	
F33					1833							1843
F34						1840				1846		
F35			1837					1843				
F36							1840				1845	
F37		1822								1841		
F38		1823			1830				1840			
F39				1813	1823							
F40					1831						1844	
F41					1824				1841			
F42			1841				1851					
F43				1814	1821							1842
F44					1819							1842
F45					1819							1847
F46					1825		1839					
F47					1838	1843						
F48					1835					1840		
F49					1837					1848		
F50						1826						1843
F51					1825							1840
F52							1836			1847		

F53		1832					1850				
F54						1844			1854		
F55			1843			1845				1854	
F56			1843			1848				1856	
F57								1847			1873
F58					1824	1845					
F59					1824						1847
F60		1820							1848		
F61				1834	1837				1843		
F62					1835		1845				
F63					1837				1846		
F64					1821				1846		
F65			1847		1848						1850
F66							1847		1858		
F67			1826			1847					
F68							1843	1860			
F69					1836			1844			
F70		1846					1851				
F71			1827					1845			
F72			1841					1844			
F73				1830			1847				
F74		1845						1847			
F75			1848					1850			
F76					1832			1847			
F77						1848	1849				
F78					1848				1853		
F79					1826			1850			
F80					1847						1850
F81					1845					1847	
F82					1846		1848		1851		
F83									1851		
F84				1843					1851		
F85							1845		1848		1869
F86			1842					1853			
F87					1850				1851		
F88			1850				1852				
F89					1850				1852		
F90							1850		1853		
F91					1851				1852		
F92			1850							1852	
F93					1848				1855		
F94						1853		1857			
F95			1851				1853				
F96			1841								1853
F97			1854		1861						
F98					1851				1854		
F99					1855				1865		
F100					1857						1857
F101								1855	1858		
F102				1853					1853		
F103					1833				1855		
F104					1857		1857				
F105			1850							1855	
F106							1843		1856		
F107							1856		1865		
F108			1857								1857
F109										1856	1856
F110					1846						1866
F111										1856	
F112			1855							1855	
F113			1856					1856			
F114					1839		1846				
F115									1856		1856
F116		1848						1848			
F117					1854				1858		
F118					1859					1859	
F119					1859						1859
F120					1824		1840				
F121							1859	1867			
F122				1851				1851			
F123			1843					1857			

F124				1858			1858				
F125		1853							1866		
F126				1857					1857		
F127		1843		1843							
F128				1821			1848				
F129							1855		1860		
F130		1862				1862					
F131		1840					1860				
F132			1857								1861
F133		1858		1858							
F134	1862										1862
F135				1862							1862
F136					1863			1863			
F137						1865	1878				
F138						1865					1873
F139				1852					1858		
F140				1865					1865		
F141							1865				
F142	1865						1865				

Key: Hwksby-Hawkesbury; Parra-Parramatta; S/H- Southern Highlands; A/W- Albury/Wodonga; B/Y-Beechworth/Yackandandah; W/T/W- Wangaratta/Taminick/Wangandary

Table 3.11 Birth locations of native-born parents included in the 1830-1865 migration study (198).

This table presents data relating to stage 4: Case Study of families migrating to the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River districts showing origin of native-born parents (n=198)

Summary birth location: native-born parents per location included in the 1830-1865 migration study						
Sydney Town	Hawkesbury	Seven Hills	Parramatta	Campbelltown	Southern Highlands	Total
3	25	38	70	52	10	198
1.5%	13%	19%	35%	26%	5%	

Table 3.12 Birth locations of native-born children included in the 1830-1865 migration study (1097).

Presented is data from Stage 4: Case Study of CGC Migration to Riverina & Upper Murray River districts and includes the number of children born in each administrative locality to families who subsequently migrated along the Accent Corridor into the Riverina, Monaro, and Upper Murray. Births are grouped into five-year eldest child cohorts, allowing identification of early Hawkesbury and Parramatta dominated source populations and later contributions from Campbelltown, Seven Hills, the Southern Highlands, and Goulburn/Gunning. These patterns provide the demographic foundation for analysing the transition from accent formation to accent diffusion.

YOB eldest child/family	Place of birth (administrative locality): children of families who migrated towards the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray												
	Cumberland Plain					Outer Sydney		Riverina	Mon	Upper Murray River			Total
	Syd Town	Hwksby	Seven Hills	Parra	Campbelltown	S/H	Goulburn/Gunning	Wagga	Cooma	A/W	B/Y	W/T/W	
1800-05		16	2	18									
1806-10				12									
1811-15				13	4								
1816-20		1		8	27	9							
1821-25		9	10		74								
1826-30		5	2	10	11	24	13						
1831-35			4	2	38		10						
1836-40			10	1	25	8	19		3	7		6	
1841-45		1	24	2	1	2	31	22	12	6	4	24	
1846-50		2	2		7	16	16	32	11	31	10	16	
1851-55			9		10	1	19	21	2	68	30		
1856-60				1	16		14	39	4	37	26	20	
1861-65					5		8	19	5	27	4	32	
Total		40	63	67	218	61	130	133	37	176	74	98	1097
Percent	0%	4%	6%	6%	20%	6%	12%	12%	3%	16%	7%	9%	

Key: Hwksby-Hawkesbury; Parra-Parramatta; S/H- Southern Highlands; Mon- Monaro; A/W- Albury/Wodonga; B/Y-Beechworth/Yackandandah; W/T/W- Wangaratta/Taminick/Wangandary

3.5 Stage 4a: Seven Hills School cluster study

The stage 4 results revealed a notable concentration of native-born CGC parents originating from Seven Hills. This cluster comprised nineteen-percent (n=38) of the total native-born parent cohort (n=198). Archival entries from the Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788–1825 indicate that (n=30) of these CGC individuals had attended the same school at Seven Hills during their formative years. Of these, thirteen children later became parents to second-generation children born at Seven Hills (n=53) therefore, contributing eighty-four percent of the children who originated in Seven Hills (n=63). Genealogical research found several family lines descending from CGC who had attended the Seven Hills school are—at the time of writing—into their 10th generation. Table 3.20 presents data on the (n=30) CGC who attended the Seven Hills school.

Table 3.13 Seven Hills School Students (n=30) who as parents migrated to the Riverina and Upper Murray River districts between 1830–1865. This table presents data relating to stage 4a: Seven Hills School cluster study. Included in this table are the birth names of the students and year of birth; their parents' status as either 'Free Settlers' or 'Convicts'; birth year of eldest child and youngest child to each parent; and other interesting facts. This data was collected from the Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788–1825, New South Wales and Victoria BDM, TROVE, Family History sites and relevant texts.

Birth name of first-generation children who attended the Seven Hills school and also later migrated to the Riverina and Upper Murray districts	Birth year of first-generation children who attended the Seven Hills school and also later migrated to the Riverina and Upper Murray districts	Status of the Parents' of first-generation children	Birth range of second-generation children born to the corresponding first-generation children	Interesting Facts
John Hillas	1797	Free settler	1827-1845	Children b. at S Hills. & Southern Highlands
Charlotte Pearce	1802	Free settler	1833-1845	Children b. at S Hills. Property at Corowa.
Martha Pearce	1804	Free settler	1827-1845	Children b. at S Hills. Properties at Goulburn & Wagga
Matthew Pearce	1806	Free settler	1835-1855	Children b. at S Hills. Properties at Albury & SH
George Hillas	1806	Free settler	1836-1841	Children b. at SH & Hillasmount. Died Albury 1875
William Pearce	1808	Free settler	1835-1854	Children b. at S Hills. Properties at Albury & SH
James Hillas	1808	Free settler	-	Died in 1835
John Best	1810	Convict	1848-1858	d. at Gunning in 1861
Jane Brien	1811	Convict	1833-1847	Children born at Campbelltown and Wodonga.
Ferdinand Meurant	1811	Convict	1842-1857	Children b. at S Hills. Father of early family in Wagga
Robert Holt Best	1812	Convict	1837-1861	Established Wagga run in 1832 m. Clara Brien
Peter Best	1814	Convict	1844-1851	Children b. Gunning m. Elizabeth Lawless Yass 1841
Mary Ann Brien	1815	Convict	1835-1855	Children b. at S Hills. Runs at Bannaby & Albury
Albert Meurant	1815	Convict	1843-1865	Children b. at S Hills. In Yackandandah 1855
William Best	1816	Convict	1841-1863	Children b. at S Hills. & Wagga
William Pike	1817	Convict	1840-1861	Wagga 1861 m. Elvira Meurant
Elvira Meurant	1818	Convict	1840-1861	Wagga 1861 m. William Pike
Clara Brien	1821	Convict	1837-1861	Children b. at S Hills and Wagga from 1843
Juliet Meurant	1822	Convict	1843-1863	Early family at Yackandandah 1854 m. Henry Jarvis
Ann Beckett	1823	Convict	1843-1871	Children b. at S Hills. & Wagga
James Beckett	1824	Convict	-	Settled in Jerilderie. m. Alicia Smith
Morgan Power	1824	Convict	1843-1871	Children b. at S Hills. & Wagga
Sarah Brien	1825	Convict	1847-1862	Children b. at S Hills and Taminick
Martha Hillas	1827	Convict	1849-1860	Riverina family 1860 m. Robert Sherriff
James Brien	1829	Convict	1857-1872	Children b. at Wangandary
Eliza Hillas	1830	Convict	1852-1869	Riverina family 1852 m. Philip Jamieson
Louis Meurant	1831	Convict	1856-1879	Children b. Yackandandah & Wagga.
Selina Meurant	1832	Convict	1853-1855	S Hills. family 1858. m. Thomas Neale
Eleanor Brien	1832	Convict	1853-1878	Children b. at S Hills & Howlong
Emma Meurant	1834	Convict	1853-1877	All children born in Wagga m. John Stinson

Seven Hills was situated on a track first established in 1794 known today as Old Windsor Road. This was the initial route between Windsor in the Hawkesbury River area and Parramatta. Seven Hills was located some 23Km from Windsor and 13Km from Parramatta and at the time was not a recognised destination, just a collection of farms that happened to be grouped as a result of the land grant process used for distributing property to emancipated convicts and free settlers. Even so, during this study period it was the closest populated area to the Hawkesbury.

By 1810 Old Windsor Road had become virtually impassable in parts, and construction of a new road commenced (New Windsor Road) situated some kilometers to the east. The New Windsor Road opened in 1812 and from that time most traffic between Windsor and Parramatta bypassed the farms of Seven Hills, rendering the community even more isolated.



Figure 3.6 Map of Old Windsor Road dated around 1805 showing the land grants allocated at the time. Labels are included indicating the proximity of Seven Hills to the settlements of Windsor and Parramatta.

In response to the growing number of children in the area, in 1816 eight Seven Hills farmers petitioned the governor requesting permission to establish a school. Permission was granted and the farmers constructed a single room classroom near the corner of today’s Seven Hills Road and Old Windsor Road and employed a convict bank clerk from Kent as their children’s tutor. The foundation class commenced in 1817 and consisted of 18 students aged 5–15 years. However, records from 1823 and 1825 indicate an age range for attendance of 6–13 years. All children were first-generation native-born sons & daughters of local farmers and were born & raised in close proximity to the school.

By inferential analysis of the extended families of the farmers who signed the original 1816 petition, it is estimated that by 1840 at least 46 students had attended the school. However, as it was the only school servicing the Seven Hills community for decades, it may be reasonable to assume that most of the local Seven Hills children were students of the school at some point, so the actual number of students attending may have been considerably higher. The school was eventually acquired by the Anglican Church and in 1863 had 54 students.

Table 3.14 Foundation students of the 1817 Seven Hills school (INX-99-141418).

Colonial Secretary’s Papers, 1788–1825 and New South Wales BDM.

Charlotte Pearce aged 15	Elizabeth Best aged 11	Sarah Best aged 8
Mary Best aged 14	Unknown Joyce aged 11	John O’Hara aged 8
Martha Pearce aged 13	William Pearce aged 9	John Ridley aged 7
Robert Hathaway aged 13	Morgan Power aged 9	John Best aged 7
Timothy Power aged 12	Sarah Ridley aged 9	Jane Brien aged 6
Matthew Pearce aged 11	Catherine Brien aged 8	Robert Holt Best aged 5

It is clear from both the size and migration patterns of the Seven Hills population identified in stages 1 and 3 of the current study that the Australian accent did not emerge from this locality. Hence, accent transfer must have occurred between the locus and this semi isolated community within a timeframe that would match the migrations of local families into the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray districts identified in stage 4. To determine the social networks of the Seven Hills population, and ascertain candidate host populations of school-aged children, marriage data for the interval 1788–1855 relating to 16 families totaling 62 individuals—who were in some way connected to the Seven Hills school—was analysed and two sets of data were collated. Set-1: marriage/partner origin data against the birth year of the 62 individuals and, Set-2: marriage/partner origin data against the year each of the 62 individuals were married. This data is presented in tables 3.15 and 3.16.

Table 3.15 Seven Hills marriage/partner origin data based on birth year.

Presented is data for (n=62) Seven Hills individuals with connections to families who attended the Seven Hills school. The number of persons born between 1788 and 1835 is presented in 5–increments along with their partner’s origin; presented by birth year.

Birth Year	Hawkesbury	Seven Hills	Parramatta	Campbelltown	Illawarra	Foreign
1788-1795		1	1			
1796-1800		5	2	2	1	1
1801-1805			4	1	1	1
1806-1810			6	4		
1811-1815		1	7	1	2	1
1816-1820		1	3			
1821-1825			4	1	1	1
1826-1830			1		2	
1831-1835			4		1	

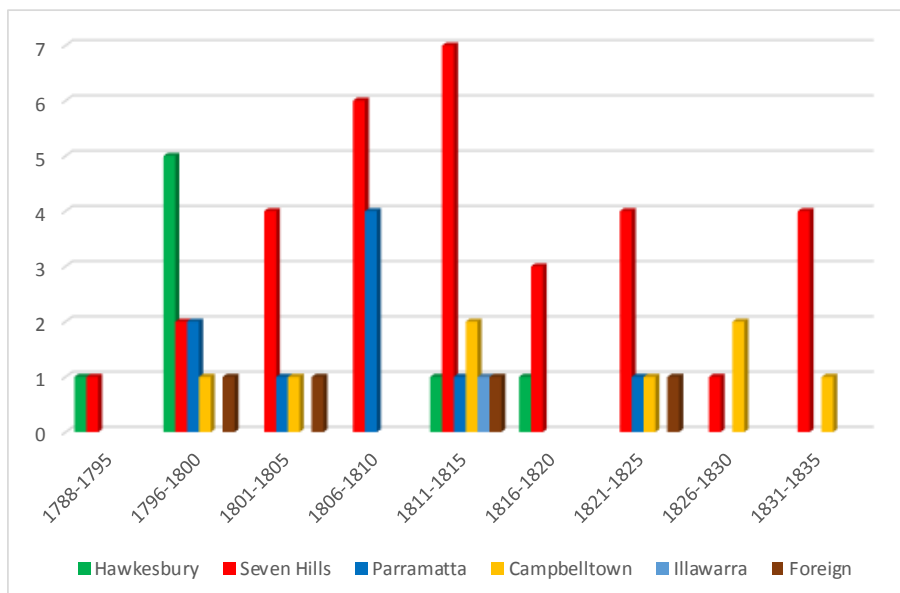


Figure 3.7 Marriage/partner data for 62 Seven Hills individuals presented by birth year.

Presented is data for (n=62) Seven Hills individuals with connections to families who attended the Seven Hills school. The number of persons born between 1788 and 1835 is presented in 5–increments along with their partner’s origin.

Table 3.16 Seven Hills marriage/partner origin data based on marriage year.

Marriage/partner origin data for 62 Seven Hills individuals with connections to families who attended the Seven Hills school; presented by marriage year.

Marriage Year	Hawkesbury	Seven Hills	Parramatta	Campbelltown	Illawarra	Foreign
1800-1805				1		
1806-1810				1		
1811-1815	3	1	1			
1816-1820	1	1	1			
1821-1825	2	4			1	
1826-1830	1	5			1	1
1831-1835		3	6			1
1836-1840	1	6	2			
1841-1845		2	2		1	1
1846-1850		3	1		1	
1851-1855		4			3	

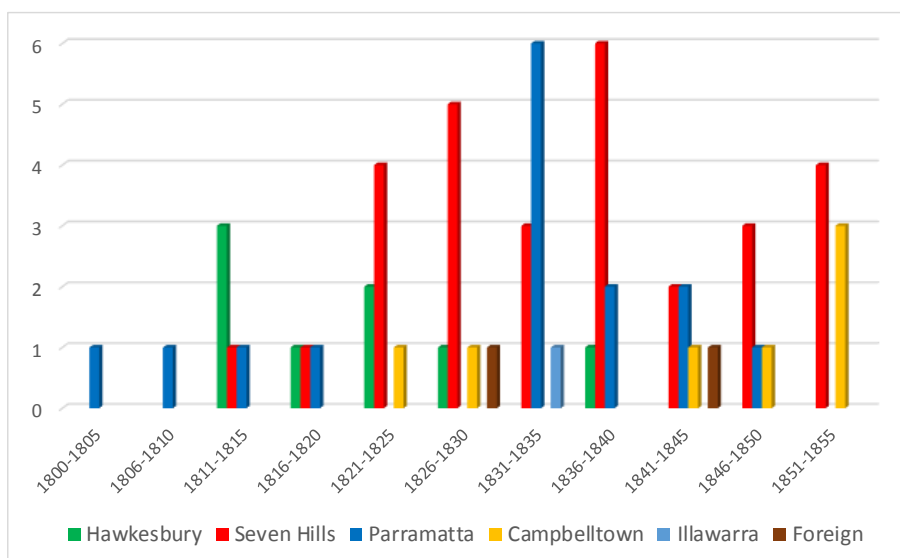


Figure 3.8 Marriage/partner data for 62 Seven Hills individuals presented by marriage year.

The marriage data reveals that before the establishment of the Seven Hills school in 1817, the Hawkesbury was the principal external community with which Seven Hills families maintained social ties. Between 1811 and 1815, three marriages connected Seven Hills to the Hawkesbury, compared with only one internal marriage within Seven Hills itself. This pattern suggests that the Hawkesbury provided a vital social and possibly economic network during the formative years of the Seven Hills settlement. The data also show that the 1811–1815 marriages were all between free-settler families who appear to have socialised within an exclusive social stratum. Parramatta connections were strongest in the 1830s, while Hawkesbury ties weakened after 1816 as Seven Hills consolidated around its own institutions. Campbelltown appears as a new partner in the 1820s, and Illawarra only once, indicating a gradual expansion of external ties. Foreign marriages remained rare throughout. Overall, the evidence indicates that the Hawkesbury played a crucial role in sustaining Seven Hills families prior to the school’s establishment, with its influence later evolving rather than disappearing.

Chapter 4 Discussion

This research project aimed to investigate the genesis and early diffusion of the emerging Australian accent by analysing raw demographic archival data to identify and define a host population that were carriers of the agent (Australian accent). Based on (Trudgill, 2004), (Moore, 2008) and (Labov, 2001) the main candidate demographic for the host population was narrowed to families of European descent residing in the Sydney Basin.

Stages 1–3 of the current study sampled 792 families whose eldest offspring were born in the first 25 years of settlement (1788–1813) encompassing a total of 4,339 children—here termed *Currency Generation Children* (CGC). Data pertaining to childhood residential location—based on four key geographical localities: Hawkesbury; Seven Hills; Parramatta; and Sydney Town—were collected, alongside information on family composition, patterns of marital union, and migration trends of CGC and their second-generation children. These variables served to contextualise linguistic evolution within broader socio-cultural dynamics.

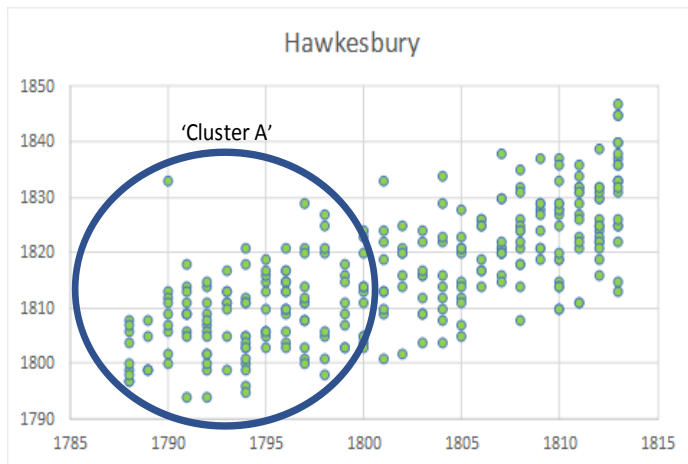
Stage 4 of the research examined a cohort of 142 families who migrated from the Greater Sydney and nearby areas in the direction of the Riverina and Upper Murray River districts within New South Wales and Victoria during the period 1800–1865. These families collectively accounted for 1097 children, forming a dataset that facilitated the investigation of the chronological progression and regional dissemination of the early Australian accent. This study aimed to reveal the mechanisms and temporal dynamics of the accent’s propagation beyond urban and semi urban centers into peripheral settlements.

Stages 3 and 4 were augmented through comparative analysis against New South Wales and Victorian census data which provided spatial and temporal constraints that aided interpretation of the datasets.

To initiate the analysis of these findings, we first examine the CGC Family Composition and Place of Residency data presented in Scatter Charts 3.1–3.4. This data classifies the residential locations of CGC throughout their formative years, thereby offering insights into the temporal and spatial dynamics of the four Cumberland Plain communities examined in the current study. It is essential to emphasise that, given the longitudinal design of the research, this dataset represents a cumulative portrayal of evolving family patterns over time, rather than a discrete snapshot of any singular historical moment.

Of particular interest is Scatter Chart 3.1 which depicts the Hawkesbury locality. This chart reveals a distinct concentration of families with school-aged children residing in the area prior to 1800 designated as ‘Cluster A’ (n=131) shown in Scatter Chart 4.1—a pattern not observed in the other three localities represented in Charts 3.2–3.4.

The presence of this cluster suggests that the Hawkesbury locality may have offered more favorable conditions for family establishment earlier than the other localities examined in this study. Consequently, it can be inferred that the population of school-aged children in the Hawkesbury likely peaked earlier than in the comparative localities. The Hawkesbury ‘Cluster A’ demographic is further explored in Appendix 3.



Scatter Chart 4.1 Presented is data from Stage 1 of the study revealing a pre-1800 cluster of families.

This inference aligns with stage 1 data presented in Table 3.1 which reveal the Hawkesbury River locality accounted for the largest proportion of families with school-aged CGC ($n=284$), as well as the largest number of school-aged CGC ($n=1857$)—representing forty-three percent of all school-aged CGC recorded within the Cumberland Plain ($n=4339$).

Marriage/Partner stage 2 data presented in Table 3.2a indicates that the Hawkesbury locality had the highest local (i.e. Hawkesbury native-born) CGC partner rate within the Cumberland Plain at forty percent ($n=527$), suggesting that from a marriage/partner perspective, the Hawkesbury River community was the most closed and stable within the Cumberland Plain. According to (Trudgill 2004, p. 163–164) instability within a community, particularly from immigration, will introduce delays in the accent focusing process as foreign-born immigrants would likely continue to use speech variants that may have already become less frequent or lost completely among the native-born speakers.

Data obtained from the Australian Bureau of Statistics indicates that the immigrant population of New South Wales increased substantially from 1815 (Figure 1.2) suggesting that the window of opportunity for accent stabilisation within this region was beginning to close from that date.

Analysis of stage 3 data is presented including a total CGC ($n=3837$) migrations in Table 3.3. Additional analysis of this data is presented in Table 3.4 and indicates that of these, fifty-eight percent ($n=2238$), as adults, moved outside the locality they had spent their school-aged years. Of these, forty-five percent ($n=1007$) remained within the Cumberland Plain and fifty-five percent ($n=1231$) exited the Cumberland Plain altogether representing a significant population out-migration event. A temporal overlap is apparent between this population out-migration event and historical events outlined in the Historical Context section of this report. Specifically, from around 1825 the colonial population as a whole experienced significant change as a result of the Bigge reports released in 1822/23.

Hawkesbury post 1825 analysis

Among the four localities examined in the current study, the Hawkesbury region appears to have been the most profoundly affected by the policy reforms recommended by John Thomas Bigge and implemented from 1825. This assertion is supported by notable demographic shifts observed before and after that year. Between 1794–1825, the Hawkesbury experienced significant population growth, primarily driven by the influx of foreign-born convicts. These

individuals, many of whom were progenitors of the CGC, constituted the foundational families (n=284) documented in Table 3.1.

Following the implementation of Bigge’s recommendations, a distinct phase of demographic change emerged, marked by a substantial outmigration of CGC from the region. As shown in Table 3.7: fifty-five percent (n=906) of CGC adults relocated from the Hawkesbury, while forty-five percent (n=745) remained in situ. Further analysis of Table 3.8 indicates that only four percent (n=99) of the CGC who resided within the Cumberland Plain (n=2606) ultimately settled in the Hawkesbury. In contrast, none of the other three localities examined exhibited comparable patterns of migratory inflow or outflow during the same period.

Table 3.8 is a subset of Table 3.5 and together allow a calculation of the overall mobility of the Hawkesbury CGC demographic. A breakdown of this population indicates that the net outflow of CGC from the Hawkesbury (n=906) was effectively offset by the net in situ CGC (n=745) and a modest net inflow (n=99). These data track the movement of (n=1750) persons and indicate that the Hawkesbury CGC—and their second-generation descendants—retained numerical dominance within the Hawkesbury locality throughout the observed period. This data is visualised in Figure 4.1.

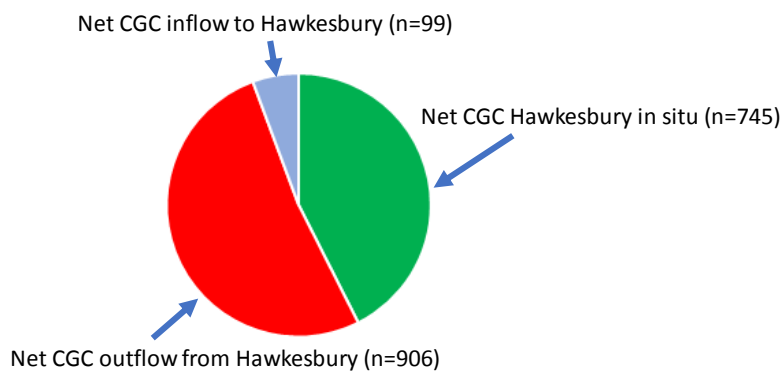


Figure 4.1 Pie chart presenting data from stage 3 of the current study showing the relative population of CGC in the Hawkesbury locality over the study period. A total of (n=1750) Hawkesbury related CGC migrations were recorded. Of these, a net CGC inflow to the Hawkesbury (n=99) was recorded and, net in situ CGC (n=745) was recorded and, a net outflow from the Hawkesbury (n=906) was recorded.

New South Wales census data from 1848 to 1901 was analysed to assess the long-term impact of Hawkesbury-related population movements and determine whether the historical bias against inward migration detected in Stage 3 of the current study (as presented in Tables: 3.3; 3.4; 3.5; 3.8) was reflected in external datasets. Table 4.1 and Figure 4.2 present demographic data derived from the census returns for the region’s principal population centres: Windsor; Richmond; Wilberforce and Pitt Town. Collectively the stage 3 data results and the New South Wales census returns from 1848 to 1901 support the conclusion that migration into the Hawkesbury region following the policy reforms of 1825 was meagre.

The 1825 reforms curtailed the surveying of small-acre lots and significantly altered settlement patterns. These changes effectively restricted CGC and their native-born descendants from migrating to, and settling in, the Hawkesbury region. As Proudfoot (1987, p. 38) observes, the scarcity of agricultural land from the 1820s prompted ‘young white men to strike out for the fertile river flats of the Hunter’—a sentiment supported by Table 3.6 which reveals the majority of CGC migrations north and west of the Cumberland Plain emanated from the Hawkesbury

and presents a depiction of the Hawkesbury’s rapid decline from a central agricultural hub to a marginalised locality.

Hence, from the early 19th century through to the 20th century the main Hawkesbury townships of Windsor, Richmond, Wilberforce and Pitt Town show a pattern of slow growth, occasional decline, and long periods of near-stagnation. Unlike emerging frontier districts, there is no evidence of sustained inward migration or rapid population expansion. Instead, numbers remain broadly stable over several decades, consistent with a community whose population is maintained largely through natural increase rather than through the arrival of newcomers.

Table 4.1 Presented is census return data relating to the main Hawkesbury communities of: Windsor; Richmond; Wilberforce and Pitt Town; for the Census years: 1848; 1861; 1871; 1881; 1891 ; and 1901.

Location	Census year					
	1848	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Windsor	1679	1900	1732	1990	2033	2039
Richmond	746	943	1065	1239	1242	1201
Wilberforce		189	375	356	482	
Pitt Town	229	298	241	351	351	

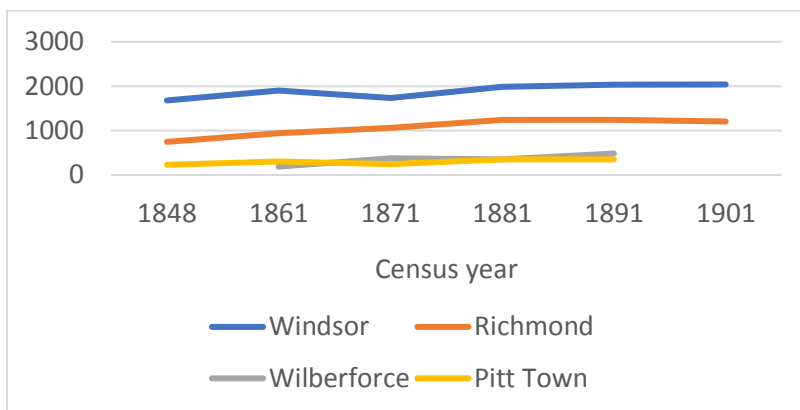


Figure 4.2 Presented is data from the New South Wales census returns for the years: 1848; 1861; 1871; 1881; 1891 ; and 1901. Line graphs are used to display the population changes over time at four key localities within the Hawkesbury locality: Windsor; Richmond; Wilberforce; Pitt Town.

Trudgill (2004, p.88) argues that the linguistic features of a demographically dominant group will eventually become adopted by the wider population. Hence, communities that do not receive large numbers of outsiders are less exposed to competing dialects and less subject to the kinds of levelling processes that accompany heavy in-migration. In the Hawkesbury, the census profile implies that most children were born into locally established families and grew up in dense, interrelated networks in which parents, neighbours and school peers were themselves native to the district suggesting the Hawkesbury was a closed speech community.

Kerswill and Williams (2000, p. 69, p. 74) state that the proportion of children to adults in the earliest years of settlement will impact the degree of linguistic focusing achieved by the first generation of natives and, that the presence of a ‘high proportion of children and young people in a new town’ accelerates the process of koinéisation. Population data collected in stage 1 (Table 3.1) indicates the Hawkesbury locality had the highest number of school-aged children within the Cumberland Plain (n=1857) as well as the highest average family size (6.5).

Stage 2 of the current study (Tables 3.2 a and 3.2 b) indicate that Hawkesbury CGC had the highest ratio of local marriage/partnerships of the localities studied with around forty-percent of unions formed between individuals who spent their school years locality; with around the same number partnering locally residing foreign-born convicts. Stage 3 (Table 3.3) reveal that fifty-two percent (n=640) of later life regional CGC migrations originated from the Hawkesbury; compared with Parramatta twenty-eight percent (n=349); Sydney Town twelve percent (n=149); and Seven Hills eight percent (n=93) indicating that the mostly rural Hawkesbury locality made the greatest contribution to the CGC regional migrations compared with the other Cumberland Plain settlements.

In contrast, town children in Sydney and Parramatta lived in far more heterogeneous environments. Their daily interactions were shaped by adult-dominated workplaces, transient labour, institutional oversight, and a more diverse and mobile population. Peer groups were less stable, households were smaller and more transient, and children had greater exposure to unrelated adults and a wider range of dialectal inputs.

This is reflected in the stage 1 data indicating that Parramatta, while a major early settlement, presents a more constrained child ecology. It has fewer school aged children (n=1128), smaller average family size (5.2 children), and fewer wide age span families (n=127). The number of blended families is also markedly lower (n=35), suggesting reduced adult dialect mixture within households. Parramatta's more formal administrative environment, greater adult supervision, and stronger institutional presence limit the degree to which children could dominate the linguistic ecology.

Sydney Town differs from both Hawkesbury and Parramatta in ways that make it an unlikely site of accent formation. Although it has a large number of school aged children (n = 1091), its average family size is the smallest of the four localities (4.5 children), and it has the lowest average age differential (10.3 years). These patterns indicate fewer opportunities for sustained sibling care networks and reduced vertical transmission of child regularised forms. Sydney Town also has a high proportion of adult dominated households, greater institutional presence, and a more transient population due to maritime labour, government administration, and convict turnover. A further consideration appears in both stage 3 and stage 4 datasets. Table 3.6 which provides an overall view of CGC regional migrations reveal Sydney Town provided only twelve percent (n=149) of the total CGC that moved beyond the Cumberland Plain. This low number is even more pronounced in Tables 3.11 and 3.12 which focuses on migrations into southern New South Wales and Victoria. Individuals represented in these tables are mostly involved in early livestock farming—an uncommon occupation in Sydney Town—and unsurprisingly, Sydney Town CGC appear in very low numbers. Only (n=3) 1.5% of native-born adults, and zero children, are represented indicating that based on these results, there is nil probability of any outward-bound agent (accent) transmission into southern New South Wales or Victoria occurring. While Sydney Town was a major administrative and social centre, compared with the other localities studied, it has a demographic structure that appears less consistent with the conditions required for child driven koine formation and nonexistent capability for any substantial regional agent (accent) transmission.

These circumstances suggest that the urban centres of early New South Wales did not possess the demographic density, kin-based clustering, or sustained child-to-child interaction necessary for rapid accent stabilisation. Therefore if we are trying to identify where an early colonial accent could first have stabilised, and where it might have persisted with relatively little external disruption, as well as dominating the regional spread, then a locality with long-term

population stability, dense local kinship, almost no inward migration and substantial outward migration is a logical place to begin. These demographic characteristics universally match the combined Hawkesbury datasets. Notably this is supported anecdotally by Karskens (2009, p. 154) who describe communities who continue to reside along the Hawkesbury river in areas that are only accessible by boat ‘still use the same local expressions and pronunciations as their great-great-grandparents.’

These indicators provide a clear justification for focusing the overall analysis of the current study on the Hawkesbury locality as the agent locus. Accordingly, I contend that members of the Hawkesbury CGC constituted members of the host population who were carriers of the agent (here referred to as the *Hawkesbury accent*). By inference, the identification of the Hawkesbury locus provides a *northern book-end* against which the weight of evidence collected regarding southern CGC migrations acquired in stages 3 and 4 of the current study can be assessed. Further detailed analysis of the Hawkesbury locus CGC demographic is presented in Appendix 3 and 4.

Victorian gold rush analysis

The same process based on census data used in analysing the Hawkesbury demographic was applied to assessing whether suitable conditions existed for agent (accent) transmission at the southern end of the migration paths. The following section therefore examines Victorian census data to determine whether the age structure and birthplace composition of the early Victorian population match the host population and if so, determine the most plausible accent transmission window.

This analysis was based on a number of foundational principles: first, (Moore, 2008, p. 68) attests to the presence of the broad Australian accent in regional Victoria during the early gold rush period: second, that the agent (accent) emerged from within New South Wales: third, (Trudgill, 2004) states the emergence of a novel accent is characteristic of native-born children; and fourth, (Trudgill, 2004) argues that the mechanism by which variants are chosen is frequency-based and that the linguistic features of a demographically dominant group will eventually become adopted by the wider population.

In summary, the above four foundational principles stipulate that any Victorian bound host population carrying an agent which emerged within a New South Wales based native-born community, must be numerically sufficient in comparison with the incumbent native-born Victorian demographic; an outcome shaped by both deterministic and probabilistic mechanisms inherent in language contact and change.

Hence, in practice, the potential for a host population originating in New South Wales to exert meaningful linguistic influence upon the Victorian population would have depended on whether the number of school-aged native-born migrants born in New South Wales were sufficient in comparison with the number of locally born individuals present in Victoria measured at any given time period.

The external sources used for this analysis were the historical population data published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2008) and the Australian Data Archive resources encompassing the New South Wales, South Australian and Victorian Census summary tables 1836-1901 which cover the period preceding and during the 1851 Victorian gold rush era. Multiple sources indicate that the 1851 gold rush precipitated a substantial influx of overseas immigration.

Australia's non-Indigenous population nearly doubled within five years—rising from 405,356 in 1850 to 793,260 in 1855—and doubled again by 1870, reaching 1,647,756.

According to the University of Melbourne's Cultural Heritage webpage, an estimated 300,000 people arrived from England and Wales between 1851–1860, along with 100,000 from Scotland, 84,000 from Ireland, and approximately 5,000 from New Zealand and other South Pacific nations. In addition, at least 42,000 individuals migrated from China during this period, contributing to a total of over 530,000 immigrant arrivals between 1851–1860, the majority of whom were drawn to the Victorian gold fields.

The colony of Victoria was split-off from New South Wales in 1851 and according to the census return for that year the Victorian population consisted of 77,345 individuals (Table 4.2). By 1854 Victoria's non-Indigenous population had exceeded that of New South Wales, and by 1865 had risen to over 600,000 people; representing forty-five percent of Australia's non-Indigenous population (200,000 more than New South Wales). Making Victoria the most populous region in Australia; a situation that lasted until 1892 (Figures 1.6, 4.3 and 4.4).

Inter-colonial migration trends during the early gold rush were examined. Based on ABS historical population data, between 1851 and 1852, Tasmania's male population declined from 43,631 to 36,063—a reduction of 17%; a deficit that didn't recover until 1857. Similarly, South Australia experienced a decrease in its male population, from 37,321 to 36,310, amounting to a reduction of 2.7%; this downturn took two years to recover (Figure 4.3). These decreases indicate outward migration of males from these colonies, likely in response to opportunities in the Victorian goldfields.

In contrast, ABS data indicates that the female population in both Tasmania and South Australia increased during the same period. Tasmania recorded a rise from 25,556 to 27,382 females (a 7.1% increase), while South Australia's female population grew from 29,217 to 32,353 (a 10.7% increase) (Figure 4.4). These trends indicate that outward migration movement was male-dominated, with minimal disruption to the female population trends.

New South Wales population data was analysed revealing that during the early gold rush years 1851-1860, the average annual increase in the male population was 11,279, representing a growth rate of 7.3% per annum. This marks a rise compared to the pre-gold rush period (1843–1850), which saw an average annual increase of 6,667 males, or 5.43% per annum (Figure 4.3). Over the same period the New South Wales female population experienced a relatively consistent growth trajectory. From 1851–1860, the average yearly increase was 8,647 females—a 7.54% annual growth rate. This number closely aligns with the preceding period (1843–1850), during which the female population grew by an average of 6,405 annually, at a rate of 7.96% per annum (Figure 4.4).

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 present national population data (1845–1875) and reveal New South Wales experienced consistent growth among both male and female cohorts throughout the gold rush era, with no discernible outflow or decline in population. This trend stands in marked contrast to Tasmania and South Australia, both of which exhibit temporary population decreases indicative of gold rush-related emigration. The divergence in population trajectories between New South Wales and the states of Tasmania and South Australia suggests that a substantial migratory shift from New South Wales into Victoria between 1845–1875 is not evident in the data.

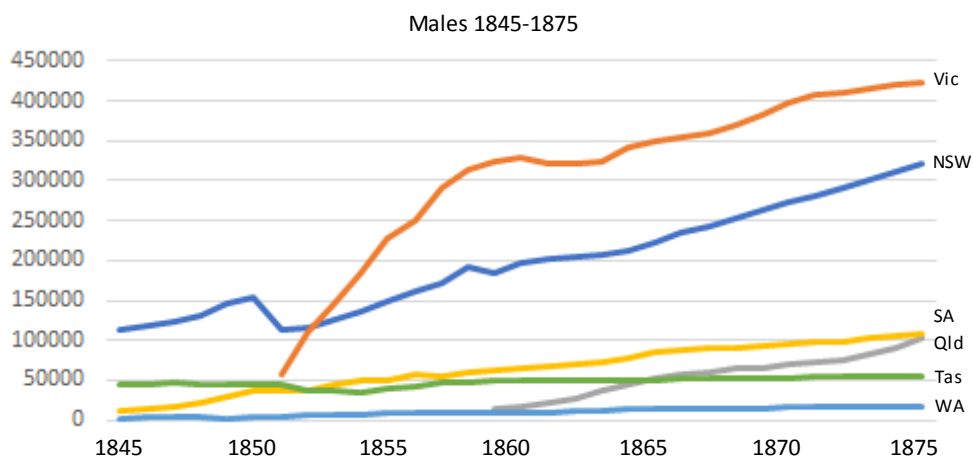


Figure 4.3 Population data for males of European descent living in the Australian states of: Victoria (Vic); New South Wales (NSW); South Australia (SA); Queensland (Qld); Tasmania (Tas); Western Australia (WA); between 1845–1875 (Historical Population data - Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008). Note: the observable dips in NSW population in 1851 due to the splitting-off of Victoria from New South Wales and 1859 is due to the splitting-off of Queensland.

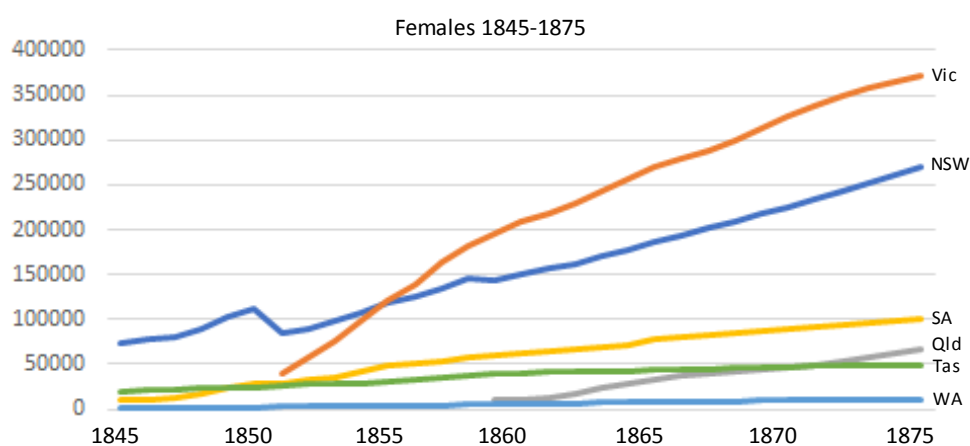


Figure 4.4 Population data for females of European descent living in the Australian states of: Victoria (Vic); New South Wales (NSW); South Australia (SA); Queensland (Qld); Tasmania (Tas); Western Australia (WA); between 1845–1875 (Historical Population data - Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008). Note: the observable dips in NSW population in 1851 due to the splitting-off of Victoria from New South Wales and 1859 is due to the splitting-off of Queensland.

Importantly, as children would typically accompany their mothers or female care givers, the lack of significant female migration as evidenced in the Figure 4.4, suggests that a substantial migratory shift of children from New South Wales into Victoria during the gold rush era is also not evident in the data.

Further analysis of demographic data was undertaken involving census returns from both New South Wales and Victoria for the years—1836, 1838, 1841, 1846, 1851, 1854, 1857, 1861 and 1871. Results from 1851–1871 cover the period from when Victoria attained independence as well providing an overview of the Victorian demographic well into the gold rush era. These results are presented in Table 4.2 and Figure 4.5.

Table 4.2 Presented is data from the Australian Data Archive summary tables covering the state of Victoria, using New South Wales and Victorian census returns for the years 1836; 1838; 1841; 1846, 1851*; 1854; 1857; 1861; 1871. * Note Victoria did not conduct a census in 1851. The values for that year are based on estimates from the New South Wales results.

Demographic	Census year								
	1836	1838	1841	1846	1851*	1854	1857	1861	1871
Melbourne			4,479	10,954	39,962	101,020	133,186	139,916	206,780
Rural Districts			7,259	21,921	37,383	135,778	277,580	347,726	505,483
Under 15			1,408	11,217	21,026	61,379	80,772	169,459	308,792
Foreign Born			10,943	25,292	56,875	193,106	298,693	382,322	353,997
Native Born (all)			792	7,583	20,470	41,233	84,881	157,911	358,266
Native Born Victoria					16,660	29,996	68,173	138,075	327,597
Total Victoria	224	3,511	11,738	32,879	77,345	236,798	410,766	540,322	731,528

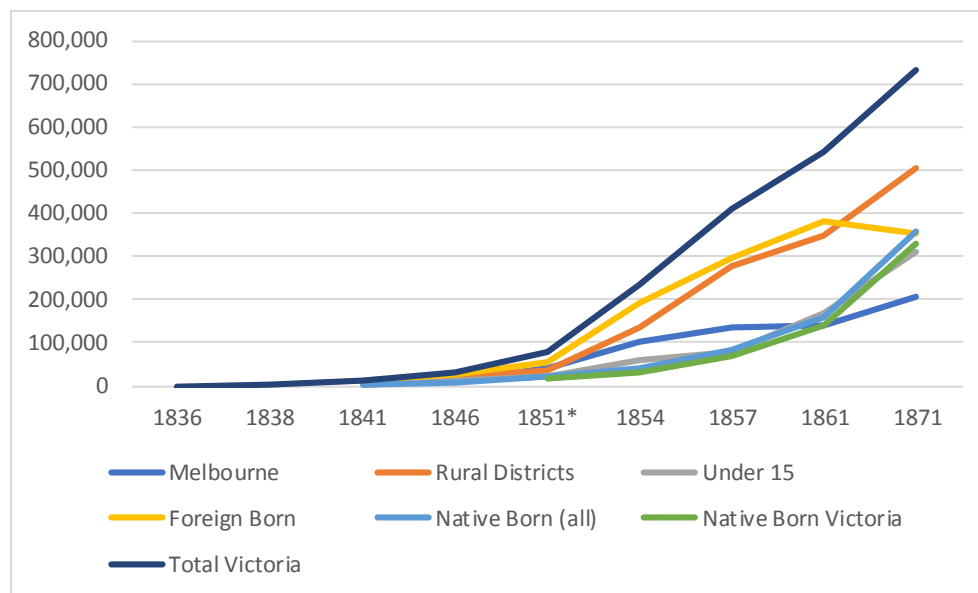


Figure 4.5 Presented is data the Australian Data Archive – NSW and Victorian census summary tables for the years 1841; 1846; 1851; 1854; 1857; 1861; 1871 and is categorised into the following groups: Total population of Victoria; those residing in the rural areas of the colony; those residing in urban areas (Melbourne); number of persons who were native-born (all); number of persons who were native-born in Victoria; number of persons who were foreign-born and persons aged under 15.

One notable feature that appears across the entire range of Victorian census data presented is the predominance of native-born Victorians over native-born individuals from any other Australian colony. This empirical evidence supports the conclusion derived from the ABS population data presented in Figures 4.3 and 4.4 that no substantial migratory shift from New South Wales into Victoria took place between 1851 and 1871.

In order to more closely view the above dataset collection, a sub-set of the Victorian census data including foreign-born and native-born individuals residing in Victoria is presented in Table 4.3 and Figure 4.6. For this analysis census data for the years: 1841; 1846; 1851; 1854; 1857; 1861; 1871; 1881 is included.

Table 4.3 Presented is data from the Australian Data Archive summary tables covering the state of Victoria, using the New South Wales and Victorian census returns for the years: 1836; 1838; 1841; 1846, 1851*; 1854; 1857; 1861; 1871; 1881. * Note Victoria did not conduct a census in 1851. The values for that year are based on estimates from the New South Wales results.

Victorian census analysis								
Census year	1841	1846	1851*	1854	1857	1861	1871	1881
Foreign-born	10,943	25,292	56,875	193,106	298,693	382,322	353,997	363,147
Total native-born	792	7,583	20,470	41,233	84,881	157,911	358,266	532,353
Born in Victoria			16,660	29,996	68,173	138,075	327,597	499,199
% Victorian born			81%	73%	80%	87%	91%	94%

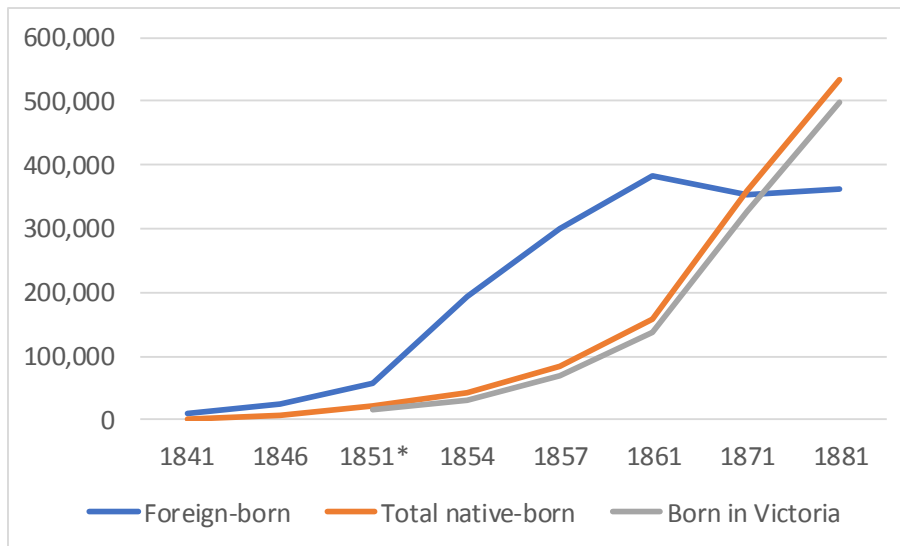


Figure 4.6 This figure presents data from the Australian Data Archive - Victorian census summary tables for the years: 1841; 1846; 1851; 1854; 1857; 1861; 1871; 1881 and is categorised into three groups: Foreign-born individuals; total native-born individuals residing in Victoria; native-born individuals residing in Victoria, and who were born in Victoria. An up-tick in Victoria’s population is observed from 1851 —representing a noticeable transition point in the graph.

It is evident from Table 4.3 and Figure 4.6 that the datasets relating to native-born individuals residing in Victoria are highly correlated, showing parallel trends across the observed time period. A comparative analysis of demographic data reveal that individuals born in Victoria consistently represent the majority across all recorded time intervals. When this dataset is analysed in conjunction with data relating to the immigration of foreign-born individuals entering Victoria, it becomes apparent that a causal relationship exists between the Victorian native-born birth rate, and foreign immigration arrivals into Victorian across the observed time period (1851–1881).

When considered against the temporal constraint stipulated in the first foundational principle (Moore, 2008, P.68) mandating that the broad Australian accent was circulating within regional Victoria during the period of James Kelly’s school-aged years (1864–1874); two plausible scenarios emerge: either a common accent had already disseminated via a host population into Victoria prior to the onset of mass immigration beginning in 1851 or, a sufficiently dominant host population originating from New South Wales arrived after 1851, bringing with them linguistic features that were subsequently adopted by the ever-growing cohort of incumbent Victorian native-born children. This second *late arrival* scenario is tested in the next section.

We can estimate the scale of host migration from New South Wales to Victoria that would have been necessary for the *late arrival* scenario to be plausible. Although no study was found that specifies exact numerical thresholds for the proportion of accent carriers required for successful transmission, the dialect-contact literature consistently shows that variant survival depends on the relative frequency of carriers within the child population.

Studies of new-dialect formation, particularly Kerswill & Williams' analysis of Milton Keynes (2000, p. 65–115, esp. p. 82–89), show that majority variants are strongly favoured in child peer groups. Low-frequency forms (<10%) tend to be eliminated, while mid-frequency variants (10–30%) survive only within cohesive child networks. Once a variant exceeds a critical mass among children, it typically becomes the community norm (Trudgill 2004, p. 257). On this basis, I adopt a three-tier model distinguishing subcritical (<10%), critical (10–30%), and supercritical (>30%) carrier proportions.

Furthermore, research on language acquisition, particularly Patkowski's (1980) work on the sensitive period for second-language learning, shows that children before puberty can acquire a new linguistic system with native-like outcomes, while older adolescents and adults cannot. This means that Victorian children could have adopted the Hawkesbury accent only if they encountered it while still pre-pubertal, and only if they were exposed to it through daily interaction with a coherent group of Hawkesbury-accented peers. A handful of older New South Wales migrants arriving after 1851 could not have transmitted the accent to Victorian children, because they were too old to serve as linguistic models and the Victorian children themselves were too old to acquire a new system. Hence, if we assume, conservatively, that at least 20–30% of the child population would need to be agent (Hawkesbury accent) speakers for their speech to become the dominant peer norm, then the 1854, 1857, 1861 and 1871 Victorian censuses imply host carrier populations of roughly 12–18 thousand, 16–24 thousand, 34–51 thousand, and 62–93 thousand children respectively.

In other words, by 1861 to meet the constraints of a *late arrival* of the agent (accent) would require on the order of fifty thousand New South Wales accented children to be resident in Victoria, and by 1871 nearly one hundred thousand. Yet the total number of native-born migrants from other Australian colonies in these years is only in the tens of thousands, the majority of them Tasmanian born, and only a fraction of these are children. Given that female migration from New South Wales was minimal and that children generally accompany women, the actual number of New South Wales origin children in Victoria must have been tiny—several orders of magnitude below what would be required. The demographic scale of New South Wales child migration necessary for a post 1851 agent (Hawkesbury accent) to take hold in Victoria is therefore not just unsupported by the data; it is implausible in principle.

Given that Table 4.3 provides no evidence of any predominant host population migrating from New South Wales (or elsewhere) into Victoria during the 1851–1881 period, I posit that the agent (Hawkesbury accent) had already been established within regional Victoria prior to the onset of mass immigration driven by the 1851 gold rush. Consequently, as we have previously established an effective *northern book-end* for the agent (accent) emergence location in the Hawkesbury, and through analysis of census data we have now established an opposing pre 1851 *southern book-end* for the arrival of the Hawkesbury accent into Victoria.

Stage 3 Migration data analysis

We now examine the stage 3 data presented in Table 3.6 which reveal sixty-seven percent (n=293) of CGC migrated north of the Cumberland Plain and sixty-five percent (n=175) of CGC migrated west of the Cumberland Plain—across the Blue Mountains—originated from the Hawkesbury. These migration numbers show a predominance of Hawkesbury CGC in migrations to the areas north and west of the Cumberland Plain.

Interestingly, an apparent anomaly appears in the southern migration data where only thirty-three percent of Hawkesbury CGC presented in Table 3.6 (n=172) migrated in that direction, representing an approximately fifty percent reduction in the number of Hawkesbury CGC migrating south compared to the northern and western migrations. Analysis of the southern migration data reveal the Parramatta locality contributed the largest number of CGC at forty-two percent (n=221); followed by Hawkesbury thirty-three percent (n=172); Sydney Town fourteen percent (n=75); and Seven Hills eleven percent (n=57). The reduction in Hawkesbury CGC migrations from the Cumberland Plain in one direction (i.e. south) is considered significant, as the Australian accent is relatively homogeneous, therefore it is reasonable to assume that the early spread of the accent from the Sydney area into regional Australia would have displayed a similarly uniform appearance in all directions.

An explanation for this anomaly may be found in the topography of the area. The artery that connected the Hawkesbury with Seven Hills and Parramatta was Old Windsor Road; with a total length of approximately 40Km from Richmond to Parramatta. Therefore, it seems likely that movement of the host population (i.e. families with CGC) along this route, had been spreading the nascent accent from the Hawkesbury into the Old Windsor Road communities of Seven Hills and Parramatta for some years prior to the commencement of the large-scale regional migrations which commenced from the mid-1820s.

This inference adds credence to the *northern book-end* stance supporting a Hawkesbury CGC origin with an associated early CGC driven diffusion along Old Windsor Road, that was later followed by a second generation (children of the CGC) regional dispersal. Importantly, since the earliest large-scale regional migrations were primarily led by families engaged in livestock farming, it follows that only a minimal diffusion of the Hawkesbury accent among such families in Seven Hills and Parramatta would have been necessary for the accent to have subsequently spread on mass into regional areas.

CGC migrating to regional areas to the south and south-west of the Cumberland Plain were aided in their endeavor by the emergence of Campbelltown, Southern Highlands and Goulburn/Gunning localities as significant population centres during the early 1820s. As detailed in Table 3.9 (n=159) CGC were found to have initially settled in Campbelltown, where they remained for an extended period before continuing their migration southward— often accompanied by their second-generation children—during the 1830s and early 1840s.

Similar pauses in southern migrations undertaken by CGC from the Cumberland Plain also occurred at the Southern Highlands and Goulburn/Gunning localities during the 1820s and 1830s. Hence, within the framework of linguistic diffusion, the later-settled localities of Campbelltown, Southern Highlands and Goulburn/Gunning—are here termed *Secondary Settlements*—to distinguish them from the earlier-settled localities—here termed *Primary Settlements*—of Hawkesbury, Seven Hills and Parramatta. It is evident that no enduring regional accent has emerged from any of the Secondary Settlement populations. Accordingly,

any shared agent (accent) observed among individuals born during this period at Campbelltown, Southern Highlands or, Goulburn/Gunning, must have been externally introduced through prior migration of the host population from one or more of the Primary Settlements.

Stage 4 Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River Accent Corridor analysis

Next we look at stage 4 of the current study which focused on families with mainly native-born parents—many of whom were CGC—who migrated between 1800–1865— within the corridor leading from the Cumberland Plain in the direction of the localities associated with James Kelly during his formative years i.e. the Riverina, Monaro and the Upper Murray River districts of southern New South Wales and northern Victoria. This data is presented in Tables 3.10, 3.11 and 3.12 and includes (n=142) families who had (n=1097) native-born children.

The majority of these families were engaged in livestock farming, positioning them as active participants in the wool boom. Consequently, their involvement contributed to the broader economic transformation associated with this period, which laid the foundation for the contemporary private sector export economy. Furthermore, sixty-nine percent of parents (n=198) were native-born and thirty-one percent (n=90) foreign-born, signifying a predominance of native-born individuals—primarily CGC—within this transitional cohort.

The reconstruction of inland migration pathways in this study relies on a demographic method centred on *Bridging Families*—families whose children are born in two or more distinct localities along the migration corridor. Because each family produces a sequence of children whose birthplaces and birth years are recorded in baptismal, civil, or burial registers, along with contemporary records, these families provide a natural chronological “track” of movement across space. When aggregated across multiple families, these tracks form a dense, overlapping network that reveals the spatial and temporal structure of migration flows. Bridging Families are powerful because they encode three forms of information simultaneously:

- Spatial information, each child’s recorded birthplace identifies a specific locality where the family was resident (or at least present) at a known point in time.
- Temporal information, the birth year of the eldest child in each locality provides a chronological anchor for when the family first established itself in that district.
- Directional information, when a family has children born in multiple locations, the sequence of birthplaces reveals the direction of movement.

As these three dimensions are embedded in the same dataset, bridging families allow reconstruction of migration patterns with a precision that is not achievable through land records, muster lists, or retrospective reminiscences alone. For each family, the birth year of the eldest child born at the stated location is recorded. As families migrated in a stepwise fashion, some of the children listed may have had even older siblings born at another locality. The majority of these children represent the second-generation of native-born Australians. Notably, the birth years of children born in the Campbelltown, the Southern Highlands, and the Goulburn/Gunning region closely correspond with the initial phases of migration into these areas from the Old Windsor Road settlements of Hawkesbury, Seven Hills, and Parramatta. Specifically, based on birth date and location derived from the current study, we can see that settlement around the greater Campbelltown locality was established by 1814, the Southern Highlands by 1820, and Goulburn/Gunning by 1826. These dates reflect the broader patterns of early colonial expansion and settlement (Table 3.10).

Formation to diffusion Tipping Point analysis

Mitchell (1942) and Bernard (1981) attributed the emergence of the *broad Australian accent* to a process of local linguistic levelling, noting that its diffusion was already apparent by the 1830s. This interpretation aligns closely with the current study and we see an example of this elucidated in Table 3.12. The data in this table was used to perform a *Tipping Point* analysis that examines whether the inland migrations from New South Wales toward the Riverina, Monaro, and Upper Murray can reveal a demographic “tipping point” in the formation and diffusion of the Hawkesbury accent. The analysis draws on the stage 4 dataset of (n=1,097) children born to (n=142) families who migrated along these routes between 1800 and 1865, grouped by the birth year of the eldest child and the locality in which each child was born. The aim is to determine when the accent must have stabilised, and which cohorts were responsible for transmitting it into the interior.

The earliest migrant families (eldest child born 1800–1825) are overwhelmingly associated with the Hawkesbury and Parramatta regions. These children represent the only cohorts old enough to transmit a stable accent during the first inland expansions of the 1820s and 1830s. Their dominance in the early period indicates that the initial accent forming population was small, geographically concentrated, and demographically front loaded. The rapid decline of Hawkesbury born children after 1825 suggests that the region’s role was temporally limited but foundational.

From the mid-1820s onward, the demographic centre of gravity shifts sharply toward Campbelltown, Parramatta, and Seven Hills. These regions contribute the majority of children born to inland bound families between 1825 and 1840. Crucially, these children were born after the likely period of accent formation (c. 1810). Their numerical dominance therefore reflects the diffusion of an already stabilised variety rather than its creation. These localities become the primary exporter of the accent during this phase, but are not its origin point.

The Southern Highlands and Goulburn/Gunning regions rise as significant contributors only after 1830. These areas function as secondary settlement zones, receiving families from the Cumberland Plain and subsequently sending their children onward to the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray. Their demographic prominence in the 1840s and 1850s indicates a secondary relay stage in the transmission chain. The children born in these regions inherit the stabilised accent and serve as carriers into the interior.

The Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray regions (Wagga, Cooma, Albury/Wodonga, Beechworth/Yackandandah, Wangaratta/Taminick/Wangandary) receive substantial numbers of NSW born children only from the 1840s onward. These children are overwhelmingly from Cumberland Plain and Southern Highlands families, not from the early Hawkesbury cohort. Their presence confirms that the inland frontier was populated primarily by speakers of an already formed variety. The accent’s spread into the interior is therefore a diffusion process, not a formation process.

Across the 1,097 children in the stage 4 migration dataset, a clear demographic shift separates the early accent forming period (1800–1825) from the later diffusion period (1826–1865). Early phase families (n=203) are dominated by Hawkesbury and Parramatta births, with Campbelltown rising only at the end of this window; these are the only cohorts old enough to transmit a stabilised variety during the first inland movements of the 1820s–1830s. In contrast, late phase families (n≈894) draw primarily from Campbelltown, Goulburn/Gunning, the

Southern Highlands, and Seven Hills—regions that expanded only after the likely period of accent formation. The disappearance of Hawkesbury born children after 1825, combined with the continued stability of the variety in later settled regions, indicates that the accent had reached a self-replicating state by the early 1820s. The demographic structure of the migrant stream therefore supports an early accent stabilisation followed by large scale diffusion across the Cumberland Plain and into the interior. Once the system stabilised, it no longer required input from the original source region; later Cumberland Plain and Southern Highlands cohorts were sufficient to maintain and propagate it. This demographic transition marks the Tipping Point at which the accent shifted from formation to diffusion.

Chronological migration sequence analysis

We now look at the chronological migration sequence of the host population. To do this we first have to take into account the comparative analysis undertaken earlier involving the New South Wales and Victorian census datasets. This analysis indicated that any host carrying a New South Wales agent (accent) must have entered Victoria prior to the 1851 gold rush. In order not to skew the derived statistical models, we need to align the stage 4 data (Table 3.10) with this pre- 1851 gold rush precondition. Hence, for this study, the YOB data for those families who migrated along the Accent Corridor between 1800 and 1851 will be considered valid, while YOB data that falls beyond this range are excluded.

Within this study Seven Hills warrants special analytical attention because it is the only locality in the dataset that forms a discrete, temporally bounded child cohort whose members all attended the same school. Unlike Hawkesbury or Parramatta, which appear across multiple generations and migration waves, Seven Hills represents a single, well defined receiver cohort situated at the demographic and geographic hinge between the two dominant early source regions. The Seven Hills children provide the earliest evidence of second-generation acquisition of the stabilised Hawkesbury–Parramatta variety, and they form the first major inland bound export group into the Southern Highlands and Goulburn/Gunning. Their clustering therefore offers a uniquely clear window into the transmission of the early colonial accent beyond its original formation ecology.

We know from stage 4a data (Tables 3.15 and 3.16) that a close association existed between the Hawkesbury and Seven Hills localities. Using the stage 4 bridging family data we find (n=40) children originated in the Hawkesbury and (n=63) in Seven Hills, giving a combined (n=103) children originating from what appears as a single Hawkesbury–Seven Hills accent basin. As this is the predicted demographic and linguistic locus, this basin does not require a median eldest-child estimate; its significance lies instead in its early consolidation as a stable accent zone from which all downstream settlements received their initial transmitter cohorts.

When the Hawkesbury–Seven Hills bridging family data is set alongside the results for Parramatta, Campbelltown, the Southern Highlands, and Goulburn/Gunning, a coherent outward diffusion pattern emerges. Using the conservative 0–7 year *Early Receiver* accent-acquisition window—which sits within the Kerswill and Williams (2000) strongest phonological convergence period—the median year of birth (YOB) of the eldest child in each migrant family, it is possible to estimate the latest plausible dates by which the Hawkesbury accent must have been established in each settlement for a majority of local children to acquire it. Data presented in Table 4.4 shows these receiver side bounds form a clear chronological sequence: 1821 for Parramatta, 1832 for Campbelltown, 1843 for the Southern Highlands, and 1851 for Goulburn/Gunning. See Appendix 2 for more detail.

Table 4.4 Summary of abridged data (1800-1851) derived from Table 3.10.

This table presents data relating to stage 4: Case Study of families migrating between 1800–1851 to the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River districts including the eldest child YOB medians, the receiver-side bounds based on Early Receiver accent acquisition by age 7, and the acquisition window for persons who had passed the accent to the Early Receivers. This data is derived from Table 3.10 relating to pre gold rush spread of the Hawkesbury accent into southern New South Wales and Victoria.

Administrative location	Median eldest-child YOB	Receiver-side bounds (median+7)	Transmitter acquisition window (parents $\Delta \approx 15 \rightarrow$ siblings $\Delta \approx 10$)
Parramatta (PA)	1814	1821	1806–1811
Campbelltown (C'Town)	1825	1832	1817–1822
Southern Highlands (S/H)	1836	1843	1828–1833
Goulburn/Gunning (G/G)	1844	1851	1836–1841
Wagga (WAG)	1847	1854	1839–1844
Cooma (CO)	1843	1850	1835–1840
Albury/Wodonga (A/W)	1846	1853	1838–1843
Beechworth (B/Y)	1845	1852	1837–1842
Wangaratta (W/T/W)	1843	1850	1835–1840

These overlapping windows reveal a structured, temporally ordered diffusion from the Hawkesbury, Seven Hills and Parramatta (Primary Settlements) into the Secondary Settlements of the Cumberland Plain and the Southern Tablelands. The bridging families play a central role in this reconstruction. First, they demonstrate that the same Hawkesbury-, Seven Hills-, and Parramatta-raised parents—along with their older children—were physically present in Campbelltown during the period when the Campbelltown Early Receiver cohort (born from 1814) was within its 0–7 acquisition window. This confirms that a stable Hawkesbury-derived accent was plausibly available locally before 1832. Second, the continuation of these same families into the Southern Highlands and Goulburn/Gunning districts shows that inland diffusion was carried not by unrelated settlers but by coherent kinship networks. The accent environment established in Campbelltown was therefore reproduced downstream by the same parental and sibling groups, ensuring continuity of linguistic input across successive settlements. In sum, the Bridging Families provide a genealogical backbone for the demographic model developed in the current study. Their multi-locality birth records confirm the temporal sequencing of settlement, validate the inferred relocation windows, and demonstrate that accent transmission across the study region was driven by stable, interlinked family networks whose movements align closely with the predicted demographic tempo.

This method can be extended to the downstream districts beyond the Secondary Settlements. The median-based 0–7 acquisition windows for these regions are 1854 for Wagga, 1850 for Cooma, 1853 for Albury/Wodonga, 1852 for Beechworth/Yackandandah, and 1850 for Wangaratta/Taminick/Wangandary. Each of these dates represents the cutoff point by which the accent must already have been socially embedded in the district if the majority of the Early Receiver cohort were to adopt it during early childhood. These receiver-side bounds imply that the Hawkesbury accent must have been introduced into each inland district by accent-bearing migrants from one or more of the Primary Settlements. Because the accent was already stable within the Primary Settlements, the exposed population in each of the secondary and downstream settlements must include both adults and children who originated in the upstream accent basin. This has implications for deriving the corresponding bounds for the transmitter generation. The transmitter cohort—comprising parents and older siblings—must have acquired the accent earlier, typically in the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills or Parramatta localities, before relocating inland.

To accommodate both parental transmission with elder sibling and peer-group reinforcement, a simple generational-offset model is applied. If the core local accent transmitters are assumed conservatively to be, on average, 10–15 years older than the eldest migrating child, then the transmitter acquisition window for a given locality can be approximated by subtracting this offset from the receiver-side bounds. Crucially, this 15–10-year band does not represent the arrival of the accent at the locality, rather, it represents the period during which the transmitter generation must have acquired the accent—typically at an earlier node in the network—before being present in the locality during the receiver cohort’s 0–7 window.

For example, if the accent must be available in Campbelltown by 1832 for the receiver cohort to acquire it, then the corresponding transmitter acquisition window is approximately 1817–1822, depending on whether older siblings ($\Delta \approx 10$) or parents ($\Delta \approx 15$) are treated as the primary transmitters (Table 4.4). Applying this procedure across all settlements yields transmitter acquisition windows of 1806–1811 for Parramatta, 1828–1833 for the Southern Highlands, and 1836–1841 for Goulburn/Gunning. Downstream districts show generally later but still coherent ranges: 1839–1844 for Wagga, 1835–1840 for Cooma, 1838–1843 for Albury/Wodonga, 1837–1842 for Beechworth/Yackandandah, and 1835–1840 for Wangaratta/Taminick/Wangandary.

Table 4.5 reveal the accent spreading sequence. The first Secondary Settlement host diffusion occurred at Campbelltown and the Southern Highlands, where the earliest locally born children appear from the 1810s and 1820s. Families with Hawkesbury- or Parramatta-born parents consistently produced their first inland-born children in these districts, placing them squarely within their 0–7 acquisition windows at a time when the Hawkesbury accent was already stable. These communities therefore acted as Early Receivers of the new accent variety and, once their own locally born cohorts matured, as secondary transmitters further inland.

By the 1820s and 1830s, the corridor extended to Goulburn/Gunning, which emerged in the data as a major inland hub. Numerous families with native-born parents from the Hawkesbury, Seven Hills, Parramatta, Campbelltown, or the Southern Highlands produced their eldest inland-born children in the Goulburn/Gunning district. This pattern indicates that Goulburn/Gunning functioned as the principal transmitter node for the southern tablelands, receiving the accent from earlier settlements and passing it on to the Riverina and Monaro.

From Goulburn/Gunning, the accent moved decisively into the Riverina and Murray districts. Families whose earliest children were born in Goulburn/Gunning later appear as intermittent or permanent residents in Wagga, Albury, and Cooma, often before formal township development. These movements coincide with the pastoral expansion of the 1830s and early 1840s, when wool-growing families travelled seasonally or semi-permanently between base towns and remote stations. Their children—born or raised in these inland districts—were still within their acquisition windows and therefore carried the Hawkesbury-derived accent into regions that had no significant adult-driven dialect input of their own.

By the 1840s, the Accent Corridor extended into north-east Victoria, with families from Albury and Goulburn producing children in Beechworth/Yackandandah and Wangaratta/Taminick/Wangandary. These Victorian frontier districts were incorporated into the same inland movement pattern that had already linked the Cumberland Plain to the Riverina and the Monaro, demonstrating that the accent was circulating across a broad regional network well before large-scale population change reshaped the colony.

Table 4.5 Reconstructed chronology of accent transmission based on abridged stage 4 data (1800-1851).

This table presents data relating to stage 4: Case Study of families migrating between 1800–1865 to the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River districts. This data has been abridged to comply with a pre-1851 gold rush agent (accent) arrival into Victoria. Presented is a reconstructed chronology of accent transmission along a corridor stretching from the primary settlements of the Cumberland Plain through the Secondary Settlements of Campbelltown, Southern Highlands and Goulburn/Gunning and on into the downstream districts of the Riverina, Monaro of southern New South Wales and the Upper Murray River in north-east Victoria. For each locality, the latest year by which the accent must have been locally available in order for a majority of *Early Receivers* to have acquired the Hawkesbury accent is derived from the median eldest-child birth year plus the 0–7 acquisition window and is designated as the *Receiver side bounds*. Early Receiver year of birth (YOB) ranges reflect the earliest locally born children whose linguistic input would have shaped the emerging accent environment. Transmitter birth windows are empirically reconstructed from bridging-family movements rather than generic generational offsets, ensuring that each transmitter cohort is genealogically anchored in the preceding settlement. The resulting transmitter acquisition windows represent the period during which these parents and older siblings must have already been accent-bearing before being present in each locality during its receiver cohort’s acquisition window. Together, these parameters reveal a coherent, stepwise diffusion pathway in which each settlement becomes a transmitter only after its own native-born cohort matures and becomes numerically dominant. These bounds are agnostic as to whether initial input was parent-led or peer-led; they require only that a stable Hawkesbury-type variety was locally available within the 0–7 reception window of each receiver cohort.

Settlement	Receiver side bounds (median+7)	Early Receiver YOBs (eldest children)	Estimated Transmitter birth window	Transmitter acquisition window	Role in diffusion
Parramatta	1821	1813–1836	1806–1811	1806-1811 Acquired in accent basin	Early adjacent host / mixing zone
Campbelltown	1832	1818–1827	1806-1811	1817-1822	Secondary host
Southern Highlands	1843	1819–1845	1814–1820	1828–1833	Secondary host
Goulburn/Gunning	1851	1836–1845	1819–1825	1836–1841	Inland hub
Wagga	1854	1843–1851	1830–1836	1839–1844	Inland relay / Riverina receiver
Cooma	1850	1840–1851	1830–1836	1835–1840	Inland relay / Monaro receiver
Albury/Wodonga	1853	1840–1851	1830–1836	1838–1843	Inland relay / Victorian frontier receiver
Beechworth/Yackandandah	1852	1844–1847	1830–1836	1837–1842	Victorian frontier receiver
Wangaratta/Taminick/Wangandary	1850	1840–1850	1830–1836	1835–1840	Victorian frontier receiver

These migration sequences reveal a continuous demographic chain linking the Hawkesbury to the Riverina, the Monaro, and north-east Victoria. Each district received the accent while its earliest locally born children were still within their 0–7 acquisition windows, and each subsequently transmitted it further along the frontier as part of a stepwise diffusion pathway in which every settlement became a transmitter only after its own native-born cohort matured and became numerically dominant (Figure 4.7).

These time estimates are necessarily approximate, but they predict an early emergence of the Hawkesbury accent and align closely with the observed age structure of migrating children and the known chronology of inland pastoral expansion. Together, they reveal a clear and coherent transmission pathway by which the Hawkesbury accent spread across the inland districts of New South Wales and into Victoria. This Accent Corridor begins in the Hawkesbury/Seven Hills/Parramatta Primary Settlements, and from this core, native-born parents and their children carried the accent south and south-west along a predictable chain of settlements whose demographic profiles show sequential receiver and transmitter windows.

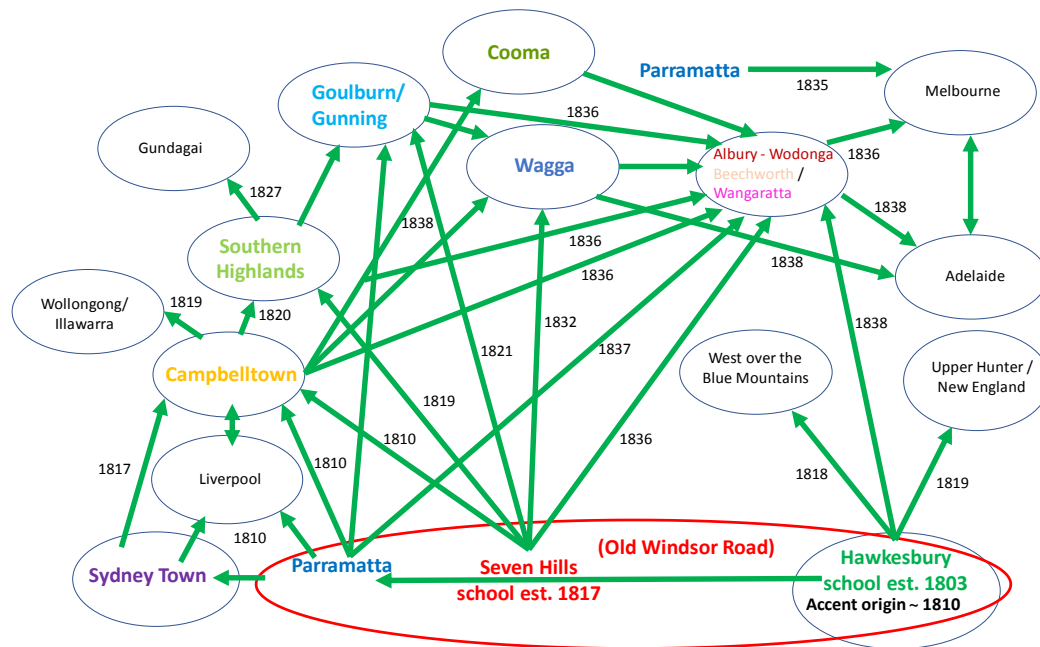


Figure 4.7 Simplified view of the initial CGC migrations and settlement dates identified in the current study. The diagram also highlights the stepwise diffusion pathway taken by the host population along the Accent Corridor during the early spread of the Hawkesbury accent.

An investigation was undertaken to explore the motivation behind these pre-gold rush migrations into the interior commencing during the 1830s. A potential correlation can be identified between the early migratory movements into inland regions, and the onset of a severe drought that reportedly commenced in 1835. Dubbed *the champion drought of the century* this climatic event extended across the states of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, before reportedly breaking in 1844.

Contemporary reports describe extreme conditions brought on by the drought compelled numerous pastoralists to relocate their livestock in pursuit of viable grazing land. The observed temporal overlap between the onset of the drought, and the commencement of migrations, suggest that environmental stressors may have played a significant role in shaping settlement trajectories.

Robinson (1985, p. 169) reveal that many urban women were initially reluctant to migrate to the unsettled regions due to the absence of basic facilities. Leaving friends and family was no doubt another consideration. This is borne out in the data from the current study which indicates that the families that did make these migrations, often did so in established multi-family groups. Interestingly, a review of data from the current study pertaining to squatter families who settled in southern New South Wales and Victoria between 1830–1855 reveal a notable pattern of immobility.

Once the 1851 gold rush commenced, at least ninety (n≈90) of these families remained in situ on their squatter holdings, indicating that the economic opportunities presented by the goldfields did not serve as a sufficient inducement for relocation. An explanation for why these families remained in-place may lay in the passing of the *Sale of Wastelands act* in 1846. Hunt (1969, p. 118) describes this act as securing tenure for squatters through their ability to lease, and/or, purchase their pastoral runs. The Wastelands act of 1846 was pivotal in encouraging capital investment and pathed the way for large-scale improvements that required long-term occupation of their farming land. Whilst this act favoured large-scale land holders, at the expense of smaller ones, it did however indirectly benefit the general population living in communities that sprang up on, or near, the squatter properties.

Robinson (1985, p. 143, p. 157) and also (Bisman, 2007, p. 9) describe how many squatter families held their pastoral runs across multiple generations, allowing these properties to grow into relatively isolated, stable communities which became the locations where schools were established. I argue, that the concentration of school-aged children within these squatter communities provided permanent footholds for the Hawkesbury accent to become established and flourish.

Morris (1999, p. 34–36) cites Wagga Wagga, located in the Riverina, as an example of how a pastoral run established by a squatter family—consisting of CGC parents and their second-generation children from Seven Hills—formed the basis of a stable community which evolved into a village that was officially gazetted on November 23 1849. Wagga later grew to become a town and stands today as a city.

It may therefore be posited that these stable squatter-based communities—predominantly initiated by Currency Generation parents fostered children who mainly spoke the Hawkesbury accent and served as sociolinguistic conduits between foreign-born immigrants and native-born settlers. Within such environments, children naturally adopted the Hawkesbury accent by prioritising the speech patterns of their local peers over the more abundant adult accents surrounding them—including those of their own parents. This linguistic convergence occurred regardless of whether native-born children, and those accompanying foreign-born parents, remained in a single stable community or moved between multiple ones; in either case, they consistently encountered the distinct Hawkesbury accent spoken by incumbent children.

South Australia accent diffusion

A similar review to that taken using New South Wales and Victorian census data was conducted based on South Australian census returns. The South Australian settlement was established in 1836 and was firstly populated by immigrants from England, Wales, Cornwall and Scotland. According to the ABS (2008) by the end of 1836 the colony's population was estimated at 546 persons and had grown to 3,273 persons by the end of 1837.

The newly established South Australian settlement required supplies which were initially brought overland; with the first cattle drive arriving in 1838. The route taken was from the Goulburn/Gunning and Riverina areas and followed the Murray River until its junction with the Darling River, thence overland to Adelaide. This was known as the Murray–Darling route and over the following years traffic along this route grew enormously. Foster, Nettelbeck (2011, p. 32–39) describe that ‘at its height, there was an almost continuous train of sheep, cattle, bullock drays, and horses along the route.’

Therefore, I posit that significant numbers of CGC and their second- and third-generation children made the return trek from the Goulburn/Gunning, Riverina and Upper Murray districts, and remained in contact with South Australian communities long enough for their distinctive Hawkesbury accent to be acquired by the local settlers. As the stream of droving teams was virtually constant during the late 1830s and 1840s, then even if contact between individual drovers and the local community was brief, there were sufficient numbers of Hawkesbury accent speakers amongst the teams to provide the local community a seemingly endless exposure to the accent.

According to the Drovers Oral History Collection, it can be inferred that Drovers generally stayed in stockyards located in Adelaide and worked with local labourers many of whom were children. I posit that Drovers interacted with the South Australian population in exactly the right way for accent transmission/reception.

The overland cattle drives from the eastern states to South Australia ceased in the early 1850s as by that time South Australia was largely breeding its own stock and supplying its own market, leading to a decline in the need for imports from the eastern states; marking the end of mass sheep and cattle drives from the Goulburn/Gunning, Riverina and Upper Murray districts.

Therefore, if the above scenario is correct, by the early 1850s, the rate of dissemination of the Hawkesbury accent into the South Australian population would have been reducing. Further support for this hypothesis emerges when considered alongside South Australian population records which indicate a marked increase in the migrant population occurred from around 1848 (Figure 4.8). These figures appear linked to the South Australian birth records which indicate a marked increase in births roughly two years later, beginning around 1850 (Figure 4.9).

This demographic shift begins around 1848–1855, coinciding with a surge in British immigration and a marked increase in local births. This period also aligns with the decline of overland droving contact from New South Wales and Victoria, which had previously supplied South Australia with livestock and, crucially, sustained exposure to NSW-born accent carriers.

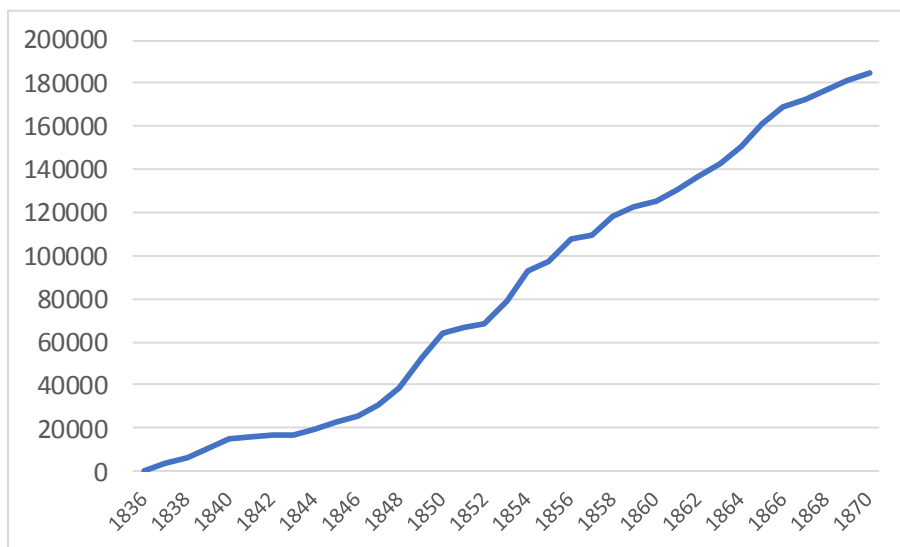


Figure 4.8 Line Graph presenting data relating to the total population of South Australia between inception in 1836 and 1870 (Historical Population data - Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008). A noticeable uptick in population can be observed commencing around 1848—which is just prior to the Victorian gold rush of 1851—and represents a noticeable transition point in the graph.

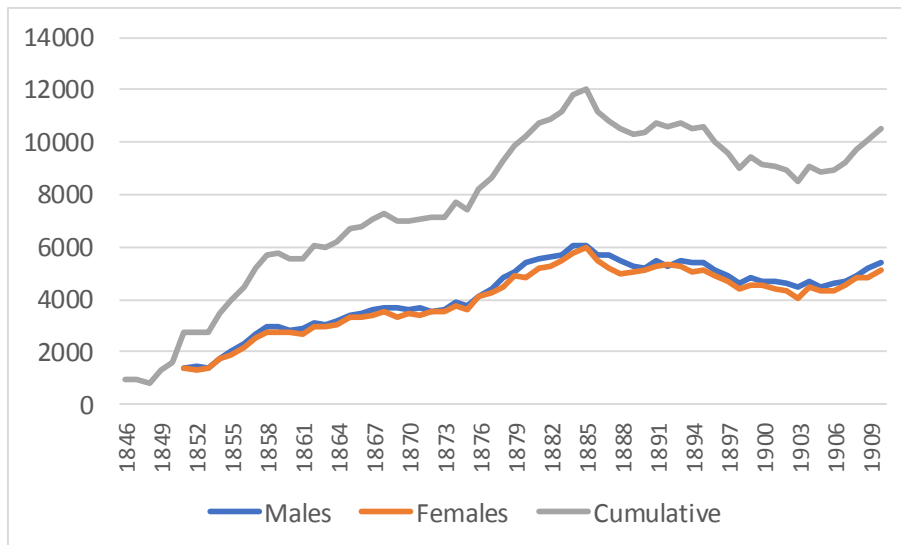


Figure 4.9 Line Graph presenting data relating to the per annum birth rate in South Australia between 1846 and 1910 (Historical Population data – Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008). A noticeable uptick in births can be observed commencing around 1850; just prior to the Victorian gold rush of 1851.

Bearing in mind that much of the overland traffic into South Australia during the 1840s originated from the Goulburn/Gunning, Riverina and Upper Murray districts, and considering contemporary South Australians exhibit the standard Australian accent: this lends credence to the proposition that the agent (Hawkesbury accent) dispersed from the Goulburn/Gunning, Riverina and Upper Murray communities into South Australia via overland traffic during this period and therefore, the accent spoken by contemporary South Australians is founded on the agent (Hawkesbury accent) carried by the families that migrated along the Accent Corridor from the Cumberland Plain towards the Riverina and Upper Murray districts between 1800 and the 1840s.

Western Australia accent diffusion

In contrast to the Victorian and South Australian examples above, the migration pattern of the native-born population into Western Australia displays a starkly different pattern. As evidenced in Figure 1.8, based on the 1890–1901 census data, the inflow of native-born persons into Western Australia during the 1890s exceeded those born in situ. Ironically this inflow into Western Australia was largely due to the 1890s gold rush which drew large numbers of miners and their families from the then declining Victorian gold fields to the newly discovered fields around Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie.

By 1901 the Western Australian native-born population consisted of: 52,663 individuals born in situ compared with 74,208 born externally: 14,122 born in New South Wales; 39,491 born in Victoria; 16,250 born in South Australia; 2,595 born in Queensland; and 1,750 born in Tasmania. Hence, as the native-born population were the most likely group to have spoken with a Hawkesbury accent, the migration of this predominantly externally born cohort into Western Australia during the 1890s likely influenced the process of linguistic convergence, thereby amplifying the accent's reach and entrenchment across western parts of the continent (see Figure 4.13).

Hawkesbury-Seven Hills Accent Basin Transmission Study

To explore the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills accent basin identified in stage 4a, further analysis was undertaken of the (n=63) children who originated in Seven Hills and were involved in migrations into the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray corridor between 1800–1865 (Table 3.12). It was earlier revealed that most of these children had parents (n=30) that attended the same school during their formative years at Seven Hills (Table 3.13). Although direct phonological data is unavailable, the convergence of multiple independent lines of evidence—including the latest transmitter acquisition windows—points strongly to the Hawkesbury accent being present in Seven Hills by the time the local school opened in 1817.

This conclusion is not speculative but structurally required: without a stabilised accent in Seven Hills by that date, neither the bridging family diffusion model, the regional transmitter side acquisition constraints, nor the New South Wales, Victorian or South Australian census comparative analysis data would hold. This is consistent with contemporary reports cited by Moore (2008, p. 73-74) of visiting observers in Sydney during the 1820s noting the presence of a distinctive colonial manner of speech, indicating that a recognisable accent had already become supra local by this time.

Seven Hills is defined within the current study as a Primary Settlement and at the time stood on Old Windsor Road close to where the Sydney suburb of Bella Vista is located today, and even though the two settlements were 23Km apart, Seven Hills was the closest sizeable population centre to the predicted Hawkesbury locus. It was also a sparsely populated frontier settlement within the colonial landscape, marked by geographic isolation and skirmishes with Indigenous groups last documented in 1816. In 1812, the original Old Windsor Road connecting Parramatta to Seven Hills and then to Hawkesbury was bypassed by a new road several kilometers distant. This left Seven Hills increasingly cut off, transforming it into a semi-isolated island community.

In light of the above it can be predicted that a peer-group host population transmitted the agent (accent) from its suspected locus in the Hawkesbury community to Seven Hills within, or prior to, the transmitter side acquisition windows presented in Table 4.5 for both Primary and Secondary Settlements: (Parramatta 1806–1811; Campbelltown 1817–1822; Southern Highlands 1828–1833; Goulburn/Gunning 1836–1841).

The study proceeds from the premise that any new colonial accent must emerge within the developmental window in which children are most receptive to linguistic input, and that its formation must be compatible with the demographic and social structures of the period. This framework is anchored to the Seven Hills school community, which is linked to the (n=30) CGC identified in stage 4 of the current study and presented in Table 3.13 as both early students of the Seven Hills school and later participants in migrations to the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray (1830–1865). To fall within the Hawkesbury/Seven Hills transmitter-side acquisition windows, it is assumed that the agent had arrived from the Hawkesbury and was circulating within the Seven Hills child population early enough to seed the school from its foundation in 1817 (Table 3.14). The resulting research question is therefore chronological and demographic: when could a stable local accent first have formed within the Hawkesbury child population, given the age structure of the children available to receive it, and how early must it have been established for the Seven Hills cohort to acquire it in turn?

To answer this, the study modeled accent emergence at the Hawkesbury locus, and the ensuing Hawkesbury/Seven Hills accent transmission as a three-stage, age-structured process: a) initial accent formation within the earliest Hawkesbury-born children; b) consolidation and transmission to the larger Hawkesbury cohort; and c) onward diffusion to the Seven Hills children prior to 1817. By reconstructing the age overlaps amongst these cohorts and applying conservative assumptions about child-to-child transmission, the study sought to identify the latest period in which a stable accent could plausibly have arisen, without presupposing any particular emergence date in advance. The aim is not to impose a theoretical timescale but to derive one empirically from the age profiles and transmission constraints inherent in the historical population itself.

Data presented in Table 3.16 indicates that a period of close association between the Hawkesbury and Seven Hills communities existed between 1811–1815, with significant residual contact until around 1830. Within this dataset (n=7) *free-settler* families—whose marriage records suggest occupied an exclusive social stratum—spanned the Hawkesbury and Seven Hills localities—and within this cohort of families (n=33) children were present; details of whom are presented in Table 4.6. The study used this as input data and proceeded in three stages. First, family level demographic reconstruction of the (n=33) children was carried out using baptismal records, this allowed the identification of sibling sets. Within this dataset (n=17) children were located in the Hawkesbury and were designated as *accent transmitters* and (n=16) children were located at Seven Hills and were designated as *accent receivers*. Second, age modelling based on Labov (2001), Kerswill and Williams (2000) and Patowski (1980) was applied to each child’s developmental window, distinguishing between (a) receivers—children young enough to acquire a new accent—and (b) transmitters—older children capable of influencing younger peers. This modelling was used to determine whether each child could plausibly have contributed to the formation, transmission, or stabilisation of the Hawkesbury accent. Third, spatial and social network analysis was conducted to map the children’s likely interaction patterns across the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills corridor, and finally within the 1817 Seven Hills school.

Table 4.6 Children involved in the Hawkesbury/Seven Hills accent transmission study.

Hawkesbury children		Seven Hills children	
Name	YOB	Name	YOB
George Bowman	1795	Mark Hillas	1790
Mary Bowman	1797	Hannah Hillas	1795
Mary Howe	1798	John Hillas	1797
William Bowman	1799	Eliza Pearce	1797
Sarah Dight	1800	Hamilton Hume	1797
Elizabeth Howe	1802	Isabella Hume	1798
Elizabeth Dight	1803	John Kennedy Hume	1800
Mary Dight	1804	Charlotte Pearce	1802
Ann Dight	1806	Francis Rawdon Hume	1804
John Dight	1808	Martha Pearce	1804
George Dight	1810	Edward Simpson	1804
John Kennedy Howe	1812	Anne Hillas	1804
James Howe	1813	George Hillas	1806
Frances Howe	1814	Matthew Pearce	1806
Emma Howe	1815	William Pearce	1808
Catherine Howe	1817	James Hillas	1808
Jane Dight	1817		

According to Labov (2001, p. 447, 455) children can acquire new phonological norms only up to their early teens and transmit them effectively within peer networks until roughly age 17

and, Kerswill and Williams (2000, p. 102) state that new speech is first discernible in native-born adolescents, not young children, meaning that the age profiles of the Hawkesbury transmitters and Seven Hills receivers impose a narrow window for the emergence of a shared accent. This is a key component of this model as during this period adults spoke diverse dialects and could not transmit the newly stabilised accent, which was spoken primarily by children and adolescents. Consequently, peer groups—not adults—served as both the transmitters and receivers of the novel accent during the critical early dissemination of the accent.

Crucially, the sensitive period before age 15 for second language reception (Patkowski, 1980) sets an upper reception bound. The main first-wave Hawkesbury cohort born between 1795 and 1800 (Table 4.6, children such as George and Mary Bowman, Mary Howe, William Bowman, and Sarah Dight) would have remained effective receivers only until about 1809–1814 and effective transmitters until around 1812–1817, while the first-wave Seven Hills children born 1797–1800 (including children like John Hillas, Eliza and Hamilton Hume, and the Pearce siblings), needed to encounter the accent before they aged out of their own receiver window between 1810 and 1814. Based on these constraints, for the Seven Hills cohort to adopt the accent while still phonologically flexible, the Hawkesbury variety must therefore have been formed, and available for cross community contact by roughly 3–5 years before 1810–1811.

These constraints rule out late-emergence scenarios: an origin after 1808 would leave little time for internal development within Hawkesbury and subsequent diffusion to Seven Hills. An emergence between 1804 and 1808, by contrast, fits the demographic structure naturally, allowing Hawkesbury children to form and stabilise the accent before transmitting it through existing social ties, and enabling Seven Hills children to adopt it between 1810 and 1814. The age structure of both groups therefore acts as a decisive chronological constraint, strongly supporting an emergence window centred on 1804–1808 and rendering later dates implausible.

A further constraint concerns how the Hawkesbury children overlap with the founding of the Seven Hills school in 1817. By this point, the accent had already reached Seven Hills through the first and second wave receiver children born between 1797 and 1804, but its spread across the wider child population would still have been uneven. The new school changed this dynamic by bringing together, for the first time, children from widely scattered farms into a single mixed age classroom, concentrating peer interaction that had previously been thin and geographically dispersed. Of the eighteen foundation pupils listed in Table 3.14, only the Pearce siblings can be securely identified as belonging to the (n=33) children connected with the free-settler families listed in Table 4.6 and hence, were earlier receivers who likely already spoke the Hawkesbury accent; the remaining students listed in Table 3.14, mostly aged 5–13 and from families without Hawkesbury ties, were still within Labov’s accent reception window and thus primed to acquire it through daily contact.

This school-based diffusion depends entirely on the temporal overlap between Hawkesbury transmitters, Seven Hills receivers, and the Seven Hills school’s establishment. A later emergence of the accent would eliminate this overlap: the Pearce children and their cohort would have aged out of both schooling and phonological plasticity before a new accent variety could form, leaving the 1817 class without an initial nucleus of accented peers. An emergence around 1804–1808, however, aligns the chronology: the Pearce siblings would have had time to acquire the accent by the mid-1810s and were still school aged in 1817, allowing them to act as the bridge between early cross community transmission and the subsequent consolidation

of the accent within the school environment. Based on Labov (2001), Kerswill and Williams (2000) and Patkowski (1980), the following temporal constraints were applied for the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills accent transmission study:

- Hawkesbury internal accent diffusion; estimated min 3–5 years. (Time available for the accent to form and spread within the Hawkesbury transmitter children before exposure to the Seven Hills receiver children).
- Hawkesbury children reception window; ages 5–14.
- Hawkesbury children transmission window; ages 8–17.
- Seven Hills children reception window; ages 5–14.

Table 4.7 Hawkesbury-Seven Hills accent transmission study. This table presents the first-wave transmitter and receiver children included in the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills accent transmission study.

Hawkesbury– key early adopters/transmitters			
Name	YOB	Last receiver year (YOB+14)	Last transmitter year (YOB+17)
George Bowman	1795	1809	1812
Mary Bowman	1797	1811	1814
Mary Howe	1798	1812	1815
William Bowman	1799	1813	1816
Sarah Dight	1800	1814	1817
Seven Hills – first-wave receivers			
Name	YOB	Last receiver year (YOB+14)	
John Hillas	1797	1811	
Eliza Pearce	1797	1811	
Hamilton Hume	1797	1811	
Isabella Hume	1798	1812	
John K. Hume	1800	1814	

Applying these constraints to the Hawkesbury and Seven Hills birth cohorts yields strict upper bounds on when each child can plausibly adopt or transmit the accent. In particular, the 1797–1800 Seven Hills cohort—the first-wave receivers—must encounter the accent no later than 1811–1814, after which they age out of the high-plasticity window. Using these constraints—according to this Hawkesbury-Seven Hills accent transmission study—the accent emergence window falls between 1804–1808. This is displayed pictorially in Figure 4.10.

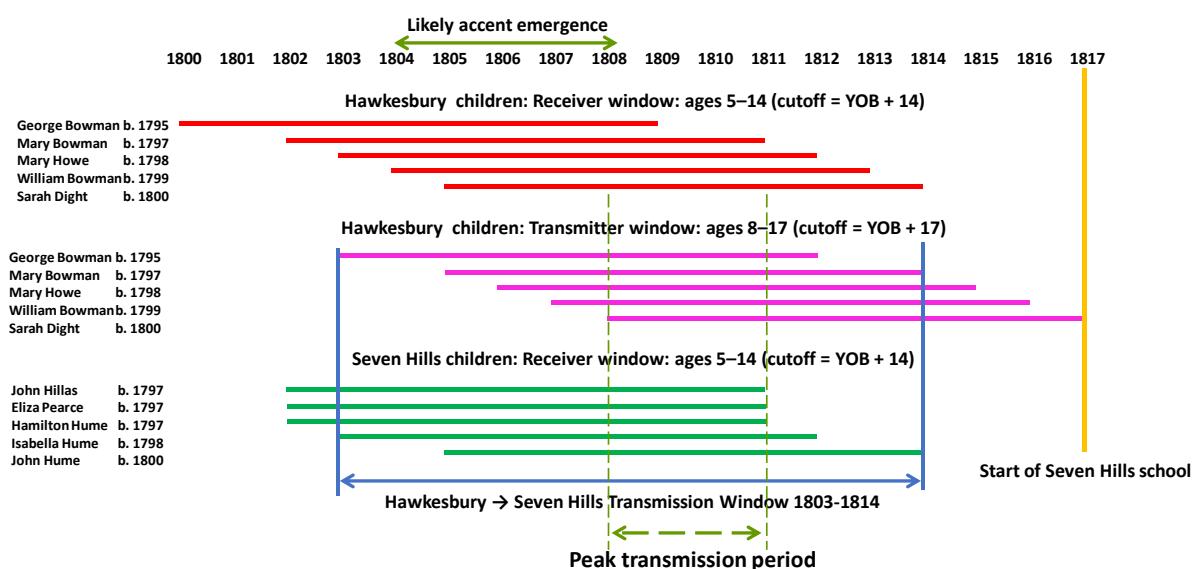


Figure 4.10 Hawkesbury-Seven Hills accent transmission study. Pictorial view of the Hawkesbury/Seven Hills peer-groups with the age constraints applied in the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills accent transmission study. Using these constraints, the accent emergence window falls between 1804–1808.

Understanding the Hawkesbury frontier demographic system

Any account of accent formation in early New South Wales must begin with the chronological constraints imposed by the historical record and outlined in the current study. Census and ABS data show unequivocally that the modern Australian accent must have been established in New South Wales early enough to reach Victoria before the demographic transformation triggered by the 1850s gold rush. After 1851, Victoria's population was reshaped by massive international migration followed closely by an exponential increase in native-born children, making it impossible for a new accent to have formed locally in that period. The Victorian accent must therefore be a derivative of an already stabilised New South Wales variety. This requirement alone places the emergence of the agent (Hawkesbury accent) several decades earlier than most traditional narratives allow.

Further constraints arise from the transmitter acquisition windows for Primary, Secondary and Downstream Settlements. Communities such as Parramatta, Campbelltown, and the Southern Highlands could only have acquired a recognisable accent if it reached the host population before the closure of their respective transmitter acquisition windows. These windows fall between 1806 and 1833, depending on the locality, and collectively point to an accent that must have stabilised in the Hawkesbury no later than the mid-1810s. This date range is supported by results obtained from the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills accent transmission study which was based on actual demographic data linking the two communities. Hence, any model that cannot produce a stable accent by this time is chronologically untenable.

European occupation of Australia began in 1788 and commenced along the Hawkesbury River from 1794. Hence, between 1794 and roughly 1810, the data collected in the current study as well as the external data used in the comparative analysis suggests the Hawkesbury frontier demographic system must have crossed a threshold that enabled the stabilisation of a new, Hawkesbury-specific accent variety.

This provides only a narrow window of around 15–years for the new accent variety to fully form and become stable enough to be already spreading to adjacent communities. Even accounting for time spent in other areas of the Sydney settlement prior to moving to the Hawkesbury, as well as the period of transportation to Australia, European adults had not been in any state of social connection anywhere near the required 20–30-years stipulated by Trudgill (2004) for Stage I accommodation, let alone subsequent levelling stages.

When we look at the Hawkesbury, we find the earliest settlers arrived outside of government sanction. These early pioneers made their way to the banks of the Hawkesbury River in dribs and drabs from Sydney Town or Parramatta, with most congregating around a section of the river then known as 'Green Hills'. Some had young families in tow, meaning the initial Hawkesbury population included children born from the first years of settlement in 1788 onward. In October, 1802, governor King wrote to Lord Hobart in London saying: 'There are two hundred and sixteen children' in the vicinity of Green Hills; and from the current study we can see they spanned the full developmental range from infancy to mid-adolescence (0–15 years). Green Hills was later renamed 'Windsor' and retains that name today. The muster held in 1803 includes entries referring to children 'at school' indicating a school of sorts was

operating, and contemporary records indicate that a permanent school house was opened at Windsor in 1805.

Families who uprooted from Sydney Town or Parramatta and moved to the Hawkesbury River flood plains were confronted with the labour of clearing virgin forest, constructing shelter, furniture, establishing farms, adjusting to a new community and building relationships. Adults can be described during this early period as being preoccupied with the business of survival, and tasks that could be entrusted to children were delegated and became their responsibility. Contemporary accounts confirm this pattern.

A Sydney Gazette report from February 1824, cited by Robinson, describes a Hawkesbury farm where ‘the young son minded pigs, while his still younger sister kept the cockatoos away from the maize at the same time as minding her baby sister.’ This vignette captures the defining features of rural childhood: multi-age sibling groups, children supervising children, cooperative labour conducted away from adults, and long periods of unsupervised peer interaction.

Karskens’ research on the Hawkesbury (especially ‘The Colony’ and ‘People of the River’) describes a scene where rural households with convict and emancipated convict parents were clustered along riverfront farms, often with clusters of connected families living within walking distance. With adults occupied elsewhere, children shouldered adult work-oriented responsibilities and moved freely between these farms, forming dense, repeated-contact peer groups that were age-graded, with older children routinely minding younger ones; describing a frontier demographic system that was child-dense, adult-sparse, peer-dominated social ecology in which these demographic patterns were embedded.

The current study aligns closely with this interpretation. Stages 1 and 2 (family and partner data) reveal that blended and serial families were common: some women bore children to four or more different men, and many men fathered children with multiple women. Children could therefore experience several different sets of mothers and fathers across their early years, with caregiving responsibilities shifting between adults and older siblings as relationships formed, dissolved, or were disrupted by death, mobility, or economic pressure. Therefore, within the Hawkesbury family structures we find a prevalence of parental dyads that were incapable of providing a stable linguistic model.

In the earliest phase, the Hawkesbury River locality was not even fully sanctioned by the Sydney administration, and later recognition was often grudging and uneven. In such a setting, institutional support for adults was minimal; for children it was effectively absent. The combination of unsanctioned settlement, fragile livelihoods, and high mobility created a social world in which “every man for himself” was not simply an attitude but a structural condition—and children were required to navigate and survive within it. The general landscape was one of emancipist farmers, ex-convicts, informal unions, precarious tenure, and limited official oversight, where everyday life was shaped as much by improvisation and mutual dependence as by formal authority.

These descriptions indicate that the Hawkesbury was a setting in which children operated within a largely autonomous social world. The daily lives of preadolescents were centred on work rather than play, and family survival depended on all members fulfilling their allotted

roles. For preadolescent children, a key role was the minding of their preschool-aged siblings and, in many cases, the communal supervision of multi-family child clusters—an environment in which linguistic norms circulated horizontally with high frequency.

With adults absent from the accent-convergence and linguistic monitoring systems, this study turns attention to the Hawkesbury children who are now the only remaining active component operating in the Hawkesbury demographic system capable of effecting convergence within the time constraints. The most salient sample is the cohort of slightly older children—who adopt the role of child-minders/care-givers—and the slightly younger children in their care. This form of task allocation now becomes central to this investigation.

We have already established that in the Hawkesbury stabilisation manifested more rapidly than the multi-generational timelines assumed in traditional accounts. The study therefore proceeds from the position that dialect formation must be understood as a demographic system with variable parameters, rather than a fixed sociolinguistic chronology.

When we examine the Hawkesbury child-minding scenario, we see that the slightly older children functioned as pseudo-adults and, in this configuration, would have provided the principal linguistic input for the younger children in their care. Within this construct, something within the children's age structures may explain the integrity and capability of the convergence system. The literature points to a developmental window that can be interpreted as particularly conducive to rapid and effective convergence. Labov (2001, p. 447) marks ages 8–9 as the transition from the early, plasticity-driven period of automatic acquisition to the later, abstraction-driven stage. When this threshold is combined with Labov's distinction between the pre- and post- 4–5 parental-domination phases, a clear age-graded structure emerges. Children aged 0–5 form an early-receiver group dominated by primary caregiver input; those aged 5–8 occupy the highly plastic, peer-focused learning window; and from 9 years onward, children enter the abstraction-driven stage. In the Hawkesbury context, this older group would likely have moved from child-minding roles into full adult labour by around age 12.

Within this framework, a cohort of children aged 9–12, working together in multifamily, task-oriented clusters, would be expected to have the abstractive capacity to filter the scattered adult inputs and pass a more child-regulated version to their 0–5-year-old charges.

This scenario fits perfectly with data collected in the current study, as if we time these events within the context of the initial Hawkesbury settlement established in 1794, we find precisely 9–years later in 1803 the first school appearing in records at what is today called Windsor. The early school was informal but a formal school building was completed in 1805, defining a specific time when the younger charges—many now aged 5–8—moved from the care of the older child-minding cohort and redirected their focus on peers from all across the Hawkesbury community who were funneled towards this single school. Once brought together and interacting primarily with age-mates still within the high-plasticity period, these children naturally converged on the regulated system passed down by the older cohort, eliminating residual variation and, over a relatively short period, produced a stabilised Hawkesbury accent variety, see Figure 4.12. This funneling effect remained until 1810 when additional schools located both upstream (Richmond) and downstream (Wilberforce) commenced operation.

This Hawkesbury child-driven accent-convergence system is not commensurable with adult-driven koinéisation; it constitutes a distinct and coherent mechanism in its own right and is best defined not genealogically but by linguistic input. In the Hawkesbury system the elder child-minder children analyse and regularise the inconsistent adult linguistic input and the younger children then received their primary phonological influence from this slightly older generation. Once at school and immersed in a dense, mixed-age peer environment—after receiving already regulated input from their older child-minders—these children stabilised the Hawkesbury accent between approximately 1804 and 1808 and became the first true speakers of the new variety.

This finding does not contradict Trudgill’s koinéisation model; rather, it operationalises it more precisely. Trudgill’s three-generation cycle describes a mechanism, not a fixed chronological span. His fifty-year estimate for New Zealand English reflects the demographic conditions of that settlement—a large, adult-dominated, and relatively dispersed population—rather than a universal timeframe. While Trudgill’s model provides a mechanism for new-dialect formation under adult-dominated colonial conditions, it does not specify how the process behaves under different demographic configurations.

The Hawkesbury case demonstrates that under frontier conditions dominated by child-to-child transmission, the same structural logic can operate far more rapidly. In small, child-dense, and tightly clustered communities—where peer-group input dominates and adult linguistic diversity is filtered through older children—the generational cycle can compress significantly. This study argues that the Hawkesbury represents such a case. Rather than accelerated koinéisation, the Hawkesbury illustrates a process in which the stabilising generation emerges within a decade through the interaction of older child caregivers and their younger charges.

To illustrate the demographic conditions under which the Hawkesbury variety emerged, an accelerated dialect-formation model was developed—here termed the *Hawkesbury Child-Driven Convergence Model* (HCDCM).

Within this model, the primary active components are:

- a) the 9–12-year-old children who assumed child-minding responsibilities, termed the *Child-Minder Cohort* (CMC); and
- b) the 5–8-year-old children who formed the core stabilising group, termed the *Fixation-Engine* (FE).

Hawkesbury Child-Driven Convergence Model (HCDCM)

In this chapter I present the *Hawkesbury Child-Driven Convergence Model* (HCDCM) as the only explanation capable of meeting all known constraints. It argues that the first stable form of Australian English emerged through the dense, kin structured networks of children present in the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills region between approximately 1795 and 1810. The model identifies the Currency Generation—the first locally born cohort—as the primary agents of linguistic convergence and stabilisation, and situates their role within the broader social ecology created by the convict system.

1. The Convict System as a Demographic Engine: Stage I—Semifunctional

European settlement commenced at Sydney Cove in 1788 and the Hawkesbury did not exist as a settled community before 1794. The Hawkesbury's earliest residents were overwhelmingly emancipated convicts and for many who arrived on the First, Second, or Third Fleets, the voyage itself provided almost no opportunity for dialect accommodation; the cramped, segregated, and often brutal conditions—most notoriously on the Second Fleet (Flynn, 1993)—actively prevented the kind of stable, repeated interaction required for large scale adult levelling. Furthermore, the time spent during transportation to Australia combined with time spent at Sydney Town or Parramatta settlements prior to moving to the Hawkesbury, was far less than the 20–30 years cited by Trudgill (2004, p. 79, 245) required for the New Zealand English accommodation phase, causing Stage I to remain in a *Semifunctional* state. Baptismal records from St Philip's in Sydney Town and St John's at Parramatta show a recurring pattern: that many couples had initially tried to establish themselves at one of those centres, and after having one or more children, petitioned for land. These petitions—often framed as appeals for subsistence, stability, or the means to support a growing family—were frequently granted in the Hawkesbury, where thirty-acre blocks of river-flat land were allocated to those willing to farm them. Others bypassed the request phase altogether and simply moved to the Hawkesbury and settled on land of their choosing, adding to the chaos of the early period.

This relocation pattern was structurally tied to the convict system. Most of the adults who arrived during the early period in the Hawkesbury were not agriculturalists, but labourers, artisans, servants, and tradespeople thrust into a frontier with minimal institutional support. By and large the Hawkesbury convicts were marked by economic precarity, environmental risk, and the constant threat of crop failure or flood. Under such conditions, families clung together for survival. Kinship networks deepened, intermarriage intensified, and households became interdependent in ways rarely seen in free-settler societies. Karskens (2009, p. 154) describes how the 'Hawkesbury families intermarried, making a labyrinth of relationships' resulting in a social ecology characterised by dense kin clustering, shared labour, and cross-household cooperation—a demographic configuration uniquely generated by the *convict experience*.

2. Frontier Childhood and the Density of Child-Minder Networks: Stage II—Filtration

The first native-born generation—many of whom spent their earliest years in Sydney Town before relocating to the Hawkesbury at around five to ten years of age. They entered a frontier environment that concentrated children into overlapping age bands within tightly clustered kin networks. The precarious nature of existence meant the river families had a

survival focus where children and adults alike were expected to contribute to the establishment of a successful farming enterprise. For the first decade or so following Hawkesbury settlement there are no schools recorded operating anywhere along the river, indicating the preoccupation with survival and the reliance upon children as labour.

To fulfil their roles these children moved freely between dwellings and formed dense, work-related daily interaction cluster-based networks becoming cross-household connectors. The older children the Child-Minder Cohort (CMC)—were aged approximately 9–12 years—representing a developmental window in which children possess both the cognitive capacity to analyse and regularise inconsistent linguistic input and the social autonomy to operate in peer-driven, task-focused networks independent of adults, making them uniquely capable of generating a new, systematised variety under frontier constraints.

The child-minding system is the structural heart of Stage II—here termed *Filtration*. This is an abstraction-driven process in which the CMC extract, analyse, and regularise the inconsistent adult speech circulating in the community, producing a simplified, stabilised, and internally coherent linguistic system that reflects the constraints of their frontier work ecology rather than the structure of any single adult dialect. This 9–12 CMC age range corresponds to the preadolescent period Kerswill and Williams (2000, p. 105) describe as having achieved sociolinguistic competence yet remain highly responsive to salient variants and peer-group norms. This CMC cohort therefore represent a functionally defined subset of Trudgill's (2004) broad *children* category, specifying the developmental and social agents responsible for Stage II levelling in frontier conditions.

The CMC 9–12 operated in an ecology where adult linguistic input was inconsistent, inaccessible, and functionally irrelevant. Adults were physically distant, cognitively preoccupied, and socially peripheral to child-child communication—conditions that sharply reduce adult-to-child linguistic transmission. As a result, the CMC were effectively severed from parental dialect influence. Their linguistic environment was dominated not by British or Irish varieties, but by the immediate demands of child-minding, coordination, and task-driven cooperation. In this sense, the Filtrated speech of the CMC was functionally independent of British and Irish dialects of the convict parents. It did not represent a simplified continuation of parental varieties, but a new, child-constructed system built from the fragments of inconsistent adult input. Hence, while Australian English is genealogically English, its structural foundations were not transmitted from adults but reconstructed by native-born children (CGC) operating within a frontier ecology that constrained and directed the system toward a unique outcome leaving the CMC peer groups to create their own linguistic standards.

This ecology created a set of functional constraints that reduced the degrees of freedom available to the linguistic system. No matter on which section of the river the CMC were located, each cluster were likely operating under near-identical environmental and social conditions, which required them to communicate clearly, efficiently, and consistently in order to manage younger children and maintain order within forced-team structures. Trudgill (2004, p. 255) explains that in situations where societal routines are disrupted, the community tend to reduce and simplify the linguistic differences between each other. Manifesting in the Hawkesbury with each CMC cluster influenced by the same "attractors" which are easier for

speakers to acquire or maintain. In systems terms, the frontier environment created *attractor states*: predictable linguistic outcomes that emerge when independent groups face the same communicative bottlenecks. From a process perspective: Filtration operated across CMC clusters in parallel rather than divergent.

This 9-12 developmental window coincided with the CMC being old enough to assume adult-like responsibility for supervising younger children from around 1797 onward—effectively running what can be described, melioratively, as a *bush crèche*—yet still young enough that their charges, many of whom had been under their supervision since infancy, remained within their daily care until the establishment of the 1803 Windsor school, after which those younger children shifted their primary alignment to newly formed peer groups.

In this rural frontier, 9–12-year-olds aren't just "playing"; they are economic actors. This was a *pressure cooker* environment where the social and functional distance between adults and children is maximized. When these children from different Semifunctional households cluster to manage farm chores or mind younger siblings, they form a dense, multiplex social network.

- **Necessity of Communication:** Unlike a conventional community where the “target” described by Kerswill and Williams (2000, P. 72) is the foundation standard English, the Hawkesbury frontier target is purely functional efficiency among the CMC peer group. Under these conditions they would quickly create their own way of speaking.
- **The Filtration Speed:** Because these 9–12-year-olds are the primary linguistic models for one another, they likely stripped away the most complex, marked features of their parents' speech with brutal efficiency, and built a brand-new, consistent system of rules which their 0–5 year-old charges then soaked up and treated as the Hawkesbury's 'proper' native language.

3. The Windsor school: Stage III—Fixation (FE-Driven Stabilisation)

In the HCDCM, *Fixation* refers to the child-driven process that resulted in the final reduction of residual variation, while stabilisation refers to the outcome of this process. The term *Fixation-Engine* (FE) is introduced here to describe the cohort who were originally the charges of the CMC. Following the opening of the Windsor school recorded from 1803—which facilitated the first true cross-cluster interaction hub in the region—FE converged from the scattered CMC clusters and formed one school student community. The FE—born from around 1795—were aged between 5–8 years old when this school opened.

Labov (2001, p. 447–448) maintains that children transition from parental linguistic dominance around ages 4–5. This period is followed by a phase of peer-group rule (ages 5–12), within which ages 8 or 9 represent a critical peak for acquiring abstract phonological rules. In the Hawkesbury, this developmental window coincided with the establishment of a dense, daily interactional environment at the Windsor school, where students who had acquired similar CMC filtered speech, brought these together in daily, repeated contact within the Windsor cohort. The Fixation process is completed by aligning the slightly different cluster-specific Stage II varieties into a basin-wide norm. The companion study conducted on the *Hawkesbury-Seven Hills transmission* points to a stable Hawkesbury variety circulating by approximately 1804–1808. This date range aligns well with the Windsor school operating in 1803.

While Trudgill (2004, p. 79) describes the emergence of a ‘new stable, crystallised variety’, he does not identify a specific child cohort responsible for this process. The Fixation-Engine (FE) therefore represents a new, mechanistic refinement of the focusing stage.

Typically, a 5-year-old still hears a lot of "Parental Input." But in the Hawkesbury system:

- The 9–12s (CMC-The Filters) become the primary input for the 5–8s.
- The 5–8s (FE-The Fixers) had been under CMC care since infancy and entered school already oriented to child-generated norms. They are not fixing a “messy” version of their parents’ speech; they are fixing the Filtrated speech produced by the CMC.
- Because adults produced highly variable, dialect-mixed, and socially unchallenged speech, their input could not function as a stabilising “target.” The “Fixers” therefore converged on the only consistent model available to them. In this sense, the Fixation process is “uncontested” not because adults are absent, but because adult speech offers no stable alternative norm.
- The school environment: Amplified convergence, not abstraction. The FE role at school was to finalise the system, not to analyse it. This is a plasticity-driven or automatic learning process, not an abstraction-driven one so, the FE remain in the plasticity window and not the abstract window.

Speed is a function of system structure. In the Hawkesbury frontier system:

- Adult Focus: Survival/Tasks (Low linguistic monitoring of children).
- Child Focus: Peer-Cooperation/Caregiving (High linguistic interaction).
- The Outcome: The "Abstract Phonological Rules" of Labov's 8–9-year-old peak, are established by the 9–12-year-old (Filters) and “Locked in” by the 5–8-year-old (Fixers).
- In this scenario, the “New Hawkesbury Variety” would feel like a native language to the 5–8-year-olds before they even reach adolescence. By the time they become the child-minders themselves, the dialect is already Fixed and Stabilised. In the Hawkesbury frontier system, stabilisation is reduced from 50-years (koinéisation) to 10–15 years.

Overlaid on Trudgill’s new dialect emergence:

- Stage I: Semifunctional, almost nonexistent adult accommodation.
- Stage II: Filtration was carried out by a functionally defined subset of children (CMC).
- Stage III: Fixation occurred when a younger functionally defined subset of children (FE) from multiple CMC clusters entered the 1803 school.

4. The Schooling Chronology as Structural Evidence

The chronology of early schooling provides one of the clearest structural frameworks for determining when the accent stabilised and how it spread. The Windsor school, operating by 1803 and in a purpose-built school building by 1805, emerged precisely when the first large cohort of locally born children reached school age. Its pupil body—dominated by children aged 5–13 from dense kin-cluster networks—created a uniquely concentrated peer environment in which daily interaction reinforced the levelling already underway in caregiving networks. By this point, the native-born birth stream (beginning from 1788) had produced the first fully stacked child ecology: a 9–12 Child-Minder Cohort emerging c. 1797 and a 5–8 Fixation-

Engine cohort emerging c. 1803. This configuration first becomes robust in the early 1800s, with c. 1804 marking the earliest plausible onset of systematic child-driven convergence.

The establishment of schools at Wilberforce—downstream from Windsor—and Richmond—upstream from Windsor—in 1810/11, provides both a delineation, where 1809 was the last date FE were funneled into a single school, as well as signifying a redistribution of pupils from Windsor to the new schools, that may explain how the accent spread so quickly throughout the river community. See Appendix 3.

5. The Hawkesbury–Seven Hills Linkage

The Seven Hills school located 23Km from the Hawkesbury, opened in 1817, provides a temporal boundary. A kin-cluster network of 33 children provided an accent conduit connecting Hawkesbury and Seven Hills children who attended in its first years. These children were born between 1802 and 1810, meaning their formative phonological window fell between 1807 and 1817 ensuring therefore they received a post-fixation variety.

Marriage patterns from 1811–1815 reveal that Seven Hills was initially more closely connected to the Hawkesbury than to Parramatta or Sydney Town. A cluster of free-settler families formed an exclusive social stratum bridging the two communities. Their thirty-three children constituted a tightly interconnected peer group whose ages fell squarely within the critical window for accent acquisition. This group provided the conduit through which the stabilised Hawkesbury accent entered Seven Hills. The effective accent-acquisition window between the Hawkesbury and Seven Hills populations began to narrow from 1811 and had effectively closed by around 1814, when the earliest Seven Hills children completed the most sensitive phase of phonological development.

The Seven Hills cohort therefore acts as a receiver population whose acquisition timeline confirms that fixation in the Hawkesbury cannot be placed later than the first decade of the nineteenth century, and suggests that an origin after 1808 would leave little time for internal development within Hawkesbury and subsequent diffusion to Seven Hills. Hence, a Fixation date range of c. 1804–1808 sits naturally within the various windows.

6. The Currency Generation and the Birth of Australian English

The Currency Generation—the first locally born cohort—have been largely absent from mainstream historical narratives, overshadowed by the focus on convicts, governors, and later waves of migration. Yet the evidence presented here shows that they were central to the linguistic, spatial, and cultural formation of early Australia. They stabilised the first Australian accent, drove the expansion of the pastoral frontier, and articulated the earliest recognisably local cultural stance. Their accent was not merely a linguistic artefact. It was the audible expression of a new social world: egalitarian, improvisational, kin-structured, and distinct from the rigid class hierarchies of Britain. The convict system created the demographic conditions; the Currency Generation created the culture; and the accent emerged as the linguistic embodiment of that culture.

7. Conclusion

The Hawkesbury evidence points to early childhood convergence emerging within dense, multi-family caregiving networks shaped by the convict system. The HCDCM emerged from the confluence of the demographic and theoretical evidence and at its heart retains Trudgill's three-stage structure but specifies the social and developmental processes through which each stage operated in the Hawkesbury. Stage I is structurally tied to the convict system which resulted in minimal accommodation. Stage II introduces Filtration, an abstraction-driven process carried out by a functionally defined subset of Trudgill's children: the 9–12-year-old Child-Minding Cohort (CMC) embedded within kin-clustered households. Stage III introduces Fixation, a plasticity-driven process and occurred when younger 5–8-year-old Fixation-Engine (FE) children from multiple clusters entered the 1803 school creating the first large, mixed-origin peer network, and converge on the CMC's Filtered output without analysing it, finalising the system rather than constructing it. (see Figure 4.11).

The chronological constraints of early colonial Australia do not merely support the HCDCM—they require it. The early stabilisation of the Hawkesbury variety, and its rapid export to Victoria, are only possible if Fixation occurred in the first FE cohort. Had the Fixation Engine cohort aged into the 9–12 range before convergence occurred, they would have shifted into Filtration rather than Fixation. The system would therefore remain in a state of regulated variability rather than stabilising, producing a slower, more koine like trajectory rather than rapid child-driven convergence; prolonging variability and preventing the emergence of a stable variety in time to dominate Victoria prior to the gold rush. This makes early Fixation not just plausible, but chronologically necessary, and the CMC/FE architecture not just explanatory, but empirically confirmed.

In summary, The Hawkesbury Child-Driven Convergence Model (HCDCM) satisfies all known local and regional chronological constraints, identifies a demographically stable source population, explains the social linkage between Hawkesbury and Seven Hills, accounts for the age structure and density of the Windsor school, and demonstrates the existence of both *Child-Minder* and *Fixation-Engine* Cohorts. It aligns with contemporary sociolinguistic theory while extending it to frontier conditions, showing how rapid, coherent accent formation can occur in small, kin dense populations where pre-school child networks, rather than adult communities or adolescent peer groups, are the primary agents of linguistic change.

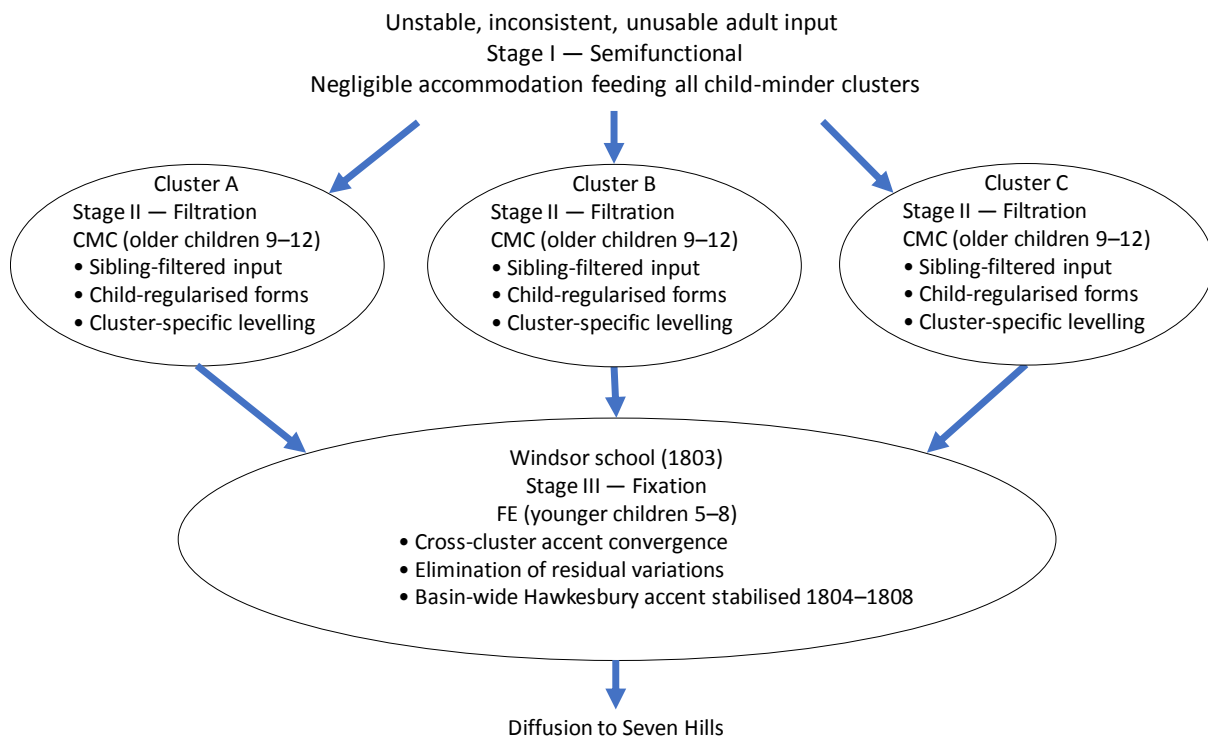


Figure 4.11 The Hawkesbury Child-Driven Convergence Model (HCDCM).

Presented is a diagram with three parallel Stage II child-minder clusters, each shaped by dense cross-household caregiving filtration networks, converge at the Windsor school (established 1803), where Stage III Fixation occurs through sustained cross-cluster peer interaction. The diagram illustrates how variable adult levelling (Stage I) feeds into multiple Child-Minder Cohort (CMC) cluster-specific Stage II varieties, which are then aligned and stabilised by the Fixation-Engine (FE) children to produce a basin-wide Hawkesbury accent by 1804–1808.

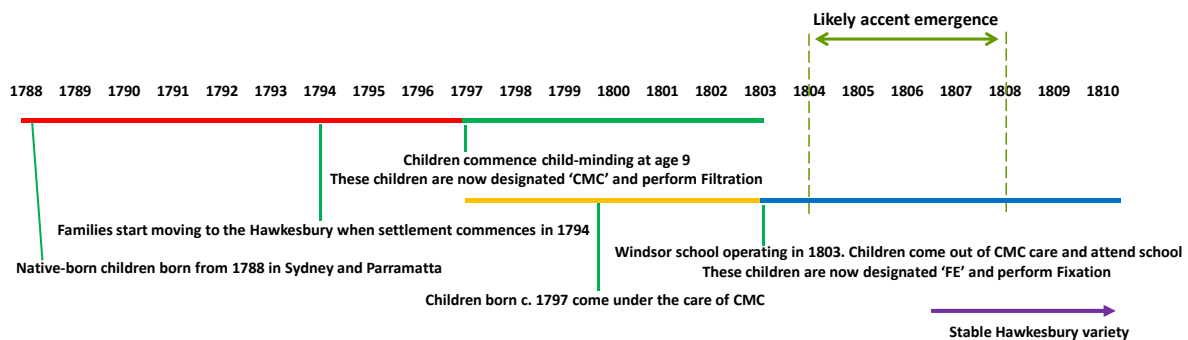


Figure 4.12 The Hawkesbury Child-Driven Convergence Model (HCDCM) timeline.

Presented is a simplified timeline indicating a possible scenario for Hawkesbury accent Fixation. The timeline commences at 1788, the initial year of settlement at Sydney Cove. The Hawkesbury settlement that commenced in 1794 and the Windsor school first recorded in 1803 and also shown. In this scenario Fixation likely took place between 1804 and 1808, however these dates are speculative and are based upon external events presented in data.

Process-Level Mechanism within the HCDCM

Although the HCDCM establishes the demographic and social conditions under which the Hawkesbury variety emerged, a model of this kind remains incomplete without an explicit account of the process that operated within those conditions. Describing who was present and how they were arranged demographically does not, on its own, explain how heterogeneous adult input was transformed into a coherent child-constructed system. Without a defined internal mechanism, the model risks implying that convergence occurred automatically or by default. To complete the explanatory architecture, the underlying process that links demographic structure to linguistic outcome must be specified.

This thesis therefore introduces *pediogeny* as a general term for systems that arise only when children, by virtue of their age-specific cognitive capacities, become the sole agents capable of generating or stabilising a new structure. Although the Hawkesbury case demonstrates *pediogenisation* operating within a linguistic domain, the underlying mechanism is not intrinsically linguistic. It reflects a more general developmental phenomenon: a child-driven system-formation process that emerges when the required cognitive operations fall within bounded childhood windows and are therefore unavailable to adults or adolescents. In principle, *pediogeny*—from Greek *paidi-* “child” + *-geny* “origin/creation”—refers to situations that can operate on any structured input—linguistic, cultural, social, or symbolic—provided three conditions are met: (1) adult models are insufficient, inconsistent, or weakly transmitted; (2) children interact densely with one another; and (3) the system requires cognitive operations that fall within child-specific developmental windows. Under these conditions, children will tend to filter, regularise, and stabilise the available material into a new system. The specific outcome is always constrained by the input domain: in language, the result may be a new accent or variety; in play, a codified game with stable rules; in social organisation, a peer-group hierarchy or code of conduct.

The Hawkesbury accent is thus one particular instantiation of a more general process: a *pediogenic* system formed when children, in a disrupted transmission ecology, became the only individuals developmentally capable of constructing a new, stable structure. Rather than reproducing adult structures, children collectively generate new, internally coherent systems that subsequently function as the normative framework for their community. This pattern reflects a broader generative capacity that emerges when children interact densely with one another and rely primarily on peer-based norms rather than adult exemplars. Crucially, the defining feature is not that children happened to create the system, but that only children were developmentally capable of creating it. A *pediogenic* variety is therefore not merely a linguistic outcome; it is a structural trace of the childhood ecology that produced it. Because *pediogenisation* arises when children, rather than adults, become the primary system-forming agents, its presence implies an environment in which adult models were inconsistent, unstable, or only weakly available, and in which the system demanded cognitive operations restricted to childhood—such as the pattern-extraction capacities of older children and the high-plasticity convergence capacities of younger ones.

Seen through this lens, the Hawkesbury pediogenic variety is more than a technical outcome of dialect formation. It is the audible imprint of a generation of children who grew up in a penal frontier outpost with unstable adult care, shifting family structures, and little institutional protection. The fact that these children nonetheless converged on a shared, stable accent indicates that they built, among themselves, a coherent social and linguistic order in the midst of fragmentation. The accent reconstructed in this study is therefore both a linguistic system and a historical witness: it encodes, in its very existence, the harshness of the early convict frontier and the capacity of children to create stability where adults and institutions did not.

Pediogenic Formation Triad

The *Pediogenic Formation Triad* emerges directly from the empirical reconstruction of the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills system and codifies the internal process logic of pediogenesis, defining the ordered transitions that drive the system from Semifunctional input to Stabilisation. The demographic analysis showed that adult accommodation could not have produced a stable accent within the available time window: the adult population was too small, too mobile, too heterogeneous, too weakly networked and had insufficient time to sustain the iterative levelling required by koinéisation. The Seven Hills transmission model sharpened this conclusion by demonstrating that the receiving children acquired a fully stabilised variety by the mid-1810s, implying that the Hawkesbury system had already converged before 1810. When triangulated with the age-structure data, caregiving patterns, and the absence of viable adult linguistic models, the only population capable of generating this stability was the children themselves. The identification of the Child-Minder Cohort (CMC), Fixation-Engine cohort (FE), and Early Receivers (ER) provided the functional architecture through which this child-driven convergence operated. The *Pediogenic Formation Triad* formalises this architecture by distinguishing the underlying mechanism (pediogeny), the population-level process through which it unfolds (pediogenesis), and the stable dialectal outcome it produces (pediogenic variety) i.e. the Hawkesbury accent.

Table 4.8 The *Pediogenic Formation Triad* within the HCDCM.

The *Pediogenic Formation Triad* summarises the three components of the child-driven system identified in the Hawkesbury reconstruction. It distinguishes the underlying mechanism, the population-level process, and the resulting dialectal outcome, providing a conceptual framework for understanding how the HCDCM operates. The triad also aligns the new terminology introduced in this study with the functional roles of the CMC, FE, and Early Receiver cohorts, offering a compact representation of the system’s internal logic.

Term	Part of Speech	Function	Definition Summary
pediogeny	noun (mechanism)	underlying causal mechanism	children generate and regulate the system
pediogenesis	noun (process)	unfolding population-level process	iterative filtering and stabilisation
pediogenic	adjective	describes features shaped by the mechanism/process	child-driven structural properties
pediogenic variety	noun (outcome)	the stable dialect produced	the first fully formed system

Locus of Structural Origin

While pediogenicity identifies the agent of formation, the taxonomy remains incomplete without a term for the locus of structural origin. Although genealogically English, the Hawkesbury variety's structural foundations were not imported from Britain. They were reconstructed locally by native-born children (CGC) operating within the demographic and ecological constraints of the Australian frontier. To capture this place-anchored status, the term *austrigenic* is introduced.

Austrigenic (adj.)

From Latin *australis* “southern, of the southern land” + *-genic* “generated, produced.”

Meaning: arising in, generated within, or structurally originating from the Australian landmass; used to describe varieties whose foundational system was formed locally rather than inherited from external adult dialects.

Austrigenic designates the Hawkesbury variety as a system whose structural coherence emerged in situ within the Australian colonial environment; accurately naming the variety's status as of this land, structurally shaped by the ecology of the southern continent, an ‘austrigenic pediogenic colonial variety’.

Table 4.9 The austrigenic pediogenic colonial variety:

A child-constructed system generated within the frontier ecology of the southern land.

Dimension	Term	Meaning
Agent	<i>pediogenic</i>	child-generated
Mechanism	<i>pediogenesis</i>	child-driven formation
Locus of origin	<i>austrigenic</i>	generated in Australia/ arising from the southern land

Rural Ecology of Accent Formation and Spread

The HCDCM aligns perfectly with the observable sequence of events that followed pedio-genisation. By the early 1820s, the Hawkesbury, Seven Hills, and Parramatta districts had coalesced into a unified accent basin. The stabilised Hawkesbury variety circulated freely across this zone, reinforced by high native-born fertility, dense peer networks, and constant inter-district mobility. This basin became the demographic engine of the accent's subsequent spread in every direction. From the 1810s through the 1830s, families moving outward from the basin carried the stabilised variety into neighbouring districts and emerging frontier settlements. Large floods inundating the Hawkesbury in 1806 and 1809 may account for some of the early movement but the data points to the emerging wool boom and late 1830s drought as the most significant motivations.

To the south, the accent moved through Campbelltown into the Southern Highlands, Goulburn, the Riverina, the Monaro, and north-east Victoria. To the west, basin-raised families transmitted the accent along the Nepean and Cowpastures corridor and into the early Bathurst settlements. To the north, the same process carried the accent into the Hunter, Paterson, and Williams valleys, where basin-connected migrants formed the earliest native-born peer groups. Within the Sydney Basin itself, continued movement between Parramatta, Seven Hills, and the Hawkesbury ensured that the stabilised variety became the dominant speech form of the expanding colonial population.

These movements show that the modern Australian accent is best understood as the long-term outcome of early basin-level stabilisation, diffused across multiple frontiers by successive generations of native-born transmitters. The Hawkesbury basin did not simply influence one migration stream; it supplied the linguistic template for the entire colonial expansion. Seen in this light, the Australian accent did not emerge in an urban centre and radiate outward. Rather, it appears to have been shaped, transmitted, and incubated primarily in rural settings.

Contemporary observers such as Bigge and later Karskens noted the sharp cultural divide between rural settlers and the artisan-dominated towns, and the strong, kin-dense social worlds that characterised the outlying districts. Bigge's 1820 remarks about the 'distinctive rural culture and identity' and the 'enmity' between country and town populations are echoed by James Atkinson (1826), who described the interior as a 'society of its own,' and by Barron Field (1825), who observed that rural families formed 'little neighbourhoods' with habits and manners distinct from Sydney. Karskens goes a step further in *People of the River* (2020, p. 3) describing the Hawkesbury settlers as exhibiting 'the earliest patriotic colonial culture and identity, especially among the white native-born' which implies a correlation between the Hawkesbury locality and the culture of its children. These accounts consistently portray rural districts as socially cohesive micro-communities, where children interacted intensively with one another and only minimally with the more diverse speech environments of the towns.

This rural peer-group ecology is not incidental to the accent story—it is the mechanism that made rapid accent stabilisation possible. Rural children grew up in tightly clustered neighbourhoods, working, playing, and moving together in stable peer groups that were reinforced by kinship, shared labour, and geographic proximity. Their daily routines—herding animals, fetching water, tending crops, and travelling between farms—created long periods of unsupervised horizontal contact. On the basis of Trudgill's emphasis on peer-group input and the demographic evidence presented here, I argue that such environments would have accelerated child-driven convergence within the Hawkesbury cohort.

The 1828 New South Wales census confirms that rural households were larger, more kin-dense, and more stable than their urban counterparts, producing demographic conditions in which children formed unusually large sibling and kin-based cohorts. While the census does not record interactional behaviour, the size and structure of these households strongly imply that rural children spent much of their time with one another rather than with unrelated adults. In such settings, the conditions for peer-driven linguistic convergence were far more favourable than in the towns.

The rural pathway also explains the speed and coherence of the accent's spread. The pastoral frontier was not a random scattering of families but a highly structured movement system. Stockmen, shepherds, and smallholders travelled along predictable corridors, often in kin-linked groups, carrying with them the speech norms they had acquired as children. Early travellers repeatedly noted that rural settlers maintained strong ties with their home districts, returning seasonally or exchanging labour and resources across long distances.

These circuits acted as linguistic transmission lines, ensuring that the Hawkesbury accent propagated intact through Parramatta, Campbelltown, the Southern Highlands, Goulburn/Gunning, the Monaro, the Riverina, the Murray, and into Victoria and South Australia. The accent's coherence across this vast geography is difficult to explain through urban diffusion but aligns perfectly with a rural, kin-structured, frontier-driven model. This rural pathway of transmission may also help explain certain cultural associations of Australian English—its egalitarian ethos, its informality, and its alignment with bush identity—formed by the rural character of the nineteenth century which provided the social ecology in which the Hawkesbury accent could consolidate and become the national norm.

This investigation brings these dynamics into focus and demonstrates that, within the broader context of modern Australian history, the Currency Generation were far more than a demographic curiosity. Their contributions have been largely obscured in conventional narratives, yet the evidence presented here shows that they played a foundational role in shaping the colony's linguistic, spatial, and cultural development.

As children, they stabilised a coherent accent in the Hawkesbury and Seven Hills communities—a phonological system that diffused rapidly through kinship, schooling, and mobility and had become a supra-local norm by the 1820s. As adults, they propelled the expansion of the pastoral frontier, establishing routes, settlements, and districts that continue to structure the Australian landscape. Their formative experiences also generated social attitudes—pragmatism, scepticism toward authority, reliance on peer networks—that later observers recognised as distinctively Australian. In language, geography, and cultural orientation, the Currency Generation remain an enduring presence: Australians today speak with their accent, inhabit the spaces they shaped, and draw upon the cultural repertoire they first articulated.

In recognising this, the current study reframes the emergence of Australian English not as an incidental by-product of settlement, but as a deliberate outcome of demographic structure, mobility patterns, and intergenerational transmission. The accent did not achieve ubiquity spontaneously or uniformly; it was forged through the repeated interactions of specific communities whose children shared dense peer networks and whose families moved along predictable spatial corridors. The Hawkesbury/Seven Hills basin and its downstream settlements thus become central to understanding not only where the accent formed, but why it took the shape it did, and how it achieved such rapid territorial reach.

More broadly, this perspective invites a reconsideration of the cultural and historical significance of early colonial native-born Australians. Their linguistic imprint is only one dimension of a wider legacy that includes the shaping of regional identities, the establishment of enduring mobility pathways, and the creation of social norms that continue to influence Australian life. By foregrounding the demographic and cultural agency of the Currency Generation, this study restores their place in the national story and highlights the deep historical roots of features that are now taken for granted as emblematic of Australian identity.

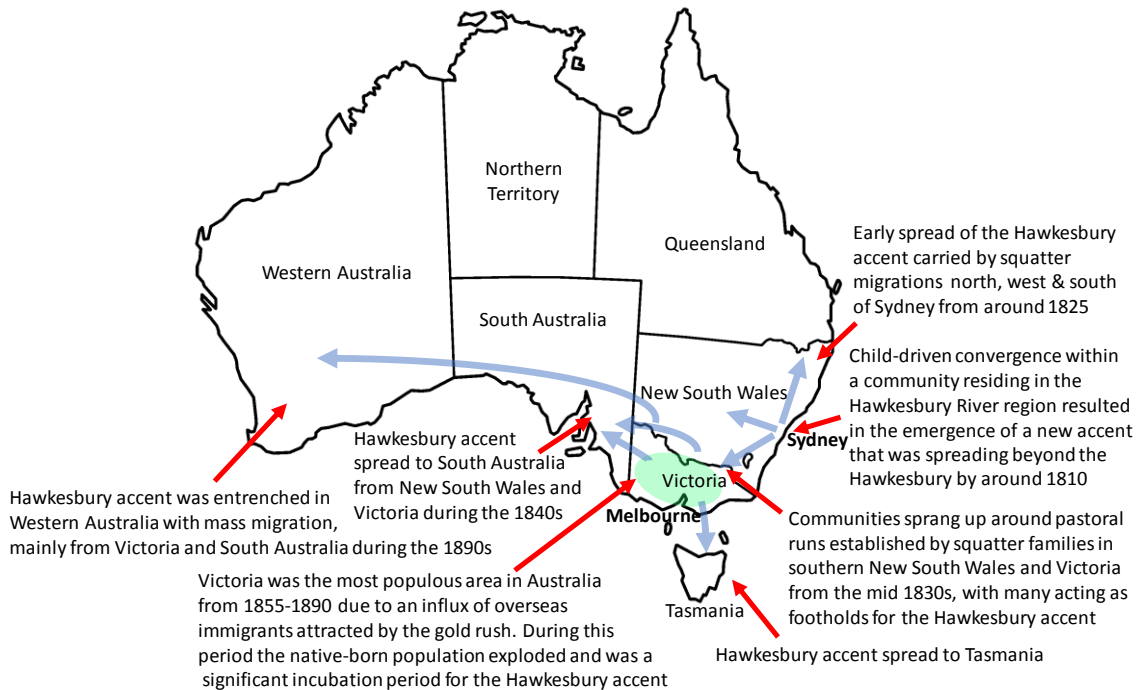


Figure 4.13 Map of Australia overlaid with a simplified depiction of the Hawkesbury accent’s national dissemination from its pre-1810 origin in the Hawkesbury River region near Sydney. Blue arrows pointing north, west and south from Sydney indicate the direction of migrations taken by squatter families drawn to regional Australia by economic opportunities during the 1830s & 40s, created by the wool boom. The inference is that these squatter families had Australian born children who were speakers of the Hawkesbury accent, and the settlements they established provided regional footholds for the accent. Some of these regional footholds were located in the Riverina and Upper Murray districts and by the 1840s individuals from these areas were disseminating the Hawkesbury accent into South Australia and Victoria. By the mid-1850s regional Victoria had become the largest population centre in Australia and this environment created suitable conditions for mass incubation of the accent. Migratory events during the 1890s saw large scale diffusion of the Hawkesbury accent from Victoria and South Australia into Western Australia. By the late 1890s, these migratory movements had firmly entrenched the Hawkesbury accent as the dominant variety of spoken English across the continent, and from that time the nationally spoken accent could genuinely be deemed as an Australian accent—a status it continues to maintain today.

Further research and limitations

The findings of this study point to several areas where further scholarly attention is both necessary and overdue. Foremost among these is the need to restore the Currency Generation to the centre of Australian historical inquiry. Their demographic weight, cultural agency, and linguistic influence were decisive in shaping the early colony, yet they remain largely absent from mainstream narratives. A comprehensive historical treatment of this cohort—one that integrates demography, culture, language, mobility, and frontier experience—would fill a major gap in Australian historiography. Such a work would not only illuminate the origins of the Australian accent but also provide a richer account of the social worlds in which early Australian identity first took shape.

The evidence presented here also demonstrates that demographic reconstruction is indispensable for understanding linguistic change in settler-colonial contexts. Accent formation in early New South Wales cannot be explained without reference to birth-cohort structure, peer-group density, exposure windows, and the spatial logic of frontier mobility. Future sociolinguistic research would benefit from adopting similar methods, particularly in studies of koinéisation, pedio-genisation, dialect contact, and the emergence of new varieties. The epidemiological framing developed in this thesis—treating linguistic features as agents transmitted through host populations along identifiable corridors—offers a promising model for analysing cultural transmission more broadly. Applying this framework to other domains, such as naming practices, humour, vernacular traditions, and kinship norms, may reveal parallel processes that shaped early Australian culture.

A further implication concerns the geography of Australian identity. The findings here suggest that the accent, and much of the cultural repertoire associated with it, emerged not in urban centres but in rural peer networks forged under the structural pressures of the convict system and the pastoral frontier. This invites a re-evaluation of the rural foundations of Australian identity and a reconsideration of the Hawkesbury basin and its downstream settlements as the crucibles of national culture. A broader cultural history of early rural Australia—one attentive to the lived experiences of the Currency Generation—would deepen our understanding of how local practices became national norms.

Finally, there is a clear need for empirical validation of the demographic model through independent linguistic evidence. Families with native-born parents who moved north of the Hawkesbury River or west of the Blue Mountains from the 1820s onward offer an ideal comparative population for assessing convergence with the patterns identified here. Because these early northern and western migrations were dominated by Hawkesbury-raised speakers, while the southern pathway involved multiple sequential transmitter districts, it is plausible that subtle phonetic differences may have emerged between these streams. Archival recordings of speakers born in the nineteenth century, regional dialect surveys, or acoustic analyses of early South Australian and Riverina speech may provide the kind of external validation needed to evaluate these predictions. Such work would not only test the robustness of the present model but also deepen our understanding of how demographic structure and mobility shaped the fine-grained phonetic landscape of early Australian English.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

This study has reconstructed the emergence, stabilisation, and inland diffusion of the earliest Australian accent by integrating demographic analysis, sociolinguistic theory, historical context, and genealogical evidence. Its central finding is that the accent that developed in the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills-Parramatta basin in the early decades of the nineteenth century was not merely a linguistic artefact but the audible expression of a broader foundation culture created by the first locally born generation of European descent. This accent emerged through a child-driven convergence process made possible by the unique social ecology of the convict system, which disrupted parental cultural transmission and produced dense, mixed Currency-Generation peer groups that became the primary site of linguistic and cultural formation. The resulting austrigenic pediogenic colonial variety was stable, coherent, and culturally meaningful long before the major waves of nineteenth-century immigration, giving it a temporal advantage that shaped the linguistic trajectory of the continent.

The accent's formation was more rapid and more stable than existing models predict. European settlement commenced in 1788, and evidence indicates that the accent was present and stable in the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills basin by around 1810. These findings do not contradict Trudgill's theory but reinterpret it through a child-driven lens, demonstrating that when children—not adults—are the primary agents of convergence, the generational timeline collapses and a stable pediogenic variety can emerge within a single generation. The evidence presented in this study indicates that early Australian English aligns with what the literature describes as a child-constructed colonial variety: a system built by children under frontier ecological constraints rather than through the adult-driven koinéisation processes typical of other colonial Englishes. The persistence of certain Currency-Generation family lines across at least ten generations further suggests enduring replication of the accent, reinforcing the argument that the foundation accent was not a transient frontier dialect but a durable cultural system transmitted with remarkable fidelity across two centuries.

The inland spread of this foundation accent occurred in multiple directions and through multiple demographic pathways. Migration data show that Hawkesbury-origin Currency-Generation children dominated the early movements north and west of the Cumberland Plain, accounting for 67% and 65% of migrants respectively. These figures demonstrate that the Hawkesbury accent was carried directly into the Hunter, the Upper Hawkesbury, and across the Blue Mountains by families whose children had acquired the pediogenic variety natively. The southern migration presents a different pattern: only 33% of CGC moving south were Hawkesbury-born, yet the accent that spread into Campbelltown, the Southern Highlands, and Goulburn/Gunning was the same. This apparent anomaly is explained by the role of Old Windsor Road as a linguistic artery linking the Hawkesbury with Seven Hills and Parramatta. Movement along this corridor had already diffused the nascent accent into these communities before the large-scale regional migrations began. Thus, Parramatta and Seven Hills families—many engaged in livestock farming—carried the Hawkesbury accent south even when they were not Hawkesbury-born themselves.

The inland diffusion of the accent also coincided with major economic and environmental forces that reshaped the colony in the 1830s and 1840s. The wool boom created unprecedented demand for pastoral labour and rewarded mobility, drawing heavily on the Currency Generation and their children, who became the first large cohort of native-born pastoralists. The severe drought of the early 1840s intensified this movement by forcing livestock farmers to seek reliable water along the Murrumbidgee, Lachlan, and Murray Rivers. These pressures

produced a rapid, coordinated expansion of culturally coherent family groups into the interior, embedding the foundation accent across the pastoral frontier at precisely the moment when Australia entered its first genuinely capitalist phase of development. The accent's later appearance in South Australia, carried by drovers along the overland stock routes, provides independent confirmation of its stability and mobility by the 1840s.

The outward movement of the Currency Generation was also shaped by the restrictive policies introduced following the Bigge Report and implemented by Governors Brisbane and Darling. These measures limited social mobility, tightened access to land, and reinforced a hierarchy that privileged British-born settlers over the native born. Confined by the Limits of Location and denied opportunities within the settled districts, many currency families sought autonomy and economic security by moving beyond the official boundaries of settlement. Their early presence on the squatting frontier was therefore not incidental but a direct consequence of colonial policy. This outward movement placed the Currency Generation at the leading edge of inland expansion, ensuring that the foundation accent they had created travelled with them into the emerging pastoral districts.

Historically, the Currency Generation occupied a socially ambiguous and often marginalised position within the colonial hierarchy. Although born on Australian soil, they were frequently denied full recognition by British authorities, who regarded them as culturally inferior to settlers born in Britain. This stigma was reinforced through institutional practices and social discourse designed to preserve British cultural dominance in the antipodes. One consequence of this history is that the Currency Generation have remained largely absent from public memory, despite their foundational role in shaping Australia's linguistic and cultural identity. The lack of sustained attention to their experiences, combined with longstanding uncertainty surrounding the origins and spread of the Australian accent, has prevented a complete narrative of the accent's development from taking hold in modern Australian history. These omissions leave our understanding of Australia's early cultural formation incomplete, obscuring the contributions of the very people whose voices—quite literally—gave rise to the accent that now defines the nation.

These findings reveal that the emergence of the early Australian accent was inseparable from the emergence of an early Australian culture. The accent formed under the structural pressures of the convict system, stabilised within the first locally born generation, and spread inland through the demographic pathways created by pastoral expansion. Because this process occurred before competing dialect centres or large-scale immigration could reshape the linguistic landscape, the cultural and linguistic norms of the founding community were propagated with remarkable consistency across the continent.

What began as a regional pedigenic variety became the foundation accent of a new society—a cultural inheritance carried by families whose movements shaped both the pastoral economy and the linguistic identity of the emerging nation. This study therefore offers a new explanatory model for the origin and continental uniformity of Australian English. It demonstrates that the accent was not the product of later national institutions, but of early nineteenth-century demographic structure, child socialisation patterns, and frontier mobility. By situating accent formation within the broader processes of cultural transmission, economic transformation, and environmental constraint, this thesis reframes the early colonial period as the crucible in which a distinct Australian identity first took shape.

Concluding remarks

The story that emerges from this study is bigger than “how an accent formed.” It’s about how a colony accidentally created the conditions for a new people to hear themselves as something other than British. What happened in the Hawkesbury is that the convict system, land policy, and family formation patterns combined to do something no one planned: they pushed adults together while leaving their speech apart. Emancipists from different regions of Britain and Ireland were concentrated in the same settlements, but they did not—or could not—smooth their dialects into a single adult norm. There was little incentive, and even less institutional pressure, for adults to converge linguistically. That lack of adult accommodation created a structural air-gap: children were surrounded by adults whose speech was fragmented, inconsistent, and often irrelevant to the practical business of getting through the day. Into that gap stepped the children themselves.

In that space, language became a problem they had to solve together. Older children caring for younger ones, siblings spanning wide age ranges, and dense local peer networks meant that children spent much of their waking life talking to each other rather than to adults. The accent that emerged from this ecology was therefore *pediogenic* in a strong sense: it was not just influenced by children, it was constructed by them, through a filtering and fixing process that only works when you have the right density, age layering, and necessity. Adults supplied the raw materials, but children supplied the system. Once that system stabilised, it became self-reinforcing: new cohorts entered an environment where the “normal” way to speak was already child made, not adult inherited.

Because the foundation accent arose in a child only space, structurally separated from British and Irish adult norms, it is not simply a colonial echo of the metropole. It is of this land in two intertwined ways. First, it is anchored in the specific social and environmental conditions of the early colony—flood prone farms, squatter expansion, the convict legacy, the rhythms of rural labour. Second, it encodes a cultural stance: the humour, irreverence, and horizontal loyalties of the Currency Generation, who were neither quite British nor fully recognised as something else. The accent is the audible trace of that in-between status, a solution children built to live in a world their parents did not fully control. The children did not simply reproduce the British and Irish dialects they heard; through child-driven convergence they produced a stabilised accent variety that was locally coherent and, in effect, the linguistic expression of a new social world.

There is also a quiet, important asymmetry here. The land and its conditions shaped the accent profoundly, but Indigenous people were not participants in the child minding networks that produced it. Their presence is felt indirectly—in the frontier, in the violence, in the spaces opened and closed by colonisation—but not as co-architects of the phonology. That makes the foundation accent both deeply local and sharply bounded: a settler child variety born in Australia, shaped by Australia, but not shared with those who were already here. To call it *austrigenic*, then, is not just to say “it started here,” but to recognise that its very existence depends on a structural gap—between adults and children, between metropole and colony, and between settlers and the people whose land was being remade around them.

The same children who forged a new accent in the Hawkesbury did not stay put. As adults, many Currency men and women carried with them a practical intelligence shaped by the land they grew up on—an instinctive feel for soils, seasons, stock, and the precarious margins of subsistence farming. These were not abstract skills; they were the lived knowledge of a

generation raised in floodplains, bush clearings, and makeshift settlements. When the pastoral frontier opened, it was often these individuals who moved first. Their familiarity with Australian conditions, combined with a willingness to take risks that more metropolitan settlers lacked, made them disproportionately prominent in the early waves of inland and intercolonial expansion. In following the routes carved by the wool boom and the shift from a carceral service economy to a pastoral export regime, they carried with them the accent they had created as children. The very people dismissed as “colonial” or “inferior” became the agents through whom both the economic and linguistic foundations of modern Australia were laid.

Contemporary Australians inherit more than a convenient means of communication. The continental reach of the Australian accent can be understood as the long-term outcome of a deterministic acquisition process in which successive generations of children aligned, often unconsciously, with the foundation accent forged in the Hawkesbury settlements. This process of foundation cultural alignment continues today resulting in present and future generations, in part, preserving the appropriate elements of the Currency Generation’s cultural world, including the convict-shaped social conditions that made their peer networks possible.

Without a clear historical consciousness of this foundational inheritance, it becomes difficult to recognise how deeply the present is entangled with that past, and easy instead to experience a diffuse sense of cultural vacancy or to project identity onto more recent or tangential symbols. Re-situating and codifying the Australian accent in its original social and cultural context does not prescribe any particular politics of identity, but it does offer a more discerning basis from which to understand what it means to inhabit a nation whose everyday speech was first assembled by the stigmatised children of a penal colony.

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Appendix 1 Background to the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray study (James Kelly)

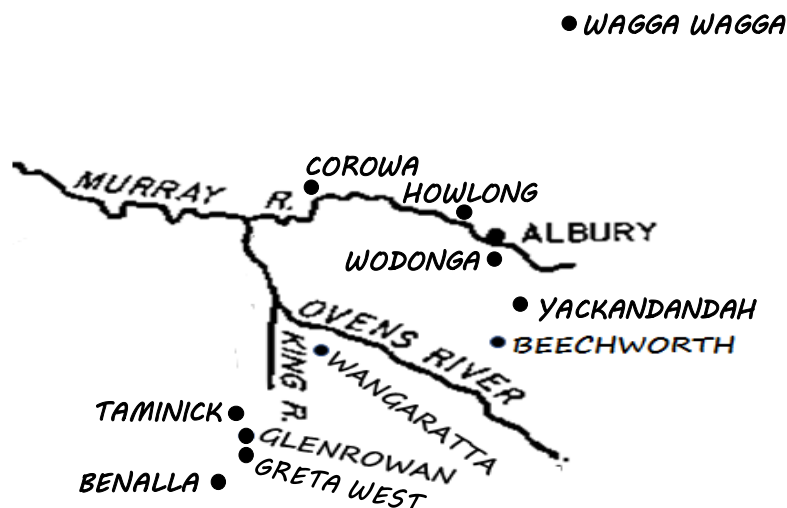
An opportunity to test the findings made in Stages 1–3 of the current study is available. Reliable anecdotal evidence exists stating that members of Ned Kelly’s family spoke with an Australian accent. Specifically (Moore, 2008, P. 68) states that Ned’s brother James Kelly, who spent his school age years in north-east Victoria, was said to have had a broad Australian accent.

Using data collected it was possible to identify and track the origin of some of the individuals known to have a specific association with James Kelly between the ages of 8–20.

Research on the Kelly family was undertaken and it was established:

James Kelly was born in 1859 at Beveridge Victoria. His father was John (Red) Kelly born in 1820 in County Tipperary, Ireland. He was transported to Australia as a convict in 1841. His mother Ellen Quinn was born in 1832 in County Antrim, Ireland. She arrived in Australia with her family in 1841.

In 1864 when James Kelly was 5–years old the Kelly family moved to Avenel north of Melbourne and in 1867, when James was aged 8–years, the Kelly family moved to Greta West near Glenrowan Victoria.



Map of James Kelly Country

The area around Glenrowan and Greta was initially part of the Taminick pastoral run, home to the children of Ben Warby and Sarah Brien. Ben was of the Parramatta Warbys and Sarah had attended the Seven Hills school. Also living nearby at Albury, Wodonga and Howlong were the families of Sarah’s sisters Jane, Mary Ann and Eleanor, and their brother James was at Wangandary; all five had attended the Seven Hills school.

Jane Brien’s husband Paul Huon was born and raised in Parramatta, Mary Ann’s husband Matthew Pearce had also attended the Seven Hills school, Eleanor’s husband Hiram Howard was of the Hawkesbury Howards, and James’s wife Elizabeth Barrett was of the Hawkesbury Crafts. Also nearby were the extended Huon, Mitchell, Barber, Warby, Pearce, Stuckey and Howard families; all of whom appear in data collected in stage 4 of the current study.

The Kelly boys were well known for their visits to nearby towns such as Wangaratta, Beechworth and Benalla. Wangaratta was first settled by Hawkesbury families; the Faithfuls followed by the Dockers. These in turn were followed shortly after by the Crisps, Grays, Warbys, Harts, Reids and Dights, all Hawkesbury, Parramatta or Campbelltown families. During the time James Kelly was living at Greta (age 8–14), the second-generation of these Old Windsor Road and Campbelltown lines within his vicinity numbered in the hundreds.

Between 1873–1877, when James Kelly was aged 14–18, he was sent to Beechworth gaol where he met Joe Byrne and Aaron Sherritt. He later associated with Steve Hart.

Joe Byrne was born in 1856 at Woolshed near Beechworth. His father Patrick Byrne was born in 1831 at Carlow, Ireland. Patrick migrated with his three brothers John, James and Michael arriving at Sydney in 1849. Joe Byrne's mother was Margaret White, an Earl Grey orphan who was indentured to Nathaniel Stephen Powell at Bungendore New South Wales in 1850. Patrick Byrne and Margaret White married at Goulburn in July 1855 and moved to Woolshed near Beechworth in 1856; arriving just prior to Joe Byrne's birth. Patrick Byrne's brother John Byrne married Mary Wall and they also moved to Woolshed.

Aaron Sherritt was born in Melbourne. His parents were John Sherritt and Agnes Ann (née Nesbitt) Sherritt. They were Irish immigrants who settled in the Melbourne suburb of Prahran, where Aaron was born in August 1854 but within a few years of Aaron's birth his family moved to Woolshed near Beechworth. Joe Byrne and Aaron Sherritt attended Woolshed catholic school along with James Wallace. There is a connection between the Sherritts and the Grays of Parramatta. Other linked families were the Bowlers who were married into the Kennedys of Gunning (originally of Parramatta).

Steve Hart was born in 1859 at South Wangaratta. His father Richard Hart (born in England) arrived in Australia in 1835. Richard Hart worked for John Kennedy Hume at Gunning where he met Bridget Young an Earl Grey orphan. John Hume was of the Seven Hills Humes, and was the brother of the explorer Hamilton Hume. Bridget Young and Richard Hart married at Gundagai in 1852 and had a number of children born at Gunning. In 1859 Hume's widow Elizabeth O'Neill moved with her 9 children to Yarrawonga with the assistance of Hamilton Hume. One source stated that the Hart family moved with O'Neill but settled at South Wangaratta, near Wangandary, where Steve Hart was born 4 October 1859.

Steve Hart spent 12 months in Beechworth gaol in 1877/78 during this time he became close friends with Dan Kelly who was also serving a sentence.

After James Kelly's release from Beechworth gaol in 1877 at age 18 he moved to Wagga and within three months was sent to Wagga gaol for horse stealing.

The first native-born family to settle in Wagga was Robert Holt Best and Clara Brien; both of whom had attended the Seven Hills school. Robert and Clara married in 1836 and their first five children were born at Seven Hills before they relocated to Wagga in 1845. Clara was the sister of Jane (Wodonga), Mary Ann (Albury), Sarah (Taminick), Eleanor (Howlong), and James (Wangandary).

James Kelly remained in Wagga gaol until 1880 and was there while his brothers Ned and Dan were riding as the Kelly Gang – Ned Kelly, Dan Kelly, Steve Hart and Joe Byrne.

Appendix 2 Analysis of Riverina and Upper Murray bridging family data

Tables 4.4 and 4.5 form the basis of this analysis. Using a conservative 0–7-year accent-acquisition window based on the upper bound of phonological plasticity identified in developmental phonology, and the years of birth of the eldest children in each migrant family, it is possible to estimate the latest plausible dates by which the Hawkesbury accent must have been established in each settlement for a majority of local children to acquire it. The 0–7 acquisition window assumes that children acquire a stable accent only when the speech of their parents, older siblings, and local peers is consistent, creating a uniform linguistic environment during early childhood. Hence, for this model the adolescent peer-driven age-17 cutoff used in the earlier Hawkesbury/Seven Hills child-driven peditogenesis model does not apply in this scenario. In the Hawkesbury/Seven Hills case, adults spoke diverse dialects and could not transmit the emerging accent, which was formed primarily by children and adolescents (Kerswill and Williams, 2000, p. 102, who note that new speech is first discernible in native-born adolescents). By contrast, the adults and older siblings who migrated from the Hawkesbury/Seven Hills/Parramatta to the Secondary Settlements were already native speakers of a stabilised Hawkesbury accent. Their speech was therefore identical to that of the adolescent peer group, making them fully effective transmitters for the receiver cohort, particularly those aged 0–5 years (Labov, 2001).

When the eldest child birth years in each destination district are used to infer local receiver windows, the resulting chronological sequence is clear and internally consistent. Parramatta shows a median eldest child YOB of 1814, giving a receiver latest arrival year of 1821; Campbelltown follows with a median of 1825 (receiver latest 1832), the Southern Highlands with 1836 (receiver latest 1843), and Goulburn/Gunning with 1844 (receiver latest 1851). Further inland, the Riverina and Monaro districts—Wagga, Cooma, and Albury/Wodonga—cluster around medians of 1843–1847, yielding receiver latest arrival years between 1850 and 1854, while the Victorian frontier districts of Beechworth and Wangaratta show medians of 1845 and 1843, with receiver latest arrival years of 1852 and 1850 respectively. To infer corresponding bounds for the transmitter generation, a generational offset model is applied: if the core transmitters (parents and older siblings) are assumed to be, on average, 10–15 years older than the eldest migrating child, then the transmitter side latest arrival year for each locality is approximated by subtracting this offset from the receiver-side bound. On this basis, the transmitter side latest arrival ranges are 1806–1811 for Parramatta, 1817–1822 for Campbelltown, 1828–1833 for the Southern Highlands, and 1836–1841 for Goulburn/Gunning. Downstream districts in the Riverina, Monaro and Upper Murray River show later but still coherent ranges: 1839–1844 for Wagga, 1835–1840 for Cooma and Wangaratta, 1838–1843 for Albury/Wodonga, and 1837–1842 for Beechworth/Yackandandah.

Working backwards from these receiver-side constraints implies corresponding transmitter cohorts: adults, older siblings and adolescent peer groups, raised in the Hawkesbury and Seven Hills localities and their Campbelltown-born children, interacting in dense local peer networks, who migrated outwards in successive waves from the 1810s to the 1840s. In each case, the key requirement is not numerical dominance, but the formation of a local host population that constituted the majority within a target child cohort at the time the receivers were in early childhood. These estimates are necessarily approximate, but they align closely with the observed age structure of the migrating children, the known chronology of inland pastoral

expansion, and the requirement—derived from Victorian census data—that the Australian accent must have reached Victoria before the demographic upheavals of the 1850s. The resulting transmitter-receiver cascade therefore provides a robust, demographically grounded account of how the Hawkesbury accent propagated along the inland corridor from the Cumberland Plain into regional New South Wales and, ultimately, into Victoria. Jointly, these results strongly support a model in which the Hawkesbury accent radiated south westwards through a chain of rural settlements, with each new district functioning in turn as both receiver and transmitter of a single, coherent accent lineage.

Hawkesbury, Seven Hills, and Parramatta Source Basin:

The Hawkesbury, Seven Hills, and Parramatta districts together formed the original accent basin of the colony—the demographic and linguistic crucible in which the earliest stable form of Australian English emerged. These three localities were not separate linguistic zones but parts of a single, densely interconnected settlement system, linked by marriage, labour exchange, kinship, and shared agricultural rhythms. From the late 1790s onward, they contained the largest and most cohesive native-born population in New South Wales, and it was within this basin that the first substantial peer networks of locally born children developed. These children, raised in close proximity and interacting daily across farms, river settlements, and neighbourhood clusters, created the conditions necessary for rapid linguistic levelling. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Hawkesbury accent had stabilised, and its features were circulating freely across the basin.

The Hawkesbury was the demographic engine of this process. Its fertile river flats supported a rapidly expanding settler population, and by the early 1800s it contained hundreds of locally born children—far more than any other district in the colony. These children formed the earliest large-scale peer groups, acquiring their speech primarily from one another rather than from the diverse British dialects spoken by their parents. The result was a locally stabilised accent that emerged between approximately 1804 and 1808, when the first sizeable cohorts of Hawkesbury-born children were simultaneously within their 0–7 acquisition windows. As these children reached adolescence in the 1810s, they became the first reliable transmitters of the new variety.

Seven Hills, situated immediately to the south-east of the Hawkesbury, was drawn into this linguistic system almost from the outset. Marriage links, labour mobility, and kin-based relocation created a continuous flow of people between the two districts, ensuring that Seven Hills never developed an independent accent trajectory. Instead, it absorbed the stabilised Hawkesbury variety through sustained contact during the 1810s. The transmitter cohort for Seven Hills—born roughly between 1785 and 1800—had grown up in the Hawkesbury accent zone during the 1790s and 1800s and carried the stabilised variety with them as they married, settled, or worked in Seven Hills. Children born in Seven Hills between approximately 1810 and 1820 thus formed a receiver cohort that acquired the Hawkesbury accent as their dominant variety. By the early 1820s, Seven Hills and the Hawkesbury were functionally indistinguishable as a unified accent zone.

Parramatta, though more urban and administratively central, was equally entangled with the basin. Its proximity to Seven Hills and its strong marriage connections with both Seven Hills and the Hawkesbury ensured that the stabilised accent reached Parramatta early. Applying the 0–7 acquisition window to the Parramatta cohort suggests that the Hawkesbury accent must

have been present there by 1821 for a majority of locally born children captured in the current study to acquire it. The transmitter cohort for Parramatta—born between roughly 1785 and 1800 and raised in the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills districts—was already present in significant numbers by the 1810s, as evidenced by the marriage-link data in Table 3.23. These individuals seeded mixed Hawkesbury-Parramatta peer networks, and children born in Parramatta between approximately 1813 and 1820 formed the receiver cohort that consolidated the basin-wide accent.

By the early 1820s, the Hawkesbury, Seven Hills, and Parramatta districts had coalesced into a single, stable accent basin. The demographic weight of the Hawkesbury, the social permeability of Seven Hills, and the administrative centrality of Parramatta combined to produce a unified linguistic system. Within this basin, the stabilised Hawkesbury accent circulated freely, reinforced by dense native-born peer networks and sustained by continuous inter-district mobility. This basin became the source from which all settlements along the Accent Corridor—Campbelltown, the Southern Highlands, Goulburn, Riverina, Monaro and north-east Victoria—ultimately received the accent. The families who migrated outward from this zone in the 1810s, 1820s, and 1830s carried with them not only their agricultural skills and social practices but also the Hawkesbury accent forged in the basin’s early decades. The modern Australian accent is therefore best understood as the long-term outcome of this basin-level stabilisation, diffused across the frontier by successive generations of native-born transmitters.

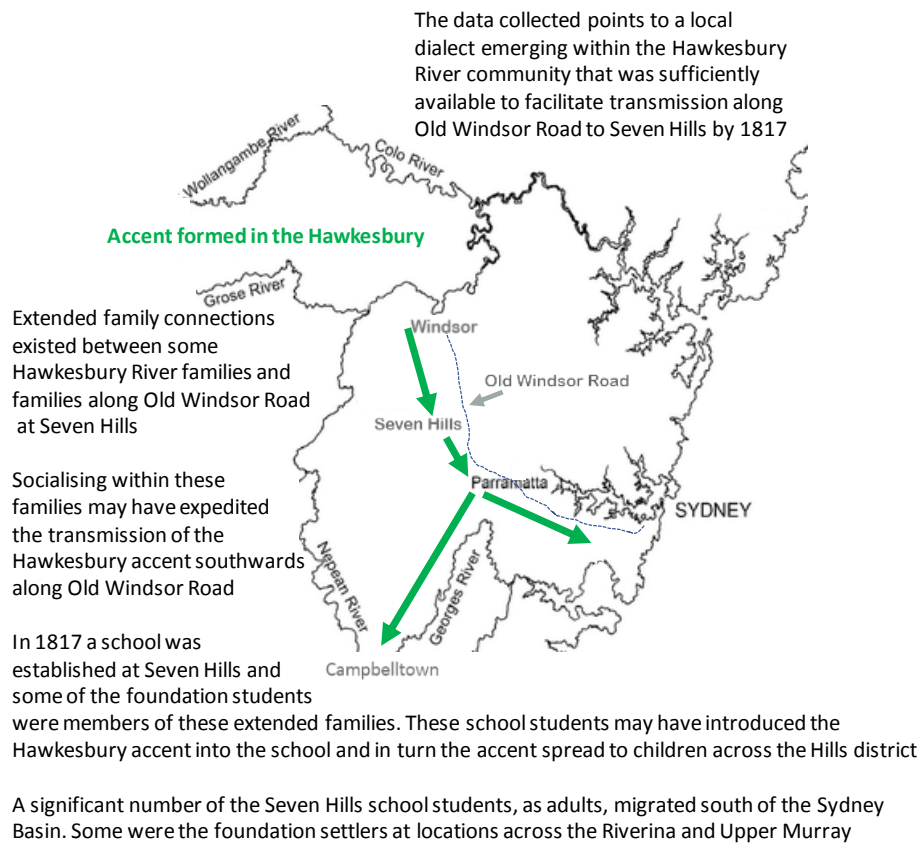


Figure A4.11 Scenario of accent spread along Old Windsor Road to Seven Hills, Parramatta and beyond.

Results for Campbelltown:

In the case of Campbelltown, the transmitter cohort must already have been present in the district by the late 1820s (and still active into the early 1830s), given its median eldest-child birth year of 1825 and corresponding receiver latest-arrival year of 1832. This implies a transmitter generation born roughly between 1806 and 1811 within the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills accent basin (with Parramatta contributing additional basin-connected parents), raised there through the 1800s and 1810s, and relocating to Campbelltown primarily during the late 1810s and 1820s as part of the first major inland movement of native-born families.

Data from the current study supports this interpretation as (n=18) of the Campbelltown families whose children are counted in Table 3.10 include at least one parent with Hawkesbury, Seven Hills, or Parramatta origins. On this basis, it is demographically plausible that between ten and twenty adolescents and young adults raised within the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills basin were present in Campbelltown during the late 1820s. This would have constituted a functional host population of accent transmitters—large enough, cohesive enough, and locally concentrated enough to dominate the linguistic environment encountered by the first Campbelltown-born children.

The data therefore suggests that by around 1832 Campbelltown contained a clear and effective host population of accent transmitters. Under these conditions, it becomes unsurprising that the majority of the Campbelltown receiver cohort acquired the Hawkesbury accent as their dominant variety during early childhood. This cohort, in turn, formed the nucleus of the next transmitter generation, carrying the agent (the Hawkesbury-derived accent) into the Riverina and Upper Murray districts during the 1830–1845 period as part of the stepwise diffusion pathway documented in the broader migration sequences.

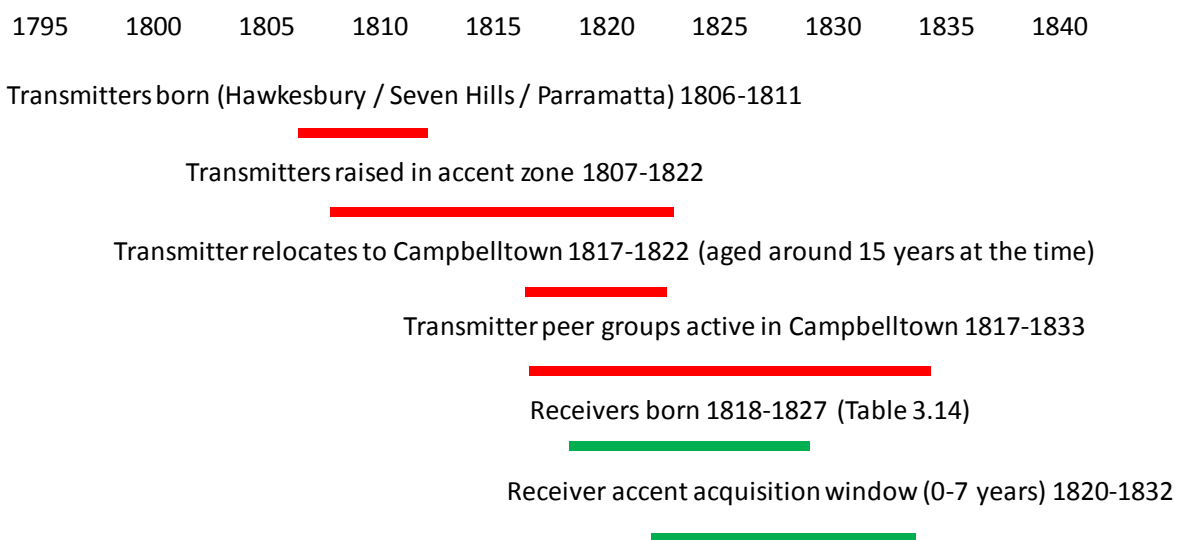


Figure A 2.1 Gantt-style diagram illustrating a model example for Campbelltown in which the agent (Hawkesbury accent) is transmitted from the Hawkesbury/Seven Hills/Parramatta and becoming available for local acquisition from approximately 1820.

This Gantt-style diagram above illustrates a likely demographic sequence by which the Hawkesbury accent was transmitted to Campbelltown. The transmitter cohort—born between approximately 1806 and 1811 and raised within the Hawkesbury–Seven Hills–Parramatta accent basin during the 1807–1822 period—relocated to the Campbelltown district primarily

between 1817 and 1822. These individuals, including parents, older siblings, and adolescent peer groups, brought with them the stabilised Hawkesbury accent that had emerged in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Once settled, they formed the dense local peer networks through which accent features were transmitted. The receiver cohort, born in Campbelltown between 1818 and 1827, acquired this Hawkesbury derived variety during early childhood, producing a stabilised local accent by around 1832.

The relocation window of 1817–1822 is inferred from demographic tempo rather than from any single migration event. Individuals born between 1806 and 1811 in the Hawkesbury, Seven Hills, and Parramatta districts would typically have relocated in late adolescence or early adulthood, placing their movement into Campbelltown squarely within this period. This interpretation is supported by the current study, which shows that approximately seventy percent of the Campbelltown families in the bridging family dataset include at least one parent with Hawkesbury, Seven Hills, or Parramatta origins. This proportion indicates a substantial influx of basin raised adults and adolescents into Campbelltown during the years immediately preceding the birth of the first locally born cohort.

Because the Campbelltown receiver cohort—identified in Table 4.5 by the eldest child in each migrating family—was born between 1818 and 1827, these children and their siblings would have acquired their accent during the 0–7 year window spanning 1825–1832. Using the median eldest child birth year (1825) plus seven years, the model therefore requires that a transmitter cohort must already have been resident in Campbelltown before 1832. The presence of Hawkesbury raised parents, older siblings, and adolescent peer groups in Campbelltown by the late 1820s thus becomes a demographic requirement of the model, ensuring that the receiver cohort had access to a stable Hawkesbury derived accent during early childhood.

The transmitter peer nucleus is modelled as becoming active in Campbelltown from around 1817, with a three to five-year period of local interaction assumed before the main receiver cohort (born 1818 onwards) entered the 0–7 year accent acquisition window. This buffer reflects the time required for a locally stable Hawkesbury derived accent to form within the new community before it could be reliably acquired by children. This dates the Campbelltown receiver window to between 1820 to around 1832.

For the Campbelltown receiver cohort (born 1818–1827) to acquire the Hawkesbury accent during early childhood, a transmitter cohort must already have been present in the district by the late 1820s. This cohort—born 1806–1811 and raised within the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills accent basin—relocated to Campbelltown between 1817 and 1822, forming the peer and family networks through which accent features were transmitted. Without their prior presence, the receiver cohort could not have acquired the accent, nor could Campbelltown have become the first major downstream transmitter locality in the stepwise diffusion pathway that carried the accent into the Southern Highlands, Goulburn, the Riverina, and the Upper Murray.

Results for Southern Highlands:

- Median eldest-child YOB: 1836
- Receiver latest-arrival bound: 1843
- Transmitter birth window (empirical): 1814–1820
- Transmitter acquisition window: 1828–1833
- Upstream transmitter source: Hawkesbury/Seven Hills, Parramatta, and Campbelltown families

Applying the 0–7-year accent-acquisition window to the Southern Highlands cohort (eldest children in eight migrant families) provides a latest-arrival estimate for the Hawkesbury accent in that district. If the accent was present in the Southern Highlands by 1843—the upper bound of the median-based receiver window—then a majority of the earliest locally born children would still have been within their 0–7 acquisition period and therefore capable of adopting the incoming variety as their dominant peer-group accent. Arrival after this point would leave fewer than half of the earliest receivers exposed during childhood, making 1843 a reasonable latest-arrival bound for the accent in this district.

The full Southern Highlands receiver cohort spans birth years from 1819 to 1845, but the earliest locally born children—those whose 0–7 windows fall across the late 1820s to early 1830s—are the critical group for determining the timing of accent establishment. For a majority of these children to acquire the Hawkesbury-derived accent, a transmitter cohort must already have been present and linguistically stable in the district by the early 1830s. This timing aligns with the demographic tempo of inland expansion, which saw basin-raised families moving into the Southern Highlands during the late 1820s and early 1830s.

The transmitter cohort for the Southern Highlands can be modelled as individuals born roughly between 1814 and 1820, who spent their childhoods in the Hawkesbury-Seven Hills accent basin or in Campbelltown and Parramatta after those districts had already adopted the stabilised Hawkesbury variety. These individuals reached adolescence and young adulthood during the late 1820s and early 1830s, placing them at the appropriate age to function as peer-group transmitters when they arrived in the Southern Highlands. Their transmitter-side acquisition window—1828 to 1833—represents the period during which they themselves acquired the accent before being present in the district during the receiver cohort's 0–7 window.

Migration into the Southern Highlands followed both direct and stepwise pathways. Some families moved directly from the Hawkesbury or Seven Hills, while others arrived via Parramatta or Campbelltown, carrying the basin-derived accent with them. By the early 1830s, these transmitters formed a sufficiently dense local network to ensure that the earliest Southern Highlands-born children acquired the Hawkesbury accent during their 0–7 acquisition window. This demographic and genealogical pattern supports 1843 as the latest plausible date by which the accent must have been established in the district, with earlier arrival strongly indicated by the movement of basin-raised families into the region during the preceding decade.

Results for Goulburn/Gunning:

- Median eldest-child YOB: 1844
- Receiver latest-arrival bound: 1851
- Transmitter birth window (empirical): 1819–1825
- Transmitter acquisition window: 1836–1841
- Upstream transmitter source: Seven Hills, Parramatta, Campbelltown and Southern Highlands

Applying the 0–7-year accent-acquisition window to the Goulburn/Gunning cohort provides a latest-arrival estimate for the Hawkesbury-derived accent in this district. If the accent was present in Goulburn/Gunning by 1851—the upper bound of the median-based receiver window—then a majority of the earliest locally born children would still have been within their 0–7 acquisition period and therefore capable of adopting the incoming variety as their dominant peer-group accent. Arrival after this point would leave fewer than half of the earliest receivers exposed during childhood, making 1851 a reasonable latest-arrival bound for the accent in this district.

The full Goulburn/Gunning receiver cohort spans birth years from 1836 to 1845, but the earliest locally born children—those whose 0–7 windows fall across the early to mid-1840s—are the critical group for determining the timing of accent establishment. For a majority of these children to acquire the Hawkesbury-derived accent, a transmitter cohort must already have been present and linguistically stable in the district by the late 1830s to early 1840s. This timing aligns with the demographic tempo of inland expansion, which saw Southern Highlands-born families moving into the Goulburn district during this period as pastoral runs consolidated and the southern tablelands became a major inland hub.

The transmitter cohort for Goulburn/Gunning can be modelled as individuals born roughly between 1819 and 1825, who spent their childhoods in the Southern Highlands or in earlier basin-derived settlements such as Campbelltown and Parramatta. These individuals reached adolescence and young adulthood during the late 1830s and early 1840s, placing them at the appropriate age to function as peer-group transmitters when they arrived in the Goulburn district. Their transmitter-side acquisition window—1836 to 1841—represents the period during which they themselves acquired the accent before being present in the district during the receiver cohort's 0–7 window.

Migration into Goulburn/Gunning followed a strongly stepwise pattern. Families who had produced their earliest children in the Southern Highlands appear in Goulburn records soon afterwards, carrying the stabilised Hawkesbury-derived accent with them. By the early 1840s, these transmitters formed a sufficiently dense local network to ensure that the earliest Goulburn-born children acquired the accent during their 0–7 acquisition window. This demographic and genealogical pattern supports 1851 as the latest plausible date by which the accent must have been established in the district, with earlier arrival strongly indicated by the movement of Southern Highlands-raised families into the region during the preceding decade.

Results for Wagga

- Median eldest-child YOB: 1847
- Receiver latest-arrival bound: 1854
- Receiver cohort: 1843–1851
- Transmitter birth window (empirical): 1830–1836
- Transmitter acquisition window: 1839–1844
- Upstream source: Seven Hills and Goulburn/Gunning families

Applying the 0–7-year accent-acquisition window to the Wagga cohort provides a latest-arrival estimate for the Hawkesbury-derived accent in this district. If the accent was present in Wagga by 1854—the upper bound of the median-based receiver window—then a majority of the earliest locally born children would still have been within their 0–7 acquisition period and therefore capable of adopting the incoming variety as their dominant peer-group accent. Arrival after this point would leave fewer than half of the earliest receivers exposed during childhood, making 1854 a reasonable latest-arrival bound for the accent in this district.

The full Wagga receiver cohort spans birth years from 1843 to 1851, but the earliest locally born children—those whose 0–7 windows fall across the mid-1840s to early 1850s—are the critical group for determining the timing of accent establishment. For a majority of these children to acquire the Hawkesbury-derived accent, a transmitter cohort must already have been present and linguistically stable in the district by the early to mid-1840s.

This timing aligns with the demographic tempo of pastoral expansion along the Murrumbidgee, which saw families from the Goulburn/Gunning district moving into the Wagga region during this period as inland grazing runs consolidated.

The transmitter cohort for Wagga can be modelled as individuals born roughly between 1830 and 1836, who spent their childhoods in Goulburn/Gunning or in earlier Southern Highlands settlements after those districts had already adopted the stabilised Hawkesbury variety. These individuals reached adolescence and young adulthood during the late 1840s and early 1850s, placing them at the appropriate age to function as peer-group transmitters when they arrived in the Wagga district. Their transmitter-side acquisition window—1839 to 1844—represents the period during which they themselves acquired the accent before being present in the district during the receiver cohort's 0–7 window.

Migration into Wagga followed a strongly stepwise pattern. Families who had produced their earliest children in Goulburn/Gunning appear in Wagga records soon afterwards, carrying the basin-derived accent with them as they moved along the Murrumbidgee corridor. By the mid-1840s, these transmitters formed a sufficiently dense local network to ensure that the earliest Wagga-born children acquired the accent during their 0–7 acquisition window. This demographic and genealogical pattern supports 1854 as the latest plausible date by which the accent must have been established in the district, with earlier arrival strongly indicated by the movement of Goulburn-raised families into the region during the preceding decade.

Results for Cooma

- Median eldest-child YOB: 1843
- Receiver latest-arrival bound: 1850
- Receiver cohort: 1840–1851
- Transmitter birth window (empirical): 1830–1836
- Transmitter acquisition window: 1835–1840
- Upstream source: Goulburn/Gunning families (and some Southern Highlands families)

Applying the 0–7-year accent-acquisition window to the Cooma cohort provides a latest-arrival estimate for the Hawkesbury-derived accent in this district. If the accent was present in Cooma by 1850—the upper bound of the median-based receiver window—then a majority of the earliest locally born children would still have been within their 0–7 acquisition period and therefore capable of adopting the incoming variety as their dominant peer-group accent. Arrival after this point would leave fewer than half of the earliest receivers exposed during childhood, making 1850 a reasonable latest-arrival bound for the accent in this district.

The full Cooma receiver cohort spans birth years from 1840 to 1851, but the earliest locally born children—those whose 0–7 windows fall across the early to mid-1840s—are the critical group for determining the timing of accent establishment. For a majority of these children to acquire the Hawkesbury-derived accent, a transmitter cohort must already have been present and linguistically stable in the district by the mid-1840s. This timing aligns with the demographic tempo of pastoral expansion onto the Monaro, which saw families from Goulburn/Gunning and the Southern Highlands moving into the Cooma region during this period as grazing runs extended southward.

The transmitter cohort for Cooma can be modelled as individuals born roughly between 1830 and 1836, who spent their childhoods in Goulburn/Gunning or in earlier Southern Highlands settlements after those districts had already adopted the stabilised Hawkesbury variety. These individuals reached adolescence and young adulthood during the late 1840s and early 1850s, placing them at the appropriate age to function as peer-group transmitters when they arrived in the Cooma district. Their transmitter-side acquisition window—1835 to 1840—represents the period during which they themselves acquired the accent before being present in the district during the receiver cohort's 0–7 window.

Migration into Cooma followed a strongly stepwise pattern. Families who had produced their earliest children in Goulburn/Gunning appear in Cooma records soon afterwards, carrying the basin-derived accent with them as they moved south along the Monaro corridor. By the mid-1840s, these transmitters formed a sufficiently dense local network to ensure that the earliest Cooma-born children acquired the accent during their 0–7 acquisition window. This demographic and genealogical pattern supports 1850 as the latest plausible date by which the accent must have been established in the district, with earlier arrival strongly indicated by the movement of Goulburn-raised families into the region during the preceding decade.

Results for Albury/Wodonga

- Median eldest-child YOB: 1846
- Receiver latest-arrival bound: 1853
- Receiver cohort: 1840–1851
- Transmitter birth window (empirical): 1830–1836
- Transmitter acquisition window: 1838–1843
- Upstream source: Goulburn/Gunning and Wagga families

Applying the 0–7-year accent-acquisition window to the Albury cohort provides a latest-arrival estimate for the Hawkesbury-derived accent in this district. If the accent was present in Albury by 1853—the upper bound of the median-based receiver window—then a majority of the earliest locally born children would still have been within their 0–7 acquisition period and therefore capable of adopting the incoming variety as their dominant peer-group accent. Arrival after this point would leave fewer than half of the earliest receivers- exposed during childhood, making 1853 a reasonable latest-arrival bound for the accent in this district.

The full Albury receiver cohort spans birth years from 1840 to 1851, but the earliest locally born children—those whose 0–7 windows fall across the mid-1840s to early 1850s—are the critical group for determining the timing of accent establishment. For a majority of these children to acquire the Hawkesbury accent, a transmitter cohort must already have been present and linguistically stable in the district by the mid-1840s. This timing aligns with the demographic tempo of inland settlement along the Murray River, which saw families from Goulburn/Gunning and Wagga moving into the Albury region during this period as pastoral expansion pushed south and west.

The transmitter cohort for Albury can be modelled as individuals born roughly between 1830 and 1836, who spent their childhoods in Goulburn/Gunning or Wagga after those districts had already adopted the stabilised Hawkesbury variety. These individuals reached adolescence and young adulthood during the late 1840s and early 1850s, placing them at the appropriate age to function as peer-group transmitters when they arrived in the Albury district. Their transmitter-side acquisition window—1838 to 1843—represents the period during which they themselves acquired the accent before being present in the district during the receiver cohort’s 0–7 window.

Migration into Albury followed a strongly stepwise pattern. Families who had produced their earliest children in Goulburn/Gunning or Wagga appear in Albury records soon afterwards, carrying the basin-derived accent with them as they moved along the Murray corridor. By the mid-1840s, these transmitters formed a sufficiently dense local network to ensure that the earliest Albury-born children acquired the accent during their 0–7 acquisition window. This demographic and genealogical pattern supports 1853 as the latest plausible date by which the accent must have been established in the district, with earlier arrival strongly indicated by the movement of Goulburn- and Wagga-raised families into the region during the preceding decade.

Results for Beechworth/Yackandandah

- Median eldest-child YOB: 1845
- Receiver latest-arrival bound: 1852
- Receiver cohort: 1844–1847
- Transmitter birth window (empirical): 1830–1836
- Transmitter acquisition window: 1837–1842
- Upstream source: Albury families (and earlier Goulburn/Wagga lines)

Applying the 0–7-year accent-acquisition window to the Beechworth cohort provides a latest-arrival estimate for the Hawkesbury-derived accent in this district. If the accent was present in Beechworth by 1852—the upper bound of the median-based receiver window—then a majority of the earliest locally born children would still have been within their 0–7 acquisition period and therefore capable of adopting the incoming variety as their dominant peer-group accent. Arrival after this point would leave fewer than half of the earliest receivers exposed during childhood, making 1852 a reasonable latest-arrival bound for the accent in this district.

The full Beechworth receiver cohort spans birth years from 1844 to 1847, but the earliest locally born children—those whose 0–7 windows fall across the late 1840s to early 1850s—are the critical group for determining the timing of accent establishment. For a majority of these children to acquire the Hawkesbury-derived accent, a transmitter cohort must already have been present and linguistically stable in the district by the late 1840s. This timing aligns with the demographic tempo of inland settlement along the Murray and Ovens corridors, which saw families from Albury and earlier Murray River settlements moving into the Beechworth region during this period as pastoral runs expanded and gold-rush precursors began to reshape the local population.

The transmitter cohort for Beechworth can be modelled as individuals born roughly between 1830 and 1836, who spent their childhoods in Albury, Wagga, or Goulburn/Gunning after those districts had already adopted the stabilised Hawkesbury variety. These individuals reached adolescence and young adulthood during the late 1840s and early 1850s, placing them at the appropriate age to function as peer-group transmitters when they arrived in the Beechworth district. Their transmitter-side acquisition window—1837 to 1842—represents the period during which they themselves acquired the accent before being present in the district during the receiver cohort's 0–7 window.

Migration into Beechworth followed a strongly stepwise pattern. Families who had produced their earliest children in Albury appear in Beechworth records soon afterwards, carrying the basin-derived accent with them as they moved south-east along the Ovens River corridor. By the late 1840s, these transmitters formed a sufficiently dense local network to ensure that the earliest Beechworth-born children acquired the accent during their 0–7 acquisition window. This demographic and genealogical pattern supports 1852 as the latest plausible date by which the accent must have been established in the district, with earlier arrival strongly indicated by the movement of Albury-raised families into the region during the preceding decade.

Results for Wangaratta/Taminick/Wangandary

- Median eldest-child YOB: 1843
- Receiver latest-arrival bound: 1850
- Receiver cohort: 1840–1850
- Transmitter birth window (empirical): 1830–1836
- Transmitter acquisition window: 1835–1840
- Upstream source: Albury families (and earlier Wagga/Goulburn lines)

Applying the 0–7-year accent-acquisition window to the Wangaratta cohort provides a latest-arrival estimate for the Hawkesbury-derived accent in this district. If the accent was present in Wangaratta by 1850—the upper bound of the median-based receiver window—then a majority of the earliest locally born children would still have been within their 0–7 acquisition period and therefore capable of adopting the incoming variety as their dominant peer-group accent. Arrival after this point would leave fewer than half of the earliest receivers exposed during childhood, making 1850 a reasonable latest-arrival bound for the accent in this district.

The full Wangaratta receiver cohort spans birth years from 1840 to 1850, but the earliest locally born children—those whose 0–7 windows fall across the mid-1840s to early 1850s—are the critical group for determining the timing of accent establishment. For a majority of these children to acquire the Hawkesbury-derived accent, a transmitter cohort must already have been present and linguistically stable in the district by the mid-1840s. This timing aligns with the demographic tempo of inland settlement along the Murray and Ovens corridors, which saw families from Albury and earlier Murray River settlements moving into the Wangaratta region during this period as pastoral expansion intensified.

The transmitter cohort for Wangaratta can be modelled as individuals born roughly between 1830 and 1836, who spent their childhoods in Albury, Wagga, or Goulburn/Gunning after those districts had already adopted the stabilised Hawkesbury variety. These individuals reached adolescence and young adulthood during the late 1840s and early 1850s, placing them at the appropriate age to function as peer-group transmitters when they arrived in the Wangaratta district. Their transmitter-side acquisition window—1835 to 1840—represents the period during which they themselves acquired the accent before being present in the district during the receiver cohort's 0–7 window.

Migration into Wangaratta followed a strongly stepwise pattern. Families who had produced their earliest children in Albury appear in Wangaratta records soon afterwards, carrying the basin-derived accent with them as they moved south-east along the Ovens River corridor. By the mid-1840s, these transmitters formed a sufficiently dense local network to ensure that the earliest Wangaratta-born children acquired the accent during their 0–7 acquisition window. This demographic and genealogical pattern supports 1850 as the latest plausible date by which the accent must have been established in the district, with earlier arrival strongly indicated by the movement of Albury-raised families into the region during the preceding decade.

Appendix 3 Analysis of Hawkesbury ‘Cluster A’

The first demographic analysis conducted was to examine the geographic distribution of the cluster of Hawkesbury families with first-generation children (CGC) that appear in Scatter Chart 3.1 here termed *Cluster A*.

Cluster A consists of families whose eldest child was born between 1788 and 1800. Hence, based on the hypothesis that the agent (accent) emerged around 1804-06, then logically this cluster would have included those families responsible for the accent emergence.

This concentration of Cluster A families is highlighted in Figure A 3.1 and represents (n=131) families, which is forty-six percent of the total number of Hawkesbury families (n=284) included in the current study.

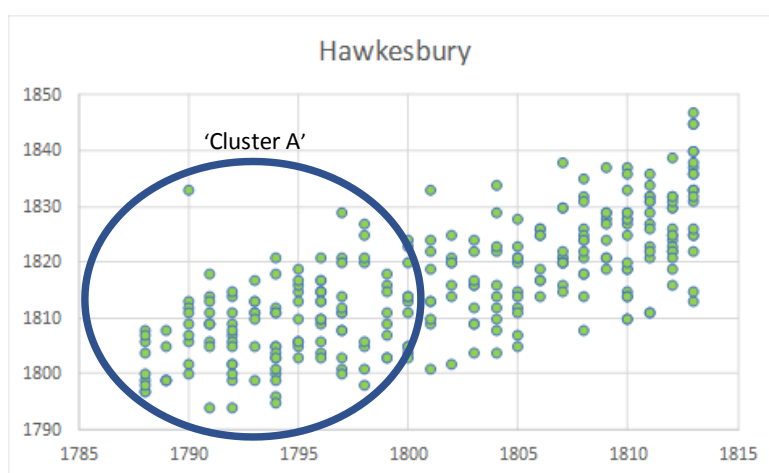


Figure A 3.1. Presented is age-spread data for the families who met the selection criteria for the current study and who resided in the Hawkesbury locality during their children’s school-aged years (n=284). A notable concentration of families whose first child was born 1788–1800 is apparent and is highlighted within the blue oval and designated as ‘Cluster A’ (n=131).

The geographic distribution of the Cluster A families across the Hawkesbury River locality is presented in Table A 3.1 and Figure A 3.2.

Table A 3.1 Distribution of the ‘Cluster A’ Hawkesbury River CGC Families (n=131) in geographic order from up-stream to down-stream

Hawkesbury River Communities	Number of CGC Families
Castlereagh	13
Richmond/Kurrajong	20
Windsor/Cornwallis	58
Wilberforce	10
Pitt Town	15
Portland Head	15
Total	131

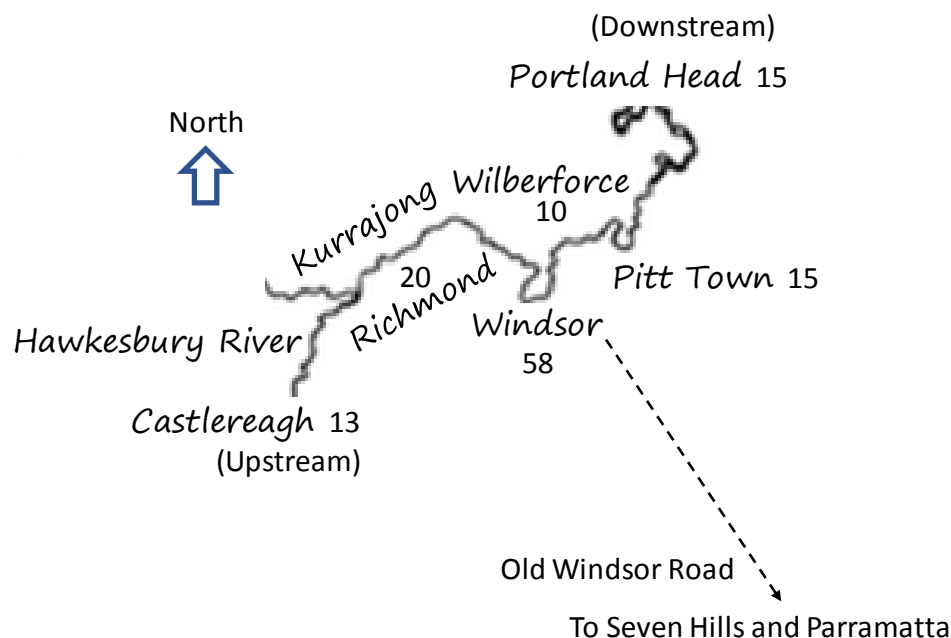


Figure A 3.2 Map showing distribution of the ‘Cluster A’ Hawkesbury River CGC families (n=131)

The second demographic analysis conducted was to see if the social conditions in the Hawkesbury were sufficient to foster close interaction between school-aged CGC. (Trudgill, 2004) states the importance of schools in the process of accent emergence, and (Labov, 2001) refers to the relevance of schools in accent incubation and transmission. As this study identified the Hawkesbury locality as a strong candidate for the source of the Australian accent, a closer look at the early schools at that location was undertaken.

The 1803 muster returns show entries for most Hawkesbury families and describes a very large number of children under 12 years that are spread across farming households with many families having 3–6 children. References within the muster note children ‘at school’ in the Hawkesbury district. Parish records from Rev. Samuel Marsden mention children being taught in the district before a formal building existed. Independent demographic reconstructions based on the 1803 muster, parish records, and early Windsor school returns consistently indicate that the Hawkesbury district contained approximately 200 children by 1803, providing an unusually large and dense native-born cohort for such an early stage of settlement. Bigge Inquiry testimony (1820–23) includes retrospective statements that schooling in the Hawkesbury ‘had been attempted for many years’ before the government schoolhouse was built in 1805 and local historians (e.g., Barkley Jack, Nichols) note that early schooling often took place in private homes, makeshift huts, barns or sheds, church spaces or itinerant teachers’ lodgings. Hence, the 1805 building marks the first purpose-built schoolhouse, not the beginning of schooling.

Governor Lachlan Macquarie mentions the Windsor school in his journal when he toured the Hawkesbury River communities in December 1810. Macquarie also mentions two newly established Hawkesbury schools located at Richmond and Wilberforce. Macquarie recounts making use of the Wilberforce school building while enjoying his breakfast.

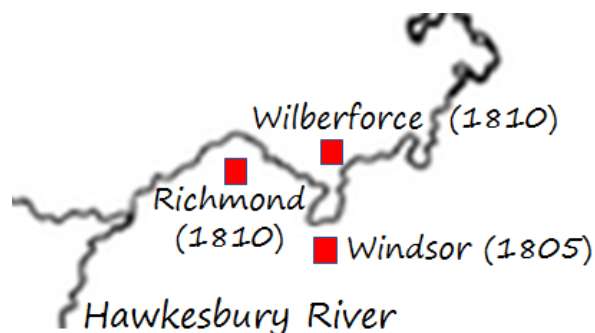


Figure A3.3 Map showing the locations of Hawkesbury schools mentioned in Macquarie's journal. Windsor Est 1805; Richmond Est 1811; Wilberforce Est 1810

The third demographic analysis conducted was to look at the origin of the parents of the CGC, to identify where the base accents spoken in the Hawkesbury had originated.

During the early colonial period newcomers who arrived in Sydney originated from a diverse array of locations hence, they would have spoken vocal sounds commensurate with their place of origin; creating a unique linguistic landscape in the Hawkesbury locality.

These dialects, which would not have typically co-existed in their regions of origin, led to communication challenges among the settlers. This situation sparked a process known as speech levelling, whereby many speech variants were eliminated, ultimately giving rise to the distinctive Australian accent.

Analysis of the Cluster A demographic was undertaken to determine if any origin location was predominant. Within the group of (n=131) families, the birth origin of (n=220) parents was determined. This data is presented in Figure A 3.4.

This dataset was further refined to examine the families that resided in the major population centres that existed at the time within the Hawkesbury - presented in the order they were located along the river, from up-stream to down-stream: Castlereagh; Richmond/Kurrajong; Windsor/Cornwallis; Wilberforce; Pitt Town; and Portland Head.

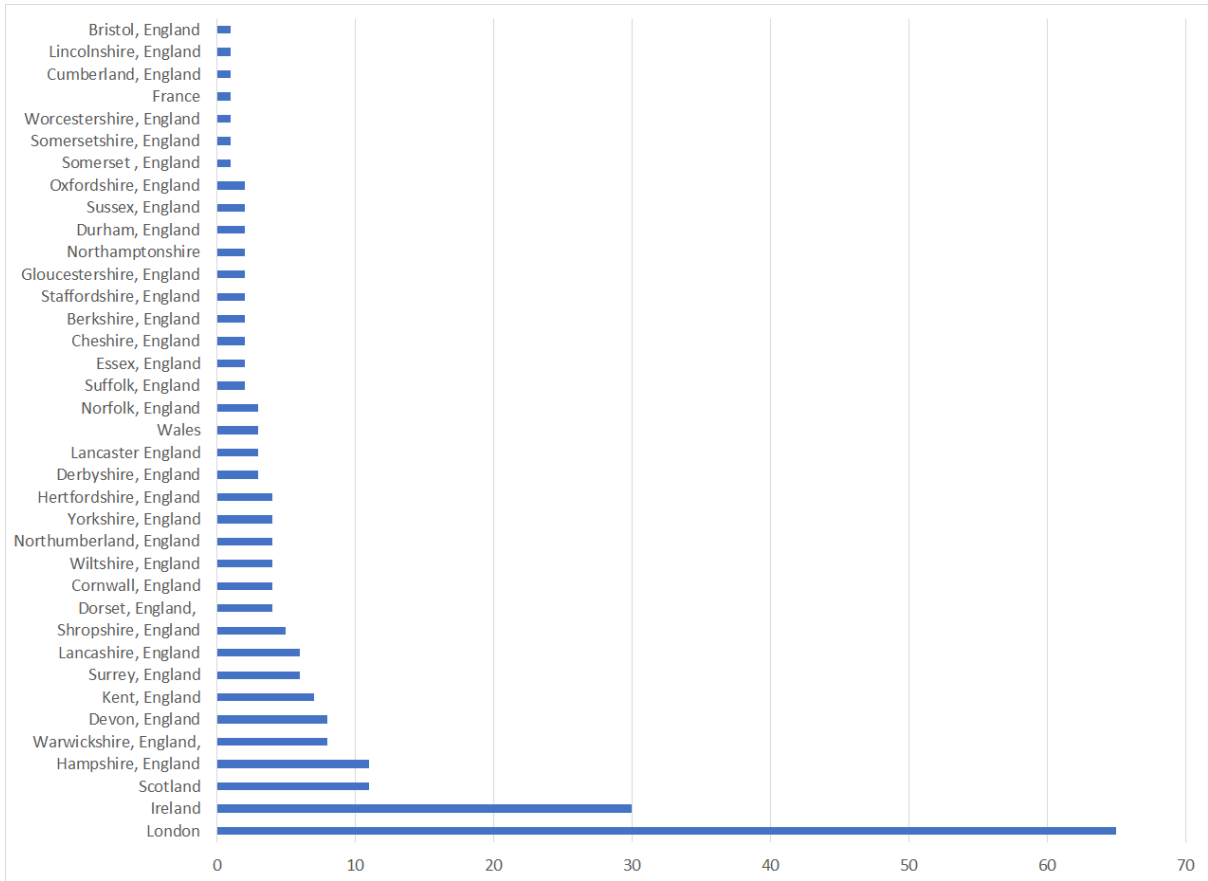


Figure A 3.4 The birth location for (n=220) parents of (n=131) families who resided across the **Hawkesbury River locality** within ‘Cluster A’ is presented. The presented data indicates that the most common place of birth/trial in this sample was London with thirty percent (n=65); followed by Ireland with fourteen percent (n=30) contributing to the mix of accents spoken at this locality.

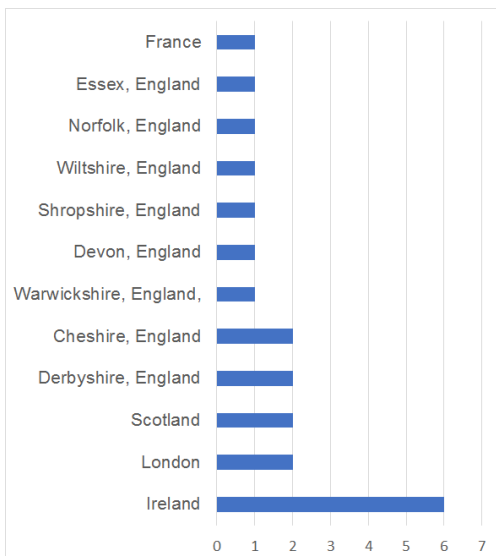


Figure A 3.5 From a sample of (n=10) families who resided at **Castlereagh**, data for (n=21) of the parents (n=10) was found indicating their place of birth. The most common place of birth/trial in this sample was Ireland with twenty-nine percent (n=6); followed by London, Scotland, Derbyshire and Cheshire each with (n=2).

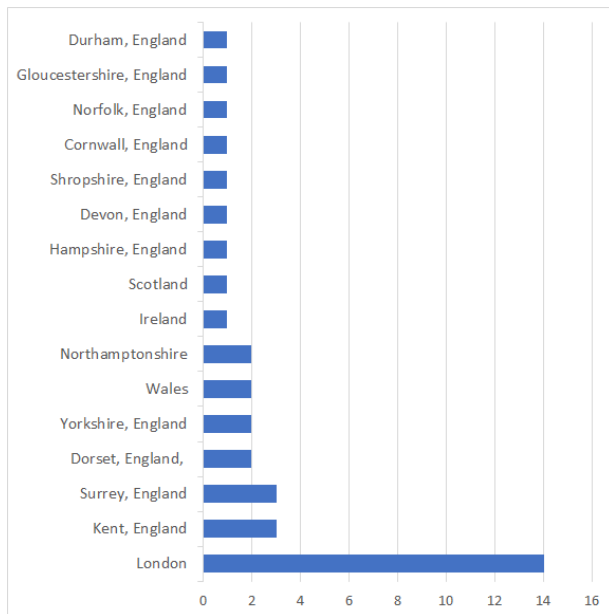


Figure A 3.6 From a sample of (n=20) families who resided at **Richmond/Kurrajong**, data for (n=37) of the parents was found indicating their place of birth. The most common place of birth/trial in this sample was London with thirty-eight percent (n=14); followed by Kent and Surrey with both eight percent (n=3) contributing to the mix of accents spoken at this locality.

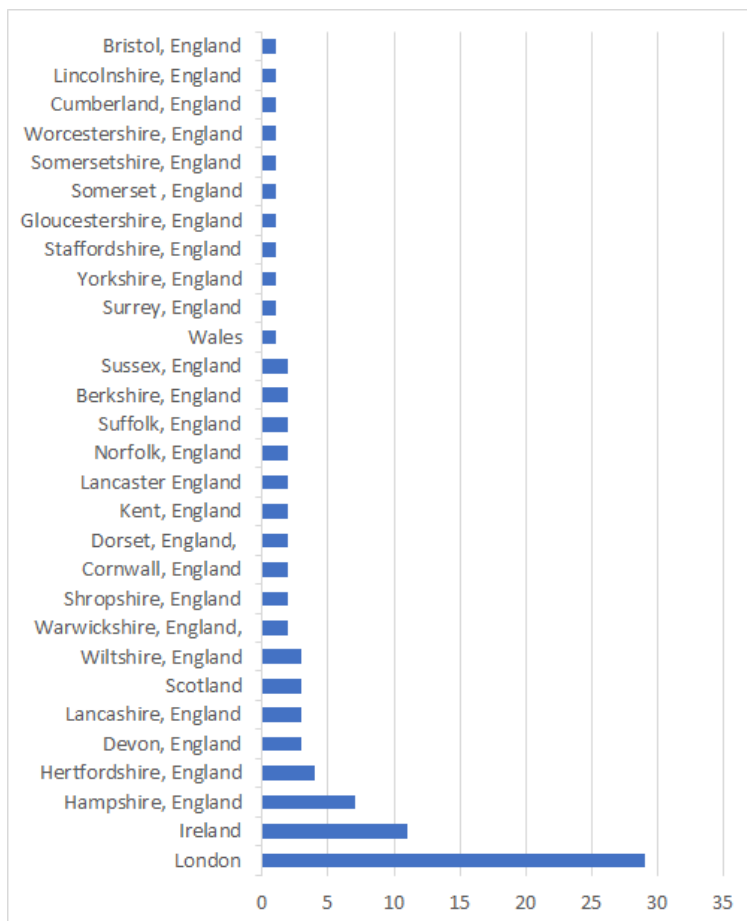


Figure A 3.7 From a sample of (n=58) families who resided at **Windsor/Cornwallis**, data for (n=94) of the parents was found indicating their place of birth. The most common place of birth/trial in this sample was London with thirty-one percent (n=29); followed by Ireland twelve percent (n=11) and Hampshire third with seven percent (n=7) contributing to the mix of accents spoken at this locality.

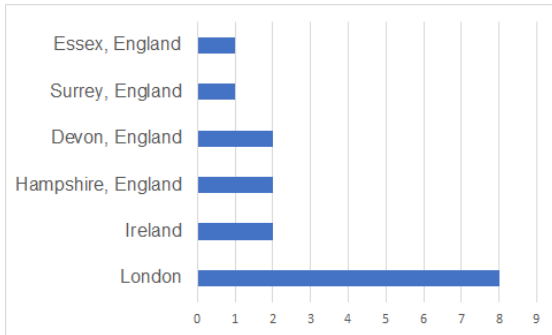


Figure A 3.8 From a sample of (n=10) families who resided at **Wilberforce**, data for (n=16) of the parents was found indicating their place of birth/trial. The most common place of birth in this sample was London with fifty percent (n=8).

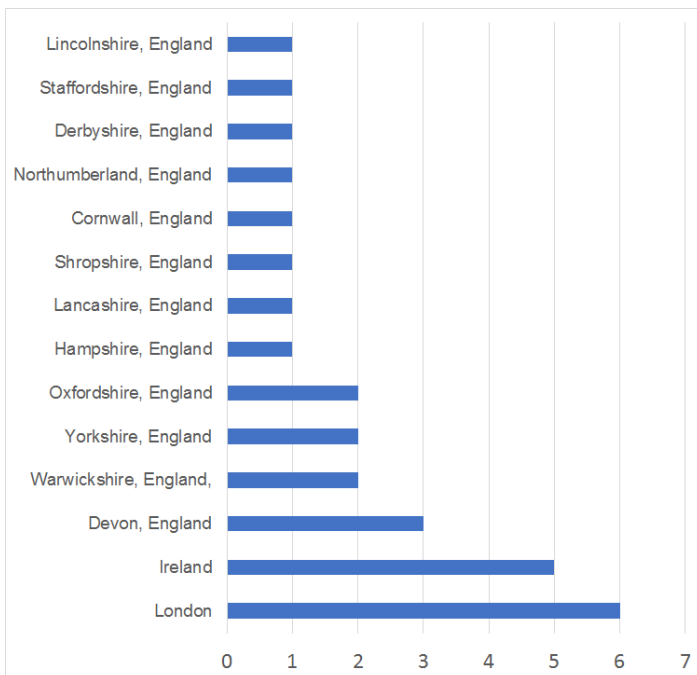


Figure A 3.9 From a sample of (n=15) families who resided at **Pitt Town**, data for (n=28) of the parents was found indicating their place of birth. The most common place of birth/trial in this sample was London with twenty-one percent (n=6).

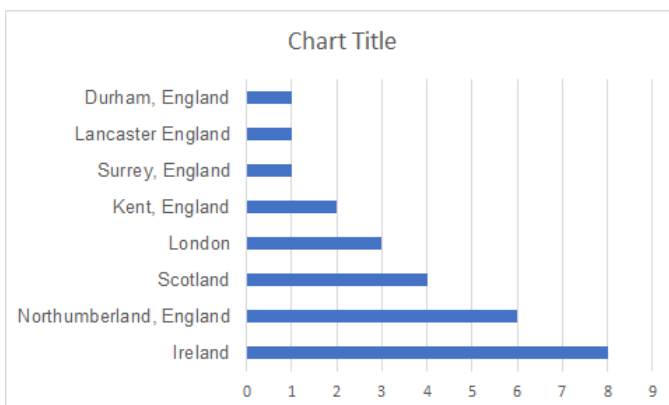


Figure A 3.10 From a sample of (n=15) families who resided at **Portland Head**, data for (n=26) of the parents was found indicating their place of birth. The most common place of birth/trial in this sample was Ireland with thirty-one percent (n=8).

Appendix 4 Timeline of Hawkesbury Filtration and Fixation Dynamics (1788–1817)

- 1788–1793: Birth of the first native-born children in Sydney and Parramatta
- These children form the earliest Australian-born cohort.
 - By 1794, some are already 1–6 years old.
 - They will later become the first CMC in the Hawkesbury.
- 1794–1796: Hawkesbury settlement begins; migration of families from Sydney/Parramatta
- Adults provide highly variable, Semifunctional input.
 - Migrating children include ages 1–8.
 - No cross-cluster child networks yet.
 - Early child speech reflects inconsistent adult varieties.
- 1797–1800: First native-born children reach ages 9–12
- These are Sydney/Parramatta-born children who moved to the Hawkesbury.
 - They are developmentally capable of supervising younger children.
 - This is the earliest possible emergence of proto-CMC.
 - Child-minding begins within families but remains low-intensity.
- 1799–1802: First true CMC begin taking up the child-minding role
- Native-born children (born 1788–1793) now reach ages 9–12.
 - They assume daily responsibility for supervising younger children.
 - This marks the structural beginning of CMC-driven filtration.
 - Cross-family interaction increases as settlement expands.
- 1802–1804: Locally born Hawkesbury children begin to enter the FE band (5–8)
- These younger children receive filtered input from the early CMC.
 - CMC from different families interact more regularly.
 - Cluster-specific varieties begin to stabilise.
- 1802: Child population reaches high density (~200 children at Green Hills)
- CMC filtration intensifies.
 - FE (5–8) now exist in large numbers.
 - Inter-cluster variation narrows as CMC align across households.
- 1803: Establishment of the Windsor school
- Daily cross-cluster contact among FE begins.
 - Horizontal peer alignment becomes dominant.
 - Fixation phase begins: residual variation is rapidly eliminated.
- 1804–1808: FE-driven Fixation consolidates
- Multiple FE waves pass through the school.
 - Each wave receives increasingly coherent CMC-filtered input.
 - Early variability is overwritten by later, more stable norms.
 - A basin-wide stabilised variety emerges.
- 1810–1817: Transmission and diffusion
- Stabilised Hawkesbury variety becomes the default for new cohorts.
 - Adolescents are now the first age group in which the new variety becomes *discernible* to external observers (Kerswill & Williams 2000).
 - The variety diffuses outward, including to Seven Hills.

Appendix 5 Hawkesbury family social network analysis

A study of Hawkesbury family social networks was undertaken. Marriage patterns were examined for 69 families and any common/overlapping marriages were noted. These commonalities were then used to group families into clusters so as to evaluate the viability of the Model using actual Hawkesbury demographic data.

Several clusters were explored to determine the children's ages in each of the families within each cluster, and assess whether their size, age structure, birthplace distributions, and patterns of interaction were sufficient to generate rapid, child-driven linguistic convergence. Children who met these criteria were categorised as either Child-Minder Cohort children—Stage II—or Fixation-Engine Cohort children.

The results indicate that the Windsor population resolves into three large potentially child-minding clusters and one medium cluster, each formed through dense intermarriage and geographic proximity. The largest clusters—Arndell-Loder-Tunks-Rowe-Yardley; Cross-Cavanough-Green (2); and Chaseling-Everingham-Turnbull-Kable—each contain 20–25 children, including 8–12 Stage II Child-Minder Cohort children and 7–11 Stage III Fixation-Engine children.

This study therefore indicates that potentially these clusters included ~40 Child Minder children and ~35 Fixation-Engine children, the latter were school-aged in 1805.

We can estimate the size of the student population at the 1805 Windsor school as it is reported in *The Sydney Gazette* (26th Aug 1804 P3), describing the school building nearing completion giving the dimensions as '101 ft in length, 24 ft broad and 24 ft high' i.e. about 220 m² therefore enough room for a school seating around 120 children.

Hence, based on these assumptions, the number of Fixation-Engine children (n=35) who potentially attended the school in 1805 represents ~30% of the students. This estimate is obviously indicative, however it does provide a basis for plausibility that prior to 1805, the Hawkesbury was not a single linguistic community but a patchwork of proto-accent micro-systems, each internally converging but not yet fully aligned with one another and, once the school opened, Fixation-Engine children socialised at school bringing these partially levelled clusters into daily contact, accelerating convergence into a stable Hawkesbury accent through a multi-stage transmission cascade, where the Windsor school doesn't initiate levelling but rather consolidates and amplifies a process that began earlier in family clusters. Once Fixation was complete the accent was available to be spread to adjoining localities.

Appendix 6 Model and Pediogenic Formation Triad development

The HCDCM and Pediogenic Formation Triad emerged not from pre-existing linguistic theory but from a systems-analysis reading of the Hawkesbury demographic. Before any formal engagement with dialect-formation literature, the demographic configuration itself suggested a mechanism: in a settlement characterised by high child-to-adult ratios, wide sibling age spans, and dense kin-cluster networks, elder children would inevitably act as linguistic intermediaries. Drawing on personal experience of large sibling groups and cross-household caregiving, I initially conceptualised a scenario in which older children were levelling their own speech and transmitting those regularised forms to younger siblings through child-minding practices.

This first formulation was entirely systems-driven. It arose from treating the Hawkesbury as a dynamic, interacting set of demographic subsystems rather than from applying any pre-existing linguistic model. The epidemiological analogy—viewing each cluster as producing a location-specific “strain” of the emerging accent—served as an additional conceptual scaffold. Although the term strain does not appear to be formally used in linguistics, the analogy helped clarify how locally emergent variants could circulate, recombine, and stabilise across the basin. This systems-epidemiological framing guided the earliest articulation of the mechanism long before the terminology of Filtration, Fixation, or cohort-specific roles was introduced.

Only after proposing this systems-based mechanism did the theoretical validation occur. Through engagement with the work of Trudgill, Kerswill, and Labov, the initial intuition was refined into the CMC/FE framework. The Child-Minder Cohort (CMC) and Fixation-Engine (FE) cohorts were not derived from theory and then applied to the Hawkesbury; rather, they were specified and validated by theory after the demographic system itself suggested their existence. This sequence—systems inference first, theoretical alignment second—is central to the methodological identity of the HCDCM and the underlying process of pediogenesis.

The same systems-analysis logic underpins the bridging-family analysis and all other components of the study. Whether modelling demographic flows, reconstructing kin-cluster interactions, or tracing the diffusion of the stabilised variety to Seven Hills, the approach remains consistent: each subsystem is analysed using the same engineering-inspired framework of flows, constraints, and interactions, and only then situated within the relevant linguistic literature. This ensures that no component of the study is privileged over another; each contributes equally to the overall system because each is derived through the same methodological lens.

In this sense, the HCDCM is intrinsically a systems-analysis model with theoretical validation, not a theoretical model retrofitted to a demographic context. Its originality lies in treating the Hawkesbury as a complex, interacting system whose emergent linguistic behaviour can be understood only by integrating demographic reconstruction, child-care ecology, and frontier social organisation. The theoretical literature confirms and sharpens the model, but the model itself originates in the structure of the system.

Glossary of Key Terms Introduced in This Study

Accent Corridor

Refers to the stepwise transmission system through which the Hawkesbury accent spread inland, driven by family movement, birth sequences, and settlement timing. The term captures the structured spatial and temporal cascade of accent diffusion from the Hawkesbury basin to regional New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia.

Austrigenic (adj.)

From Latin *australis* “southern, of the southern land” + *-genic* “generated, produced.”

Meaning: arising in, generated within, or structurally originating from the Australian landmass; used to describe varieties whose foundational system was formed locally rather than inherited from external adult dialects.

Child Driven Convergence

A sub mechanism of pedigeny through which children align on shared norms using cognitive capacities unavailable to older individuals. It operates through dense peer interaction and relies on age specific abilities such as implicit patterning, high plasticity, and low metalinguistic awareness. In complex ecologies, Child Driven Convergence unfolds through a multi stage architecture (Filtration → Fixation); in simpler ecologies, it may occur within a single stage, but always requires child specific cognition.

Child-Minder Cohort (CMC)

A functionally distinct group of children aged 9–12 years who were responsible for supervising younger siblings and other children in the Hawkesbury community. This cohort played a critical role in the process of speech levelling and regularisation, acting as intermediaries who filtered and stabilised linguistic input before it reached younger children.

Currency Generation Children (CGC)

First-generation children of Australian native-born individuals of European descent.

Early Receivers

The first locally born child in each family at each administrative centre.

Filtration (9–12)

A developmentally bounded process in which older children extract patterns, suppress low frequency variants, and regularise inconsistent input. Filtration requires pre-adolescent cognitive abilities that adults and younger children do not possess.

Fixation (5–8)

A developmentally bounded convergence process in which younger children eliminate residual variation and lock in stable norms. Fixation relies on high plasticity, implicit learning, and low metalinguistic awareness—capacities that disappear after early childhood.

Fixation-Engine (FE)

A group of younger children aged 5–8 years who were exposed to the filtered and regularised speech of the Child-Minder Cohort. These children were identified as the primary agents of accent stabilisation.

Hawkesbury Child-Driven Convergence Model (HCDCM)

Hawkesbury specific child-driven dialect formation in small, child-dense frontier populations.

Pediogeny (Ped-ee-ODD-jen-ee) from Greek paidi- “child” + -geny “origin/creation” (child+genesis)

A dialectal system (noun) generated by children referring to the mechanism through which pediogenic systems arise. Pediogeny occurs when the system demands cognitive operations that fall within child specific developmental windows and are unavailable to adults or adolescents. It is triggered by adult insufficiency and executed through child only capacities such as pattern extraction, high plasticity convergence, and implicit norm formation.

Pediogenisation - Process (noun) (Ped-ee-OH-jen-i-SAY-shun)

Pediogenisation is the developmentally bounded process through which children, and only children, generate or stabilise a system when adult models are insufficient. It encompasses the sequence of child specific cognitive operations—such as Filtration and Fixation—that transform inconsistent, reduced, or absent input into a stable output. Pediogenisation may be selective (stabilising a full language) or constructive (inventing new structure), but in all cases it requires cognitive capacities restricted to childhood.

Pediogenic (Class) – Adjective (PED-ee-oh-JEN-ik)

The category of systems that arise only when children, by virtue of their age specific cognitive capacities, are the sole agents capable of generating or stabilising the system. Membership is defined by developmental necessity, not by the mere involvement of children.

Pediogenic Variety - Outcome (noun)

A pediogenic variety is the stable dialectal outcome produced through pediogenisation. It refers to the first fully formed linguistic system generated and stabilised by children under conditions where adult input is inconsistent, fragmented, or demographically marginal. A pediogenic variety is characterised by internal coherence, rapid emergence, and child-driven structural alignment, and represents the linguistic endpoint of a frontier ecology in which children function as the primary architects of the new dialect.

Receiver and Transmitter Windows

Temporal windows during which children (receivers) are most likely to acquire a stable accent (ages 0–7) and adults or older siblings (transmitters) must already be present in the locality to provide consistent linguistic input. These windows are used to reconstruct the chronology of accent transmission and emergence across different settlements.

Semifunctional

Adult accommodation exists but is minimal/suspended; no stable norms are transmitted in Stage I.

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