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Paul Warren, *School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Victoria University of Wellington*. <*Paul.Warren@vuw.ac.nz*>

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THE PRONUNCIATION OF *wh* IN MĀORI:

A CASE STUDY FROM THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

Margaret Maclagan: *Department of Speech and Language Therapy, University of Canterbury (Private Bag 4800, Christchurch, NZ.)* *<m.maclagan@spth.canterbury.ac.nz>*

Jeanette King: *Department of Māori, University of Canterbury (Private Bag 4800, Christchurch, NZ.) <j.king@canterbury.ac.nz>*

Abstract

This case study presents an analysis of *wh* in the Māori and English speech of one speaker, Raureti Te Huia (RTH), Ngāti Maniapoto and Tūwharetoa, born in Te Awamutu in 1885. RTH is the oldest Māori speaker whose pronunciation has been analysed in this way. The analysis shows that he used four different variants for *wh*, [h], [ɸ], [ʍ] and [f], with [ɸ] being the most common. There is a great deal of variation in his production of *wh*, the same word is pronounced with up to four different variants. In order to evaluate the significance of this case study an analysis of the reasons for the late recognition of *wh* as a phoneme of Māori is presented. The factors considered include dialect variation in the Māori pronunciation of *wh* in the nineteenth century, the influence of the pronunciations of the early missionaries on their ability to hear the sound, and the pronunciation of *wh* in the speech of nineteenth century Pākehā speakers.

1. Introduction

This case study presents an analysis of the pronunciation of *wh* by one nineteenth century Māori speaker, Raureti Te Huia (RTH), who was born in 1885 and recorded by the Mobile Disc Recording Unit of the New Zealand

Broadcasting Service in 1947. We present first a description of the speaker followed by the results of the analysis. The analysis shows that, for this speaker, there was a wider range of pronunciations for *wh* than is currently used or taught. In order to evaluate these results, we then discuss the formation of the Māori alphabet as we know it today, factors which may have impeded the recognition of the Māori phoneme *wh* and the English pronunciation of *wh* by non-Māori living in New Zealand at the time when RTH was born. Reasons for the virtual disappearance of several of the variants found in RTH's speech and the collapse of *wh* pronunciations on the modern [f] majority pronunciation are discussed.

2. The Speaker

The speaker whose pronunciation is analysed in this paper is Raureti Te Huia of Ngāti Maniapoto and Tūwharetoa descent, born in 1885. His father, Te Huia Raureti, fought alongside Rewi Maniapoto at the famous battle of Orakau during the Waikato land wars in the 1860s. Te Huia and RTH were informants for the historian James Cowan, who wrote numerous books and articles, printed from the turn of the 20th century onwards.

RTH had a life-long interest in historical matters. He was secretary for an important hui in 1912 convened to record important historical information from his tribal area and was one of the seventeen founding members of the Te Awamutu Historical Society, formed in February 1935.

RTH was recorded by the Mobile Disc Recording Unit of the New Zealand Broadcasting Service in three recording sessions in Te Awamutu in October 1947. A copy of the recording is held in the Mobile Unit archive in the Department of Linguistics and in the Macmillan Brown Library at the University of Canterbury. In the recording, RTH talks in Māori and then translates into English. Much of the English material actually consists of whakapapa, often with large sections that are almost straight Māori.

Most of the Mobile Unit recordings were undertaken in town halls, with a number of people in the room, and in the presence of recording apparatus which would have been quite unfamiliar to those being recorded. The most usual format was for the interviewer to ask the interviewee a series of questions about their early recollections. Maori informants were asked to talk about various topics in Maori and their translations into English were often interrupted by the interviewer asking questions.

RTH's recordings are different in that at no time did the interviewer feel the need to question or prompt his informant, unlike with other interviewees. RTH's long experience in both the Pākehā and Māori environments would explain his confidence in the recording situation. The fact that there are manuscript copies of much of RTH's recordings[2] also shows a degree of organisation that was undoubtedly characteristic of the man. For the first recording session there is only one page of manuscript, undoubtedly typed up after the event. RTH prepared himself thoroughly for the two subsequent sessions, bringing along typescripts which he often followed virtually verbatim. However, he never sounds as though he is just reading directly from the page; his speech is fluent and confident, indicating complete knowledge and mastery of his topic.

The manuscripts are largely in Maori, therefore his pronunciation when speaking English cannot be influenced by written conventions. Undoubtedly he used the manuscripts as a prompt for his translation.

3. Methodology

In this paper we discuss the results of an analysis of RTH'S pronunciation of *wh* which is one of the ten consonant phonemes of Māori. The other consonants are /h, k, m, n, p, r, t, w and ŋ/. *Wh* is only one of the sounds we have analysed; the results of the other analyses will be published elsewhere.[3] The tape of RTH was analysed auditorily. Both authors analysed the sounds individually and then compared analyses. Where we disagreed, we listened again, and came to a consensus. Because the recording was made in 1947, the sound quality does not match that of modern recordings. Nevertheless, in spite of some background noise, the quality is usually adequate for detailed phonetic analysis. It is usually adequate for distinguishing between [f] and [ɸ], though this is often helped because an example of a Māori [ɸ] and an English [f] are often very close to each other in the English sections of the tape and can therefore be compared. We analysed all of the English recorded on the tapes (38 minutes) and a similar length of the Māori (33 minutes). We found 143 tokens of *wh* in the Māori sections and 84 Māori tokens when RTH is speaking in English. To complement the analysis of sounds in Māori, we also analysed RTH's pronunciation of *wh* (16 tokens) and /f/ (85 tokens) in English words when he was speaking in English.

4. Results

4.1 Overall usage in Māori words

When he is speaking Māori, RTH uses [ɸ], [ʍ], [h] and [f] to realise *wh*. He uses the same set of variants when he is saying Māori words within the English sections of his recording. [ɸ] is by far the most common variant, being used 50% of the time. The other variants are much less frequent: [ʍ] is used 18% of the time and [f] 13%. We found that when the variant [h] is used, the following vowel is usually rounded and approximately [ʊ] in quality, though occasionally it is more open and closer to [ɔ̝]. [h] followed by a rounded vowel occurred in 16% of the tokens analysed. It probably corresponds to the 'labialised [h] probably with back of tongue raised' referred to by Harlow (1979: 126). In the remaining 4% of the tokens [h] was followed by an unrounded vowel. Table 1 and figure 1 separate out the relative frequency of the variants when RTH is speaking Māori and when he uses Māori words in the English sections of the recording. *[h] unrounded* indicates that the variant [h] was followed by an unrounded vowel, and *[h] rounded* indicates that the [h] was followed by a rounded vowel.

[ɸ] is the most common variant for *wh* when RTH is speaking in both languages. It is slightly more common when he is speaking in English than in Māori. [h] followed by a rounded vowel and [ʍ] are equally common in Māori, whereas [ʍ] is slightly more common in English. [f] reaches 11% when he is speaking in English, and is more common when he is speaking in Māori.

Table 1: RTH's pronunciation of wh in Māori words in both Māori and English speech.

	MĀORI WORDS IN MĀORI		MĀORI WORDS IN ENGLISH		TOTAL
[h] unrounded	6	(4%)	2	(2%)	8
[h] rounded	26	(18%)	10	(12%)	36
[ɸ]	64	(45%)	49	(58%)	113
[ʍ]	26	(18%)	14	(17%)	40
[f]	21	(15%)	9	(11%)	30
Total	143	(100%)	84	(100%)	227

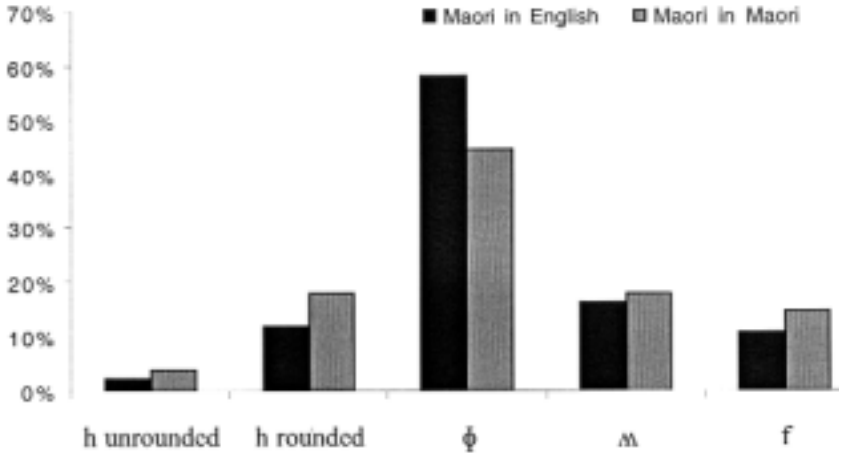

Figure 1: RTH's pronunciation of wh in Māori words in Māori and English speech.

[h] followed by an unrounded vowel is extremely uncommon in both language situations. The chi-squared statistic with Yates' correction[4] shows that there is no significant difference between RTH's usage of the different variants for *wh* in Māori words when he is speaking both in Māori and in English ($\chi^2 = 3.14$, df = 4, $p > 0.05$). This indicates that although RTH is basically speaking in English for half of the time analysed, his pronunciation of *wh* in Māori words does not change; the English does not seem to be influencing this particular feature of his Māori pronunciation. Nevertheless figure 1 shows that RTH uses relatively more of the non-English variant [ɸ], and relatively less of the English sounds [h] and [f] in Māori words when he is speaking English than when he is speaking Māori. His Māori pronunciation therefore does not seem to become more English like when he is speaking English, rather the opposite is happening, and he seems to be making his Māori *wh* less like English sounds.

4.2 Usage in English

We only found sixteen tokens of *wh* in English words. For 10 of them, RTH used /w/ as in modern NZE. For the other six, he used [ʍ], including two tokens of *who* which would normally be pronounced with [h]. It is possible that these tokens represent a spelling pronunciation or hypercorrection, however since his notes were entirely in Māori, this is unlikely, especially

since there are 53 other instances of *who* with the expected [h] pronunciation. These results do not indicate any influence from Māori on his English pronunciation of *wh*. We found 85 tokens of /f/ in English words. The majority of them (78, or 92%) were realised as [f]. The remaining seven tokens (8%) were realised as [ɸ], showing a clear influence from Māori on RTH's English for this sound.

4.3 Phonetic context

When we considered phonetic context, we found that the variants of *wh* were not evenly distributed before the vowels. As would be expected, there were no tokens of *wh* before /o/ or /u/ since these combinations do not occur in Māori except for a few words, all transliterations, words phonemically derived from English words (see Ryan 1995: 322). Table 2 shows the distribution of *wh* variants before /a/, /e/ and /i/ when RTH is speaking in Māori and in English.

The chi-squared statistic (with Yates' correction) shows that the variants of *wh* are distributed significantly differently before vowels when RTH is speaking in Māori ($\chi^2 = 29.8$, df = 8, $p < 0.005$), but not when he is speaking English ($\chi^2 = 13.6$, df = 8, $p > 0.05$). The most obvious asymmetry in the distribution of variants is that [h] appears almost exclusively before /a/. The chi-squared test confirms that this is statistically significant both when RTH is speaking in Māori and when he is speaking in English (for Māori, $\chi^2 = 19.9$, df = 1, $p < 0.005$, for English, $\chi^2 = 8.1$, df = 1, $p < 0.01$). [h] preceding a rounded vowel appears only before /a/, and [h] preceding an unrounded vowel,

Table 2: Distribution of variants or wh before different vowels.

	MĀORI			ENGLISH			MĀORI	ENGLISH
REALISATION	/a/	/e/	/i/	/a/	/e/	/i/	TOTAL	TOTAL
[h] unrounded	5	0	1	1	1	0	7	2
[h] rounded	26	0	0	10	0	0	27	10
[ɸ]	35	20	9	27	6	16	63	49
[ʍ]	8	7	11	3	4	7	26	14
[f]	14	4	3	8	1	0	21	9
Total	88	31	24	49	12	23	143	84

which is relatively rare, appears six out of eight times before /a/. The use of the glottal fricative [h] before /a/, whether it is realised as a rounded or unrounded relatively back vowel, could reflect phonetic conditioning. However because [h] is not the only variant that appears before /a/, the phonetic conditioning does not create a simple allophonic distribution. For example, the prefix *whaka-* occurred 34 times when RTH was speaking Māori. As expected, it is realised 22 times with [h] and the vowel is rounded. However it is also realised with each of the other variants that RTH uses: once with [h] without the vowel being rounded, four times as [ɸ], three times as [ʍ] and four times as [f]. The variants are not conditioned by preceding context.

[ɸ], [ʍ] and [f] appear before all three vowels. [ʍ] is also significantly more common before /a/ than before other vowels (for Māori, $\chi^2 = 12.7$, df = 1, $p < 0.005$, for English, $\chi^2 = 9.4$, df = 1, $p < 0.005$). [ɸ] is more common when RTH is speaking in English than in Māori and relatively more common before /i/. The chi-squared statistic shows that the [ɸ] is actually not significantly more common before /i/ (for Māori, $\chi^2 = 0.6$, df = 1, $p > 0.5$, for English, $\chi^2 = 1.6$, df = 1, $p > 0.05$).

As part of the analysis of phonetic context, we considered position in the word. *wh* appeared 152 times in initial position in the word and 75 times in intervocalic position within the word. The distribution of variants does not differ in these two contexts when RTH is speaking in either language (for Māori, $\chi^2 = 6.9$, df = 4, $p > 0.05$, for English, $\chi^2 = 8.3$, df = 4, $p > 0.05$). Position in word therefore does not significantly affect the variant of *wh* used.

4.4 Variability

Fifteen words were repeated more than once when RTH was using Māori words in English and 25 words were repeated more than once when he was speaking in Māori. These words are displayed in the Appendix. We found considerable variation within these repeated words. When he was speaking in Māori, the *wh* was realised in different ways in 13 of the 25 repeated words, and when he was using Māori words in English it was realised differently in seven of the fifteen words. From the table in the Appendix it can be see that *whare*, for example, appeared 19 times when RTH was speaking in Māori. It was realised ten times with [ɸ], eight times with [f] and once with [h] followed by an unrounded vowel. *Whare* was also realised three times with [ɸ] and once with [ʍ] when RTH was speaking English. The name *Uenuku-Tūwhatu* was used three times, each time with a different variant of *wh*: [ɸ], [ʍ] and [h] followed by an unrounded vowel. By contrast, *whetū* appeared 16 times when

he was speaking Māori, and each time it was realised with [ɸ]. There is not a sufficient number of repeated words to be able to ascertain whether any patterns appear as to which variants are more stable or less stable before individual vowels.

5. Discussion

The analysis of RTH has shown that, although [ɸ] was the most common realisation of *wh*, there was a great deal of variability in the pronunciation of *wh* for this particular speaker. In order to evaluate the results of the analysis, and gain an indication of whether or not this might be typical of earlier states of *te reo,* we first discuss the development of the Māori alphabet and factors that impeded the recognition of *wh* as a phoneme. In particular we focus on the effects of variability in the realisation of *wh* by Māori speakers, the choice of *wh* to transcribe the sound and the ability of the early transcribers to hear some of the variants produced. We then discuss the pronunciation of Pākehā speakers during the nineteenth century and the effect this might have had on the realisation of *wh* in Māori before considering the pronunciation of *wh* today.

5.1. Early orthographies

It is usually accepted that, unlike the English alphabet, the Māori alphabet is a good indication of the phonemic contrasts in the language. Until recently, the formation of the Māori alphabet had been attributed to Professor Lee in Oxford with the assistance of Kendall and the Northland chiefs Waikato and Hongi who had travelled to England in 1818 (Biggs 1968: 66, but see Parkinson 2000). However, this alphabet was substantially different from the one we know today as it included letters such as B, D, G, J, L, S, V, X, Y and Z, many apparently for use in borrowed English words (Kendall and Lee 1820: 1). The alphabet we now recognise, without these letters, was stabilised in 1827 and used in the two subsequent publications from the Church Missionary Society Press (*Bible* 1827 and 1830). The notable omission in this alphabet was the digraph WH. However, with both W and H being in the alphabet, their combination was theoretically possible. Nevertheless, in all writing and publications up to and after the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 this combination was not used.

WH was recognised as a combination in an 1840 Wesleyan mission publication (*Bible* 1840) and consistently from this press at Mangungu from

1841 onwards (H. Williams 1975: 19). Colenso notes that on arriving in New Zealand in 1834 he soon became aware that a new letter was required as 'w was made to stand and do duty both for its own simple sound of w, and for the more complex one of wh' (1888: 24). Colenso himself favoured the adoption of the letter *v* to represent the *wh* sound for reasons of ease of printing, the preference for avoiding a digraph, and for consistency with other Polynesian orthographies. Colenso felt that another point in favour of the *v* was that there was a 'similarity (though distant) in the Māori sound, for which a character is now sought, to the sound of the English "v"' (1888: 49). Other options canvassed by him included *w* and *f*. But the *wh,* already in use by the Wesleyans, proved resilient, and *wh* was consistently adopted by the Church Missionary Society from 1844 (Porter 1974: 317).

Nevertheless, in the numerous Māori grammars and dictionaries which subsequently appeared, *wh* was not recognised as a separate phoneme and letter in the alphabet until much later. William Williams' various editions of his dictionary of the Māori language illustrate this gradual change. In the first edition in 1844 he notes that 'W is pronounced as in *water* or as *wh* in the Irish *what'* (1844: xi). But he does not use the *wh* digraph in the dictionary, employing an apostrophe to indicate when *w* is sounded as *wh* (1844: vii). Words so distinguished are included with words beginning with W. The second edition of the dictionary in 1852 uses the *wh* digraph but it is not regarded as a separate letter in the alphabet, these words being included under the letter W. The third edition of the dictionary in 1871 recognises *wh* as a separate letter in the alphabet putting these words in their own separate section after words beginning with W (1871).

Thus, while the alphabet was reasonably quickly determined in the years from the first publication of the Māori language in 1815 to its stabilisation in 1827, the perception of *wh* as a distinct sound took much longer. Its recognition as a separate phoneme, or as a single letter of the alphabet, took longer again. This length of time illustrates how difficult it was for missionaries to recognise that they were dealing with a separate phoneme of the Māori language. The two major reasons for this difficulty are probably the variability in the realisation of *wh* in the nineteenth century and its inherent difference from the English spoken by most of those who had contact with the Māori.

5.2 Realisation of wh in the nineteenth century

It has been suggested that the use of the digraph *wh* for what is now pronounced [f] indicates the early missionaries heard the Māori phoneme as

more similar to [ʍ] in *which* than to English /f/ (Harlow 1996: 3), and it is interesting that although Colenso noted that the sound of *wh* was similar to the English *v* (1888: 49) he did not mention it sounding like /f/ though some early spellings with *f* are recorded, at least in the South Island (see Harlow 1987).

As RTH demonstrates, it is likely that there was considerable variation in the pronunciation of *wh* in the nineteenth century. Dunmore (1999) and Bauer (1993) both comment on the difficulty in clarifying Māori pronunciation before European contact. Birth dates are not given for the informants whom Bauer used for her 1993 work, but although it is clear that they were older speakers, it is unlikely that they were born before 1900. Bauer also made use of the cassettes *Ngā Ingoa o Aotearoa* which were recorded by Hugh Young from 1984 to 1993 (Young 1991–1994). Biographical details are not available for the speakers, but again it is unlikely that they were born before 1900. Because RTH was born in 1885, the results presented here, even though they are based on only one speaker, provide data that are earlier than the material so far available.

One way of further clarifying the amount of variation in the pronunciation of *wh* in the nineteenth century is to look at the variability in the pronunciation of this sound today. Both Bauer (1993) and Harlow (1996, 2001) agree that [f] is the most common pronunciation for *wh* in modern Māori. Both also agree that there is still a great deal of variation today. Bauer notes 'The realisation of orthographic *wh* varies sometimes by dialect, sometimes by speaker, and sometimes varies with a single speaker from one token to another' (1993: 531). The other pronunciations indicated by Bauer and Harlow are the voiceless bilabial slit fricative [ɸ], the voiceless labial-velar rounded fricative [ʍ], a lip rounded /h/ [hʷ] or a lip rounded glottal stop [ʔʷ].

It is also recognised that there is dialectal variation throughout the country today, and probably therefore also during the nineteenth century. In addition to the variants noted above, Bauer notes that [ʔʷ] is used in the Taranaki-Whanganui region and [hw] or [wh] in the far north of Northland, with [wh] usually only being used intervocalically before non-rounded vowels (1993: 532). Harlow says that [ʔʷ] is used in parts of the West of the North Island (1996: 2). Overall variability, including dialectal variation, may therefore provide some of the reasons for the difficulty in recognizing and transcribing *wh*.

5.3 Influence of the transcriber

The difficulties faced by early twentieth century English speakers in hearing and analysing *wh* in Māori are highlighted in a letter in *The NZ Journal of*

Education. Commenting on the pronunciation of *Whangarei*, Harold S. Blow says, 'The first syllable will always remain a stumbling block, for no combination of our letters can express the sound which is a sort of mixture of "phong" and "fwang," with the addition of a peculiar native twang,' (1st August, 1913).

If the pronunciations of *wh* heard by the first transcribers of Māori were [ɸ] rather than [f], English speakers would have been presented with a consonant that did not exist in their own language and they would presumably have used the English sound that most resembled it, probably [f]. Had they been working in areas where *wh* was pronounced as [w], then spellings such as *wenua* (=*whenua*) in the Treaty of Waitangi would make the most sense. However, it seems most likely that the earliest missionaries were working in the far north where the indications are that [hw] or [ʍ] were the earlier pronunciations of *wh*. The missionaries would thus have been presented with a distinction (between /w/ and /ʍ/) that had once been common in English but was declining by the start of the nineteenth century. If the transcribers had merged [ʍ] with [w] in their own speech, we could expect them to transcribe [ʍ] as *w*.

[ʍ] is the traditional English pronunciation of words spelt with *wh* such as *when, white, whale*. Wells (1982: 228) indicates that the merger with /w/ that is now the norm in English English had taken place by 1800. If this were the case, we would expect that the missionaries who were the first transcribers of the Māori language would not have used [ʍ] in their own speech, and may not have been sensitive to it in the speech of others because speakers who no longer make a phonemic distinction find it difficult to perceive the contrast (see Labov 1994). However the timing of the loss of /ʍ/ in English is disputed, with MacMahon (1998: 467) indicating that although speakers from the lower classes had lost the [ʍ] by 1800, most speakers of educated Southern English retained it until the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, speakers from Scotland and Ireland, but not from Wales, would have retained the disinction (Wells 1982: 228). We cannot therefore simply argue that none of the early missionaries would have been able to hear the distinction between [w] and [ʍ]; rather we need to look at them as individuals, and to this we now turn.

It appears that very few of the early missionaries, those who arrived in New Zealand before 1830, came from the south of England and, since many of them were lay artisans, few were 'educated.' Samuel Marsden, for example, came from Yorkshire and worked in his uncle's smithy before attending Magdalen College Cambridge. Thomas Kendall came from a farming back-

ground in Lincolnshire and is reported to have retained his Lincolnshire accent throughout his life (Department of Internal Affairs 1990: 224). William Yate who clarified the spelling system devised by Lee but did not recognise *wh* as a phoneme (Parkinson personal communication) was born in Shropshire and apprenticed to a grocer. We would not expect any of these missionaries to have retained the w/ʍ distinction in their speech. By contrast, Henry Williams (born in Hampshire in southern England), and his brother William (born in Nottingham in the north) did come from educated backgrounds and may have retained the contrast. None of the early missionaries came from Scotland or Ireland. If they did not make the w/ʍ contrast in their own speech, we could expect these early missionaries to use *w* for the [ʍ] pronunciation of *wh* which is the likely variant that was used in the far north of Northland (Bauer 1993) where many of them, including Yate, were working (see Davidson 1991).

However two crucial missionaries may have been able to hear the w/ʍ contrast. John Hobbs, a Wesleyan missionary who seems to have introduced the WH spelling into the alphabet in 1841 (Parkinson personal communication), appears to have been reasonably well educated. He came from Kent which is in the south of England and is regarded as a skilful linguist, who eventually spoke nine languages (Department of Internal Affairs 1990: 195). Both his birthplace and his educational level would suggest that he may have made the w/ʍ contrast in his own speech and thus been more easily able to hear it in the speech of the Māori with whom he worked (at Wesleydale near Kaeo, in the far north). Robert Maunsell, a Church Missionary Society missionary who arrived in 1835, was born in Ireland and is also likely to have made the w/ʍ contrast in his own speech. He also was a respected scholar of the Māori language, and a supporter of the adoption of the WH spelling (Porter 1974: 315 & 318).

A consideration of the probable variation in the pronunciation of *wh* in the nineteenth century together with a consideration of the speech of the early missionary transcribers of *te reo* thus sheds light on the difficulties in recognising *wh* as a phoneme of Māori and including it in alphabets. We turn now to a consideration of the speech of Pākehā New Zealanders at the time when RTH was growing up, in particular their usage of [ʍ] for *wh*.

5.4 /hw/ in Pākehā speech

The earliest English speaker recorded in the Mobile Unit archive was born in 1851 and the youngest English speakers were born just after 1900. The Pākehā speakers in the archive thus give an indication of the extent to which [ʍ] was

used for *wh* by non-Māori speakers in New Zealand during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Approximately half the speakers in the MU archive use [ʍ] at least some of the time and there is a slight increase in its percentage use over time, with those speakers born later using it relatively more often. Speakers in the Mobile Unit who were born in the North Island use [ʍ] less frequently than MU speakers who were born in the South Island (Gordon et al. forthcoming; Sudbury and Hay unpublished ms). Although the [ʍ] usage of speakers in NZ does not relate directly to its usage by the early transcribers of the Māori language, these findings are in accord with MacMahon's indications that [ʍ] was still used by some southern English speakers in the second half of the nineteenth century (MacMahon 1998).[5] However the relatively low percentage of speakers who actually use [ʍ], together with the fact that even these speakers rarely use [ʍ] in all possible contexts, confirm Wells' contention that the w/ʍ phonemic contrast was disappearing from English. It therefore reinforces the probability that many of the early transcribers would have had difficulty in hearing realisations of [ʍ] for *wh* in Māori.

It is also possible that Pākehā may have influenced the use of [ʍ] by Māori speakers. Analysis of the Pākehā speakers in the MU archive shows that by the time RTH was born, [ʍ] usage was increasing slightly in New Zealand. However RTH was born in the North Island where [ʍ] was used less frequently. We can therefore assume that, as he grew up, RTH would have heard [ʍ] used by Pākehā with variable frequency; [ʍ] was not used consistently by all speakers, but it would have been heard considerably more frequently than it is today. While it does not look as though the frequency of [ʍ] usage among Pākehā would have been high enough to have a strong influence on the pronunciation of Māori, its presence in the speech of Pākehā would potentially have supported its use by Māori speakers in both Māori and English. By contrast, there would obviously have been no support for [ɸ] as a pronunciation of *wh* in Māori from speakers of English. There would, however, have been support from English for the use of [f] for *wh* in Māori.

5.5 The Pronunciation of wh in Māori today

Although the pronunciation of *wh* as /f/ is widespread today, especially amongst the large number of second language speakers, this is only one of several pronunciations used by native speakers. The pronunciation of the digraph WH is most often taught as /f/, following the language textbook *Te Rangatahi* where learners are advised to pronounce WH like the 'f' in the

word ‘fat’ (Waititi 1962: 169). The *Te Rangatahi* textbook series had a long history of use in schools throughout the country from the early 1960s until surprisingly recent times, and has undoubtedly been of immense influence in indicating Māori pronunciation. Other Māori language textbooks describe variant pronunciations. In *Modern Māori* learners are told that ‘wh’ is usually sounded like ‘f’, but this varies from district to district. ‘Sometimes it is spoken like an ‘h’. ... Sometimes it is spoken like a ‘w’ alone and sometimes like a ‘wh’ in English’ (Ryan 1978: 1). Biggs’ seminal description of Māori grammar (1969: 132) describes the pronunciation of *wh* as being ‘as in ‘whale’ (not ‘wail’), or as f.’ There is therefore much less variability today than is encountered in RTH’s speech.

6. Conclusion

A consideration of the early missionaries who worked with the Māori in the far north of Northland indicated that the first transcribers of Māori were unlikely to make the w/ʍ contrast in their own speech or to hear it in the speech of others. If the variant of *wh* they heard was [ʍ], as can still be found in the areas where they worked (Bauer 1993), this would account for the early transcriptions of *w* for the sound. Hobbs, who apparently first used *wh* to transcribe the sound, came from the south of England and Maunsell who supported the introduction of *wh* came from Ireland. Both these men probably used the w/ʍ distinction in their own speech and this may well have accounted for their ability to recognise and transcribe the sound. Analysis of Pākehā speakers in the Mobile Unit archive indicated that the [ʍ] pronunciation for *wh* would still have been heard in their speech. This could have supported such a pronunciation for the sound in Māori. Nevertheless none of the Pākehā speakers who have been analysed produced [ʍ] for *wh* in all possible contexts, indicating that its use was declining, especially in the North Island.

Analysis of *wh* in the speech of RTH, a Māori speaker born in Te Awamutu in 1885, shows that the most common pronunciation for RTH is [ɸ] rather than the [ʍ] suggested by the modern spelling. However [ɸ] accounts for only 50% of the *wh* productions analysed. There is a great deal of variation in RTH’s speech, with [ɸ], [ʍ], [h] and [f] all being used as realisations of *wh*. The analysis clearly supports Bauer’s statement that the pronunciation of *wh* ‘sometimes varies with a single speaker from one token to another’ (1993: 531). Not only does RTH vary his pronunciation of *wh* from word to word, but

he is not consistent in the production of individual words. More than half of the words RTH repeated in the recording did not have consistent realisations of *wh*. The analysis also shows that the most common modern pronunciation of *wh,* [f], is relatively rare in his speech, only reaching 13% of the total number of productions analysed. However RTH's most common realisation of *wh* [ɸ], could easily have been heard as [f] by English listeners for whom it was not a phoneme, and thus provided support for the modern pronunciation. RTH's pronunciation of *wh* does not provide support for the suggestion that early speakers produced a sound that was more like [ʍ] (Harlow 1996). This, however, may well be due to dialectal variations.

Even though this case study is based on a single person, it demonstrates that there have undoubtedly been a number of realisations of the *wh* phoneme in Māori. It also shows that for the speaker studied, the modern [f] realisation was in fact not the most predominant. Further analysis of other MU Māori speakers will help to determine whether the preference indicated by RTH is true for speakers from other areas. The virtual disappearance of these pronunciations in modern Māori, especially in the teaching situation and amongst second language speakers, reflects a common effect in situations where a number of variants exists for a particular phoneme, especially in language or dialect contact situations. In such situations, the variants tend to focus and coalesce on one realisation (see Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181-182; Trudgill 1986. See Britain 2002: 22 for an example of loss of variant pronunciations of individual items). Undoubtedly this process has been occurring at least since the arrival of the missionaries, and has probably been accelerated in recent years with the pronunciation explanations in language textbooks such as *Te Rangatahi*. Having just one realisation for each phoneme and its corresponding letter of the alphabet is much more convenient for teachers, especially when the phoneme chosen already exists in the learners' native English.

Notes

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2 Te Awamutu District Museum, archive 3462.

3 Preliminary results on the aspiration of RTH's stop consonants were presented at the conference of the Linguistics Society of New Zealand (King and Maclagan

2001) and at New Ways of Analysing Variation in Language (Maclagan and King 2001).

4 Yates' correction for continuity was used for all chi-squared calculations where the expected values were low (see Portney and Watkins 2000).

5 Evidence from the Origins of New Zealand English Project (ONZE) indicates that the majority of early New Zealand immigrants came from the south of England (see Gordon et al. forthcoming).

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Appendix: Realisation of wh in repeated words

	[h] unrounded	[h] rounded	[ɸ]	[ʍ]	[f]
Speaking Māori					
Tawhana			2	2	
Tāwhiao			1	1	1
Tāwhiri-mātea	1		3		
Tūwharetoa	1	2	1	2	
Uenuku-Tūwhatu	1		1	1	
whā			3		
whai			2		
whakaaro		2		1	
whakahaere		1			1
whakairo		2			
whakapākanga		2			
whakapapa			2		
whakarito		2			
whakaruru		2			
whakatupu		3			
whakatupuranga	1			1	
whare	1		10		8
whariki			1		2
whatu			5		
whea			2	2	
whenua			2	1	1
whero					2
whetū			16		
whiriwhiri				4	

	[h] unrounded	[h] rounded	[ɸ]	[ʍ]	[f]
Speaking English					
Kawhia			4		
Rangawhana				3	
Tāwhaki	1	3	2		1
Tawhana				1	1
Tāwhiao			1	2	
Tāwhiri-mātea			3		
Tawhito			2		
Tūwharetoa			2	1	2
whaeapare			2		
whakaotirangi			1		1
whakarito		1	1		
whakaruru		2			
whare			3	1	
whati			4		
whero			2		

EVIDENCE FOR THE EMERGENCE OF NEW BOUND MORPHEMES IN INDONESIAN

David Warrillow-Williams: *Toowoomba, Australia*.
<david.williams18@bigpond.com>

Abstract

In the last three and a half decades the form of Indonesian found in the mainstream print media has undergone significant changes. In 2001 I completed a longitudinal study of these changes using a 5% random selection of twenty registers of a broad cross-section of mainstream Indonesian newspapers and magazines from each of the years 1966 and 1996. The lexical selection was done principally using the lexicographic principles of Burchfield (1983) and Svensén (1993) in the context of Hudson's (1998) definition of 'standard language'. A database was created that recorded and classified each item in terms of nine variables. Amongst the findings there is clear evidence of the adoption into the prestige form of Indonesian found in the print media of at least eight English bound morphemes which have been adopted as new productive prefixes. They are *anti*, *eks*, *ekstra*, *makro*, *mikro*, *non*, *super* and *ultra*. The evidence for their having become productive, rather than their just being part of words adopted by the process of direct borrowing, is their combination with Indonesian morphemes to create new words.

1. Introduction

This is a study of morphological borrowing from English into Indonesian. The investigation was limited to the mainstream print media, as opposed to the broadcast media, and the so-called *koran kuning* (= 'yellow newspapers')

which are characterised by much more colloquial non-standard language. The reason for limiting the study in this way was the need to keep it within the parameters of 'standard language' and the difficulty of obtaining audio-tapes and videotapes of Indonesian on radio and television.

The reason for the choice of the time period was that it represents the period of the New Order, when Suharto, backed by the Indonesian Armed Forces, Sino-Indonesian interests and foreign investors, committed Indonesia to an extensive process of national development based on western models of economic and technological progress. This represented a significant move away from the anti-western Old Order policies of Sukarno, and was characterised by policies of economic modernisation and westernisation which gave Indonesia a period of western (mainly American) economic, technological, cultural and educational influence unparalleled in its previous history.

Although the research focus is the mainstream print media I do not pretend to offer the suggestion that it is in this area alone that the phenomenon can be observed. Nor would I attempt to suggest that the observations from the print media can be extrapolated into more widespread oral discourse or outside the formal middle class registers which are to be found in the mainstream print media. My findings only cover the influence of English within the print media studied. They are only relevant to the forms of the language sampled in the registers to be found in the daily newspapers, weekly news magazines and monthly lifestyle magazines read by the Indonesian middle class elite. Statements made in the article refer to the materials studied only and do not necessarily apply to the language in general.

1.2 Definition of 'Standard Indonesian'

Hudson (1996: 32) states that standard languages are the result of a direct and deliberate intervention by society. 'Standard Indonesian', or what the Indonesian Centre for the Construction and Development of the [Indonesian] Language *(Pusat Pembinaan dan Pembangunan Bahasa)* call *Bahasa Baku*, is not so much a language that is used for private spoken or written communication as a language that is used for public spoken and written communication. This includes such things as academic conferences, parliamentary speeches, television and radio broadcasts and the discourse of official government communication and prestige newspapers, magazines and academic publications.

Hudson states (1996: 34) it must be possible to use the selected variety in all the functions associated with central government and with writing: for

example, in the parliament and law courts, in bureaucratic, educational and scientific documents of all kinds and, of course, in various forms of literature. The linguistic need of Indonesian for extra linguistic items to describe the modern world is therefore one of the factors driving the language's lexical expansion.

3. Data selection in the context of the 'historical principle' of representativeness

The 'historical principle' of representativeness, used from the time of Murray and Whitney in the nineteenth century through to Burchfield in the twentieth, has been for the lexical item to have been found at least three times in three different publications by three different authors on three different occasions. This became the first criterion I employed for the inclusion of a word or phrase in my database.

Burchfield states 'the first requirement of a lexicon is that it should contain every word occurring in the literature of the language it professes to illustrate' (Burchfield 1983: xxxvi) even if such words were 'unlikely to be familiar to the ordinary person' (1983: xxxv). The implication of this for my study was to err on the side of broad inclusiveness from the standard language. The principles I chose to use as a basis for my lexical selections were the ten lexicographic principles of Svensén (1993).

3.1 Svensén's principles for lexical data selection

Authenticity

Svensén (1993: 40) states that, in order to be sure that a certain linguistic occurrence is authentic, 'the lexicographer must find evidence for it in independent sources'. For Svensén, 'evidence' normally means evidence from written sources and he considers that 'the requirement of authenticity [of material from written sources] is fairly easily met for isolated words taken out of context'.

Representativeness

Svensén (1993: 42) states that it is necessary to make sure that every word and expression occurs often enough and is sufficiently representative of the standard language. However, he states that for passive databases such as those compiled for this study other rules apply. He states that the requirement of

representativeness means that a word or expression must occur sufficiently frequently in the texts regardless of whether or not an individual might actually consider using it. Thus, although many words entered into the database may at first glance raise the eyebrows of pedantic linguistic nationalists, especially entries from the Advertising register and entries of unusual length, so long as the entries fulfilled the criteria of frequency in written sources and 'representativeness' in terms of Svensén's second principle, they have been included.

Coverage

Svensén (1993: 42) states that it is not enough to be certain that all the selected words are authentic and representative. He maintains it is necessary to also make sure that the database covers the largest possible range within the area of language to be examined. The methodological implication of this for constructing the database of my study was to ensure that not just the same number of words was sampled for each publication, but that an equivalent range and number of registers was sampled. For this reason a double random selection method was applied to registers as defined by Halliday (1985).

Suitability

Svensén (1993: 42-3) suggests compound and derivative forms need not be excluded as they illustrate how words can form compounds and derivatives.

The Prescriptive Aspect

Svensén (1993: 45) maintains that it is usual to include in the expressional aspect only such items as from a linguistic point of view are 'permitted' or 'correct'. Hence, by this principle misspellings, in terms of the *Pedoman Umum Pembentukan Istilah* (= 'Guide To The Formation of Technical Terms') (1997) of the Indonesian Government's *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (= 'Centre for the Construction and Development of the [Indonesian] Language'), have been corrected in my database.

The Social Aspect

Svensén (1993: 45) states that the use of language is influenced not only by linguistic norms, but also by social standards: 'certain words and certain meanings of words are socially charged'. Hence, by this principle words from the lifestyle magazines such as, *anti jerawat* (= 'anti-acne') and *anti ketombe* (= 'anti-dandruff') may be objected to by many linguistic purists. However,

Svensén maintains that the commonest of the socially accepted words and expressions belonging to these levels of style should be included in the database as the social aspect is closely related to the stylistic one.

The Stylistic Aspect

Svensén (1993: 46) suggests that databases should 'aim to contain a fair number of words from a range of stylistic levels'. In terms of his first six principles, the principle of inclusion in the database of words from 'the commonest of the socially acceptable levels' should therefore be inclusive of, for example, commonly encountered words from the more commonly encountered registers, even though many Indonesians would be unlikely to come across them in rural settings.

The Temporal Aspect

Svensén (1993: 47-8) states that fashionable words have high frequency but are very short-lived. He maintains it is therefore up to the lexicographer to decide which words will survive. Utilising this principle I have included relatively new words such as *ultra ungu* (= 'ultraviolet') and *mikrogelombang* (= 'microwave') in my database. Although such words are new, they are common-place, especially in the registers to do with modernity such as advertising, and science and technology. I have included such words in the database because I believe these technologies are likely to become more widely known rather than less common in the years to come.

The Geographical Aspect

Svensén's (1993: 48) comments about sampling in as many linguistically distinct geographical regions as possible relate to lexical collecting for dictionary creation. As all the mainstream Indonesian print media are based in Jakarta a wider geographical sampling did not need to be undertaken.

The Technical Language Aspect

Svensén (1993: 50) considers that technical language is of great significance to the lexicographer. He states that over 40% of the headwords in *Webster's Third Dictionary* are technical. He further states that a flow of technical terms into the general language can be expected in the areas which everyone encounters in the course of education and through the mass media.

4. The concept of 'register' applied in the study

Halliday describes 'register' as 'a variety of language, corresponding to a variety of situations' (Halliday and Hassan 1985: 39). He explains that this is a concept of the kind of variation in language that goes with variation in the context of a situation. Since it is a configuration of meanings, Halliday maintains that a register must also include the expressions, the lexico-grammatical and phonological features that typically accompany or realise those meanings. He considers that the characteristics of particular registers are what he calls 'indexical features', indicators in the form of particular words and grammatical signals, that have the function of indicating to the participants that this is the register in question, as in the phrase 'once upon a time'. 'Once upon a time' he states is an 'indexical feature' that serves to signal the fact that what follows is a traditional tale.

Halliday states that the category of register will vary, from something that is closed and limited, to something that is relatively free and open-ended. That is to say, he considers there are certain registers in which the total number of possible meanings is fixed and finite and may be quite small, whereas in others the range of the discourse is much less constrained. He states that there are styles of meaning associated with these registers, which simply have to be learnt. He further states that there is no situation in which the meanings are not to a certain extent prescribed for us. He argues that registers are the semantic configurations that are typically associated with particular social contexts.

Halliday's concept of register is as true of Indonesian as it is of English. For instance, the register characteristics of a biographical article in *Gadis* magazine (a tri-monthly magazine for teenage girls) are quite different to the register characteristics of an economic discourse in *Gatra* (a quality weekly news magazine for the educated elite.) The biographical register of *Gadis* tends to be informal and conversational in style and makes a lot of use of *Bahasa Jakarta* (= 'Jakarta language').[1] My impression is that *Gadis* considers one of its principal mandates to be to introduce its readers to the latest English language teenage jargon from overseas, especially in the language domains of fashion, advertising, pop music, the performing arts generally and celebrity gossip. For instance, words such as *hobby, regular fit, hepi* (= 'happy'), *casual, fans, oke* (= 'okay'), *surprise, sensitif, identitas, siluet* (= 'silhouette'), *play girl* and *model* are frequently met in *Gadis*, but would definitely seem out of place in the registers of *Gatra* that concern Business and Economics,

Crime and the Law, The Environment, International Affairs, Military Affairs, National Affairs or Science and Technology.

On the other hand, most of the registers of *Gatra* are characterised by the formal grammatical structures of the elite described by Anderson (1990). In these registers the English loanwords that are more likely to be found are words such as *multinasional, skala global, globalisasi, internasionalisasi, perindustrian, komersial, teknostruktur, melikuidasikan, dieksploatasikan, dimerger, didistribusikan, mengkalkulasi, menargetkan, mentransformasikan, konglomerat, kapasitas, kredit, franchise* and *suplier*.

The methodological implication of Halliday's concept for my study was that it was necessary for me to identify the principal registers of the print media I wished to survey in order to ensure that an appropriate representation of Indonesian language registers was sampled. The registers in the print media that I chose to study were: Advertising, Book Reviews, Business and Economics, Celebrity Gossip, Crime and the Law, Editorials, Education, The Environment, Health, International Affairs (international news, strategic developments and diplomatic news), Letters to the Editor, Military Affairs, National Affairs (social issues, religion, politics, development issues), The Performing Arts (music, television, cinema, theatre and ballet reviews), Science and Technology, Sport and The Visual Arts (architecture, design, fashion, painting, home decoration, sculpture).

5. The design of the research model

The random sampling methodology for the selection of the data was that recommended by Cochran (1977: 82). This was broadly speaking double random sampling of 5% of the content of two each of the newspapers and magazines for each year surveyed. With respect to ensuring that the widest possible coverage was made of each of the pertinent registers in each of these publications, forty eight registers were identified, and an attempt was made to sample at least 1000 words from each pertinent register in each publication. However, in the case of some registers less than 1000 words were available, whereas in the case of others a random selection system had to be devised as some registers were not represented in every issue. For instance there was simply no material on the environment in 1966 publications, whereas in 1996 the environment was a common register in both news and lifestyle publications. The system for selection of registers was based on the amalgamation of less

frequently-occurring registers into 'register groupings' around common themes. Where more than one article in a particular register was available for sampling, a random number table was used in order to ensure that articles by the same writer were not repeatedly sampled. In this way as broad a range of sub-groupings within each register as possible was surveyed.

When choosing the registers and stories to be sampled, a similar method was employed. Not all of these were to be found in every issue of every publication. Some of these only occurred once or twice in the material sampled. In order to simplify the management of the data, many of these registers were combined to shorten the list of registers. Table 1 summarises how these registers were combined.

With the newspapers from 1966, as there were only four pages to each issue, every page was sampled from cover to cover. With the newspapers from 1996, in order to make a random selection of sub-registers and establish a basis of comparison with the 1966 newspapers, each page was divided into four quadrants and each quadrant numbered from 01 to 64. Then either the first two or last two digits of each number in the random number table starting with the first column were used to randomly select sixteen quadrants from each issue that was sampled. (16 x 4 page quadrants = 4 pages).

With magazines, once each issue to be sampled had been chosen between 20 and 40 pages from each issue were sampled depending on the total number of sub-registers which were available for sampling. This was usually between 20 and 25 registers. 1000 words was sampled from each register available.

6. The recording of the data

The data was recorded using the *Microsoft Office 97* version of *Microsoft Access*. This enabled the construction of the database in terms of nine distinct criteria. The criteria were:

1. Each discrete individual word;
2. The form class (noun, verb or adjective) it belonged to;
3. The year it was first encountered;
4. The publication in which it was first encountered;
5. The register the word was usually found in;

Table 1: Summary of how the initial registers were amalgamated

Final Register	Also Includes
Advertising	Beauty advice, travel advice
Book Reviews	
Business and Economics	Banking, business technology, finance, economics and management
Celebrity Gossip	
Columnists	Horoscope, relationship advice
Crime and the Law	The legal system, the police, new laws, sensational trials
Editorial	
Education	
The Environment	
Health	
International Affairs	Special reports on international figures and issues
Letters to the Editor	
Military Affairs	
National Affairs	Metropolitan issues, provincial issues, media, religion, regular columnists, special reports on national issues, biographies of national figures
Performing Arts	Theatre, dance, movies, television, mainly pop music and profiles of music industry celebrities
Science and Technology	Scientific developments, information technology, new products
Sport	
Visual Arts	Architecture, design, fashion advice, home and garden decoration advice, visual arts reviews

6. Special word features which needed to be noted such as full, partial or non-incorporation, extraordinary length, inherent word formation or a unique new meaning different from the original meaning;

7. The frequency with which the word was encountered across the sample. Some caution needs to be exercised in extrapolating from a word's frequency in written sources to its frequency in spoken language. Although many words may have high levels of frequency in the media from which the database was compiled, this does not necessarily correlate with levels of frequency in spoken usage;

8. The word's distribution across the various registers sampled. This was an important indicator of the penetration and usage of words in the written language domains;

9. The type of print media in which the word was most commonly found: news, lifestyle or news and lifestyle. This was also an important indicator of the language domains in which words were to be found. For instance, while many words relating to women's fashion and personal products such as *ultra feminin* and *super nyaman (*= 'super comfortable') are widespread in the bi-monthly, tri-monthly and monthly women's lifestyle magazines, they are almost unknown in the daily newspapers and weekly news magazines. Conversely, many words relating to weekly news magazines are characterised by many words relating to business, economic and political issues, such as *non traded* and *non komersial*, while being common in men's lifestyle magazines and some news magazines, are just about unknown in women's lifestyle magazines.

7. The data

Each lexical item was entered into a *Microsoft Access 1997* database table. The *Microsoft Access* software played an important role in preventing the inclusion of duplicates. Every effort was made to remove as many words as possible which may have entered the language from Dutch. However, in the process, the close linguistic similarity between English and Dutch may have meant that some items that had actually entered the language from English may have been excluded. Likewise, that same close linguistic similarity between English and Dutch may have meant that some lexical items in the

database that entered the language from Dutch have been included in error.

Many items that were only found in the 1996 materials may well have already been in existence in 1966, but because of the random selection process simply did not turn up in the materials that were examined. Likewise, many items which were only found in certain registers or only one type of news or lifestyle media may well have been found in more if it had been possible to survey every edition of every newspaper and magazine which was examined instead of a random sample. The special features which were recorded were whether or not the item was an example of inherent word formation, full, partial or non-integration, a word of extraordinary length, a replacement of an earlier lexical item or a unique new meaning.

8. The evidence for new bound morphemes

There is evidence in the database of the adoption of at least eight English bound morphemes which have been adopted as new productive prefixes in Indonesian. They are *anti, eks, ekstra, makro, mikro, non, super* and *ultra*. The evidence for their having become productive, rather than their just being part of words adopted by the process of direct borrowing, is their combination with Indonesian morphemes to create new words. Head words in Indonesian are usually modified with either a prefix or a combination of a prefix and a suffix. For example, *dengar* = 'hear'. *Pendengar* = 'listener'. *Didengarkan* = 'listened to'. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the more commonly encountered English prefixes have been adopted with Indonesian adaptation. Tables 2 to 10 illustrate the evidence in the database for this claim. If a single date appears after the item it is only to be found in the publications from that year.

Fifteen of these seventeen lexical items are from the 1996 entries. Only the lexical items *anti agama* and *antipenjajah* come from the 1966 and 1996 entries. The reason for the adoption of *anti-* as a new productive bound morpheme is not a consequence of a very large number of types. It is also not a consequence of a particularly large number of tokens, as there were only 296 of these. English has certainly influenced the adoption of *anti-* through the simultaneous adoption through direct borrowing and borrowing with adaptation of the lexical items below in Table 3.

However, the adoption of *anti-* as a new productive bound morpheme is more likely to be a consequence of westernisation and the power of the advertising industry than any other factor, as nine of these eleven entries come

Table 2: Words featuring *anti-* as a new productive bound morpheme

anti agama (= "anti- religion") 1966 and 1996	anti-maksiat (= "anti-vice") 1996
anti api (= "fire retardant") 1996	anti Mega (= "opposed to Megawati") 1996
anti bakteri (= "anti-bacteria") 1966 and 1996	anti-nyeri haid (= "anti-period pain") 1996
anti-demam (= "anti-fever") 1996	antipembatalan (= "anti- abolitionist") 1996
anti jerawat (= "anti-acne") 1996	anti-pencuri (= "anti-theft") 1996
antikekerasan (= "anti-violent") 1996 only	antipenjajah (= "anti-colonial") 1966 and 1996
anti ketombe (= "anti-dandruff") 1996	anti-penyiksaan (= "anti-torture") 1996
anti kudis (= "anti-scabies") 1996	anti-rasialis (= "anti-racist") 1966

Table 3: Direct borrowing or borrowing with adaptation of loanwords from English beginning with the prefix *anti-*

anti statik 1996	anti teroris 1996	anti-oksidan 1996	anti-sosial 1996
anti strategis 1996	anti-aging 1996	anti-revolusi 1996	anti-virus 1996
anti stres 1996	anti-korosi 1996	anti-Rusia 1996	antiterorisme 1996

from the Advertising register. It is interesting that the status of *anti-* in terms of its orthography has still not been determined, either in the examples of direct borrowing or new word creation. The fact that it occurs before the word it qualifies clearly suggests it is considered to be a prefix rather than an adjective. In terms of the number of tokens for these types, in the entire database there are only 281 tokens, so in this case the adoption of *anti-* as a new productive bound morpheme can be said to be linguistically interesting, but not very significant so far. This is not to say that in the future we are not to see many more such lexical curiosities from the Indonesian advertising industry.

The next example of a new bound morpheme is *eks-*/ *ex-*/ *eks*/ *ex* , which

is to be found as both a prefix and a suffix, though there do not seem to be any established spelling or syntactic conventions for it yet. It was not found in the newspapers and magazines surveyed as an unbound morpheme, but follows the Indonesian syntactic pattern for noun and adjective modifiers in three of

Table 4: Words featuring *eks-/ ex-/ eks/ ex* as a new productive bound morpheme

anggota eks (= ex member) 1996	ex PKI (= ex Indonesian Communist Party) 1966
eks menteri (= ex minister) 1996	ex-pemulung (= ex leader) 1996
eks-ketua (= ex head) 1996	karyawan eks (= former employee) 1996
ex komandan 1996	redaksi eks (= former editor) 1996
ex letkol (= ex lieutenant colonel) 1966	

the examples below, *anggota eks, karyawan eks* and *redaksi eks*. See Table 4. *Anggota eks, eks-ketua, ex-pemulung, karyawan eks* and *redaksi eks* are all lexical items from the 1996 entries in the database. *Eks-menteri, ex komandan, ex letkol* and *ex PKI* are all lexical items from the 1966 entries. Only *eks menteri* is to be found in both the 1966 and the 1996 entries. This is not to say that the other items have dropped out of the language in the period between 1966 and 1996. It is just that they were not found in the sample of the print media that were examined. Like *anti-*, the reason for the adoption of *eks-/ ex- / eks/ ex* as a new productive bound morpheme is not a consequence of a very large number of types, or a particularly large number of tokens. Rather, most of these words represent loan translations from English, with the exception of *ex-pemulung*, which is a rendering of a Javanese concept of power. There seems to be doubt in the minds of the individuals who first coined these loan translations as to whether *eks*/*ex* is a prefix or a suffix. If it is a prefix, then *anggota eks, karyawan eks* and *redaksi eks* should not have been coined. If it is a suffix, then it should not have preceded the nouns *menteri, ketua, komandan, letkol, PKI* and *pemulung*. It would therefore appear that it can function as either a prefix or a suffix. Unlike the new bound morpheme *anti,* for which there is no Indonesian synonym, it is of interest that *eks* is used as a synonym for the Indonesian words *bekas* and *mantan*. There is also an absence

of accord as to what is the standard orthographic rendering of the English. All of the examples from Table 4 are from the Advertising register and registers concerning matters of national importance and are to be found in both news and lifestyle media with a medium level of average frequency (an average of

Table 5: Words featuring *ekstra* as a new productive bound morpheme

ekstra hati-hati (= extra careful) 1996	ekstra rendah (= extra low) 1996
ekstra keras (= hardcore) 1996	ekstra tinggi (= extra high) 1996

five to ten tokens).

Table 5 shows lexical items which are from the 1996 entries. They are all from registers concerning matters of national importance and the Advertising register. With the exception of *ekstra rendah*, which is only to be found in the 1996 lifestyle media, they are to be found in both news and lifestyle media with a high level of average frequency (more than 10 tokens). *Ekstra* functions as both a new bound morpheme, and an independent word. The major Indonesian reference dictionary, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, considers *ekstra* to be both a noun, (= 'supplement') and an adverb (= 'very or extraordinary'). In the four examples given it is used as a bound morpheme such as *pra-* or *tata-*, but not attached to the word it is bound to.

As with the new bound morpheme *eks*, there seems to be some confusion in the minds of many Indonesians as to whether the new bound morphemes *makro* and *mikro* should precede or follow the words they are qualifying.

Table 6: Words featuring *makro* and *mikro* as new productive bound morphemes

makroekonomi 1996	mikrogelombang (= microwave) 1996
ekonomi makro 1996	mikronutrien 1996
mikro kaset 1996	mikroprosesor 1996
mikrobiologi 1996	gelombang mikro (= microwave) 1996

Table 6 illustrates this.

All of the lexical items in Table 6 are from the 1996 entries in the database. Although most of these items superficially appear to be examples of direct borrowing with adaptation, at least two major Indonesian reference dictionaries, the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* and Echols and Shadily's *Kamus Indonesia Inggris* recognise *makro-* and *mikro-* as prefixes, which explains why both *makroekonomi* and *mikrogelombang* are to be found. However, *ekonomi makro* and *gelombang mikro* are also to be found. Some Indonesians obviously consider *makro* and *mikro* in the same way as *ekstra*.

Table 7 lists the words from the database that feature the new bound

Table 7: Words featuring *non* as a new productive bound morpheme (all exclusively from 1996)

non-gizi (= non-nutritious)	nonpembuktian (= non-authentication)
non-Islam	non-pemerintah (= non-government)
non-libur (= non-holiday)	non-pesantren (= non-orthodox Islam)
non-masyarakat (= non-social)	non-pri (= non-indigenous Indonesian)
non-migas (= non oil and gas)	non-pribumi (= non-indigenous Indonesian)
nonmiliter (= non-military)	non-teknik (= non-technical)
non-muslim	nonteknis (= non-technical)

morpheme *non*.

Table 7 is one of the largest groups of examples of a new productive bound morpheme in the entire database. All of the examples date from 1996 and come from the registers of matters of national importance and Advertising, with the exception of *non-libur,* which comes from the Performing Arts register. The examples have a high average frequency (average frequency of 10.23 tokens) and are to be found in all news publications as well as some lifestyle publications. In 1966 *non-* only formed part of directly borrowed loanwords or loanwords with adaptation such as *non-cooperation, non komunis, non ritualitas, non sportif, non stop* and *non vested interest*. The

Table 8: Directly borrowed loanwords and loanwords with adaptation starting with *non(-)* in the 1996 entries in the database

non komersial	nonfiksi	nonproduktif
non ritualitas	nongenetik	non-stop
nonekonomi	non-karir	nontarif
nonesensialis	nonmiliter	nontraded
non-fat	non-OPEC	non-turbo

influence of the directly borrowed loanwords and loanwords with adaptation from the 1996 database entries in Table 8 no doubt assisted the process of adoption of *non-* as a new productive bound morpheme.

Table 8 includes the words from the database that are characterised by the new bound morpheme *super* as either a prefix or suffix. Like the new bound morphemes *eks, mikro* and *makro* there is still no accepted convention for either the spelling convention of *super* with an indigenous word or the syntax to be followed.

The lexical items in Table 9 are all from the registers which relate to matters of national importance, and they are all from the database entries from 1996. *Bonus super, super brutal* and *super jenius* have been included in the table because they are not in common use in English and are obvious

Table 9: Words featuring *Super* as a new productive bound morpheme (all exclusively from 1996)

bonus super	super pendek (= extremely short)
super brutal	super sibuk (= very busy)
super gizi (= super nutritious)	supergizi (= super nutritious)
super gurih (= super tasty)	supergurih (= super tasty)
super jenius	super-nyaman (= extremely comfortable)

neologisms created by Indonesians for Indonesians rather than being direct borrowings from English or loan translations with adaptation. It is of interest that *super gizi, super gurih, super pendek, super-nyaman* and *super sibuk* are all from the Advertising register, as *super* has the character of a buzz-word in both the English and Indonesian advertising industries. The lexical items in Table 9 have no doubt been influenced by directly borrowed loanwords such as *super model, supermarket, supersonic* and *superstar* and loanwords with adaptation from the 1996 database entries such as *supergrup*. Although the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* recognises *super* as an adjective, its use as a prefix both with and without a hyphen in the examples *supergizi, supergurih* and *super-nyaman* and its use as a separate but obviously bound morpheme in each of the other examples with the exception of *bonus super* suggests that in common usage few Indonesians accept the *Kamus Besar's* interpretation of its syntactic function.

Table 10 lists the examples to be found in the database of words

Table 10: Words featuring *ultra* as a new productive bound morpheme

ultra bersih (= ultra clean) 1996	ultramoderen (= ultra modern) 1996
ultra-alus (= ultra-fine) 1996	ultra prestisius 1996
ultra feminin 1996	ultra segar (= ultra fresh) 1996
ultrakuam (= significantly more than) 1996	ultraungu (= ultraviolet) 1966 and 1996

characterised by the new bound morpheme *ultra*.

The items in Table 10 are all from the list of 1996 entries in the database with the exception of *ultraungu*, which is from the list of 1966 entries. These entries occur principally in newspapers and news magazines with a medium level of frequency in the register of Advertising and a low level of frequency in the registers of Health and Science and Technology. What is of interest is that in addition to the example of direct borrowing *(ultramoderen*) and direct borrowing with adaptation (*ultra feminin, ultramarin* and *ultraprestisius*), there are also loan translations with adaptation (*ultra bersih, ultra-alus, ultrakuam, ultra segar* and *ultraungu*). This conclusively demonstrates that *ultra* has crossed an important linguistic threshold from being considered simply a linguistic

'marker' of a particular type of loanword acquired through direct borrowing to being able to be considered as a new productive bound morpheme in its own right. Of further interest is the fact that there is some variation in the orthographic representation of *ultra*. The Indonesian advertising executives who chose to create the words *ultra bersih, ultra prestisius* and *ultra segar* obviously consider it a separate word, while those who created neologisms with it in the scientific, medical and technological registers have followed the guide offered by the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, that is, that it can be considered a prefix. Whatever its orthographic representation, in all instances of its use, English rules of morphosyntax are employed with respect to its positioning relative to the word it qualifies.

9. Summary of Findings

This article has presented evidence of an important process of lexical creation in the Indonesian print media. At least eight prefixes directly borrowed or orthographically adapted from English, the prefixes *anti, eks, ekstra, makro, mikro, non, super* and *ultra*, have been borrowed as new bound morphemes, and have begun to be employed in combination with Indonesian base words for the purpose of creating loan translations. In closing it must be mentioned that in more recent editions of the same media surveyed there is also a small amount of evidence that other prefixes are beginning to be considered for borrowing for the same purpose. Some of the examples found recently, but not found in the database of the 1966-1996 material, include *mega-bintang* (= 'mega-star'), *mega jutawan* (= 'mega millionaire') *and mega komplek* (= 'mega complex').

Note

1 A casual, informal register of standard Indonesian as used in Jakarta. It is characterised by a mixture of standard Indonesian, its own unique grammatical forms, abbreviation of words from the standard register, the more colourfully expressive Javanese verbs and adjectives, its own unique emphatic particles and its own unique vocabulary items.

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MALE CHEERLEADERS AND WANTON WOMEN:

HUMOUR AMONG NEW ZEALAND FRIENDS[1]

Jennifer Hay, *Department of Linguistics, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch <j.hay@ling.canterbury.ac.nz>*

Abstract

This paper investigates the types of humour used by men and women in single-sex and mixed conversations. The analysis is based on examples drawn from 16 spontaneous conversations occurring among young New Zealand friends. Both speaker-sex and group composition are found to significantly affect the types of humour used.

1. Introduction

Different types of humour can serve varying functions in discourse, and contribute to the interaction in different ways. While many have hypothesised that men and women prefer different humour strategies, no systematic study has been conducted of the spontaneous use of humour by men and women in conversation. This paper explores the types of humour used by young New Zealanders in spontaneous conversation, and analyses the distribution of such types in mixed and single-sex conversations. It reports on humour strategies that have received little attention in the literature, and on patterns of humour usage which are influenced by gender and group composition.

2. Background

One of the qualities Lakoff (1975) identifies as comprising 'women's language' is lack of sense of humour.

> It is axiomatic in middle-class American society that, first, women can't tell jokes — they are bound to ruin the punchline, they mix up the order of things and so on. Moreover, they don't 'get' jokes. In short, women have no sense of humour. (Lakoff 1975: 56)

Both popular and academic discourse has tended to reinforce this stereotype (see Crawford 1995 for discussion). Holmes, Marra and Burns (2001) demonstrate empirically, however, that, in the business meetings they studied, women used at least as much humour as men — and often more.

Kramarae (1987) points out that men and women have different perceptions of the world and so consequently probably have different joking interests. Society is such that women have to work within the social symbols of the dominant group, so it is more likely that women will recognise the joking interests of males than vice-versa. Kramarae believes this is the basis of the common assertion that women have no sense of humour. In short, women have to understand male humour, men do not have to understand women's. Jenkins (1985) also notes this asymmetry:

> I wondered why it was that when a man tells a joke and women don't laugh, we are told we have no sense of humour, but when a woman tells a joke and men don't laugh, we are told we are not funny. (Jenkins 1985: 135)

Kotthoff (1986) proposes three hypotheses based on transcripts taken from various discourse analysis literature:

- Men more often than women joke at the cost of others.
- Women joke about themselves and their experiences. For them joking is a means of establishing common ground and intimacy.
- Women actively encourage the success of the speaker by providing support through laughter. Men do this less frequently, especially when the speaker is a woman.

She states that for women and other oppressed groups, the safest joking method is to make oneself the butt of the joke. This allows the audience amusement at the speaker's expense and also, the laughter provides an acceptable outlet for aggression. She stresses that women's ability to laugh at themselves should be considered positive.

Ervin-Tripp and Lampert (1992) investigated humour in naturally occurring situations and found men more likely to initiate a humorous key. Women maintained a humorous key across participants so there was a larger amount of humour elicitation by women. Women were more collaborative in their humour. They often used duets in wordplay, and their self directed humour in single-sex interaction was more likely than men's to be built on someone else's remark. Ervin Tripp and Lampert call this stacked humour. When men used self directed humour it was more novel and less collaborative. It also tended to be more exaggerated or clearly false, giving a performance quality to men's humour.

Jenkins (1985) also notes that male humour tends to be more performance-based than women's humour. Jenkins observes that men's humour is characterised as self-aggrandising one-upmanship. They more often use formulaic jokes which are markedly separate from the surrounding discourse and which involve a performance. This establishes them as credible performers and gives them an audience. Women tend to rely more on the context in the creation of their humour, and use it in a way that is supportive and healing.

Crawford (1989) administered questionnaires designed to elicit the types of humour used by women, and their perceptions about gender differences in the use of humour, and the types of humour they valued in others. She found that the types of humour the women differentially attributed to themselves were the same as the types they valued in others. Namely, anecdotes about one's own, and one's friends' personal experiences. Crawford says of women's humour:

> it involves not only creative spontaneity but connectedness and compassion; it invites self-disclosure and reciprocal sharing of perspectives; it is dependent on the immediate social context. (Crawford 1989: 160)

Much of the literature in this area is anecdotal, and none systematically explores the way people joke when they are relaxing with friends. Possible interactions between gender and group composition have not been considered.

This paper empirically investigates the types of humour used in mixed and single-sex friendship groups. The next section briefly outlines the methodology adopted for collecting data for this purpose.

3. Methodology

The corpus for this study consists of a balanced set of 18 conversations: six conversations between four female friends, six between four male friends, and six mixed groups consisting of two males and two females. All groups are natural friendship groups, all are Pakeha[2] aged between 18 and 35, with some higher education. The conversations were taped in settings familiar to the speakers, usually in one of the participants' homes. Four recordings came from the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English, one from the Victoria University of Wellington Linguistics Library, and three were collected by Anita Easton for the research reported in Easton (1994).[3] The remaining ten recordings were collected for this project, and consist of conversations between my friends and their friends.

From each tape, all instances of humour occurring in a twenty minute extract were analysed. I regarded humour as being anything the speaker intended to be funny. As Tannen (1993: 166) points out, the true intention of any utterance can not be established from the examination of linguistic form alone. This criterion is clearly a subjective one. In identifying and coding the examples numerous clues were used to help identify whether the speaker had humorous intent. These included context, knowledge of the speakers and groups, and audience response. The audience formed part of the group as a whole and so probably shared with the speaker a similar sense of what is funny, so if something appeared to be meant humorously, then an amused audience would provide evidence in support of this. Sudden changes in pace or pitch, a laughing or smiling voice and other verbal clues were taken into consideration (see Crystal 1969).

This process resulted in a corpus of 815 examples. Of these 333 examples were from single-sex male groups, 216 from single-sex female groups, 163 from males in mixed groups, and 103 from females in mixed groups.

A taxonomy was then constructed to divide these examples according to the type of humour used.[4] The taxonomy is outlined in the following section.

4. Taxonomy

In almost every paper on types or forms of humour a new taxonomy is employed. Comparison of results is therefore made complicated by different and overlapping sets of categories. Many of the taxonomies are specifically designed for certain contexts for example, the classroom (Neuliep 1991), the workplace (Vinton 1989), or to form parts of questionnaires (Graham, Papa and Brookes 1992). Many taxonomies are intended only for categorising canned or formulaic jokes.

Feigelson (1989) constructs a fairly comprehensive taxonomy of humour occurring among employees in a factory:

1. Puns
2. Goofing off (slapstick)
3. Jokes/anecdotes
   - o Humorous self-ridicule
   - o Bawdy jokes (sexual or racial basis)
   - o Industry jokes
4. Teasing
   - o Teasing to get things done
   - o Bantering — the great leveller

Categories such as industry jokes, are context specific, and so not relevant to this study. Puns are a relevant category, and would fall into a broader category of wordplay, as described in Norrick (1993). Wordplay can include not only puns, but also types of humour such as spoonerisms, allusion, hyperbole and metaphor.

Feigelson groups jokes and anecdotes together as one category, although many researchers choose to keep these distinct. Jokes and anecdotes are different in form, and usually different in function. Mitchell (1985) makes a further distinction between narrative jokes and question and answer jokes.

Most researchers include teasing in taxonomies of humour types, though there is some confusion as to whether it is a type of humour, or a strategy, or function. It is rather different than other "types" identified in that a tease can not be formally identified by any criterion. Humour which serves to tease someone present could take the form of an insults, wordplay, anecdotes or role play, and so is clearly on a different level from a purely formal taxonomy.

Teasing is a humour strategy which can take any number of forms. It is therefore not included in the formal taxonomy discussed in this paper. For a discussion of teasing humour in this corpus see Hay (1995b).

There are two further categories identified in the literature which do not seem to fit into Feigelson's framework. One is sarcasm as discussed by Norrick (1993:73). And finally, Morreall (1983) provides a comprehensive taxonomy of humour, based on the concept of incongruity. Most of his categories could be slotted into one of those discussed above, with the exception of mimicry.

It is unfortunate to add yet another taxonomy to the literature, but this too can be seen as suited to a particular context. It is designed for classifying instances of humour occurring in small, natural friendship groups. I drew on the body of literature and unified the discussions and classifications into a small number of types. This taxonomy was then modified after an initial examination of the data. Some categories were unnecessary, some were collapsed, and some categories were expanded.

Three categories were included that do not seem to be mentioned in past discussions of types of humour; the categories *fantasy humour*, *observational humour* and *quotes*. These will be discussed in detail below.

That this data required its own taxonomy reflects a number of factors. First, the speakers are young New Zealanders. Different nationalities have their own particular sense and brand of humour (Ziv 1988) and so the fact that the speakers in this corpus were New Zealanders may be part of the reason existing taxonomies (all constructed elsewhere) were not appropriate. Also, to my knowledge, this was the first taxonomy which has been constructed in parallel with close scrutinisation of recordings of natural, spoken conversations between friends, rather than through artificially elicited data, participant observation, or introspection.

The taxonomy contains the following categories:

1. ANECDOTES
2. FANTASY
3. INSULT
4. IRONY
5. JOKES
6. OBSERVATIONAL

7. QUOTE
8. ROLEPLAY
9. SELF-DEPRECATION
10. VULGARITY
11. WORDPLAY
12. OTHER

5. Analysis

All 815 examples were coded according to the above taxonomy. The categories listed in the taxonomy are not mutually exclusive, and some examples were identified as belonging to more than one of these categories. In order to simplify the statistics, examples coded in two categories were treated as two examples. There were not many such examples and so this did not significantly affect the results.

After coding the examples, log-linear modelling was used to investigate speaker gender and group composition as possible predictors of the type of humour used. Both gender and group composition significantly affected the type of humour used. For details of the statistics, the reader is referred to Hay (1995a). In this paper, I simply report the results as overall percentages, and highlight the main trends in the data. In interpreting the results it is important to recall that the results are based on 16 conversations, and 72 different speakers. Minor differences across groups may be expected to occur simply because different individuals have different conversational styles, and different groups are discussing different topics. Small differences in frequency should therefore be regarded with appropriate caution. The scale on the Y axis has been kept constant, to maximise comparability between graphs.

For each type of humour included in the taxonomy, I now define and exemplify the category, and present results showing the use of this type of humour by the men and women, in mixed and single-sex groups. The categories are presented in decreasing order of frequency in the corpus.

5.1 Anecdote

An anecdote is a story which the speaker perceives to be amusing. It is not necessarily long, but must impart information. This will most often be about the experiences or actions of either the speaker or someone they are acquainted with. (1) is an example of a short anecdote.

(1)

PM: but you know those you know my old three gir[h]ls barbara lisa and the other one + um i supposed to be going out with them on Wednesday[hay]

DM: [ha ha ha ha]

PM: don't tell //mark\

DM: /[huh]\\

Brief descriptions of humorous episodes experienced by all present are also classed as anecdotes. In such examples the speaker is triggering the memory of a previous humorous incident, so the group can laugh at it and enjoy the humour again. Anecdotes can sometimes be long, and may contribute more to the overall humour than other types of humour.

A narrative may typically consist of several funny points, or several subplots within the one story. Each separate funny incident a speaker described was counted as an anecdote in its own right. In general, the more funny components a story has, the longer it takes to tell, so this goes part way to solving the problem of apportioning sufficient weight to anecdotes. A story about a person who was distracted about something and walked into a lamp-post on the way to the shop would be one anecdote. A story about a person who walked into a lamp-post, then went to the shop and knocked over a big pile of cans, and finally went to pay and discovered they had no money, would be three anecdotes. The narrative consists of three related stories, each of which is considered funny in its own right. This is one area in which it is particularly important to observe speaker intentions. There is always a temptation to code everything that the audience laughs at as an instance of humour. It is much more difficult to establish the distinct parts of the anecdote that the speaker intends to be funny. Example (2) is a narrative sequence which, for the purposes of this study, includes two anecdotes.

(2)

CM: [h] oh i came off a couple of times and it was actually the last time that i rode it i was driving around looking at cars that //were in=

All: /[laugh]\\

CM: =the paper\ and i you know went and saw one and i came off and it was a hot day and i hit some diesel or something on the road and i was going around a corner ( )

++

CM: so i i determined

MM: [ha ha ha]

CM: well i did i determined i'm going to buy a car TODAY

EM: [ha ha]

CM: and i DID i bought the next one [h] i went //to\

EM: /[coughs]\\ [ha ha]

CM: it was probably a STUPID decision [h]

MM: [ha ha]

CM: but i've since sold it to my sister [h]
[evil laugh]

The first anecdote is a story about why CM gave up motor-biking. He was out looking at cars and fell off his bike, so decided that he would definitely buy a car that day. The second anecdote tells what he has done with the bike since. They are related, but the humour in each of them is drawn from completely separate sources — the first, an incident on the bike, and the second, CM successfully duping his sister. If one did not distinguish between parts of a narrative sequence in this way, then an entire conversation could conceivably be interpreted as consisting of a single humorous instance — an anecdote, when in fact one speaker had spent twenty minutes describing funny things that had happened to them on an overseas trip.

Anecdotes are a very frequently used type of humour. In this corpus, they

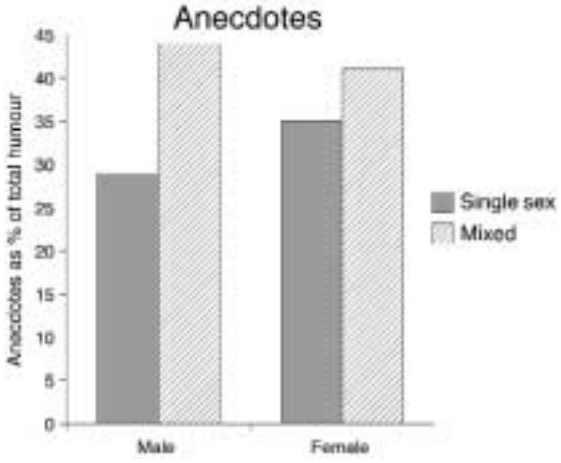

Figure 1: Anecdotes as a percentage of humour produced by men and women in mixed and single-sex groups.

constituted 35% of all examples. Figure 1 shows the percentage use by men and women, in single and mixed-sex groups. Use of anecdotes by all groups is relatively high. In single-sex groups the women in the sample used a higher percentage of anecdotes than the men. Both groups increased their usage of anecdotes in mixed groups — this increase was particularly dramatic for male speakers.

5.2 Fantasy

Fantasy is the construction of humorous, imaginary scenarios or events. This is usually a collaborative activity, in which the participants jointly construct a possible (or impossible) series of events. This is best clarified by exemplification. In (3), TM suggests a reason why people have not frequented a restaurant, despite rave reviews.

(3)

DM: it's just along um + down that that way you know can't remember what it used to be called but yeah no i read a couple of reviews on it over a various time span and they've both been sort of saying why haven't more people discovered this wonderful place [inhales]

+

TM: cause the cook greased them up that day

The important point is that all examples of fantasy will involve the construction of imaginary circumstances or happenings. Example (4) is another example in this category. The speakers were scorning the tradition of cheerleading in sport, and then CF suggests that perhaps male cheerleaders would be a good idea.

(4)

SF: well men could have their own cheerleaders

CF: //they could\ have male cheerleaders

SF: /[softly]: yeah right:\\

CF: /[laughter]\\

CF: [laughs]: i don't think they should wear short skirts either:

Fantasy humour typically involves a lot of collaborative humour.

Between them, anecdotes and fantasy humour constituted over 60% of the total examples in the corpus — these two types of humour were much more frequent than any other type. 27% of all examples were fantasy humour. Given that this form of humour has not typically been included in previous taxonomies, it is perhaps surprising to discover that is the second most frequent form of humour occurring in this corpus.

Figure 2 shows the use of this humour by the speakers in different groups.

Both the men and women used fantasy humour more in mixed groups than in single-sex conversations. This difference is particularly marked for male speakers.

The higher rate of usage of fantasy humour by men in mixed groups may relate to the responsive audience provided for them. Fantasy humour is often a joint display, where speakers bounce off each other and jointly build up a hypothetical scenario. Hay (2001) discusses support mechanisms for humour. It has been claimed that women are more 'supportive' of humour, although this claim refers almost exclusively to humour support via laughter. Men often support each other in other ways, one of which is to continue on the humour sequence, and to spar with each other. It is sometimes the case, then, that men will begin a fantasy routine in a mixed group. The women will usually support

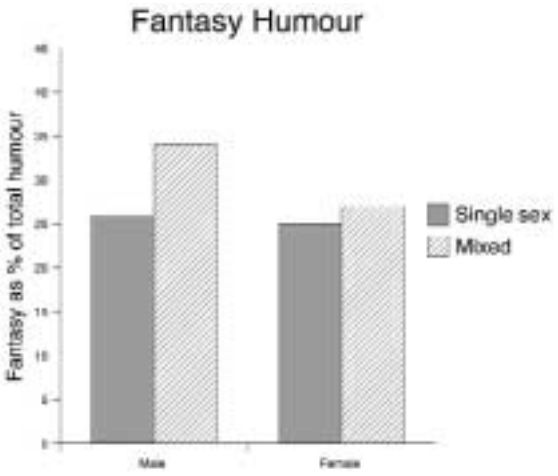

Figure 2: Use of fantasy as a percentage of humour produced by men and women in mixed and single-sex groups.

this with laughter, leaving the men free to carry on the routine, sparring with each other and delighting in the laughter their audience is providing. This is a performance of sorts. In a single-sex group, males appear less likely to be given ongoing support via laughter, but instead all four speakers will contribute to the sequence. This leads to short lived chaos and amusement, but the fantasy is less of a performance, more of a confusion, and hence shorter fantasy routines result. This seems a likely reason why men may capitalise on the laughter offered in mixed sex groups, bounce quips off each other and enjoy lengthy fantasy sequences, and support from their female audience.

5.3 Observational

Humour in this category consists of quips or comments about the environment, the events occurring at the time, or about the previous person's words. In this sense it is 'observational' — the speaker is making an observation about something funny, or making a witty observation. In (5) LM makes an observation about RF's comment, which he finds funny.

(5)

RF: JUST been reading the lord of the rings myself frodo and sam are PRETTY CHUMmy too

All: [laugh] 2sec

LM: [ha ha ha] oh my god //it's sort of a\ looking=

SF: /[ha ha ha ha]\\

LM: =for sexual deviance and //degradation of the=

SF+RF: /[laugh]\\

LM: =lord of the rings\

In (6) DM observes that the group has run out of chips. While I am not present, the group is at my house, and they know that I am going to be listening to the tape. DM rustles and crunches the new packet right beside the tape-recorder, and MM makes the observation that they are now left with a bag of crunched up chips.

(6)

DM: [silly voice]: we need more chips:

All: [laugh]

CM: they have actually supplied us with some

DM: thank you

[rustles right by tape recorder]

EM: [ha ha ha ha ha ha]

MM: we now have these [laughs]: crinkly:

Observational humour of this type accounts for 8% of the data. The distribution of relevant examples is shown in figure 3.

This form of humour is used more by the female speakers in this corpus than the male speakers, and appears more prevalently in mixed groups than single-sex groups. Jenkins (1985) has noted that women's humour tends to be more context bound, whereas men's is more performance-based and often transferable from one context to another.

Observational humour is highly-context bound and non-transferrable, and so the result that the women in the corpus were more likely to use this form of humour lends some weight to Jenkins' generalisation.

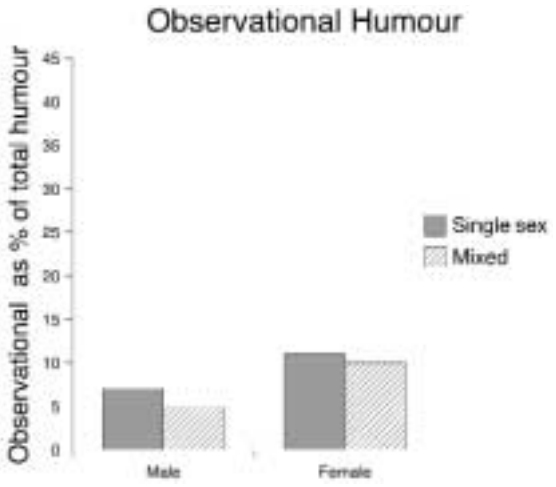

Figure 3: Observational humour as a percentage of total humour produced by men and women in mixed and single-sex groups.

5.4 Irony

This category includes examples of both irony and sarcasm. If the speaker does not mean their words to be taken literally, and in saying them, is implying the opposite, or something with a markedly different meaning, then it is classed as irony. Knowledge of the speakers and the context are important in identifying irony. When listening to unfamiliar speakers, it is necessary to rely on the surrounding context, paralinguistic clues, and the reaction of the audience. Some examples of insults will also be irony, but they will not be placed in this category. This category is intended solely for verbal irony, and will not include ironic situations. A description of an ironic situation would be classed as an anecdote. If the humour stems from some form of situational irony which is co-occurrent with the extract, the humour will be an example of observational humour. (7) is an example of irony.

(7)

CM: well yeah when i c- when i came out of the interview
and saw YOU the next person to go in i thought oh NO
dan's going for THIS job jees i can't have this one

MM: [ha ha ha //ha ha ha ha]\

DM: /well i'm glad\ you think so //highly of me\\

All: /[laugh]\\

CM: no that's not true at all there's the next day

.....

DM's comment in this extract is not meant literally. There are a number of clues to this. The first is, quite simply, that if the comment were meant literally, then it would not make sense in this context. The second clue is a very sarcastic tone of voice, which clearly does not come across in a transcript. DM uses a rise-fall intonation — a tone frequently used to reinforce irony or sarcasm (Cruttenden 1986). Finally there is CM's reaction "no not at all." CM is not denying the literal sense of DM's words, but rather the implied meaning, and he goes on to explain the real reason he did not take the job. (8) is another example of irony, involving the same speakers.

(8)

CM: yes well i mean it was i guess fairly shortly after that that i gave up on motor-biking

MM: [ha ha ha ha ha]

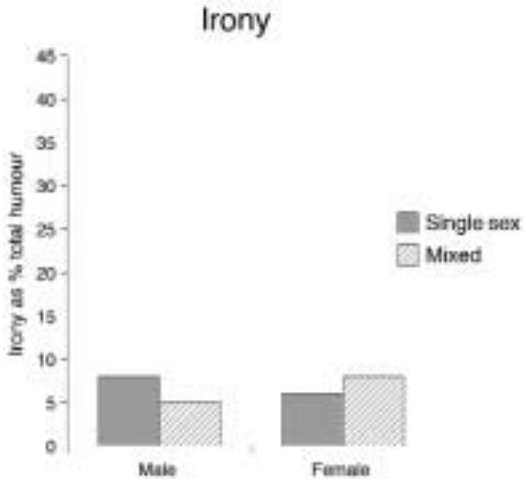

Figure 4: Use of irony as a percentage of total humour used by men and women in mixed and single-sex conversations.

DM: well i wonder why

CM: [ha ha] well it wasn't so much that but...

This is similar to example (7). DM's words 'well I wonder why' are not meant literally, but instead imply that the reason is obvious. Again, CM understands the irony, and denies the intended meaning of the words. He goes on to explain that it was not 'that', i.e. it was not for the reason that DM had implied, but for another reason altogether.

Seven percent of the examples in this corpus were categorised as irony. As can be seen in figure 4, there is an interaction between gender and group composition. The men were more likely to use irony in single-sex groups than mixed groups, but the women increased their use of irony in mixed interactions.

5.5 Role play

Role play is the adoption of another voice or personality for humorous effect. The speaker steps into someone else's shoes. Role play could be quite specific mimicry of a particular person, or just the general adoption of a stereotypical voice or attitude. This is very much performance-based humour; the speaker is acting for their audience. This type of humour, like fantasy humour, has received very little attention in the literature, although both are relatively common in spoken discourse. Morreall (1983) identifies mimicry as a type of humour, although this is restricted to the mimicry of a specific person. Example (9) is an example of the mimicry of a specific person's actions on a particular occasion. By imitating the person, the speakers ridicule him.

(9)

GM: dave and him were having a good old time weren't they

EM: fuck and they were really getting into it they thought it was excellent

GM: [ha ha ha ha ha] what about those women that were //( )\

EM: /what like\\ [imitates dave]: oh YEAH mate YEAH oh yeah:

GM: [imitates dave]: fuck i'm going to waste you today:

All: [imitate dave for 1 sec]

EM: [imitates dave]: YEAH you know where i'm coming from:

GM: yeah he was so full of BULLshit talk

In (10) the speakers are discussing an incident in which a customer at a restaurant was accidentally served dish-washing liquid. VF places herself in the shoes of the person who did this.

(10)

VF: oh chevy's managed to do one of the more major impressive fuck ups though

SF: yeah yeah [ha ha] dishwash[h]ing li[hi]quid[h] //oh gross\

VF: /[loud]: OH\\ i wonder if this is REALLY dish//washing liquid\ let me taste //it\=

SF: /[ha ha ha ha]\\ /[ha ha=

VF: =EVERYBODY have a try //[ha ha]\ excuse me=

SF: =ha]\\ /[ha ha]\\

VF: =madam //[voc] would you[ho] care[he] f[h]or a=

All: /[laugh]\\

VF: =b[h]it\....

Role play accounts for 7% of the corpus. As can be seen in figure 5 — it occurred more often in the single-sex male groups than in the other groups.

Role play has a strong performance component, and its success relies very heavily on group knowledge. Members agree on who is an appropriate target for imitation or ridicule, and successful role play relies on an audience's recognition of the performance. The single-sex groups in the corpus tend to have more group history — many are old school friends, and so they perhaps have more material and inclination for role play. Also, as role play is very performance-based and on-record, the loss of face involved if it fails will be much larger than for other types of humour. This could be a contributing reason why speakers are more likely to use role play humour in single-sex groups. These may provide safer environments.

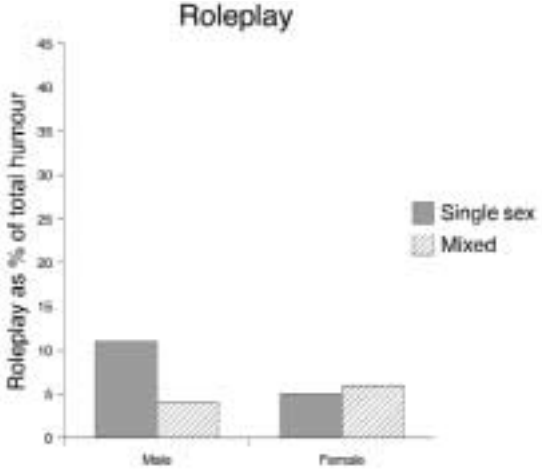

Figure 5: use of Roleplay as a percentage of total humour produced by men and women in mixed and single-sex conversations.

5.6 Insult

An insult is a remark that puts someone down, or ascribes a negative characteristic to them. There are two distinct types of humour which come under this heading. One is jocular abuse, in which the speaker jokingly insults a member of the audience. The other is when someone absent is insulted. The insult here is likely to be genuine, and the humour stems from the unexpectedness of the statement, which in most circumstances would be unacceptable.

(11) is an example of an absent person being insulted.

(11)
DM: she's older than your mother

GM: she just she's just like a couple of beacons sh[h]ort of lik[h]e say[h]ing take me //[ha ha]\

DM: /[huh h]\\

(12) is an example of jocular abuse. Someone present is insulted for humorous effect. The insult is jocular, in that it is not intended to offend. On the contrary, it highlights similarities and serves to maintain solidarity. DF is also living

with her partner and so when she criticises CF for doing the same, although the humour takes the form of an insult, CF knows it is not meant literally.

(12)

DF: i usually just um turn off the electric blanket

BF: yeah well i did

CF: i don't i roll over alex onto the cold side
(//so[ho]\ )

AF: /[oh ha]\\

DF: well chris that //just shows that\ you're a=

BF: /good on you\\

DF: =wanton woman

Six percent of the total examples in the corpus took the forms of insults. The distribution is shown in figure 6.

Men and women behaved similarly with respect to insults. What is striking about these results is the dramatic decrease in frequency of insulting humour

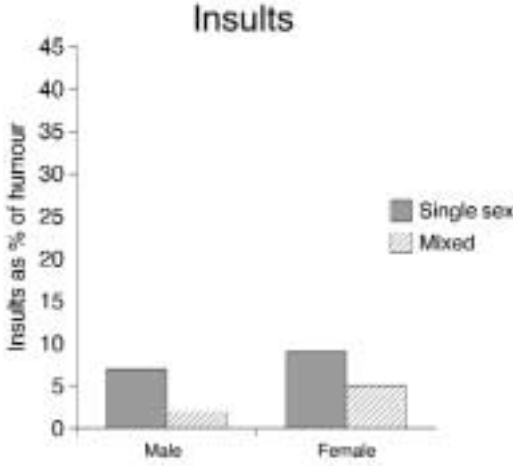

Figure 6: Use of insults as a percentage of total humour produced by men and women in mixed and single-sex groups.

in the presence of the opposite sex. While both men and women dedicated a reasonable proportion of their humour to insults in single-sex conversations, this dramatically decreased for both groups in mixed sex conversations. Note that this corpus does not show Kotthoff's hypothesised pattern that 'Men more often than women joke at the cost of others' (Kotthoff 1986). In fact, in this corpus, the female speakers were slightly more likely to use insult humour than the males.

5.7 Wordplay

Wordplay is any humorous statement in which the humour derives from the meanings, sounds or ambiguities of words. The most typical instance would be a pun. This may involve a speaker deliberately punning, or a hearer identifying an ambiguity in the speaker's speech and exploiting it for humorous effect (13). is an example of wordplay.

(13)

MM: associative databases

NM: deductive

MM: deDUCtive databases //that's the ones yeah\

NM: /yeah yeah\\ well //there's\

TM: /well i de-\\ d- i deduced that

MM: [groans]

In (14) DF identifies an ambiguity in CF's comment, and pretends to mistake CF's intended meaning of pulse = heart beat for pulse = legume. CF plays along with DF's deliberate misinterpretation, and together they fool BF.

(14)

CF: i mean i've got bad feeling in my hands anyway

BF: have you

CF: like i can never feel pulses or stuff like like you know

DF: pulses what like beans? like beans? you mean

BF: NO

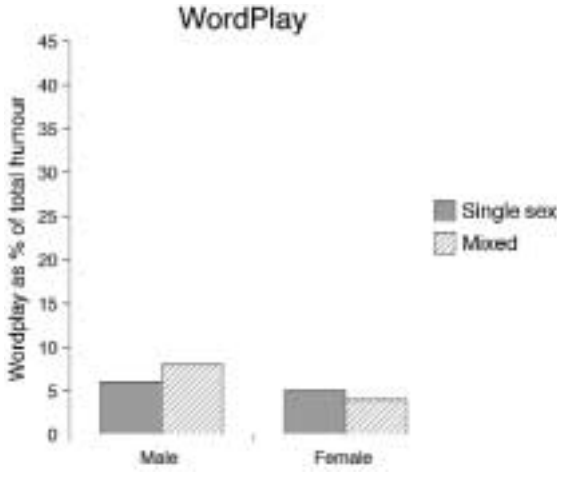

Figure 7: Use of Wordplay as a percentage of humour produced by men and women in mixed and single sex conversations.

DF: pulses you mean //kidney beans\ and the like

CF: /yeah\\

CF: and lentils

BF: oh DOES she [h]

CF: i find it really hard to feel lentils

Wordplay is not confined to puns. It may involve exploiting similarities or differences between words in a variety of ways.

Wordplay accounts for 6% of the total humour analysed. Its distribution across the different groups is shown in figure 7.

In general, wordplay was used more frequently in the single-sex groups, and more by the men than by the women.

5.8 Quote

A quote is a line taken from a television show or a movie, usually a comedy. It depends very much on the group as to whether this type of humour is used. Some groups quote extensively, and have memorised whole routines into which they will launch given the slightest prompt. The speaker establishes

solidarity with members who can recognise and laugh at the quote. They also gain a certain amount of prestige for being able to memorise the quote and deliver it satisfactorily. Appreciation of the humour requires a certain amount of in-group knowledge. Example (15) follows discussion about which episodes of the Muppets people had seen. LM mentions that he has seen the Muppets episode in which Steve Martin is guest star. DM then quotes some lines from the Steve Martin episode, pauses slightly, then says 'five five five', a quote from *LA Story*, a Steve Martin movie. This humour is entirely for LM's benefit, as he has recently seen the Muppets episode, and he and DM saw *LA Story* together.

(15)

LM: i got i got to see steve martin

TM: you need one of those g codes that [ha huh]

DM: [exhales] [quotes]: he's a rambling guy:

LM: [nh nh] yeah

DM: [quotes]: you loved rambling guy [ha ha] you'll LOVE juggling guy:

+

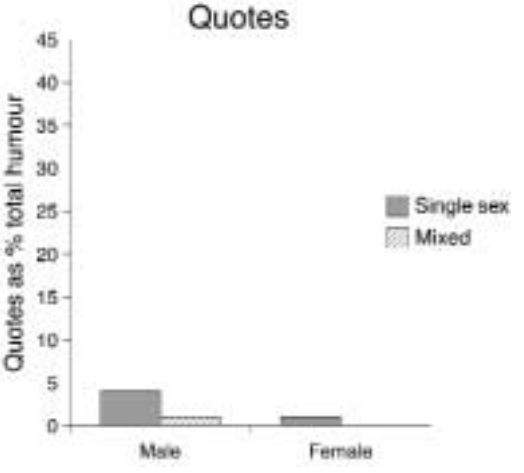

Figure 8: Use of quotes as percentage of use of humour by men and women in mixed and single-sex conversations.

DM: [tut] [quotes]: five five five: [h]

LM: [nh h huh]

Quotes constitute 2% of the corpus. The majority of examples occur in the single-sex male conversations. Both men and women were more likely to use quotes in single-sex contexts. These results are shown in figure 8.

5.9 Vulgarity

It is clear that it is possible for examples in all of the categories to be crass. Jokes, wordplay, insults etc. can all have an aspect of vulgarity. There are some examples however, in which the sole source of the humour is its crassness, and these are the ones which belong in this category. Toilet humour and sexual humour are typical instances of vulgarity. The humour in both cases derives from the fact that the speakers are breaking some sort of taboo. (16) is an example of vulgarity.

(16)

GM: yeah oh i had a fantastic crap in there this morning

DM+EM: [ha ha ha]

Such examples constitute just 1% of the corpus — 9 examples total. Seven of these examples were in single-sex male groups (2% of examples from this group), and two were in single-sex female groups (1%). Like insults, this appears to be a type of humour which is strongly dispreferred in mixed groups.

5.10 Self Deprecation

Self deprecation is an insult directed at oneself. In (17) DF has farted. She herself comments that the fart smells bad. This is a defence strategy. If she points this out herself, then any insults directed at her because of the fart will hold much less force.

(17)

BF: DAYna

DF: sh[h]it this is b[h]ad man

All: [laugh] 5 secs

Just five examples fall into this category — two in single-sex male groups, and

three in single-sex female groups. Thus, there appears to be a tendency for self-deprecating humour to be avoided in mixed groups, but much more striking is the extremely low frequency of this type of humour in the corpus as a whole.

5.11 Jokes

I use the term jokes to refer specifically to canned jokes. These are chunks of humour whose basic form has been memorised. Canned jokes will have a punch line, or some point at which an incongruity is resolved (Raskin 1985). They often have a standardised form. Example (18) is an example of a joke taken from the corpus.

(18)

BM: well it's a bit bit like that er joke about what's the difference between a hedgehog and a range-rover

PM: yeah [h] range-rover's got pricks on the //inside\

AM: /inside\\

BM: [ha ha]

This example, in fact, is the only example of a joke in the corpus. It occurred in a single-sex male friendship group. Jokes therefore account for much less than 1% of the data.

5.12 Other

There is also an "other" category, for humour which does not slot into any of the ten main categories of humour. A taxonomy of types of humour which claimed to encompass every possible example would be either incredibly huge or contain particularly general categories. Two percent of examples were coded as "other".

6. Discussion

6.1 The effect of group composition

There are many respects in which the behaviour of men and women in this corpus is remarkably similar. In single-sex groups, their humour shares much in common. They also share in common a dramatic shifting of use of certain types of humour in mixed sex groups.

This shifting is particularly apparent in the use of insults and vulgarity — two types of humour which have been more stereotypically associated with men than women. The fact that men and women behave similarly in these respects in single-sex groups, suggest that the shift in mixed groups reflects the role of perceived gender patterns — men should not be seen to be disrespectful, or insult any women present. This attitude can be observed in groups in which men are scolded for using vulgarity when there are "ladies in the room." Conversely it can be considered "unladylike" to use vulgarity, and so the women avoid this in the presence of men. Both men and women avoid the use of vulgarity humour in mixed interaction, although both use it in single-sex groups. The same pattern was observed by Folb (1980), and parallels findings by Limbrick (1991). Limbrick looked at use of expletives by New Zealand men and women. Both groups used roughly the same number of expletives when in single-sex groups. In mixed groups, however, the males decreased their use of expletives by a substantial amount. Limbrick interpreted this as a desire not to offend and accommodation to the stereotype of females' lesser expletive usage. Similarly, Folb (1980) found that the Black American girls she studied used the vernacular and swear words only when out of earshot of males and of adults.

> When I was privy to all female conversation, I found that the quantity of talk, joking, boasting, argument, cursing and even shooting the dozens rivalled male expressive behaviour (Folb 1980:195)

Folb points out that behaviour such as the use of jocular insults is not 'lady-like' and so regarded as inappropriate behaviour to display to boys, or to adults. Similarly, the boys in her study toned down their vernacular usage among young women as to do otherwise would be disrespectful.

There is also an indication that there are more limitations on who one can tease in mixed groups than there are in single-sex groups. Speakers were very unlikely to focus humour on another participant of the same gender in mixed conversations. This pattern is discussed in Hay (1995b).

Hay (1994) analysed jocular abuse patterns in a mixed friendship group consisting of eight members. The vast majority of examples involved jocular abuse between men and women — the speakers rarely teased others of their own gender. The examples showed a friendly animosity between men and women and clearly served to maintain gender divisions.

So both men and women engage in jocular abuse and teasing activities,

though they do this much more often in single-sex groups than mixed groups. It seems likely that the reasons this behaviour is restricted in mixed conversation differ for both men and women, but both reflect the gender stereotyping and expectation of "appropriate" gender-specific behaviour.

It is interesting to note that women seem slightly more likely than men to use insults as a form of humour. Coates (1986: 153) claims that insults, along with shouting, name-calling and threats, are part of male aggressiveness, whereas women try to avoid such displays, finding them unpleasant and often interpret them as being meant personally. It may be true that women avoid genuine insults, but joking insults, such as those identified in this study, seem to be just as much a part of females' repertoire and banter as males', if not more so. It was only recently that researchers identified such behaviour in female groups (see Eder 1990), after a long-lived assumption that it was a male only activity. This study indicates that, while conversing in single sex groups, females are just as likely as males to use jocular abuse. A qualitative study into the nature of such abuse in male and female conversations would no doubt prove fascinating and fruitful.

Self deprecation is not very common in this corpus. But like the types of humour discussed above, it is restricted to single sex groups. Note that this is a purely formal category. The category includes only insults directed at oneself. It is possible to put oneself down indirectly through other types of humour, telling an anecdote for example.

Much has been made of the 'fact' that women use a lot of self deprecating humour. In fact, there is very little evidence to support this, and most claims can be traced back to Levine (1976 — as cited in Neitz (1980)). Levine studied female comics and found them more likely to disparage themselves. Several other studies have led to the claim that women use self-disparaging humour more than men. These are largely based on response to humour and humour preferences, rather than actual production (Zillman and Stocking 1976, Zillman and Cantor 1976). There is, in fact, very little evidence to suggest that this pattern is also present in spontaneous humour occurring in friendship groups. Jenkins (1985) suggests that this myth may have been helped by misinterpretation of women's humour. Women tell a lot of anecdotes about embarrassing things they have done, or other anecdotes which could be seen as portraying them negatively, and some analysts may classify such humour as self deprecating. Jenkins points out that this is mistaken.

> That women tell jokes or laugh at themselves is negative only in the

> competitive atmosphere of men where the intent is to show yourself off to the best advantage. (Jenkins 1985: 138)

Such humour, then, is not self deprecating, but self healing. If a bad experience is turned into a funny story that can be shared, everyone feels better. Whether or not a researcher classes an instance of humour as self deprecating may depend largely on their value system, on their knowledge of the value system of the speaker, and on the range of functions they attribute to self deprecating humour. In some cases they may be misled. Humour which researchers may claim is self deprecating may actually be serving to portray an open and sharing identity, or to heal and cope with problems. The categorisation of self deprecation as a function of humour is inherently problematic. It is more accurately regarded as a type of humour, which can serve any number of functions. And this type of humour is used as much by men as by women.

Because there are several types of humour which appear to be strongly dispreferred in mixed groups, one consequence of this is that the *range* of humour types used in mixed groups is substantially narrower than the range of humour types which have been recorded in mixed groups.

6.2 Humour as story-telling and observation

Perhaps the most common generalisation arising from past literature on this topic, is the observation that women are more likely to use more personal humour. Kotthoff (1986) summarises: 'Women joke about themselves and their experiences'. Crawford and Gressley (1991) elicited subjects' impressions on the types of humour they thought they used. Their results led them to conclude that males use more formulaic joking, whereas females use more anecdotal humour. Ervin-Tripp and Lampert (1992) also note that women in their corpus of spoken humour volunteered real stories about themselves, whereas men were much less likely to do so.

Personal anecdotes have been claimed to be less aggressive than forms of humour such as canned jokes or wordplay, because they do not impose an understanding test on the listener (Norrick 1994). The anecdote provides an amusing story which invites listeners to laugh and participate by adding comments of their own.

That females tend use more anecdotal humour than males is in part supported by the results of this study. Women use slightly more anecdotes than men. Men increase their use of anecdotes in mixed interaction, possibly accommodating to the women's use of this type of humour. It is interesting to

note that the women as well as the men in this study increased their use of anecdotes when in mixed sex interaction.

These shifts may well reflect that fact that the anecdote appears to be a primary vehicle for humour for all groups. That the percentage of anecdotes for both men and women increases in mixed sex interaction maybe the flip side of the fact that there are certain types of humour which seem to be preferentially used in single-sex company rather than mixed — as discussed above. The avoidance of these in mixed interaction may account for the increased percentage of the humour which is communicated via anecdotes.

It has been argued (see e.g. Jenkins 1985) that humour produced by women tends to be more context-sensitive, whereas men's is more performance-based. Women's higher rate of use of observational humour lends some support to this generalisation. I now turn to discussion of more performance-driven types of humour.

6.3 Humour as performance and display

The men in this corpus did tend to display higher rates of more performance-oriented types of humour.

The men were slightly more likely to use fantasy humour, and particularly in mixed sex interaction. As was discussed earlier, this increase of fantasy in mixed-sex interaction could potentially relate to the presence of a responsive audience. Role play is also a very performance oriented type of humour, which was used more by the men than the women — and particularly in single-sex male groups.

Other performance oriented types of humour are also used more often by the men in the sample than the women. The use of quotes is one example of this. That quotes are more likely to occur in male conversations than female conversations could also be a reflection of the finding that men are more likely to talk about television shows, books or movies they have seen (Aries 1976). It appears that men tend to use external source humour more than women (Hay 1995a: 95).

Wordplay was more likely to be used by men than by women over both group compositions, though this is a slight trend. Contrary to Holmes' claim that 'there is no such thing as a female punster' (Holmes 1864 as cited in Redfern 1984) this type of humour was used by both men and women. Wordplay is a performance-based type of humour, and often has an element of competition. Norrick (1994) points out that punning disrupts ongoing interaction. Puns can interrupt and redirect conversation, and oblige participants to

disrupt the flow of interaction in order to acknowledge the pun. In contrast with more narrative types of humour, wordplay directly challenges the hearer by testing them. There are certain circumstances in which wordplay may serve to create cohesion, particularly if banter occurs, through the demonstration of shared background knowledge and understanding and laughing together. Sherzer (1985) notes that puns can function both disjunctively and cohesively. Wordplay is also an excellent means of displaying wit, a quality often valued in male groups (see Hay 1995a: 148).

6.4 Where are the canned jokes?

That only one joke occurred is particularly striking considering the large amount of humour research concentrating on joke telling. The hypothesis put forward by several researchers, including Lakoff (1975), that men tell more jokes, and tell them better than women can unfortunately be neither confirmed nor denied on the basis of the data. The one joke that did occur was in an all-male conversation, but this hardly tells us much. Perhaps the main information to take from this is that jokes seldom occur in relaxed conversational English, and, in this corpus, form 0.1 percent of the total humour. It is time, perhaps, to give the other 99.9 percent its fair share of the attention!

7. Conclusion

This quantitative study has provided results characterising the types of humour that tend to occur in the casual conversations of young New Zealanders. Humorous anecdotes are the most frequent, whereas canned jokes are extremely infrequent, relative to other types of humour. In addition, both gender and group composition have been shown to have a strong effect on the likelihood of use of various types of humour. As with any quantitative work on discourse patterns, the numbers reported here should be regarded with appropriate caution.

The goal of such quantification, of course, is not to document categorical, inescapable gender differences in humour usage — we should be surprised to discover such patterns, and are certainly not looking for them. The (well-deserved) criticism of the 'men do x, and women do y' approach to the study of language and gender studies has seen a wholesale shift away from quantitative work, and an embracing of social constructionism. However, one should not be too quick to dismiss quantitative patterns such as the ones reported in

this paper. Holmes (1996: 316) points out that 'forms which express social meaning may acquire social significance on the basis of their distribution'. This point has also been made by Milroy (1992: 173), who argues that social significance derives from 'the (quantitatively analysable) tendency of particular social groups to use relatively high frequencies of particular options'.

The very best qualitative work, then, will be based on an informed knowledge of the degree to which the distribution of the variables under study tend to be gendered. The study reported here aims to provide this groundwork. It is to be hoped that the results will be used as a base for much future research, including in-depth, qualitative work.

Some of the results here support previous work suggesting men and women tend to use different types of humour. But in many respects, the male and female speakers in this study used humour in similar ways. Perhaps the most striking set of results are the dramatic changes in humour style across mixed and single-sex groups. Previous discussion of "men's" and "women's" humour has tended to be non-specific about context. Context, however, clearly plays a central role. The results presented here make apparent that gendered styles of humour appear most marked in mixed groups. The biggest differences in humour styles documented here are not between men and women, but rather between mixed and single-sex groups.

Future work on gender and humour promises to reveal much about how humour is used in the construction and performance of gender. Such work will likely reveal that both speaker and audience identity play central roles in such performance. After all, an important component of 'performing gender' is the audience one is performing it for.

Notes

1 This paper is based on chapter 6 of my masters thesis, Hay (1995a), and has benefited greatly from the comments of Janet Holmes, two anonymous reviewers, and audiences at Victoria University of Wellington, Northwestern University, and the International Humor Studies Conference in Oklahoma.

2 New Zealanders of European descent.

3 Many thanks to WCSNZ and to Anita Easton for allowing me access to their data, and to everyone who allowed themselves to be recorded for this project.

4 The examples were also analysed according to function. The results of that analysis are reported in Hay (2000).

Appendix: Transcription Conventions

The transcription conventions used are based largely on those developed at Victoria University for the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English (WCSNZ).

Speakers are labelled using an initial and the letter F or M to indicate their gender.

Transcription in doubt

( ) Speech indecipherable

(hello) Transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance

Intonation

? Rising or question intonation

— Incomplete or cut-off utterance

YES Capitals indicate emphatic stress

Paralinguistic and other non-verbal features

Descriptions of paralinguistic and non-verbal features are contained in square brackets. If the feature is concurrent with speech, or describing speech, the relevant speech is placed between colons, e.g:

AM: [sneezes]

BM: [silly voice]: you never can tell with bees:

Pauses

\+ pause of up to one second
++ pause of up to two seconds

Simultaneous Speech and Latching

Simultaneous speech is contained in slashes, as in the following example:

AF: remember the time when //we were at school and\

BF: /what about when you wore that\\green hat

If someone's speech follows another's directly then latching is signalled as in the following example:

AF: i used to go to school and=/

BM: /=you wore that green hat

A "=" signals speech continues from an earlier line:

AM: i would go to school almost //every day\ wearing this=

BF: /[ha ha ha]\\

AM: =bright green hat

Laughter

[h]	laughing exhalation
[huh]	laughing inhalation
[ha]	voiced laugh particle
[nh]	nasalized laugh particle
hello[ho]	laughing repetition of syllable
[laughs]	2 secs used for prolonged laughter, or for a group of people laughing.

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THE PERSISTENCE OF DIALECT AREAS

Laurie and Winifred Bauer: *School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, Victoria University of Wellington. <laurie.bauer@vuw.ac.nz>*

Abstract

Names for the basic chasing game played in New Zealand playgrounds are regionalised. This regionalisation goes back as far as we can trace it in New Zealand, but the words which are used have changed even though the regions have not. It is concluded that the forces which brought the original dialect areas into being are still present.

In this paper, we report on a rather unusual method of data-collection for dialectological research, and on a surprising and unpredictable result.

Our basic project (funded by the Royal Society of New Zealand through the Marsden Fund) is concerned with the existence of dialect areas in New Zealand in the playground language of primary school children. We sent out questionnaires to 150 schools from Kaitaia to Bluff with year 7 and 8 students (old Forms 1 and 2, ages approximately 11 and 12 years). Teachers elicited the children's responses and recorded them on our behalf, giving multiple responses wherever appropriate. We asked about games that the children play, rhymes and fixed expressions used in the playground, words used for the expression of emotions, greetings and farewells, and other similar terms. Although we had to guess what vocabulary might be variable in New Zealand, most of the questions we asked turned out to show some variation which was

strongly regional. We also found some variation on the basis of the socio-economic status of the school, whether the school was urban or rural, and whether the school was a Catholic school or not. Our methodology prevented us from finding any variation due to ethnicity or to gender, though some of the apparently social variation may reflect underlying ethnic variation.

One of the robust findings from the analysis of the questionnaire is that, although there is occasional evidence of terms restricted to very small areas of the country, and some evidence that on occasion the North and South Island are distinct dialect regions, the bulk of the evidence suggests that New Zealand is divided into three main areas, which we term the Northern, Central and Southern regions (Bauer & Bauer 2000). The Northern region extends as far south as the volcanic plateau, usually but not always including Taranaki and usually but not always excluding Hawke's Bay. The Central region extends from there to south of the Waitaki river, and includes the main tourist areas in the central Otago lakes area (Wanaka, Queenstown, etc.). The Southern region is made up of the remaining areas of southern and eastern Otago and Southland. This is illustrated on the map in Figure 1 which shows the distribution of the responses to the following question:

At your school, do children play a game with many players where one player has to run and try to touch another player while all the other players try to run away and not get touched? What is this game usually called at your school?

We have used this map because of its relevance to data to be discussed in this paper, despite the atypical alignment of Taranaki and northern Hawke's Bay in the responses to this question. The map shows that the normal name for this game in the Northern region is *tiggy*; the normal name in the Central region is *tag*; and the normal name in the Southern region is *tig*.

A sample of forms which provide support for this three-way dialect division is provided in Table 1. All of the examples are significantly correlated with the area concerned in our data, although other forms are also found alongside the forms reported. (1) is the *tiggy/tag/tig* distinction shown in Figure 1. (2) is the word used for (illegally) giving an extra person a ride on a one-seater bicycle. (3) is a term of approval, like *cool* (which is used everywhere). (4) and (5) are counting-out rhymes, for choosing a person to be in/it in tiggy/tag/tig. Although children throughout the country know the word *wiener* in (6) as a mild insult (apparently thanks to the TV programme *The Simpsons*), only in the southern Region is this term (variously spelt, and the children themselves do not agree on the etymology of the term) used for new

Figure 1:
Tiggy*, *Tag*, or *Tig

entrants to the school. The term in (7) is used to prevent 'germ(ie)s' or 'cooties' or pieces of rubbish being passed back to the giver. The terms in (8) were given as a response to a scenario in which a bicycle was damaged so much that it couldn't be ridden; *munted* was common throughout the country, but the responses in the Table were regionalised.

Table 1

	NORTHERN REGION	CENTRAL REGION	SOUTHERN REGION
1	tiggy	tag	tig
2	doubling	dubbing	doubling
3	shot(ty)		
4	ickle ockle black bottle	black foot, black foot	
5	The sky is blue how old are you	Father Christmas lost his whiskers	
6			wieners/weaners
7		pegs not back	
8	pakaru		caned

In 2000, we were interviewed on this material for an article in *The NZ Listener* (Taylor 2000). The journalist asked whether we would like to get readers to write to us with their memories about words, and we chose to ask them about this chasing game and about truce terms. Truce terms are those words which were offered in response to the following question:

[In relation to the chasing game described above:] Is there a word which you can say to show that you are not playing for a short time, for instance because you need to tie up your shoelace?

We received over 600 answers from people right throughout the country, the oldest respondent having been at primary school before 1920, the most recent having been at primary school during the 1990s. Many of our respondents gave answers from an entire family or workplace, and were obviously interested in the different answers from people of different ages or different origins. While we cannot claim that this represents a systematic survey, nonetheless we got extensive coverage of the country as well as very broad coverage of the twentieth century.

The data obtained from the readers of the *Listener* confirms that the same fundamental division into three has not changed a great deal in the course of the twentieth century. We find *tiggy* and *tig* in use as long ago as the 1920s, and always in the same basic regions (*tig* is found as far north as South Canterbury, so that the *tig* area may have contracted slightly over the course of the century, but there is not much change).

Many of our correspondents would not have been surprised by this regionalisation. They assumed that the difference between *tiggy*, *tag* and *tig* derived from British variation, and correlated with the areas in which people from different parts of Britain had settled in New Zealand. There is little to support such a view. First, *tiggy* as such is not reported from Britain (it is found only in *tiggy tiggy touchwood,* which is also sporadically reported from New Zealand, and not always from the Northern region). Secondly, the origin of *tag* in New Zealand is obscure. We know that it is the general term in the United States, probably because *tag* was the normal term in Britain at the time the US was settled. It appears from the data in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, that the normal term in Britain changed from *tag* to *tig* between the period of the settlement of the US (early in the seventeenth century) and the period of first British immigration to New Zealand (early in the nineteenth century). We must postulate that remnants of *tag* remained alongside the innovative *tig*, and became the norm in the Central region of New Zealand. Although some of our English colleagues assure us that they played tag when young, this name is not mentioned in Gomme's (1894-98) survey of children's games in Britain (including Scotland), which is based on earlier written reports and on contributions from informants all round the country. We have also found some variation between *tig* and *tag* in Ireland, so there is a possibility of some extra Irish influence tipping the balance in favour of *tag* in New Zealand. *Tag* certainly did not come from a limited area in England, which is what we would expect if our readers' hypothesis were supported.

However, there is another piece of evidence which makes this hypothesis even less likely. Until some time in the 1970s, there was an alternative set of names for this game based on the root *chase*: *chase*, *chasey*, *chasing* and *chasings*. *Chase*-based terms are also found in Australia, but do not appear to have widespread British antecedents (again, for example, the name is not mentioned by Gomme 1894-98). *Chasey* is predominantly found in an area including Northland, Auckland, Waikato, Bay of Plenty, but with isolated attestations in Wanganui and on the West Coast of the South Island. At the other end of the country, in the Southern region, *chasing* was the only *chase*

name reported, but it was not reported there from children who had been in primary school after 1940. In between in the Central region, the normal term was *chasing*, although *chasings* was occasionally reported alongside it in Wellington and Nelson, and *chase* was sometimes reported alongside it in the Central region. In other words, fundamentally the same dialect regions are involved in the distribution of the *chase*-terms early in the twentieth century as are involved in the distribution of the *t_g*-terms late in the twentieth century. If we graph the distributions of the major forms in the Northern and Central regions through the twentieth century, we get the results shown in Figures 2 and 3. We do not graph the Southern region, since it is noteworthy for the lack of a *chase*-form.

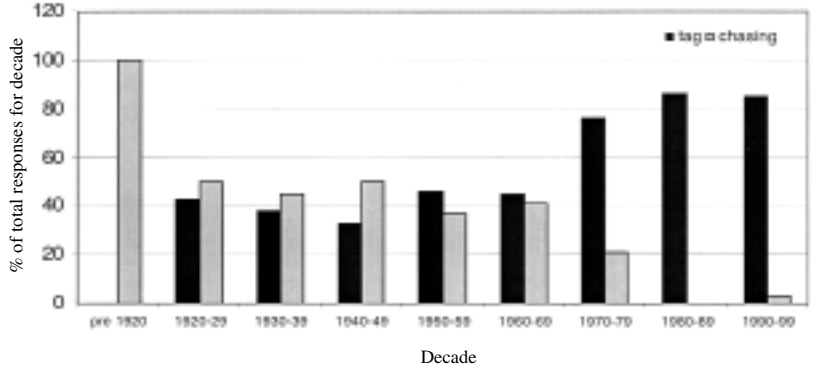

Figure 2: Central region: *tag* and *chasing*

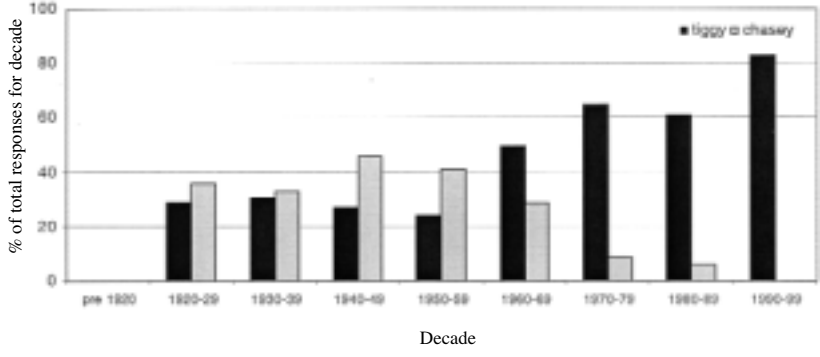

Figure 3: Northern region: *tiggy* and *chasey*

Note that the 100% *chasing* response for before 1920 in Figure 3 is misleading, since it is the response of a single individual, and note also that the values plotted there do not include *chasings*, which would increase the numbers slightly until the 1960s. Note that in both regions we have a cross-over point in the 1950s or 1960s. We do not know why *chase*-names declined and *t_g*-names increased, or why the change happened so consistently across the country: that is possibly a question for sociologists and educationalists rather than a question for linguists. What is striking is the replacement of one dialectally restricted word by another dialectally restricted word without any great change in the dialect areas involved. The fact that parallel, but clearly independent, changes took place in both the Northern and the Central region at roughly the same time is a phenomenon which cries out for explanation, but none suggests itself: the obvious answer, that it was influenced by some supra-regional force such as TV or the school curriculum labels, cannot be correct, since this would have led to the same term being implanted in both areas, not different ones. This would seem to show that whatever forces had established the original dialect areas (and some of these at least are clearly geographical), they were still at work in the later twentieth century.

As well as words for the chasing game, our *Listener* respondents told us their truce terms. Again we can compare the results they provided with the results from our questionnaire.

Questionnaire results showed a much more splintered set of responses, with much smaller dialect areas than for *tig/tag/tiggy*. For example, *twigs* was restricted mainly to Taranaki, *fans* and *flicks* to the Wellington region, *tax/tags/taxes/taxis* to Marlborough/Nelson, *nibs* to Otago/Southland. The default term outside these small areas is *pegs*. Even today, informants sometimes had difficulty with the relevant question, and did not appear to recognise the situation as one for which they had an expression. This was even more true as we went back in time. Relatively few *Listener* respondents at school before the 1930s had a truce term.

It is clear that to the extent there was a general answer to this question for earlier generations of New Zealanders, the word used was *pax*. Notice that this is unlikely to have be brought in directly by the people who used it in Britain, since there, Opie & Opie (1959: 152) say of *pax*: 'The usual term in private schools and school stories, "pax" is group dialect not regional dialect.' People who attended private schools were not, on the whole, those who immigrated to New Zealand; the New Zealand use of the term probably comes from the literary convention. English and Scottish regional forms such as *barley*,

crosses, *keys*, *kings*, *scribs* do not appear in our data at all. By the 1980s, *pax* in New Zealand has virtually always changed phonetically so that the usual rendition is *pegs* (with a number of close variants including *pags*, *pegsed*, *pads* and *bags* [sic]). It is still the most widespread term. But we find that the current truce term in the Southern region, *nibs*, has been the norm in Otago/Southland and only in Otago/Southland ever since the 1940s; we find *fan(s)* in the greater Wellington area, and only there, as far back as the first decade of the last century; we find *tax* in Nelson/Marlborough as far back as the 1930s. The term *gates*, which in our questionnaire data was reported almost exclusively from Auckland, was earlier used over the whole of the Northern region. We have some anecdotal evidence that it may survive today in rural areas at least, but have no firm evidence yet to support such a claim.

So what we see here is the survival of minor dialect areas, despite the potentially nationalising force of radio and television and despite the larger dialect areas which suggest a wider sharing of playground terms. These small dialect areas seem to be strongly resistant to the incursion of *pegs*.

We do not understand the switch from *chasey/chasing* to *tag/tig(gy)*. While the gradual replacement of one term by another is not problematic, the temporal alignment of the change in different dialect areas strikes us as unusual and as requiring an explanation which we cannot provide. What we do see in this data, however, is the persistence of dialect areas. Dialect areas from the 1920s are still dialect areas in the 1990s, even though the actual words used may have changed in the interim. This suggests that even in a country where the homogeneity of language has long been commented on, there are robust dialect divisions. The dialects we have commented on are distinguished in terms of playground vocabulary; the next question is whether the same areas show differences in adult vocabulary, phonetics/phonology or grammar. Discovering that would require a completely new research project.

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ATTITUDES TO ACCENTS IN ENGLISH:
A PACIFIC STUDY[1]

France Mugler: *SOH, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji Islands.*
<mugler_f@usp.ac.fj>

Abstract

The article reports on a study about the attitudes towards four accents in English of 156 students from Fiji and other Pacific nations for whom English is a second language. The respondents listened to gender pairs of speakers of middle-of-the-road varieties of Australian, New Zealand, North American, and English English, then rated them on 18 personality and voice traits, and tried to identify their nationality and socio-economic background.

Results indicate that the North American accent is the best recognized, followed by the Australasian, and there are differences in accuracy of identification between Indo-Fijians and Fijians. The American female leads in solidarity, competence, and most power traits, followed by the American male, while the Australian male leads in status traits. Female speakers are downgraded for status traits. The traditional external standard of the region, English English, is being replaced as the prestige variety, reflecting historical changes in geopolitical influence.

1. Introduction

Since the 1960s social psychologists and sociolinguists have studied people's attitudes towards different languages and their speakers. The instrument first developed for this kind of research was the now classic matched guise technique, pioneered by Lambert and his colleagues (Lambert et al. 1960;

Lambert 1967). After hearing a recording of several speakers reading out loud a short passage, listeners indicate their impressions of the speakers' personality and socio-economic status by rating them on Likert-type semantic differential scales. The speakers, unbeknownst to the listeners, are bilinguals who are each recorded twice, in each of their languages or 'guises'. The aim is to control all variables except language, and to reveal listeners' attitudes without making them overly aware of the genuine purpose of the experiment.

Language attitude studies stem from an interest in finding out how languages of unequal status are evaluated in the society where they are used. Research has often focussed on majority and minority languages or diglossic varieties, but early studies also investigated perceptions of standard and regional accents. Thus, in their study of theatre-goers in Wales, Bourhis and Giles (1976) explored reactions not only to English and Welsh, but also to Welsh-accented varieties of English and RP. Similarly, El Dash and Tucker (1975) studied perceptions of Classical and colloquial Egyptian Arabic, as well as of American, British, and Egyptian English. The major conclusion of the early studies was that one language, the majority or standard language, is associated with power and status traits, and the minority or non-standard variety with solidarity and local affiliation.

As for attitudes towards different accents in English, the main finding until the 1980's was that the evaluation of RP as the prestige variety was common to the whole English-speaking world (Stewart, Ryan and Giles 1985:102). Research has been substantially extended in the past two decades, particularly by Bayard and his colleagues. Bayard first explored New Zealanders' attitudes towards their own accent and the other main 'standard' accents of English: RP 'English English', general Australian, and middle-of-the-road Inland North American (Canadian). He found that New Zealanders rated the RP speakers higher than their compatriots not only on power and status traits but also on some solidarity traits – a result he interpreted as evidence of a "cultural cringe" (1990, 1991b, 1995:89-114, 2000). At the same time near RP was being challenged as the traditional prestige accent by American English. His results also cast doubt on the common belief among New Zealanders that the closely related Australian accent, besides being unpleasant, is easily distinguishable from their own. However, the voices used were not all entirely satisfactory (see Bayard 2000: 303-307 for a critique).

This prompted Weatherall and her colleagues across the Tasman to study the extent to which Australians can distinguish a New Zealand accent from their own (Weatherall et al. 2000), and recently Bayard joined forces with

Weatherall and her colleagues, extending the research to evaluations of the four standard accents among New Zealanders, Australians and Americans, using a new set of voices (Bayard et al. 2001). These studies, which all dealt with the attitudes of native speakers of one of the standard varieties of English to their own and other accents, have in turn prompted an expansion of the research into an international project, coordinated by Bayard. 'Investigating English worldwide' (hereafter EEAWW) aims to survey both native and non-native speakers of English, and to include countries where English is a second or foreign language.[2]

This article reports on a study of how a group of Pacific Islanders, for whom English is a second (or a third) language, identify and evaluate the four standard accents. The participants were students at the University of the South Pacific (USP), a regional institution with 12 member countries: Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.

2. Background: English in the Pacific

The Pacific is perhaps uniquely suited to such a study since English has had a presence in the region for over 200 years, and the four English speaking countries which are home to the standard accents have all had a role in the history of Pacific island nations. These historical links, however transformed, have survived into the present, and Pacific Islanders today, probably more than ever, are exposed to all four varieties of English.

English was introduced to the Pacific through European contact, first via explorers, then whalers, beachcombers, traders and missionaries. By the end of the 19th century, both Britain and the USA, along with Germany and France, had a colonial presence, with Australia and New Zealand later taking over some of the British and German colonies.

The region is culturally and linguistically extremely diverse. Even if we exclude the Pacific Rim and Papua New Guinea, which has over 750 languages, the small island nations scattered over the Pacific Ocean can claim a large number of languages, in spite of small populations (see Lynch 1998). The region served by the USP alone boasts around 200 indigenous languages. Most of these are in Melanesia, with about 70 in the Solomon Islands, for a population of less than half a million, and over 100 in Vanuatu, for only about 200,000 people. Nearly all the other member countries, in Polynesia and

Micronesia, have only one indigenous language each (Samoan, Niuean, Nauruan, Marshallese, etc). The indigenous languages all belong to the Austronesian family, except for a handful of Papuan languages in the Solomons. Other languages with an important role are French in Vanuatu, formerly a British-French condominium, and Melanesian Pidgin and Fiji Hindi, whose presence is the result of the 19th century colonial economy, which brought together speakers of many different languages to work on plantations. Melanesian Pidgin is spoken by nearly all 700,000 inhabitants of Vanuatu — where it is known as Bislama — and the Solomon Islands — where it is called Pijin. Fiji Hindi, a koine which developed out of the dialects of Hindi spoken by indentured labourers brought to Fiji from India, has about 350,000 speakers, nearly as many as Fijian. Many countries have small groups of speakers of minority languages, both from other parts of the Pacific (e.g. Tuvaluan in Fiji, Kiribati in Nauru) and beyond (e.g. Chinese). English has official status in all the countries of the USP region, alongside the national language (plus French in Vanuatu and Hindi in Fiji).[3] It has an important place in government, business, the media, and especially in education. For nearly everyone, English is a second language, which children usually start studying in their first year at school and which quickly becomes also a medium of instruction. In Polynesia and Micronesia, the vernacular continues to be used alongside English through high school, but in much of Melanesia, English is the sole language of instruction after the first three years (Mugler and Lynch 1996). Many Melanesian children grow up speaking both their father's and their mother's language, and sometimes also Pidgin, so English is in fact their third or fourth language.

Pacific varieties of English are not recognized by their speakers as having any standing, so the standard continues to be an external one. Traditionally this was British English, the former colonial language.[4] Although strong diplomatic ties with Great Britain remain, in part through the Commonwealth, most Pacific island nations now have far stronger political and especially trade links with Australia and New Zealand, the colonial and post- (or neo-) colonial surrogates and our closest neighbours. Precarious economies encourage emigration and the major countries attracting migrants are the English-speaking nations of the Pacific Rim: New Zealand, Australia and also the United States and Canada (especially the West Coast, e.g. California and the Vancouver area). The 1987 and 2000 coups in Fiji have also led to large numbers of Indo-Fijians migrating. But family ties remain strong and while foreign remittances keep many island nations afloat, the ease of modern travel

encourages frequent visits back and forth. The influence of this on language cuts both ways, encouraging the maintenance of Pacific languages among migrant communities abroad, while providing a vector of influence for the different varieties of English in the islands. New Zealand, for instance, continues to have particularly close ties to the Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau, and looks after their foreign policy. Nationals of the three countries have New Zealand citizenship and indeed more Niueans and Tokelauans live in New Zealand than in their home islands. The constant movement back and forth helps spread the influence of New Zealand English to the three nations, where it is the de facto standard. Another important avenue for contact is tourism, an area where neighbouring Australia and New Zealand lead.[5] As for the USA, it came on the scene early in the 19th century, with New England-based whalers, then beachcombers, and traders, and again during World War II in the Pacific theatre. American English is particularly important in the Marshall Islands, a US territory until recently, and in Samoa, with the proximity of American Samoa. The major vector of influence of American English in the entire Pacific nowadays is probably the media, including film and television, one of the manifestations of the US's global reach.

3. Methodology

Over 150 students at the University of the South Pacific listened to a tape recording of a passage read out loud by male and female English speakers with four different accents: New Zealand (NZE), Australian (AusE), English (EE), and North American (NAmE). They were then asked to fill out a questionnaire in which they rated each speaker on a number of personality and voice traits on Likert-type scales, and tried to identify the speaker's nationality and socio-economic status.

3.1. The participants

The respondents were 156 students enrolled in a first year course on the Laucala Bay campus of the University of the South Pacific, in Suva, Fiji. Students on that campus include citizens from the 12 member countries, along with small numbers of foreign students (expatriates residing in Fiji and exchange students from outside the region).

The sample for this study is multinational and includes students from 10 of the 12 member countries. The bulk are from Fiji (131), with small numbers from

Tonga (6), Vanuatu (6), Tuvalu (4), Solomon Islands (3), Samoa (2), Cook Islands (1), Kiribati (1), Marshall Islands (1). There is also a student from Nigeria.

This is not a random sample, but rather one of convenience, as with all other university samples in EEAWW, consisting of an essentially 'captive' audience. Nonetheless, it is broadly representative of the University's student population in a number of respects. Fiji is by far the biggest member country, and contributes about 75 % of the students, with the balance made up of small numbers from the other 11 countries. In the sample 84% of the students are from Fiji. The numbers of students from the other countries are obviously too small to warrant separate statistical analysis, so only the sample as a whole (hereafter the 'Pacific sample') and the Fiji sample will be analysed.

The sample is also multiethnic. The two biggest ethnic groups in the Pacific sample are of course those in the large Fiji sample. Among the 131 Fiji students, 60 identified themselves as Fijians and 56 as Indo-Fijians, while the remainder would be classified in Fiji — for census or voting purposes, for example — as 'Others' or 'Generals' (for 'General Voters'). The balance between Fijians and Indo-Fijians in the sample is roughly representative of the general population of the country, which at the last census (1996) comprised 52% Fijians and 44% Indo-Fijians. The 15 'Others' belong to small ethnic groups, and include students who identify themselves as Rotumans, Banabans, Part-Europeans, Part-Fijian Chinese, Indian Part-Fijian, etc. These numbers also are too small to warrant statistical analysis. The same is true of other ethnic groups within the small samples from countries other than Fiji (for example Polynesians from predominantly Melanesian countries, like Vanuatu or the Solomon Islands). The linguistic diversity follows a very similar pattern, with 26 languages identified as vernaculars, the two most frequently named being Fijian (61) and Fiji Hindi (55), and the others mentioned by less than 6 individuals each, including English, by two. The sample broadly reflects the ethnic diversity of the USP student body, and the Fiji sample will be analysed for any differences between the two major ethnic groups.

The participants range in age from 19 to 47, with 70% (108 individuals) in the 18-23 range, 20.5% (32) between 24-35, and 10% (16) over 35. This is fairly close to the percentages in these ranges of the population of on-campus students (65%, 20%, 13% respectively; data is missing for 2%). The mean age of the sample is 23.2, compared to 24 for the on-campus population.

Like several other EEAWW samples, this Pacific sample is not well balanced for sex, with 96 females and 56 males – a ratio which corresponds neither to that of the population of the Pacific region nor to that of the USP student body,

where females are still underrepresented (45%). This may be due to the nature of the course that these students are taking, a liberal arts subject traditionally attracting more female students.

As for other factors of potential interest, such as socio-economic level, no information was sought and it is difficult to speculate. The sample undoubtedly includes both students on scholarship and private students, with a range of socio-economic levels likely in each category. In terms of education, these university students, by definition, have reached an educational level far higher than the mean population of their home nations.

While there is no intention to claim that the sample is representative of the population of the Pacific at large, results can be suggestive. Indeed, the study may be of interest precisely because the sample consists of young educated people who are likely to constitute an elite and to play an influential role in their societies, as much through their attitudes as through the knowledge and skills they may acquire at university.

3. 2. Instruments

3.2.1. The stimulus tape

On the tape are recorded the voices of 9 speakers. The initial voice is for practice in filling out the questionnaire, and the following 8 comprise one male and one female each with 4 accents of English: English (EE), Australian (AusE), New Zealand (NZE), and North American (NAm). Each accent is a phonetically described middle-of-the-road variety which approximates what is considered standard in each country (see Bayard et al. 2001 for details). The 8 stimulus voices are randomized. One might fear that participants' ratings could be affected by boredom or fatigue by the time they are listening to the last speakers, and that there is a need to vary speaker order. But significant order effects are not consistently present in previous research (see e.g. Bayard 1990: 78). To avoid possible order confounds, a single speaker order was used for this study, as it was for all but the New Zealand and Australian samples in EEAWW (see also /sounds.html).

The 9 speakers read the same passage (a letter home), so that there are no differences in length, lexical or phonological content. Care was taken to minimize differences in such paralinguistic features as speed and pauses but there was no attempt to control others, such as voice quality or intonation, which are far more difficult to deal with. There are indeed perceptible differences in expressiveness of delivery, in particular between the NZE male's flat, very 'read' delivery, with little variation in pitch, and the almost acted out perfor-

mance of the NAm female who uses a wide range of intonation.

Such differences could be avoided, or at least considerably reduced, by using the classic matched guise design, but while this can be done with bilinguals, it seems impossible to find speakers of both genders who control the four guises naturally (see Bayard 1990: 76).

3.2.2. The questionnaire

Participants were asked to rate their impression of each speaker on 6 point semantic differential scales (from 1 'not at all', to 6 'very') for 18 traits, 13 characterizing the speaker (reliable, ambitious, humorous, authoritative, competent, cheerful, friendly, dominant, intelligent, assertive, controlling, warm and hardworking) and 5 describing the voice (pleasant, attractive, powerful, strong and educated). They were also asked to identify the speaker's age group, nationality and ethnicity, educational level, type of occupation, income, and social class from a series of options.

In a background section, participants were asked to indicate their sex, age, student status (full-time or part-time), birthplace, nationality, ethnicity, vernacular language(s), time spent in English-speaking countries (and which ones), time spent watching English-language TV/films each week, and the three English language TV programs they watch most.

3.3. Procedure

The test was administered to students during their regular class time. After a general introduction about the study, they were asked if they were willing to participate and given the option of leaving class if they were not. All present agreed to take part — a total of 156, out of about 200 enrolled. They were then asked to fill out the background section, after a few clarifications. A few examples were given to illustrate possible answers relating to the terms 'vernacular', 'nationality', and 'ethnicity'. The word 'vernacular' was chosen to elicit the students' native language(s) because it is the most common in the Pacific. The term was clarified through the use of synonyms and paraphrases such as first language, "mother tongue", and the language first acquired at home. Students were asked to indicate if they had more than one vernacular, since some may have been raised with both their father's and their mother's languages, as is often the case in Melanesia, and in other situations where parents are from different ethnic and language groups (as sometimes occurs in Fiji, in particular).

Similarly, examples of nationality were given (Fiji citizen, Solomon

Islander, Samoan) in contradistinction to ethnicity, which was defined as 'the ethnic or cultural group you feel that you belong to' (e.g. Polynesian, Melanesian, Micronesian). Students were also encouraged to use whichever term they preferred to indicate their ethnicity, and a few alternative labels were mentioned to illustrate the point: 'Fijian', 'indigenous Fijian' or the Fijian term 'Taukei', 'Indo-Fijian' or 'Fiji Indian', 'Part-European' or the Fijian 'Kailoma', etc.

Instructions were then given about how to fill out the two main sections of the questionnaire. The initial practice voice was played once, after which students filled out the section on personality and voice traits, then the same voice was played again, and students filled out the section on nationality and socio-economic status. The set of 8 stimulus voices was then played once, after which students filled out Part 1, then replayed so that they could fill out Part II. The entire process took about 45 minutes and went smoothly. This procedure was identical to that used with all other EEAWW groups (see/Questionnaire).

4. Results

4.1. Identifying nationality

Respondents identified each speaker's nationality/ethnicity from a set of 12 options: New Zealand European, [Anglo-]American, New Zealand Maori, Canadian, Asian, English, Australian European, South African, Australian Aborigine, Black American, Scottish, and Other European. Responses were recoded, combining the minority and majority ethnic labels into nationality categories for New Zealander (European and Maori), Australian (Aborigine and European), and American (Anglo- and Black). English and Canadian were left intact, and Asian, Scottish, South African, and Other European were recoded as Other.

4.1.1. The Pacific sample

The NAm accent is the most commonly correctly identified, followed by the EE. As for the AusE and NZE accents, they are identified correctly and mistaken for each other in almost equal measure. No speaker is correctly identified by the majority, although the NAm male comes close, with 48% (Table 1).

The AusE and NZE speakers are correctly identified by just under 20% of

Table 1: Students' accent guesses

majority/plurality percentage for each speaker in **boldface**
major erroneous guesses *italicised*

	F NZE	M NZE	F AUSE	M AUSE	F NAM	M NAM	F EE	M EE
NZer	**31**	19	***25***	16	9	13	15	14
Australian	*29*	***20***	19	18	13	12	14	14
Canadian	10	13	9	10	7	8	6	8
American	12	15	20	14	**42**	**48**	9	13
English	11	11	16	14	17	12	**32**	**29**
Other	4	19	10	***25***	8	7	20	16
Missing	3	3	1	3	4	1	4	6

respondents, except for the female NZE, who gets 31%, essentially the same level of accuracy as for the EE speakers. The two Antipodean accents are of course difficult to distinguish from each other for outsiders, and sometimes even for New Zealanders and Australians themselves, as we have seen previous research shows (e.g. Bayard 1990; Weatherall et al. 2000). It is probably unrealistic to expect our respondents, who are not only outsiders but non-native speakers of English, to identify them with a high degree of accuracy, in spite of the proximity of the two countries. About as many respondents identify the two accents correctly as mistake them for each other. This means that they are at least able to narrow down the possibilities to two, 'either Australia or New Zealand'. If we combine the two sets of percentages, the AusE male is identified as, let us say, 'Australasian' by 34%, the NZE male by 39%, and the AusE female by 44%. The percentages for the two males are slightly higher than for the EE speakers, and the AusE female's is within the NAm range. As for the NZE female, she is identified as Australasian by 60%, by far the most accurately identified speaker by that measure.

Although Canadian and American accents are also indistinguishable to most outsiders, few respondents misidentify the American speakers as Canadians, probably because the Canadian accent – unlike the AusE and NZE – is not widely known. Combined percentages would not greatly improve accuracy for the two NAm speakers (as 'Canadian or American'), although it would tip the male over the half-way mark (with 56%) and bring the female

within a whisker of it (49%). Nonetheless, the two recodings are probably a fairer reflection of the respondents' ability to identify the main accents of English (Table 2).
Finally, the male and female speakers of each nationality are not identified

Table 2: Students' accent guesses, recoded

majority/plurality percentage for each speaker in **boldface**
major erroneous guesses *italicised*

	F NZE	M NZE	F AUSE	M AUSE	F NAM	M NAM	F EE	M EE
Aus./NZ	**60**	**39**	**44**	**34**	22	25	*29*	*28*
Can./Amer.	22	28	29	24	**49**	**56**	15	21
English	11	11	16	14	17	12	**32**	**29**
Other	4	19	10	25	8	7	20	16
Missing	3	3	1	3	4	1	4	6

with the same level of accuracy, but there seems to be no consistent pattern. The NAm male is better identified than the female but the female NZE far better than the male, while the difference between the EE pair is negligible (Table 1). So is the difference between the AusE pair, although the female is better identified as Australasian than the male (Table 2). These gender pair discrepancies indicate the need for caution in drawing conclusions about accent recognition.

4.1.2. The Fiji sample
There is a marked difference in accuracy of accent identification between the two samples, with higher percentages among the Fijians for all four accents, but especially the NAm and the EE (Tables 3 and 4).

The percentages of correct identification vary far more widely in the Fijian sample (from 58% for the NAm male to 22% for the NZE male) than in the Indo-Fijian sample, where they are in the 14%-29% range. Both NAm speakers are in fact correctly identified by the majority of Fijian participants (the male by 58%, the female by 50%), as is the female EE (50%). Six voices are correctly identified by at least a plurality of Fijian students, and the two

Table 3: Fijian students' accent guesses

majority/plurality percentage for each speaker in **boldface**
major erroneous guesses *italicised*

	F NZE	M NZE	F AUSE	M AUSE	F NAM	M NAM	F EE	M EE
NZer	**36**	**22**	***26***	12	9	7	5	14
Australian	*32*	*22*	23	**27**	15	13	17	*20*
Canadian	7	8	10	8	5	12	—	8
American	15	20	20	18	**50**	**58**	9	15
English	5	8	8	10	12	10	**50**	**28**
Other	3	20	13	*25*	9	—	19	12
Missing	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	3

Table 4: Indo-Fijian students' accent guesses

majority/plurality percentage for each speaker in **boldface**
major erroneous guesses *italicised*

	F NZE	M NZE	F AUSE	M AUSE	F NAM	M NAM	F EE	M EE
NZer	**29**	**20**	21	21	14	20	***27***	10
Australian	21	11	14	16	12	11	11	13
Canadian	16	19	11	9	9	11	9	9
American	11	5	***25***	9	**27**	**28**	13	18
English	13	16	23	18	*25*	18	14	**23**
Other	7	***25***	4	***23***	9	10	21	18
Missing	4	2	2	2	4	2	5	9

that are not are cases of mistaken 'Australasian' identity. The female AusE is identified as a New Zealander by 26% (as against 23% recognizing her as an Australian), and the male NZE is correctly identified, and mistaken for an Australian, by the same percentage of listeners (22%).

In the Indo-Fijian sample no voice is correctly identified by a majority of participants. The highest percentage of correct identification by a plurality is 29% (for the female NZE), and only half the voices are correctly identified by

Table 5: Fijian students' accent guesses, recoded

majority/plurality percentage for each speaker in **boldface**
major erroneous guesses *italicised*

	F NZE	M NZE	F AUSE	M AUSE	F NAM	M NAM	F EE	M EE
Aus./NZ	**68**	**44**	**49**	**39**	24	20	22	***34***
Can./Amer.	22	28	30	26	**55**	**70**	9	23
English	5	8	8	10	12	10	**50**	28
Other	3	20	13	*25*	9	—	19	12
Missing	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	3

Table 6: Indo-Fijian students' accent guesses, recoded

majority/plurality percentage for each speaker in **boldface**
major erroneous guesses *italicised*

	F NZE	M NZE	F AUSE	M AUSE	F NAM	M NAM	F EE	M EE
Aus./NZ	**50**	**31**	35	**37**	26	31	**38**	23
Can./Amer.	27	24	***36***	18	**36**	**39**	22	***27***
English	13	16	*23*	18	25	18	14	23
Other	7	25	4	23	9	10	21	18
Missing	4	2	2	2	4	2	5	9

a plurality: the two NAm voices, the female NZE, and the male EE. Pluralities mis-identify the four other voices, as follows: the female AusE as an American, the female EE as a New Zealander, and the male NZE and male AusE voices variously as 'Other'. Pluralities — of both accurate and inaccurate identification — are all in the 20% range. This is not much better than chance.

If we again look at how well respondents identify the NZE and AusE speakers as Australasian, the combined percentages range from 39% to 68% in the Fijian sample and 31% to 50% in the Indo-Fijian sample (Tables 5 and 6). Combining the Canadian and American percentages increases the Fijians' lead in accuracy, with 70% identifying the NAm male and 55% the female as 'Canadian or American', while the percentages among the Indo-Fijians

are only in the 30% range. These two recodings also mean that the EE male, who was identified correctly by low percentages in both groups, is now misidentified by pluralities in both: as Australasian by Fijians and as Canadian/American by Indo-Fijians. With these two recodings, 7 voices are identified correctly by at least a plurality of Fijians (including 4 by a majority), against 6 by Indo-Fijians (only one by a majority).

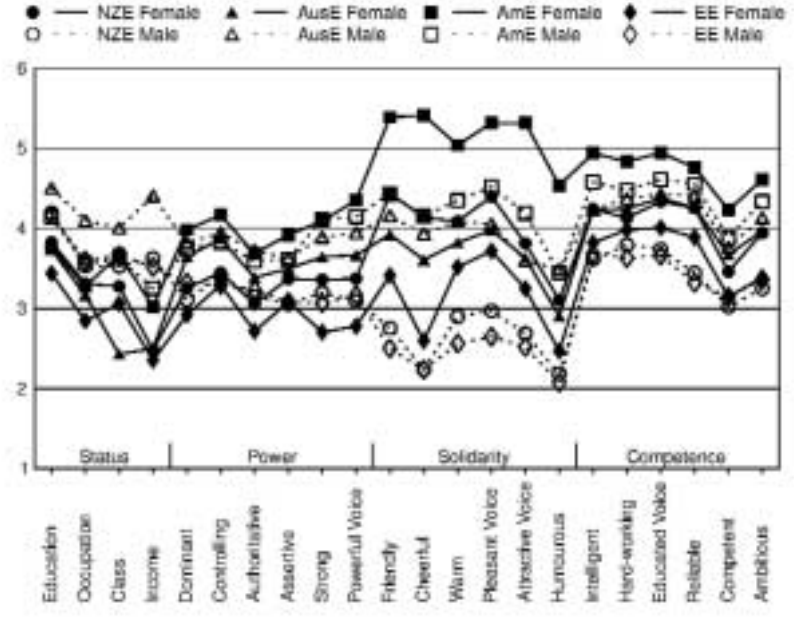
4.2. Evaluation of personality traits and socio-economic status

The 18 personality and voice traits and 4 socio-economic variables (occupation, income, education, social class) cluster into four dimensions: power, solidarity, competence (or 'charisma', see Bayard et al. 2001), and status. All 22 variables are grouped into those four dimensions in the diagrams below, which represent the means for the 8 speakers, first for the whole Pacific sample, then for the two Fiji sub-samples.

4.2.1. Overall evaluation

• The NAm female leads in solidarity, competence, and most power traits,

Figure 1: Personality trait means for all 156 Pacific Island students



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followed by the NAm male voice — although the NAm female lead is by no means as marked in power and competence traits as it is in solidarity.

- The four male voices almost always rank above the female ones in the four status traits.
- The AusE male voice ranks at the top in status, and in some power traits, while the AusE female voice ranks low in status traits.
- The EE male voice ranks very low in almost all traits excepting status, and even there he is below the AusE male. The EE male is tied with the low-ranking NZE male in solidarity and competence traits.
- Ratings for all eight voices dip markedly in the "humorous" trait, including the two NAm voices.

Only two results for the Fijian sample are markedly different from those in the Indo-Fijian sample: The NAm male ranks relatively lower in solidarity traits, and the NZE male scores higher in status and power traits (Figs. 2 and 3).

4.2.2. Perceptions of socio-economic status

Figure 2: Personality trait means for the 60 Fijian students

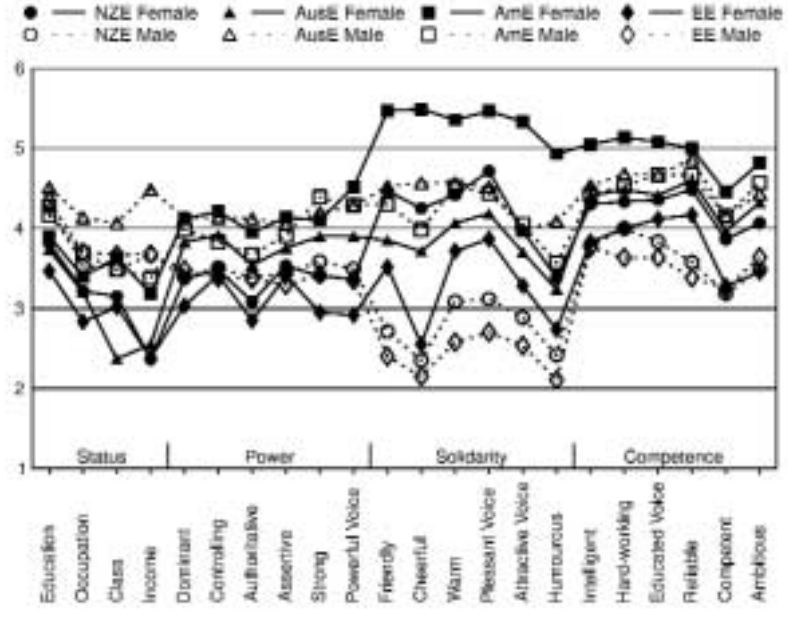

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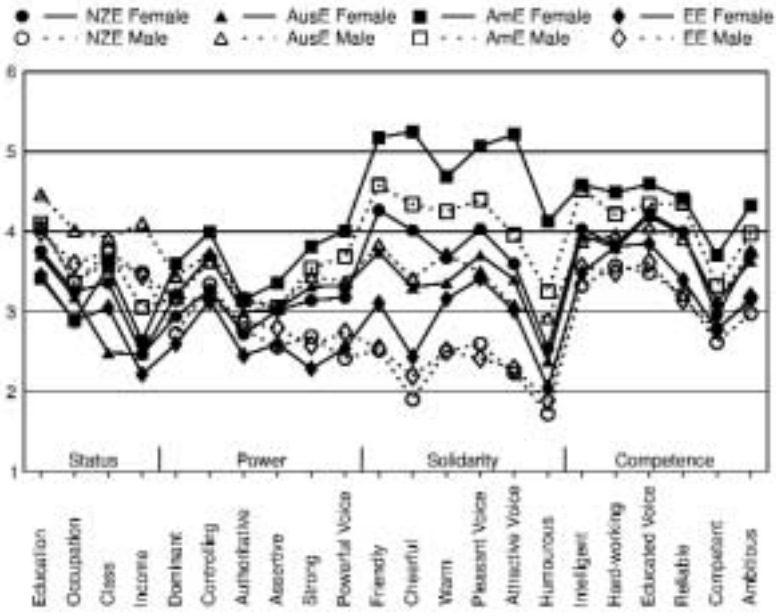
Figure 3: Personality trait means for the 56 Indo-Fijian students



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The four socio-economic variables (occupation, income, education, and social class), and the speakers' age, were identified from a fixed set of options. For social class, for example, participants had to choose one of five categories: lower class (LC), lower middle class (LMC), middle class (MC), upper middle class (UMC), and upper class (UC).

No one is identified as LC by a plurality of respondents and only the AusE female is identified as LMC by a plurality (Table 7). The seven other speakers are identified by a plurality as either UMC (5 speakers) or MC (2 speakers), and for all except the AusE male, the next highest percentage is in the other one of those two categories, so that these two social classes combined receive large majorities (between 62% and 82%). At the other end of the spectrum, no one is classified as UC by a plurality either, although the AusE male gets a high percentage in that category (33%), far higher than anyone else. This bunching up of responses may indicate that the participants find the task difficult and generally go for the safe middle. Nonetheless, the relatively high rating of the AusE male is clear.

Table 7: Attribution of social class

	NZE		AUSE		NAM		EE	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
LC	1	3	10	1	0	1	3	0
LMC	12	16	46	5	10	8	20	11
MC	51	28	34	22	31	32	50	32
UMC	31	34	10	40	40	45	21	36
UC	5	20	0	33	19	13	6	21

But the most striking pattern is the disparity in speaker gender. For all accents but one, the female speaker is downgraded by at least one social class, so that she is classified by at least a plurality in the class category below that of her male compatriot. Thus the NZE female is classified as MC by 51% but her male counterpart as UMC by 34%. This is nearly identical to the EE pair, with the female identified as MC by 50%, and the male as UMC by 32%. The gap is widest between the two AusE speakers, with the female classified by 46% as LMC, two categories below the male, who is identified by 40% as UMC. Only the NAm speakers are assigned to the same class — UMC – although the female gets a lower plurality than the male (40 versus 45%). The difference in social class attribution between female and male speakers is highly significant (Mann-Whitney U 4824.5, tied Z-value –8.848, tied P-Value <.0001).

This pattern is echoed for the other three socio-economic variables. Thus female speakers are perceived as having a lower education level, a less skilled and prestigious occupation, and a smaller income than the males, with the greatest gap between the AusE pair and the smallest between the NAm speakers. Levels of significance are similar to those for social class: ((Mann-Whitney U 5101, tied Z-Value –8.305 for education; U 6413.5, tied Z-Value –6.944 for occupation; U 4595, tied Z-Value –9.046 for income; all tied P-Values <.0001). The gender disparity is even true of age, with female speakers seen as younger than the males (Mann-Whitney U 1748, tied Z-Value –12.625, tied P-Value <.0001). Finally, there is no significant difference between male and female respondents' rating of male and female speakers.

5. Discussion and conclusions

5.1. Accent recognition

Overall, the NAm accent is the most commonly correctly identified, but its lead is not clear cut since one of the four Australasians (the female NZE) is identified as such by more respondents. The NAm accent may be the most recognizable accent of English worldwide, but for these Pacific islanders, the Australasian accent comes a close second, a token of the influence of New Zealand and Australia in the Pacific. The traditional prestige accent, EE, is only third, and is often mistaken for one of the Antipodean accents or 'Other'.

In the survey at large, the NAm accent is identified more accurately by native speakers of English – unsurprisingly — but also by the European speakers of English as a foreign language, with percentages in the samples from Finland, Sweden, and Germany in the 71%–81% range. The results of this Pacific study are closer to those for Singapore and Hong Kong, where percentages range from 39% to 56% for the NAm accents. But the Australasian accent is identified better only by Australasians themselves (see EEAWW website "Results").

What makes the NAm accent the most recognizable? Exposure through the media is a strong possibility, which is discussed below. But the extent to which identification is based on the saliency of the stereotypical post-vocalic r is also a matter for speculation. My students often indicate that they consider it the unequivocal diagnostic feature, yet many of the respondents who listened to the voices on the tape either did not hear it or did not interpret it that way. Another intriguing question is whether a larger sample would show that, say, Cook Islanders identify NZE most accurately, or Samoans NAm, reflecting different influences of these co-existing, or perhaps competing, standards in the Pacific.

Finally, the fact that gender pairs for most accents are not identified at the same level of accuracy, with more respondents sometimes recognizing the male, sometimes the female, limits the validity of generalizations about the recognition of accent per se, and raises the question of whether other voice characteristics influence identification. Current experiments with digital voice manipulation by Sullivan and Bayard designed to ascertain the effect of speaker intonation on listener evaluation may also help reveal any influence on accent recognition (see also EEAWW website "Current research").

5.2. Evaluation of speakers

The respondents' impressions of the speakers reveal a similar pattern of relative influence of the different varieties of English, with the NAm speakers leading in most traits and one of the Australasians (the AusE male) in the others, including status. The EE male has a high ranking only in status, albeit in second place. As for the NZE male's low ranking, it is probably due to his monotonous reading.[6]

It seems then that EE is being displaced as the traditional prestige accent. Yet it is still regarded, at least overtly, as *the* standard in most of the region. This is certainly true in Fiji, where EE is seen as the variety taught in schools and teachers usually reject American spellings. Most people seem to consider that what they speak is 'British English' and there is little awareness that some lexical items have their origin in other varieties.[7]

As in the rest of the region, the local variety of English is not considered standard and the label 'Fiji English' is normally used only for the basilectal end of the speech continuum and considered sub-standard.[8] The local accent is downgraded by its own speakers in comparison with British, American, and Australian varieties even on solidarity dimensions (Pillai 1993). This means that not only deference but also a kind of 'accent loyalty' (Giles and Powesland 1975) is to an external standard. This is not entirely unexpected in a post-colonial society. Language attitudes reflect history, and the 'cringe' is one more feature that Fiji shares with its Australasian neighbours. If, as Bell says, NZE speakers are likely to fall 'out of the British frying pan into the American fire' (1982:254) before they have a chance to develop respect and attachment to their own brand of English, it seems that the Pacific, or at least Fiji, might have been tossed onto an Australasian 'barbie' in between.

The downgrading of females relative to the males has been noted in other studies (Gallois et al. 1984; Bayard 1991a, 1991b). The gender bias seems even more pronounced here, which may indicate a stronger negative stereotype of females in the Pacific. In one of his studies Bayard (1991a: 45) suggests that speaker gender may be more important than accent variation in listener evaluation. A cross-cultural study would help shed light on whether this gender bias is universal or co-varies with differences in the status of women in different parts of the world. *Perceptions* of that status may also be important, and the fact that the NAm female is not downgraded as much as the others in this study perhaps reflects a perception that there is greater gender equality in the US. Alternatively, listeners may be reacting positively to the greater variation in intonation of the NAm female.

5.3. The influence of the media

The mass media in the Pacific is dominated by English. In Fiji, where our respondents were all living at the time of the study, there are currently three daily newspapers in English but only one weekly each in Fijian and Hindi. These two languages have long fared better on radio, as the government-run Fiji Broadcasting Corporation (FBC) broadcasts in the three official languages on separate channels, and there is an ever increasing number of private stations, some broadcasting in Fijian, some in Hindi, others in English. Television is increasingly important, if only in the sense that it seems to take up a lot of people's free time, if our participants' responses are anything to go by. As for the Internet, Fiji-based websites are all in English, with only an occasional paragraph in Fijian, and one must go to the website of the Pacific Languages Unit of the University of the South Pacific to find an extended text in Fijian.[9]

Television was introduced in Fiji in 1991, with the free-access channel Fiji One, and was initially entirely in English. Pay channels have recently been added, including one in Hindi, but Fiji One is still overwhelmingly dominated by English, with a tiny share of airtime for the other two official languages. Currently there are two daily 2-min. summaries on weekday evenings, one in Fijian and one in Hindi, and two half hour programs each in Fijian and Hindi on Sunday afternoon. Commercial ads and public service announcements are nearly all in English, with an occasional one in Fijian or Hindi. On the main news bulletin, interviewees speaking in Fijian or Hindi used to be upstaged by a voice-over English translation, but this is increasingly being replaced with English sub-titles. Interviewees have included Fijians speaking Fiji Hindi to Indo-Fijian reporters and Indo-Fijian interviewees speaking Fijian – a nice reminder that English is not the only lingua franca in the country.

The share of locally produced programs is also tiny, as is typical in a cash-strapped developing country with a very small population. Currently, a typical weekday program during prime time - from 6pm to 11pm - features a half hour local news bulletin (played twice an evening) with 3 brief news summaries (in each official language), a half hour BBC World News bulletin, a half hour episode of the New Zealand soap opera Shortland Street, and 3 or 4 other shows (situation comedies, drama, etc). All such shows aired over the course of the week are American-made except one, the Australian Water Rats. While programs change over time, the number of locally made programs and the ratio of American-made versus other foreign-made programs has remained constant between March 2001 and March 2002, with American programs

accounting for 40% of air time on an average week night, and local programs for less than 25% (see also Bayard 2000 and EEAWW website "Influence").

While it is tempting to speculate about whether our respondents would have recognized the NAm accent as easily before the days of television, we must keep in mind that films and videos were already very popular then – as they continue to be. The bulk of 'English' movies (ie in the English language) are of course American. The other major global film industry – in fact larger than that of the US – thrives in Fiji too. Hindi movies are widely available both in theaters and on video, and although the language is significantly different from Fiji Hindi, it is understood well enough, thanks in part to the fairly predictable plot lines. While Indo-Fijians tend to divide their viewing between Hindi and English language TV and movies, Fijians do not have a similar choice since there is no production in Fijian. Their greater exposure to media English may account, at least in part, for the better performance of Fijian respondents on accent recognition.[10]

Most of the respondents report watching TV several hours a week, with only 13% not watching it at all, probably because they don't have access (see Table 8). The mean among TV viewers is 9.6 hours a week. The favorite program by far is the New Zealand drama series Shortland Street, mentioned by 69 respondents as one of their top three programs. Other favorites include The X Files (named by 39), The Practice (30), Dawson's Creek (27), and Full House (22) – all American programs. The local news is cited by 21, and 'the news' (which could be the local news, BBC or both) by 25.

We may muse about the popularity of Shortland Street. It has the advantage of airing in an excellent time slot and also every weekday, which favours addiction. When asked why they watch it, people often say, 'it's just like in

Table 8: Television viewing

NUMBER OF HOURS A WEEK	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
0	13
less than 1	1
1–4½	29
5–9	22
10–19	25
more than 20	10

Fiji', rather than mention any particular fascination with a putative New Zealand culture. Whatever the reason for the program's popularity, it may be too much of a stretch to conclude that this substantial exposure alone accounts for the lead in accent recognition of the NZE female. The difficulty of establishing any direct influence of the media on different aspects of language has been noted before (Trudgill 1986; Wober 1990) and remains a major challenge.

Notes

1 My thanks go to the late Donn Bayard, for inviting me to contribute to 'Investigating English worldwide'. Donn provided the tape and master questionnaire, did much of the statistical analysis, and made comments on a previous draft of this paper. Thanks also to two anonymous reviewers for their comments. I also thank the students who agreed to participate in the study. I am grateful to Veena Khan, Rajni Chand and Mohammed Sameer for help in administering the questionnaire, and to Sameer also for data entry. Robin Taylor, as always, was ready to answer many questions on statistical tests and their interpretation. The study was supported by the School of Humanities at the University of the South Pacific.

2 Full details on the project available at http://www.otago.ac.nz/anthropology/Linguistic/Accents.html

3 On English in the South Pacific, see Lynch and Mugler 1999.

4 Among the countries of the USP region, only Tonga was never a colony, although it was a British protectorate.

5 In 1999, a typical year, 29% of tourists arriving in Fiji were from Australia, 18% from New Zealand, 15% from the USA, 10% from the UK, 3% from Canada, and 15% from elsewhere (Fiji Islands Statistics Bureau http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/). Figures for 2001 are not available, and those for 2000 are atypical, reflecting a decrease in tourism after the 19 May coup, particularly in the numbers of Australasian tourists.

6 According to Bradac (1990) slow readers are more likely to be rated unfavourably, but the NZE male is faster than the other speakers, so intonation may be more important than speed.

7 There is still a great deal of sentimental attachment to the former colonial power, particularly among Fijians. Until about 10 years ago, Fiji was one of the only countries where Prince Charles' birthday was celebrated as a public holiday. (He also has a nice stretch of beach on the island of Taveuni named after him.) The funeral of the Queen Mother in April 2002 was televised live and I am told that many older Fijians cried.

8 On Fiji English, see Siegel 1989, 1991, Tent and Mugler 1996, Mugler and Tent 1998, Tent 2000, 2001 a, and 2001b.

9 http://www.vanuatu.usp.ac.fj/about/fijian_version.html

10 One reviewer has suggested the greater involvement of Fijians in the tourism industry as a possible contributing factor. The tourism industry certainly relies almost exclusively in its marketing on the stereotypical image of the friendly Fijian and the 'bula' smile, and many Fijians are indeed employed in the industry, particularly in jobs where they are highly visible to tourists. Nonetheless, there are also many Indo-Fijians (and 'Others') who work in tourism. Whether the Fijian respondents would have had any involvement in tourism remains a matter for speculation.

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