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Antipodean accents and the "cultural cringe": New Zealand and American attitudes toward NZE and other English accents

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1.0 Introduction

> This book [*New Zealand English: How It Should Be Spoken*] is designed for use by residents in New Zealand who wish to speak "good" English, or "standard" English, as spoken by the "best" speakers in the old land; it is not intended for those who wish to develop a new dialect of English for this country.
> (Introduction to Wall 1941)

> Previous radio voice work and training stood her in good stead, but she says she still had the "usual bad New Zealand speech patterns".
> (Interview with TV news presenter, *Otago Daily Times*, August 1986)

> Instances of poor grammar and syntax have increased remarkably in the past year or two, leading to the insidious spread of a type of English severed from its Anglo-Saxon roots. ... We hear "different than" for "different from", and so on. All this overlaid by alien pronunciations like "bin" for "been". We are not Americans, and such instances represent not hybrid vigour but pollution.
> (letter to *NZ Listener*, October 1986)

> If she listened carefully to [the American-accented announ-

> cer] she might learn better pronunciation instead of the insipid variety we have copied from county English who developed a snob accent in an effort to create a chasm between themselves and the rest of English-speaking peoples. (letter to *Otago Daily Times*, November 1986)

As the quotes above illustrate, New Zealanders are far from unanimous on the question of what constitutes a "proper" New Zealand accent. This is hardly surprising, since such disagreement is a feature of any complex speech community. However, due to historical and geographical factors New Zealand presents a picture quite distinct from the much older, larger, and more diverse English speech communities of the United Kingdom and North America.

1.1 Background

The English-speaking history of New Zealand officially began with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, annexing the islands to Britain. Massive British immigration over the following decades quickly reduced the indigenous Maori to minority status in an English-speaking colony. The origins of the New Zealand English (NZE) accent are still rather unclear, but it obviously shares a very close relationship with Australian English (AusE). It is apparent in turn that the Australasian accents can be traced back to Southeastern England, with Irish and Scottish elements incorporated by the process of dialect levelling (Trudgill 1986:129-46; Gordon and Deverson 1985:18-19; Lass 1987:296). For almost three-quarters of its 150-year existence as an English-speaking nation New Zealand was a colony of "Home", as Britain was commonly called. Although granted dominion status in 1907, and accorded full autonomy along with other dominions by the Statute of Westminster in 1931, the New Zealand parliament did not ratify the Statute until 1947, and New Zealand residents did not become New Zealand citizens as well as British subjects until 1949. Other signs of nationhood came even later: "British Subject" was dropped from New Zealand passports only in 1974; *God Defend New Zealand*, the national anthem, gained this status (co-equal with *God Save the Queen*) in 1977. Finally, in 1981 the New Zealand ensign legally became the official flag (Department of Statistics 1985:970, 971). These symbols of national independence were adopted almost unconsciously

over the past 40 years, with no fanfare; I have questioned dozens of New Zealanders during the past six years, and have yet to encounter one who was overtly aware of the changes.

Throughout this long colonial period – and indeed in some respects up to the present – the RP accent remained the unquestioned high-status acrolect in the NZE speech community. From about 1900 on, the NZE accent was almost universally condemned by educators and other prescriptivists as impure, slovenly, etc. (see Gordon 1983a, 1983b, Gordon and Abell 1990, and Wall's 1941 book quoted above, subtitled "with special reference to New Zealand conditions and problems"). Radio New Zealand announcers were trained in and expected to use RP only.

However, World War II and subsequent media developments brought considerable change. The trickle of American idiom and lexicon introduced by troops stationed here during the war increased to a stream with the influence of American films and popular music. In 1960 the government began television transmission; within six months the majority of the programmes screened on the single channel were of American origin. A second government channel was introduced in 1974, and a third private channel in 1989, the latter accompanied by what may be termed the "total Americanisation" of New Zealand television in formatting and commercial sponsorship. Despite efforts to include homegrown programmes, American features far outnumber either these or U.K. programmes (for the situation as it was a few years ago, see Bayard 1987:21-25). It should also be noted that while the American programmes are almost totally in the standard North American acrolect (Inland Northern NAm), most of the U.K. programmes feature non-standard, regional accents (London, Midlands, Yorkshire, etc.) rather than RP. The situation has been further complicated over the past several years by the appearance of numbers of Australian programmes, but the degree to which New Zealanders can accurately distinguish NZE from AusE is debatable (see below).

Hence the attitudinal situation in New Zealand is somewhat more complex than the more usual picture of competition between regional and "class" variants which confer solidarity on the one hand, and a prestigious acrolect conferring status on the other. The RP acrolect in this case is spoken by a tiny minority in a nation halfway around the

world[1]. The sense of being an isolated colonial outpost of Britain lost in the South Pacific (which I believe lingered on psychologically for some time after the introduction of international air travel following World War II) shows signs of beginning to crumble. The economic crises of the past 15 years have also had an effect. With Britain's entrance into the Common Market in 1973, "Home" ceased to be "Home", and New Zealand's major trading partners are now Japan, Australia, and America. America has become the most powerful nation in the world, while Britain has been reduced to a regional European power. All of these events have coincided with a massive influx of American media influence which is making a considerable impact on New Zealand idiom, lexicon, and orthography (Bayard 1989), and perhaps even on syntax (Bauer 1986a, Bayard 1989:51) and phonology (Bayard 1990a). Needless to say, the phenomenon is not confined to New Zealand (see Sussex 1985 for a brief review of the impact of American English on Australian).

1.2 Previous research

Given all these factors, one would expect some amount of ambiguity in the attitudes of the NZE speech community toward RP, NAm, and their own range of NZE accents, and in 1986 I began to investigate this. Although sophisticated accent evaluation studies have been carried out for decades in northern hemisphere Anglophone countries (see Giles and Powesland 1975, Scherer and Giles 1979, etc.), only two brief articles had previously been published on the accent attitudes of New Zealanders. One of these was concerned mainly with attitudes toward foreign accents (RP, NAm, Lancashire, and a selection of non-native-speaker accents; Watts 1981). The second more substantial study (Huygens 1979, published in Huygens and Vaughan 1983; revised and updated in Vaughan and Huygens 1990) contrasted twelve Pakeha (New Zealanders of European descent) NZE accents with six each of "Maori" NZE[2], RP, and Dutch-accented English. However, the

[1] Estimates range from 3%-5% of England; the percentage for the U.K. as a whole would of course be even lower.

[2] The folk-linguistic belief in a "Maori" variant or variants of NZE as distinct from "Pakeha" NZE remains to be demonstrated conclusively. However, a recent study by Jacob (1990) provides some objective evidence of probabilistic (not absolute) variation in syntax. I personally feel that some intonational and phonetic

texts employed were not controlled for length or lexical content, and phonology was not analysed. An unpublished M.A. thesis by Abell (1980; summarised and updated in Gordon and Abell 1990) was the only available one at that time to contrast a range of phonetically described NZE accents with RP. However, no study had yet been undertaken which contrasted a range of NZE accents not only with RP, but also with NAm and AusE.

The research reported here attempted this with five groups of respondents: not only female and male high school students, as employed by Abell, and the university students used in Huygens' study, but also a small group of elderly New Zealand males and a final group of 32 adult American listeners. Like the earlier investigators, I was unable to employ the matched-guise technique pioneered by Lambert and others and widely used in Northern Hemisphere studies. Firstly, I was simply unable to locate mimics of both genders capable of imitating the required range of NZE accents plus RP, NAm, and AusE; secondly, even if I had found such mimics I did not wish to run the risk of obtaining "no more than stereotyped impressions of the relevant accents" (Giles and Powesland 1975:31)[3].

2.0 The present study: methods

As a result of an earlier Labovian survey of phonological (Bayard 1987, 1991b) and lexical (Bayard 1989) variation in NZE using the now-standard variables of age, gender, and socioeconomic class, I had accumulated a corpus of 141 NZE accents, plus 15 additional RP, NAm, AusE, and other non-NZE English accents. All accent samples used the same 170-word reading passage, and were thus uniform in length (about one minute) and in phonological and lexical content. I selected five NZE speakers to cover the range from "broad" through

features (e.g., partial or complete devoicing of final voiced obstruents) will also prove to be distinctive of the speech of some (by no means all or even most) Maori NZE speakers.

[3]For a discussion of my male high school and university results as contrasted with those of Abell and Huygens, as well as updated versions of their research, see Bayard 1990b, Gordon and Abell 1990, and Vaughan and Huygens 1990, all in Bell and Holmes 1990. This book provides the only up-to-date summary of these and other sociolinguistic studies of NZE. For a more thorough and complex statistical treatment of my three younger New Zealand datasets than that offered here, see Bayard 1991a.

TABLE 1. Broad, general, and cultivated vowel foci for Australian and New Zealand English.
(NZE 1–4 refer to values used in Table 2.)

AUSTRALIA (after Mitchell & Delbridge 1965)

	(i)	(u)	(ei)	(ou)	(ai)	(au)
Broad	[ɘᴛ'I]	[ɘᴛ'U]	[ʌ-ᴛ'I]	[ʌ-ᴛ'U]	[ɒ'I]	[æɹ'U]
General	[ɘI]	[ɘU]	[ʌI]	[ʌU]	[ɒI]	[æU]
Cultivated	[i]~[ɪi]	[u]~[ʊu]	[ɐI]~[eI]	[oU]	[aI]	[aU]

NEW ZEALAND (as used in Bayard 1987, 1991a)

	(i)	(u)	(ei)	(ou)	(ai)	(au)
1. Broad	[ɘi]~[ɘɹi]	[ʉ]	[ʊI]	[ɤᴛ-ᴛU]	[ɒI]	[æU]
2. General	[ɘɹi]~[ɪi]	[ʉ]	[ʊ-ɪ]~[ɐ-I]	[ʌ-ᴛU]	[ɑI]	[aɹU]
3. Cultivated/RP	[ɪi]	[ʉ]	[ɐ-I]	[ɘU]	[ɑ-ɪ]	[aU]
4.	[i]	[u]	[eI]	[ɘU]~[ɐ-U]	[ɑ-I]~[ɑ-ɪ]	[ɑ-ᴛU]

"general" to "cultivated" (near-RP) NZE. I have argued elsewhere (Bayard 1990b) that this trichotomy, originally developed by Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) to accommodate AusE and since widely applied to NZE as well (e.g. Abell 1980, Gordon and Deverson 1985), is better viewed as a continuum rather than three distinct varieties (see Bayard 1990b:69-73 for justification and phonetic descriptions of the "Dagg to Dougal" continuum as demonstrated by samples from New Zealand media). The features of chief salience in this continuum in NZE (and in AusE) are of course the prescriptivists' "terrible diphthongs" (Gordon and Deverson 1985:23) (ei) (au) (ai) (ou); degree of diphthongisation of (i) is also significant, as is the rendering of Wells' "happY" vowel as /-i/ or /-ɪ/ (Wells 1982:165-66). Table 1 provides approximate phonetic descriptions of vowel foci for broad, general, and cultivated points on this continuum for AusE (following Mitchell and Delbridge 1965) and NZE (from Bayard 1987, 1991b). For a thorough, up-to-date discussion of NZE phonetics and phonology in general see Bauer 1986b.

2.1 The speakers

The vowel variables in the reading passages were scored on a scale of 1 "broad" to 4 "RP"; the 1-4 scale was also used for socially salient mergers currently under way in NZE. These include merger of /iə/ and /eə/, so that "ear" and "air" become homophones (variable (ea) in Table 2 below)[4]; merger of /æ/ and /e/ preceding /l/, so that "Ellen" and "Allen" merge (variable (ael)); postvocalic /l/ vocalisation (variable (l)); disyllabic pronunciation of strong past participles ("knowen", "showen", "strewen", etc.; variable (owen)); merger of "doll" /ɒl/ and "dole" /ʌʊl/ vowels (ol); and /hw-/ - /w-/ merger (wh). Table 2 gives the scores for each of these variables for all of the eight speakers used in this study.

I limited the number of speakers presented to eight, as a larger sample might have led to fatigue or boredom affecting how listeners scored speakers near the end of the series[5]. The speakers presented thus comprised female and male broad and general NZE, female cultivated NZE, male Canadian NAm, male general AusE, and female RP. The infeasibility of employing the matched-guise technique mentioned above certainly resulted in some variation in "paralinguistic features" (Giles and Powesland 1975:13). As some recordings were made in the laboratory while others were done in the field, the recording quality is not uniformly good. There is clearly variation among the speakers in vocal timbre, intonation, and reading speed; for example, speaker No. 2 is obviously not as fluent a reader as the rest. However, my choice of the speakers was based on my subjective impressions of the stereotypes which they would (and as it proved, did) convey to NZE speakers, and

[4] As the values for each speaker were derived from minimal-pair reading lists, it may be asked whether this is a "real" merger in the vernacular or a "falsely reported" merger largely limited to word lists, as Milroy describes the same merger in Norwich (1987:174). Milroy's Belfast example of a false merger (*meat/mate*) may perhaps be due to the merger being viewed fairly consciously as an ingroup solidarity marker (e.g., the vernacular poetry example she cites; 1987:53). In the case of NZE *ear/air*, however, the form occurs in only a minority of examples of vernacular poetry such as *in memoriam* and birthday poems published in the classified columns. Hence the merger would appear to me to be "real" enough; an in-depth Labovian study under way by Holmes and Bell should provide a conclusive answer.

[5] I am deeply indebted to Prof. S.H. Ng, of the Psychology Department, University of Otago, for many valuable suggestions on the methodology and analytical techniques employed in this research.

TABLE 2
Values for Phonological Variables of Speakers
Used in Accent Evaluation Tests
(Values are fully defined in Bayard 1987:33-34 and Bayard 1991b:172-4)
(Y)=younger, (O)=older; scalability No.2 to No.3 97%)

Speaker	No.4 MC Can	No.6 Gen Aust	No.2 LC Broad NZ(Y)	No.8 MC Broad NZ(O)	No.1 MC Gen NZ(Y)	No.7 MC Gen NZ(O)	No.5 UMC Cult NZE	No.3 UMC Eng RP
Sex	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	F
Equally or more class- than age-sensitive:								
(l)	3	4	1	3	4	4	4	4
(æl)	4	4	1	2	3	4	4	4
(owen)	4	1	3	1	1	4	4	4
(eə)	4	4	1	3	1	4	4	4
(ei)	4	2	2	2	2	3	4	4
(i)	4	1	1	2	2	3	4	4
(ol)	3	4	1	2	2	3	3	4
(au)	3	2	1	1	2	3	3	4
(ai)	4	2	1	1	2	2	3	3
(ou)	0	1	1	1	2	2	3	3
More age- than class-sensitive:								
(wh)	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	4

I agree with Huygens in her earlier study that "natural speakers can be seen as equally suitable" (1979:27) as matched-guise speakers for eliciting reactions to such stereotypes. Despite my initially subjective choice of the speakers, Table 2 shows that the distribution of phonological values in the voices selected, ranging from "lower-class broad" NZE to "upper middle-class RP" (and excluding NAm and AusE), exhibit almost perfect horisontal scalability (97%).

It is necessary to emphasise that this study is an exploratory one; the results obviously contain confounds of accent with speaker gender, and – to a lesser extent – with age of speaker (although speaker No. 2 sounded somewhat more youthful than the rest, the older speakers Nos. 3, 5, and 7 had no signs of age in their voices). This research design thus lacks the rigour necessary for a conclusive demonstration of the effects of speaker accent as opposed to gender on the judges' evaluations. Nonetheless, I believe the results are highly suggestive, and also provide guidelines for more rigorous experiments utilising research methods employed by social psychologists of language (e.g. Gallois, Callan and Johnstone 1984)

The eight speakers are described below in the order they are listed in Table 2 (NAm, AusE, and broad NZE to RP). The speaker number refers to the order of presentation in most of the experimental sessions:

No. 4: Male middle-class Canadian (Manitoba) doctoral student aged 31

No. 6: Male middle-class "general Australian" speaker; university degree, businessperson, aged 31

No. 2: Female lower-class "innovative broad" NZE speaker; school leaver, work skills trainee, aged 17

No. 8: Male (lower-class background) "conservative broad" NZE speaker; doctoral degree,professional, aged 35

No. 1: Female lower-middle-class "innovative general" NZE speaker; high school education, aged 25

No. 7: Male middle-class "conservative general" NZE speaker; some university, retired businessperson, aged 67

No. 5: Female middle-class "conservative cultivated" NZE speaker; university degree, professional, aged 66

No. 3: Female upper-middle class "conservative" RP speaker taped during brief visit from England; university degree, aged 71.

"Innovative" and "conservative" are used in the descriptions to refer to certain phonological features which are more age- than class-sensitive (e.g. /hw/ retention and lack of -t glottalisation in "conservative" speakers; see Bayard 1987:13-16; Bayard 1990a). While this dimension is at least partly independent of the "broad-cultivated" continuum, I thought it worthwhile to include both older and younger speakers of broad and general NZE to investigate any possible variations in attitudes to them.

2.2 Questionnaire and groups surveyed

The questionnaire administered to subjects followed the form usual for this sort of study. Respondents were asked to listen to and rank each of the eight speakers on a scale of 1 (++) to 5 (- -) for eleven traits:

Pleasantness of accent

Reliability

Ambition

Sense of humour

Leadership ability

Likely annual income (less than $10,000 to over $35,000)

Educational level (school leaver to advanced university degrees)

Self-confidence

Intelligence

Likeability

Acceptability ("exclude from NZ", "visitor to NZ", "workmate", "neighbour", "close friend", "family member". As several subjects pointed out, "workmate" and "neighbour" should perhaps have been reversed.)

Respondents were then asked to assess the speaker's nationality, social class background, and likely kind of job s/he has. While this last section was necessarily more subjective that the eleven scaled traits, it was still relatively simple in almost all cases to assess respondents' opinions on socioeconomic level (1 lower class, 2 upper LC, lower middle class, 3 middle MC, 4 upper MC, 5 upper class). Ambiguous responses were of course not scored. Obviously the variable called "class" here is more properly what Milroy calls evaluative "status" rather than actual "class" (1987:31), but "class" is a more convenient term to use in conjunction with "lower, middle", etc.

Nationality opinions were similarly scored:

0 Maori/Polynesian

1 N.Z. (although unmarked, presumably Pakeha New Zealander, at least for those respondents contrasting it with "Maori/Polynesian")

2 Australian

3 British/English

4 Canadian/North American

5 American/United States

6 Irish/Scots

7 Continental European

8 Asian/African

This was done to provide some overall indication of the accuracy of subjects' attributions; obviously the values are strictly nominal rather than ordinal. Subjects were finally asked to supply their own birthyear, sex, foreign language knowledge, and place(s) and amount of time spent overseas (this last to eliminate non-NZE speakers). Further details of administration methods and criteria used to evaluate socioeconomic class/status may be found in Bayard (1990b:77-8) and Bayard (1987:5) or Bayard (1991b:171).

The questionnaire was originally administered to 86 university students in 1986, and in the following year to 46 Fourth Form students at a Dunedin boys' high school (Bayard 1990b). In 1988 and 1989 the sample of respondents was increased by administration to three additional groups: 27 older men at Dunedin lawn bowls clubs; 32 American adults in Ames, Iowa[6]; and 57 Fourth and Fifth Form students at a girls' high school some distance from Dunedin[7] . Table 3 gives details on age and sex composition of each of the five groups.

[6]I am very grateful to Janet Fanslow, an Otago psychology graduate student, for administering the questionnaire there. The questionnaire was reworded in places to accord with American usage, and estimated income scales adjusted upward – rather too far upward, apparently (see Fig. 3 below).

[7]I thank the provincial high school teachers who administered the test to the female students; and Paul Armfelt, Michael Yeats, and my wife, Daisy N.H.L. Bayard, who provided much-appreciated help with administration of the tests in Dunedin. Research funds were provided by the Otago University Research Council, and figures were computer-drawn by Martin Fisher. Finally, my deepest thanks to the 216 New Zealanders and 32 Americans who participated in this research.

TABLE 3

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF FIVE GROUPS SURVEYED

	DATE	NUMBER	MEAN AGE	SEX COMPOSITION
University students	10/1986	86	21.7, s.d. 4.3	58 female, 28 male
Older males	1/1989	27	57.0, s.d. 10.5	all male
American adults	1/1989	32	31.1, s.d. 10.0	21 female, 11 male
Girls' high school	10/1989	57	15.1, s.d. 0.7	all female
Boys' high school	4/1987	46	14.7, s.d. 0.4	all male
TOTAL		248	23.8, s.d. 13.7	136 female, 112 male

It goes without saying that none of the five groups comprises a stratified random sample, nor is the total sample particularly well-balanced, save for gender (a 55%:45% ratio). The 12-19 age cohort makes up slightly over half of the total sample, and older females are vastly underrepresented. Socioeconomic class of respondents is available only for the American and older Dunedin male samples, and cannot be included as a variable. Nonetheless, the use of stratified random samples is still a rarity in attitudinal studies such as this, and what we are concerned with here are the different evaluational patterns of the five groups.

2.3 Analytical techniques

All five datasets were coded and converted into SPSS^{X} system files, with all variables embedded (a total of 175 variables). Analyses carried out included derivation of basic frequencies and means for each of the twelve traits assessed for all eight speakers, overall means for each of the eight speakers, overall means for each of the twelve traits, and overall trait means for the four female and four male speakers. ANOVA F-ratios, t-tests, and rank-order correlations were calculated to determine significant differences and associations between variables, and factor analyses were run on the overall trait and female/male speaker means to determine their interrelationship.

3.0 Results

The results can best be dealt with under three categories, from the simplest to the more complex:

TABLE 4

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS'
PERCEPTIONS OF SPEAKERS' NATIONAL ORIGIN AND SOCIAL STATUS
(N=86; 58 female, 28 male)
(majority/plurality for each speaker in boldface)

	SPKR 1 NZE Y gen.	SPKR 2 NZE broad	SPKR 3 RP cons.	SPKR 4 CAN NAm	SPKR 5 NZE cult.	SPKR 6 AusE gen.	SPKR 7 NZE O gen.	SPKR 8 NZE broad
Maori/PN	---	10.5	---	---	1.2	---	---	---
NZ	93.0	74.4	16.3	2.3	43.0	33.7	**66.3**	**91.9**
Australian	1.2	1.2	---	---	1.2	**64.0**	18.6	5.8
British	4.7	11.6	**80.2**	---	**47.7**	---	9.3	---
Canada/N. Am.	---	---	---	27.9	---	---	---	---
American	---	---	---	**65.1**	---	---	---	---
Other/no data	---	2.3	---	2.4	---	---	---	---
LC	2.3	**75.6**	1.2	---	3.5	2.3	1.2	5.8
ULC/LMC	9.3	14.0	---	1.2	7.0	10.5	2.3	22.1
MC	**57.0**	3.5	8.1	32.6	19.8	**46.5**	30.2	**43.0**
UMC	15.1	---	40.7	**47.7**	**36.0**	23.3	**47.7**	18.6
UC	2.3	---	**45.3**	7.0	10.5	2.3	9.3	1.2
No data	14.0	7.0	4.7	11.6	23.3	15.1	9.3	9.3

LC, UMC, etc.=lower class, upper middle class, etc.
Y=young, O=old, gen.=general, cons.=conservative.
Other: Continental European, Asian, African.

TABLE 5
MALE BOWLS CLUBS'
PERCEPTIONS OF SPEAKERS' NATIONAL ORIGIN AND SOCIAL CLASS
(N=27; mean age 57)
(majority/plurality for each speaker in boldface)

	SPKR 1 MC NZE Y gen.	SPKR 2 LC NZE broad	SPKR 3 UMC RP cons.	SPKR 4 MC CAN NAm	SPKR 5 UMC NZE cult.	SPKR 6 MC AusE gen.	SPKR 7 MC NZE O gen.	SPKR 8 MC NZE broad
Maori/PN	---	14.8	---	---	3.7	---	---	3.7
NZ	**44.4**	**29.6**	3.7	7.4	29.6	**55.6**	**37.0**	**51.9**
Australian	3.7	3.7	3.7	7.4	---	7.4	7.4	3.7
British	7.4	7.4	**51.9**	---	29.6	7.4	18.5	7.4
Canada/N. Am.	3.7	---	3.7	18.5	3.7	3.7	---	---
American	---	---	---	22.2	---	---	3.7	3.7
Other/no data	40.7	**44.4**	37.0	**44.4**	**33.3**	25.9	33.3	29.6
LC	18.5	**63.0**	---	---	7.4	7.4	---	3.7
ULC/LMC	7.4	3.7	---	---	11.1	3.7	---	14.8
MC	**37.0**	3.7	7.4	18.5	22.2	**25.9**	14.8	**25.9**
UMC	14.8	---	25.9	**25.9**	18.5	18.5	**33.3**	18.5
UC	---	---	**40.7**	22.2	3.7	3.7	22.2	3.7
No data	22.2	29.6	25.9	**33.3**	**37.0**	**40.7**	29.6	**33.3**

TABLE 6
AMERICAN (AMES, IOWA)
PERCEPTIONS OF SPEAKERS' NATIONAL ORIGIN AND SOCIAL CLASS
(N=32; 21 female, 11 male)
(majority/plurality for each speaker in boldface)

	SPKR 1 MC NZE Y gen.	SPKR 2 LC NZE broad	SPKR 3 UMC RP cons.	SPKR 4 MC CAN NAm	SPKR 5 UMC NZE cult.	SPKR 6 MC AusE gen.	SPKR 7 MC NZE O gen.	SPKR 8 MC NZE broad
Native/Black	---	6.3	---	---	6.3	---	---	---
NZ	28.1	12.5	21.9	---	18.8	21.9	**31.3**	**37.5**
Australian	15.6	15.6	3.1	3.1	21.9	**46.9**	28.1	34.4
British	**50.0**	**37.5**	**68.8**	---	**25.0**	9.4	9.4	9.4
Canada/N. Am.	---	---	---	6.3	---	---	---	3.1
American	---	6.3	3.1	**78.1**	12.5	9.4	6.3	6.3
Welsh/Irish	---	3.1	---	---	---	3.1	6.3	---
European	---	3.1	---	---	---	3.1	3.1	---
No data	6.3	15.6	3.1	12.5	15.6	6.3	15.6	9.4
LC	3.1	**71.9**	---	---	18.8	---	6.3	---
ULC/LMC	15.6	12.5	---	6.3	12.5	21.9	12.5	9.4
MC	**53.1**	15.6	6.3	**40.6**	**40.6**	**40.6**	28.1	**34.4**
UMC	15.6	---	25.0	37.5	6.3	21.9	18.8	**34.4**
UC	6.3	---	**68.8**	9.4	12.5	3.1	**31.3**	9.4
No data	6.3	---	---	6.3	9.4	12.5	9.3	12.5

LC, UMC, etc.=lower class, upper middle class, etc.
Y=young, O=old, gen.=general, cons.=conservative.
** Other: Continental European, Asian, African.

TABLE 7
GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS'
PERCEPTIONS OF SPEAKERS' NATIONAL ORIGIN AND SOCIAL CLASS (N=57)
(majority/plurality for each speaker in boldface)

	SPKR 1 MC NZE* Y gen.	SPKR 2 LC NZE broad	SPKR 3 UMC RP cons.	SPKR 4 MC CAN NAm	SPKR 5 UMC NZE cult.	SPKR 6 MC AusE gen.	SPKR 7 MC NZE O gen.	SPKR 8 MC NZE broad
Maori/PN	---	**42.1**	---	---	---	---	---	3.8
NZ	**73.7**	22.8	7.0	1.8	**38.6**	**29.8**	**61.4**	**86.0**
Australian	8.8	---	1.8	1.8	8.8	**61.4**	**21.1**	3.5
British	10.5	21.1	**87.7**	---	29.8	3.5	10.5	---
Canada/N. Am.	---	---	---	14.0	---	---	---	---
American	1.8	---	---	**73.7**	1.8	---	---	---
Other**	---	5.3	---	5.3	8.8	---	---	---
No data	5.3	8.8	3.5	3.5	12.3	5.3	7.0	7.0
LC	1.8	**82.5**	---	3.5	**36.8**	---	---	3.5
ULC/LMC	1.8	5.3	---	3.5	15.8	15.8	7.0	15.8
MC	**54.4**	1.8	7.0	**33.3**	24.6	**59.6**	**28.1**	**50.9**
UMC	33.3	3.5	15.8	29.8	12.3	10.5	24.6	12.3
UC	3.5	3.5	**73.7**	24.6	7.0	10.5	**33.3**	14.0
No data	5.3	3.5	3.5	5.3	3.5	3.5	7.0	3.5

TABLE 8
BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS'
PERCEPTIONS OF SPEAKERS' NATIONAL ORIGIN AND SOCIAL CLASS (N=46)
(majority/plurality for each speaker in boldface)

	SPKR 1 MC NZE Y gen.	SPKR 2 LC NZE broad	SPKR 3 UMC RP cons.	SPKR 4 MC CAN NAm	SPKR 5 UMC NZE cult.	SPKR 6 MC AusE gen.	SPKR 7 MC NZE O gen.	SPKR 8 MC NZE broad
Maori/PN	---	17.4	---	---	2.2	---	---	---
NZ	**50.0**	**41.3**	2.2	21.7	23.9	**52.2**	**41.3**	**69.6**
Australian	6.5	4.3	---	10.9	2.2	23.9	19.6	2.2
British	28.3	13.0	**76.1**	2.2	**37.0**	4.3	13.0	2.2
Canada/N. Am.	2.2	---	---	8.7	---	---	2.2	2.2
American	2.2	---	2.2	**34.8**	2.2	---	4.3	2.2
Other/no data	10.9	23.9	19.6	21.8	32.6	19.6	19.6	21.7
LC	10.9	**82.6**	---	8.7	**45.7**	13.0	4.3	8.7
ULC/LMC	---	---	---	---	8.7	8.7	8.7	6.5
MC	**69.6**	10.9	6.5	**39.1**	19.6	**45.7**	**39.1**	**43.5**
UMC	10.9	---	13.0	28.3	4.3	21.7	30.4	23.9
UC	6.5	---	**76.1**	19.6	4.3	6.5	8.7	4.3
No data	2.2	6.5	4.3	4.3	17.4	4.3	8.7	13.0

LC, UMC, etc.=lower class, upper middle class, etc.
Y=young, O=old, gen.=general, cons.=conservative.
** Other: Continental European, Asian, African.

3.1 Nationality and social class attributions

Perhaps the simplest body of results to evaluate are the estimates of speaker nationality and socioeconomic level made by respondents; Tables 4 to 8 summarise these for the five groups. It should of course be noted that the small sample size and high number of nil responses in the American and older New Zealand datasets reduce their reliability.

The most obvious similarity between the five groups is the ease of recognition and perceived status of the RP speaker; all groups but the older males guessed British/English in the range of 70-88%, and even 52% of the older males (who were generally reluctant to hazard guesses on nationality and class) guessed correctly. Almost equally unsurprisingly, the four New Zealand groups were unable to distinguish the Canadian voice from American; in fact 33% of the high school boys assumed he was a New Zealander or Australian. It is slightly more surprising that such a low percentage of the Iowans (6%, or two of the 32 respondents) correctly identified the Canadian accent as distinct from American; I strongly suspect that results would have been quite different north of the border[8]. The NZE and AusE accents were predictably confused by the American respondents; however, 47% of them correctly identified the general AusE accent (the questionnaire supplied asked this group if they had seen the film "Crocodile Dundee", screening in the U.S. at the time; 24 of the 32 had). What was particularly startling, given the universally negative views of the AusE accent held by New Zealanders, was the relatively low recognition rate by New Zealand respondents. 64% and 61% of the university students and female high school students guessed correctly, but only 24% of the boys and 7% of the older men did so; most of the last two groups guessed the speaker was a New Zealander. This is of course objective validation of the universal belief of linguists that the two accents are very similar[9]. A referee commenting on an earlier version of this pa-

[8] I should note that New Zealanders suffer from a misidentification syndrome closely parallel to that of Canadians: they are continually mistaken for Australians overseas, even in Australia itself. Needless to say, this distresses them as much as it does Canadians being taken for Americans.

[9] The taped selection contained examples of the chief differences between the two accents: fronting of /u/ even before /-l/ (1 token); a marked backing of Wells' (1982) NURSE vowel /3/ relative to its fronted and rounded NZE position (4 tokens); a more marked diphthongisation of /i/ (10 tokens); and of course the most important folk-linguistic shibboleth, the high, fronted value of /I/ in AusE –

per made the interesting suggestion that the presumed use of broader variants by male subjects might explain their greater perception of the AusE speaker as a New Zealander. This is a possibility, but this trend was not apparent in the university sample: 68% of the male students correctly identified the Australian speaker, as compared to 62% of the female students.

Another point of common agreement among the five groups is the perceived low social status of the second accent, the "uneducated broad" female NZE speaker. A majority in all five groups identified her as lower class, and many added such verbal descriptions as "bad job, unemployed, high school dropout, glue sniffer", etc. But of more interest are the views of her nationality/ethnicity; from 11% to a startling 42% of New Zealand respondents (almost all of whom were Pakeha) assumed she was Maori or Polynesian[10], illustrating very clearly the widespread New Zealand stereotype of these groups as unemployed and uneducated. Unfortunately, this stereotype continues to reflect social reality in New Zealand, despite a deep-seated but erroneous belief held by most Pakeha that these minority groups are receiving equal treatment. I suspect that the stereotype will continue until the belief begins to approach reality[11]. It is interesting to note that two of the American respondents (almost wholly drawn from educated university staff and students) also assumed that this speaker was "Black" or "Native". 38% of these American respondents also assumed the speaker was British/English; "Cockney" was a common description. This is due to the high amount of final /-t/ glottalisation used by the speaker (56%; see Bayard 1990a), which also misled smaller but still significant percentages of the New Zealand university and high school students.

Finally, the position of the cultivated NZE accent is interesting. While her near-RP accent led many respondents to assume she was British/English (only the high school girls had a plurality of correct guesses), views as to her social class varied considerably. The univer-

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"feesh n' cheeps" vs. the AusE perception of the centralised NZE /I/ as "fush n' chups" (Delbridge 1986:vii; 14 tokens).

[10]The speaker in question was ethnically Pakeha. Note as well that the term "Polynesian" in NZE generally does not include Maori, but rather refers to migrants from central Polynesia (chiefly Samoa, Tonga, Niue, and the Cook Islands).

[11]Robert-H. Leek obtained very similar results in attitudinal experiments carried out in Auckland in 1990; they suggest that once a voice is identified as Maori or Pacific Islander, the speaker's status and intelligence are downgraded by Maori and Pacific Islander as well as Pakeha judges (Leek, pers. comm.).

sity students, older men, and Americans assumed she was middle or upper middle class, but pluralities of both high school groups assessed her as lower class. This may reflect a decrease in the prestige of cultivated, near-RP accents, or simply represent an adolescent resentment of perceived "phoniness". However, the negative attitude is clearly borne out in the personality trait evaluations by the two high school groups. A third plausible explanation is the relatively undeveloped social awareness of the 14- and 15-year-old students relative to the older groups, as proposed by Giles and Powesland (1975: 30), although they are discussing 12- as opposed to 17-year-olds (cf.also Gordon and Abell 1990:43).

3.2 Personality trait evaluations

Perhaps the simplest way to summarise the results of the twelve-trait evaluations by the five different groups is by graphing the mean scores given to each speaker for each of the twelve traits (excluding nationality and regionality estimations). Figures 1 to 5 chart the results for the 11 scaled traits plus perceived socioeconomic class; all are on a scale of 1-5 save "acceptability" (1-6).

In evaluating the twelve traits, it is useful to consider them as positioned in two superordinate and to some extent contrasting dimensions. These have been given various names: status vs. solidarity (Stewart, Ryan and Giles 1985), control vs. affiliation (Smith 1985), overt vs. covert prestige, etc. Here I use "power" vs. "solidarity" (Brown and Gilman 1960). Making a rather artificial split of the twelve variables into these two categories, Figures 1 to 5 illustrate the eight power variables (self-confidence through to education) and the four solidarity variables of pleasantness of accent, acceptability, likeability, and sense of humour. Certain overall similarities are present in all five study groups:

1. The RP accent is the clear leader in power variables in all four NZ groups, and even more so in the American group; however, it drops in the solidarity variables with the three younger New Zealand

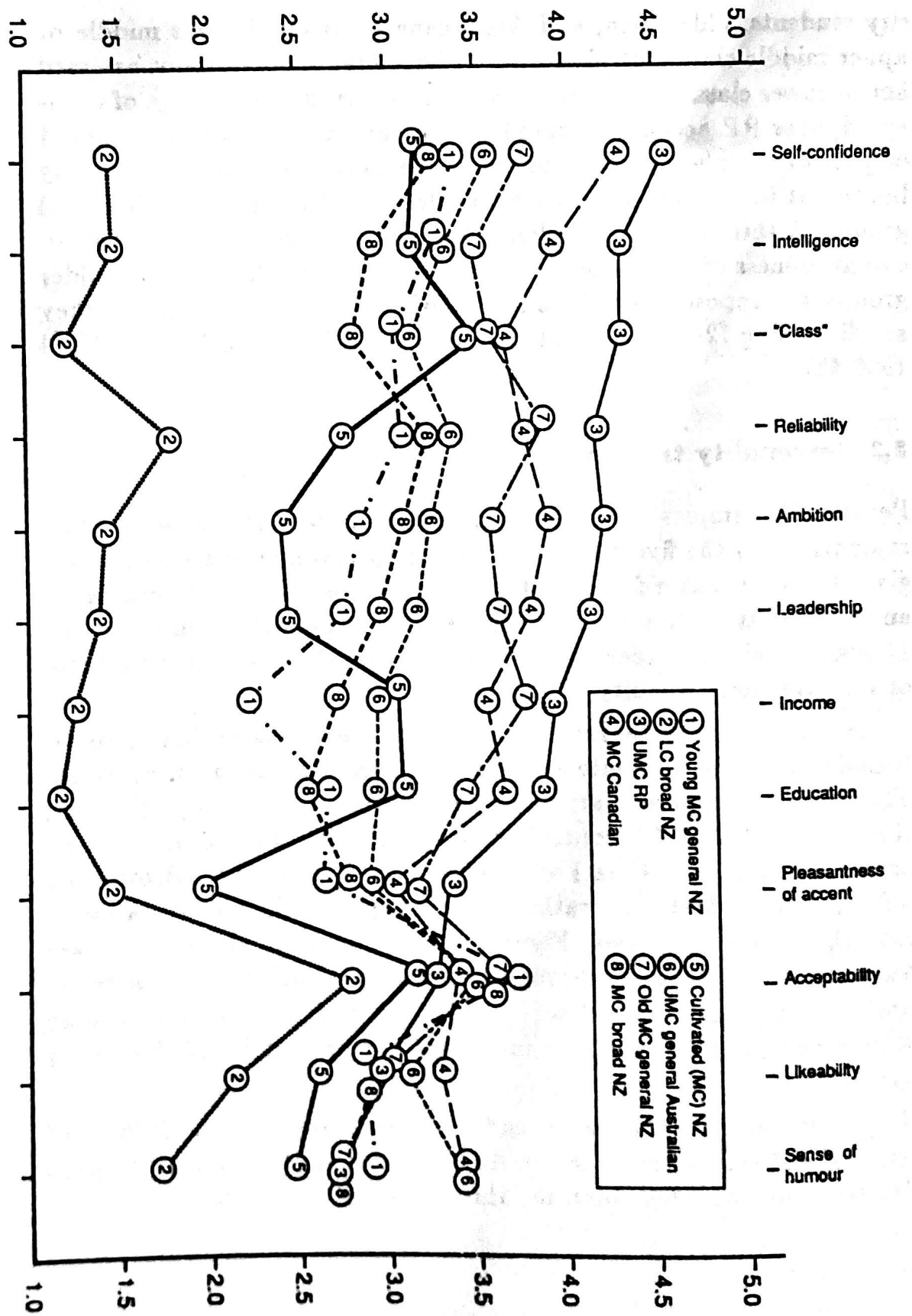

Fig. 1. Mean scores for accent evaluation variables: 86 university students

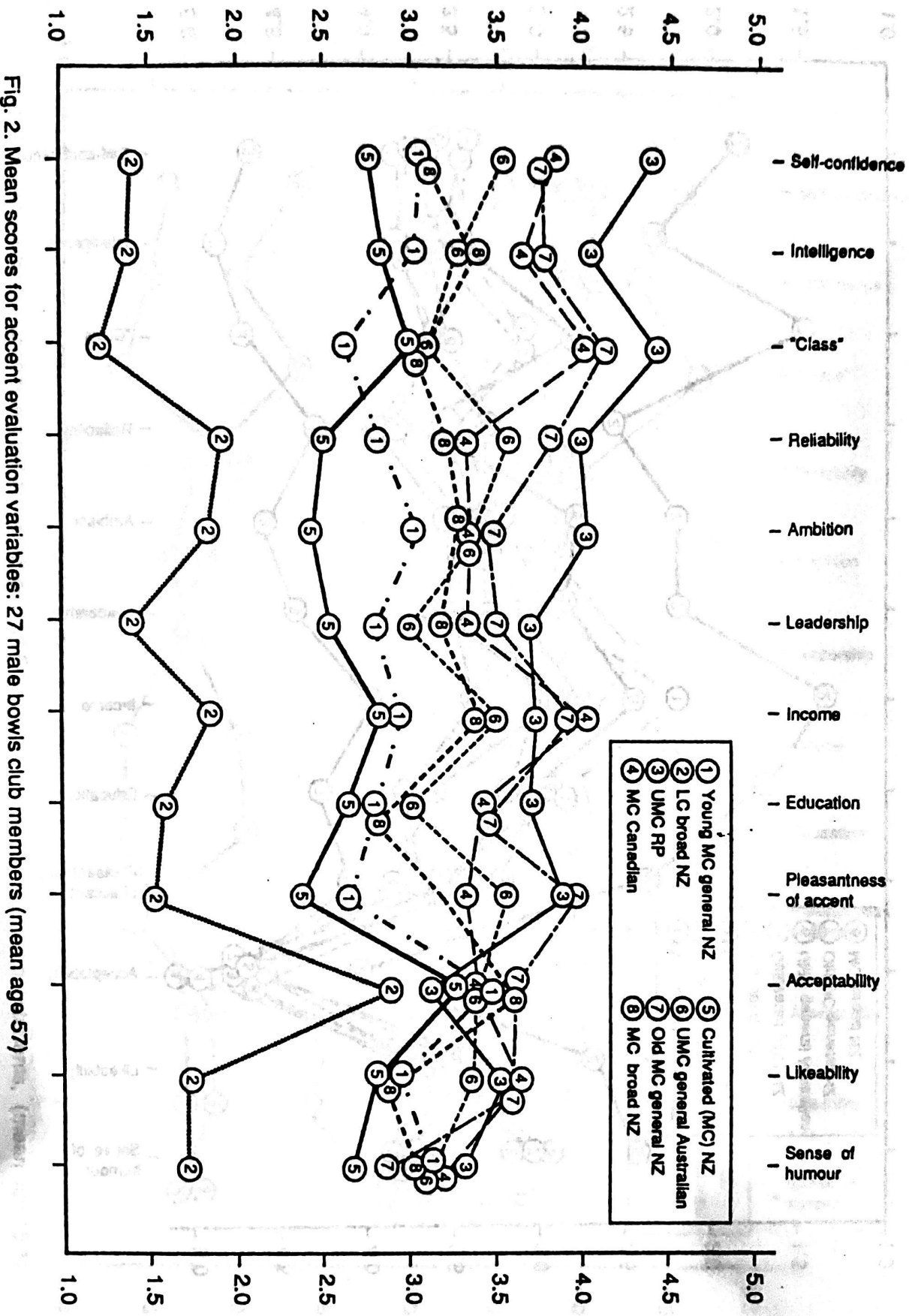

Fig. 2. Mean scores for accent evaluation variables: 27 male bowls club members (mean age 57)

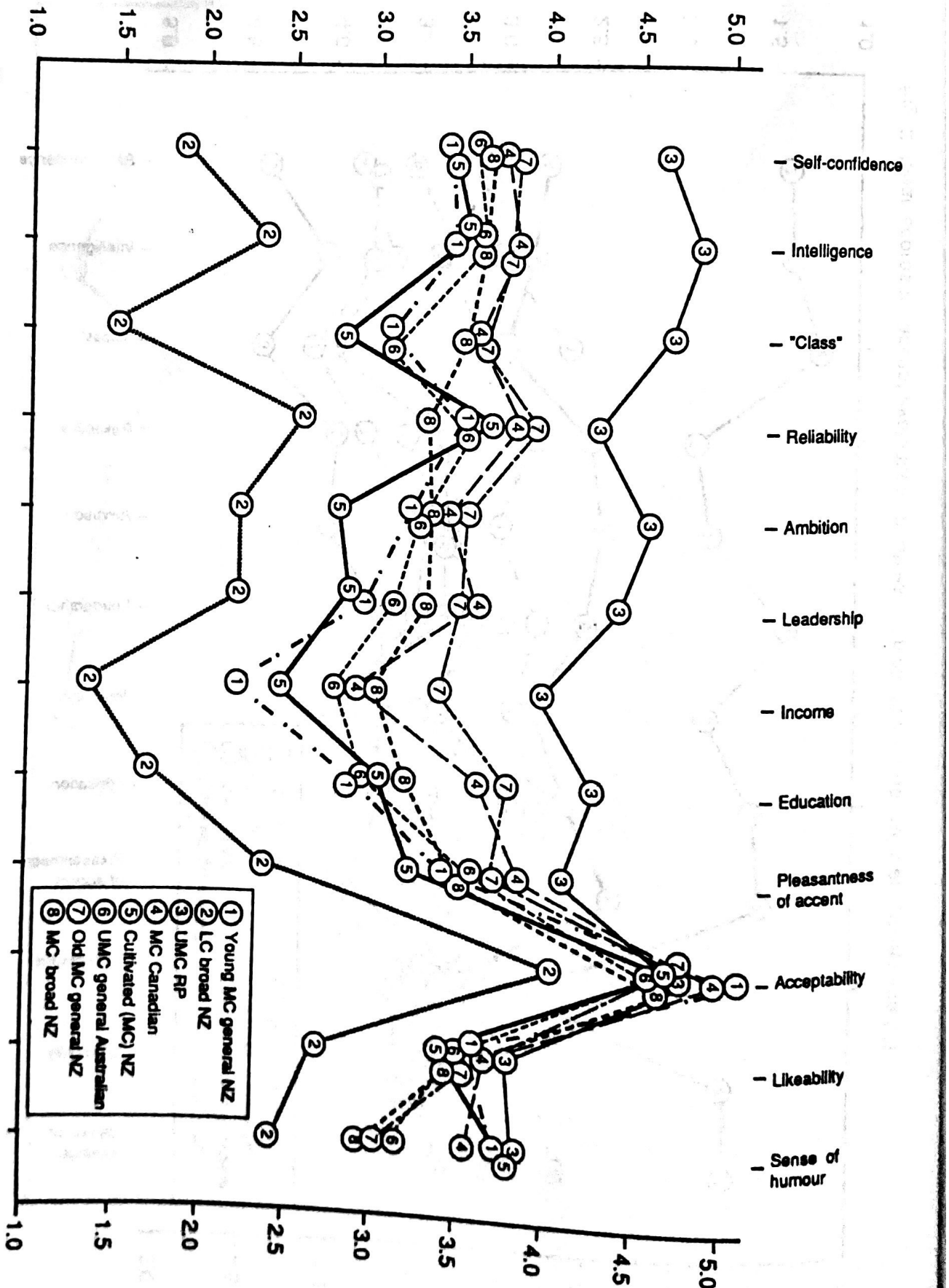

Fig. 3. Mean scores for accent evaluation variables: 32 Ames, Iowa respondents (mean age 31.1).

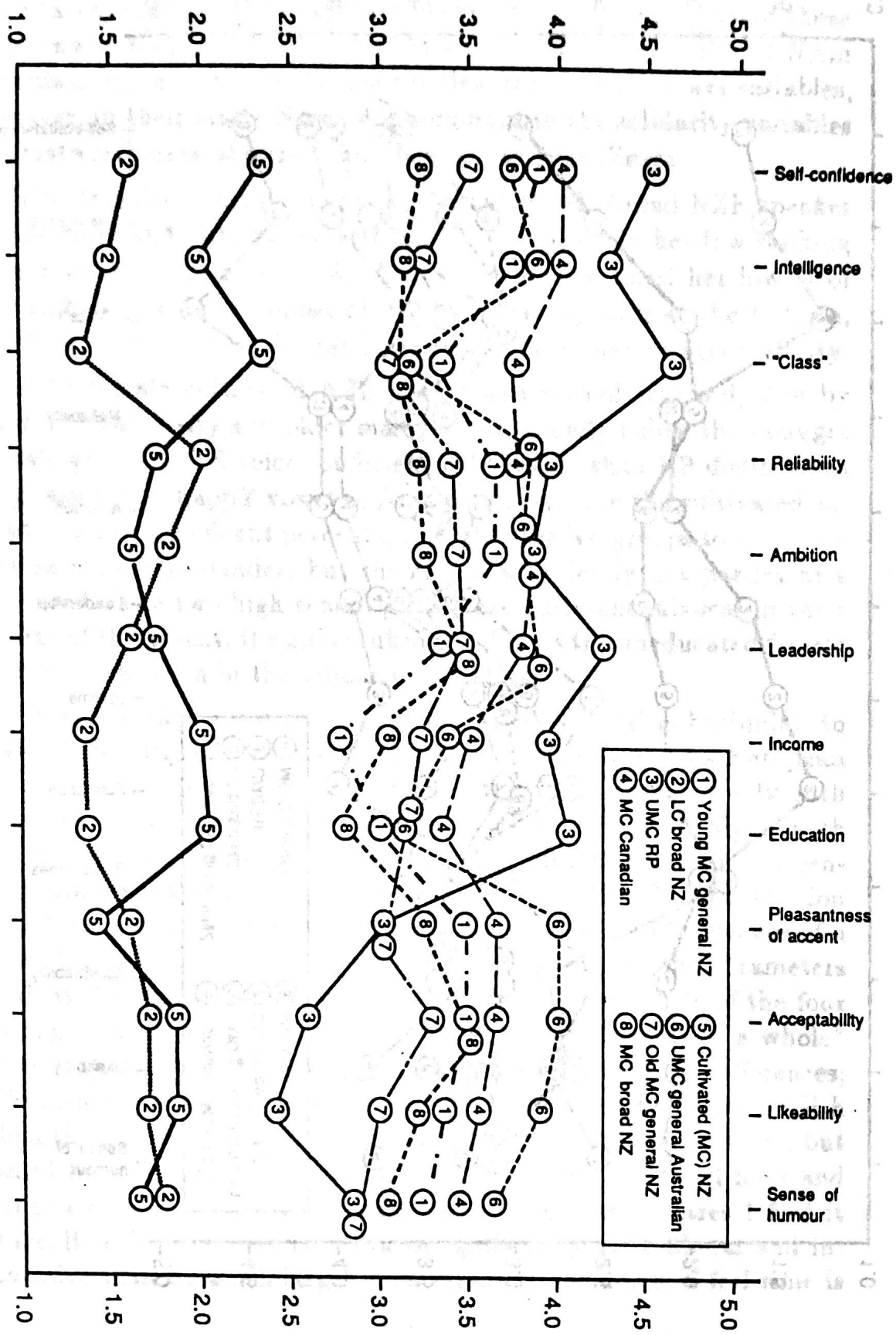

Fig. 4. Mean scores for accent evaluation variables: 57 Form IV and V female high school students, (mean age 15.1).

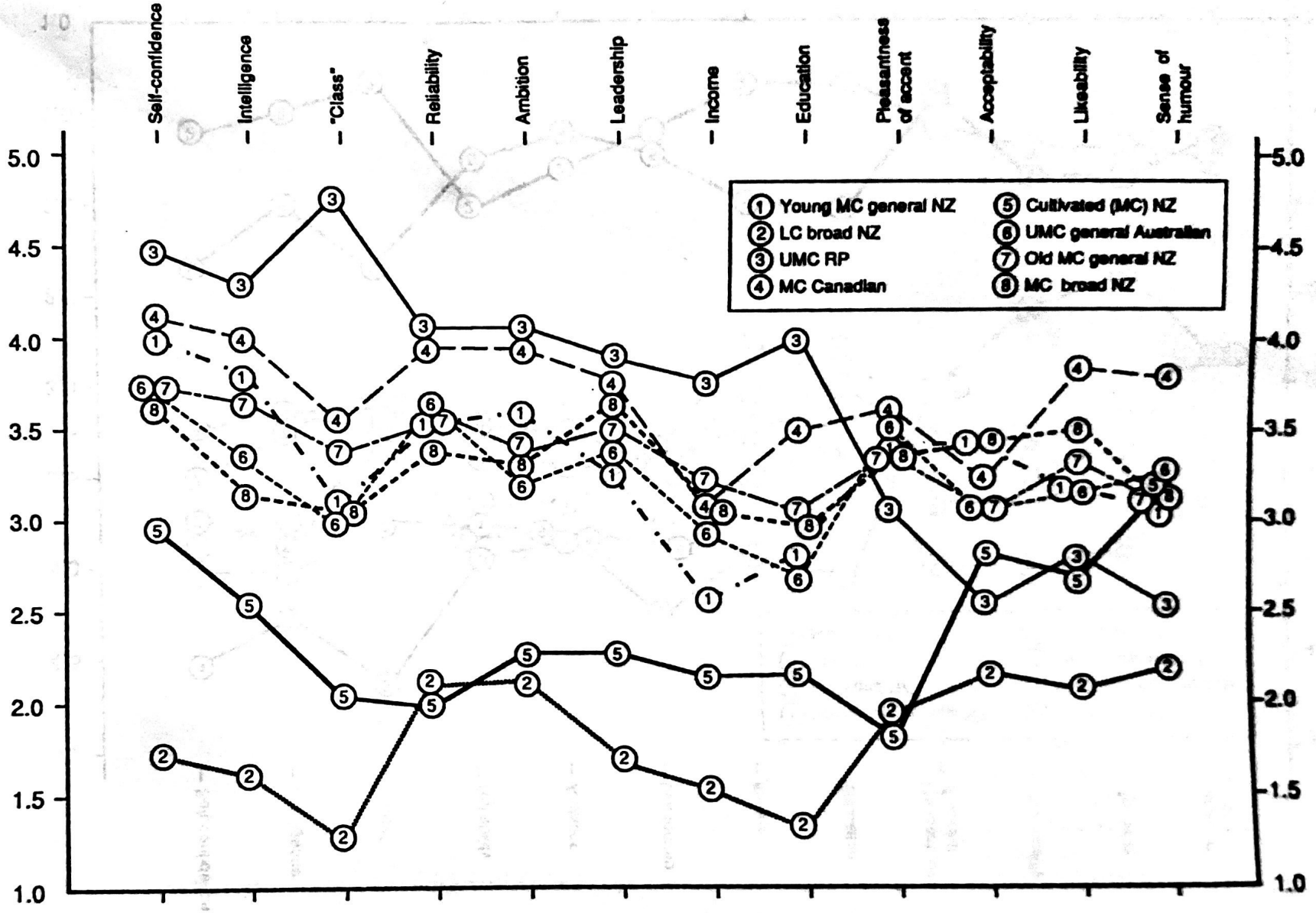

Fig. 5. Mean scores for accent evaluation variables: 46 male Form IV high school students

groups (particularly in the two high school samples). The older NZ men and the Americans continue to rate it highly in all variables save "acceptability". The results thus replicate to a large extent those of Stewart, Ryan, and Giles' (1985) study contrasting RP and NAm accents in Indiana, where RP was the clear leader in all power variables; however, in their study NAm was dominant in the solidarity variables of trustworthiness, sincerity, kindliness, and friendliness.

2. The negative evaluation of the hesitant female broad NZE speaker in the class and nationality attributions is echoed in her low ranking in the twelve-trait means. All five of the groups rated her lowest of the eight speakers in almost all traits. Although still at the bottom, the three older groups did rank her relatively higher on acceptability.

3. The female cultivated NZE accent was ranked relatively low by both the university and older male groups, usually below the younger female general NZE voice. Sufficient NZE rather than RP distinctions (e.g.raised /e/, happY vowel as /-i/) were present in the cultivated accent to allow significant percentages of the four NZ groups to recognise her as a New Zealander, but the accent was clearly not particularly favoured. The two high school groups are quite unequivocal in their dislike of the accent; the girls ranked it as low as the uneducated female broad accent even in the solidarity variables.

It would thus seem possible that cultivated NZE is beginning to lose the prestige accorded it during most of New Zealand's European history. Certainly the results of this study contrast markedly with Abell's (1980) research, where the cultivated accent ranked highly with the Fourth Form students she surveyed, scoring higher than the general NZE speaker in most traits (Abell 1980:57-59). In fact, Gordon and Abell conclude that "The superiority ascribed to the speaker of a more Cultivated variety of New Zealand English on all the parameters evaluated suggests that this speech style is the most likely of the four presented to serve as a model for the speech community as a whole" (1990:44). Some of this contrast may be due to regional differences; Christchurch is popularly viewed as a conservative city "more English than the English". Conservativeness is a difficult trait to measure, but based on more than 20 years' observation of the spread of food and other trends in Dunedin compared to the northern centres I find it difficult to believe that Dunedin is significantly more liberal and innovative than its much larger counterpart to the north. I feel time is

perhaps a more relevant factor in this case, and that there is a distinct possibility that attitudes have shifted among this age group during the eight to ten years which separate the two studies. Obviously further testing would be necessary to confirm this.

4. As suggested by the class and nationality percentages in Tables 4-8, the AusE accent was not particularly stigmatised, apparently even when recognised as such. It ranks in the middle range of both power and solidarity variables for three of the four NZ groups (somewhat lower for high school males), and clearly leads in solidarity with the high school girls.

5. In the three younger NZ groups surveyed, the NAm accent ranks second, below RP, in power variables, and is at or near the top in solidarity variables. The high school boys ranked this accent as the most pleasant, likeable, and good-humoured, well above the NZE accents. The high school girls clearly favoured the AusE accent in all four solidarity variables, followed by NAm. NZE accents (usually either the female or male general speaker) were given top or near-top place in only six of the 48 rankings made by the four groups. It seems quite apparent that a considerable degree of "colonial inferiority" still attaches to the range of NZE accents vis-à-vis the traditional prestige of RP and the media appeal of NAm and AusE[12]. This is of course not unique to New Zealand; the term "cultural cringe" was coined in the 1940s to describe similar feelings of inferiority held by Australians vis-à-vis the U.K. "Home". The term has found its way into the first comprehensive dictionary of Australasian English (Delbridge 1986:146), although it is certainly my impression that the cringe is declining much more rapidly across the Tasman than it is in New Zealand.

6. Finally, it is interesting to note the marked decrease in range of means in the acceptability variable in all groups except the high school girls, who place the RP, cultivated NZE, and uneducated broad NZE voices toward the bottom of the acceptability range ("exclude/visitor to New Zealand"). This may be due to their frequent perception of these speakers as "foreign" (Polynesian, British, and British respectively). Even more striking is the notably higher-placed range for the

[12]New Zealand television has seen a massive influx of Australian soaps and miniseries over the past two years, which may be at least partly responsible for the accent's high ranking with the high school girls; the number of AusE-accent programmes screening when the boys were tested in 1987 was much smaller. On the other hand, subject gender may be a more significant factor.

acceptability scale in the American group of respondents; the range (4+ to 5+) is over a point higher than the ranges in the four NZ groups (2.5 to 4). This may reflect some underlying cultural or semantic difference in interpretation of the stimulus criteria used in the questionnaire, or simply the liberal, educated makeup of the American group. However, it would bear further investigation.

3.3 Factor analyses of trait and speaker sex means

In the discussion above I have been treating power and solidarity as contrasting dimensions, which I believe to be an oversimplification. To gain a more accurate picture of the overall interrelationships of the twelve traits, I used factor (principal components) analysis. The results of these, and other projects carried out with Thai and Cantonese accents, have led me to believe that perhaps a third dimension of "charisma" or "individualism" should also be considered (Fanslow and Bayard n.d., Bayard n.d.). Figure 6 gives the results of an analysis based on the overall mean scores for all eight speakers awarded by each of the 248 respondents. A fairly distinct trichotomy seems apparent, although the variables clearly form a continuum rather than three discrete clusters. In Factor 1 (accounting for 44% of the total variance) we find high weightings for what is called here "charisma": ambition (AMB), self-confidence (SELF), leadership (LEAD), reliability (REL), intelligence (INT), and sense of humour (HUM). In Factor 2, "solidarity" (11% of variance), acceptability (ACP), likeability (LIKE), and pleasantness of accent (PLEAS) score highly. Factor 3 (9.5% of variance) contains the power variables of income (INC), educational level (EDUC), and socioeconomic level or "class" (SEL). The use of more than two dimensions would seem to be a somewhat more accurate reflection of the complexities of the actual situation than the dichotomous scales traditionally employed in studies like this. Indeed, in a more detailed analysis of the 189 subjects in the three younger New Zealand groups four dimensions seem to be represented (Bayard 1991a).

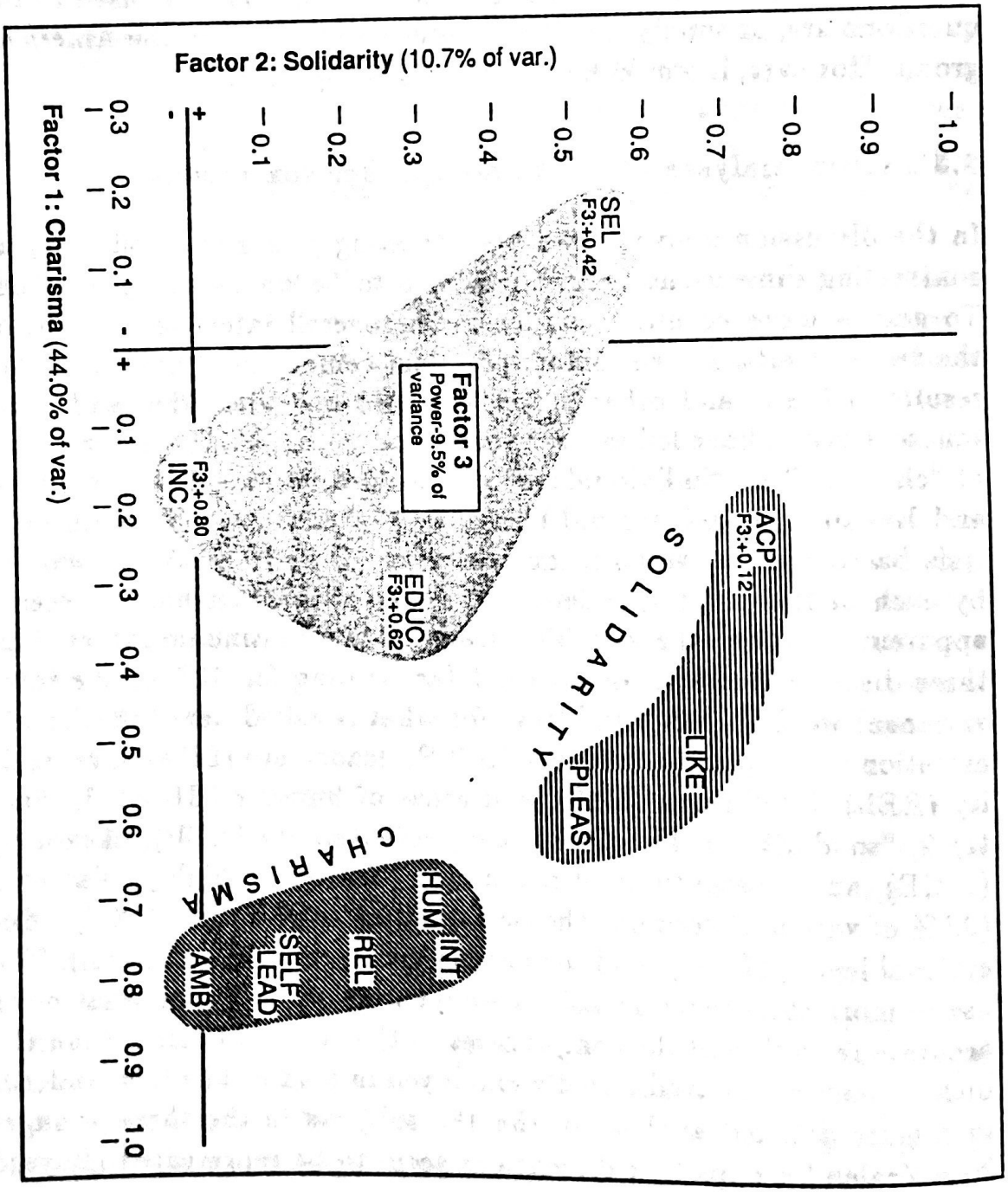

Fig. 6: 12-variable varimax rotated factor analysis of overall means for eight speakers. N=248

One of the more general conclusions which can be drawn from this research is an examination of the relative importance of speaker accent vs. speaker gender in listener evaluation of a speaker. If accent is in fact the primary variable, then calculating the means for male and female speakers separately should produce a pattern rather like Figure 6, with female and male means for each of the variables closely associated with each other in each of the three factors. But such is apparently not the case. Fanslow and I noted while evaluating a language and gender project she had undertaken that the two main factors involved were not power and solidarity, but quite simply the gender of the speaker, with fairly clear segregation of female and male variables (Fanslow 1988).

Repeated runs on the five groups studied here have produced the same results, and an analysis based on the total sample of 248 is shown in Figure 7. The male and female speaker means for the variables are almost completely separated in Factor 1 (male) and Factor 2 (female), with internal clusters reflecting solidarity, charisma, and power for the female speakers, and solidarity/charisma vs. power (plus acceptability) for the male speakers. Only the two power clusters are at all closely associated. The two factors illustrated only account for a total of 44.4% of the variance, and six factors were extracted with eigenvalues greater than 1.0[13], but the results are certainly suggestive. One of the reasons for this pattern is apparently the marked tendency for all five groups of listeners to downgrade the female speakers relative to the males on all twelve of the variables by over one-half a point on the five-point scale. The female high school students were the most extreme case, scoring the four female speakers 0.8 of a point lower on the average. Fanslow and I have obtained very similar results on data from other projects, including the Thai and Cantonese accent evaluation experiments mentioned above. We tentatively conclude that the simple variable of speaker gender is a more important factor than accentual variation in listener evaluation; if so, the implications are far-reaching (Fanslow and Bayard n.d.), although probably not applicable cross-culturally (Bayard n.d.).

[13] An eigenvalue is a measure of the amount of variation in the data subsumed by a particular factor; the larger the eigenvalue of a factor, the more of the total variance it "explains". The default cutoff for generating additional factors in the SPSS^{X} program is 1.0.

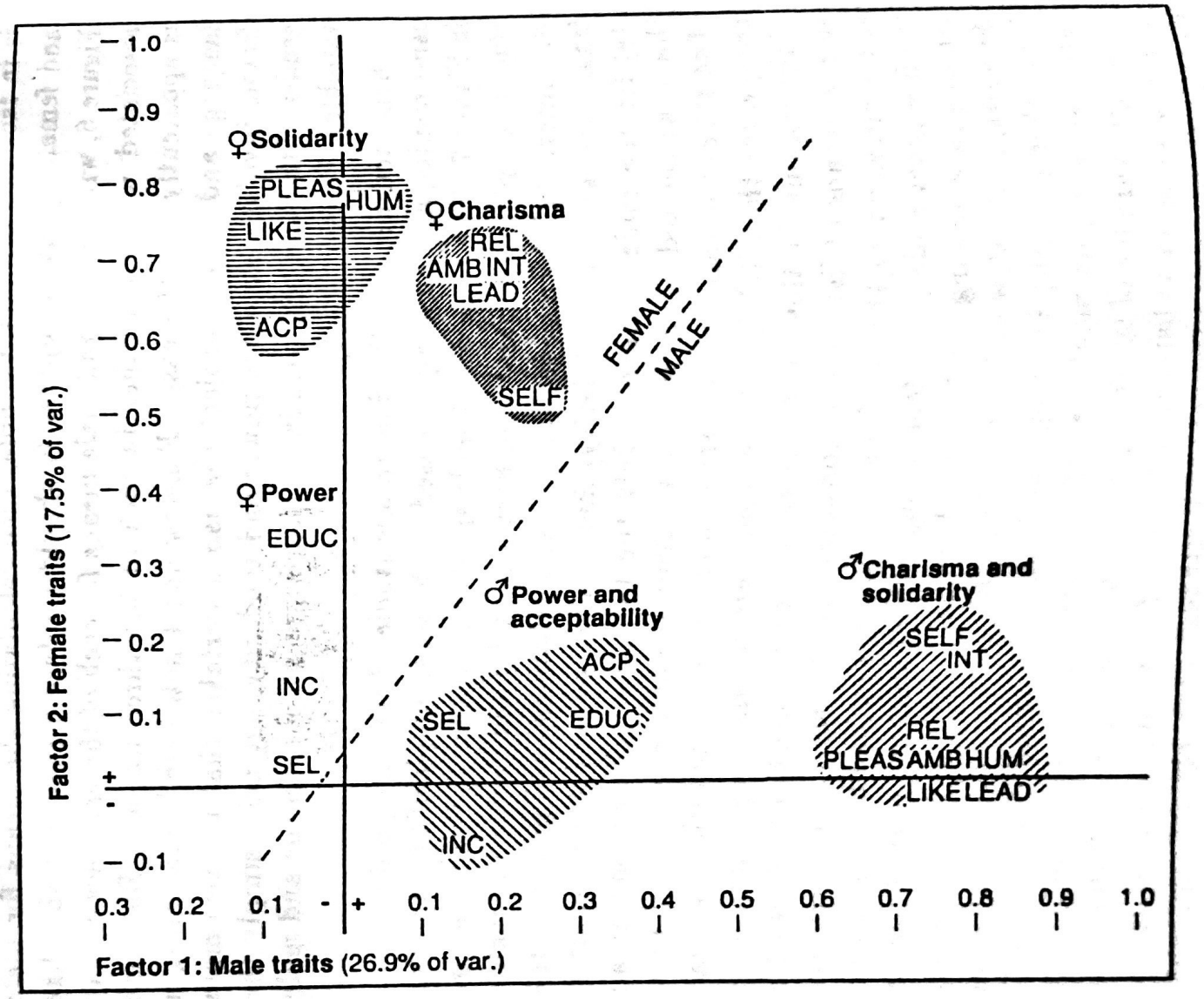

Fig. 7: 24-variable factor analysis of speaker means (female and male). N=248

4.0 Conclusions

1. The RP accent retains its traditional prestige as far as power and "class" variables are concerned in New Zealand and in America, as indeed it does in the rest of the Anglophone world.

2. Some degree of "cultural cringe" is obviously still present in New Zealand, with RP, NAm, and AusE accents ranking higher in almost all of the variables for the four NZ groups tested. However, prescriptivist attacks continue to be predominantly against NAm, NZE, and AusE in favour of RP; as Lass states it, "one of the best ways for the unconfident members of an orthodox faith to define their status is to have a good eye for heresy" (1987:73).

3. Some of the reasons for the popularity of NAm and AusE accents may stem from spoken media influence (television, films, popular music), but the connection is very difficult to establish objectively (Chambers 1981, Bayard 1990a:161). The relationship of such popularity to Gilesian accommodation or simple imitation (Trudgill 1986:40) in the diffusion of features across accents is an even thornier problem.

4. Considerable evidence for racial and gender stereotypes is present in the data, particularly among the younger New Zealand groups. Similar depressing results have been obtained in other such surveys (fn.11 above, Bayard 1990c). This is of course far from unique to New Zealand, but unfortunately such negative stereotypes will doubtless continue to be held until they no longer reflect reality.

5. Finally, the future: will the RP accent decline in power as well as solidarity, to be replaced by NAm, AusE, or general NZE? Australians are certainly losing their "cultural cringe"; to my knowledge, RP or near-RP accents are virtually non-existent on television there, although still fairly common among New Zealand radio and television presenters (Bayard 1990b). I suspect that RP will retain its increasingly almost ceremonial status in New Zealand, but NAm will probably narrow the gap in some of the power variables. However, the responses of the American judges (echoing those obtained by Stewart, Ryan and Giles 1985) suggest that RP will continue to be the pan-Anglophone leader as far as perceived status is concerned.

Whether or not NZE can gain the same amount of independence and assurance as broadcast-standard NAm is a very difficult question to answer. As Sinclair has put it in his authoritative history, "In the

case of New Zealand, no one could pretend that it has, even today, in all respects outgrown its colonial past and achieved cultural or political maturity" (1980:231). Perhaps Bell is correct in stating that NZE speakers will simply fall "out of the British frying pan into the American fire" (1982:254), retaining the NZE accent as a covert standard only. However, despite some very slight evidence for possible NAm influence on NZE phonology (Bayard 1990a), I think the NZE accent (if not lexicon or idiom) is fairly safe from American influence. Whether it can attain the degree of self-confidence held by NAm (and increasingly AusE) remains to be seen.

On the other hand, the future of indigenous NZE idiom and lexicon – like that of te reo Māori – is presently rather precarious. As I have noted elsewhere, American words and phrases are spreading very rapidly here, and usually not as consciously acquired Americanisms (Bayard 1989:52). For example, I made an informal survey of two recently published dictionaries of Kiwi slang (McGill 1988, 1989) which have "tried to include only what is characteristic of this country, or of predominantly Kiwi usage" (McGill 1988:3). The author makes reference to the obvious difficulty in disentangling New Zealand from Australian slang and idiom, but no mention of American influences. Despite this, some 4% of the entries in both volumes – many of them labelled "New Zealand-Australia" – were well-known to me as a child and adolescent in America during the 1940s and 1950s. Many were used by my father and mother ("it's not funny", "like talking to a brick wall", "scarce as hen's teeth", etc.), and many of the cruder sexual referents were common university slang during the late 1950s, but unheard – at least by me – in New Zealand from 1967 until well after 1980. It seems apparent that the percentage of unconsciously acquired Americanisms in informal Kiwi speech is likely to increase, but hopefully not to the detriment of truly native idiom.

This study, like others made before it, must be viewed as largely exploratory, raising more questions than it answers. While further experiments contrasting RP with various NZE accents may be of lower priority, given the relatively consistency of results of studies here and elsewhere, rigorous validation of some of the other hypotheses presented here will require carefully designed, controlled, and analysed experiments concentrating on only one speaker variable at a time (accent, gender, paralinguistic variation, perceived age or ethnicity). This

will largely eliminate the problem of confounding effects. Such studies should of course feature presentation to larger samples of judges other than what Holmes and Bell correctly call "captive audiences of school children and university students" (Holmes and Bell 1990:6). Future experiments could well explore in depth the question of changing attitudes toward cultivated NZE voices, and the relationships between broad NZE accents, AusE accents, and perceived Maori/Polynesian ethnicity. Indeed, the whole question of what speech features trigger ethnic stereotypes has barely been touched on here, or in the only study to date to address this question, where Maori speakers were selected on the obviously inadequate criterion of genetic ancestry (Vaughan and Huygens 1990:51). There are surely enough variables to keep interested researchers occupied for some time to come!

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