

**“You must be from Gorrre”:  
Attitudinal effects of Southland rhotic accents and  
speaker gender on NZE listeners and the question  
of NZE regional variation<sup>1</sup>**

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**Background**

**A. Attitudinal studies**

Accent attitudinal studies in New Zealand began over 15 years ago with Huygens' investigation of listener reactions to 'Pākehā,<sup>3</sup> Māori, British', and Dutch-accented English (Huygens and Vaughan 1983, Vaughan and Huygens 1990). At the same time Abell studied attitudes toward broad, general, and cultivated NZE voices (Abell 1980, Gordon and Abell 1990). Abell's study was the more carefully controlled of the two experiments, in that the vowels of the four voices used on her stimulus tape were analysed phonetically. However, this study, like Huygens', employed only male voices.

In 1986 Bayard began a series of broad-spectrum attitudinal experiments employing four male and four female speakers using broad, general, and cultivated NZE accents, as well as RP, Canadian, and Australian voices (Bayard 1990, 1991a, b; Wilson and Bayard 1992). His results generally echoed the findings of the earlier studies, which in turn paralleled results obtained by Lambert, Giles, and other pioneers of this

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<sup>1</sup> For those unfamiliar with New Zealand, Gore is a Southland provincial town whose name is stereotypically associated with the rhotic Southland accent of New Zealand English (NZE). We would like to thank the speakers on the stimulus tape, Jacqui Leckie, and the ANTH 202 students who participated in this research for their cooperation. The results of this study were originally presented at the 10th conference of the Linguistic Society of New Zealand in August 1993, and were briefly summarised in Bayard 1995a:108-10. We thank an anonymous referee for comments which improved this paper.

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<sup>3</sup> Pākehā are New Zealanders of European descent; we enclose these terms in quotes, as no phonological criteria for the accents were supplied.

technique (Giles and Powesland 1975, Giles and Robinson 1990), but with some significant exceptions (summarised in Bayard 1995a:98-107).

However, all of the New Zealand studies suffered from methodological weaknesses. The voices used in the Huygens study were not phonetically analysed, and 'Māori' accents were 'defined' by ancestry alone (Vaughan and Huygens 1990:51). Abell's study contrasted three native NZE accents with a 'foreign' RP voice. Although Bayard was able to include speaker gender as a variable, his stimulus tape presented even more possible confounds in analysis: speaker gender, phonological accent, native versus foreign accents, perceived ethnic variation, and possible speaker age effects. Most importantly, none of these studies employed the matched guise technique used in so many earlier studies; hence paralinguistic features like rate of speech, vocal register, and hesitations were possible sources of yet more confounds.

Obviously more narrowly defined and carefully controlled experiments were called for (Wilson and Bayard 1992:29, fn. 4), and we decided in the present study to focus on just two variables: speaker gender and the presence or absence of a single salient rhotic vowel in an otherwise 'normal' NZE voice. We also employed the matched guise technique, to our knowledge the first study to do so in New Zealand.

### *B. The Southland dialect*

All linguistic research to date suggests the presence of only one regional variant of NZE: the variety spoken in the former province of Southland and much of adjacent Otago province to the north (Bauer 1986:227-28). The variety is noted primarily for the presence of postvocalic /r/, which is certainly the feature that draws the most comment. The degree of rhoticity varies widely from speaker to speaker: younger speakers are far less rhotic than their elders, so the future of this feature of the accent is uncertain. A few other distinctive phonological features can be heard (as outlined in Bartlett 1992), but most of these seem to be on the verge of being lost altogether as general NZE features are adopted by younger speakers. They are certainly not commonly recognised as being salient features of the variety. The use of /m/ for 'wh' has occasionally been noted—it appears to have survived longer in Southland and Otago than in other areas of New Zealand. There are few vowels that could truly be considered to be distinctive. Perhaps the most widespread is the use of the TRAP vowel in those words of the BATH standard lexical set that have a nasal plus consonant sequence following the vowel (e.g. dance, chance), and the lexical item 'castle'. This was found throughout New Zealand many years ago (Ellis 1889:236-248), but it seems that it is now thought by many New Zealanders to be characteristic of Australian English, not NZE. Aside from this, a very fronted GOOSE vowel and a similarly fronted closing element of the MOUTH diphthong can be heard in the speech of some older speakers.

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There are some lexical items that are distinctive (especially 'crib' for what other New Zealanders call a 'bach' — a holiday cottage), but these also appear to be few in number. Not so well known as features of the variety are a few grammatical constructions. The most widespread is probably the use of the past participle after 'needs' and 'wants' (e.g. The cat wants fed), which is found in the speech of speakers of all age groups. The various distinctive features of the variety are generally attributed to the influence of the high number of Scottish migrants who moved to the region in the nineteenth century. For further details see Bartlett (1992).

### *C. Aims of the present study*

Our primary aim in this research was of course to gain an evaluation of the impact of Southland rhoticity on the New Zealand listener's ear; how would this contrast with their reaction to the rhotic Canadian accents employed in Bayard's earlier experiments (1990, 1991a, b)? However, we were also curious to ascertain the impact of speaker gender relative to the limited but hopefully salient degree of rhoticity employed by the two guise speakers. Factor analysis of the 12 traits employed in Bayard's earlier studies showed that in all these studies speaker gender alone accounted for most of the variance analysed. Moreover, both male and female subjects downgraded female speakers relative to males in most traits (Bayard 1991b: 31-36). We wished to see if this pattern of gender discrimination held in a more controlled experimental setting, which avoided the confounds of the earlier series.

A final goal was to investigate a second question of considerable interest to NZE scholars: that of possible regional variation in NZE aside from the Southland dialect. As Bauer (1986:288; 1994:412), Gordon and Deverson (1985:60-61), and Bell and Holmes (1991:155-56) have said, most New Zealanders are convinced they can tell an Auckland accent from a Cantabrian's or an Otagoite's, despite linguists' scepticism about the existence of any regional phonological variation. The present experiment would give us the opportunity to compare the subjects' estimates of area of origin for the non-rhotic guises and the two dummy voices, and compare them to their actual place of origin within New Zealand. Moreover, a recently completed study of perceptual dialectology in New Zealand (Gordon 1995) is now available to supply some useful comparative insights.

### **Method**

#### *A. The stimulus tape*

The reading passage used as stimulus material is a text of 177 words. It consists of a first-person description of someone's first day at a new job, expressed using simple, casual vocabulary and no technical terms. Our intention was to attempt to ensure that the subjects would not be unduly influenced in their assessments of the speakers by the content of the reading passage. The passage takes about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a minute to read. This length was

chosen so that the samples of speech played to the subjects would be long enough to allow them to assess the speakers but not so long as to induce boredom or fatigue.

The key feature of the passage is the inclusion of 13 words from the NURSE phonological set (*work, first, word, etc.*). These form part of the passage because the most distinctive difference between the accent of younger speakers of the Southland variety of NZE and the general NZE accent used by most other New Zealanders is the Southlanders' use of a rhotic NURSE vowel. Words belonging to the NURSE set show an extremely high degree of maintenance of postvocalic /r/, where it is realised as a rhotic vowel, rather than a V + C sequence. Analysis of 2700 tokens of postvocalic /r/ in the speech of six young male Southlanders showed that the mean index score for rhotic NURSE vowels in the speech of five of these speakers was 0.93 (range: 0.86-1.00). In marked contrast to this, the mean index score for a rhotic realisation of /r/ following other vowels was 0.02 (range: 0.01-0.03). The sixth speaker did not quite follow the same pattern: although his index score for rhotic NURSE vowels was similar at 1.00, he differed from the other speakers in his relatively high degree of use of rhotic /r/ word-finally when it was followed by a pause; his index score for a rhotic realisation of /r/ following vowels other than NURSE was 0.25 because of this (Bartlett, 1993). In the light of these figures, we felt that for an experiment of this kind the use of rhotic NURSE vowels alone would probably be enough to mark a young speaker as a Southlander and so we designed the reading passage accordingly.

There are six voices on the stimulus tape—three female and three male—that were provided by four speakers. Two of the speakers (one female and one male) each recorded the reading passage twice, once in a non-rhotic general NZE accent and once employing rhotic NURSE vowels (and no other systematic changes) to produce a Southland accent. The female guise grew up in Otago and has lived in Invercargill and Dunedin. Her NURSE vowels are natively rhotic, but she is also able to produce non-rhotic NURSE vowels with ease. The male guise is a non-rhotic speaker who mimicked a rhotic NURSE vowel.<sup>4</sup> The other two speakers (again, one female and one male) are non-rhotic 'dummy' voices that were used in an attempt to mask the fact that this was a matched guise experiment.

We further attempted to reduce the effect of paralinguistic features by the following means: all four speakers were aged between 23 and 28, the speakers use similar General NZE accents, and the passage was read fluently by all speakers in 45 to 47 seconds, at a speed of approximately 230 words per minute (this high figure is attributable to the high number of monosyllabic words in the reading passage, which is related to the content

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<sup>4</sup> Ideally a natively rhotic male speaker should have been used, but none capable of the accent shift required could be located.

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of the passage-see above). We also made an eight-voice version of the stimulus tape using two additional female and male dummies, but decided against using this tape because the male dummy's accent was noticeably broader than the others and he was a hesitant reader. The results of Bayard's previous accent evaluation studies in the New Zealand context led us to believe that these factors would anchor him at the bottom of the scoring scales used and would compress the range of scores given to the other speakers. Informal testing of the six-voice tape suggested that the two extra dummies were probably not necessary to conceal the fact that guises were employed.

***B. Questionnaire, subjects, and administration***

The questionnaire employed the same 12 traits as the earlier studies, but we also included an open-frame question that asked the subjects to identify the place of origin of each speaker (see Appendix). The age, gender, and place of origin of each subject was also obtained. Three of the twelve traits investigated (socioeconomic class, education level, and estimated income) fall into the dimension normally called status or power; another four (social acceptability, likeability, pleasantness of accent, and sense of humour) are in the dimension usually referred to as solidarity; and the remaining five traits usually form an intermediate cluster or dimension which Bayard has called "charisma" in earlier publications (reliability, self-confidence, intelligence, ambition, and leadership). All six voices were evaluated by subjects on a standard five-point scale, from 1 = least to 5 = most.

***Table 1. GENDER AND AREA OF ORIGIN OF 83 SUBJECTS.  
(TOTAL EXCLUDING NON-NEW ZEALANDERS 74)***

	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>
North Island	13	4	17	20.5%
Canterbury/Nelson/ West Coast	11	4	15	18.1%
Otago/Southland/ Dunedin	29	11	40	48.2%
Overseas	4	5	9	10.8%
Missing	—	2	2	2.4%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100%</b>

The subjects were 83 students in an Otago second-year anthropology class; there were 57 females and 26 males ranging in age from 18 to 36 (74.7% of them were in the 19-21 range). As Table 1 shows, almost half of the subjects originated in the southern half of New Zealand's South Island (Otago, Southland, and Dunedin City). However, 17 of the subjects were raised in the North Island, and 15 came from the northern half of the South Island; nine of the students were not native New Zealanders and were excluded from most analyses. The six voices were played one at a time in the order male non-rhotic guise; female rhotic guise; female dummy; male dummy; male rhotic guise; and female non-rhotic guise. Subjects were allowed ample time to enter the evaluations for each speaker before proceeding on to the next. As in past experiments, they were instructed that there were no right or wrong answers—just their first impressions.

**Results**

**Table 2. GEOGRAPHICAL ASCRIPTIONS BY 74 NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS OF REGION OF SPEAKER'S ORIGIN**

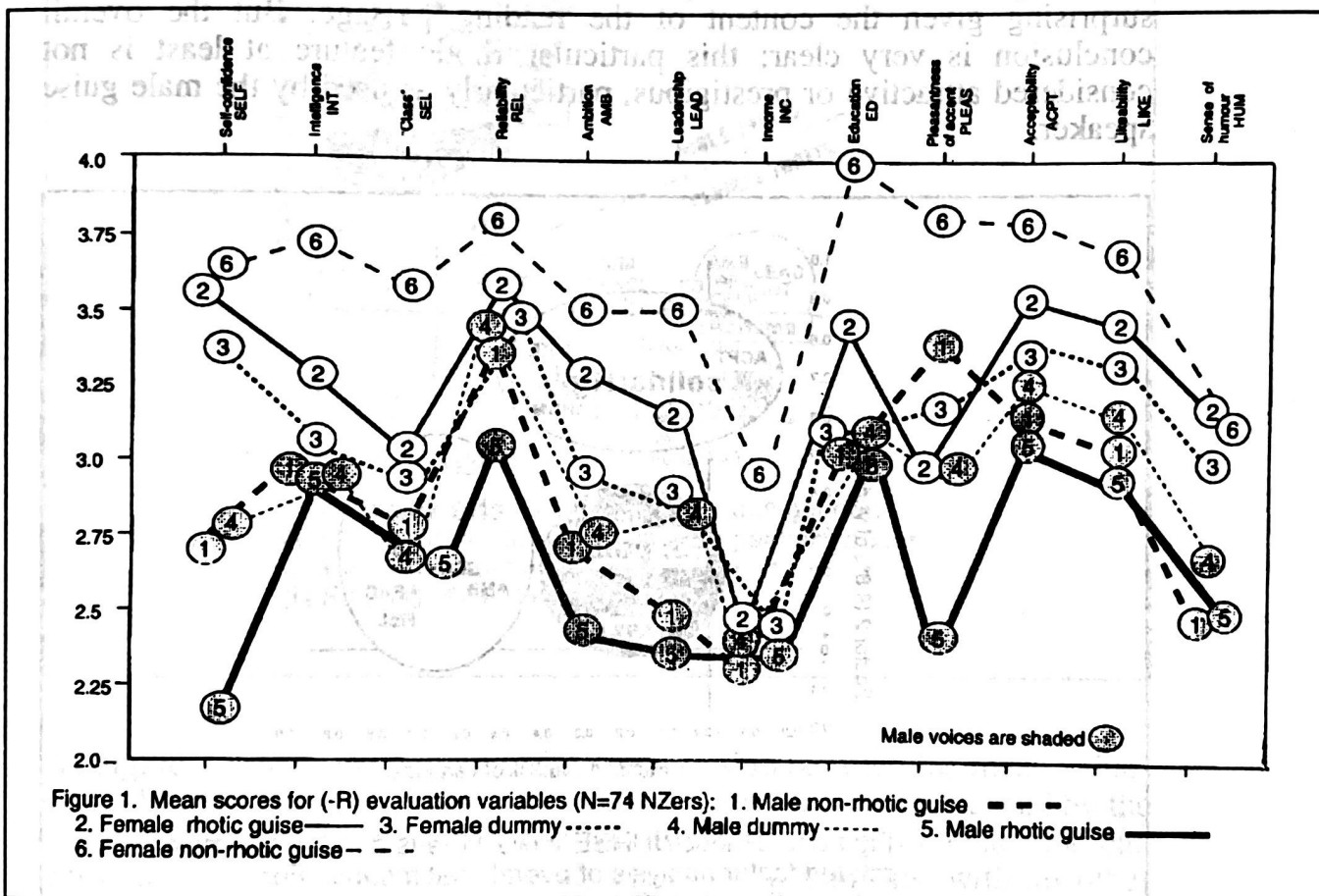
(actual origin)	#1 non-R M (Nelson)	#5 -R M (Nelson)	#6 non-R F (Otago)	#2 -R F (Otago)	#3 F dummy (Chch.)	#4 M dummy (Wh/JChch.)	Total excluding 2 rhotic guises
NZ non-specific	37	5	40	7	37	36	150
North Is.	11	1	5	1	7	7	30
N. Auckland	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Auckland city	4	-	13	-	6	2	25
S. Auckland	-	-	1	-	2	1	4
Taranaki	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
East Coast	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Wellington	1	1	2	2	6	3	12
<b>TOTAL N.Is.</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>74</b>
South Is.	3	1	-	3	4	6	13
Nelson-Marlb.	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Canterbury	1	-	1	1	1	3	6
Christchurch	5	-	4	-	3	3	15
Otago	2	-	1	1	-	-	3
Dunedin	1	1	1	1	1	3	6
Southland	1	50	-	52	2	4	7
<b>TOTAL S. Is.</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>51</b>
Non-NZ	-	10	-	4	2	-	2
Missing	7	5	5	2	2	5	19

Total ascriptions by New Zealanders: 444  
 ascriptions by non-New Zealanders: 54  
 overall total: 498

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As the regional ascriptions of the eight speakers shows (Table 2), the two guise speakers were by and large successful, with 68% and 70% of subjects ascribing the two rhotic-guise speakers to Southland. However, the male rhotic-guise speaker received 10 ascriptions as a non-New Zealand foreigner, while the female guise speaker received only 4; we feel quite confident that this is due to the difficulty even a trained non-rhotic linguist has in reproducing a consistently convincing post-vocalic /-r/. Despite this slight problem, the two speakers were clearly perceived by most of the 74 New Zealand subjects as Southlanders, with 50 and 52 guesses. This would seem sufficient to have some degree of confidence in the trait evaluations of these 74 subjects.

**A. Personality trait scores**



The first point worth noting when we contrast the graph of mean scores on the twelve traits for the six voices is the much narrower range of responses than was found in the earlier eight-voice experiments described in Bayard 1990, 1991a, b; in the present dataset all trait means lie between 2 and 4 on the five-point scale. This contrasts with the wider range encountered in the

earlier experiments involving marked contrasts in accent, whereas in the present case we are looking instead at listeners' reactions to young General NZE speakers who contrast in only two features: gender and rhoticity. But within this narrower range of variation the pattern is clear: voice No. 6—the non-rhotic female guise—is the clear leader in almost all traits; her rhotic guise (voice No. 2) is at or near the top in two traits (self-confidence and sense of humour), and second in the rest, aside from pleasantness of accent, where her rhoticity apparently causes a drop to fourth equal. As we had predicted, the two dummy voices scored in the middle range. Slightly below them in most cases comes the non-rhotic male guise (achieving a clear second place in pleasantness of accent), and at the bottom or near bottom in all traits is the rhotic male guise, who scored particularly badly in self-confidence, ambition, leadership, and most notably pleasantness of accent. All six speakers score relatively low in the income variable; this is hardly surprising given the content of the reading passage. But the overall conclusion is very clear: this particular rhotic feature at least is not considered attractive or prestigious, particularly as used by the male guise speaker.

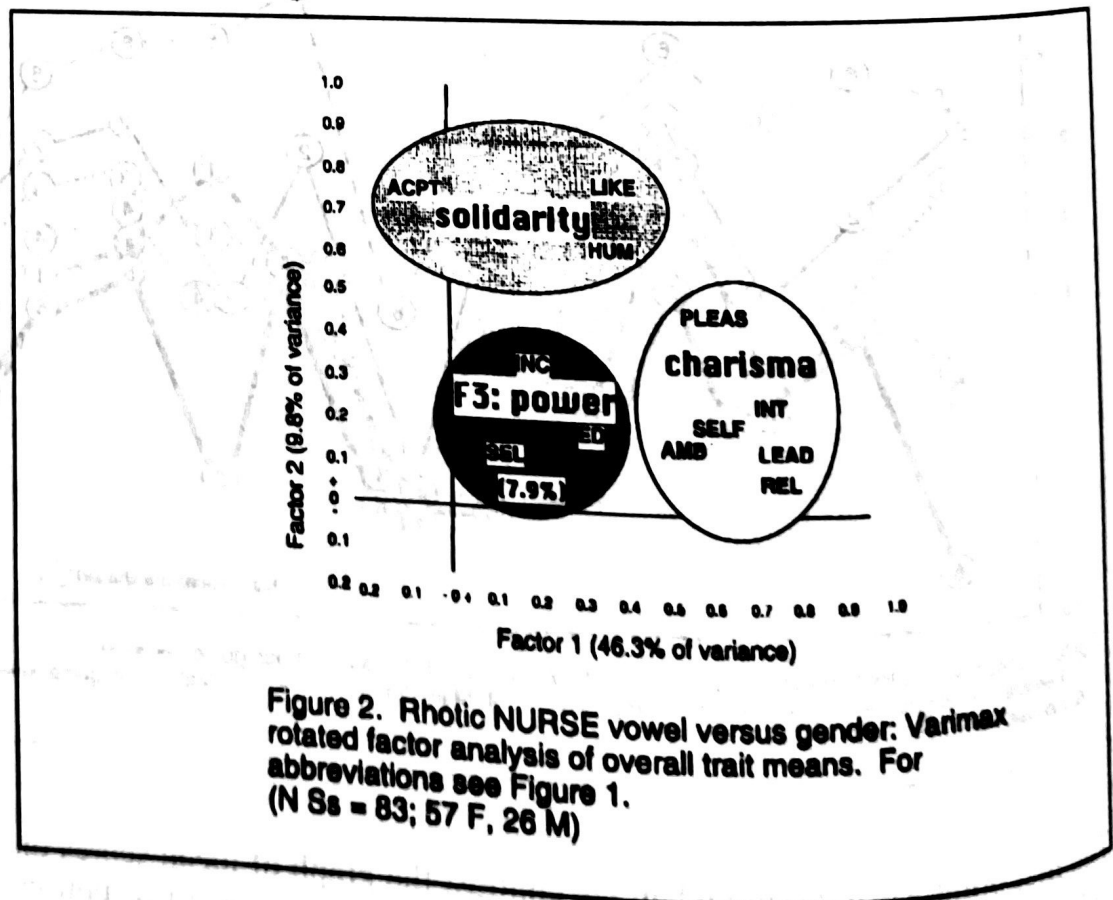


Figure 2. Rhotic NURSE vowel versus gender: Varimax rotated factor analysis of overall trait means. For abbreviations see Figure 1. (N Ss = 83; 57 F, 26 M)



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In terms of the overall relationship between the 12 variables, Figure 2 demonstrates a fairly typical pattern for this sort of analysis.<sup>5</sup> The exception is the inclusion of pleasantness of accent in Factor 1, along with the other variables usually associated with the dimension referred to here as "charisma"; Factor 2 is clearly solidarity, and Factor 3 equally clearly power, but Factor 1 is obviously the most significant, explaining 46% of the total variance in the data.

**B. The impact of speaker gender**

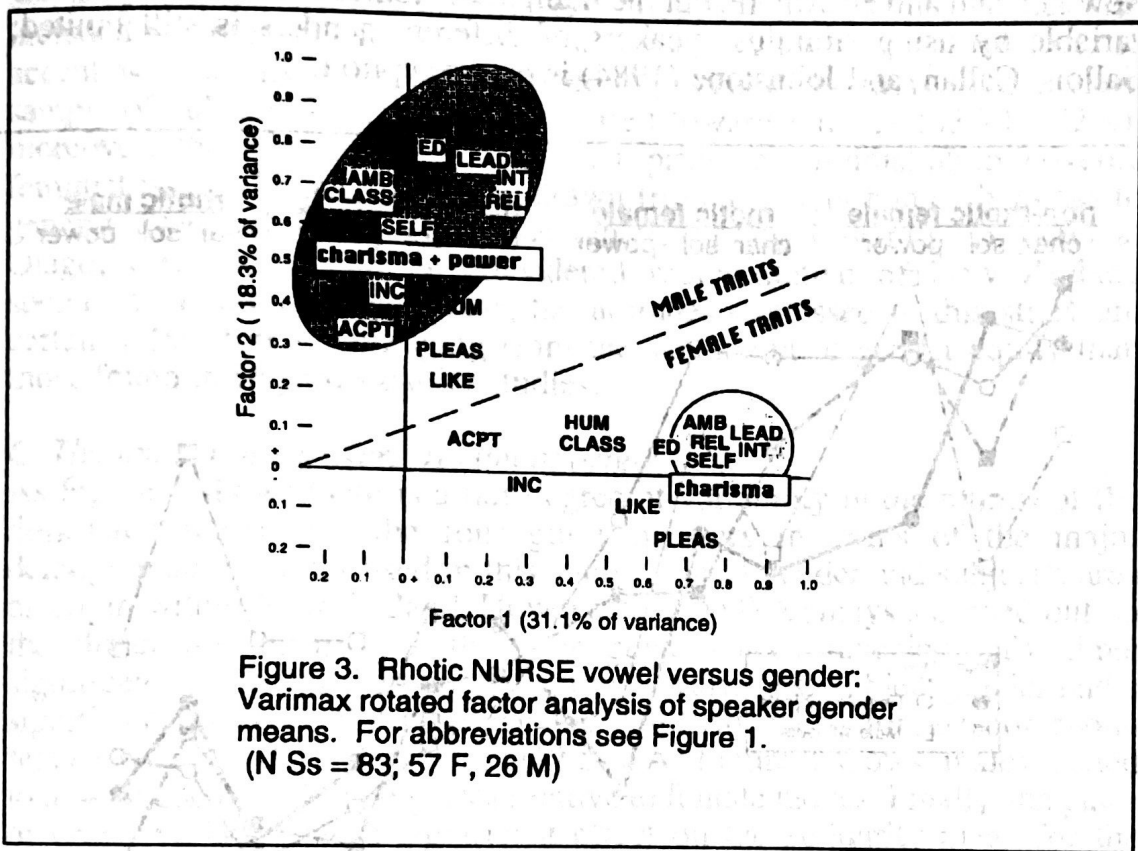


Figure 3. Rhotic NURSE vowel versus gender. Varimax rotated factor analysis of speaker gender means. For abbreviations see Figure 1. (N Ss = 83; 57 F, 26 M)

As Figure 3 shows, the pattern of interrelationship between the mean values of the 12 traits for male and female voices is most heavily influenced by the single factor of gender. Rather than forming discrete power, charisma, etc. clusters, Factor 1 emphasises female charisma trait means, with all other female traits loading markedly more strongly on this factor than on Factor

<sup>5</sup> As we are dealing with general factors of solidarity, power, gender, etc. in the analyses shown in Figures 2 and 3, the nine non-New Zealanders were also included to increase sample size. This last is important given the rather large number of variables included in the two analyses.

2. Factor 2 correspondingly contains all male trait means, with a more diffuse cluster of charisma and power traits loading strongly on this factor. This pattern of Factor 1-2 separation of gender means has occurred in almost every such analysis that Bayard and his students have carried out, not only with NZE and other English attitudinal studies, but also with investigations of accents in Cantonese (Chan 1989) and Thai (Bayard 1995b). The sole exception was an analysis of attitudes of a group of 46 elderly rest home residents, where both factors 1 and 2 were made up of male trait means, and female means were relegated to lesser factors 3 and 4 (Wilson and Bayard 1992:39-42). Clearly speaker gender is a factor of paramount importance in New Zealand and elsewhere, but the number of studies concentrating on this variable by using stimulus speakers of different genders is still limited; Gallois, Callan, and Johnstone (1984) is one exception.

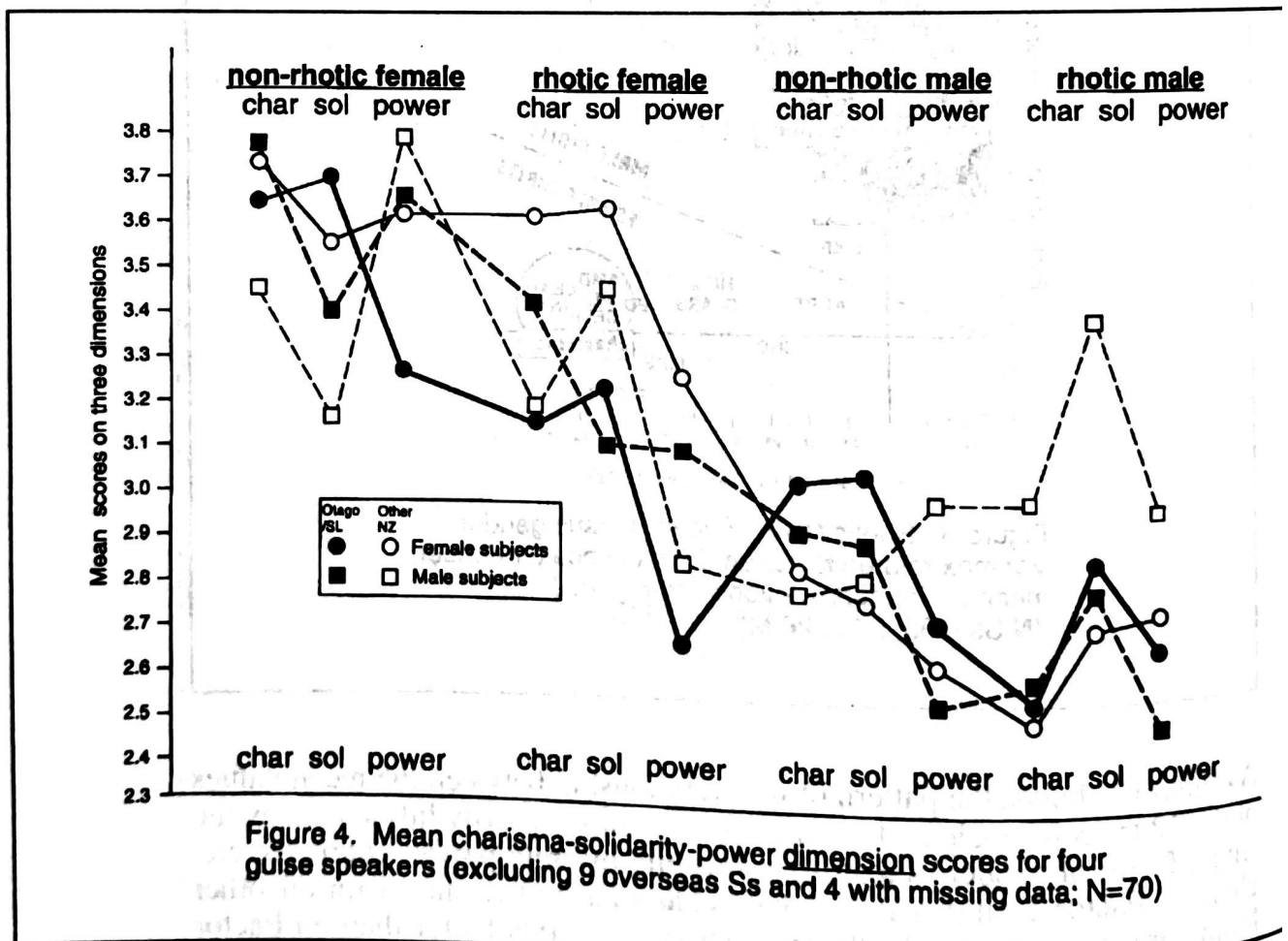


Figure 4. Mean charisma-solidarity-power dimension scores for four guise speakers (excluding 9 overseas Ss and 4 with missing data; N=70)

If we examine the effect of where the subjects were raised—distinguishing those from Otago, Dunedin and Southland as opposed to the rest of New Zealand—together with their gender, examining only the means for the three dimensions of traits shown in Figure 2, the diagram in Figure

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4 results. It is apparent first that both female and male subjects rate the female speakers higher than the male voices in all three dimensions, with the exception of the rating of male voices in solidarity by the subjects from the north. This positive view of female voices is in sharp contrast to the results found in Bayard's earlier studies, where both male and female subjects downgraded the female voices on the eight-accent tape mentioned at the beginning of this article. Indeed, female high school students proved the most critical of their own gender (Bayard 1991a, b). However, it now appears likely that this was due to the relatively high number of listeners mistaking the slow, hesitant broad NZE speaker for a Māori or Polynesian, and accordingly assigning her very low ratings; the four female voices also included not only the RP speaker but the cultivated NZE speaker, whose accent was not liked by the younger high school listeners. The present sample of subjects is also strongly biased toward females (53/74—72%); moreover, the content of lectures just prior to administration covered feminist issues. Thus this sample, drawn from a student body which has in general averaged about two-thirds female during Bayard's 25 years at Otago, certainly cannot be considered representative of New Zealand society as a whole. Nonetheless, the attitudes expressed in this study are certainly far more encouraging from the standpoint of gender equity than those found in Bayard's earlier studies.

### *C. The impact of speakers' region of origin*

As Figure 4 shows there is a fair degree of variability in the ratings of the dimension means for the four guise speakers in terms of the major demographic variables used in this study, subject gender and subject's area of origin within New Zealand. However, MANOVA analysis carried out on the dimension means for the four guise voices revealed only three significant effects for the two demographic variables. Subject gender had a significant effect on the rating of the solidarity mean for the non-rhotic female voice ( $F=4.78$ ;  $p=0.032$ ;  $df12,57$ ). As Figure 4 shows, males tended to downgrade both female guises relative to female judges. Finally, the place of origin variable had a significant effect on the solidarity mean for the rhotic female guise, with Otago-Southland listeners downgrading her markedly ( $F=4.54$ ;  $p=0.037$ ;  $df12,57$ ). Despite the tendency apparent in Figure 4 with the rhotic male guise in particular for Otago-Southland listeners to downgrade speakers of both genders, the trend did not reach statistical significance. Nonetheless, it is quite clear that listeners from the Otago-Southland area do not approve of the Southland (-r), and seem to be less tolerant of this distinctive feature than New Zealanders from further north. It is tempting to see here a parallel with Labov's attitudinal analysis for New York City English, where New Yorkers dislike the accent more than other Americans (Labov 1966:488-89, 499).

*D. Regional ascriptions and the myth of regional accent variation in NZE*

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, there is a widespread belief in the existence of regional accentual variants of NZE, despite linguists' failure to discover any distinct accentual varieties aside from the well-documented case of Southland, but as Bauer says,

*What is particularly surprising about this homogeneity of accents is that non-linguists do not believe it. Dunedin people are frequently said to 'drawl', Wellingtonians to have 'clipped accents' and Aucklanders to sound like Australians. No research has been done to see whether people can be identified as coming from particular regions by speakers who make such claims, and the evidence of such claims is never precise. (Bauer 1994:412)*

Table 2 represents a first attempt at such a study, examining the regional ascriptions of the 74 New Zealand subjects in this study. The first point to note is that by no means all informants hazarded guesses about the regional affiliations. If we exclude two presumed Southlanders and the 22 non-New Zealand or missing guesses, 272 guesses were made, of which 150 were "New Zealand non-specific"—i.e., 55%; so only 45% hazarded a regional guess. Would the fairly high figure not willing to guess a specific region argue against the folklinguistic belief in regional accents which most linguists believe to be the case? If so, it seems odd that about half of Bayard's university student informants in one of his earlier studies felt constrained to volunteer unsolicited opinions on the region of origin of the five New Zealand voices used there (Bayard 1990:85; 1995a:54). A recently completed perceptual dialectology study by Gordon (1995) even more strongly supports the existence of this folklinguistic belief. Gordon obtained dialect maps of New Zealand from 97 informants—only two of these denied the existence of regional dialects in New Zealand.<sup>6</sup> The remaining 95 all reported regional variation in NZE, distinguishing 55 separate areas which could be combined into 27 regions. 89 of the 95 singled out Southland as distinct, and one-fifth correctly gave it as the only distinct region, but the remainder also distinguished Auckland, Christchurch, Wellington, the East Coast, Taranaki, etc. (Gordon 1995:20-21). Gordon's conclusions are clear.

*In my view the most significant finding of this study is that it appears to confirm what linguists have suspected: that there is no regional variation in NZE apart from Southland. As has often been acknowledged, there is some lexical variation, and significant social and ethnic variation. When people*

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<sup>6</sup> One of these was a female Pākehā from Dunedin; the other was a first-language speaker of Māori who was well aware of Māori dialectal variation, but denied its existence in English. Note that Gordon is currently preparing this important study for publication.

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*identify an area, on the whole they are identifying with their stereotype of the most salient social group of that area. So the belief that variation is social in origin is borne out by this study. (Gordon 1995:36)*

Gordon's results seem to support Bayard's earlier finding that "the stereotypes that NZE speakers attribute to regional variation are social in origin" (1990:85).<sup>7</sup> This would certainly appear to be supported by the data presented in Table 2 as well. The four non-rhotic voices were assigned to places all over New Zealand, from Northland to Southland, from Auckland to Dunedin. The only speaker with any residence experience in the North Island (#4, who spent his formative years in Whangarei and Wellington as well as Christchurch) received more South Island guesses (19) than the three South Islanders did (13, 8, and 11 respectively). Given Gordon's conclusions on the confusion of regional and social differentiation, it is interesting to note the 13 Auckland guesses given to the most popular speaker, the non-rhotic female guise speaker #6 (actually from Otago); some 45% (13/29) of the regional guesses awarded to her picked Auckland. Although Auckland has considerable notoriety in folk mythology as being inhabited by yuppies, street kids, and "wannabe" Americans, it seems clear that it has considerable mana as far as its perceived accent is concerned, no matter how incorrect that perception is. This is not surprising, given its position as the "Queen City": New Zealand's largest, richest, and most cosmopolitan urban conglomeration. On the other hand, it is clear that the Southland rhotic guise voices are much less favoured. As Bayard concluded in an earlier summary,

*Perhaps here we can see the cultural cringe operating on a smaller, internal scale: native NZE accents which are favoured seem to be perceived as coming from the Queen City, Auckland; rhotic ones perceived as "yokelish" must come from Southland. The latter stereotype is linguistically correct; the first one appears on present evidence to be false (Bayard 1995a:110).*

## **Conclusions**

A number of fairly straightforward conclusions arise from this study:

1) Confining stimulus voices to a single phonological accent and reducing paralinguistic variation to a minimum did as predicted reduce the

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<sup>7</sup> While we feel fairly confident about the lack of any regional variation aside from Southland in a qualitative, systemic sense, we would not wish to rule out the possibility of some degree of quantitative, proportional variation in certain phonological features. In fact, one of us has speculated that certain innovative features in NZE may be more common in "North Island urban areas" (Bayard 1990:85). However, obviously further research is necessary to determine such quantitative variation.

range of variability in trait mean scores vis-a-vis more varied accent samples.

2) The rhotic NURSE vowel is indeed a salient sociolinguistic variable, and is apparently more stigmatised by people from the southern South Island than by those from further north. This may help to explain the trend noted by Bayard (1995a:108-09) for students from Southland to "get rid of their r's" on coming to Dunedin; Gibbs (1994:19) also documents this phenomenon. As one ANTH 102 student put it in a recent examination answer:

*I myself am a Southlander, and I am often told I 'suffer' or am 'guilty of' rolling my r's. These negative statements emphasise, reinforce and promote the inward/downward cringe. I am proud of my accent, but to be socially more acceptable, have inadvertently developed a non-rhotic accent. (ANTH 102 examination essay, 1995)*

What does require explanation is why rhotic North American accents are apparently highly valued by New Zealanders (e.g., Bayard 1991a), but rhotic Southland accents are not. Bayard suspects that it is not the rhoticity, but the "Americanism" of the former as determined by other phonological features which makes the difference (Bayard 1995c:20); obviously further experiments are necessary to verify this.

3) But despite the salience of (-r)—or at least the NURSE vowel—it seems clear that speaker gender is a more important variable, at least in this group of subjects. Contrary to the results of Bayard's earlier experiments, female speakers here were marked higher than males by both female and male listeners.

4) This brings us to a final and much more complex and unstraightforward question: while it seems safe to hypothesise from these results that speaker gender is a more important variable than a single phonological feature like NURSE rhoticism, it is far from clear how the complex variables of speaker gender, accent, perceived ethnicity, and paralinguistic features interact. As only two of these four features were dealt with in the present study, this is not the place for a detailed theoretical presentation, which will be reserved for a later paper. However, taken in conjunction with Bayard's earlier studies cited here and elsewhere (Bayard 1995a:97-112, 144-152), and other studies such as Gallois, Callan, and Johnstone (1984), it seems clear that assignment of speakers to either an in- or an out-group is of paramount importance. It is not totally clear from this study which category Southlanders are classed in by other New Zealanders. On the one hand they are certainly viewed as slightly "quaint" or "yokelish", but they are certainly by no means as clear an out-group as perceived Māori and Pacific Island speakers (Bayard 1995a:144-152; Bayard and Leek 1992, 1996). Southlanders are certainly viewed as New Zealand Pākehā by Pākehā listeners, but they are somewhat distinctively different Pākehā.

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## Appendix

### *Speaker Evaluation Questionnaire 1993* CB93

#### INSTRUCTIONS:

You are going to hear a short passage read by six different people; this questionnaire asks for your opinion of these people. The voices will be played through once with pauses to let you record your opinions on the scales below. **There are no right or wrong answers; just your first impressions.**

Please complete these details before you begin.

AGE \_\_\_\_\_ SEX \_\_\_\_\_

Where did you live as a child (ca. 8-12)? Please give city, town, or region (and country if outside NZ):

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Please rank each speaker on the following scales:  
(check one space in each scale only.)



**"You must be from Gorrrre"**

1. How confident is the person?

	very confident			not confident	
	1	2	3	4	5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

2. What is the most likely level of education the speaker has reached?

	No school qualifies.	School cert	Univ. entrance	Some tertiary (incomplete)	BA/BSc
	1	2	3	4	5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

3. How pleasant is the person's accent?

	very pleasant			not pleasant	
	1	2	3	4	5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

4. How reliable is the person?

	very reliable				not at all reliable
	1	2	3	4	5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

5. How good a leader would the person be?

	very good leader				bad leader
	1	2	3	4	5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

6. What do you think the person's level of annual income is?

	below 10,000	10-20 thousand	20-30 thousand	30-40 thousand	above 40 thousand
	1	2	3	4	5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

**"You must be from Gorre"**

**7. What is the highest level of relationship you would accept with this person?**

	stranger 1	neighbour 2	workmate 3	friend 4	family member 5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

**8. How ambitious is the person?**

	very ambitious 1	2	3	4	very unambitious 5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

**9. How likeable is the person?**

	very likeable 1	2	3	4	not likeable 5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

10. How intelligent is the person?

	very intelligent 1	2	3	4	not intelligent 5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

11. What sort of sense of humour does this person have?

	very good 1	2	3	4	very humourless 5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

12. What is the person's most likely social level?

	Lower 1	LM 2	Middle 3	UM 4	Upper class 5
Speaker #1					
Speaker #2					
Speaker #3					
Speaker #4					
Speaker #5					
Speaker #6					

