

Te Reo 38 (1995):105-125

**Yankisms in Kiwiland, from zed to zee:
American lexical and pronunciation incursions in
Dunedin (1984-1985) and Auckland (1990)¹**

Robert Leek
University of Auckland
Donn Bayard
University of Otago

Background

Petrol is generally known as *benzine*, though now it is coming to be advertised as *gas* at the more modern 'service stations', some of which have been so far Americanised as to describe themselves as 'lubratoriums'. *Radio* has already driven out the English *wireless*, *pack* (of cigarettes, etc.), the English *packet*, *alfalfa*, the English *lucerne*, and *mail*, the English *letters* or *post*. (Bennet 1970:75)

So wrote J.A.W. Bennett commenting on New Zealand English (NZE) lexicon in an article originally published in 1943. He went on to say

This infiltration of American words and usages is steadily increasing. It goes on faster than in England, and will doubtless be hastened by the presence of American doughboys and by the improvements in communications we may expect to follow the war.

To what extent have his predictions proved to be true after 50-odd years? *Lucerne* is still **lucerne** rather than **alfalfa**, and a **letterbox** is still just that rather than a **mailbox**; but how about **petrol**? This paper attempts to answer such questions, based on two fairly comprehensive surveys carried out at opposite ends of New Zealand. It is certainly not the first treatment of the subject since Bennett's article; in the intervening years several others have devoted considerable space to NZE (and Australian) lexicon, and to American influences on it (e.g., Turner 1970, 1972:109-15; Gordon and Deverson 1985:52-55; Gordon and Deverson 1989:73-82). However, the two surveys reported on here are the first to look at the question of American influences on NZE vocabulary using a quantitative approach

¹ For those not familiar with New Zealand, Dunedin is a small city located some 1100 km south of Auckland; it has a core population of only about 70,000 in contrast to nearly a million in the commercial and industrial centre of Auckland. Dunedin's population—largely of British and Irish ancestry—is also ethnically much less diverse than Auckland's, which has large minorities of Maori and Pacific Islanders.

involving correlation with demographic variables like age, gender, and socioeconomic class.

The Dunedin survey

This research had its beginnings in a pilot Labovian survey of NZE carried out by Bayard in Dunedin in 1984–1985. This project interviewed 141 informants covering a wide socioeconomic and age range, but was in the main limited to Pakeha,² precluding the study of ethnic variability. The survey investigated demographic variation in a fairly wide range of phonological variables, but only at the level of reading-passage and word-list styles (Bayard 1987, 1991a); the preliminary results have now been augmented by the full-scale Labovian survey carried out in Porirua (Holmes, Bell, and Boyce 1991).

However, the Dunedin survey also investigated variation in and American influence on NZE lexicon (Bayard 1989), concentrating on 27 pairs of lexical items; in most cases these offered a choice between a "traditional NZE"/British model and its American equivalent (**lift/elevator**, **torch/flashlight**, etc.). The Dunedin interview schedule also elicited pronunciations on tape of some 18 words having both NZE/British and American variants (**leftenant/loutenant**, **zed/zee**, etc.).

As might be expected, use of the American alternative pronunciation of many of the items was very strongly correlated with youth (**schedule**, **advertisement**, **lieutenant**, **controversy**, **either**, **medicine**, and **Z**); the same was true of the zero plural of **woman**, an NZE innovation (see Deverson 1990). Socioeconomic level also proved to have a significant effect, with higher-level informants tending to prefer "traditional" British pronunciations of items like **schedule**, **advertisement**, **lieutenant**, **privacy**, **medicine**, **either**, **Z**, and **women** at a significance level of less than 0.02 (Bayard 1989:26). No significant correlations were found with gender.

The 27 lexical alternatives were investigated through a questionnaire which asked informants to select which of the pair they normally used. Once this task was completed, informants were asked to go through the list again and indicate which of the alternatives was "better English".³ Two patterns appeared to emerge from the results of the use and preference figures. Although none of the "innovative" American items were used to any great extent (except in the 6–11 age group), some items, like **flashlight**, **eraser**, and **elevator** (as opposed to **torch**, **rubber**, and **lift**), showed markedly higher preference figures. A second group—e.g., **gas**, **sweater**, **airplane**, and **dollar bill** (paired with **petrol**, **jersey**, **aeroplane**, and **dollar**

² Pakeha are New Zealanders of European descent.

³ A number of the more astute informants asked for a definition of "better English", but were instructed to make up their own mind.

Yankisms in Kiwiland, from zed to zee: American lexical and pronunciation incursions in Dunedin (1984-1985) and Auckland (1990)

note)—showed relatively greater usage percentages (with many informants using both members of the pair), but with a markedly higher preference for the British alternative as “better English”. Bayard saw in these patterns a rough parallel to Labov’s phonological “changes from above and below”; the first group seemed likely to be adopted consciously, with the American alternative viewed as “better”,⁴ while the second group appeared to be coming into use less self-consciously, and with little prestige attached to the items (Bayard 1989:32–36). Full details on the alternative pronunciations and lexical pairs can be found in Bayard 1989, and the use and percentages figures are summarised below. However, one interesting question could not be answered by this synchronic study: would trends in actual usage follow those shown by preference?

The Auckland survey

Bayard’s Dunedin survey inspired Leek to conduct a similar survey in Auckland in 1990. Fifteen students⁵ of the third-year New Zealand English paper were involved in the project’s design and conduct from the outset. They were all familiar with Bayard’s Dunedin findings.

Eighteen of Bayard’s 27 lexical choices were used in the Auckland study, with 12 other items added; these were the pairs **dress-frock**, **trolley-trundler**, **handbag-purse**, **lolly-sweet**, **parka-anorak**, **jug-kettle**, **bar-cake** (of soap), **village-township**, **flat-apartment**, **principal-headmaster**, **luggage-baggage** and **intermission-interval**. The study also included 13 of Bayard’s original pronunciation options, plus seven new items, eliciting alternative pronunciations for **kilometre**, **protester**, **harass**, **nude**, **project** (the noun), **exquisite**, and **research** (the noun). The objective of these additions to Bayard’s Dunedin list was to further determine the extent to which ‘innovative’ lexical choices and preferences, and changing choices of pronunciations, are departures from British English and approaches toward American English and thus follow trends in other parts of the English-speaking world, *or* are entirely NZE-based (such as the **woman-women** merger—which was included in Bayard’s pronunciation list as well). Most of these extra items were suggested by members of the student research team, and a few of them proved unproductive; the same was of course true for some of the pairs employed in Bayard’s Dunedin study, like **storey/floor** and **power point/plug**. **Trolleys** and **trundlers**, **handbags** and **purses** (like

⁴ This could doubtless be due to the more “learned” Latinate appearance of items like **elevator** and **eraser**, but is more difficult to explain with words like **flashlight**.

⁵ The participating students were: Christine Ballantyne, Stephanie Barnett, Helen Cardow, Adrienne Carlisle, Lois Dudding, Victoria Elvin, Elspeth Garvey, Richard Harrison, Jason Kirk, Sue Maich, Fiona McCook, Simon Mickleton, Danielle Morrissey, Stuart Robertson and Paul Sheehy.

plugs and power points) were widely considered different articles (and nobody had ever heard of a **pocketbook**).

The questionnaire consisted of a single sheet, double-sided, headed by the consent form required by the Auckland University Human Research Ethics Committee. This was filled in by the informants (or by the interviewers on their behalf) and signed by them; it provided the research team with all the statistical data needed: informants' age, sex, ethnicity, place of birth and residence, level of education and employment (or parents' or spouse's employment).

The consent form was followed by the lexical choice section, continuing halfway down the reverse page; the remainder of this page contained the twenty words that were tested for alternative pronunciations. Most of the student researchers administered the pronunciation test first with the help of flash cards, and recorded the results themselves. They then gave the questionnaires to the informants to ring the appropriate letters showing their lexical choices (under the headings "I USE" and "BETTER ENGLISH"), but stayed around to answer any queries that might arise.

Leek and his students wanted to get as close as possible to a Labovian stratified sample: adequate numbers of informants in every one of five age groups—sub-teens, teenagers, young adults, mature adults and elderly; and equal numbers of informants of both genders. They managed this quite satisfactorily, and finished up with 60 8-12 year olds, 60 teenagers and mature (40-55 year old) adults, 80 younger adults (20-35), and 40 65+ year olds—all of these groups consisting of equal numbers of males and females. Despite the bulge in the middle, and the tapering off at the aged end, this produced quite respectable age-gender cells (Table 1).

Age group(yres):	8-12		15-18		20-35		40-55		65+		Total M/F
Gender:	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Working class	12	10	12	10	15	20	10	10	10	10	59/50
Middle class	18	20	18	20	25	30	20	20	10	10	91/100
Total M/F	30/30		30/30		40/40		30/30		20/20		150/150

Table 1: Leek 1990 Auckland lexical/alternative pronunciation survey: Demographic distribution of informants

The socioeconomic spectrum is not quite so equitable: except for the evenly distributed senior citizens, middle-class informants roughly

outnumbered working-class ones by two to one.⁶ (191 MC, 109 WC), and input in the listener sample other than Pakeha is virtually negligible (88.7% of subjects were Pakeha, only 3% each British immigrants and Maori, and 2.3% Pacific Islanders).

Lollies and sweets were divided generationally, with a highly significant ($p = 0.002$) correlation between older age and use of sweets. In this case, subsequent informal testing suggests that people do know the American term **candy** but are even less inclined to use it than **cookie** for **biscuit**. **Parkas** and **anoraks**, as hooded wet-weather garments, both appear to be making way for the generic **jacket**; and whereas **intermissions** go with movies, **intervals** are favoured by concertgoers and live-theatre lovers, while sports enthusiasts suggested **half time**. But like **lollies** and **sweets**, **dress/frock** and **bar/cake** of soap proved interesting. Their alternative use showed a high correlation with age; as one of our elderly women informants told us: "we used to buy a *bar* of Sunlight, and cut it into *cakes* to put by the hand basin".

Leek had expected the choice of **village** or **township**, **flat** or **apartment** and **principal** or **headmaster-mistress** to be strongly class-conditioned, but this proved not to be the case: they *did* have significant *age* correlations, for use as well as preference. Nevertheless, it was obvious from comments in the questionnaires' margins that the well-established, traditional *and* private schools continue to shun **principals**; in Auckland, at any rate, such people may rule the roost at public primary and intermediate schools and modern colleges, such as Lynfield and Mt Roskill and Westlake—but Auckland Grammar, St Cuthberts, King's College and Diocesan⁷ continue to be run by **headmasters** and **mistresses**. Along the same socially marked parameters, we are likely to live in **flats** in Grey Lynn, Kingsland, Mount Eden and Grafton, but reside in **apartments** (usually but not always implying a high-rise building) in Herne Bay, Stanley Point, Kohimarama and Remuera. These are titbits of information not so much gleaned from the 1990 survey as from the comments by second and third-year students to whom Leek has submitted the wordlist in tutorials over the last couple of years. A **jug** or a **kettle**? No problem: a **kettle** is plump, with a spout and a handle over the top of the lid, but a **jug** is tall and streamlined, with its handle on the side; a **sweater** is a cotton-knit garment (i.e., an American **sweatshirt**), but a **jumper**—preferably a **jersey** anyway, or a **pullover**—is woollen; as for the choice between **gas** and **petrol**: Leek was told more than once that "Dad used to buy **gas** till LPG and CNG got

⁶ Socioeconomic class was determined in a fashion similar to Bayard's Dunedin study, using a combination of occupation and schooling plus residential area.

⁷ Auckland Grammar, St Cuthbert's, King's College, and Diocesan are long-established and highly prestigious secondary schools in Auckland; the last three are private.

on the market—now he asks for ‘unleaded petrol’, since our car hasn’t been fitted for those gas type fuels”. Bayard has encountered similar reactions from his students recently.

In almost all cases where the Dunedin and Auckland research coincided, Auckland speakers were found to be significantly more progressive or “innovative” than Dunedin/South Island ones. Bayard’s collaboration on the computerisation and factor analysis of the Auckland data clearly established that, of the three variables age, sex, and class, *age* proved to be by far the most important factor in lexical change of usage and preference, showing significant correlations in 17 of the 30 items for usage,⁸ 18 of the 30 for preference, and 10 of the 20 alternative pronunciations. All of the last 10 were positive correlations (greater age with more ‘conservative’ pronunciation) except for **garage**, where the adult Aucklanders used notably more /gə 'radʒ, gə 'rɑ:ʒ/ pronunciations than the 8- to 18-year-olds did. The informants’ sex accounted for only seven correlations at the 0.05 significance level or below on usage, six on preference and three on pronunciation. The class factor proved to be virtually negligible on lexical usage and preference (5/30 and 3/30 respectively), but high (9/20) on pronunciation. The items affected were **often** as /'ɒftən/, **vitamin**, and **dynasty**. Working-class people presumably watch *Dynasty* /'daɪnəsti/ on the box and are mindful of their intake of **vitamins** /'vaɪtəmənz/, but oddly enough 21% of them still call them /'vɪtəmənz/ (cf. 12% for middle-class informants). They tend to use U.S. **skedule** /sk-/in preference to British **shedule** (/ʃ/); **garazh** /gə 'radʒ/ or /gə 'rɑ:ʒ/ in preference to **garidge** /'gærədʒ/; the uniform **women** /'wʊmən/ plural; and **interesting** with three rather than four syllables. However, they use significantly **more** yodful **nude** /nju:d/ than their middle-class equivalents. **ADvertisement** with stress on the first syllable (/ 'ædvətəɪzment/) was favoured, overall, by 20% of our sample, but by 27% of the working-class sample as opposed to 16% of the middle-class sample. As mentioned above, **schedule** and **privacy**, along with **lieutenant**, **either**, and **advertisement**, also proved highly class-sensitive in Bayard’s earlier study, with the U.S. variants being used by significantly greater numbers of informants in lower socioeconomic levels (1989:27). Table 2 gives the use and preference percentages for the American lexical alternatives in the 1990 Auckland survey and the earlier Dunedin survey respectively; the Dunedin figures exclude those using or preferring both alternatives; Table 3 provides the percentages of informants using the American alternative pronunciation in each of the cities.

⁸ **Sweater** was omitted from the comparisons because of the non-equivalences of the British alternatives offered (jersey vs jumper).

Yankisms in Kiwiland, from zed to zee: American lexical and pronunciation incursions in Dunedin (1984-1985) and Auckland (1990)

Lexical items: (U.S. vs. British usage)	Use		Preference	
	Auckland	Dunedin	Auckland	Dunedin
COOKIE (vs. Biscuit)	8%	5%	5%	3%
DIAPER (vs. Nappy)	10%	4%	42%	16%
GAS (vs. Petrol)	16%	4%	10%	9%
RADIO (vs. Wireless)	95%	89%	89%	85%
PANTIES (vs. Knickers) ^a	33%	39%	58%	63%
FLASHLIGHT (vs. Torch)	9%	4%	44%	33%
PANTS (vs. Trousers)	40%	7%	21%	7%
MOVIES (vs. Pictures) ^b	70%	26%	61%	46%
POWER POINT (vs. Plug)	40%	18%	81%	59%
SWEATER (vs. Jumper/Jersey)	18%	8%	41%	18%
SIDEWALK (vs. Footpath)	5%	3%	19%	12%
DRESS (vs. Frock)	90%	—	79%	—
\$ BILL (vs. Note)	14%	6%	19%	9%
TROLLEY (vs. Trundler)	79%	—	61%	—
TRUNK (vs. Boot)	6%	1%	23%	25%
HOOD (vs. Bonnet)	25%	12%	25%	16%
ELEVATOR (vs. Lift)	24%	8%	70%	50%
SERViette (vs. Napkin) ^c	73%	57%	71%	64%
ERASER (vs. Rubber)	14%	3%	66%	48%
PURSE (vs. Handbag)	39%	—	28%	—
LOLLY (vs. Sweet)	65%	—	35%	—
PARKA (vs. Anorak)	77%	—	65%	—
WINDSHIELD (vs. -screen)	13%	3%	27%	26%
JUG (vs. Kettle)	52%	—	35%	—
BAR of soap (vs. Cake)	58%	—	41%	—
VILLAGE (vs. Township)	55%	—	52%	—
APARTMENT (vs. Flat)	18%	—	58%	—
PRINCIPAL (vs. Headm.)	48%	—	66%	—
BAGGAGE (vs. Luggage)	20%	—	24%	—
INTERMISSION (vs. Interval)	30%	—	55%	—

^a **Knickers** is British rather than American usage.

^b Contrary to Turner's implication that **pictures** is an NZE term in contrast to American **movies** and British **cinema** (1972:159), **pictures** was also used in America during the post-World War II years; to Bayard's recollection it dropped out of use during the 1950s.

^c **Napkin** is characteristic of both upper-class British usage and general American usage.

Table 2: Use and preference percentages for 1990 Auckland Survey and 1984-1985 Dunedin Survey

<i>Item:</i>	<i>pronounced as:</i>	<i>Auckland</i>	<i>Dunedin</i>
Often	'ɒftən	46%	41%
Vitamin	'vaɪtəmən	85%	92%
Privacy	'praɪvesi	74%	84%
Dynasty	'daɪnəsti	26%	25%
Schedule	'skedʒul, 'skedʒul	59%	46%
Either	'iðə	53%	59%
Women	'wʊmən	62%	55%
Lieutenant	lu'tenənt	69%	67%
Controversy	'kɒntreɪvɜːsi	46%	41%
Interesting	'ɪntrestɪŋ	41%	48%
Garage	gə'raɪz, gə'radʒ	27%	4%
Migraine	'maɪgreɪn	87%	98%
Kilometre	kɪl'ɒmɪtə	49%	—
Protester	'prɒtɪstə	57%	—
Harass	hə'ræs	79%	—
Nude	nud	81%	—
Project (N)	'prɒdʒekt	69%	—
Exquisite	ek'skwɪzət	67%	—
Research (N)	'rɪsɜːtʃ	52%	—
Advertisement	'ædvɜːtaɪzmənt	20%	—

Table 3: Innovative pronunciation percentages, Auckland 1990 and Dunedin 1984-85

Analyses: Dunedin vs. Auckland

The easiest way to compare the results of the two surveys is by means of simple percentage histograms; these clearly show the more innovative trends in the Auckland sample of informants. In terms of the alternative pronunciation items (Figure 1), Aucklanders show slight increases in seven of the 13 items common to both surveys. However, it is interesting to note that this tendency is nowhere near as pronounced as that found by Bayard in his longitudinal monitoring by self-evaluation questionnaires of a few alternative pronunciation items in first-year anthropology classes at the University of Otago since 1984. As Table 4 shows, for younger university students, **LOO**tenant and **SK**edule pronunciations have now become standard; **clerk** as /kɪɹk/ rather than /klak/ is approaching the mean, and even **zEE** is now claimed to be used by a third of the students in recent years. It is interesting to note the general trend of these shifts, as they provide empirical evidence for the sigmoid curve model of language change ("slow-fast-slow") proposed by Chambers and Trudgill (1980:177). Clearly the **LOO**tenant and **SK**edule shifts are now substantially complete, and will approach 100% only slowly in the future. **CLERk**, on the other hand,

Yankisms in Kiwiland, from zed to zee: American lexical and pronunciation incursions in Dunedin (1984-1985) and Auckland (1990)

NZ students under 25:	1984	1986	1988	1990	1991	1992	1993
LOOtenant	73%	74%	78%	84%	81%	83%	87%
SKedule	77%	70%	73%	82%	78%	84%	86%
cIERk	-	36%	47%	55%	44%	61%	62%
zEE	-	22%	24%	29%	34%	38%	29%

Table 4: Alternative pronunciation responses of 1459 first-year University of Otago students 1984-1993 (all raised in New Zealand and under 25)

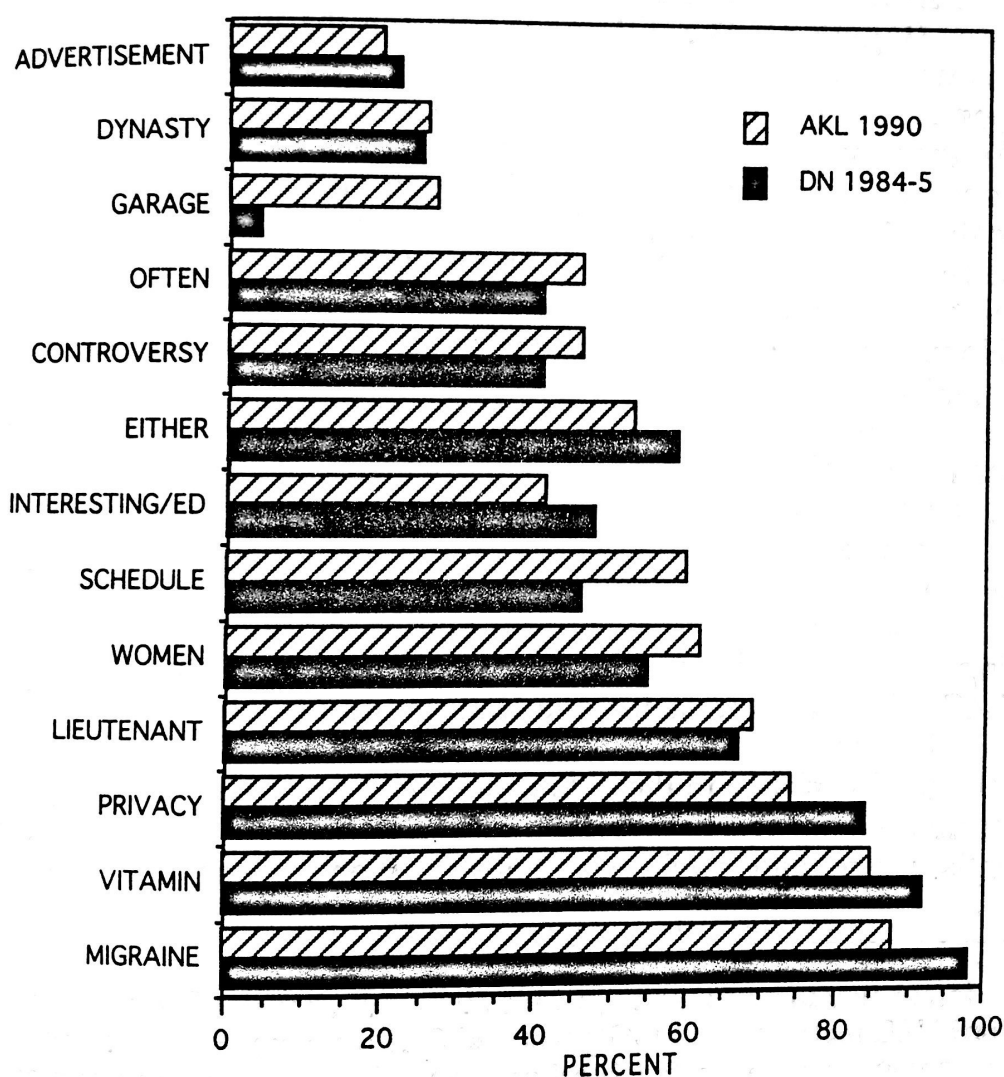


Figure 1: Innovative (American + "woman") pronunciation percentages: Dunedin 1984-5 (N=141) vs. Auckland 1990 (N=300)

appears to be in the steep middle part of the curve, and may well reach the 70-80% mark in the near future; ZEE seems to be somewhat behind cLERk.⁹ Obviously progress is not so orderly as to fit the S-shaped curve perfectly (witness the sharp drop in cLERk percentages in 1991, and zEE in 1993), but the overall trend is quite apparent.

Turning to the lexical pairs, it seems clear from Figure 2 that the 1990 Auckland informants are much more advanced in their use of the innovative American alternatives than their Dunedin counterparts five years earlier; in 14 of the 17 items common to both studies, Aucklanders use a markedly higher percentage of the American term. Only in the case of **cookie**, **napkin**, and **radio** do the Dunedin usage figures reach or exceed half those of the Auckland percentages. With only three exceptions (**cookie**, **trunk**, and **napkin**) a similar pattern is apparent in Aucklanders' lexical preferences (Figure 3). The difference between the two surveys is not as marked as with usage, but still quite large for items like **pants**, **knickers**, and **diapers**.

As mentioned above, in contrast to the Dunedin data significant correlations were found in some cases between informant's gender and use of one or the other of the lexical pairs; in all cases Auckland females tended to use the more "conservative" (i.e., older NZE/British) member of the pair. This was most marked with **interval** vs. **intermission** (significance < 0.005). However, rather than present a table with correlations of the 30 pairs with age and socioeconomic class as well as gender, it is much less tedious and more enlightening to examine the results of a factor analysis based on such a matrix. For those not familiar with this technique, factor analysis (or principal components analysis, the type of factoring employed here) attempts to order a large matrix of correlations (3 demographic variables by 30 word choices, or 90 correlations) into a much smaller number of more general **factors** which group related variables together and suggest something about the interrelationships of these groups (see Bayard 1989:46-47). It is important to note that in the analyses presented here, which plot the two most important factors against each other, only about 15-20% of the total variance in the data is accounted for. This is clearly due to the complex social and psychological motivations underlying each informant's usage and preference pattern. Nonetheless, the results are

⁹ It is also interesting to note that despite the advice given in the Collins, Heinemann, and Oxford NZE dictionaries, LOOtenant and SKEDule are now the standard NZE pronunciations used by educated speakers under 30. The spelling pronunciations cLERk may become so before 2000, and the pronunciation of "Z" as zEE may follow shortly thereafter. This last change is perhaps less probable due to the frequent occurrence of /enzed/ in acronyms like BNZ, TVNZ, etc.; on the other hand, Bayard's 15-year-old son and others in his age group appear to distinguish /enzed/ as a discrete morpheme, with the name of the letter itself (for spelling, etc.) being consistently /zi/.

Yankisms in Kiwiland, from zed to zee: American lexical and pronunciation incursions in Dunedin (1984-1985) and Auckland (1990)

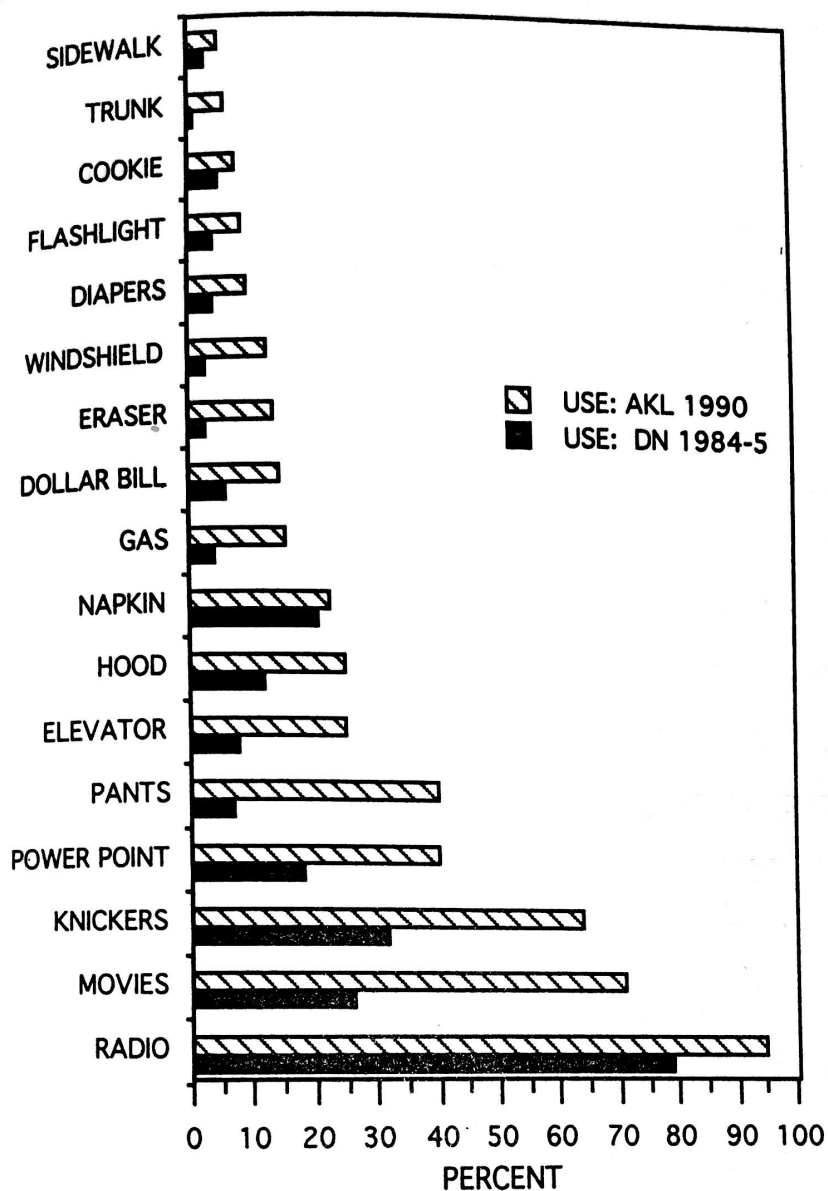


Figure 2: Percent of innovative lexical usage: Auckland 1990 vs. Dunedin 1984-5

interesting and suggestive. As with the Dunedin data, separate analyses were carried out on the correlations for use and preference as “better English” in Auckland, and the results were strikingly similar to those from Dunedin.

In terms of *use*, two fairly well-defined groups or clusters are apparent in the Dunedin sample. The first one of these, on the left of Fig. 4, contains what Bayard has called “old New Zealand” items, where the change to the innovative member of the pair is substantially complete and has been for some time; very few informants used **lorry**, **benzine**, **wireless**, or **silencer** for **muffler**. The diffuse cluster on the right contains a large number of items where change in usage toward the innovative member appears to be in progress (**eraser**, **pitcher**, **diapers**, etc.). Factor 1 here

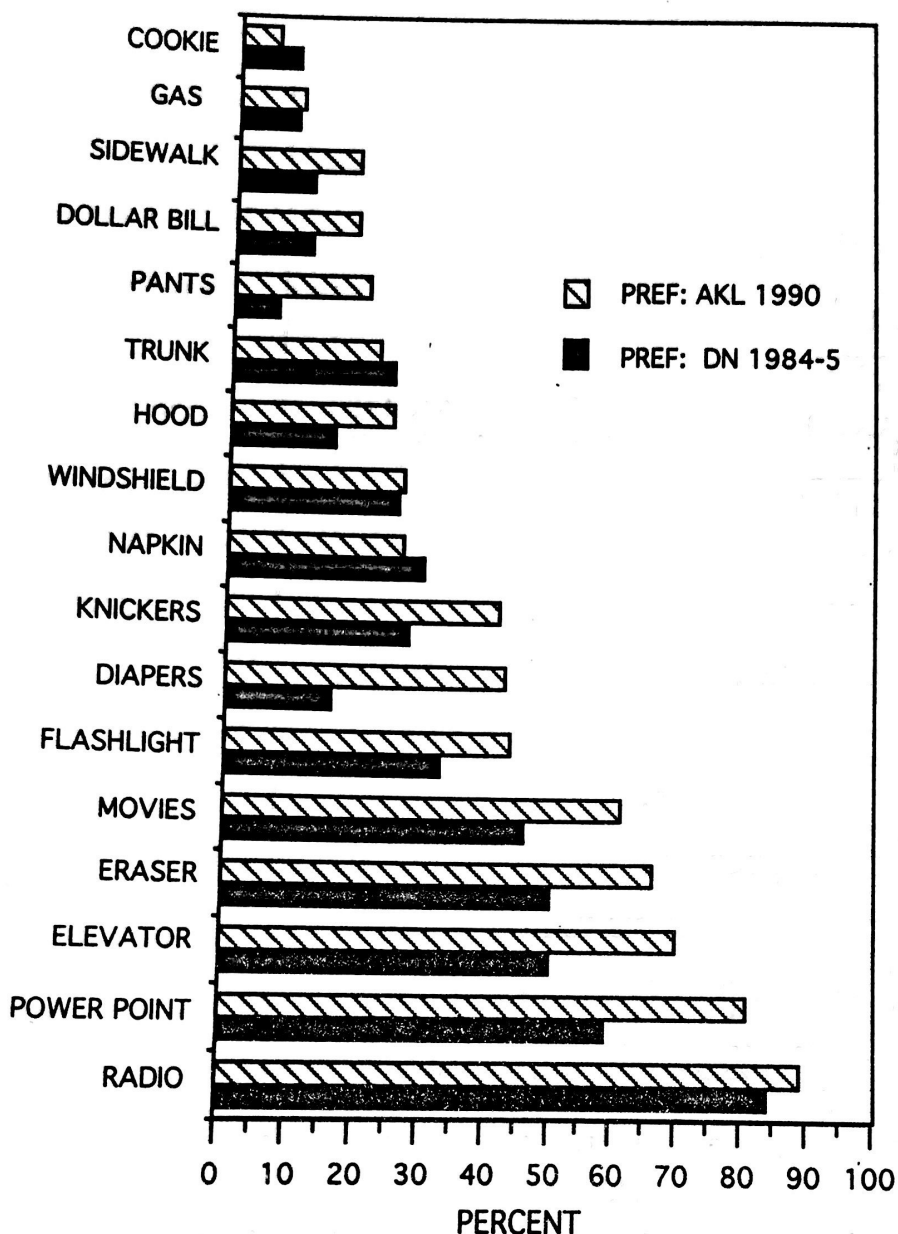


Figure 3: Percent of innovative lexical preference: Auckland 1990 vs. Dunedin 1984-5

could thus be described as “conservative” vs. “innovative” dimension, or more accurately as a “change complete” vs. “change in progress” dimension. Factor 2 is quite clearly **age**; thus alternatives like **elevator** and **sidewalk** tend to be used by younger speakers. Socioeconomic class (abbreviated SEI—socioeconomic index—in Fig. 4), urban vs. rural (URB), and private vs. state schooling (PVT) do not load highly on either factor, nor does sex.

A quite similar pattern emerges in the Auckland data (Fig. 5). The left-hand cluster again contains words which have been replaced by innovative variants (**dress, radio, trolley, bar of soap, lolly**). The larger

right-hand cluster contains most of the items which appear to be in the process of shifting from conservative to innovative alternates; **cookie** lies slightly outside this cluster as it is drawn,¹⁰ and seven items with either diffuse or complex referents are found below and outside both clusters. There are minor differences in the distribution of the pairs common to both studies, but the overall similarity is apparent.

The same proved to be true for the analysis of lexical preference. In the Dunedin data the preference analysis produced **three** rather than two clusters (Fig. 6); the smallest one to the left again contained items where change had already taken place (**lorry**, etc), while the right side of the factor plot shows two possible groups: one "change from above" group (**eraser, flashlight, diapers, elevator**, etc.) presumably in the process of being more

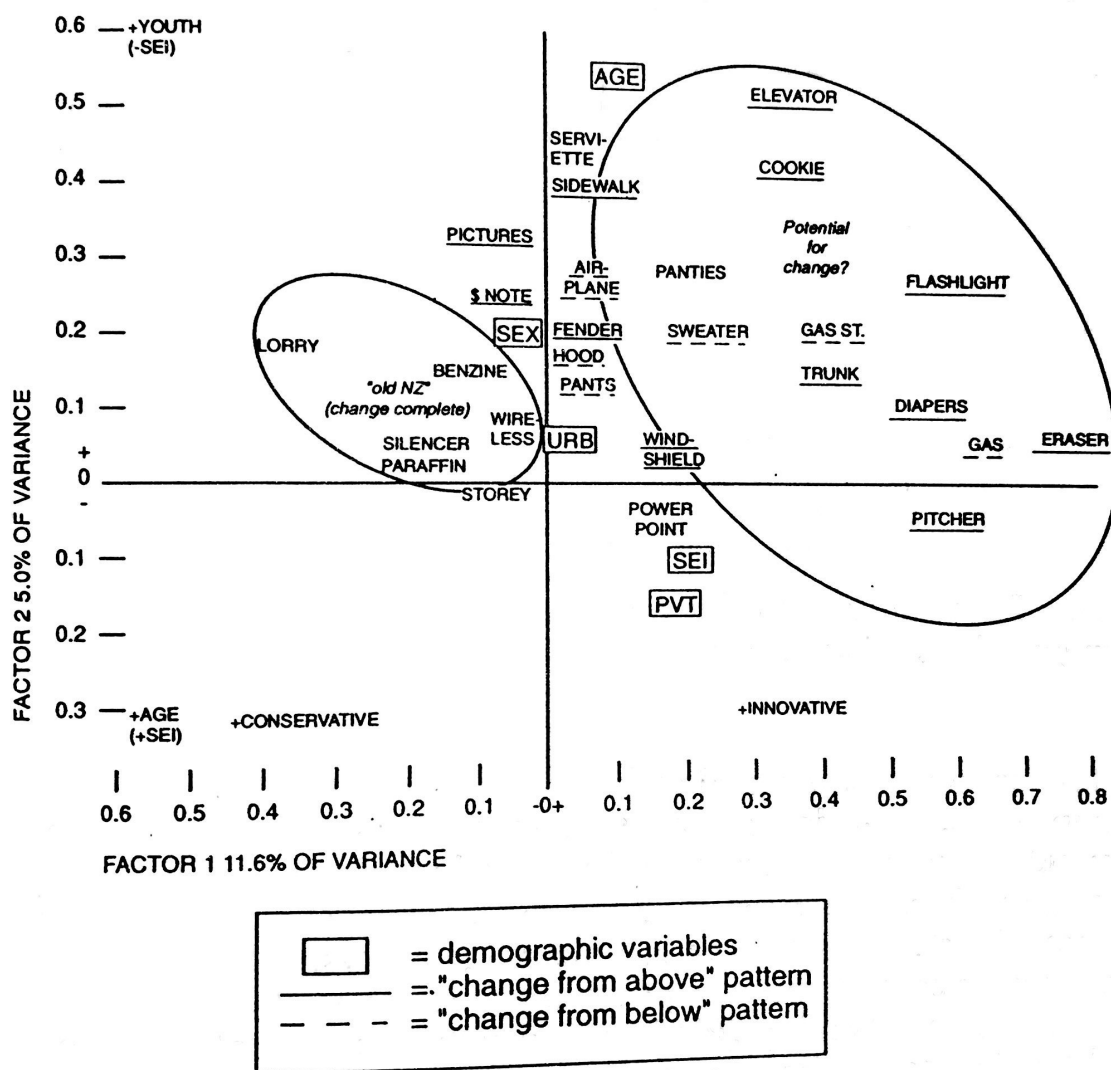


Figure 4: Dunedin data: Factor analysis of lexical usage and demographic variables (N=141)

¹⁰ It is important to remember that the clusters are discerned by the researcher, and not by the computer; they are thus necessarily somewhat intuitive.

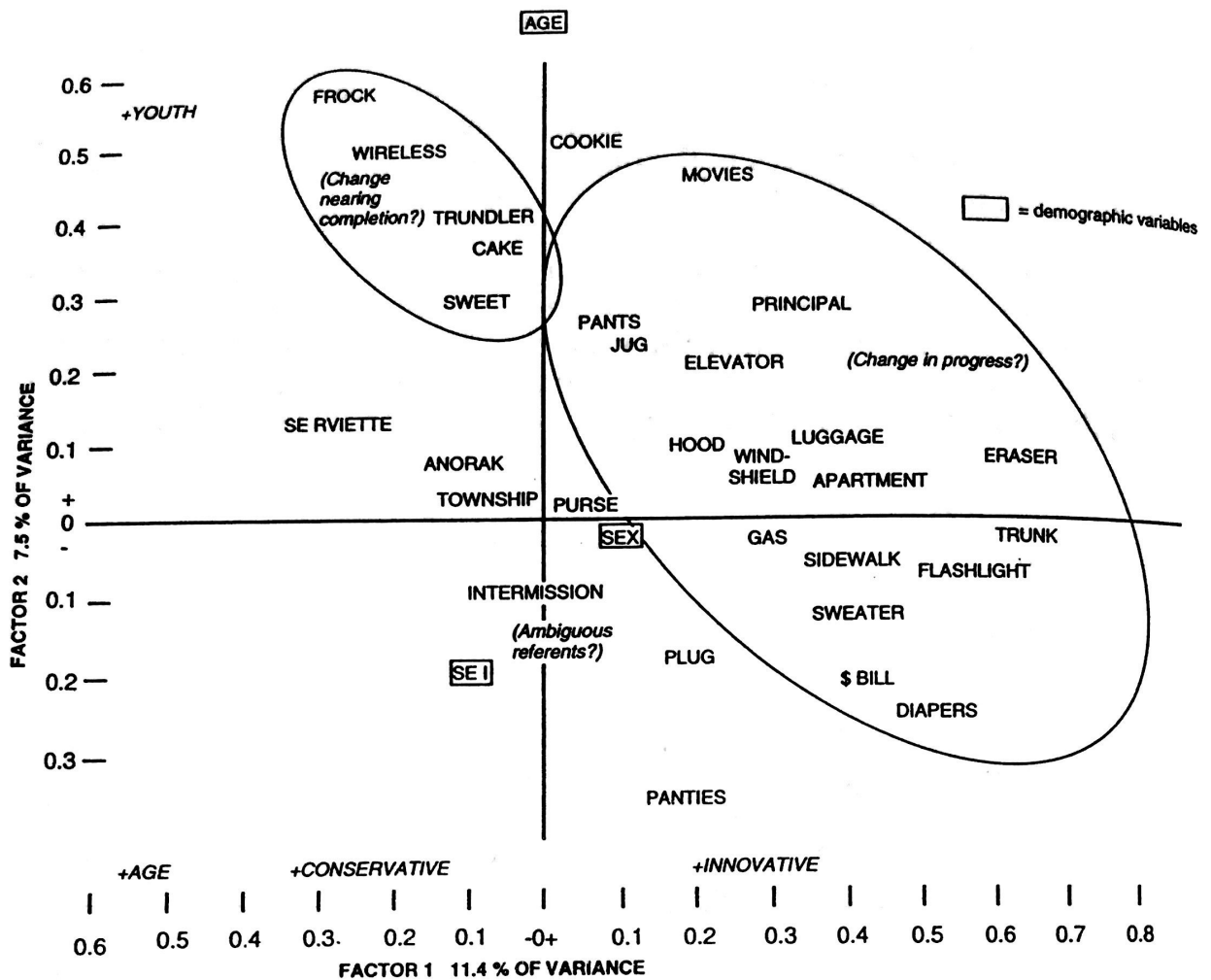


Figure 5: Auckland data: Factor analysis of lexical usage and demographic variables (N=300)

or less consciously adopted as having status; and a “change from below” group (**gas, cookie, sweater, pants**) possibly representing those Americanisms being less consciously adopted. Factor 1 (horizontal) is interpreted here as representing the same “change complete vs. change in progress” dimension as found in the usage analyses; Factor 2 (vertical) in the Dunedin case seems to be primarily concerned with class, and to a lesser extent private schooling (PVT), urban rather than rural residence (URB), and age. Gender is almost completely neutral in both factors.

The Auckland analysis is startlingly similar, with the same 3 clusters. **Wireless** is found in the left-hand cluster along with **frock, anorak, and trundler** as words that have almost been replaced by **radio, dress, parka, and trolley**. **Handbag/purse, sweet/lolly, and cake/bar** of soap appear to be intermediate between this group and a second group obviously paralleling the “change from below” cluster in the Dunedin analysis. This second cluster contains **gas, cookie, hood, baggage, pants,**

Yankisms in Kiwiland, from zed to zee: American lexical and pronunciation incursions in Dunedin (1984-1985) and Auckland (1990)

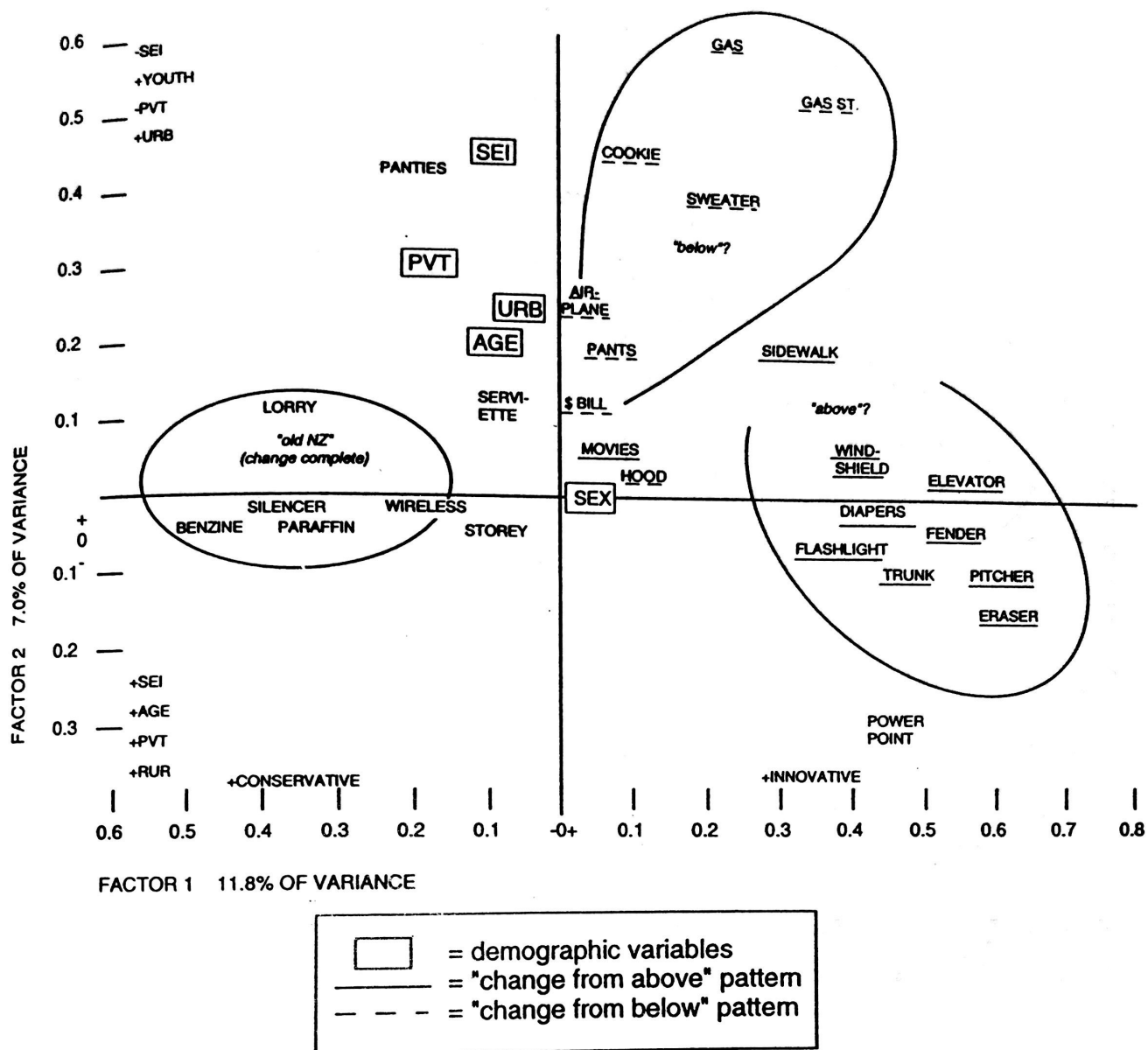


Figure 6: Dunedin data: Factor analysis of lexical preference and demographic variables (N=141)

and **movies**, all of which may be "changing from below". The third cluster contains the "change from above" items common to the Dunedin survey, as well as those more "Latinate" words unique to the Auckland survey which one would expect to fit in this cluster (**intermission, apartment, principal**).

As in the usage diagrams, word pairs with diffuse or complex referents are found below and outside both clusters (**village/township**,¹¹

¹¹ Note that American English cannot be responsible for any shift in meaning from one of these words to the other. Township, like section, has a quite different meaning in America: an administrative subdivision of a county made up (in those states settled after ca. 1790) of some 20 to 36 land sections of one square mile each.

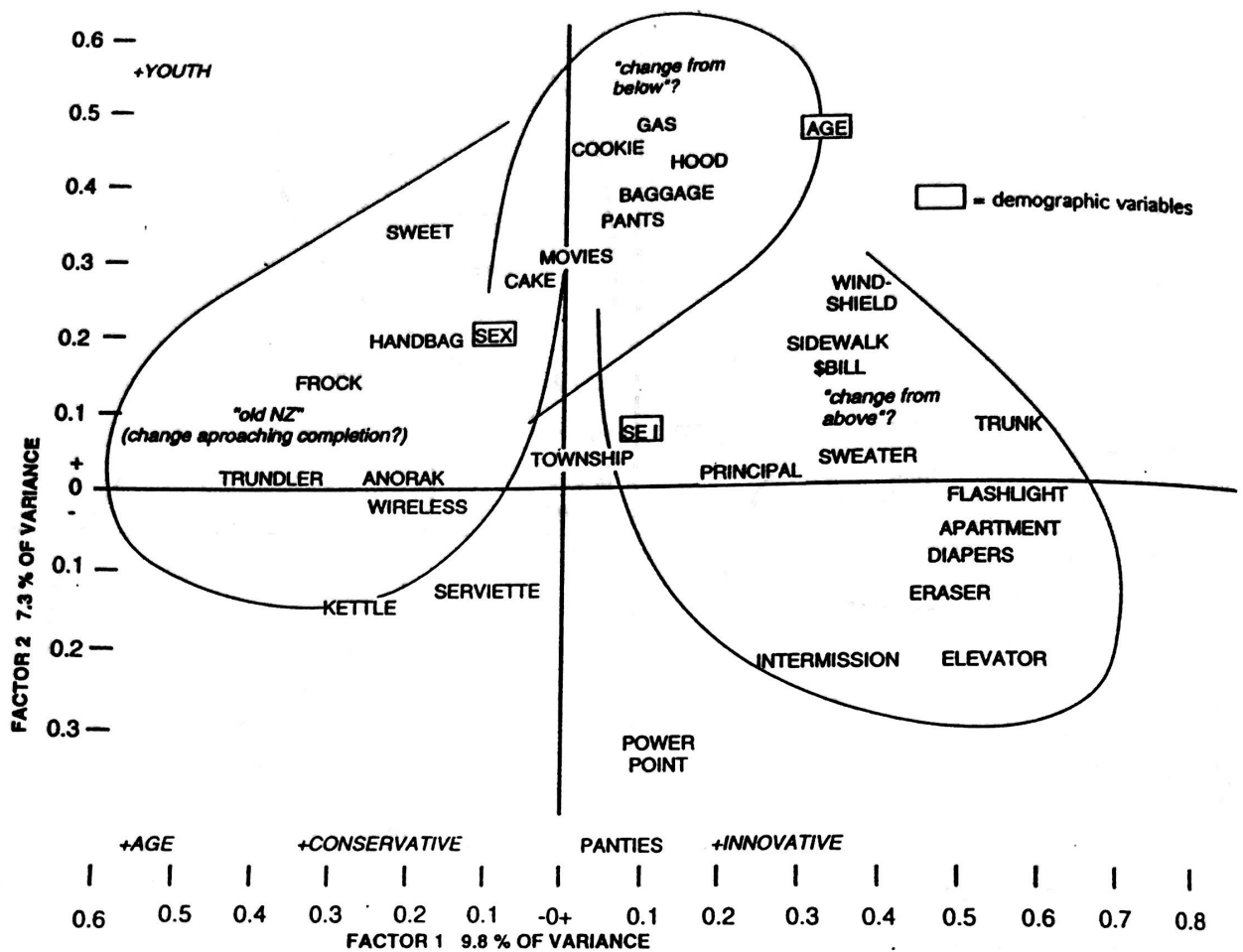


Figure 7: Auckland data: Factor analysis of lexical preference and demographic variables (N=300)

serviette/napkin, jug/kettle, and power point/plug). While the Auckland and Dunedin preference analyses are not identical—**dollar bill** and **sweater** are found in the “change from above” cluster in the Auckland data, but in the “change from below” group in Dunedin—they are obviously similar, and give some support to the presence of two general patterns of change in progress, although there is doubtless considerable overlap between the two processes.

More importantly, a comparison of the two data sets does indeed provide an answer to the question “does preference presage incoming usage”? The answer is of course yes. While we doubt there is any sort of precise predictive ratio between changes in preference and usage, and changes can often undergo declines and reversals (as in the petrol/gas example mentioned above), it seems clear that if a word is preferred by a majority of the speech community at any one point in time, its actual usage in the future will tend to increase. In terms of the sigmoid curve model mentioned above, it appears from a comparison of the Auckland and

Dunedin data that words like **elevator** and **hood** may be entering the steeper part of the curve, and may replace **lift** and **bonnet** in the fairly near future.

Discussion and conclusions

As the histograms clearly show, Auckland leads Dunedin in both innovative vocabulary and pronunciation. Whether that is a matter of geography or time is hard to tell: after all, much can happen in a five to six year lapse, as Bayard's latitudinal surveys since 1984 show (Table 4). So all this may not be just a Mainland¹² or "Dunedin vs. flashy Auckland" phenomenon. More impressive than the securely established **radio**, **movies**, **dress**, **trolley** and the—according to Alan Ross—non-U **serviette** (Ross 1961:27) are the high percentages of preference for lexical items such as **diapers**, **flashlight**, **elevator**, **eraser**, **apartment** and **intermission**. The **dollar bill** may well be on the move, too. We don't believe **power point** is worth including in future surveys; many of our respondents—in both surveys—have always used the term as an alternative for **wall socket** rather than **plug**; and the evident increase in school **principals** is owing, we believe, to a general preference these days for a non-gender-specific term. **Gas** for **petrol** may well be in remission, and we have already suggested the reason for that, although it would be interesting to check again in five years' time.

So—are the Yanks coming to Kiwiland? We are not sure that is the issue; they've been here for decades. We've been listening to the **radio** and driving around in **trucks** rather than lorries for a long time, and **jeans** have been worn here since the mid-thirties (Leek used to work for a firm that made 7000 pairs of them per week); **creek** has had its mainly American rather than UK referent since the beginnings of European settlement in New Zealand, although the parallel referents may have developed independently (Bennett 1970:74; Smithyman 1963). But will our motorways (the few we have) become **freeways**, as they already have in Australia? And will our sections become **lots**? And our sandshoes **sneakers**? And our shorts **trunks**? In the latter two cases, that might well occur if American supranationals take over our clothing and footwear trade, and use those terms rather than our own. **Nappies** and **torches** may well become **diapers** and **flashlights** in the future, but there is a fair chance that our **biscuits** and **footpaths** will stay as they are, given their alternatives' low usage and relatively low preference scores. This applies to a vast range of what has, by now, become an indigenous vocabulary of our own: we will change it, or add to it, as social conditions make this desirable or necessary. Some of Leek's students acknowledge blushing that they use **erasers** rather than **rubbers**, because the latter are an everyday Americanism for condoms (cf. Leland 1990:[6])—but few people these days any longer blush at condoms,

¹² South Islanders refer to their slightly larger island as the "Mainland", although it is inhabited by less than one-third of the population.

and as more and more of us write on computers, rubbers or erasers are becoming obsolete anyway (besides, we now use "Twink").

The ascendancy of the innovative-American **apartments** and **principals** are interesting cases: both are related to major social changes. Well-heeled Kiwis used to—used to *have to*—live on an impressive property of their own, but an increasing number of them prefer to be looked after in worry-free urban high-rise dwelling complexes where the gardening personnel is employed corporately, and all kinds of services are provided. The entire concept is something different from living in the Greys Avenue or Courtville **flats**, so a more appropriate term is needed—hence **apartment**. Co-ed schools these days are no longer automatically run by grave, lean, dyspeptic gentlemen who address the morning assembly in a basso profundo and deal out the far-too-long sanctioned corporal punishment of ten straps in their wood-panelled office to the obstreperous or truant pupil; this is a major change in our notion of how schools ought to be run, and so we've opted for a less patriarchically loaded term, and replaced **headmaster** with **principal**—who may, of course, these days be of any gender.

As Roger Horrocks—a colleague closely involved with the cultural decision-makers of *New Zealand on Air*—told Leek and his students in a seminar in August 1992, our most influential medium these days is television, and we have the lowest rate of indigenous input into our programming of any country he knows of; not just OECD countries, but many third-world countries as well: a mere 25%—whereas over 50% of our screening time is filled with American material (Bayard 1987:21-24; 1995, in press). An inevitable corollary to this must be that, at a passive level at least, our young TV couch-potatoes absorb a high percentage of American vocabulary, jargon, and even specific pronunciations. This may mean that in due course we'll speak of **LABratories**, **INquiries** and **ADvertisements**; who knows, we even may start to rhoticise again! That would be fine with us,¹³ but so far, we have noticed very little of it (see Bayard 1990a), and the frequent face-to-face interaction with rhotic speakers apparently required to effect such phonological shifts (Trudgill 1986:40) is still mainly limited to the well-beaten tourist routes in New Zealand. Unlike some of our trans-Tasman neighbours, we still go /'dɑnsɪŋ/ rather than /'dænsɪŋ/; if we change our mind on this matter, by the way, it would be far from innovative, since the /æ/ pronunciation came across to the New World with the Pilgrim Fathers, and is a conservative one.

But it is impossible to deny that Americanisation of NZE is proceeding at full speed, even if mainly in a rather superficial lexical

¹³ The authors speak English with Dutch and American (Inland Northern) accents respectively.

manner. As we say above, media influence—particularly that of television—seemingly plays a large part in this, but perhaps there is a deeper reason. In an impressionistic overview of American phonological, orthographic, syntactic, and lexical influences on Australian English, Sussex (1985) felt that the Australian “cultural cringe” might underlie some of the apparently eager acceptance of Americanisms there. If so, it is doubtless playing an even larger role on this side of the Tasman. Bayard’s accent attitudinal studies suggest that the New Zealand “cringe” is more marked than that in Australia; Australian and particularly North American accents received consistently higher ratings in such solidarity traits as sense of humour and likeability than New Zealand voices did (Bayard 1990b, 1991b, c, 1995).

The escalation of war-efforts, **Exocet missiles**, **nuclear deterrents** and **Republican conventions** have invaded our vocabulary as painlessly as **Big Macs**, **laundrettes** and **supermarkets**, yet, for as long as they continue to exist, we will hopefully cherish our **corner-dairies** and **fish & chips** shops alongside **Macdonald’s**, **Pizza Hut**, and **KFC**. We continue to favour **chilly bins** over **coolers** and **saveloys** over **hot dogs**, not to mention food names which are under no threat at all from America simply because they don’t exist there (**pavlova**, **lamingtons**). But “cringe” or not, NZE is simply one of the voices in the Anglophone chorus world-wide responding to the continuing influence of *Pax Americana*. In Australia (Sussex 1985) and in Canada (Nylvek 1992) American influences are making themselves equally felt on the local Englishes. As Bennett said in the quote beginning this article, this was also the case in the English homeland in the 1940s, and is still the case today. While collecting reference samples of non-NZE accents for the Dunedin survey, Bayard obtained a recording of a 10-year-old RP-speaking English ‘public’ schoolboy reading Bayard’s word list. He quite clearly said /lu'tenənt/ and /'skedʒul/, as well as /'maigreɪn/, /'medəsɪn/, and /'iðə/ rather than /'migreɪn/, /'medsɪn/, and /'aɪðə/. As has been recognised for a long time now, some amount of American influence is simply inevitable.

It is difficult not to agree with folklinguistic wisdom and ‘blame’ this on the media, but it is even more difficult to demonstrate media influence objectively (Bayard 1990a:159-62). What does seem to be clear is that the Yankee imports are in many cases gaining admission as apparent natives rather than foreigners. Bayard documents several cases of NZE speakers assuming that the American pronunciation is in fact the normal NZE one, while the British pronunciation is identified as ‘American’; the same is true of native Kiwi idioms (Bayard 1989:27, 52; 1991b:48; 1995). As Görlach commented in a more general article on lexical heteronymy, “it can even be asked whether the terms ‘British’ and ‘American’ should be used, since for most of these alternatives the distinction is no longer obvious to the [Australian or NZE] user” (1990: 260). Obviously terms for new items or concepts used by trading partners will penetrate more quickly, while older, well-established terms remain. **Truck** and **kerosene** entered NZE decades

potential combatants (e.g., electronic **valve** vs. **tube**) have simply been retired from the ring by technological obsolescence. A **billion** in New Zealand now almost always means a British **thousand million**, but corner **dairy** and **chemist** have not yet been replaced by **store** and **drugstore** (although the learned **pharmacy** certainly adorns many chemists' shops). But the ultimate fate of **lift**, **section**, **torch**, and **flat** and hundreds of other words is not for linguists but for NZE-speaking Kiwis to decide.

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