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"Me Say That? No Way!": the Social Correlates of American Lexical Diffusion in New Zealand English[1]

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Introduction

> *In your October 15 issue I find the words spunky, feisty, schlock, hype and glitch. If your writers have such an impoverished command of English, could you not at least give readers a glossary of these unpalatable imports?*
> (letter to editor, *N.Z. Listener* 26.11.88)

This paper represents an attempt to investigate the sociolinguistic correlates and extent of lexical diffusion and change in contemporary New Zealand English, with particular reference to incoming vocabulary items usually thought more typical of American than New Zealand usage. As the above quotation illustrates, the topic ranks alongside "New Zealand vowels" versus "standard English" (e.g. Gordon 1983, 1988) as a major generator of controversy in the printed media. I have already reported in this journal (Bayard 1987) the phonological results of a Labovian survey of 141 New Zealand English (NZE) speakers; this article is devoted to the views of these same informants to alternative pronunciations of 18 vocabulary items and 27 pairs of lexical items, in most cases offering a choice between "American" and "standard British" alternatives[2].

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[1]This paper is a revised and updated version of a portion of Bayard 1985 (based on a sample of 96 informants), presented at the 6th New Zealand Linguistics Conference in Wellington.

[2]"British" and "British English" are used here in the sense of the "Standard English English" employed by Trudgill to refer to the English dialect usually associated with RP and "the 'milder' regional accents" (1984:32-33). I use "American" (AE) rather than his "North American English" for the dialect associated with the range of

The influx of American idiom and vocabulary is of course not a new phenomenon; influences were doubtless making themselves felt on the embryonic NZE developing here well before the Treaty of Waitangi, and these quickened as a result of American films and contact during the Second World War. However, I think that most would agree that such influences have increased significantly over the past two decades, as American media and economic strength have assumed even more prominence on the New Zealand scene and Britain's influence wanes.

Methods

I began this study in 1984, with a short (8-variable) questionnaire answered by 254 undergraduate students and 14 graduate students and staff. This was designed as a "quick and dirty" test of pronunciations of "lieutenant", "schedule", and "often" While it did indicate a shift from British to American models in the pronunciation of two lexical items (i.e., "loo" and "sked" were preferred by 70-75% of speakers under 30), it obviously could not be viewed as a reliable sample; it was clearly unbalanced for age (only 8.2% over 30), socioeconomically biased, and of course reliant on self-perceived evaluation by the respondents. Despite this, the results were interesting enough to lead me to repeat the exercise in 1986 and 1988, with "clerk" (/ɜ/ vs. /a/) and "Z" added; the overall direction of change is quite clear:

"GenAm" (Wells 1982:10) accents for two reasons: first, in terms of number of speakers, American English could be considered the Mandarin Chinese of English dialects, and is as "standard" as British English; secondly, Trudgill's "NAE" specifically includes Canadian as well as American English, and my Canadian informants assure me that there are a relatively large number of lexical items (e.g., *serviette* rather than *napkin*, *toque* /tuk/ rather than *woollen cap*) and alternative pronunciations (of words like *lever*, *schedule*, *lieutenant*, *missile*, Z) which would seem sufficient to distinguish two dialects rather than a single one. "NZE" is used here for the New Zealand variety of British English, if it is valid to consider it as such (at least in lexical terms); NZE is also loosely used for the NZ accent as well. The phonemic representations used in this paper generally follow IPA conventions.

	1984	1986	1988
N age less than 25:	162	211	213
LOOtenant	73%	74%	78%
SKEDule	77%	69%	73%
clERk	–	36%	46%
zEE	–	22%	24%

Meanwhile I achieved a more comprehensive and balanced dataset in 1984 and 1985 through the use of a considerably longer (over 100 variables) questionnaire administered to a smaller number of informants covering a much wider chronological and socioeconomic range (Bayard 1987:6). The written portion of the questionnaire obtained data on the informant's age, geographical and educational background, and occupation; it also requested data on age, occupation, origin, and accent of parents. This allowed for coding of age, sex, socioeconomic index (SEI, ranging from 3 to 13), educational level, public versus private schooling (PVT), time spent overseas (OE), and urban versus rural background (URBRUR); criteria for coding the variables are given in the appendix.

It then asked for the most commonly used alternative of some 27 pairs of words, most of which I felt may be in transition from British or older NZ models to American models (*lift/elevator, torch/flashlight*, etc.), as well as a few where the transition has already taken place (*lorry/truck, wireless/radio*). It is of some interest to observe that the American English alternatives of many of these have already found their way into the *Heinemann New Zealand Dictionary* (Orsman 1982) without an "American" label (e.g. *flashlight, gas, muffler, elevator, sweater*, dollar *bill*). This list also attempted to span a wide range from terms now obsolete or almost so in both the UK and NZ (*benzine*); through terms in use here but not in the UK (*footpath*) and terms now old-fashioned in the US (*pictures*); it also had several items which I assumed might be class- or context-sensitive (*serviette/napkin, knickers/panties, plug/power point*). Such an eclectic selection seemed justified in an exploratory study of this sort.

As I outlined in the 1987 report, the 141 informants were then asked to go through the same list a second time and indicate which alternative they felt was "better English". As the term is of course linguistically meaningless in this context, I could supply no definition of what was meant by "better", even when one was requested (for example, I subjectively prefer *flashlight, muffler*, and *hood*, but *petrol, lift*, and *nappies*; I have no preference one way

or the other for many of the items, such as *windscreen/-shield*). What I was hoping to elicit was the informants' subjective judgement on which of the pair was more "polite", "formal", "socially acceptable", or "better usage", or a combination of these; hence the term was intentionally left undefined. I can think of no more concrete or rigorous way to elicit intuitively preferred choices in a questionnaire environment, and feel that using a more narrowly defined (and loaded) term might well have inhibited spontaneous responses, particularly by informants under 20 or in the lower range of the socioeconomic scale. Finally, informants were asked to provide any instances they could recall of their changing from one member of a pair to the other (this produced some interesting observations, but not sufficient for quantification).

The questionnaires were then scored, usually on a scale ranging from "innovative/American" to "conservative/British", and the pronunciation and lexical pairs data along with social data were analysed using SPSS^{X}[3] routines for frequencies, cross-tabulations, rank-order correlations (ρ), factor analyses, and discriminant analyses.

Results: Alternative Pronunciations

My rationale for selection of the 18 alternative pronunciation items has already been outlined in the previous report (Bayard 1987:18). First was the degree of shift to American pronunciation models in the words mentioned above; secondly, possible incipient changes of a similar nature in cases where I had never heard an "American" pronunciation used by native New Zealanders (e.g. *been, herbs, tomato, garage*). In two of the items (*advertisement, either*) I wished to see if what I had impressionistically considered the minority/American-like pronunciation (stress on first syllable and /i/ respectively) correlated with any of the sociological variables. This was also the rationale behind the inclusion of *women* in the reading passage, although the zero marking of the plural is to my knowledge a uniquely NZE innovation. Finally, items such as *interesting, vitamin, privacy, often, controversy, migraine*, and *medicine* were included to test for class variation; the tetrasyllabic pronunciation of *interesting* and spelling pronunciation of *often* are common variants in the US as well as NZ, while the conservative values for the remaining words are ones often associated here with the "Oxbridge" variant

[3]Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, one of several analytical packages available for mainframe computers.

of British English, usually associated with an RP or U-RP accent. Obviously many other words (*clerk, harass*, etc.) could have been included, and in hindsight I wish that *clerk* had been; nonetheless this sample of 18 seems fairly comprehensive.

Before examining the results in detail, it is worthwhile considering as a prescriptive baseline the recommendations of Professor Wall's 1938 guide to the "correct" pronunciation of English for New Zealanders as he viewed it some 50 years ago (Wall 1941). Some items (*been, schedule, herbs, advertisement, tomato, lieutenant, migraine, women*, and *Z*) are not mentioned by Wall, and it seems fairly safe to assume that he would have recommended the values scored as conservative here. Such is indeed still the case for *been, herbs*, and (with three exceptions[4]) *tomato*; however, as discussed above, values for *schedule, lieutenant*, and *women* have shifted drastically (if in fact there was not already considerable variation in Wall's day, as some of the age percentages given below might suggest). The innovative value of *advertisement*, accented on the first syllable, was used by 22% of the present sample, and is highly class-sensitive (ρ with SEI= +.31. p = .000). It would be safe to view the conservative value of *migraine* (i.e. with /i/) as now "non-standard" NZE; only three informants used it. Finally, while only 17 informants used "zee" for *Z*, the distribution is extremely age and class-sensitive.

Wall's guide had varying amounts to say about the remainder of the items, providing firm evidence that at least these alternatives have considerable time depth. His comments and advice for "correct" pronunciation follow, along with those of the *Heinemann New Zealand Dictionary* (Orsman 1982; NZD); the more recent *Collins New Zealand Compact Dictionary* (Gordon 1985; CNZD); the *New Zealand Pocket Oxford Dictionary* (Burchfield 1986; ONZD); and the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (SOED).

Wall's primary concern with *interesting* appears to be to ensure that primary stress falls on the first rather than the third syllable (1941:71) of a tetrasyllabic pronunciation; a trisyllabic variant is not mentioned, nor is one listed in the SOED. The NZD and ONZD are silent, but list disyllabic pronuncia-

[4]Two of these informants used GenAm /təmeItoU/; one of these had older siblings raised in western Canada who continue to speak a Canadian variant of American with GenAm accents. The third case was yet another sibling of the first, older than him but younger than the GenAm-speaking siblings, who used a "compromise" variant /təmætoU/; this could, however, be a Canadian survival (Trudgill and Hannah 1985:44).

tions of *interest*; the CNZD allows both pronunciations, at least by implication (the SOED allows only a three-syllable pronunciation of *interest* and four syllables for *interesting*). In my experience, in America the trisyllabic pronunciation is preferred, with the use of four syllables viewed as semi-learned, hypercorrective, and "Roobish" (i.e. lower class, Fussell 1984:165). In any case, this is one of the very few variables on which the sample was evenly divided (48%-52%). The "upper middle class" informants used the four-syllable pronunciation by a factor of two to one, while the other two classes showed a slight preference for the three-syllable value; however, correlations are not significant.

Wall allows that both values of *vitamin* "are still permitted, but the long *'i'* seems to be gaining ground rapidly" (1941:126). The CNZD and ONZD, as well as the SOED, allow this latter value as an alternative to /ɪ/, but the NZD lists the variants in reverse order. This certainly reflects the situation as far as the present sample is concerned; only 11 of the 141 informants used the /ɪ/ form (nine were unable to pronounce the word). No significant correlations with age, sex, and class are present.

Wall specifically mentions the US alternative pronunciation for *garage* (1941:61), but this has made very little headway here in the past 50 years; only five informants accented the word on the second syllable. All were "middle class", but varied widely in age. Oddly enough, the NZD allows the second-syllable pronunciation as an alternative ("gar-**rahj**") without a "US" label.

Wall, along with the CNZD and SOED, preferred the /aɪ/ pronunciation of *privacy*, but added that /ɪ/ "cannot be called wrong" (1941:99). The ONZD and NZD list both variants as well, but prefer /ɪ/, unlike 87% of the present sample. Incidentally, both the CNZD and ONZD phonemicise the *happY* vowel (Wells 1982:165-66) here and elsewhere as /ɪ/, which is of course incorrect for the vast majority of NZE speakers[5]. There is a slight (not significant) tendency for males to prefer the conservative value, and a quite significant increase in its use by "middle" and "upper middle class" speakers (see Table 1 below).

Wall insists that the "t" in *often* "must be silent" (1941:91), as do all four

[5]Even more startling is Gordon's statement on NZE phonology that "These ['broad' and RP] extremes are minority pronunciations. ... the great majority of New Zealanders exhibit no regional or social variations and (with some exceptions to be noted) this central New Zealand speech is markedly similar to the received pronunciation of southern English." (I. Gordon 1985:xii).

dictionaries, although the SOED adds that the "t" pronunciation is now frequent in southern England. It is also quite common here according to the results of this study, with 41.1% using it. As Table 1 shows, there is a tendency for more males to use the spelling pronunciation; some degree of correlation with class is also present, but not at a significant confidence level.

According to Wall, "all authorities agree" that *controversy* should be stressed on the first syllable (1941:47); certainly the SOED, CNZD, and ONZD (which marks the second-syllable stress "disputed") do, as do speakers of American English. However, the NZD lists *contróversy* before *cóntroversy*, and the antepenultimate stress is used by slightly under a third of the sample (as well as by most of the "Oxbridge" speakers I have heard); 20 informants were unable to pronounce the word. The age percentages in Table 1 below illustrate a significant ($\rho = +.263$, $p = .004$) correlation between antepenultimate stress and increasing age; it is the majority pronunciation for those over 50.

Wall apparently felt strongly that the disyllabic pronunciation of *medicine* was the only correct one; the trisyllabic value "common in N.Z. [and to my knowledge universal in North America-DB] is pedantic or genteel or both" (1941:83). The SOED and ONZD agree with Wall, but allow the trisyllabic alternative; the NZD and CNZD also allow both, but give first position to the trisyllabic value. This is in accordance with the present sample, only 9% of whom used the conservative form. Significant correlations are present between this value and increasing age, and with SEI: no "lower class" speaker used the conservative value.

Wall found both alternatives for *either* acceptable, but predicted that "there is now a strong tendency to discard *eedher*, and *īdher* will probably prevail in the long run" (1941:54). I myself certainly held the view that the /aɪ/ alternative was the "standard" NZE pronunciation, and have on occasion felt uneasy using my American /i/ pronunciation. However, the results of this study suggest that both Wall's prediction and my own preconception were mistaken; some 59% of informants used the /i/ value. The variable EITH is highly significantly correlated with SEI and hence with "class" as defined here; it is also quite significantly correlated with age. Both factors might explain why all three NZ dictionaries give /aɪ/ as the preferred pronunciation of the two.

Wall stated that *dynasty* "now has the short *dinn-*" only (1941:53), and this is the only value given in the three NZ dictionaries (the SOED allows both variants). However, 25% of the sample used the innovative value universal

in American English, and its use seems to be spreading except among the "upper middle class". I would suspect the apparently popular TV soap of the same name is having some effect in producing this change; on 13th June 1985, I noticed for the first time a continuity announcer's use of the innovative value in previewing the show, although this seems to have been promptly squelched by TVNZ, as I have not heard it since. A retest of 19 of the younger NZE informants after a two-year interval also suggests that the innovative pronunciation is not spreading quickly, but it will be interesting to carry out another survey in five years or so to monitor the progress of this innovation.

Tables 1 and 2 below provide percentages and rank-order correlation coefficients for those of the pronunciation alternatives which yielded significant relationships to one or more of the social variables. The *been*, *herbs*, *tomato*, and *migraine* pairs are omitted, as almost no variability in usage was found; the first three retained "conservative" values, while (MIG) was almost universally given its "innovative" pronunciation. But it is obvious that many of the other alternative pronunciation variables show a fairly even progression from "innovative/non-RP" to "conservative/RP" values as they move up through the arbitrarily defined "classes". However, some like (SKED), (EITH), and (AD) show a fairly sharp break between "lower class" and the two "middle classes".

This is also true in the case of *women*; here values 1 and 2 are interpreted as /wʊm-/ for 'women', value 4 as /wɪm-/, and value 3 as an intermediate one where speakers normally use the zero form but are aware of the "correctness" of the marked form. Predictably the "middle class" has a markedly higher score (15%) for this intermediate value than the other two "classes"; however, only 54% of even the "upper middle class" appear to use the "correct" form consistently. This should, of course, be confirmed by further research. I find it intriguing that the alternative pronunciation variable (EITH) is also highly class-sensitive, with a pattern similar to (LOO). Both pronunciations have of course been common here for many years, as in the UK; however, only 40.7% of the total present sample used the /aɪ/ form, including three-quarters of the "upper middle class" informants. (PRIV) is also class-sensitive, although the "innovative" pronunciation is clearly preferred by all three of the "classes" defined here.

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGES BY CLASS, SEX, AND AGE
FOR SELECTED ALTERNATIVE PRONUNCIATION ITEMS
(see Appendix 1 for abbreviations and values)

	CLASS:	L	M	UM	SEX: M	F	AGEGR: 6-11	12-9	20-9	30-9	40-9	50-9	60-9	70-9
WOWI	1-2	74	50	38	56	53	70	84	58	55	27	29	30	29
WOWI	3	6	15	8	17	8	15	0	18	17	20	0	0	0
WOWI	4	20	35	54	27	39	15	16	24	28	53	71	70	71
SKED	1	63	40	38	39	52	71	82	53	39	21	43	10	0
SKED	4	37	60	62	61	48	29	18	47	61	79	57	90	100
LOO	1	86	67	23	65	69	100	81	73	72	53	71	10	57
LOO	4	14	33	77	35	31	0	19	27	28	47	29	90	43
EITH	1	89	52	31	59	59	74	84	64	33	40	86	30	43
EITH	4	11	48	69	41	41	26	16	36	67	60	14	70	57
AD	1	50	14	8	26	19	39	32	27	6	0	14	20	29
AD	4	50	86	92	74	81	61	68	73	94	100	86	80	71
PRIV	1	97	82	69	80	88	100	83	84	72	87	100	90	57
PRIV	4	3	18	31	20	12	0	17	16	28	13	0	10	43
OFT	1	46	41	31	47	36	55	26	49	28	27	57	40	43
OFT	4	54	59	69	53	64	45	74	51	72	73	43	60	57

TABLE 1 cont.

	CLASS:	L	M	UM	SEX: M	F	AGEGR: 6-11	12-9	20-9	30-9	40-9	50-9	60-9	70-9
CONT	1	85	66	54	64	72	50	81	82	72	53	43	44	43
CONT	4	15	34	46	36	28	50	19	18	28	47	57	56	57
MEDC	1	100	89	85	87	95	100	94	93	94	87	100	60	86
MEDC	4	0	11	15	13	5	0	6	7	6	13	0	40	14
ZED	1	20	11	0	17	8	55	21	4	0	0	0	0	0
ZED	4	80	89	100	83	92	45	79	96	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 2

RANK-ORDER COEFFICIENTS AND SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS
FOR ALTERNATIVE PRONUNCIATIONS

(see Appendix 1 for abbreviations)

	WOWI	SKED	INT	VIT	AD	GAR	LOO	PRIV	OFT	CONT	MEDC	EITH	DYN	Z
AGE	36	41	07	-15	21	-03	27	08	06	26	19	27	08	46
	00	00	39	10	01	71	00	36	46	00	03	00	37	00
SEX	07	-13	07	-06	09	13	-04	-11	11	-08	-13	00	-03	14
	44	15	42	50	44	11	66	19	21	36	12	98	69	09
SEI	22	22	-02	10	31	-07	36	29	12	12	21	39	16	27
	01	02	78	27	00	44	00	00	16	18	02	00	08	00

In terms of age, Tables 1 and 2 illustrate that a number of the alternative pronunciations are indeed highly age-sensitive. The most significant of these is clearly *Z*; the figures are startlingly unambiguous. Of course it remains to be seen whether the majority of "zee-sayers" in the under-12 group retain this usage into adolescence. The retest of 19 of the younger informants tentatively suggests that use of "zee" tends to decline with age (from 53% in the first test to only 26% in the second). (SKED) is also highly age-sensitive, and I think it is safe to say that it has passed the point of no return; 75% of the young NZE sample of 19 used the innovative pronunciation in the original test, but 94% used it in the two-year retest.

The pattern for *lieutenant* is similar to *schedule*, but by no means as marked; it suggests that either "left-" has been the minority pronunciation here for quite some time, or that "apparent time" is not quite the neat and tidy concept it appeared to be twenty years ago. It seems self-evident that old as well as young speakers can adopt innovations, particularly in lexis and pronunciation of certain lexical items, and I believe this to be the most likely alternative in this case. However, I must pass on the remark of one of my informants, in her mid-20s, that she had never heard "leftenant" as a child; this is borne out by the fact that her parents and maternal grandparents (also informants) said "lootenant" on the taped wordlist. A second informant, also in her mid-20s, was quite sure that "leftenant" was the American pronunciation. In any case, the young NZE sample was unanimous in its use of the innovative pronunciation in both tests, and it seems clear that "leftenant" will be used by only a handful of older speakers by the end of the century.

As with the previously published phonological variables (Bayard 1987:9-11), discriminant analyses were carried out to discover the most "class"-sensitive of the alternative pronunciations. In terms of ability to assign to "class", the results are very similar to the phonological variables: five variables (*lieutenant*, *either*, *advertisement*, *privacy*, and *schedule*) were sufficient to achieve a 71.7% correct assignation to three classes (but with none being assigned to "UMC"), and four (minus LOO) were enough to produce an 81.2% correct classification to "LC" and "MC" groups. A factor analysis already carried out on the alternative pronunciations (Bayard 1987:19, Fig. 5) indicates that most of them are sensitive to both age and "class".

Results: Lexical Alternatives

I have separated treatment of alternative pronunciation and lexical variables, as the first are based on analyses of taped speech samples. On the other hand, the 27 lexical choice/preference variables are of course based on the informants' reported usage, and are hence not as objective. However, the results are also of considerable interest, although the selection of these according to several criteria rather than a single one makes interpretation difficult in some cases.

LEXUSE and LEXPREF indices were calculated for each informant by summing their scores on these lists (see below for scoring criteria for each pair). One of my British/RP informants scored 81 and 83 on these two derived variables, while the means for three American/GenAm speakers were 41 for LEXUSE and 52 for LEXPREF[6]. As can be seen on Figs. 1 and 2, in all SEI and age categories LEXUSE scored higher means than LEXPREF, indicating a general preference for "innovative"/American lexical models rather than "conservative"/British ones. The mean value for the 141 NZ-speaking informants was 72.3 for LEXUSE, but 69.0 for LEXPREF. As a large majority of the lexical pairs were selected to test for incoming American items (some 19 out of the 27), there would thus seem to be evidence for a shift away from British/NZE lexical models toward ones shared with the US, although I feel certain this is not taking place out of any conscious desire to acquire Americanisms. In fact, in several cases informants specifically commented to me about their abhorrence of Americanisms (despite my American accent, I became a NZ citizen in 1978, a fact known to these informants); these same informants then indicated their preferences for *elevator*, *eraser*, *flashlight*, etc., as "better English". Thus, while 77% used only *lift* and a further 12% used both *lift* and *elevator*, 43% considered *elevator* "better English". Some of these preferences can very likely be explained by the Latinate, "learned" look of the "innovative" alternative (*elevator*, etc.), but this explanation is not convincing with *flashlight*, *sidewalk*, *dollar bill*, and others. LEXUSE and

[6]The eight UK speakers in the full sample of 156 averaged scores of 74.5 for LEXUSE, but only 71.5 for LEXPREF. The four RP speakers in this group had a higher LEXUSE mean (79.0), but a mean LEXPREF of only 72.5. The extremely high rating of over 80 in both variables was scored by the only "Oxbridge" speaker, and two other "UMC" RP speakers had strikingly low LEXPREF scores (one of these, a schoolboy about to attend a "public" school, also said "lootenant" and "skedule" on tape. Americanisation is obviously proceeding at full speed in the UK as well).

LEXPREF both have their lowest values toward the lower end of the SEI, but SEI groups 4 and 6 have markedly "conservative" scores for LEXUSE, while SEI group 7 has equally markedly "innovative" values for both LEXUSE and LEXPREF; this latter "deviation" may be explained by the fact that half of SEI group 7 are aged less than 20. The other "deviations" remain to be explained, along with the marked drop in LEXPREF present in SEI 12 (Fig. 1).

A lexical security index (SECIND) was derived for each informant by subtracting LEXUSE from LEXPREF (using positive values only); hence the larger the value, the greater the "insecurity" as defined by the difference between reported "better English" preference and reported usage. The measure is thus similar to the "index of linguistic insecurity" used by Labov (1966:474-78), but based on lexical rather than phonological criteria. Like Labov's index, it is dependent on informants' self-evaluation, and is hence a measure of "manifest" rather than "latent" insecurity in Labov's terms. The findings here might agree with Labov's insofar as SEI group 6 ("Lower Middle Class") has a relatively high insecurity level, but this level is also shared with SEI groups 4, 9, 12, and 13. In other words, no general conclusions save for a general overall lexical insecurity can be drawn.

In terms of age, there is a marked tendency for the gap between LEXUSE and LEXPREF to widen. This is first noticeable in the 20s decade, but declines in the 30-year-olds (Fig. 2). But the least secure groups seem to be those over 40; the value for SECIND is consistently high from 50 on, and is much higher than younger groups. This would seem to imply a wider acceptance of "innovative" lexicon both in use and preference by the younger informants, and of "innovative" preference alone by the older group.

There are some interesting differences present in the means of the derived variable SECIND and a second derived varable, CONSIND; this like SECIND is arrived at by subtracting LEXUSE from LEXPREF, but with negative values permitted; it thus ranges from -20 (highly "innovative" preference) to +11 (highly "conservative"). The means for all four variables by class, sex, and age group are given in Table 3.

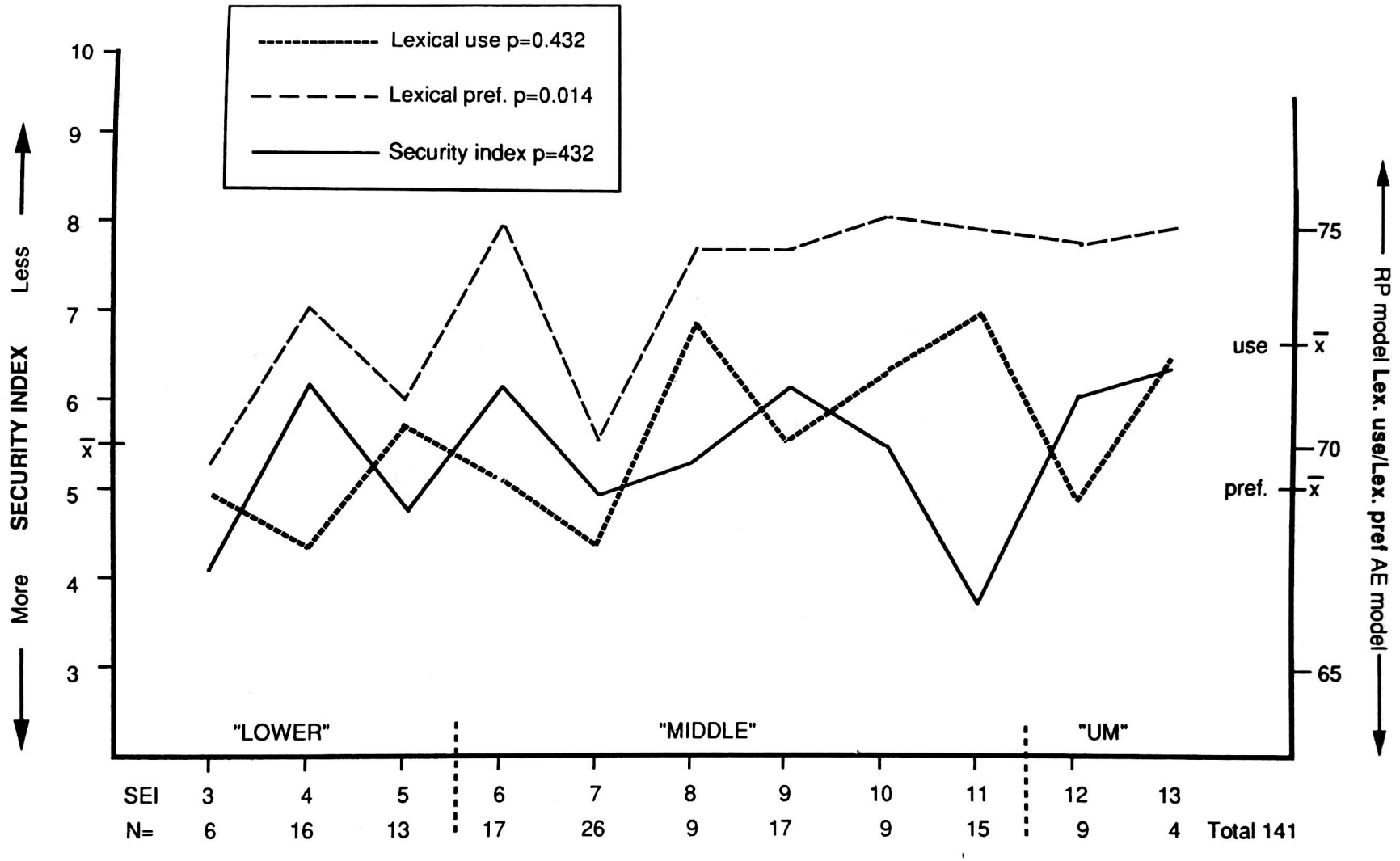

Fig.1. Lexical use, lexical preference, and security index by socioeconomic level; means for variables ($\bar{x}$) also shown. Significance levels (p) refer to overall correlation with SEI.

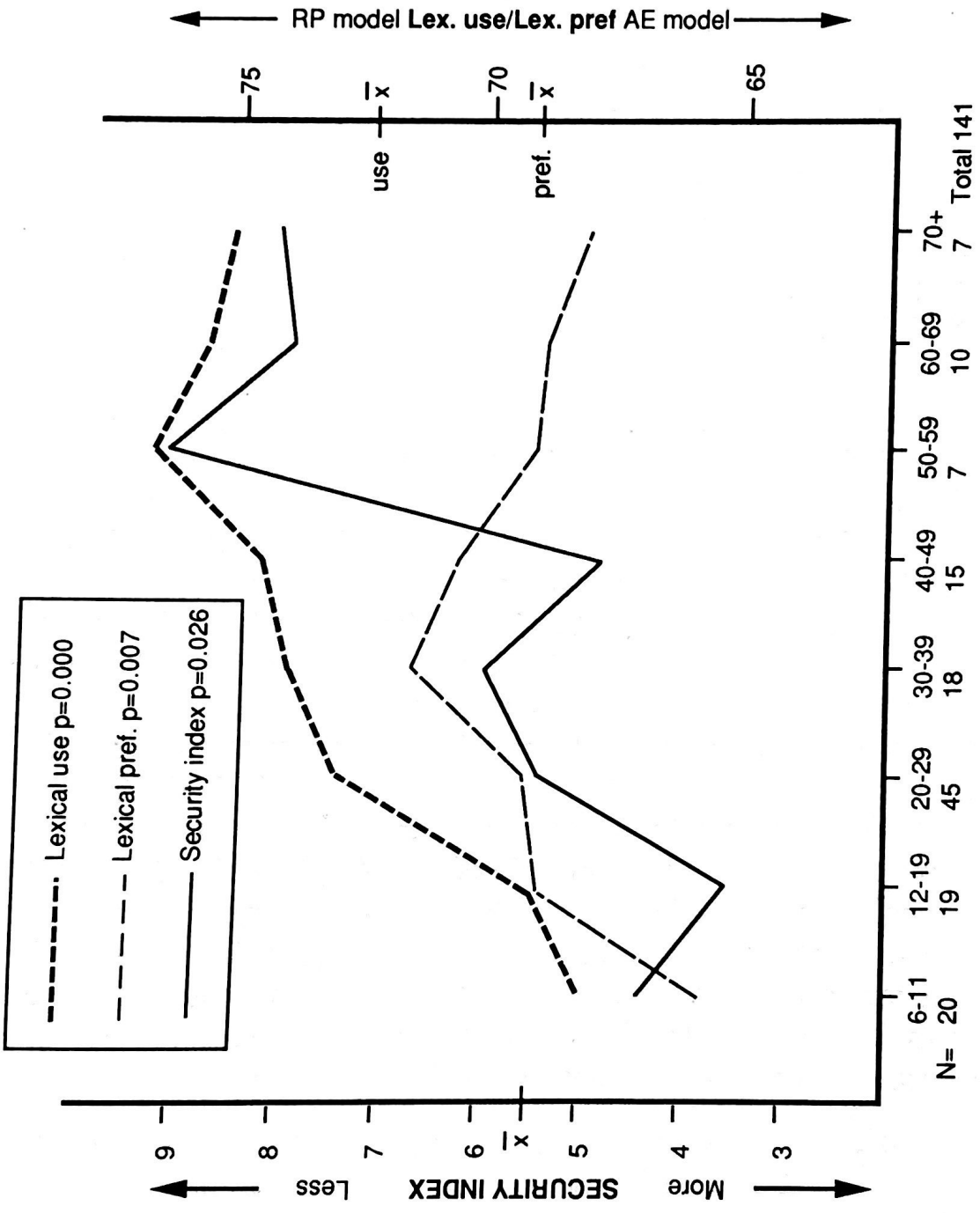

Fig. 2. Lexical use, lexical preference, and security index by age group; means for variables ($\bar{x}$) also shown. Significance levels refer to overall correlation with age.

TABLE 3
MEANS FOR LEXICAL ALTERNATIVE DERIVED VARIABLES
BY CLASS, AGE, AND SEX

	CLASS: L	M	UM	SEX: M	F
LEXUSE	70.9	72.6	73.9	71.3	73.1
LEXPREF	69.1	69.4	69.0	68.8	69.2
SECIND	5.4	5.4	6.3	4.7	6.2
CONSIND	-2.7	-3.3	-4.9	-2.5	-3.9

AGEGR:	6-11	12-9	20-9	30-9	40-9	50-9	60-9	70-9
LEXUSE	68	69	73	74	74	77	76	75
LEXPREF	66	69	69	72	71	69	69	68
SECIND	4.4	3.6	5.3	5.9	4.8	9.1	7.8	8.1
CONSIND	-2.4	-0.2	-3.3	-2.2	-3.9	-7.4	-6.6	-7.0

There is a clear correlation of LEXUSE and LEXPREF to socioeconomic level, particularly marked with LEXUSE (ρ = +.23, p = .004). The association of LEXPREF and particularly LEXUSE (ρ = +.48) with age is even more striking. Interestingly, SECIND and CONSIND show no correlation at all with SEI, although both are correlated (positively and negatively respectively) with age and sex at the .02–.06 significance level. While there is little difference between the sexes in use of or preference for the 27 lexical alternatives, females are slightly more conservative in usage; however, they are noticeably less secure, as has of course been found in many other studies (cf. the Spender-Trudgill debate, summarised in Trudgill 1983:161-68). The 32% lead in insecurity found here is of course not as great as the 50% encountered by Labov for women in his NYC sample (1966:478), but is still worth noting. Interestingly, females are 56% more innovative on the innovative/conservative index than males, perhaps suggesting that the "innovative" lexical alternatives are considered more "correct". Given the general trend apparent in the overall results of this study, it is not surprising that both sexes are on the innovative preference (negative) side of the scale.

In general, there seem to be two possible patterns of lexical change in operation. The first of these is what may be considered change at least in reported preference "from above"; i.e. consciously adopted as a socially desirable innovation. Here the "innovative"/American member of the pair has a relatively greater preference percentage compared with use percentage (*elevator*, *eraser*, *windshield*, *flashlight*, car *trunk*, *sidewalk*, *diapers*). The second pattern, change "from below" the level of conscious awareness (both "above" and "below" are of course taken from Labov's work; e.g. Labov

1966:327-31; 1972:123), includes words like *gas*, *sweater*, *airplane*, and dollar *bill*. Here the American term has a relatively greater use percentage (with a fairly high number of informants using both terms), but the British alternative is more preferred. It would appear that the terms are coming into use less self-consciously than those which fit the first pattern, and have as well less prestige attached to them. *Truck* and *kerosene* (if in fact *paraffin* was ever a viable alternative here) would appear to be two examples which have already passed through this "introduction from below" to become the generally accepted terms. Table 4 below presents reported use and preference percentages for six of these pairs by lumped social class, sex, and age group; it also provides mean values for all six pairs by class and sex.

The averaged percentages for these six pairs exhibit some regularity, in that while innovative use figures are very low for both "above" and "below" words, figures for the use of *both* alternatives are noticeably higher for "below" words. Similarly, innovative preference means are very markedly lower for "below" terms, although still relatively high for "lower class". In at least these six cases, preference for the innovative member of the pair is greater for "lower class" than "middle" or "upper middle class" informants. The mean figures by sex present a similar picture; "above" items are preferred much more than used, particularly by females, while "below" terms are much less preferred although use of both is fairly high (more so for males). Similar overall patterns are present but not as marked for *power point*, *windshield*, *trunk*, *fender*, *pitcher*, *sidewalk*, and *diapers* as possible "changes from above"; and for *pants*, *gas station*, and *cookie* as potential "changes from below".

TABLE 4

CHANGE "FROM ABOVE" EXAMPLES:

USE:	CLASS:			SEX:		AGEGROUP:							
	L	M	UM	M	F	6-11	12-9	20-9	30-9	40-9	50-9	60-9	70+
flashlight	3	5	0	5	4	25	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
both	11	7	0	11	4	5	11	11	6	0	0	10	0
torch	86	88	100	84	92	70	89	87	94	100	100	90	100
eraser	3	3	0	3	3	15	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
both	9	4	0	2	8	5	11	9	0	0	0	0	0
rubber	88	93	100	95	89	80	89	89	100	100	100	100	100
elevator	11	8	0	13	4	30	5	7	6	0	0	0	0
both	12	12	8	9	13	5	21	20	5	0	0	10	0
lift	77	80	92	78	83	65	74	73	89	100	100	90	100

PREFERENCE:	CLASS:			SEX:		AGEGROUP:							
	L	M	UM	M	F	6-11	12-9	20-9	30-9	40-9	50-9	60-9	70+
flashlight	31	33	39	33	34	35	32	38	28	13	43	20	71
both	6	3	0	6	1	5	0	2	6	7	0	10	0
torch	63	63	61	61	65	60	68	60	67	80	57	70	29
eraser	34	51	62	45	49	35	37	56	44	53	57	50	43
both	0	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	6	7	0	0	14
rubber	66	46	38	52	50	65	63	44	50	40	43	50	43
elevator	43	52	61	44	56	55	58	62	44	27	43	40	29
both	6	4	8	8	3	0	0	7	6	13	0	10	0
lift	51	44	31	48	41	45	42	31	50	60	57	50	71

TABLE 4

CHANGE "FROM BELOW" EXAMPLES:

USE:	CLASS:			SEX:		AGEGROUP:							
	L	M	UM	M	F	6-11	12-9	20-9	30-9	40-9	50-9	60-9	70+
gas	0	7	0	5	4	20	0	0	6	0	0	0	14
both	20	17	0	22	12	15	11	29	11	7	0	20	0
petrol	80	76	100	73	84	65	89	71	83	93	100	80	100
sweater	11	8	0	9	7	30	11	2	6	7	0	0	0
both	26	14	15	16	18	15	21	22	22	7	0	20	0
jersey	63	78	85	75	75	55	68	76	72	86	100	80	100
$ bill	9	5	0	9	3	5	11	7	0	0	14	10	0
both	0	5	23	6	5	0	5	7	11	7	0	10	0
$ note	91	90	77	85	92	95	84	86	89	93	86	80	100

PREFERENCE:	CLASS:			SEX:		AGEGROUP:							
	L	M	UM	M	F	6-11	12-9	20-9	30-9	40-9	50-9	60-9	70+
gas	11	9	0	6	10	30	11	4	6	0	14	0	0
both	0	2	0	3	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
petrol	89	89	100	91	90	60	89	96	94	100	100	100	100
sweater	26	16	8	16	19	40	21	9	11	20	14	10	29
both	3	5	8	8	3	5	0	2	6	13	0	20	0
jersey	71	79	84	76	78	55	78	89	83	67	86	70	71
$ bill	17	11	8	8	16	15	21	16	11	0	0	10	0
both	0	1	8	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	10	0
$ note	83	88	84	90	83	80	79	84	89	100	100	80	100

Table 4 cont.
MEAN VALUES OF "INNOVATIVE", "BOTH",
AND "CONSERVATIVE" PERCENTAGES ABOVE:

A. BY CLASS:

"ABOVE"; USE:	L	M	UM	"BELOW"; USE:	L	M	UM
"innovative"	5.6	5.3	0	"innovative"	6.7	6.7	0
both	10.7	7.7	2.7	both	15.3	12.0	12.7
"conservative"	83.7	87.0	97.3	"conservative"	78.0	81.3	87.3

"ABOVE"; PREF.:	L	M	UM	"BELOW"; PREF.:	L	M	UM
"innovative"	36.0	45.3	54.0	"innovative"	18.0	12.0	5.3
both	4.0	3.3	2.7	both	1.0	2.7	5.3
"conservative"	60.0	51.0	43.3	"conservative"	81.0	85.3	89.3

B. BY SEX:

"ABOVE"; USE:	M	F	"BELOW"; USE:	M	F
"innovative"	7.0	3.7	"innovative"	7.7	4.7
both	7.3	8.3	both	14.6	11.7
"conservative"	86.7	88.0	"conservative"	77.7	83.7

"ABOVE"; PREF.:	M	F	"BELOW"; PREF.:	M	F
"innovative"	40.7	46.3	"innovative"	10.0	15.0
both	5.7	1.7	both	4.3	1.3
"conservative"	53.7	52.0	"conservative"	85.7	83.7

The individual lexical alternative pairs are discussed below; "L" and "C" preceding the variable pair number refer to lexical **use** and lexical **preference** respectively. As can be seen, although some of the pairs chosen (*floor / storey*, *plug / power point*) proved of little utility, most provided interesting results when reported use vs. preference figures were compared.

Lexical Use/Preference Pairs

(scoring values shown in brackets)

1. WINDSHIELD(1)/WINDSCREEN(3)
   Although 88% indicated use of *windscreen* and 9% both terms, 26% preferred *windshield* (4% preferred both). Although it, like *flashlight*, *elevator*, and *eraser*, appears to be a case of "change from above" in progress, the variable was negatively correlated with URBRUR, indicating a rather atypical use of the innovative value by rural informants.

Incidentally, *windshield* is not listed in the three NZ dictionaries; neither term appears in the SOED.

2. FLASHLIGHT(1)/TORCH(3)
   Again, 89% indicated use of *torch*, with 7% using both terms; however, 33% preferred *flashlight* (4% both). This variable is more typical of "change from above" in that use is positively correlated with both age (+.22) and to a lesser extent URBRUR (+.14), indicating conservative values for older, rural informants. A slight positive correlation (+.11) is present with SEI, but is not significant at the $p \leq .05$ level. All three NZ dictionaries list the word as an alternate of *torch* without flagging it as American, and it seems a likely candidate for a "change from above"; the New Zealand Prime Minister used it unselfconsciously in a TVNZ interview on 13th January 1988.

3. GAS(1)/PETROL(3)
   The pattern here is different, and resembles pairs 19 and 24 below. While only 9% preferred *gas* and only 4% reported using it rather than *petrol*, 16% said they used both terms. Coupled with the fact that *petrol* preference is correlated with high SEI and rural background at the $p < .05$ level, it seems fair to view this as a "change from below". The correlation between age and education and *petrol* preference is predictably even more significant (+.30, $p < .001$).

4. MUDGUARD(3)/FENDER(1)
   Only 4% of the sample reported using *fender*, with a further 4% using both terms. *Fender* was used somewhat more by females (sex to L4 = -.13). However, 16% of the sample felt *fender* was "better English"; this would seem to be another possible candidate for "change from above". Both the NZD and the CNZD list the innovative alternative, but the CNZD marks it as American. Oddly enough, the ONZD defines it as "*US* bumper of motor vehicle" (p. 275), an unlikely referent in the land of the bumper sticker!

5. BENZINE(5)/PETROL(3)
   This is one of the "old NZ" terms included in the list. Only 1% of the sample said they used the old term, with another 1% using both. However, 13% thought *benzine* to be "better English". As would be expected, reported use of the term is significantly correlated with age (+.16), but only just. Of course the possibility exists for confusion

of the "old NZ" term with the chemical compound, but only one informant correctly identified the "proper" referent of the term (when spelled <benzene>) as C_6H_6. Interestingly, the preference variable C5 is negatively correlated with a preference for still standard NZE terms like *petrol station*, *rubber*, *jug*, and *lift*. Like *wireless* and *lorry*, *benzine* seems to be viewed as "better *English* English".

6. motorcar MUFFLER(1)/SILENCER(3)
Although I feel certain that the conservative member of this pair was fairly widely used when I first came to this country 19 years ago (I recall trying to decide which of the terms was "correct" NZ usage), only 6% of the sample currently use *silencer*, with another 7% using both.[7] Preference figures resemble the last pair, with 26% preferring *silencer* and 7% preferring both. Predictably, variable C6 is positively correlated with age.

7. WIRELESS(5)/RADIO(3)
As expected, only a small number (3%) used *wireless*, with another 8% using both; however, 15% felt that *wireless* was "better English". The use variable L7 showed no correlation with age, and it seems reasonable to assume that it is viewed as "better BBC English". Backing up this assumption is a barely significant C7 correlation of +.16 with PVT; the older term obviously still retains considerable prestige, and none of the three NZ dictionaries mark it as obsolescent. I attempted to trace the history of the two terms by browsing through the *Otago Daily Times* at five-year intervals from 1930 to 1965; *wireless* was certainly standard through World War II, with *radios* appearing in the classified ads about 1949. It would be reasonable to assume that the conservative alternative declined rapidly during the early 1950s, but radio programme listings continued to be headed "Todays Wireless" until 11th June 1959, when "Todays Radio" appeared (without comment on the change). Interestingly enough, this is the approximate date that Trudgill estimates for the transition in Britain: "Most British speakers used the word *wireless* at least until 1960, while today nearly everybody says *radio*" (1986:41).

8. motorcar TRUNK(1)/BOOT(3)
Only one informant reported using *trunk* (five used both), but 25%

[7]For the sake of economy "use" rather than "reported use"will be used henceforth, although the latter is of course intended.

thought it the "better" alternative. The use variable showed a strong positive correlation with age, significant at the <.01 level. The preference variable was positively correlated (+.20 or more) with a number of other "change from above" variables, indicating that those who preferred *trunk* also showed a preference for *eraser*, *pitcher*, *diapers*, etc.

9. FLOOR(1)/STOREY(3) of building
In hindsight, inclusion of this pair was a mistake. It was added at the suggestion of a colleague who believed that a shift from *storey* to *floor* was under way to at least some extent. The problem is, of course, that the terms have different referents, and usage here parallels that in America, in that I would work on "the second floor of an 11-stor[e]y building" in both countries (and presumably in the UK as well). In terms of use, 56% used *floor* and 15% *storey*, with 29% using both. The preference frequencies were similar but more clear-cut (64%, 29%, 7%). Neither variable showed any significant correlation with the sociological variables.

10. motorcar HOOD(1)/BONNET(3)
77% used the standard NZE term, with 12% and 11% using *hood* or both. Preference figures are similar (78% *bonnet*, 16% *hood*, 6% both). The innovative term obviously has some currency here, but does not exhibit the markedly higher preference-to-use figures of such "change from above" items as *elevator* and *eraser*. Use of the innovative term is significantly correlated with youth, and the conservative term with high PVT; no significant correlations are present with other sociological variables. If the term *hood* does gain currency, it will probably be as a "change from below".

11. KEROSENE(3)/PARAFFIN(5)
Another possible "old NZ" item like *benzine*, but with greater problems of multiple referents. *Paraffin oil* here can apply to mineral oil obtained from chemists' shops as well as to the white *paraffin wax* used for sealing jars of canned produce (its only US referent); Turner (1972:23) implies that the "mineral oil" referent is absent in the UK. All three NZ dictionaries agree on *kerosene* as the NZE term; the NZD specifically labels *paraffin* as British English for *kerosene*. Informants here seemed clear on what meaning was intended by pairing it with *kerosene*. Use figures were 89% for *kerosene* and 6% for *paraffin*, with 5% using both; preference figures resembled *wireless* and *benzine* in showing a greater

preference for the conservative term (79%, 17%, and 4% respectively). The only significant sociological correlations were strong positive ones between OE and use (+.41) and OE and preference (+.31); this is hardly surprising. Like *truck*, the innovative term has considerable time depth here; I have seen a photograph including a labelled *kerosene* tin taken about 1930, and it is questionable if *paraffin* in its UK sense was ever common here.

12. SERVIETTE(3)/NAPKIN(1)
This pair also presents some problems; it was included to ascertain whether NZE *serviette* showed any tendency toward replacement by *napkin* due to the latter's prevalence not only in American English but also its use as a "U" class marker in British English (i.e., that variety employing what Wells 1982:280-83 has termed a U-RP accent). *Serviette* was used by a slight majority (57%), with 21% using *napkin* and 22% both. Preference figures were more clear-cut, with 64% preferring *serviette* and 30% *napkin*. Use of *serviette* is positively correlated with age, suggesting a tendency for younger speakers to use *napkin*; whether this is due to American influence or its "U" prestige in the UK (Ross et al. 1980:29) is an open question, as no correlation is present with SEI. A slight correlation (+.12) with sex would indicate that men tend to use the innovative term; negative correlations of use and preference with PVT also suggest that *napkin* is somewhat more preferred by those with private/boarding schooling, but only the preference correlation is significant at the .05 level. Determining the extent to which UK "U" and "non-U" values have social significance in contemporary NZ will require a far more sophisticated study than that discussed here. However, given the rather unsavoury connotations of the relationship between *napkin* and *nappie*, I would assume that no large-scale replacement of *serviette* will take place until a significant shift in usage from *nappie* to *diaper* takes place, if it ever does (see No. 27 below).

13. BISCUIT(3)/COOKIE(1)
At first glance, this would appear a very clear example indeed of an incoming Americanism; however, usage figures (83% *biscuit*, 5% *cookie*, 12% both) compared to preference (88%, 9%, 3%) make it apparent that the term is slightly behind *gas* and *sweater* despite the best efforts of Cookie Bear, and if the term does gain currency it will definitely be "from below". This may well be due to the fact that it is such a blatant, conscious Americanism. There is a predictable negative correlation

between age and use of *cookie* (-.22, $p < .01$), and a lesser one between age and preference for the term.

14. (wall) PLUG(3)/POWER POINT(1)
Like *floor/storey*, this pair could well have been omitted. It was also included due to the urging of a curious colleague, and has no bearing on the spread of American lexicon (the everyday American English term is also [wall] *plug*). The contrast here would appear to be one of formality/technicality. Use figures are *plug*, 62%, *power point*, 18%, both 20%; preference figures indicate that the formal *power point* is preferred (59%), with 35% preferring *plug* and 6% choosing both. A correlation of -.18 between age and the use variable suggests that older speakers tend to use "power point".

15. LORRY(5)/TRUCK(3)
As with *benzine/petrol*, this "old NZ" term was included both to ascertain the current level of the "older" alternative and to attempt to find out what level of prestige it retains. The "victory" of the innovative term is by no means as decisive as with *benzine/petrol*; some 70% reported regular use of *truck*, 7% for *lorry*, and 23% both. That *lorry* retains some amount of prestige as "better English English" is evident in the preference figures of 68%, 27%, and 5% respectively. However, the situation has obviously gone far beyond Turner's report of the 1960s that "the encroachment of *truck* on the domain of *lorry* is noticeable in New Zealand, too, especially since the Second World War. It is sometimes argued whether there is a difference between the two words" (1972:112). I made an attempt to trace the occurrence of *truck* back in the *Otago Daily Times*, and was rather startled to find references to "7-ton trucks" at least as far back as 1920; I suspect (but cannot document) that the American term came in with the US-produced vehicles themselves (a "Ford truck" vs. a "Bedford lorry"?). By 1930 *truck* appears as the apparently more colloquial term in contrast to *lorry*, which is still more common. By the end of World War II *truck* appears to be the more common term, but *lorry* continues to crop up in lessening amounts until the early 1960s (and indeed continues to appear in the occasional letter to the editor today). Obviously much more careful work will be necessary to document accurately the careers of the two words in the press, which will in any event give a very conservative picture vis-à-vis spoken usage. Predictably, use of *lorry* is significantly positively correlated with age and rural background (+.25 and +.19);

preference for the conservative term on the other hand is significantly positively correlated with both SEI and high PVT education (+.20 in both cases), presumably in schools where the "English English" term retains its prestige.

16. pencil ERASER(1)/RUBBER(3)
This appears to be another fairly clear-cut case of incipient change "from above". The innovative alternative is used by only 3% of the sample, with only 5% using both and a massive 92% using *rubber*; however, preference figures are strikingly different: 50% *eraser*, 2% both, and 48% *rubber*. There is also a significant positive correlation of conservative use to age (+.25), suggesting that use of the innovative value is beginning to spread among younger speakers. If the change takes place, as seems likely, it will doubtless be aided by what appears to be a generally widespread knowledge of the risqué connotations of the conservative term in America. The tale of the naive Kiwi exchange student asking her American deskmate "if he had a rubber" (Leland 1980:6) is quite well known here (cf. *Listener*, 7th January 1989, p. 13).

17. GAS STATION(1)/PETROL STATION(3)
Predictably, the pattern with this pair almost exactly parallels L/C3: *gas station*, 3%; both, 15%; *petrol station*, 82%. Figures for preference are 7%, 4%, 89% respectively. As with *gas*, if a change takes place it will quite clearly be one "from below".

18. LIFT(3)/ELEVATOR(1)
Apparently a more advanced but still incipient version of the *eraser/rubber* situation. Use figures are *elevator*, 8%; both, 11%; *lift*, 81 %; preference figures are 50%, 5%, and 45% respectively. As with L/C16, acceptance of the innovative value is probably aided by its more "formal", Latinate appearance as well as its occurrence in American media seen/read here. Significant correlations are present with age to both use (+.31) and preference (+.17) of the conservative value, so *elevator* can safely be assumed to be spreading among younger speakers.

19. SWEATER(1)/JERSEY(3)
Like *gas/petrol*, this appears to be another case of possible incipient "change from below". Usage percentages reported are *jersey*, 75%; both, 17%; *sweater*, 8%. These may be compared with the preferences

reported of 77%, 5%, and 18%. Use of both terms is relatively high, and preference for the conservative term is (as with L/C3) higher than use. Use of *jersey* has a positive correlation with age (+.25) significant at the .01 level; as with *gas*, *sweater* is more preferred by "lower class" informants (see Table 4 above); the preference variable C19 is significantly correlated with SEI (+.18).

20. KNICKERS(1)/PANTIES(3) ("pants" or blank scored as 5, "undies" as 0.)
Definitely one of the more problematical pairs, but worth including nonetheless. Its inclusion was primarily intended to test whether there was any sign of a UK innovation making some impact here through the medium of British TV shows (*knickers* is unknown in the US, or at least was unknown when I departed 19 years ago; "Benny Hill" and "quality" drama series shown on PBS television may have changed this). The situation is confounded by the fact that these terms are not the only generic ones in use here; *pants* was often reported by older informants, and two younger informants reported use of *undies*. Adding still further confusion are class, sexual, and contextual variations in preference and usage; as one male informant said (sniggering), "it depends on the context". Use and preference percentages are:

	undies	knickers	<–both–>	panties	pants
USE	2	32	16	39	11
PREFERENCE	1	28	3	63	5

As mentioned above, variable L20 is very significantly positively associated with age (+.40), and with education as well (+.27). The preference variable C20 is even more strongly correlated with age (+.43) and education (+.39). About all that can be concluded is that *panties* appears to be the generally preferred term, but that *knickers* may be starting to come in "from below". So many other social factors are apparently involved in the selection of values for this variable that even this is very far from certain.

21. AEROPLANE(3)/AIRPLANE(1)
The conservative trisyllabic value was used by 78% of informants, with 8% using both and 14% using the disyllabic innovative value. Preference figures are similar, but show a slightly higher figure for the conservative value (84%, 3%, 14%). Interestingly, both L21 and C21 had strong correlations with SEI (+.32 and +.29 respectively, $p < .001$). Use

of *airplane* is also predictably correlated with youth (+.28); hence if the innovative term does gain currency it will be a "change from below" in the dual sense used by Trudgill (1974:95 fn 1).

22. FOOTPATH(3)/SIDEWALK(1)
I had debated including the British alternative *pavement* here as well, with a value of 5, but as this would have been the only triad in the series I considered it would have made scoring more awkward; given the situation with L/C20 above, in hindsight it would have been better to do so. In any event, an overwhelming 96% of informants reported using the "normal" NZE term, with 3% using *sidewalk* and 1% both. Preference figures rather surprisingly showed a 12% preference for the US term, with 4% for both and 84% for *footpath*. The pattern thus resembles L/C16, L/C18, and other "change from above" variables, but is not as marked. I had guessed that this term, like L/C27 below, would be relatively resistant to change, but time may well prove me wrong.

23. PANTS(1)/TROUSERS(3)
Another variable complicated by stylistic and contextual variation, as well as by inclusion of one value in the L/C20 variable above. Use figures show the high proportion using both values characteristic of "change from below" (*trousers*, 60%; both, 33%; *pants*, 7%), but preference is clearly for the conservative alternative (87%, 6%, and 7% respectively). *Trousers* is of course a formal alternative widely used in US speech for everyday *pants*, and that situation may well develop here. However, for the present *trousers* apparently retains its majority. It seems to be used more by women (+.23 to sex) and those with OE (+.16); women also show some (marginally significant) preference for the term (+.16), not surprising given the semantic overlap with No. 20 above.

24. dollar NOTE(3)/BILL(1)
The innovative term is still used by a small minority here (6%, as compared to 6% both and 88% for *note*); preference figures are also strongly in favour of *note* (87% vs. 12% for *bill*). However, it is interesting to note that 9% of "lower class" informants reported using *bill*, and 17% of them preferred it. Also, 23% of "upper middle class" informants used both terms, although only 8% preferred both; this may then be yet another example of incipient "change from below". Oddly enough negative correlations are present between both use and preference with

URBRUR (-.15 and -.24 respectively, the second one significant), indicating a rural tendency toward *bill*. The only other parallel in the data considered here is L1, *windshield*.

25. PITCHER(1)/JUG(3)

The definitions provided in the NZD for these two items are nearly identical, but I think it would be generally agreed that the first term occurs rarely in NZE (I cannot recall ever having heard it). Both terms of course occur in American English, but *jug* has quite a different referent (a large glass or stoneware vessel with narrow mouth and often a ring handle, used for storing as well as pouring liquids). Use figures for *jug* are predictably high (98%, compared with 1% each for both and *pitcher*). However, preference figures again suggest a possible "change from above": *jug*, 77%; both, 3%; *pitcher*, 20%. This is in general supported by a breakdown by class as well; the figures for *nappies/diapers* below present a very similar pattern:

	C25			C27		
	jug	both	pitcher	nappies	both	diapers
"lower"	86	0	14	83	3	14
"middle"	75	3	22	76	8	16
"up. mid."	69	8	23	69	8	23
MALE	72	5	23	70	9	20
FEMALE	82	1	17	83	6	13

It is interesting to note that in both cases men show a somewhat greater preference for the innovative variant. Also, in both cases "upper middle class" speakers express a slightly greater preference for the innovative term, making it likely that if change in use does occur it will be "from above".

26. PICTURES(3)/MOVIES(1)

This pair was not included as an NZE/American contrast, but rather to test the relative frequency of the two terms in contemporary speech. While both terms are in common use, I wanted to ascertain whether *movies* was showing any tendency to replace *pictures*, which I believe is now fairly rare in the US, although it was common there in the late 1940s. Slightly more informants reported using both terms (38%) than either *pictures* (36%) or *movies* (26%). In terms of preference, *pictures* and *movies* are tied at 46% each, with 8% preferring both. Preference

for *movies* equalled or exceeded the percent preferring *pictures* only in the 6-11 year old sample, and for those over 50. "Lower-class" informants preferred *movies* (57%), but a plurality of the "middle class" informants showed a preference for *pictures* (48%); the latter term is positively correlated with higher SEI (+.15), but with only marginal significance. What can be said is that both terms are still very much alive, with *movies* being perhaps viewed as more colloquial and *pictures* to some extent a more "proper" term (not as "proper" as *films* or *cinema*, of course). This would appear to be borne out by the NZD's ranking of *movies* as "informal" and *pictures* as a neutral alternative to *films*.

27. NAPPIES(3)/DIAPERS(1)

I had predicted that *nappies* would be one of the more resistant of the items chosen to test incoming American lexicon, but this seems not to be the case. Like *footpath* and *jug* above, the use percentages show the NZE term has weakened hardly at all (*nappies*, 94%; both, 2%; *diapers*, 4%). But the preference figures present the same picture as other "changes from above": *nappies*, 77%; both, 7%; *diapers*, 16%. As shown above, the age, sex, and class distributions of this variable are very similar to *jug/pitcher*, and the potential shift may be helped along by the appearance of clearly labelled packs of disposable *diapers* on supermarket shelves; these are, incidentally, manufactured in NZ. On the other hand, the availability of *cookies* labelled as such over the past 15 years or more has done little to dislodge *biscuit*. A significant correlation of +.22 between *nappies* and higher SEI suggests that *use* of the NZ term at least is class-sensitive, and this would seem to argue against a "change from above". However, as with the other similar pairs discussed above, only time will tell.

Analysis

While tables provide concise information about individual variables, it is more difficult to portray the overall relationship between the different variables. As with the alternative pronunciations discussed above, I have used factor analysis in an effort to do this. For those not familiar with the technique, it attempts to find the best "fit" of a correlation coefficient matrix such as that shown in Table 3 along as many "dimensions" or factors as are de-

sired or required; in general, the greater the number of factors, the larger the amount of total variance in the sample is explained. The use of this technique should be viewed with three cautions in mind. First, the correlations used are Pearson's *r* rather than the rank-order ρ, and only age is a truly metrical variable. Second, I portray only the two most significant factors, as in some test runs as many as 21 factors were generated with eigenvalues ≥ 1; even so, these only accounted for about two-thirds of the total variance. Two factors subsume only about 16–20% of total variance; this is explained by the relatively low correlations obtained in this sort of research (often in the range ±.2 - .7; Fasold 1984:104). Obviously the interaction of several social variables tends to reduce the degree of correlation of a linguistic variable with any one of them. Finally, the meanings ascribed to the various factors are of course the intuitive judgements of the researcher and not the authoritative voice of the computer!

The factor analysis shown in Fig. 3 presents a summary of the lexical preference variables; it also incorporates the sociological variables of age, sex (M scored as 1, F as 4), SEI, PVT, and URBRUR. It must of course be noted that the two factors of the three-factor analysis pictured account for only 18.8% of the total variance, but as stated this is to be expected in a situation where so many complex social factors interact in any one individual speaker. The two factors appear to represent a contrast between "conservative" speakers and "innovative" speakers on the one hand (horizontal dimension); and between higher socioeconomic status/age and lower SEI/youth (vertical dimension). The "old NZ" items such as *benzine* and *lorry* form a clear cluster to the left, while "change from below" items are found to the upper right of the vertical axis. Still further to the right is a well-defined group of "change from above" items, with *sidewalk* in an intermediate position. One might also label this axis "formality" in the very general sense, ranging from "informal" items like *gas* and *cookie* to the very "formal" *power point*, well separated from the "above" cluster. The position of *knickers/panties* is rather problematical, but the remaining terms close to the vertical axis are apparently rather neutral with respect to the social variables. The third dimension (which contains only another 3.7% of total variance) correlates conservative values for *pictures*, *wireless*, *biscuit*, etc., with each other, and to a lesser extent with high PVT and SEI.

A factor analysis based on reported *use* percentages (Fig. 4) provides a generally similar overall picture; the horizontal dimension is again clearly "conservative" versus "innovative", while the vertical axis is determined pri-

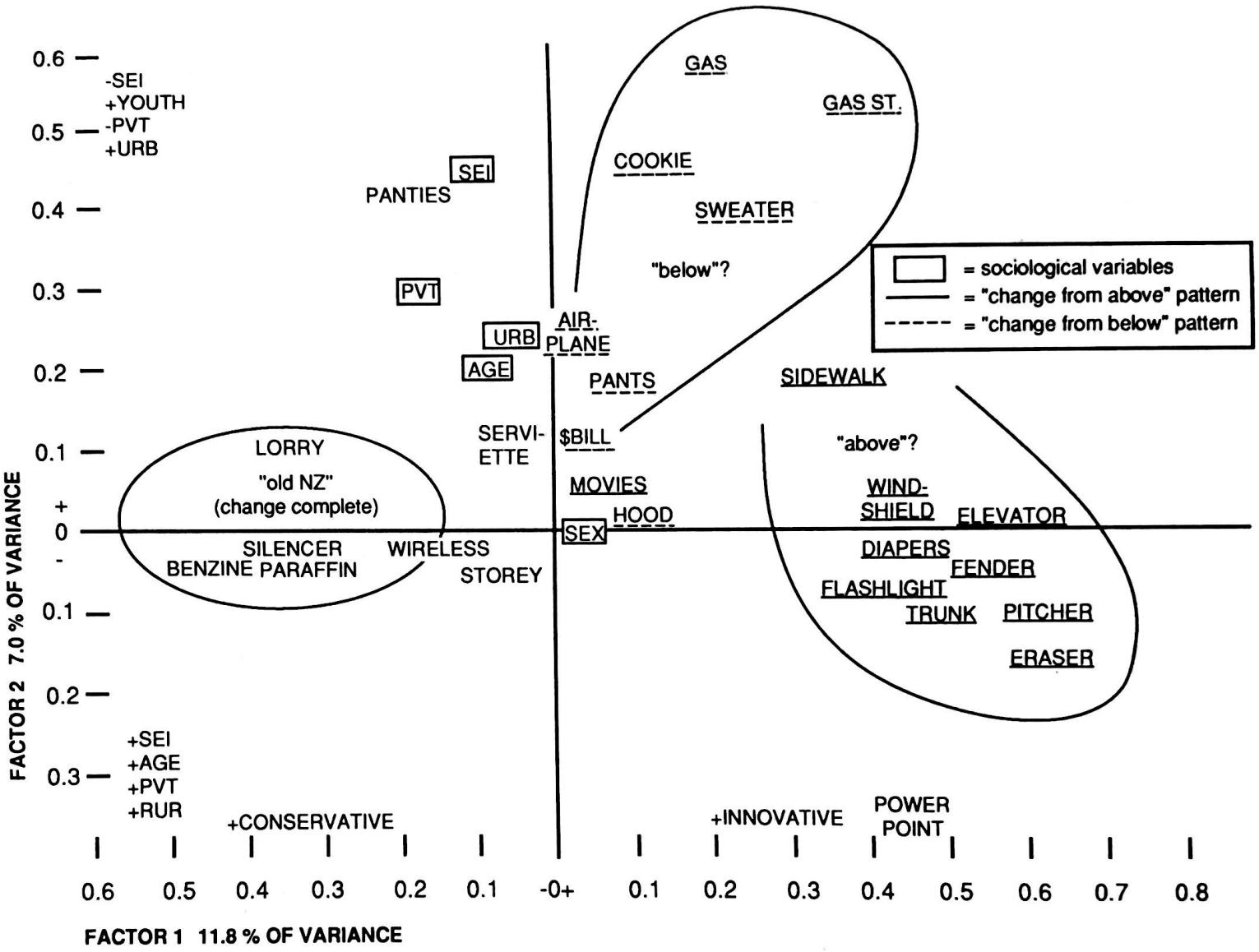

Fig. 3. Factor analysis of lexical *preference* and sociological variables.

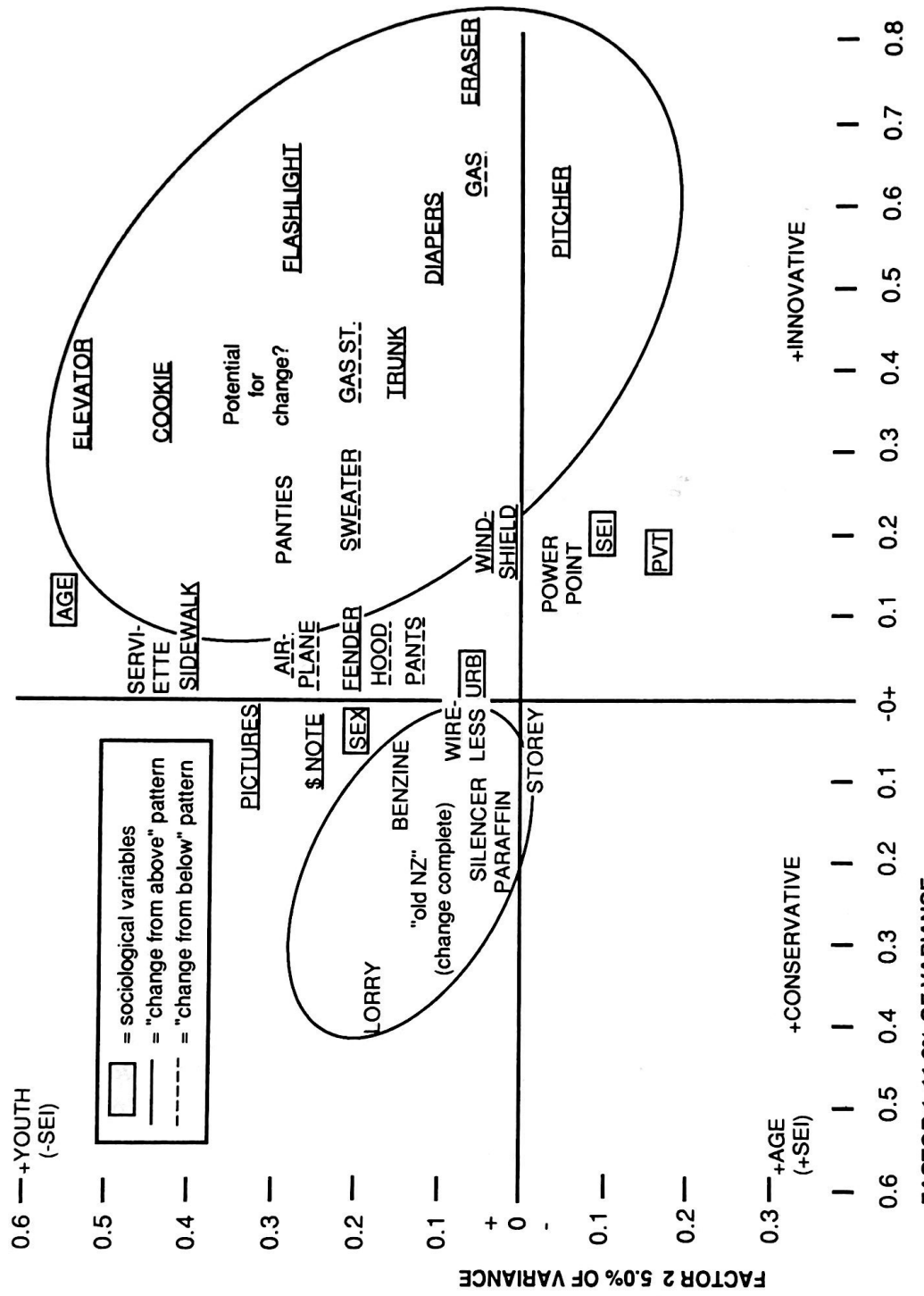

Fig. 4. Factor analysis of lexical *use* and sociological variables.

marily by age, and to a lesser extent SEI (the two variables are themselves correlated, of course). The group of "old NZ" terms are still in approximately the same position on the "conservative" side of the scale, but the "above" and "below" items are now dispersed throughout the "innovative" side, according to their correlation with age. Thus *elevator*, *cookie*, and *sidewalk* tend to be used by younger speakers, and *pitcher*, *windshield*, and *power point* by older speakers (all innovative terms are of course still minority usages). However, we cannot draw any definite conclusions from the two factor analyses save that certain of the "above" and "below" items do appear to be unstable, and may well undergo a shift in the near future; one could perhaps speculate that those farthest to the right ("innovative") and top ("young") of the diagram are the mose likely candidates, although — as seems to be the case with "zee" — *cookie*, *elevator*, and *sidewalk* may lose their viability under pressure from parents and teachers.

It might be considered puzzling that none of the reported use percentages are more evenly divided between "innovative" and "conservative" alternatives save the ill-chosen *floor/storey* pair; the "normal" versus "formal" *plug/power point* pair; and the problematical *napkin/serviette*, *knickers/panties*, *pants/trousers*, and *pictures/movies* pairs. In all other cases (the ones which might be expected to show the most clear-cut evidence of any shift to "innovative" values), one member of the pair is always dominant (i.e. > 75% or so). The explanation for this may well lie in the nature of language change, which does not occur at a uniform rate. As Chambers and Trudgill say, "changes are almost never found in the middle of their time span – around 50% – and are most often found at one of the two extremes – above 80% or below 20%" (1980:177). Plotting percent of the innovation against time thus produces an S-curve rather than a straight line, with the conquest of the middle-ground majority by the innovation taking surprisingly little time[8]. Hence *lorry/truck* and *wireless/radio* 40 to 50 years ago may have had usage percentages similar to *lift/elevator* today (81% and 8%, with 11% reporting use of both). The next ten years or so should tell.

Finally, discriminant analyses were carried out on the combined use and preference variables, with results strikingly similar to those using phonological and alternative pronunciation variables (72.3% correct assignation for

[8]Chambers and Trudgill offer this model as an "assumption"; I have written a relatively simple BASIC program which simulates the spread of a linguistic innovation through a socioeconomically diverse society (Bayard n.d.), and the plot of percentage of change against time in all runs carried out to date fits a sigmoid curve very closely.

three "classes", and 81.6% for two "classes"). The eight most socially significant variables (in descending order) are: *pants/panties/knickers/undies* preference; *aeroplane/airplane* use; *lorry/truck* preference; *nappies/diapers* use; *paraffin/kerosene* use; *jersey/sweater* preference; *power point/plug* use; and *pitcher/jug* use. These should not be taken too seriously, since in many cases the correlation seems to be due to a very small number of low-SEI informants using the "innovative" term or high-SEI informants using the "conservative" term.

Conclusions

It it clear that American lexical influence on NZE is far from a recent phenomenon; it doubtless dates back to well before World War II. It is equally clear that we are dealing with several strata of influence, in terms both of time depth and of features like lexicon *sensu stricto*, pronunciation, idiom, and syntactic features like "gotten" and singular verb concord with mass nouns (e.g. "the government has decided"; Bauer 1986). The "layering" in terms of time is well illustrated by a survey carried out by Powell (n.d.) of knowledge and use of American idioms like "keel over", "pass the buck", "in hot water", and "two to tango". It was quite apparent from analysis of questionnaires filled out by 59 informants ranging in age from 13 to 55 that older NZE speakers were far more familiar with such Americanisms than younger ones, and it seems highly likely that their introduction into NZE took place during the 1940s and 50s, probably primarily through films. In fact I suspect that these idioms, though well-represented in dictionaries of American slang and colloquialisms, are now obsolescent and relatively rarely used in America; I have certainly encountered few of them in visits there since 1980. The only idiom in Powell's survey which proved to be used more by younger speakers was "pig out", an innovation so recent that I had assumed it was a New Zealandism until my most recent visit to America in 1987 made its place of origin clear.

However, I think the data presented above make a case for the proposition that American lexical influence has quickened in recent years. In my earlier report, I outlined what I believe to be the two factors involved: a growing sense of national identity as the ties with what is no longer "Home" weaken; and the massive influence of American-accent and dialect programmes dominating contemporary television (Bayard 1987:21-25). In fact, Bell's pioneering studies of radio and newspaper styles (1982, 1983) in New Zealand

arrived at similar conclusions some years earlier[9]:

> On the broader social and political front, New Zealand's move away from Britain is accompanied by a parallel shift towards the United States. New Zealand is now dependent politically and economically on America, rather than on Britain. It is subject to the same cultural imperialism from American media products—television programmes, music, films, news agencies, etc.—as most other nations. (Bell 1982:254)

One could argue that political dependence on American has been weakened, if not abandoned, by New Zealand's expulsion from ANZUS, but as I hypothesised in my original 1985 paper (Bayard 1985:24), that has had apparently minimal impact on the subsequent spread of American lexicon. As I said there, the reasons for this seem quite clearly to be a lack of recognition of Americanisms as such: the lexical changes are "more likely the result of acquisition of what are perceived as 'indigenous' models coming via the spoken media rather than any attempt to emulate Americanisms, which many do not approve of" (Bayard 1987:25). The above-mentioned statement of one informant that "leftenant" was the "American pronunciation" is a good case in point (my failure to recognise "pig out" as an Americanism is another!). It is of course very difficult to document a correlation between media exposure and shifts in lexical usage and preference with any precision. Chambers attempted to do just that in the case of American media influences on Canadian "raising"; although he failed to find a "fine correlation" between the innovative values of the phonological variable and degree of exposure to American media, nonetheless the argument is intuitively a very strong one (Chambers 1981:33). Trudgill also emphasises the importance of American media influence in Britain:

> Certain highly salient linguistic features, such as new words and idioms, or fashionable pronunciations of individual words, may be *imitated* or *copied* from television or radio (rather than accommodated to). This is today, for instance, probably the primary mechanism for the adoption of American English features into British English. (1986:40-41)

I believe the argument presented here has equal intuitive strength. I have

[9]I regret that my previous lack of knowledge of this important article led to its omission from my 1987 report.

already presented data documenting the predominance of American programmes on New Zealand television (Bayard 1987:23), and Bell, in a recent survey of about 150 television commercials, found that some 25% of them featured spoken or sung American accents, while only 6% utilised "Upper British" (i.e. RP) accents (Bell 1987).

Although "class" is clearly an important social factor in the acceptance of American lexicon ("from above" with upper socioeconomic levels, and "from below" with lower levels, at least for lexical preference), age is quite clearly the dominant variable as far as reported use of new lexicon is concerned (cf. Table 4 above). This seems to be even more the case with innovative pronunciation variants; the data presented here suggest that all three of the New Zealand dictionaries published since 1982 are obsolete as far as standard NZE pronunciation of *lieutenant*, *schedule*, and *women* are concerned, and will become so for *clerk* and perhaps even *Z* in the near future. In terms of gender, men tend to use innovative values more than women with both "above" and "below"items; however, more women prefer innovative values of both types.

All of these social variables (along with URBRUR, PVT, and OE in some specific cases) clearly have an effect of the acceptance of new lexical items. In any event, the pace of change seems to be accelerating rather than slowing, in written as well as spoken NZE. Thus the *Otago Daily Times*, one of New Zealand's most change-resistant newspapers (Holt 1988), permitted the honorific "Ms" for the first time on 4th October 1988, and shortly thereafter (17th October) shifted from <gaol> to <jail>, drawing predictable fire from a disgruntled correspondent: "Will color, program and harbor soon rear their most unpleasant and American heads in our newspaper? I sincerely hope the *ODT* will restore and cherish the meet and correct spelling of gaol" (4th November 1988). The data from the two-year retest of my admittedly small sample of younger NZE speakers shows little reversal in the pattern of change, save perhaps for *Z*, which may well resist change because of the frequency of "NZ"; also, in at least one case, the very fact of my retesting led one parent to emphasise the "correctness" of /zed/ to her daughter. As with <jail>, orthographic influences are also starting to appear; I have noted advertisements for <color> prints, and suspect that instances of reversal of <-re> may well appear in the near future. However, these may never become standard NZE spellings (this is almost certainly the case with instances of <knowen> and <showen> sighted in recent examination scripts!).

In any case, the influence of *pax Americana* is simply unavoidable in the foreseeable future. American English is now the world standard, and expressions like "no way!" are as much world English as "OK" and "Hi!". If my more recent research is any guide, North American accents are now a close second to RP in status with at least younger NZE speakers, and are the equal of general NZE accents in "solidarity"-related traits (Bayard 1989). Hence like it or not, NZE will inevitably fall "out of the British frying pan into the American fire" (Bell 1982:254) as far as new vocabulary is concerned. But hopefully NZE will — like Canada and Australia — preserve some amount of national individuality in lexicon as well as accent; after all, even America manages to preserve distinct regional accents and lexicon[10]. But clearly attempts to preserve "proper" standards via letters to editors or TVNZ are doomed to failure. NZE will find its own level, with a mixture of native and world English lexicon and idiom.

Acknowledgements

As in 1987, my primary debt of gratitude is of course to all of the 156 informants who participated in the research. The figures were as usual well prepared by Martin Fisher.

Appendix:

Scoring Criteria and Mean Scores of Variables, with percentages for values in NZE sample of 141.

Sociological Variables:

Agegroup (AGEGR) : see Table 1

[10]and in some cases grammatical features incomprehensible to standard American (and other) English speakers. While rereading James Jones' 1951 novel *From Here to Eternity* recently, I was interested to note five occurrences of positive "anymore" for "nowadays" ("it's quite the thing anymore"; cf. Trudgill 1983:21). This of course reflects Jones' rural Illinois background, although the usage is completely ungrammatical (and illogical) to speakers in Chicago (my native dialect) and the rest of the English speech community.

Geographical region (GR) :

AK Auckland urban (1%)	OT Otago rural (5%)
CA Canterbury rural (5%)	SA S. AKL/Waikato rural (3%)
CH Christch. urban (2%)	SL Southland rural (10%)
DN Dunedin urban (62%)	TN Taranaki rural (1%)
EC East Coast rural (1%)	WC West Coast rural (0%)
NA Nth AKL rural (1%)	WL Wellington rural (1%)
NM Nelson/Marl. rural (1%)	WN Wellington urban (5%)
Overseas:	
XA Australia (1%)	XP Pacific
XC E/SE Asia	XS Scotland, Ireland
XE England, Wales (1%)	XX Other
XF other European	XY North America

Urban vs. rural (URBRUR) : urban = AK, CH, DN, WN; value = 1 (70.2%); rural = others; value = 4 (29.8%); $\bar{X} = 1.89$

Sex : M (43%) F (57%); sex quantified: M = 1, F = 4; $\bar{X} = 2.64$

Overseas experience (OE) : $\bar{X} = 1.36$

1. None, Australia, or before 7-8 years old (89%)
2. North America, 1-3 years (1%)
3. North America, over 3 years (1%)
4. UK, 1-3 years (2%)
5. UK, over 3 years (6%)

Education (ED) : $\bar{X} = 2.30$

1. Primary (33%)
2. Secondary/School Cert. (incl. all children under 15) (23%)
3. Some university work, no degree (31%)
4. University degree or teaching certificate (6%)
5. Advanced degrees (7%)

Private schooling (PVT) : $\bar{X} = 1.65$

1. Public, no boarders (70%)
2. Private, no boarders (4%)

3. Public, boarders (16%)
4. Private, boarders (10%)

Occupation (OCC) : $\bar{X} = 3.65$

1. Unskilled manual, unemployed (= Elley and Irving Levels 5 and 6) (12%)
2. Skilled manual (= Elley and Irving Level 4) (14%)
3. White collar non-managerial (= Elley and Irving Level 3) (15%)
4. Managerial (= Elley and Irving Level 2) (15%)
5. Professional (= Elley and Irving Level 1; includes young children of professionals and tertiary students) (44%)

SEI : socioeconomic index = (ED)+(PVT)+(OCC); $\bar{X} = 7.60$

"Class" : SEI 3-5 = "lower", 25%
SEI 6-11 = "middle", 66%
SEI 12-13 = "upper middle", 9%; $\bar{X} = 1.84$

Alternative Pronunciations:

"women" ~ "wimen" (WOWI) : $\bar{X} = 2.25$

1. /ʊ/ both readings or in slow reading (54%)
2. /ʊ/ mumbled or slurred in both readings (1%)
3. /ʊ/ fast reading, /ɪ/ slow (12%)
4. /ɪ/ in both (33%)

"been" (BEEN) : 1. /bɪn/ 4. /bin/ (1%, 98%, 1% missing); $\bar{X} = 3.96$

"schedule" (SKED) : 1. /sk-/ 4. /ʃ-/ (40%, 48%, 11% missing); $\bar{X} = 2.63$

"herbs" (HERB) : 1. /Ø-/ 4. /h-/ (1%, 99%); $\bar{X} = 3.98$

"interesting" (INT) : 1. /-trɪs-/ 4.-tərəs/ (48%, 52%, .7% missing); $\bar{X} = 2.56$

"vitamin" (VIT) : 1. /vaɪ-/ 4. /vɪ-/ (86%, 8%, 6% missing); $\bar{X} = 1.25$

"advertisement" (AD) : 1. stress on 1st syll. 4. on 2nd syll. (21%, 74%, 6% missing); $\bar{X} = 3.35$

"tomato" (TOM) : 1. /eɪ/ 2. /æ/ 4. /a/ (1%, 1% 98%); $\bar{X} = 3.94$

"garage" (GAR) : 1. /gəráʒ/, /-áʤ/ 4. /gǽrəʤ/ (4%, 95%, 1% missing); $\bar{X}$ = 3.89

"lieutenant" (LOO) : 1. /lu-/ or /lɪ-/ 4. /lef/ (59%, 29%, 12% missing); $\bar{X}$ = 1.99

"privacy" (PRIV) : 1. /aɪ/ 4. /ɪ/ (80%, 15%, 5% missing); $\bar{X}$ = 1.47

"often" (OFT) : 1. /ɒft-/ 4. /ɒf-/ (41%, 59%); $\bar{X}$ = 2.77

"controversy" (CONT) : stress on 1st or 3rd syll. 4. on 2nd syll. (59%, 27%, 14% missing); $\bar{X}$ = 1.94

"migraine" (MIG) : 1. /aɪ/ 4. /i/ (82%, 2%, 16% missing); $\bar{X}$ = 1.08

"medicine" (MEDC) : 1. 3 sylls. 4. 2 sylls. (87%, 9%, 4% missing); $\bar{X}$ = 1.27

"either" (EITH) : 1. /i/ 4. /aɪ/ (59%, 40%, 1% missing); $\bar{X}$ = 2.22

"dynasty" (DYN) : 1. /aɪ/ 4. /ɪ/ (24%, 70%, 6% missing); $\bar{X}$ = 3.25

"Z" (ZED) : 1. /zi/ 4. /zed/ (12%, 88%); $\bar{X}$ = 3.64

Lexical Pairs Variables (see discussion of pairs in text for individual percentages)

LEXUSE = summed scores of use variables (see Figs. 1 and 2); $\bar{X}$ = 72.32

LEXPREF = summed scores of preference variables (see Figs. 1 and 2); $\bar{X}$ = 69.04

CONSIND conservative-innovative index = (LEXPREF)-(LEXUSE); ranges from -20 (innovative) to +11 (conservative); $\bar{X}$ = -3.28 (see Figs. 1 and 2)

SECIND security index = (CONSIND) with negative values made positive; range 0-20; $\bar{X}$ = 5.48 (see Figs. 1 and 2)

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