A STUDY OF THE PRONUNCIATION, ORAL GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF WEST COAST SCHOOLCHILDREN

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M. E. Durkin

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INTRODUCTION

New Zealand English is very homogeneous and regional variation is not immediately obvious. Generally speaking, the same accent is heard throughout the country and there is little variation in vocabulary. Perhaps the most clearcut regional characteristic in pronunciation is the "Southland burr" in which /r/ is pronounced in words such as "dark" or "word" where it is lost in R.P. A number of lexical items have also been considered as being peculiar to a certain region or as having a particular meaning in that region. Such comments form part of the few general surveys on New Zealand English which have been published. These include such works as G. W. Turner's The English Language in Australia and New Zealand (1) and the numerous publications of Professor Arnold Wall, notably New Zealand English (2) The Mother Tongue in New Zealand (3) and The Queen's English (4). Detailed studies of speech in specific regions in New Zealand are rare, even non-existent.

Despite the above remarks on the lack of regional variation in New Zealand English this researcher was prompted to do a study of speech on the West Coast (South

1. Turner, G. W. The English Language in Australia and New Zealand
   London, Longmans, 1966
2. Wall, Arnold New Zealand English
   2nd ed. Christchurch, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd (1938)
3. Wall, Arnold The Mother Tongue in New Zealand
   Dunedin, Reed, 1936
4. Wall, Arnold The Queen's English - a Commentary for New Zealand
   Christchurch, Pegasus Press (1958)

Island) after frequent accusations of "a West Coast accent" and the realisation that people from other parts of the country often did not know certain words, or certain meanings of words, which were quite common on the West Coast. The general aim was to do a fairly detailed descriptive study of the speech of West Coasters. It was obvious from the beginning that various limits would have to be imposed and it was therefore decided that school-children only would be used as subjects for the sample. The 10-12 year-old age-group was chosen because at this age children are old enough to have the basic knowledge and skills necessary for such a study and yet young enough to be frank and uninhibited in an interview situation.

The researcher's first task was therefore to record and analyse the pronunciation of the subjects. She had also to discover any words or grammatical features which could be either peculiar to the West Coast or more commonly used there, and to test these in order to see whether they were still in frequent use amongst a younger generation.

Areas chosen

It seemed desirable to choose the total sample from at least three areas on the West Coast. Westport and Greymouth were chosen as the main centres in the Buller and Westland districts respectively. The researcher had hoped to include some subjects from South Westland and had therefore planned to visit Harihari. This was not possible

since there were insufficient numbers of native West
Coasters within the required age-range in Harihari.
Hokitika was not considered because of its proximity to
Greymouth: the researcher felt that one or other of these
centres should be included, but not both. The only other
centre from which sufficient numbers could be obtained
was Reefton. While this meant that a smaller total area
was being covered, Reefton was included in the study
because the researcher believed that it could provide an
interesting contrast with the two larger centres. The
population of Reefton was likely to be a more stable one
and many of the more traditional West Coast occupations
have been retained there. The three areas from which
subjects were to be obtained were therefore Westport,
Greymouth and Reefton.

Sample size

For this study 75 Form I and II pupils from three
West Coast schools, situated in the above areas, formed
the sample whose pronunciation, oral vocabulary and grammar
was to be studied. The sample was to be considered
according to the three sub-groups and also in its entirety.

For the analysis of tendencies in a population a
sample does not have to be large, so long as it is
representative of the population. For most statistical
tests a sample-size of 30 is the minimum: below this
number the reliability of generalisation is unsatisfactory.

Therefore, a sample of 75, so long as it is representatively chosen, is a relatively large one, which means that one should be able to generalise from the sample with a degree of certainty. The size of the sub-groups, however, is a little small for generalisation.

PART I - PRONUNCIATION

CHAPTER I

THE PHONEMES UNDER STUDY

It is convenient, in a broad context, to say that this study is of "pronunciation". However it must be realised that it is a very limited study, concerning only one aspect of pronunciation, namely phonology, and this within definite limits. Included in the field of pronunciation are such factors as intonation, rhythm and stress, customary division into syllables, elision, liaison, and juncture. All of these contribute to the pronunciation of any phrase or sentence, or even word. It would obviously be unrealistic to attempt to include all these factors in a small-scale study such as the present one. Since there is a wide range of variation of such things as intonation and liaison, there are many difficulties involved in constructing tests to measure them. In addition, the limited amount of time at the disposal of one student at Master's level precludes extensive examination of all aspects of a subject. For these reasons words will be considered as separate phonemic entities.and.the scope of the work will be further limited by the fact that only the vowel sounds will be dealt with in detail. This is because the researcher has found the consonants in this particular

sample to be of little significance and any points which do arise can be sufficiently commented upon in a section of Chapter IV entitled <u>Observations on Sentences</u>

<u>"New Zealand English"</u>

So far no detailed description of the New Zealand realisations of English phonemes has been produced. Professor Arnold Wall in <u>New Zealand English</u> (1) outlines some realisations which he noticed at the time, referring to them as "errors" in New Zealand pronunciation. Many of his observations correlate with those of G. W. Turner (2) who also refers to differences observed between our pronunciation and R.P. These two sources provide a frame of reference which, combined with the writer's own observations on New Zealand pronunciation, should at least be of more relevance than R.P., even if not comprehensive.

Any description of a norm for pronunciation, such as R.P., is of necessity standardised since pronunciation varies from one person to another. It seems likely that rather than there being a standardised norm here in New Zealand, the situation may be somewhat similar to that of Australia, as described by Turner (3):-

"There is in Australia not so much a single

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1. Wall, Arnold <u>New Zealand English</u>
    2nd ed. Christchurch, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd 1938
2. Turner, G. W. <u>The English Language in Australia</u>
    <u>and New Zealand</u>
    London, Longmans, 1966
3. Ibid. p.94

speech variety as a cline or gradation of
ways of speaking with speech fairly close
to the received pronunciation of southern
England at one end of the cline and a markedly
regional variation at the other. To simplify,
it is convenient to isolate the extremes and
talk of Educated Australian (since often
though not always, the type of speech nearer
to R.P. is used by academic and professional
people, and spreads from them), and Broad
Australian."

In the New Zealand context this means that the speakers
of the 'educated' variety of "New Zealand English" probably
refer to R.P. when the need for a norm arises. The form
referred to by Wall and Turner as "New Zealand English"
is most likely that of a standardised version of the
regional variety, i.e. a standardised version of "Broad
New Zealand". This is the pattern one would expect in a
large number of New Zealanders and the writer has therefore
used this variety as the norm for her study. It is called
General New Zealand rather than Broad New Zealand since the
term "General" reflects the fact that the variety is
common throughout the country. The classification "Broad"
is reserved for a pronunciation which is more markedly
regional than that described by Wall and Turner.

The Cardinal Vowel System

In the classification of vowels it is helpful to be
able to see them in relation to the cardinal vowel system
devised by Daniel Jones. His book, An Outline of English
Phonetics (4) gives details on the principles behind this

4. Jones, Daniel An Outline of English Phonetics
     9th edition, Cambridge, Heffer (1964) p.26-41

system, and the method of arriving at the 8 cardinal

vowels. Similar information may also be found in

A. C. Gimson's, An Introduction to the Pronunciation of

English(5):-

> "The basis of the system is physiological, i.e.
> the two qualities upon which all the others were
> 'hinged' were produced with the tongue in certain
> easily felt positions: the front of the tongue
> raised as close as possible to the palate without
> friction being produced, for the cardinal vowel
> [i] ; and the whole of the tongue as low as possible
> in the mouth, with very slight raising at the
> extreme back, for the cardinal vowel [a] ."

Gimson describes how from these two positions various

"intermediate" positions were found and eventually plotted

on a conventionalised diagram which shows the relationships

between vowels. The eight primary cardinal vowels are

plotted on such a diagram below:-

FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK	
c[i]		c [u]	Close
c[e]		c [o]	Half-close
c [ε]		c[ɔ]	Half-open
			Open
c [a]		c [ɑ]	
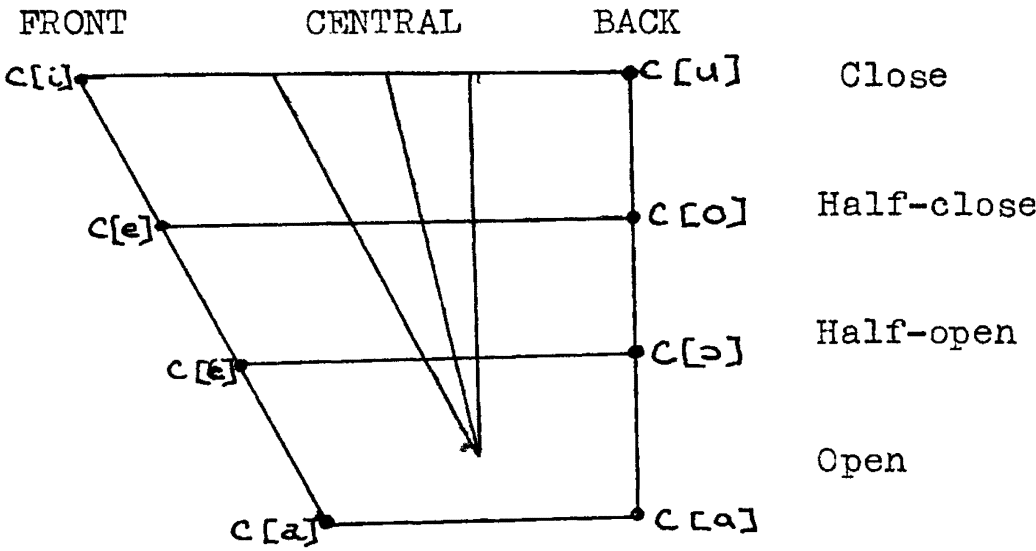
5. Gimson, A. C. An Introduction to the Pronunciation
   of English
   2nd ed. (London) Longmans (1961) p.36 ff.

The degrees of 'closeness' and 'openness' for the cardinal vowels are defined as follows. (6) <u>Close</u> vowels are those in which the tongue is raised as high as possible consistently with the sounds remaining vowels. <u>Open</u> vowels are those in which the tongue is as low as possible; half-close vowels are those in which the tongue occupies a position about one-third of the distance from 'close' to 'open'; and half-open vowels are those in which the tongue occupies a position about two-thirds of the distance from 'close' to 'open'.

Front vowels are those in which the main raising is made by the front of the tongue towards the hard palate; back vowels are those in which the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate. Those in which the centre is raised towards the juncture of the hard and soft palates are called central vowels.

It is interesting to note, as Gimson does, that recent acoustic analysis has produced charts which have been found to be very similar to those produced by physiological classification more than half a century ago. (7)

<u>The Vowels of R.P.</u>

Since the cardinal vowel system is an unchanging

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6. Jones, Daniel <u>An Outline of English Phonetics</u>
    9th ed. Cambridge, Heffer (1964)   p.38
7. Gimson, A. C. <u>An Introduction to the Pronunciation
    of English</u>
    2nd ed. (London) Arnold (1970) p.39

reference scale, the vowels of any language may be described in relation to it. The vowels of R.P., given by Gimson, may be shown on the conventionalised diagram as follows:-
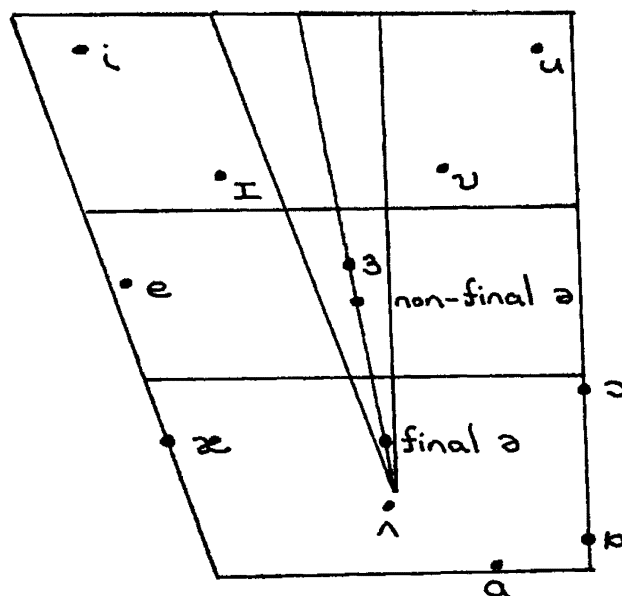
Key words - R.P. pronunciation

Short Vowels		Long Vowels	
ɪ	pit	ɩ	peat
e	pet	ɑ	part
æ	pat	ɔ	port
ʌ	but	ɜ	pert
ɒ	pot	ʊ	boot
ʋ	foot		
ə	about (non-final)		
ə	doct<u>or</u> (final)		

The cardinal vowels (and those above) are, however, so called "pure vowels", i.e. the organs of speech are relatively unchanging for the duration of the sounds. However R.P. contains a number of vowels which have a

considerable glide - the "diphthongs". These are shown by
an arrow indicating the quality of the starting point and
the direction of the glide.

The Diphthongs of R.P.

(a) The Closing Diphthongs
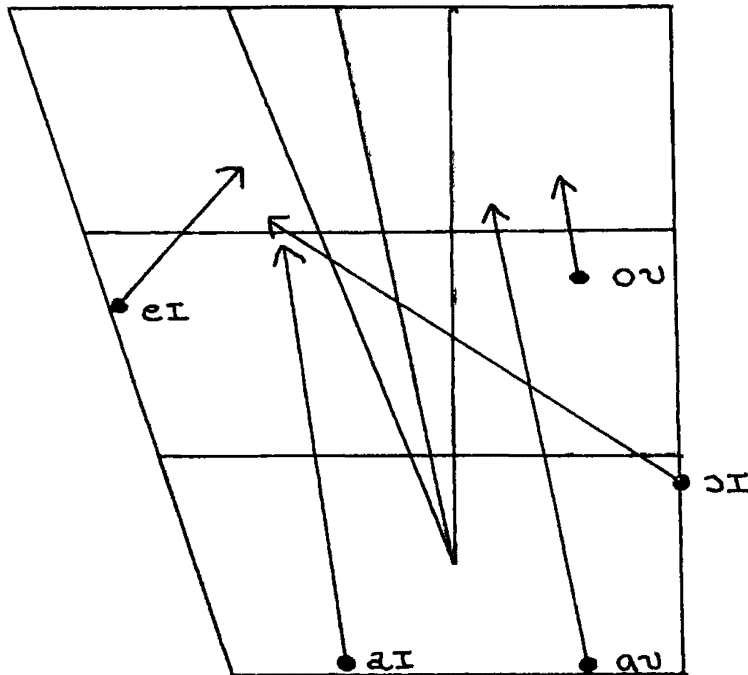
Key Words

eɪ	bay
aɪ	buy
ɔɪ	boy
* oʊ	go
aʊ	cow

(b) The Centring Diphthongs
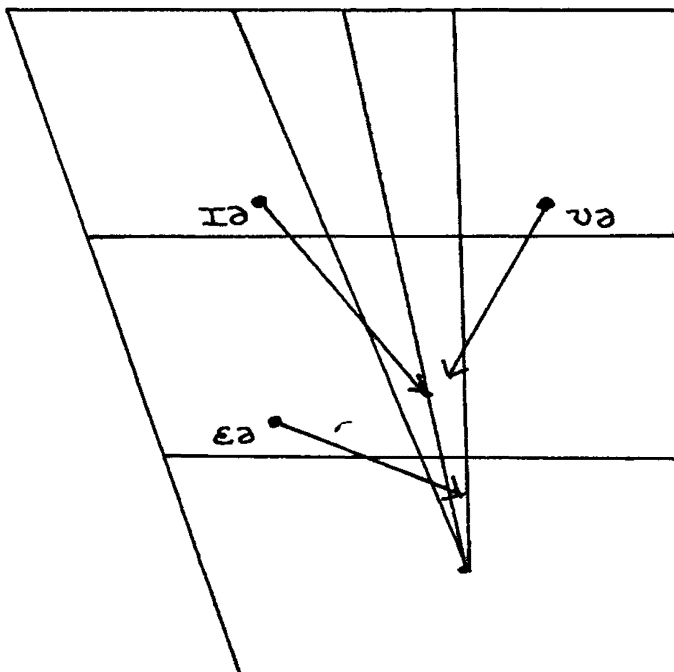
Key Words

ɪə	here
ɛə	there
ʊə	poor

* The /ɒʊ/ transcription is used here in preference to Gimson's /əʊ/ in order to avoid confusion with the Broad New Zealand realisation [əu] of the "pure" vowel /u/.

Both pure vowels and diphthongs have many variants, even within R.P., and it must be remembered that those shown are merely those which are most 'general' according to Professor Gimson.

The New Zealand Vowel System

It has already been noted that no work setting out the phonetic details of the New Zealand pronunciation of English has yet been published. However, G. W. Turner's comments on the realisation of New Zealand phonemes compared with those of R.P. allow the construction of a chart which should at least be more relevant to New Zealand pronunciation than is R.P. When the chart has been adapted according to the writer's own observations this will be recorded in the remarks following the chart.
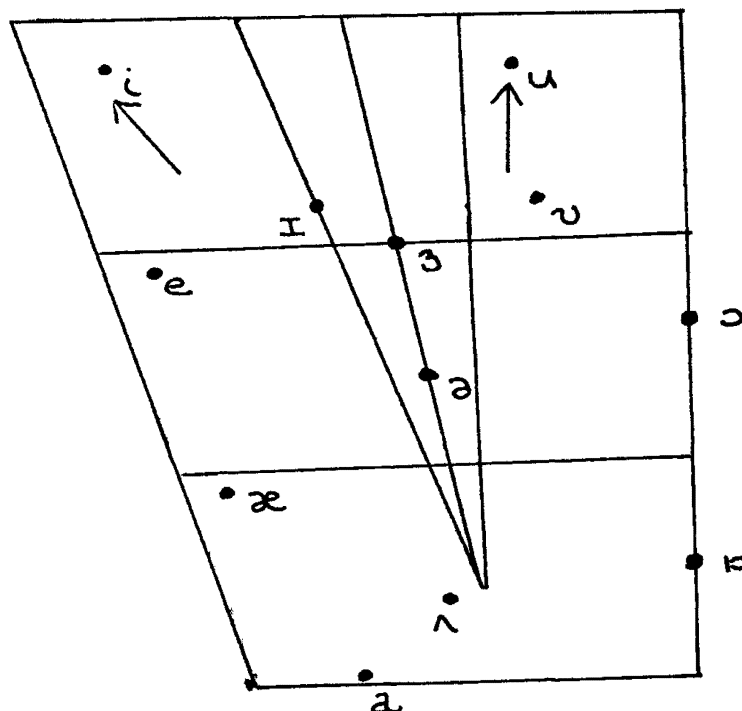
Key Word	R.P.	New Zealand
peat	/i/	[ɪi] or [əi] (see diphthongs)
pèt	/ɪ/	somewhat centralised to approach neutral vowel /ə/.
pet	/e/	Closer than R.P. Often very near cardinal [e].
pat	/æ/	Closer than R.P. Nearer Cardinal [ɛ].
part	/a/	Further forward than R.P. Nearer to cardinal [a].
but	/ʌ/	Similar to R.P., although slightly further forward.
pot	/ɒ/	A little closer than R.P.
port	/ɔ/	Closer than R.P.
put	/ʊ/	Very little difference.

Key Word	R.P.	New Zealand
pert	/ɜ/	Slightly closer, and more rounded. Is also further forward than R.P.
boot	/u/	Turner (8):- "... a monophthongal centralised /u/ is common, sometimes with hardly more rounding than the slightly rounded New Zealand version of /ɜ/." This writer has also noticed the frequent occurrence of /ʊu/ and /əu/ (see diphthongs)
about	/ə/	Turner:- "The sound is closer in Australian and this is especially noticeable in final position." This could apply to New Zealand too. /ə/ is a little below half close position.

8. Turner, G. W. The English Language in Australia and New Zealand
   London, Longmans, 1966   p.100

New Zealand Diphthongs

(a) Closing   (b) Centring

Key Word	R.P.	New Zealand
peat	/i/	[ɪi] or [əi]. Turner (9):- "A fully front termination with short first element..... is often heard in New Zealand."
boot	/u/	As well as the centralised monophthong, diphthongs [ʊu] and [əu] are common. Second element of diphthongs is fairly central.
bay	/eɪ/	[ʌɪ]. Similar to Australian rather than Cockney. First

9. Turner, G. W. The English Language in Australia and New Zealand
London, Longmans, 1966   p.96

Key Words	R.P.	New Zealand
		element only a little forward of central position. There sometimes occurs an "intermediate" realisation - [æɪ].
buy	/aɪ/	[ɒɪ]. Also sometimes [ɒə].
boy	/ɔɪ/	Generally a closer pronunciation, sometimes almost [ʊɪ].
go	/oʊ/	[ʌʊ]. An "intermediate" sound often occurs which, in this study is transcribed [ɒʊ].
cow	/aʊ/	[æʊ]. Often this is given an even more "broad" realisation by the use of a close initial element [æ̝] and the terminating element [ə].
here	/ɪə/	/ɪə/. First element often centralised. Sometimes monophthongal [ɪ:]. First element often open to give [e̞ə] or [eə].
there	/ɛə/	[eə] First element may be very close in New Zealand. Sometimes a monophthong [e:].

Key Words	R.P.	New Zealand
poor	/ʊə/	[ɔ:]. Often has off-glide [ɔ:ə] Sometimes short monophthong [ɔ]. In other words, e.g. "sure", occurs as centralised [ʊ] followed by /ə/, as well as [ɔ] pronunciation.

It is again brought to the reader's attention that the above diagrams are by no means absolute, mainly representing only one variety of New Zealand English. However, this variety is prevalent enough to have been considered representative of New Zealand pronunciation by Wall and Turner. The writer believes that the differences between this and R.P. are large enough to justify its use in this research as a more accurate basis for comparison with the material collected. Thus all phonemes are analysed according to this New Zealand "norm" chart, the variety plotted here being classified as "General" throughout the study.

Summary

The phonemes to be included in the design were the short vowels /ɪ/ /e/ /æ/ /ɒ/ /ʊ/; the long vowels /i/ /ɑ/ /ɔ/ /ɜ/ and /u/; and the diphthongs /eɪ/ /aɪ/ /oʊ/ and /aʊ/. The /ɪə/ ~ /ɛə/ contrast was also to be studied. Later additions, as will be explained in the following chapter, were the diphthong

/ɔɪ/ and the /ʊə/~/ɔ/ ("poor/paw") contrast.

Some of these were chosen because they had been effectively used in the Mitchell and Delbridge survey of Australian English (10); others, e.g. the /ɪə/~/ɛə/ contrast, were studied because they were felt to be particularly relevant to the speech of New Zealanders.

10. Mitchell, A. G. and Delbridge, Arthur
    The Speech of Australian Adolescents
    Sydney, Angus & Robertson Ltd, 1965

CHAPTER II

THE DESIGN

The aim, then, of this particular part of the study was to consider some aspects of the speech of West Coast schoolchildren with a view to establishing whether or not there exists a "West Coast accent." It was therefore necessary to exclude any children not born on the West Coast and also, in so far as this was possible, any whose parents were not West Coasters. The ideal situation was to use only children born in the area of "native" West Coast parentage. This was possible in both Greymouth and Westport - in each town thirty children meeting these requirements were taped, five of whom were later eliminated from the study as will be explained in Chapter III. The third group, Reefton, included five children with only one parent born on the West Coast but this was not considered to have any adverse affect on the sample as a whole.

It did not seem necessary to further restrict the subjects used in the sample according to intelligence levels. In fact if an I.Q. of, for example, 100 or more had been insisted on it would have been much more difficult, even impossible, to get sufficient numbers within the limits already described. Each child's approximate I.Q. was obtained from his teacher - i.e. whether he could be said to be of average, above or below average intelligence. .

This was done in case anything in his performance could be explained by reference to his approximate intelligence level. It also seemed necessary to include children with a lower I.Q. in order to get a better cross-section of the community. Further comments on this decision will be included in the section on the "test" itself.

The subjects, then, were sampled from a population of Form I and II pupils, restricted as defined above, at three West Coast schools chosen because they were thought to be representative of a good cross-section of the community. It was decided to include one Roman Catholic primary school because of the relative prominence of Catholics in this area and also, more importantly, because this researcher believed that the children there would be just as representative of the community at large as would those of a State school, since they are sent to such a school for religious, not social, reasons.

The Sentences

The method of gathering the data necessary for a study of pronunciation had now to be determined. As there was a likelihood of inter-group comparison, and the results were to be generalised from, it was essential to have a standardised, reliable and valid procedure which would elicit the desired responses from all subjects.

"The general procedure to test production
of the sound segments is to stimulate the

> student to produce utterances that contain
> the pronunciation problems and to score
> the responses." (1)

The first problem was to find a "reliable and valid" manner of obtaining these responses.

Techniques Available

Lado (2) discusses the use of verbal stimuli such as questions, requests, or statements which give the effect of an informal interview situation and are particularly good because they represent a normal use of language. It should at this stage be pointed out that although Lado is discussing the construction and relevance of foreign language tests here, many of his remarks are applicable to the testing of pronunciation in general. As regards verbal stimuli, he concludes:-

> "With all the advantages of using specific
> verbal stimuli to test pronunciation, this
> method does not always elicit either all
> the responses one wants or sufficiently
> uniform responses in many cases."

Pictures of various kinds can also be used to stimulate verbal responses from students. Lado (3) gives as an example a simple drawing of a man reading a newspaper and says that this will almost always elicit an utterance which contains the word "reading", the test word. If the

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1. Lado, Robert   Language Testing
   (London) Longmans (1961)   p. 81
2. Ibid.,   p. 81-82
3. Ibid.,   p. 82

pictures are classified in groups such as actions, objects, and so on the student will tend to think he is being tested for vocabulary and will therefore use a pronunciation which is more his usual one. However, pictures alone are not practical. Some verbal instruction such as "What do you see?" or "What is he doing?" must be given with them if the desired response is to be obtained.

Lado describes reading as "the most uniform, precise, and simple method for testing production of the sound segments of a language...." (4) By the use of words, sentences, or connected paragraphs we can be reasonably sure that every student will produce the same sample of the sounds of the language. A disadvantage of this method, however, is the introduction of the factor of reading ability. Even when the children are reading their native language, the differences in ability to read aloud will remain and may affect the results of the pronunciation test.

In English the effect of multiple spellings for one sound, and multiple sounds for one spelling, also causes problems even for the native speaker, especially as a child. Pronunciation in reading also does not entirely parallel pronunciation in speaking. For example, certain reductions may be made in speaking which are not permitted

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4. Lado, Robert   Language Testing
      (London) Longmans (1961)   p. 83

in reading and the overall effect is not that of a person
speaking naturally and normally in his own way but rather
that of a somewhat artificial presentation of material
conceived by someone else.

A final technique which could have been relevant
to this study is that of <u>completion items</u> - test items
that give a sentence or phrase with some part omitted so
that the student supplies the missing word from the clues
in the context. An example, given by Lado, (5) to elicit
the vowel /i/ is:- "There are seven days in a ———." The
student reads aloud the sentence and should say "week"
to complete it. In such a test it will not necessarily be
evident that the student's pronunciation is being checked
but there is also, of course, the danger that a different
word may be used in the blank spot.

From this very brief and somewhat simplified account
of the techniques which can be used to test oral production
it is obvious that satisfactory tests are at present quite
rare.

<u>Technique used in this study</u>

Reading of sentences containing the phonemes to be
studied was decided upon as the medium for this study.
It seems that the disadvantages of this method are not
much greater than those of most other stimuli, and it has

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5. Lado, Robert   <u>Language Testing</u>
      (London) Longmans   (1961)   p.85

the advantages of being relatively easy for the researcher to handle and of providing standard material. It was decided to construct the sentences so that there was more than one item containing each phoneme. This was because a person will often give a different pronunciation to the same sound in another word and also so that sufficient scope would be allowed for cross-checking of sounds. In addition, it would hardly be sound methodology to generalise from a sample of one.

The "test" was to take the form of about ten short and easy sentences to last only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ minutes when read aloud. The element of fatigue had to be avoided at all costs and this seemed a reasonable concentration span for children of this age engaged in this type of survey - especially when there were vocabulary and grammar tests to follow. The small amount of time taken in actually recording the sentences also meant that the child could spend a few minutes familiarising himself with the material and the general atmosphere was therefore much more relaxed.

Factors considered when formulating the sentences included the following:-

Range of vocabulary Lado (6) points out that the words and phrases chosen must be within the "active" vocabulary of the students:-

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6. Lado, Robert   Language Testing
   (London) Longmans   (1961)   p.89

"Even if the students read the words in the test, if the words are not part of the active vocabulary of the students the result will not be as representative as it would be if they were known to the students on a production level."

It is of course, difficult to tell which words will be known to all children at a certain level but the present writer does not consider her sentences to have been unreasonable. This is borne out by the fact that a large majority of the children easily coped with them. Yet it was surprising that a number were unfamiliar with the boy's name "Ian", while one or two had some difficulty with "shear" and "paw".

Number of sentences   Too many sentences would disconcert the pupil and thus adversely affect his performance. This would also be more likely to introduce the element of fatigue. Too few would not allow for each phoneme to be included a sufficient number of times. It seemed that about ten sentences should meet these requirements.

Length of sentences   From the point of view of both the student and the researcher it is desirable that the sentences should not be too long. In retrospect, it seems that some of the sentences used were too long although this is rather the opinion of the researcher, exhausted after many hours of listening and scoring, than that of the student who had to read them.

Sense   The sentences must be natural and clear and should preferably concern common, everyday situations which are

more likely to be within the experience of all the students. Order is also important. In this case it was decided to arrange the sentences so that they formed a short story. It was hoped that this would sustain the child's interest in what he was reading and thus contribute to a better performance. At the same time one must ensure that all the phonemes to be studied are included and, if possible, repeated at least once during the course of the sentences. After the first test it was decided that a list of words should be used to supplement the sentences and to provide further useful checks on the phonemes.

The Sentences (in detail)

The final version of the sentences is presented below, each sentence followed by a list of the items under study in it.

1. Anne is a little girl who has a pet cat.

/æ/	Anne, cat
/ɪ/	little
/ɜ/	girl
/e/	pet

2. She lives with her brother Ian on her father's farm.

/ɪ/	lives
/ɪə/	Ian
/ɑ/	father's, farm

3. They have many kittens and pet rabbits which they keep in the barn.

/e/	m<u>a</u>ny, p<u>e</u>t
/ɪ/	k<u>i</u>ttens
/æ/	r<u>a</u>bbits
/i/	k<u>ee</u>p
/ɑ/	b<u>a</u>rn

4. There are two old goats standing by the gate.

/ɛə/	th<u>ere</u>
/u/	tw<u>o</u>
/ɒ/	<u>o</u>ld

(In New Zealand the /ɒ/~/oʊ/ contrast is generally neutralised before dark /l/, the vowel used being a monophthong. The vowel in the word "old" is therefore treated as an occurrence of the phoneme /ɒ/.)

/oʊ/	g<u>oa</u>ts
/eɪ/	g<u>a</u>te

5. Here in the same field are five cows.

/ɪə/	h<u>ere</u>, f<u>ie</u>ld
/aɪ/	f<u>i</u>ve
/aʊ/	c<u>o</u>ws

6. They are brown and white.

/aʊ/	br<u>ow</u>n
/aɪ/	wh<u>i</u>te

7. Early in the morning they go to the shed to milk the cows.

/ɜ/	early
/ɪ/	milk
/aʊ/	cows

8. Anne thinks they should share all the work so they take turns at milking.

/ɪ/	thinks, milking
/ɛə/	share
/ɔ/	all
/ɜ/	work, turns

9. Soon they will shear the sheep.

/u/	soon
/ɪə/	shear
/i/	sheep

10. They travel to the city in the school bus which is full of children.

| /ɪ/ | city, children |
| /ʊ/ | school, full |

(Because the R.P. /u/ pronunciation of the vowel in "school" is so rarely heard in New Zealand, this was treated as an occurrence of the phoneme /ʊ/)

The Words

On the second and third occasions on which the "test" was carried out the children were also asked to read a list of words. These were included in the design for

various reasons. They were arranged in pairs so that the
various contrasts could be heard adjecent to each other:
this was not always possible in the sentences. An example
of this is the /ɪə/ ~ /ɛə/ contrast in fear/fair.

Words were also used to allow the study of some phonemes
which had not been included in the sentences - e.g. the
diphthong /ɔɪ/ and its contrast with the sound in "buy",
and also the diphthong /ʊə/ as in "poor" compared with
the vowel sound in "paw". The inclusion of "so" gave
another example of the diphthong /oʊ/ which occurs only once
in the sentences.

It might be noted at this point that the words were
found to add little to the overall findings and it was
therefore not thought necessary to return to Westport to
use them with the group tested there.

The words, in summary, were:-

say	so	how	high	beet	boot	buy	boy
		fear	fair	poor	paw		

CHAPTER III

THE DATA

SECTION ONE:- THE TEST

Recording of the three groups had to be done at three different times during the year in order to fit in with school and University timetables. Because of the time taken travelling to and from the area it seemed best to do the recording when University holidays coincided with working days in the primary school. Thus the first group was recorded at the beginning of the second term, the second group at the end of that term, and the third group at the end of the University year, about two-thirds of the way through the third school term.

Letters were first of all sent to the Principals of the various schools telling of the proposed study and seeking permission to tape-record some of the pupils. Each Principal proved willing to co-operate. Further, more detailed information was then given either in person (in the case of the first group) or by letter. The teacher was asked if he could supply at least 25-30 children in the required age-range and with the necessary background. At this stage all were quite enthusiastic about the project, especially those involved with Group 3, that area being visited at very short notice because of

the unavoidable change of plans explained in the Introduction.

Sampling

In each case the teacher drew up a list of children with West Coast parents, indicating whether this applied to one or both of the parents. This gave me 26 children to work with in Reefton, 30 in Westport, and more in Greymouth although only 30 were actually recorded. In both Westport and Reefton all the children were taped and the necessary numbers then eliminated to give totals of 25 in each area. One subject was eliminated because of excessive nasality, another on account of his extremely poor reading; the rest were eliminated simply by a random drawing of numbers. In Greymouth it was possible to use subjects from a broader social range. Thus "native" children of higher socio-economic background (1) - only about 3 or 4 altogether - were definitely included in the sample while eliminations were made, in the manner described above, amongst the others.

Recording Conditions

Ideally, the classroom situation and atmosphere should be maintained as closely as possible in order to ensure successful recordings. Many would hold the belief

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1. Based on Congalton, A. A. and Havighurst, R. S.
      Status Rankings of Occupation in N.Z.
   Department of Psychology, Victoria University, Wgtn.

that the teacher should conduct the interview since the presence of a stranger may disconcert the child. However, in the primary school, it is not possible to have the class teacher, or any other teacher, conduct the interview since they are occupied with classes throughout the day. Obviously the classroom itself can hardly be used for interviewing so the researcher is left largely to his own resources when it comes to creating a suitable atmosphere.

At each school the researcher was given a small room, usually in the administration block, from which to conduct interviews. The tape-recorder was set up on a desk, the microphone being placed on another small table or desk as a precaution against the child bumping or leaning on the other desk and thus affecting the quality of the tape. It was considered unnecessary to hide the tape-recorder and microphone because children of this age are generally not so self-conscious when confronted with such a machine. Besides this, a hidden microphone makes sacrifices to reproduction which cannot be afforded in such a study, and it can often be difficult and time-consuming to conceal a recorder and microphone successfully.

The children to be interviewed were spoken to as a class first, and told briefly what they would have to do. Emphasis was put on the fact that this was not a test, that the sentences they were to read were simple and

short, and that they would be given plenty of time to look through them beforehand. The teacher was given a list of the children concerned and asked to send the first two, one of whom would sit in the foyer while the other was being interviewed. When the first one returned to the classroom the next on the list was sent to wait in the foyer and so on. In this way no time was lost waiting for children to come from the classroom. If more than one class was involved, the list and the instructions were then passed on to the appropriate teacher.

Recording Procedure

The child, when he entered the interview room, was invited to sit opposite the researcher at the desk where the tape-recorder was. The microphone was therefore slightly at an angle to the right or left of the child depending on the situation of the room itself. The following particulars were then taken down in writing by the interviewer:-

1. Subject's name   age   place of birth
2. Father's place of birth   Mother's place of birth
3. Father's occupation   Mother's occupation

Following this the child was asked to read (to himself) the sentences in front of him and to tell the interviewer if there were any words he could not read. If all was well he was shown the appropriate distance to sit from the microphone and asked to begin reading the

sentences aloud after the recorder had been switched on and the interviewer had said his number.

When the sentences and, where applicable, the list of words had been read the recorder was switched off and the child questioned on a number of grammatical and lexical items which will be discussed in the appropriate chapters. The child was then thanked for his co-operation and asked to send in the next person.

Observations and Modifications

The first recording session led to various changes being made in format and procedure. These included the addition of the list of words described in the previous chapter although, in terms of results, these were not considered important enough to warrant another recording of the first group. A short informal conversation was also to be recorded with the subjects of Group 2 after the sentences and words. This was centred on such matters as the child's interests, his favourite subject at school, or what he did in the holidays. However this exercise did not yield anything of great significance and, in fact, often proved to be taxing on both the child, who had to speak without any preparation, and the interviewer, who had to phrase the questions so that they could not be given a simple "Yes" or "No" answer. The inclusion of informal conversation was time-consuming and eventually meant that the whole "test" had to be hurried somewhat

in order to get through the numbers in a reasonable amount of time. The words were therefore retained but the informal conversation abandoned for Group 3.

Words and Sentences

The number of poor readers, while not large, had not been expected. They did not, however, make any great difference to the study as, almost without exception, they eventually pronounced the key words in a satisfactory manner. On only one occasion was a child prompted. The word concerned was "share" and the /ɪə/~/ɛə/ contrast could, in any case, be checked in the pairs here/there and fear/fair. The main disadvantage caused by the poor readers was the exasperation suffered by the writer who had to listen to the same mistakes and hesitations over and over again. However, it was decided to leave the sentences unchanged since it was practically impossible to predict which words would be known to all children of this age.

A possible solution

In retrospect, it seems that a solution to most of the problems encountered would have been a trial recording session. Such a session was not included in this study partly because of the lack of time available to the researcher, but mainly because she did not realise the need for it.

Many of the difficulties, of course, could not

possibly be foreseen or overcome even with such a trial session. Factors such as extraneous noise have to be dealt with as they occur. This writer experienced the usual problems of end-of-class noise and, at one school, singing classes in the not-too-distant assembly hall - as well as an extremely heavy shower of West Coast rain throughout the very last recording of the sample!

A trial recording session may have caused the researcher to realise sooner that it is best to use a tape-recorder with which you are familiar, and to use the same recorder throughout the study. While this may seem a minor point, it can save a lot of time and cause a lot less strain to be placed on the interviewer. As well it can mean that the quality of the tapes is better and certainly more consistent.

It is also suggested that biographical information could be taped rather than written down and some informal conversation would therefore be introduced at this point.

SECTION TWO:- SCORING

Procedure

Each group was scored soon after recording and although this was not ideal it could not be avoided since circumstances did not allow for all the recording to be done at the same time. The scoring of the entire sample was later checked with care to give a high degree of

consistency throughout. Scoring sheets were drawn up with the subjects' numbers across the top and the key words down the left-hand side of the page. Thus the scoring sheet was designed to cater for the exact number of responses to be scored. It was a simple matter to check the subject's name and background with the number, if necessary; but it was considered preferable to have only a number before the scorer in case any background information should in some way prejudice her. A specimen scoring sheet, partly filled in, appears at the end of this chapter.

When the realisations of each phoneme had been pencilled in (to allow for any changes), each subject's performance was listened to once more and classified as Educated, General or Broad. The classification General corresponds with the phoneme realisations set out as the New Zealand "norm" in Chapter I. Educated therefore describes a pronunciation tending more towards R.P., but it should be noted that the researcher considers this to be less close to R.P. than the Cultivated pronunciation described by Mitchell and Delbridge in their survey. (2) A more distinct regional variety than that described as General is classified as Broad. As always there is a danger of a loss of objectivity when such classification

2. Mitchell, A. G. and Delbridge, Arthur
   The Speech of Australian Adolescents
   Sydney, Angus and Robertson Ltd, 1965

is attempted. There is the temptation to judge by
general impressions rather than more concrete evidence.
This researcher attempted to be as objective as possible,
using all the phonemes scored, in particular the diphthongs,
as her criteria.

A section headed Comments was included with the
scoring sheets and in it were noted deviant renderings of
any words in case common tendencies could be found. Some
examples include the use of the glottal stop in "little",
"standin'" for "standing", /wʋl/for/wɪl/. Some general
and specific observations on these appear in the results.

Timing

As regards fatigue, the present researcher found
that a morning session of scoring lasting about two hours
had to be followed by a break of several hours before
attempting any further work. Naturally enough "endurance
time" was reduced as the day went on. The general pattern
was two or three sessions a day, each of about two hours
duration. At first each subject took up to half an hour
to score, but with practice this was reduced by half and
sometimes more.

Checking for Consistency

When the entire sample had been scored once the
whole of the first group was rescored, then every third
subject in Group 2 and every fourth in Group 3. These

scores were then compared with the original ones in order
to get some indication of the consistency of the scoring.
As had been expected consistency was not so high in the
first group compared with the other two groups in which
the consistency rate was very high. In Group I an average
of 6 discrepancies out of 42 items gave an average
consistency for these items of about 86%. In the other
two groups an average of only 2 discrepancies in 54 items
meant an average consistency of over 96%.

If a discrepancy showed up in a particular item or
items these were checked throughout the sample. For
example, it was found necessary to reconsider the
/ɪə/~/ɛə/ phonemes and to provide for very similar, but
not exactly the same, occurrences of these sounds. There-
fore the "intermediate" notation /ɛ̣ə/~/cə/ was
introduced and all occurrences of the phonemes were checked
with this in mind. Generally speaking, the second scoring
was taken to be the more reliable.

SCORING SHEET

SUBJECT NO.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
KEY WORD										
Anne	æ̣	æ	æ̣	æ̣	æ					
little	ï	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ̇	ɪ					
girl	ɜ̣ᵊ	ɜᵊ	ɜ	ɜ̣ᵊ	ɜ					
pet	ȩ	e	ȩ	ȩ	e					
cat	æ̣	æ	æ̣	æ	æ					
lives	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ̇	ɪ					
Ian	ɪ̈ə	ɪ̧ə	ɪ̧ᵊ	ɪ̈ə						
father's	a	a	ä	a						
farm	ã̃ᵊ	a	ä ᵊ	aᵊ						
many	ẹ̃	ẹ̃	ẹ̃	ẽ						
kittens	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ̈						
pet	e	e	ȩ	e						
rabbits	æ̣	æ̣	æ̣	æ						
keep	ɪɪ	ɪ	ɪ	əɪ						
barn	ã̃ᵊ	aᵊ	ä ᵊ	aᵊ						
there	eə	eə	eə	eə						

CHAPTER IV

THE RESULTS

Results are presented in order of short vowels, long vowels, and diphthongs. Each item analysed is discussed as realised by the whole sample and, where appropriate, inter-group comparisons are made. Frequency tables are also presented after each discussion.

The writer has tried to give reasons for the occurrence of all recurring variants. However there are occasions on which a pupil "creates" his own form. If a form appears only once, or is used by only one person, it has been labelled an "individual creation", which cannot be used to generalise to the whole population. These individual forms are not shown on the tables, and are not considered when explaining reasons, or when giving numbers of variants. However the total number of individual creations is shown. Reading errors are considered to be "individual creations" and when these occur in any significant proportion they are noted in the discussion of the particular phoneme.

Format of the Table

The table is divided into the three groups of analysis previously explained (G.1: Westport, G.2: Greymouth G.3: Reefton) and frequencies of variants are given for each word. The total frequency of variants for each word

is also shown, and a grand total for each variant has been calculated. Variants that do not occur in all three groups are set slightly apart from the others. Also tabled, from left to right, are

    (a)   the most common variant for each word (the mode, labelled M)

    (b)   the number of "individual creations" (IC)

    (c)   the number of recurring variants for each word, labelled V.

In the tables it is the actual numbers of "creations" which are shown, and the number of recurring variants only. The total number of variants may easily be calculated by adding these two figures.

Diacritics

    The diacritics used in this study may be explained as follows:-

    A dot beneath a symbol implies a close sound.

    A hook beneath a symbol implies an open sound.

    Two dots above a symbol means the sound is centralised.

    Arrows - ← → - above symbols mean that they are fronted or retracted respectively.

    When a sound is lengthened, the symbol for that sound is followed by a colon.

~ implies nasalisation of the vowel.

A vowel chart .showing the relative positions of sounds for which diacritics are used in this study appears at the end of this Chapter.

THE PHONEME /ɪ/

By far the most frequent realisation of this phoneme is the New Zealand [ɪ] - that is, the somewhat centralised pronunciation of /ɪ/ as indicated on the New Zealand Vowel Chart in Chapter I. There is also a relatively frequent occurrence of [ï], a sound which is slightly lowered and even further centralised to approach, and sometimes merge with, the vowel /ə/.

As might be expected, the following /l/ in the words "milk" and "milking" causes retraction of the vowel to [ɨ] or [ʊ] in some cases. Alternatively it may lead to a very obvious off-glide [ɪ˘] or [ï˘], or even to diphthongisation - e.g. /mɪʊlk/. In "children" the presence of dark /l/ causes retraction to [ɨ] or [ʊ] in a very large number of cases. This is no doubt due also to the influence of the preceding word "full".

Another predictable result is the nasalisation of the vowel in "thinks" because of the following nasal consonant /ŋ/. However there is not as much nasalisation as one might expect in a study of this nature.

G.1

	W	ɪ	ɪ̈	ɪ̃	ɪ⃗	ʊ	ɪʊ	ɪ̈ʊ		ɪ̃⃗	ɪ̈ʊ	M	IC	V
little		19	6									ɪ		2
lives		16	9									ɪ		2
kittens		20	5									ɪ		2
milk		1	4			6	2	10			2	ɪ̈ʊ		6
thinks		17	1	4						3		ɪ		4
milking		4	4			2		11			2	ɪ̈ʊ	2	5
city		19	6									ɪ		2
children		3	1		15	6						ɪ̃⃗		4

G.2

	G	ɪ	ɪ̇	ɪ̃	ɪ⃗	ʊ	ɪʊ	ɪ̈ʊ	ɪ̃	M	IC	V
little		20	4							ɪ	1	2
lives		17	8							ɪ		2
kittens		24	1							ɪ		2
milk		4	5			6	3	6		ɪ̈ʊ, ʊ	1	5
thinks		19		4					2	ɪ		3
milking		7	8		2		5			ɪ̇	3	4
city		21	3							ɪ	1	2
children		5	3		7	10				ʊ		4

G.3

	R	ɪ	ɪ̈	ɪ̃	ɪ⃗	ʊ	ɪʊ	ɪ̈ʊ	M	IC	V
little		22	3						ɪ		2
lives		20	5						ɪ		2
kittens		23	2						ɪ		2
milk		1	6		1	2	2	12	ɪ̈ʊ	1	6
thinks		22		3					ɪ		2
milking		8	10		2			4	ɪ̈	1	4
city		23	1						ɪ	1	2
children		7		11	7				ɪ̃⃗		3

TOTAL	ɪ	ï	ɪ̃	ɪ̄̃	ᴜ	ɪ̮	ï̮	ɪ̃	ï̮	ɪc	ᴠ
little	61	12								1	2
lives	53	22									2
kittens	67	8									2
milk	6	15		1	14	7	28		2	2	7
thinks	58	1	11					5			4
milking	19	22		2	4		20		2	6	6
city	63	10								2	2
children	15	4		33	23						4
TOTAL	342	94	11	36	41	7	48	5	4	11	

THE PHONEME /e/

In this sample the phoneme /e/ is most frequently heard as the "normal" New Zealand realisation of /e/ - i.e. a pronunciation which is closer than the R.P. /e/, approaching cardinal[e] . An even closer allophone of this sound does occur - this can best be described as approaching the New Zealand realisation of phoneme /ɪ/. It should be noted that this very close allophone occurs mainly in the word "many" and is used more by the Westport and Reefton subjects. The probable cause of this, as far as the word itself is concerned, would be the lack of stress on that word because of its position in the sentence. However it is not possible to say why this closer allophone would not be used to such a great extent in Greymouth.

The amount of nasalisation does not really call for comment apart from the fact that this researcher had expected to find much more.

5

G.1 W	e	ẹ	ẹ̃	M	IC	V
pet	17	7		e	1	2
many	8	11	6	ẹ		3
pet	18	7		e		2

G.2 G	e	ẹ	ẹ̃	M	IC	V
pet	18	6		e	1	2
many	17	6	2	e		3
pet	18	6		e	1	2

G.3 R	e	ẹ	ẹ̃	M	IC	V
pet	21	3		e	1	2
many	9	8	5	e	2	3
pet	23	2		e		2

TOTAL	e	ẹ	ẽ	ẹ̃	IC	V
pet	(36)	16			3	2
many	34	25	2	11	2	4
pet	59	15			1	2
TOTAL	149	56	2	11	6	

THE PHONEME /æ/

While the New Zealand realisation of /æ/ occurs most frequently, its closer allophone [æ̝] is also very prominent. This is especially noticeable amongst the Westport subjects. On some occasions the vowel is as close as the New Zealand realisation of /e/.

The comparatively large number of variants of the vowel in "Anne" can no doubt be explained by the fact that this was the first word in the "test" and many children would not have settled down at that stage.

The occasional use of a vowel off-glide is worth mentioning. This has only been recorded when the off-glide was a very obvious one, giving the effect of a drawl. It is generally accompanied by a certain lengthening of the vowel.

G.1	W	æ	æ̣	æᵊ	ẽ	æ̣ᵊ	æ̃ᵊ	M	ɪc	v
Anne		6	7	1	2	3	2	æ̣	4	6
cat		12	13					æ̣		2
rabbits		7	17					æ̣	1	2

G.2	G	æ	æ̣	æᵊ	e	M	ɪc	v
Anne		13	8	1	3	æ		4
cat		16	8	1		æ		3
rabbits		15	9		1	æ		3

G.3	R	æ	æ̣	æᵊ	e	M	ɪc	v
Anne		15	4	2		æ	4	3
cat		18	5		2	æ		3
rabbits		15	10			æ		2

TOTAL	æ	æ̣	æᵊ	e	ẽ	æ̣ᵊ	æ̃ᵊ	ɪc	v
Anne	34	19	4	3	2	3	2	8	7
cat	46	26	1	2					4
rabbits	37	36		1				1	3
TOTAL	117	81	5	6	2	3	2	9	

THE PHONEME /ɒ/

As had been predicted, the /ɒ/ pronunciation of the vowel in "old", rather than the R.P. /oʋ/, occurred throughout the sample. The only interesting factor to emerge from the study of this phoneme is the rather frequent occurrence of the off-glide even though the word is in an unstressed position in the sentence. Just over 30% of the total sample use the off-glide, but this does not result in a pronunciation which is even vaguely similar to the R.P. /oʋ/.

The vowel itself is almost without exception the New Zealand [ɒ] - slightly closer than the R.P.

G.1 W	ɒ	ɒᵊ		ɒə	ɒ̣ᵊ	M	IC	V
old	12	8		2	2	ɒ	1	4

G.2 G	ɒ	ɒᵊ				M	IC	V
old	18	7				ɒ		2

G.3 R	ɒ	ɒᵊ				M	IC	V
old	18	6				ɒ	1	2

TOTAL	ɒ	ɒᵊ		ɒə	ɒ̣ᵊ		IC	V
old	48	21		2	2		2	4

THE PHONEME /ʋ/

The entire sample used the phoneme /ʋ/ or some allophone of it in their pronunciation of "school". Yet this did not mean that there was no contrast with the word "full". Almost 63% of the sample maintained some contrast through the slight rounding of the vowel in "school". A further 12% had the slightly rounded sound in "full" - the researcher suspects that the sounds were misplaced because of the proximity of the two words. The vowel used in "school" was generally lengthened in comparison with that used in "full". A similar distinction would probably be made in the words "fool" and "full". It is difficult to tell whether New Zealanders in general would be aware of these two sounds as separate phonemes or as long and short versions of the same phoneme. It could be argued that the sound produced in such words as "school" and "fool" is the /u/ phoneme under the influence of dark /l/. The researcher can only remark on another possibility: that perhaps the length of the /u/ phoneme has been retained although the sound itself has taken on the character of /ʋ/.

The allophones [ʉ] and [ɨ] are to be expected, especially in "full" where the vowel sound is confused or merged with that in "children".

G.1 W	ʊ	ʊ²	ʒ	ɪ		ɯ	ɪc	v
school	19	3	1			ʊ	2	3
full	19	1	4	1		ʊ		4

G.2 G	ʊ	ɪ			ɯ	ɪc	v
school	25				ʊ	·	1
full	23	1			ʊ	1	2

G.3 R	ʊ	ꝗ			ɯ	ɪc	v
school	21	4			ʊ		2
full	23	2			ʊ		2

TOTAL	ʊ	ʊ²	ʒ	ɪ	ɪc	v
school	65	3	5		2	3
full	65	1	6	2	1	4
TOTAL	130	4	11	2	3	

THE   PHONEME   /i/

Pronunciation of this phoneme as a monophthong was recorded in a surprisingly high number of cases. This mainly occurred in the word "keep" which was in an unstressed position in the sentence. However this does not point to a more "Educated" trend in this phoneme, except perhaps in the Greymouth group where /i/ and [ɪi] account for a large proportion of the variants obtained. In general, however, the broad allophone [əi] is the most common variant even, in Groups 1 and 3, in the unstressed word "keep".

G.1 W	i	ɪi	əi	M	IC	V
keep	8	8	9	əɕ		3
sheep		8	17	əɕ		2

G.2 G	i	ɪi	əi	M	IC	V
keep	10	10	5	i, ɪɕ		3
sheep	1	11	13	əɕ		3
beet		13	11	ɪɕ	1	2

G.3 R	i	ɪi	əi	M	IC	V
keep	4	9	12	əɕ		3
sheep	1	6	18	əɕ		3
beet		11	14	əɕ		2

TOTAL	i	ɪi	əi	IC	V
keep	22	27	26		3
sheep	2	25	48		3
beet		24	25	1	2
TOTAL	24	76	99	1	

THE PHONEME /ɑ/

By far the most common variant is the fairly forward New Zealand [a�] , a sound which approaches Cardinal [a] . A centralised allophone of this, [ä] , was also recorded by roughly one-fifth of the population. This sound is only slightly forward of the R.P. /ɑ/.

Prominent off-glides were common in the words "farm" and "barn", especially in the Westport group. 76% of the Westport subjects included off-glides in "farm" and 84% in "barn". In group 2 the figures were 32% in "farm" and 48% in "barn" while 40% of the Reefton group included off-glides in both words. Extreme lengthening of the vowel combined with the off-glide occurred in only 4 cases in all. Apart from the latter variant those with off-glides are not shown separately on the frequency tables. This is to avoid too complex a table since the proportion of off-glides is distributed fairly evenly amongst the variants.

G.1	W	a	ä	ã	ã̃	a:ᵊ	M	IC	V
father's		16	4	3	1		a	1	4
farm		7	2	12	3		ã	1	4
barn		14	4	3	1	2	a	1	5

G.2	G	a	ä	ã	ã̃		M	IC	V
father's		15	8				a	2	2
farm		11	6	4	1		a	3	4
barn		14	6	2	2		a	1	4

G.3	R	a	ä	ã	ã̃	a:ᵊ	ʌ	M	IC	V
father's		17	5			3		a		3
farm		12	6	5	1	1		a		5
barn		15	6	3		1		a		4

TOTAL	a	ä	ã	ã̃	a:ᵊ	ʌ	IC	V
father's	48	17	3	1		3	3	5
farm	30	14	21	5	1		4	5
barn	43	16	8	3	3		2	5
TOTAL	121	47	32	9	4		3	9

THE PHONEME /ɔ/

The unstressed position of "all" in the sentence no doubt contributes to the shortening of the vowel and the change of quality which takes place so frequently throughout the sample. The vowel is often closer than the New Zealand "norm" and, in several cases, merges with the short vowel /ʊ/.

The New Zealand [ɔ] is retained in "paw" - in fact there are no occurrences of a closer sound in the 50 utterances of this word. The presence and purpose of the off-glide in "paw" will be discussed in the section on the "poor/paw" contrast.

G.1 W	ɔ	ə̣	ʋ			M	IC	V
all	1	13	9			ɔ̣	2	3

G.2 G	ɔ	ə̣	ʋ	ɔᵊ	ɔːᵊ	M	IC	V
all	7	15	2			ɔ̣	1	3
paw	13			9	1	ɔ	2	3

G.3 R	ɔ	ə̣	ʋ	ɔᵊ	ɔːᵊ	M	IC	V
all	10	7	8			ɔ		3
paw	5			16	3	ɔᵊ	1	3

TOTAL	ɔ	ə̣	ʋ	ɔᵊ	ɔːᵊ		IC	V
all	18	35	19				3	3
paw	18			25	4		3	3
TOTAL	36	35	19	25	4			6

THE PHONEME /3/

This phoneme occurred most often as the fairly front, rounded New Zealand [ᴈ] . However there was quite a marked use of a closer allophone, [ᴈ̣] . This was recorded in "girl" (before dark /l/), in "early" (the first word in a sentence), and also in "work".

The quality of the vowel was often changed — one might even say lost — in the word "turns" to give the nasalised allophone [ᴈ̃] . Nasalisation was more common in this word than in most others containing nasal consonants.

The Westport group is noteworthy for its use of the lengthened vowel plus off-glide in "work". This fits in with the general pattern of this group in which the use of off-glides and the lengthening of vowels was more common than in either of the other groups.

G.1   W

	ɜ	ɜ̣	ɜ̃	ɜ̣̃	ɜ̃ə	ɜ:ᵊ	ɜə	ɜ̣ə	ə	M	IC	V
girl	10	7					3	4		3	1	4
early	11	11						3	3,3			3
work	9	5	1			10				ɜ:ᵊ		4
turns	5		3	2	11	1			3	ɜ̃ə		6

G.2   G

	ɜ	ɜ̣	ɜ̃	ɜ̣̃	ɜ̃ə			M	IC	V
girl	13	12						3		2
early	15	10						3		2
work	8	16						3̣	1	2
turns	7	4	6	3	5			3		5

G.3   R

	ɜ	ɜ̣	ɜ̃	ɜ̣̃	ɜ̃ə	ɜ:ᵊ	ə	M	IC	V
girl	18	7						3		2
early	17	7				1		3		3
work	18	6				1		3		3
turns	8		11	2	4			3̃		4

TOTAL

	ɜ	ɜ̣	ɜ̃	ɜ̣̃	ɜ̃ə	ɜ:ᵊ	ɜə	ɜ̣ə	ə	IC	V
Girl	41	26					3	4		1	4
early	43	28							4		3
work	35	27	1			10				1	4
turns	20	4	20	7	20	2				3	7

TOTAL	ɜ	ɜ̣	ɜ̃	ɜ̣̃	ɜ̃ə	ɜ:ᵊ	ɜə	ɜ̣ə	ə	IC
	139	85	21	7	20	12	3	4	7	2

THE PHONEME /u/

Most of the subjects used the diphthong with the "schwa-coloured on-glide" which Turner says is characteristic of Australian English pronunciation. The word "soon", at the beginning of a sentence, resulted in some examples of the monophthongal centralised /u/ but these accounted for only about ¼ of the total sample and occurred in only one of the three key words.

The isolated word "boot" showed up a strong preference for the Australian pronunciation in the two areas in which it was used, the only alternative variant, in both cases, being a slightly more "educated" diphthong [ʊu]. The second element of both diphthongs, [əu] and [ʊu], is the rather central New Zealand [u].

Once again the presence of the nasal consonant, this time in "soon", resulted in a change in the quality of the vowel so that there is quite a frequent occurrence of the allophone [ɜ̃].

G.1 W

	u	ü	ʋu	ɘu	ə̃	ũ	M	IC	V
two	8	9	7				ʋu	1	3
soon	2	8	5		8	1	ü, ə̃	1	5

G.2 G

	u	ü	ʋu	ɘu	ə̃	ũ	ɘü	M	IC	V
two	11	1	5	7				u	1	4
soon	4	8	3	2	4	2	2	ü		7
boot			8	16				ɘu	1	2

G.3 R

	u	ü	ʋu	ɘu	ə̃	ɘü	M	IC	V
two	7		7	10		1	ɘu		4
soon	1	4	8	1	11		ə̃		5
boot			5	18		1	ɘu	1	3

TOTAL

	u	ü	ʋu	ɘu	ə̃	ũ	ɘü	IC	V
two	26	1	21	24			1	2	5
soon	7	20	16	3	23	3	2	1	7
boot			13	34			1	1	3
TOTAL	33	21	50	61	23	3	4	4	

THE PHONEME /eɪ/

The "broad" pronunciation [ʌɪ] was by far the most common variant of this diphthong. 16% of the total sample used the rather more "educated" [æɪ] in the sentences while 26% of the pupils tested used this allophone in the isolated words. Some pupils were no doubt more conscious of their pronunciation when confronted with a list of words.

Lengthening of the first element of the diphthong was noticeable in about one-fifth of the subjects in both Westport and Greymouth but this applied only to the word "gate". A likely reason for this is the fact that the word was at the end of a sentence.

G.1 W	æI	ʌI	ʌːI		M	IC	V
gate	5	12	7		ʌI	1	3

G.2 G	æI	ʌI	ʌːI		M	IC	V
gate	5	15	5		ʌI		3
say	6	19			ʌI		2

G.3 R	æI	ʌI	ʌːI		M	IC	V
gate	2	22	1		ʌI		3
say	7	17	1		ʌI		3

TOTAL	æI	ʌI	ʌːI		IC	V
Gate	12	49	13		1	3
say	13	36	1			3
TOTAL	25	85	14		1	

THE   PHONEME   /aɪ/

The broad New Zealand [ɒɪ] was used by almost every pupil in the sample. Even some of those who pronounced "five" as [ɟaɪv] gave [wɒɪt] in the next sentence.

Only 2 subjects in the sample gave the unrounded and slightly lowered [ɑɪ] and then it was only on the first occurrence of the phoneme. The [ɒɪ] diphthong with lengthened first element is more prominent in the Westport group than in the other two but it does not appear in sufficient numbers to be of any great significance.

The educated [aɪ] is used by only a small percentage of the total sample. The figures on the totals table reflect the fact that some who used this pronunciation at first quickly reverted to [ɒɪ] for other occurrences of the phoneme.

G.1 W	ɒI	ɒ:I		aI	aI	M	IC	V
five	15	4		2	2	ɒI	2	4
white	19	6				bI		2

G.2 G	ɒI	ɒ:I		aI		M	IC	V
five	19			5		ɒI	1	2
white	21	1		3		ɒI		3
high	21			4		ɒI		2

G.3 R	bI	ɒ:I				M	IC	V
five	25					ɒI		1
white	25					ɒI		1
high	24	1				ɒI		2

TOTAL	ɒI	ɒ:I		aI	aI	IC	V
five	59	4		7	2	3	4
white	65	7		3			3
high	45	1		4			3
TOTAL	169	12		14	2	3	

THE PHONEME /oʋ/

There were no examples of the R.P. /oʋ/ amongst this sample. Each subject gave a diphthong with a first element which was either fairly forward and open, [ʌʋ] , or back, [ɒʋ] . Turner suggests that a first element which is centralised but not lowered, such as that heard in the R.P. /oʋ/, would sound "a little affected" to Australians and this researcher has the same feeling about the subjects involved in this study. Even the most "educated" speakers gave a somewhat "consérvative" pronunciation of this phoneme with a back and only slightly open first element which the writer felt could best be transcribed as [ɒʋ].

The frequency tables show that this allophone was used by a comparatively large proportion of the population. Indeed it was not uncommon for a subject whose diphthongs otherwise were very broad to use [ɒʋ], especially in the word "goats" which appeared in the fourth sentence.

Results for this phoneme in Group 2 are interesting in that they indicate a reversal of the usual trend. It was not often that such a large proportion of "broader" realisations occurred in a word from the list of words rather than in a sentence.

G.1	W	ρυ	ʌυ	ʌːυ		M	IC	V
goats		9	13	3		ʌυ		3

G.2	G	ρυ	ʌυ	ʌːυ		M	IC	V
goats		15	9	1		ρυ		3
so		9	16			ʌυ		2

G.3	R	ρυ	ʌυ	ʌːυ		M	IC	V
goats		10	12	2		ʌυ	1	3
so		10	14	1		ʌυ		3

TOTAL		ρυ	ʌυ	ʌːυ		IC		V
goats		34	34	6		1		3
so		19	30	1				
TOTAL		53	64	7		1		

THE PHONEME /aʊ/

More common than any other variant of this phoneme was the short glide beginning with the front element [æ] followed by the central [ə] . The diphthong with a longer glide, [æʊ] , differs only slightly from this and it was the next most frequent allophone. It should be noted that this first element is the New Zealand [æ] and is therefore closer than the R.P. There were only a few examples of the very broad diphthong with an even closer |æ| as first element.

The lengthened first element was not really a significant factor. It was noticeably more common in the second occurrence of the word "cows" which came at the end of a fairly long sentence.

The closest pronunciation to the R.P. /aʊ/ was the allophone [äʊ] which was recorded for the word "brown" by only four subjects in the entire sample. 20% of the population used a nasalised diphthong or vowel in "brown".

G.1

W	æʊ	æə	æ̣ə	æ:ə	æ̃ə	æ:ʊ	ä̃ʊ	aʊ	M	IC	V
cows	7	4		6		4		3	æʊ	1	5
brown	2	6	3	4	5		4		æə	1	6
cows	6	4		9		3		3	æ:ə		5

G.2

G	æʊ	æə	æ̣ə	æ:ə	æ̃ə	æ:ə	aʊ	M	IC	V
cows	3	15	1			1	3	æə	2	5
brown	5	10	1	4			3	æə	2	5
cows	3	15	1	3		1	1	æə	1	6
how	3	21					1	æə		3

G.3

R	æʊ	æə	æ̣ə	æ:ə	æ̃ə	æ̃	M	IC	V
cows	4	12	6	2			æə	1	4
brown	1	14	3		4	2	æə	1	5
cows	3	15	5	2			æə		4
how	3	18	2	1			æə	1	4

TOTAL

	æʊ	æə	æ̣ə	æ:ə	æ̃ə	æ:ʊ	ä̃ʊ	aʊ	æ:ə	æ̃	IC	V
cows	14	31	7	8	4			6	1		4	7
brown	8	30	7	4	13		4	3		2	4	8
cows	12	34	6	14		3		4	1		1	7
how	6	39	2	1				1			1	5
TOTAL	40	134	22	27	13	7	4	14	2	2		10

THE PHONEME /ɔɪ/

This phoneme was included in the list of words and was therefore not tested with the Westport group. The phoneme was first of all considered on its own and was found to be pronounced by the majority of pupils with the fairly close New Zealand [ɔ] as its initial element. However quite a large proportion of the population used an even closer starting-point which, at times, almost took on the character of the short vowel $\left|\curlyvee\right|$.

The word "boy" was paired with "buy" in order that the /ɔɪ/~/aɪ/ contrast could also be studied. In almost every case quite a clear contrast was maintained since many of the subjects who used [ɒɪ] for the /aɪ/ phoneme also used the close [ɔ̣ɪ] in "boy". Even those who did not use the closer allophone in "boy" still managed a discernible difference between the two sounds. In only one case in Group 3 was there practically no difference. The subject concerned gave an open pronunciation of /ɔɪ/ which very nearly merged with his [ɒɪ].

G.2 G	ɔɪ	ɔ̣ɪ		M	IC	V
boy	17	7		ɔɪ	1	2

G.3 R	ɔɪ	ɔ̣ɪ		M	IC	V
boy	16	8		ɔɪ	1	2

TOTAL	ɔɪ	ɔ̣ɪ	IC		V	
boy	33	15	2		2	
TOTAL	33	15	2			

THE PHONEME /ɪə/

The various words used to test this phoneme brought a wide range of allophones. The words "Ian" and "field" tended to be pronounced with closer diphthongs than those used in "here" "shear" and "fear". The closer diphthongs were probably a result of the fact that the /ɪə/ phoneme is in a closed syllable in both "Ian" and "field".

A large number of variants were used for the boy's name, "Ian". Of the 8 individual creations for this word in Group 3, 4 were reading errors. Amongst the remaining "creations" throughout the sample were such pronunciations as /æ̃ʌ/ /ẽʌ/ /ɛ:ᵊʌ/ -ˢᵒʌthat "Ian" was often very similar to "Anne".

The presence of dark /l/ in "field" frequently caused a diphthong whose second element was /ʌ/ rather than the neutral vowel /ə/ which occurred in "Ian". A small percentage of the Westport group also gave a drawling effect to "field" by lengthening the first element of the diphthong.

The words "here" "shear" and "fear" were pronounced with rather more open diphthongs, particularly in Groups 2 and 3. In these Groups [ɛ̣ə]and even [eə] , were often the most common allophones realised for these words. In a discussion of the/ɪə/ phoneme Turner has remarked that "the very open variants heard in some R.P. idiolects do

not appeal to Australians". From this sample it would appear that they do not worry West Coasters at all.

G.1	W	ɪə	ɩə	ɪ̣ə	ẹə	eə	ɛ̃ə	ɪ̤ʋ		ɪ̈ə	ɪ̣̃ə	M	IC	V
Ian			5	4		5				6	3	ɪ̣̃ə	2	5
here		16	3	1	4	1						ɪə		5
field			8				12	12		2		ɪ̤ʋ	3	3
shear		14		1	6	4						ɪə		4

G.2	G	ɪə	ɩə	ɪ̣ə	ẹə	eə	ɛ̃ə	ɪ̤ʋ		ɪ̤ʋ	ɪ̣̃ə	M	IC	V
Ian			5	6		1	6				4	ɪ̣ə,ɛ̃ə	3	5
here		11			10	3						ɪə	1	3
field				1				16		7		ɪ̤ʋ	1	3
shear		3			14	8						ẹə		3
fear		1			8	16						eə		3

G.3	R	ɪə	ɩə	ɪ̣ə	ẹə	eə	ɛ̃ə	ɪ̤ʋ	ɪ̈ə	e̯ə	ɛ̣̃ə	ɪ̤ʋ	M	IC	V
Ian			2	6		1		1	4	3			ɪ̣ə	8	6
here		1			18	6							ẹə		3
field			3				16				5		ɪ̤ʋ	1	3
shear		10			13	2							ẹə		3
fear		4			10	9							ẹə	2	3

TOTAL	ɪə	ɩə	ɪ̣ə	ẹə	eə	ɛ̃ə	ɪ̤ʋ	ɪ̈ə	ɪ̤̈ʋ	ɪ̣̃ə	e̯ə	ɛ̣̃ə	IC	V
Ian		12	16		1	12			7		7	4	3	13	8
here	28	3	1	32	10									1	5
field		12				44	2	12					5	4
shear	27		1	33	14									4
fear	5			18	25								2	3
TOTAL	60	15	30	83	50	12	44		9	12	7	4	3	21

THE PHONEME /εə/

The first element of the diphthong was, in all cases, close – either the New Zealand [e] or a closer allophone.

G.1 W	eə	ẹə	e:ə	M	IC	V
there	24			eə	1	1
share	19	3	2	eə	1	3

G.2 G	eə	ẹə	e:ə	M	IC	V
there	23	1		eə	1	2
share	20	4	1	eə		3
fair	19	6		eə		2

G.3 R	eə	ẹə	e:ə	M	IC	V
there	22			eə	3	1
share	22	3		eə		2
fair	18	6	1	eə		3

TOTAL	eə	ẹə	e:ə	IC	V
there	69	1		5	2
share	61	10	3	1	3
fair	37	12	1		3

TOTAL	eə	ẹə	e:ə		
	167	23	4	6	

THE ɪə/ɛə CONTRAST

Similar words containing the phonemes /ɪə/ and /ɛə/ were used in the sentences to enable a study of the contrast between them to be made. The writer was interested to see whether any distinction would be made between these phonemes and, if so, how and to what extent they would be distinct from each other. The contrasting words used in the sentences were "here/there" and "shear/share" and, for Groups 2 and 3, the "fear/fair" pair was included in the list of words.

Four subjects in the Westport group produced quite a distinct contrast between "here" and "there" by using a close first element /i/ in "here" to contrast with the first element /e / of the diphthong in "there". The next greatest contrast was that between New Zealand [ɪə] and [eə] and, in the case of the Westport group, this was also the most common distinction made between the two phonemes.

Generally speaking, the Greymouth and Reefton subjects produced a much less distinct contrast, [e̞ə] for /ɪə/ and [eə] for /ɛə / being particularly common, in the sentences. When the phonemes occurred in the list of words a high proportion of the pupils tested, (72%), made absolutely no distinction between them, realising either [e̞ə]/ [e̞ə] or [eə] / [e̞ə].

G.1	W	ɪə/eə	ẹə/eə	ẹə/eə	eə/eə	ɪə/eə	ɪə/eə	eə/eːə
here/there		16	3		1	4	1	
shear/share		12	5	1	2		3	2

G.2	G	ɪə/eə	ẹə/eə	ẹə/eə	eə/eə	eə/eːə
here/there		12	9	1	3	
shear/share		3	11	3	6	2
fear/fair		1	2	6	16	

G.3	R	ɪə/eə	ẹə/eə	ẹə/eə	eə/eə	ɪə/eə
here/there		1	17	2	5	
shear/share		9	11	2	2	1
fear/fair		3	6	4	10	2

TOTAL		ɪə/eə	ẹə/eə	ẹə/eə	eə/eə	ɪə/eə	ɪə/eə	eə/eːə
here/there		29	29	3	9	4	1	
shear/share		24	27	6	10		4	4
fear/fair		4	8	10	26		2	
TOTAL		57	64	19	45	4	7	4

THE POOR/PAW CONTRAST

These two words were included in the list to see if any attempt would be made to distinguish between them. The word "poor" would, in R.P., be pronounced /puə/, but it is almost always pronounced /pɔ/ in New Zealand, even by people who would pronounce the word "sure" as /ʃuə/.

40% of Group 2 distinguished between these two words by making the vowel in "poor" longer than that in "paw". This method was used by 56% of Group 3. A further 24% of Group 2 used an off-glide in "poor" but not in "paw" and thus made a slight distinction between them - 8% of Group 3 also used the off-glide.

24% of Group 2 and 32% of Group 3 made no distinction at all - both words were pronounced either /pɔ/ or /pɔ/. Individual creations - i.e. mispronunciation of either word - accounted for 12% of Group 2 and 8% of Group 3.

<u>Observations on Sentences</u>

In the following pages observations made about the words of each sentence, usually deviant forms, are noted, particularly if they are found to be recurrent. There does not seem to be any great inter-group differences in patterns, and for this reason the sample will be discussed as a whole. Where there clearly is a difference, this will be particularly mentioned. Words occurring in more than one sentence will be treated once only, on the first occurrence.

<u>Sentence One</u>

Anne is a little girl who has a pet cat.

Anne   — no alterations were made to the word itself. The comparatively large number of variants for the vowel sound is no doubt connected with the fact that this was the very first word in the exercise. When this word occurred again in sentence 8, pronunciation was much more uniform.

is   — usually [ɪz] or [əz] .

a   — usually /ʌ/ or /ə/.

little — the most frequent realisation of the vowel was the New Zealand [ɪ]. The glottal stop was used to give [lɪʔt] but this applied to not more than 6 subjects in the entire sample. Some subjects used lateral release of the /t/ to

give [ˈɪt̬] .

girl — the fairly front, rounded New Zealand [ɜ] or
a closer allophone were most common here. On
a total of 7 occasions the vowel was diphthongised
to [ɜə] or [ʒə].

who — usually pronounced with a short /u/, but
because of its unstressed position in the sentence
it was often heard almost as [hə].

has — [hæz] or [həz]. On only one rather amusing
occasion was the /h/ omitted to give /əz/ — thus
making Anne and the pet cat one and the same.

pet — the vowel was either New Zealand [e] or [ẹ] .
Two of the slower readers included an obvious
off-glide to give [peət/.

cat — the main variant for the vowel was the New
Zealand [æ] but almost 35% of the sample used
a closer allophone, and 2 pronounced the word
as [ket].

Sentence Two

She lives with her brother Ian on her father's farm.

she — [ʃiː] or [ʃəi].

lives — a central allophone of /ɪ/ was more common in
this word than in most others which contained
that phoneme.

with — [wɪθ] or [wïθ]. On only a few occasions was /θ/ pronounced as /f/.

her — this was pronounced by the fluent readers and the more "educated" speakers (the two do not necessarily coincide) as [hə]. It was noticeable that a "broad" speaker, even though he may have had no difficulty with his reading, would often give the full "value" to such words as "her" "of" "to". Such a person would therefore pronounce "her" as [hɜ].

brother — usually [brʌðə]; occasionally [brʌðʌ]. The pronunciation of /ð/ as /v/ was not common.

Ian — this word was sometimes altered when a pupil was not familiar with it. In such cases it was usually read as "I am" or "I an". As was the case with "Anne", there were many variant pronunciations. A small number of children also made virtually no distinction between the two names.

on — [ɒn].

father's — Usually [faðəz], although about a quarter of the total sample used a centralised [ä]. As in "brother" there were only a few examples of /v/ used for /ð/.

farm — [a] was the most common variant. A high

percentage of the Westport group used
prominent off-glides in this word – this was
not so common in the other areas. Contextual
nasality was evident in almost 35% of the
sample.

Sentence Three

They have many kittens and pet rabbits which
they keep in the barn.

they — usually [ᶟʌɪ] – even the more "educated"
speakers often use this form.

have — [hæv] or [həv]. Occasionally [əv].

many — the lack of stress on this word often caused
the vowel to approach the New Zealand
realisation of /ɪ/. The final "y" was always
pronounced /i/ as is common throughout
Australia and New Zealand.

kittens — the first vowel was almost invariably the
New Zealand [ɪ]. Nasal release of /t/ was
often used to give [kɪtⁿz]. Use of the
glottal stop occurred in only one or two cases.

and — usually [ən]. Sometimes [ənd]. [ænd] was used
only by the few very slow readers.

rabbits — a close allophone of /æ/ was very common here
so that the word often sounded almost like
[rebəts] .

which	– the use of the unvoiced consonant /ʍ/ described by Turner (1) was not evident here. The vowel was either New Zealand [ɪ] or [ɨ].
keep	– almost 30% of the sample used the pure vowel /i/ probably because of the unstressed position of "keep". The rest used the diphthongs [ɪi] or [əi].
in	– [ɪn] or [ən].
the	– always [ðə].
barn	– [a] was most commonly used. Once again a high percentage of the Westport subjects used an off-glide and there was little nasalisation.

Sentence Four

There are two old goats standing by the gate.

there	– the first element of the diphthong is always close – either /e/ or [ẹ]. A linking "r" was often included between this word and the following one, and the whole pronounced as [ðeə ˊ ə]. On only a few occasions was the second element of the diphthong, /ə/, not sounded.
are	– either [a] or [ə].
two	– a monophthongal pronunciation, using the fairly

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1. Turner, G. W.   <u>The English Language in Australia and New Zealand</u>
London, Longmans, 1966   p.105

central New Zealand [ʉ] , was quite common because of the unstressed position of the word. Otherwise it was pronounced as [+ʋʉ] or [+əʉ].

old — the phoneme /ɒ/, rather than the R.P. /oʊ/, was always used. Often the final /d/ was not pronounced.

goats — the [ʌʊ] and [ɒʊ] pronunciations were equally common.

standing — often pronounced with a close /æ/. Many subjects, especially in Reefton, pronounced the -ing morpheme with /n/ instead of /ŋ/.

by — usually [bɒɪ]

gate — most commonly pronounced [gʌɪt]. A small percentage used the slightly more "educated" [æɪ

Sentence Five

Here in the same field are five cows.

here — in Greymouth and Westport the most common pronunciation was [hɪə]. However the Reefton subjects used [ęə] or [eə] instead. A linking /r/ frequently occurred between this word and the following one.

same — usually [sʌɪm].

field — the diphthong was mainly pronounced as [ɪʋ] - a fairly close initial element with /ʊ/ rather than /ə/ as the termination point.

five   - [ʃɒɪv] , with only a few examples of [ʃɛɪv].

cows   - generally [Kæəz] or [Kævz].

Sentence Six

They are brown and white.

brown   - [æə] was the most usual realisation of the

           diphthong and almost 20% of the sample used a

           nasalised version of this. The "educated" [äv]

           was used in this word, but not in others

           containing the same phoneme, by only 4 subjects.

white   - almost invariably [wɒɪt].

Sentence Seven

Early in the morning they go to the shed to milk

the cows.

early   - [ɜlɪ] or [ɜ̣lɪ].

morning   - unlike the words "standing" and "milking" this

           was always pronounced with the /ŋ/ phoneme.

go   - usually pronounced [ɜʌv] , even by those who

           used [ɒv] in other occurrences of this sound.

to   - [tü] or [tə] . See remarks on "her".

shed   - the vowel was treated in a similar way to that

           in "pet".

milk   - the dark /l/ in this word often caused the vowel

           to be very centralised or, less frequently,

           retracted to /ʋ/. It also led to the inclusion

of an off-glide with the colouring of /ʋ/
rather than /ə/. In only two cases did it
lead to actual diphthongisation.

Sentence Eight

Anne thinks they should share all the work so
they take turns at milking.

thinks — usually [θɪŋks]. There were only one or two
examples of /f/ being substituted for /θ/ and
a small percentage of nasalisation.

should — [ʃʋd] or [ʃəd].

share — one subject had to be prompted at this word but
most had no trouble with it. The R.P. /ɛə/ was
never used — instead the New Zealand [e] was
used as the first element of the diphthong.

all — the closer allophones of /ɔ/ were most commonly
used for this word. Its unstressed position in
the sentence and the presence of dark /l/ often
led to its pronunciation as [ʋl].

work — the variant most commonly used amongst the
Westport group was [ɜːʔ]. However, in terms
of the sample as a whole, the New Zealand [ɜ]
or [ɜ] were most usual.

so — generally [sʌʋ].

take — [tʌɪk]. This pronunciation was practically
invariable.

turns   - the variants [ɜ], [ɜ̃]   and [ɜ̃] were used in equal proportion by the overall sample. The frequency with which the latter two variants occurred was due to the following nasal consonant.

at   - [æt] or [ət]. The remarks made about "her" in the first sentence apply here.

milking   - the presence of dark /l/ once again caused some retraction of the vowel (20%), and a prominent /ʊ/ off-glide (about 26%). However actual diphthongisation was minimal. The final -ing was, in a few cases, pronounced with /n/ rather than /ŋ/.

Sentence Nine

Soon they will shear the sheep.

soon   - the vowel in this word was often pronounced as [ɵ]. The next most common variant was the centralised and rounded monophthong [ʉ]. Diphthongisation was not nearly as common as it was in "two" and "boot".

will   -retraction of the vowel to /ʊ/ was extremely common here.

shear   - the more open allophone [ɛə] of the phoneme /ɪə/ was most frequently used in this word. A few pupils had difficulty reading it but all eventually managed it.

sheep   – this word was generally given the broad

pronunciation [ʃəip]. The increased use of the

broad variant in this word compared with "keep"

or "beet" was probably due to its position at the

end of a sentence.

Sentence Ten

They travel to the city in the school bus which is
full of children.

travel – it was not uncommon for this word to be

pronounced as [trɛvəl] even by speakers who, in

other words, used the New Zealand [æ].

city   – very central allophones of /ɪ/ were not nearly

as common in this word as they were in most

others containing this phoneme. Final "-y"

was always pronounced /i/.

school – a slightly rounded [ʋ] was used by the majority

of subjects. Further comment will be made on

this point in the section Inferences from Result

bus   – [bʌs].

full   – this was usually contrasted with "school" in

that the vowel was unrounded.

of   – [ɒv] or [əv]. See remarks on "her" in Sentence

One.

children – a retracted /ɪ/ and [ʋ] were both very common

in this word, no doubt because of the dark /l/

and, in some cases, because of confusion with
with word "full".

Classification into Varieties

As well as the three levels of classification -
Educated, General, and Broad - described previously, it
was decided to introduce another, Modified, to cope with
the subjects whose pronunciation had obviously been
changed by a private speech teacher. A fourth
classification was necessary since the researcher could
only speculate as to which of the other three varieties
each Modified speaker had changed from. Characteristics
of speakers in the Modified group include the fact that in
general their pronunciation is closer to R.P. than that
of the Educated speakers. However they do use distinctive
allophones for some sounds - notably [æə] for /aʋ/, [əi]
and [əu] for the pure vowels /i/ and /u/. The Greymouth
"Modified" subjects in particular tended to revert to a
more General, or even Broad, variety of speech in informal
conversation.

These four categories do not represent neat and
unvarying sets of sounds with individual speakers always
keeping wholly within their chosen set. Subjects tended to
be reasonably consistent but there were occasions on which
a subject's pronunciation was of mixed characteristics.
Such subjects were assigned to borderline categories -

e.g. a subject whose pronunciation contained some General vowels but also some which were distinctly Broad was classified as Broad/General. Almost all these "borderline" pronunciations occurred between the General and Broad varieties. It was later decided to treat the Broad and Broad/General groups as one. Thus the Broad category covers all those speakers who exhibit in their speech some or all o the features of a more regional variety than the General variety used as the norm.

The following diagrams show the numbers for each variety as they occurred in the individual groups, and also the percentages for the total sample.

WESTPORT

B	10
G	7
E	6
M	2

GREYMOUTH

B	14
G	4
E	3
M	4

REEFTON

B	13
G	8
E	4
M	

TOTAL SAMPLE

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B  [                              ] 50
G  [                ] 25
E  [          ] 19
M  [     ] 6
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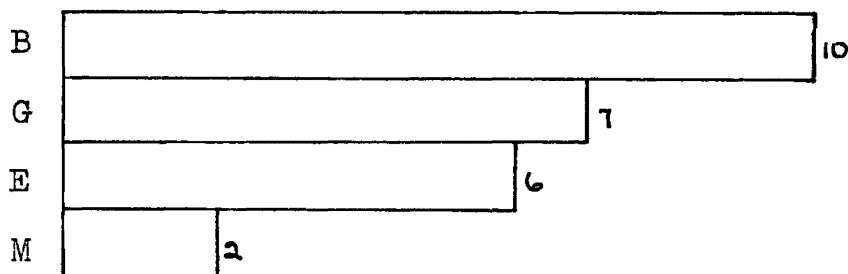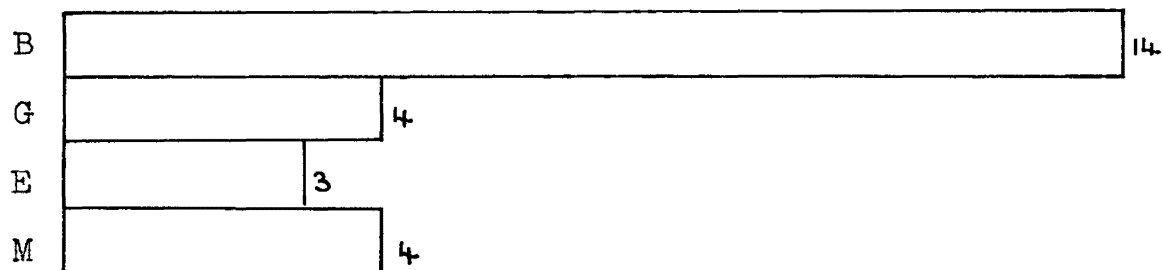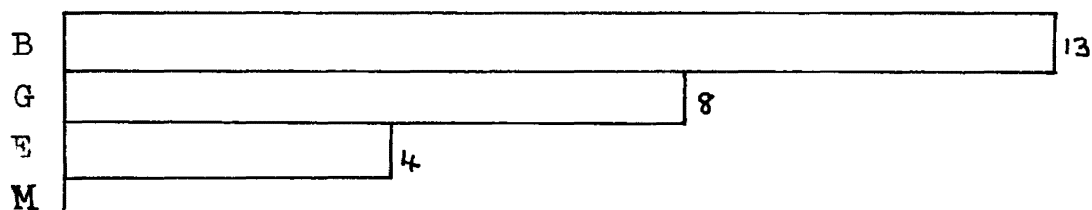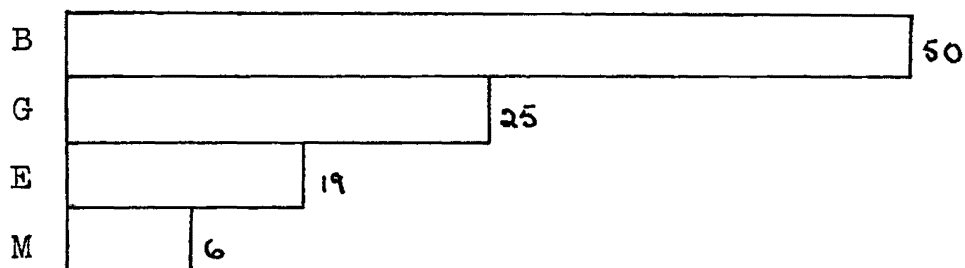
It would appear from this study that the speech of
West Coast schoolchildren in general tends towards a Broad
variety of New Zealand English. This is especially so if,
like Wall and Turner, one considers what is here termed
"General" to be fairly Broad.

Inferences from Results

Although this is a descriptive study of the
pronunciation of children in one region, and no detailed
comparison is being made with other areas, one or two
general and tentative statements can be made from the
foregoing results.

It would seem, from the material collected and
analysed here, that there is little abo ut West Coast speech
(at least in this age-group) which could be used as evidence
of a "West Coast accent". The most interesting factor,
to this researcher, was the effect of dark /l/ on preceding
vowels but it cannot be said that this is restricted to
the region under study. In fact the tendency to
diphthongisation of front vowels before dark /l/ - (usually

a back or central vowel off-glide is introduced and it therefore remains but a tendency) - is fairly common throughout New Zealand. However, retraction of the vowel, as heard in "children" and "will", and to a lesser extent in "milk", may be more common on the West Coast than in other areas. The [ʊʊl] pronunciation of "will" is often quoted as being characteristic of the speech of West Coasters but it would require extensive research and comparison of subjects from other parts of New Zealand to confirm this. The common variants [ɪ̈ʊ] and [ɪ̈ʊ] found in "field" are also related to this phenomenon.

To this researcher, the lack of distinction between the /ɪə/~/ɛə/ phonemes was something of a surprise and it would be interesting to discover whether identical pronunciations are used by such a large proportion of the population in other regions. It was interesting to note the reactions of subjects confronted with a pair of words such as "fear" and "fair". Many paused after "fear" and looked slightly puzzled, before pronouncing "fair" in a very similar, or even identical, manner.

Another interesting, but more difficult, point raised in this study is the question of the /ʌ/~/u/ contrast before dark /l/. In the words included in the study, "school" and "full", a slight contrast was discernible but it is difficult to tell whether or not this was deliberate. and evidence that the speaker thought in terms of two phonemes. The writer has already suggested that a

length difference may be the last remaining manifestation
of the /u/ phoneme before the two become neutralised into
the short /ʌ/ before [ʏ].

It has been noted in the previous section that 50%
of the pupils tested spoke a Broad variety of New Zealand
English. Often, especially in the Westport group, this
Broad variety included the use of prominent off-glides.
These occurred mainly in words like "farm" or "barn" at the
ends of sentences, but also before dark /l/ in unaccented
words such as "old" and "school". A certain lengthening
of the first element of the diphthong was also evident
amongst Broad speakers. It is difficult to determine
whether this would be characteristic of Broad speakers
elsewhere.

From results obtained by colleagues working on a
similar study of Canterbury schoolchildren it would seem
that the most outstanding feature of the West Coasters is
that a consistently Broad variety of New Zealand English
is spoken by the majority of the population. This variety
is of course found in Canterbury but it is doubtful whether
it is used by such a large proportion of the population.
It has possibly become associated with the West Coast to
the extent that it is often termed a "West Coast accent".

Chart showing approximate positions of sounds for which diacritics are used in this study.

PART II - GRAMMAR AND LEXIS

CHAPTER V

THE MATERIAL

Introduction

The aim of this second part of the study was, first
of all, to identify any grammatical or lexical features of
the speech of West Coasters which could be said to be
characteristic of that particular region. When the term
"West Coastism" occurs, then, it covers the following
three categories:-

1. those items believed to be used solely on
   the West Coast

2. those believed to be more common on the West
   Coast than in other parts of New Zealand

3. those which are used with a particular
   meaning on the West Coast.

In preparing this study, the writer acted on a series
of "hunches". At the outset she knew of one or two
definite "West Coastisms" and she suspected that a few
more were in existence. However it was also evident that
the total number of these was likely to be on the decline,
mainly because of the greatly increased communications
linking the West Coast with the rest of the country and,
for that matter, with the rest of the world.

For this reason it was decided to gather possible

"West Coastisms" from amongst all age groups and then to test them with the 75 10-12-year-olds used in the pronumciation study. In this way some indication could be gained as to whether these words and expressions were continuing in use amongst the members of the younger generation.

Since this was to be an essentially descriptive study, little attempt was made to compare any vocabulary and usage with that of other regions. However some informal inquiries were made so that one or two words and expressions which were to have been included in this work were disposed of when they were found to be in use in other areas.

Methods for obtaining material

The principal method used to discover West Coastisms was that of observation by the researcher herself during vacations spent in the area. By "listening in" to typical conversations, by discussing the topic with West Coasters and especially with people who had recently moved to the district, and by talking to the teachers at the primary schools visited, the writer was able to obtain much valuable information.

Many born-and-bred West Coasters had, understandably, never given much thought to such matters and were quite unaware of the fact that their vocabulary and usage

differed in any way from that of other New Zealanders.
Others were aware of perhaps one or two habits for which
they had been criticised by "outsiders". By far the best
source of information was this latter person - the
"outsider" - especially if he was involved in the type of
work which brought such areas as speech characteristics
to his attention.

Many of the teachers at the primary schools came
from, and had taught in, other areas of the country and
were able to provide much relevant information on the
vocabulary and grammar of their pupils. Some of them had
extended their interest in this subject and were able to
make tentative comparisons between the speech habits of
the younger and older generations.

To supplement her own observations the researcher
sought ideas and comments on the subject from a wide
variety of people. It seemed that the first person to be
consulted should be the Member of Parliament for the
district. Mr Blanchfield is a "Coaster" born and bred,
something of a "local identity" who is known to be
interested in anything even remotely connected with the
West Coast. He obligingly sent a long list of "West
Coastisms", and the names and addresses of other people
who would be likely to assist.

Letters were then sent to these people, and to the

Heads of English Departments in secondary schools through-
out the area. The response to these letters was not very
good. Only one gentleman in Greymouth, proved to be a
regular and most helpful correspondent. One of the
secondary school teachers also gave a good deal of
information and advice.

It seemed that the people who were approached in
person were more willing to help, but often this was only
after the nature of the study had been described in detail.
When examples were given of the exact type of information
required the person became more interested, and often
more helpful. In earlier letters the researcher had been
unwilling to include specific examples of words or
expressions since she would then have had no way of
determining whether the person concerned would also have
suggested them in his reply. However it now became
evident that specific examples would have to be given if
a reasonable amount of response was to be obtained.

Letters were therefore sent to the editors of the
two main West Coast newspapers (1) describing, with
examples, the type of information the researcher was
interested in. This time response, especially in Greymouth
was greatly improved. In this way contact was made with
people who were also interested in the topic but who,

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1. "The Westport News" and "The Greymouth Evening Star"

otherwise, would have remained unknown to the writer. Many of these people provided very detailed notes and comments of great value.

The information obtained through correspondence with West Coast people largely confirmed the researcher's own beliefs. Most mentioned the decline in regional characteristics in many spheres which has been brought about by increased communications with the rest of the country. On more than one occasion the writer was told how much more interesting her study would have been 50 years ago. This was demonstrated by some correspondents who sent lists of very colourful expressions and items of vocabulary which, unfortunately, are no longer in current use.

However, it was encouraging to receive letter after letter mentioning words and expressions which the researcher had already noted, confirming that these were in current usage in various parts of the Coast. One or two items which the researcher had overlooked were also obtained in this way, as were a couple which the researcher had never heard, but which proved to be quite common.

A third source of material which was considered was that of written works concerning the West Coast. Since this was a study of contemporary usage, however, this line of enquiry was not very profitable. Mention of the expression " the girl of..." was found in Leslie Hobbs's

book, <u>The Wild West Coast</u> (2) and the glossary at the back of Bill Pearson's <u>Coal Flat</u> (3) proved quite interesting. However, while this novel is a relatively recent one, many of the words have a very restricted, occupational usage, belonging rather to a certain register than to a certain region. This researcher has yet to discover any written material on the West Coast which would provide information for a study of contemporary and common language usage in that district.

<u>The material to be tested</u>

The material to be included in the test is set out below in order of grammatical features, single words (in alphabetical order), and expressions. Some explanation of the words and expressions has been provided and, where possible, there is also some limited comment on the likely origins of an item, or some references to earlier usage of it. The grammatical features are largely self-explanatory and are presented in greater detail in the Results chapter.

<u>Grammar</u>

<u>Type</u>: - "I seen the girl" or "I done the work"

<u>Type</u>: - "Are yous going?" or "Hey, yous kids...!"

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2. Hobbs, Leslie   <u>The Wild West Coast</u>
   Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, 1959
3. Pearson, Bill   <u>Coal Flat</u>
   Auckland, Paul's Book Arcade (1963)

<u>Type</u>: - "I don't know nothing".

<u>Type</u>: - "I are so" or "We was...."

<u>Type</u>: - "I want me book"

<u>Lexis</u>

barber - the word itself is, of course, used throughout New Zealand but may be used, in Greymouth, to describe "a very cutting wind". (4)

bungy - a West Coast corruption of Maori "ponga", a kind of tree-fern. Turner (5) mentions a form "bunger" without giving any specific location for its usage. This form was not encountered on the West Coast.

crib - has a special meaning on the West Coast - "a miner's lunch". Similarly "crib-tin" is a lunch tin. This word is mentioned by W. S. Ramson (6) as "a word for food, something eaten between meals". He says it belongs to a group of technical and semi-technical words whose meaning remained unchanged from that which they had in England and which came into use, in Australia, during the 1850s and 60s.

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4. Turner, G. W. <u>The English Language in Australia and New Zealand</u>
   London, Longmans, 1966 p.162
5. Ibid., p.168
6. Ramson, W.S. <u>Australian English - An Historical Study of the Vocabulary 1788-1898</u>
   Canberra, Australian National University Press 1966 p.73

<u>forty-fives</u> - often known simply as "forties" and described by Pearson (7) as "a peculiar card game played on the West Coast, imported originally from Ireland". There are many expressions associated with this game in common usage - e.g. "I held the Five Fingers"; "no cheap tricks". However it was suspected that such expressions would not be known to younger children.

<u>goolie</u> - a big stone. It is difficult to tell whether this is used elsewhere in New Zealand. Sidney J. Baker (8) in a discussion of the Australian habit of adding "-ie" to words mentions three uses of "goolie" or "gooly" - 1) to mean "a stone", 2) as another name for the Australian bird, the galah, and 3) to mean "a gob of phlegm".

<u>haitch</u> - the name for the letter "h". This pronunciation is reputedly more common than the usual "aitch" on the West Coast, and is generally believed to be of Irish origin.

<u>hooroo</u> - pronounced /huru̯/. A term used instead of "hooray", as an expression of farewell. This was first brought to the writer's attention in Reefton and was said to be very common thei

7. Pearson, Bill   <u>Coal Flat</u> (glossary) Auckland, Paul's Book Arcade (1963)
8. Baker, Sidney J. <u>The Australian Language</u> Sydney, London, Angus & Robertson Ltd, 1945 pp. 285, 301, 370

lammy — generally a long, grey woollen shirt worn in the bush. It is seemingly waterproof and very warm. This writer has not discovered any references to it in books on Australian or New Zealand English.

pakihi — Turner (9) - "a natural clearing in the bush, especially of poor wet land on the West Coast". The word is known in other parts of the country but probably is more common on the Coast.

possie — is used on the West Coast and in other areas as a shortened form of "position" - is used especially in connection with whitebaiting on the Coast. Baker (10) mentions this word in a discussion on Australian war slang used in World War I, and says it had the following meanings: - "position; place; dugout; home". It is, of course, common in present-day Australian vocabulary.

scunge — this word as a noun, meaning "a mean or miserly person" is probably common amongst children all over the country. However, it is supposedly used by Greymouth children

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9. Turner, G. W. The English Language in Australia and New Zealand
     London, Longmans, 1966   p.161
10. Baker, Sidney J. The Australian Language
     Sydney, London, Angus & Robertson Ltd, 1945   p. 163

instead of the verb "scrounge" - e.g. "He scunged something from me."

snig — Baker (11) - "To snig and its gerund snigging appear to be Australian originals. They describe the process of dragging logs of wood, often uncut tree trunks, out of timbered country, so that they can be transported to a mill." A West Coast correspondent said that he had heard this term used of people. The example he gave was: - "They snigged him out of the bar dead drunk."

taipo — a term used on the West Coast for the native insect, the weta. J.A.W. Bennett in his essay English as it is Spoken in New Zealand (12) mentions this word with its meaning "devil" and says it comes "from Maori Taepo - if indeed this word was origbnally Maori."

Expressions

"the girl of Smith" (frequently "the girla Smith") - this is used throughout the West Coast in preference to the more usual "Smith's girl" or "the girl Smith". Many theories have been advanced as to the origin of this

11. Baker, Sidney J. The Australian Language
Sydney, London, Angus & Robertson Ltd, 1945 p.79
12. Ramson, W. S. ed. English Transported
Canberra, Australian National University Press (1970)

expression but most people are of the opinion that it is of Irish origin. This researcher is inclined towards the idea that it developed from the many O'Sullivans, O'Regans and so on who were amongst the early gold-diggers who came to the Coast.

over the hill - this also is a very common expression which refers either to Canterbury or to Christchurch in particular. A Coaster will often be heard to ask:- "Feel like a trip over the hill?" It is probably a relic from the old coach days when transport was from the West Coast, over the Otira Gorge, to Springfield to link up with rail transport to Christchurch. Of course road transport to Christchurch is still literally "over the hill" whether it be via the Lewis Pass or Arthur's Pass.

down the Tip - The Tip or Tiphead is where the rivers meet the sea. This expression usually refers to a drive along the road which runs along the top of the breakwater. In Westport, and apparently in Greymouth too, this expression often has romantic connotations!

out country - In Westport this is commonly used to refer to several small mining townships north of Westport. These include Granity, Waimangaroa, Ngakawau, Hector and may, at times, include others such as Seddonville. The term seems to indicate a general direction rather than any specific place.

out the mines - similar to the above example. When a person says "He's out the mines," this is taken to mean either

that he is a miner or that he works at one of the coal-
mining townships, usually Denniston or Millerton.

<u>"top end" and "bottom end"</u> - often used to refer to the
South and North ends of Westport respectively.

<u>X is from away</u> - If a person comes from any other part of
the country, or of the world, he is invariably "from away".

<u>here goes</u> - This is often used by West Coast school-
children instead of "here is" - e.g. "Here goes five cents.'

CHAPTER VI

THE TEST

Preliminary Remarks

When testing oral grammar and vocabulary the main thing to be considered with each individual item is how best to obtain the desired response. The following paragraphs describe how the present writer tackled this problem.

It is always very difficult to test oral grammatical usage satisfactorily since it is practically impossible to create the natural atmosphere of an informal conversation, and still be sure of obtaining from the subject the information required. For this reason only the "seen-done" example was tested with the subjects. Some idea of the extent to which the other grammatical examples were used was gained through discussion with the teachers and close observation by the researcher of informal conversation amongst the pupils. At one school the researcher was invited to sit in on an informal discussion which the children were holding, and there was ample opportunity to listen to and chat with children at the other schools visited.

In the case of single words, it is perhaps best if the interviewer can provide a picture of the object to be named. The subject is then asked what he would normally

call this object. In this study, the "picture" method
was possible with only one word ("bungy"). For most of
the other words the interviewer used suitably-framed
questions to elicit response from the subjects.

A generally accepted "rule" is that the interviewer
should not, if at all possible, suggest the answer in the
question. However it is the belief of this writer that
there are occasions on which it is desirable that the
"answer", or the item being studied, should be included
in the question. An example, taken from this study is "Do
you know what a goolie is?" The question could have been
put as "Do you know a hame for a big stone?" The child
might reply to this latter question in the negative and
the interviewer would presume that he does not know the
word "goolie". However it is quite possible that he does
know the word but with a different meaning. The first
question will show both whether or not he is familiar with
the word and what he understands by it. In order to
obtain both these pieces of information the first method
of questioning is used for most items of vocabulary in
this study.

The expressions to be tested posed further problems.
There was often no satisfactory way of questioning the
pupils on them - therefore expressions such as "the girl
of Smith" and "here goes" had to be tested once more by
observation and by enquiries made amongst the teachers. In

order not to prejudice the teachers in any way the
researcher first of all asked them to suggest any unusual
words or expressions which they had noticed their pupils
using. Most teachers were able to produce quite a number
of these without any prompting.

Finally it should be noted that two of the words -
"goolie" and "possie" - were only brought to the researcher'
attention at a late stage of the study. These were sent
to the three schools in the form of a written question-
naire but only the Greymouth school replied. It is
presumed that end-of-year activities prevented the other
schools from co-operating.

Details of the Test

The test of grammar and vocabulary was carried out
immediately after the sentences for the pronunciation
study had been recorded. The interviewer made a few
introductory remarks to the effect that the exercise
would be quite simple and there would be no such thing as
a right or wrong answer to any of the questions. She
stressed the fact that she was interested only in what the
subject would _normally_ say, and if it so happened that he
did not know the answers to some of the questions he was
to say so, since this in itself was just as interesting
to the interviewer as any other reply.

Grammar

The "seen/done" type of construction was tested by

the use of two sentences for each verb, the children
being asked to fill in the missing word in the second
sentence. The researcher had a copy of these sentences
in front of her and, since they were very short and
uncomplicated, she read them aloud to the subject with
the instructions:- "When I pause, I want you to fill in
the space with the word you would normally use." A pause
was made at the appropriate point, and the researcher
recorded the child's response. All subjects in the
sample understood the instructions and gave a prompt
answer.

The sentences were:-

Today I see the girl

Yesterday I .... the girl

Today I do my work

Yesterday I .... my work

As has already been mentioned concerning the other
grammatical constructions, tentative conclusions were
reached by a combination of the researcher's observations
and teachers' remarks on the spoken language of their
pupils.

Lexis

barber   - This word was tested only in Greymouth
               since enquiries showed that it was not
               used in other parts of the Coast. The
               subjects were asked "What is the name of

the cold wind which often blows in
Greymouth?"

bungy
— A large coloured picture of ferns was
presented to each subject and he was asked
what he would normally call these "plants"
or "trees". If "bungy" was not given as
the first response the subject was asked if
he knew of any other name. If the word still
was not used he was asked if he had ever
heard of a "bungy". In this way the inter-
viewer could gauge whether the pupil had
forgotten the word, or whether he had heard
of it but never used it himself, or whether
he just did not know it.

crib
— The question used for this item was "Do you
know what a coalminer calls his lunch?" If
"crib" was not given as the answer, the
subject was asked whether he knew what "crib"
meant. In some cases the latter question
reminded the subject of this particular usage
of the word which he knew, but obviously
was not in the habit of using often. In
other cases such responses as "a card game"
or "a baby's cradle" showed that he did not
know the word in the required sense. The
subject was also asked if he knew the name
of the container in which a coalminer carries

his lunch.

forty-fives - The pupil was simply asked if he knew what
"forty-fives" was and also if he could play
the game. The point of the latter question
was to see whether he would be likely to
know some of the other expressions which
arise from the game, a few of which have
been extended in meaning to apply to other
spheres of everyday life.

goolie - This was one of the words included in the
written questionnaire. The question was "Do
you know what a goolie is?" The teacher was
asked to pronounce the word as /$_g\upsilon li$/.

haitch - The letter concerned (written in capitals - H
was indicated and the subject was asked:-
"What letter of the alphabet is this?"

hooroo - The subject was simply asked "Do you ever
say "hooroo" instead of "hooray" when saying
good-bye to someone?" He was also asked if
he had ever heard other people using this
word and, if so, whether he thought it was
very common.

lammy - A fairly direct question, "Do you know what
a lammy is?" was used, since it was discovered
that this term could cover anything from a
coat to a pullover or a shirt. It was
therefore considered best to try to find

out what each subject took to be the meaning
of this word.

pakihi
   - When it was discovered that people had
various ideas as to what this word actually
meant, it was decided to frame the question
as "Do you know what a pakihi is?" In this
way the researcher could get some idea as to
whether or not the word was in common use
and also as to what was meant by it when it
was used.

possie
   - The subjects were asked:- "What do you
understand by the word "possie"? This item
was also included in the written questionnai

scunge
   - "What do you understand by the word 'scunge'?
Those who gave an adjective or noun in reply
where then asked if they would ever use the
word as a verb - e.g. "He scunged those
marbles from me."

snig
   - The subject was asked if he knew what the
word "snig" meant. If he gave the bush
context he was then asked if he ever used it
or had heard it used, in connection with
people. A suitable example was given.

taipo
   - The question was:- "Do you know another
name for a weta?" There was some confusion,
at times, as to what a weta was - for this
reason, the explanation "anative insect"

was included. Pupils who responded with "taipo" were asked which term (weta or taipo) they would use most often.

Expressions

over the hill   - The question was:- If someone said they were going 'over the hill' where do you think they'd be going?"

down the Tip   - Question:- "Do you know what the expression "down the Tip" means?"

out country   - This was tested in Westport only, as it is not used in either of the other two centres. The subjects were asked:- "Do you know a general expression which describes the towns of Granity, Ngakawau, Waimangaroa, Hector, Seddonville and so on?"

The other expressions were not tested because of difficulty in framing suitable questions. However, informal checks were made on them and these are discussed in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER VII

THE RESULTS

Results are presented in the same order as the items in the previous two chapters. Remarks, in most cases, concern the total sample but comments are made on specific groups where this is felt to be appropriate.

Grammar

Type:- "I seen the girl" or "I done the work."

Only about 7% of the total sample used "seen" in the first of the type sentences while exactly 32% used "done" in the second sentence. The difference between the two verbs came as a surprise to the researcher who had supposed that a person who used one such form would naturally use the corresponding form in another verb. These two verbs, "to do" and "to see", are the main ones treated in this way on the West Coast and close observation of the speech of a number of people had seemed to suggest that the "seen" and "done" forms occurred with equal frequency.

Nevertheless the fact does remain that the "done" form, at least, is unusually common, particularly when one remembers that in the somewhat artificial "test" situation the pupil was more likely to give what he thought to be the correct form rather than the one he would normally

use. It is difficult for the researcher to tell how many pupils might have striven to give the correct form, but it can only be noted that almost all the subjects gave me a very prompt reply with little apparent effort to think about which word they would use.

Type:- "Are yous going?" or "Hey, yous kids...?"

This was not tested but observation and comments of people consulted on the subject showed that the plural form "yous" of the pronoun "you" is in very common use. It is often pronounced as /jəz/ and is used as a form of address as in "Hey, yous....!", as well as in ordinary statements or questions. Children are generally corrected for using this form while at school but it would appear that they revert to this habit (and most others mentioned in the cours of this study) when outside their school environment, and certainly when their schooldays are over. Apparently this form is not restricted to the spoken language of the Coaste: One gentleman quoted a letter he had received which include the following:- "Are yous still living in the same house?"

Type:- "I don't know nothing."

Once again this construction is commonly used amongst all age-groups, the children being corrected for it while at school but no doubt using it because they hear others using it outside school. An example of the frequency of

double negatives can be seen in the fact that a teacher in Greymouth reported five occurrences in one class, including the classic:- "I ain't got nothin' to do." And these were just from pupils who approached her individually during the course of the class.

One correspondent quoted a Local Body election candidate who stated:- I'm not promisin' nobody nothing." and was duly elected on that platform.

Type:- "I are so" and "we was...."

This "I are..." construction, common amongst children, seems to persist into adulthood with quite a significant number of people. It usually occurs only in this particular expression, "I are so", and is quite rare in sentences such as "I are going to town". On the other hand, sentences containing such constructions as "we was.." (generally pronounced /wi wɔz/) are common even amongst people who have reached quite a high level of education.

Type:- "I want me book"

The use of "me" for "my" is very common in all age-groups and, as far as this researcher can tell, throughout the West Coast. Indeed, the /mi/ pronunciation of /maɪ/ is often remarked upon as being characteristic of West Coast speech.

Lexis

barber   - This was tested with the 25 children in the
Greymouth group and was found to be known
to the majority of them more as a type of
mist than a cold wind. The teacher explained
that this was because the Greymouth people
have to be in town (i.e. the shopping area)
before they experience the wind. In the
suburbs, where most of them live, it may be
quite calm and warm,but they can often see
some sort of mist over the "town" area which
is situated near the river. Seven pupils
did not know the term at all.

bungy   - In the Greymouth and Westport groups more tha
70% of the subjects used the word "bungy"
either as their first choice or, in a few cas
after "ponga" because they thought the Maori
term more correct. The remaining pupils in
these two groups either knew of "bungy" but
did not use it themselves or had never heard
of it. Of the Reefton group, only 30% knew
"bungy", although a further two subjects
used the form "pungy". The others simply
labelled the picture "fern-trees", "palms"
or just "trees".

crib   - Here the situation was reversed in that "crib

was found to be much more common in Reefton
than in the other two centres. Over 70% of
the Reefton group knew the term and about
half of this percentage gave it an extended
meaning to cover the lunch taken by bushmen
or mill-workers, or just any lunch (e.g.
picnic) eaten in the bush or away from home.
A further quarter of this 70% said they
would use this term to refer to their own
lunch, whether eaten at school or at home.

In both Westport and Greymouth only about
40% of the subjects had even heard of crib
and very few of these ever actually used
the word.

forty-fives - As was expected, the vast majority of the
subjects knew what forty-fives is but only
one (in Reefton) had any idea of how the
game is played and he was not, as yet,
acquainted with much of the terminology.

However it would appear that the game is
still very popular amongst adults, despite
the advent of television. Some members of
the older generations use expressions
connected with the game in other spheres,
especially in reference to other sports -
e.g. "no cheap tricks" is apparently used

with the meaning "don't waste time, get a
move on" in football and boxing.

goolie   – Results concerning this word were unfortu-
nately obtained _{only} from the Greymouth school.
When the word was pronounced as $/gʊlɪ/$ the
teacher found that 23 of the 25 pupils did
not know it – the other two gave the meaning
as "a big stone". When this meaning was
confirmed the children informed the teacher
that they knew the word as $/gʊldɪ/$. This form
was then tested, with 17 pupils, in all,
giving the required meaning.

haitch   – When confronted with the printed letter – H –
32% and 28% of the Greymouth and Reefton
groups respectively gave "haitch". In
Westport, however, 84% of the group gave
"haitch", and a further one subject was by
no means sure as to whether she normally used
"haitch" or "aitch". 48% of the overall
sample used "haitch".

hooroo   – Enquiries showed that this word is not nearly
as common as it once was. Not one subject
admitted to actually using it and very few
said they had ever heard it used.

lammy   – This word was quite well-known in all areas
although specific meanings for it varied
from a "black heavy coat" to "a jacket to

keep the rain out", "a type of parka" or just "a woollen thing". Almost 45% of the total sample knew the word in one of these meanings. It was most common in Reefton where 60% of the subjects were familiar with it.

pakihi — The word itself was almost universally known but, once again, meanings varied. Some defined it as "swampy land" others as "land which is being developed by the Government".

possie — Twenty-one children in the Greymouth group gave this word the meaning "a secret hiding place".

scunge — This word was usually greeted with a look or expression of amusement. It was quite well-known in Westport where 68% said they would use it as an adjective or a noun with connotations of selfishness, and 36% said they would also use it as a verb which means the same as "scrounge". In Reefton only 1 person gave the verb meaning, and 3 gave the adjective or noun. Five Greymouth pupils said they would use "scunge" as a verb.

snig — None of the subjects thought that this word could be used in connection with people. Th bush meaning was known to only one person in both Westport and Greymouth, while eleven knew it in Reefton.

taipo   - While many of the subjects were not at all
sure what a weta was, practically every one
of them was quite familiar with the term
"taipo". In fact, 92% of the total sample
had very little trouble with this question.

Expressions

the girl of Smith   - This expression remains in frequent
use throughout the Coast. One
correspondent suggested that it is
used more in North Westland than in
Hokitika and South Westland but no
evidence has been found to support
this.

over the hill   - 72% of the sample said they would
understand this phrase to refer
specifically to Christchurch. Two
Reefton pupils said it could refer
either to Greymouth or to Christchu
since, either way, one must travel
over a hill.

down the Tip   - This was known by 66% of the Westpo
and Greymouth pupils but, as might
be expected, the Reefton children
did not know it at all.

out country   - 80% of the Westport group knew this
phrase and most others had at least
heard of it.

<u>out the mines</u>   — The children were not very familiar

with this expression which

apparently is not as common as it

once was. This is probably because

of the gradual decrease in the

number of men working in the coal-

mines.

<u>"top end"</u> and   — In so far as this researcher can
    <u>"bottom end"</u>

tell these expressions are more

likely to be used by the older

generations in Westport.

<u>X is from away</u>   ˙— This is given practically universal

use in Westport but is not thought

to occur as frequently in other

areas.

<u>here goes</u>   — This is still quite common amongst

West Coast schoolchildren but it is

difficult to estimate the frequency

of use.

<u>Inferences from Results</u>

    ˎ It is possible to draw some tentative conclusions

from the above results. The first to emerge is the fact

that words which are often classed as "regionalisms" or

"West Coastisms" are not common throughout the whole

district but rather occur in certain parts of it. Such

words are those which describe local phenomena or are connected with dominant occupations. Thus "the barber" is known in Greymouth because the cold wind which it describes is experienced only in that town. Similarly, the "Tip" or "Tiphead" is known and used in Westport and Greymouth, but not in Reefton since this town is inland.

It might have been thought that the frequency of use of occupational terms would not vary throughout the Coast - at least, not amongst the three centres involved in this study. However, quite a marked difference was noticeable, with words such as "lammy", "snig" or "crib" being much more common in Reefton than in the other two areas. Wheres there tends to be more diversification of industry in these other centres, Reefton, is a smaller town in which bush work, sawmilling, and coalmining remain dominant occupatior Thus words associated with these occupations continue in tr vocabulary of the younger generation.

During the course of the study the large number of corruptions and mispronunciations of Maori terms on the West Coast was often brought to the attention of the researcher. J.A.W. Bennett (1) has advanced the theory that "inaccurate pronunciations were formerly particularly common in the South Island, where the Maoris are fewer and their language less often spoken than in the North."

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1. Ramson, W. S. ed. English Transported
   Canberra, Australian National University Press (1970)
   p. 81

Such a reason could account for the situation on the West Coast, but here it should be added that the researche can speak only for the more Northern part of Westland covered in her study. Certainly, in this area corruptions of place-names abound - notably /nɒkʌwɔ/ for Ngakawau, [wɔɪmaɛŋ] for Waimangaroa, and /mɒkʌŋjuɪ/ for Mokihunui.

Words for native birds and plants are frequently corrupted in some way - the ponga/bungy example has alread been discussed. The "pukeko" is frequently a "bewie" in Westport, although this was found to be much less well known in Reefton and practically unheard of in Greymouth. The term arises from such pronunciations of the original "pukeko" as [bʌʊkaɛkʌʊ], [bʌʊkekʌʊ] and [bʌʊkaɛk]. Another word in the vocabulary study, "pakihi", is almost universally pronounced as [pakiz] on the West Coast.

The "haitch/aitch" item is an interesting one which requires further discussion here. Before any investigatio had been made concerning this item, a gentleman in Greymout had suggested that the "haitch" form was of Irish origin and was therefore more common in the Catholic Schools. He had taught in both a Catholic and a State school in Greymouth and said that whereas perhaps only 2% of the State pupils would use "haitch", something like 60% of the Catholic pupils would use this form. The figures obtained by this researcher largely confirm this gentleman's observations, one qualification being the fact that the

frequency of "haitch" in the State schools was higher than might have been expected.

It is interesting to note that the "haitch" form is prevalent in Catholic schools in Australia. The letter is often taught as "haitch" in these schools. It is not easy to understand why the "haitch" form should be used by so many pupils in this Westport school, especially since an interview with the teacher concerned (herself a West Coaster) revealed that she always taught the letter as "aitch". Indeed, she very much doubted that the interviewer would find any instances of "haitch" amongst her pupils. It therefore appeared that the children had been taught to say "haitch" when they first learnt the alphabet and this had become a habit.

With this in mind, the researcher questioned a number of people of various age-groups who had received a Catholi education on the West Coast. Approximately half of those had been taught "haitch", the other half "aitch".

Two facts do emerge from the study of this item:-

1. a fairly high proportion (48%) of the total population used the "haitch" form,

2. most of this percentage was made up of pupils from the Catholic school in Westport.

It is thus possible to say that "haitch" is relatively common on the West Coast, especially amongst the Catholic population.

Some distinctive words and expressions do remain in use on the West Coast then, but there has been a definite decrease in their popularity as the occupations with which they are associated disappear and communication with the rest of the country improve. West Coasters do no seem to be making a conscious effort to retain any characteristic vocabulary or usage in the way in which they try to retain other elements from their past. In general, the subjects in this study recognised a word or expression only if they were in the habit of using it: very few were aware of a special West Coast vocabulary.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study, as set out in the Introduction was to provide a detailed description of the pronunciation of West Coast schoolchildren and also of distinctive items of vocabulary and grammar used in that area. The study was not designed to be comprehensive in that no attempt was made to consider the speech of West Coasters in genera and only specific items of vocabulary and grammar were studied.

The researcher believes that this aim has been fulfilled. Results have been presented in detail and tentative conclusions have been drawn from them. The most important conclusions may be summarised as follows:-

(a) In the absence of detailed studies of New Zealand English, one cannot make any categorical statements on the results obtained here. However, with regard to pronunciation, it can be said that there is no evidence significant enough to suggest that the pronunciation of West Coasters differs greatly from that of other New Zealanders.

(b) A Broad variety of New Zealand English predominates in the area.

(c) It is important that further work be

done on New Zealand pronunciation. In
particular, the /ɪə/~/ɛə/ contrast
needs to be studied, and also occurrences
of the /u/ and /ʊ/ phonemes before dark /l/.

(d)   Regional characteristics in grammar, e.g.
"we done", and lexis, e.g. "bungy", still
exist, but they are becoming increasingly
rare. A significant factor here is the
disappearance of many of the occupations
with which these words are associated. It
should be noted too that the term "regional
characteristics" includes many words and
expressions which are not exactly peculiar
to the West Coast but which are thought to
be in more common use there.

An obvious follow-up to this work would be a similar
study of other regions, enabling comparisons to be made.
Eventually one would hope that a detailed description
of New Zealand English as a whole would emerge from such
studies. There is need also for a more comprehensive
study of the use of language on the West Coast. An
historical approach to this could produce a very interesti
and valuable work which would doubtlessly compensate the
writer for any difficulties he may encounter in obtaining
material.

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