

The British History of New Zealand English?

David Britain

Dept of Language and Linguistics

Essex University

Colchester

Essex CO4 3SQ

Great Britain

dbritain@essex.ac.uk

Introduction

I aim here, through a synthesis of existing and new research, to establish whether it is possible to tease out how some characteristics of New Zealand English (NZE) emerged. My aim is to track the histories of six distinctive features of New Zealand English, considering a number of different hypotheses on the origins of such varieties, and make clear what sorts of influences, sociolinguistic pressures, and speech community structures must have engendered the variety in its present state.

The question of why postcolonial varieties of English (and French, and so on) are structured in the way they are has provoked a number of different responses. Some have argued for a *single origin hypothesis*. Such a view has been put forward by Hammarström (1980) who suggested, for example, that Australian English is (19th century) ‘Cockney transported’. Gordon and Deverson (1985) and Bauer (1994) suggested that NZE can largely be viewed as having emerged from Australian English. Others have suggested *multiple origin hypotheses*. Such hypotheses range from those who propose we search for individual features that we can trace, largely intact and sharing a similar set of linguistic constraints, from among a range of dialects spoken in the colonising country (see, for example, Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001) to those who suggest a mixed, koineised origin (Trudgill 1986, Trudgill et al 2000a). The latter view argues for the essential role of linguistic accommodation in the formation of post-colonial dialects, suggesting that dominant and ‘simple’ forms in the original dialect mix brought by migrants emerge as victors in the colonial dialect contact along with new ‘interdialectal’ compromise forms that evolve as a result of incomplete or inaccurate accommodation between forms in that mix. Some scholars have pointed to parallel linguistic developments in the colonizing and colonized countries, without necessarily proposing that the development ‘came from’

the colonizers (see, for example, Woods 2000). Whichever position we take, however, should be socially located and not portrayed as emerging in a vacuum of universal processes. In the context of New Zealand, for example, we must remember that whilst many of NZE's linguistic structures may have derived from somewhere else, they have been used, developed and accommodated to among New Zealanders in New Zealand speech communities shaped by (and shaping) New Zealand social institutions. And that makes a difference.

But if it is true that NZE comes from somewhere else, why does it differ - more today than at any other time - from 'everywhere else'? Independent developments must also be considered as part of the NZE equation – in other words the emergence of new dominant forms in NZE which can't be explained as having been the result of importation from Australia or Britain, or the mixing of settler forms. In present-day New Zealand English, L1 Maori English appears, for example, to be a powerful source of linguistic innovation, particularly, perhaps, in the North Island (e.g. increasing syllable timing (Ainsworth 1993, Holmes and Ainsworth 1996, 1997; Holmes 1997, Warren 1998, Warren and Britain 1999), initial /t/ deaspiration (Holmes 1995, 1997, Bell 1999), and the devoicing of final /z/ (Holmes 1997, Bell 1999)). Furthermore, some changes underway in a number of varieties of English have been driven in New Zealand to points that few others reach (e.g. the degree of fronting of both elements of the BOAT diphthong; the trajectory of the KIT vowel).

This chapter considers the histories of six characteristic features of NZE to demonstrate that rather than having one, it has a diverse range of origins. In each case, the possible role of British and Australian dialects in the formation of these features is considered. Four of the features under investigation here form part of what Labov (1994) has labelled the 'Southern Shift' – Wells (1982)'s 'Diphthong Shift'. These features are:

- front mid-open realisations of the MOUTH diphthong (e.g. 'out' [ɛɔ̯t]);
- back mid-open realisations of the onset of the PRICE diphthong (e.g. 'nice' [nɪɪs]);
- the opening of onsets of the FACE diphthong (e.g. 'Dave' [dæɪv]);
- the diphthongisation and opening of the onset of the FLEECE long vowel (e.g. 'sheep' [ʃɪɪp]).

The final two forms are:

- the *relative* lack of /h/ dropping, and;
- the use of disyllabic forms of –own/-ewn past participles (e.g. 'grown' [grɔ̯ɔ̯n]).

Before I begin tracing the histories of these features, however, it is necessary to first consider the social context in which NZE was formed.

Establishing an ecology for postcolonial dialect genesis

In an important theoretical contribution to studies of language (and dialect) formation, Mufwene (1996, 2001) argues, in his detailed outline of the *Founder Principle*, that if we are to understand the genesis of dialect patterns in post-colonial speech communities, we need to examine with more sophistication the *ecology* of the communities to which dialects have been transplanted. Important, he claims, in such an analysis are ‘the characteristics of the vernaculars spoken by the populations that founded the colonies’ (1996: 84), the ethnographic setting in which the...displaced population has come into contact with...other populations whose structural features enter into the competition with its own features’ (1996: 85) and ‘the demographic proportions of speakers of the language varieties in contact’ (2001: 83) (see also, for example, Trudgill 1986: 126, 161; Montgomery 1989; Siegel 1993, Britain 2001a).

Mufwene’s research was motivated partly by the desire to shed light on the formation of African American Vernacular English (AAVE). He suggested that the role of British varieties in the formation of AAVE had been underestimated because, in searching for similarities between AAVE and British dialects, researchers had previously looked not to those dialects of Britain that were taken by settlers to Northern America and the Caribbean, but to *standard* British dialects. Not surprisingly, few similarities were found, but for several years this ‘evidence’ was used to dismiss the role of British (non-standard) varieties in the genesis of AAVE. In investigating the sociolinguistic ecology of the founding Anglophone populations of New Zealand, then, we need to establish the following:

- Where did the migrants and settlers come from?;
- What dialects were the settlers using when they came?;
- What was the social structure of early New Zealand like (and what were the sociolinguistic consequences of such a structure)?;
- How was language socially evaluated in early New Zealand?

Where did the migrants and colonial settlers come from?

The historical and socio-demographic evidence we have suggests that two places will be influential in our discussions of New Zealand settlement and dialect formation – *the British Isles*, since this is where the majority of migrants were born, and *Australia*, since many migrants passed through Australia for varying periods en route to New Zealand, and some migrants were Australia-born. Table 1 below presents McKinnon et al (1997)’s statistics for the origins of the overseas-born of 1881 in New Zealand.

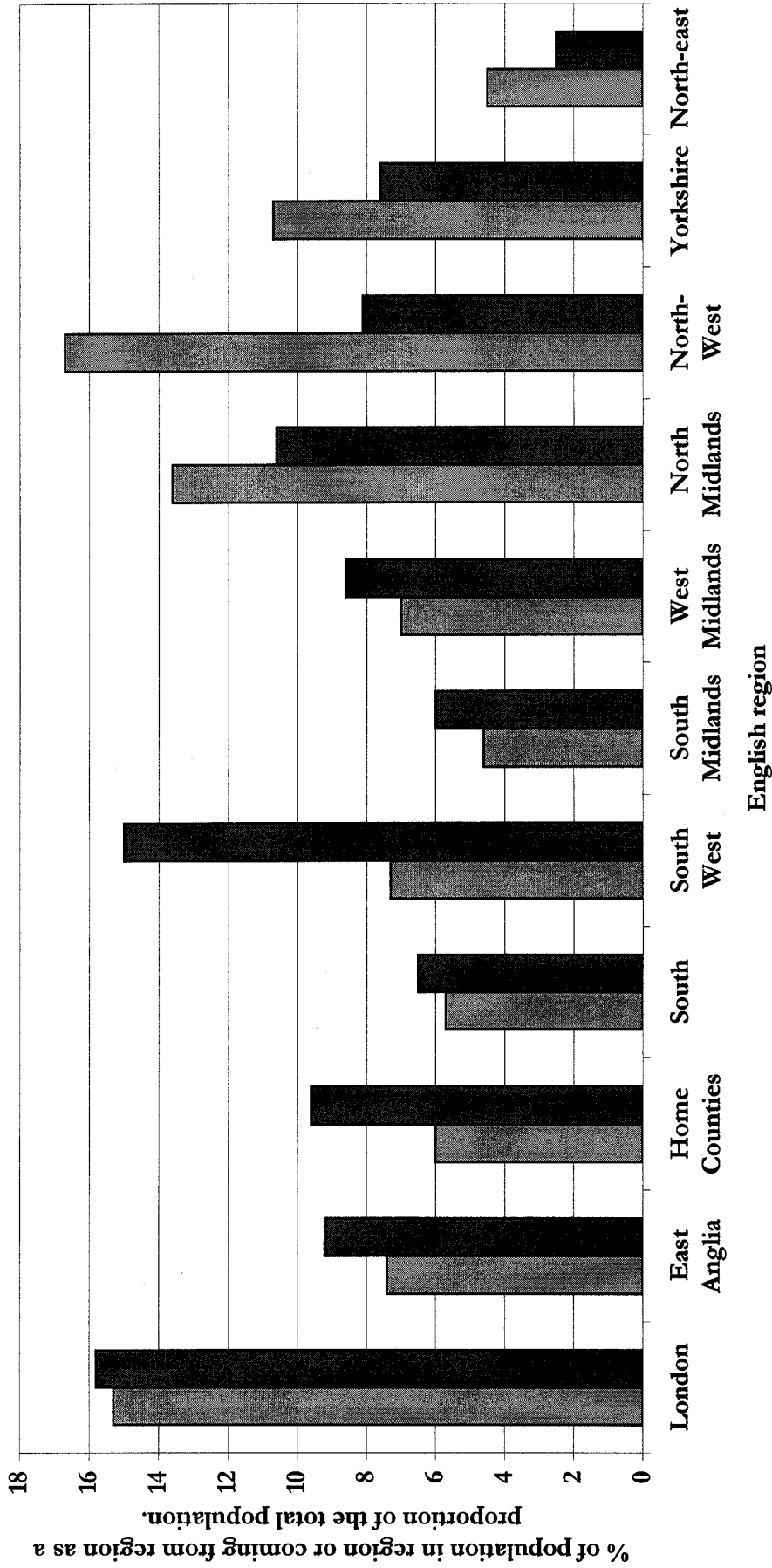
Table 1: The origins of the overseas-born in New Zealand in 1881 (based on McKinnon et al.: Plate 49)

Country of birth	Number of overseas-born	% of total
England	119224	46.1
Scotland	52753	20.3
Ireland	49363	19.1
Australia	17277	6.7
Wales	1963	0.8
Others	18000	7.0
TOTAL	258580	100.0

In order to gain a more sophisticated insight into the origins of NZE, however, greater geographical precision is required. A number of sources provide us with such detail for the New Zealand settlers of the 19th century. In an analysis of the origins of settlers to Canterbury, Pickens (1977) shows that the southern counties of England were more heavily represented in the early NZ population than we would expect given the population that these counties contributed to the country’s total. The Midlands and the North, however, were underrepresented. Figure 1 provides a more detailed breakdown for England.

For later in the 19th century, Arnold (1984), in his well-known work entitled *The farthest promised land*, claims that ‘clearly the great majority of the emigrants came from a wide stretch of southern England, with almost all counties south of a line from Herefordshire to the Wash feeling the pull fairly strongly. North of this line, only Lincolnshire was much affected, and the industrial North was little influenced. The most fruitful counties were all rural counties’ (1984: 102). Figure 2, based on Arnold’s (1984) research, shows the number of settlers coming from each county of England per 100,000 residents in 1871. It shows that the west and south-west were particularly well represented in the settler population, as were the south-east and East Anglia. The midlands were less well represented and the numbers from the north relatively low. In addition to settlers from England, many came from Scotland and Ireland. Pickens, for example, claims that

Figure 1: Where did the immigrants come from?: The populations of English regions compared to the numbers of New Zealand settlers to Canterbury (South Island) coming from the regions (Based on Pickens 1977: 72)



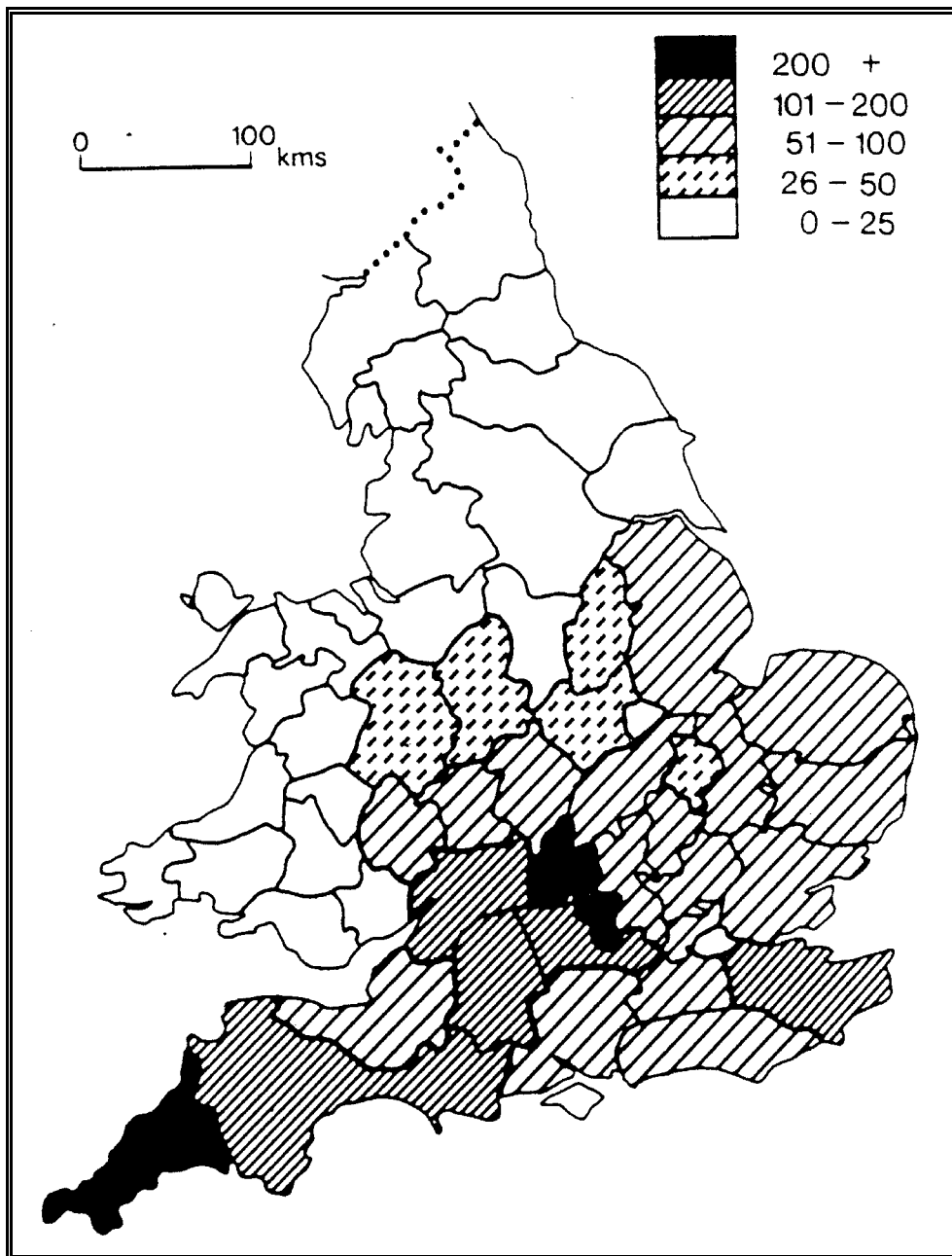
■ Proportion of the population of England in 1851 ■ Proportion of the English migrants to Canterbury, New Zealand

whilst around 54% of mid-19th century migrants were from England, around 16% were from Ireland, and 15% from Scotland (Pickens 1977: 70).

An analysis of New Zealand migrant origins in 1874 based on McKinnon et al's (1997) data is shown in Figure 3. The detail given is patchy with precise details for only a number of locations – but the overall pattern is again the same: the dominant areas of settlement are the south of England, Scotland, Ireland, and (see below) Australia. Note that the largest bar in the graph – for 12 counties selected by McKinnon et al – does NOT include all southern English counties. East Anglia, parts of the southern Midlands, and the south and south-west are included in the Rest of England/Scotland/Wales category.

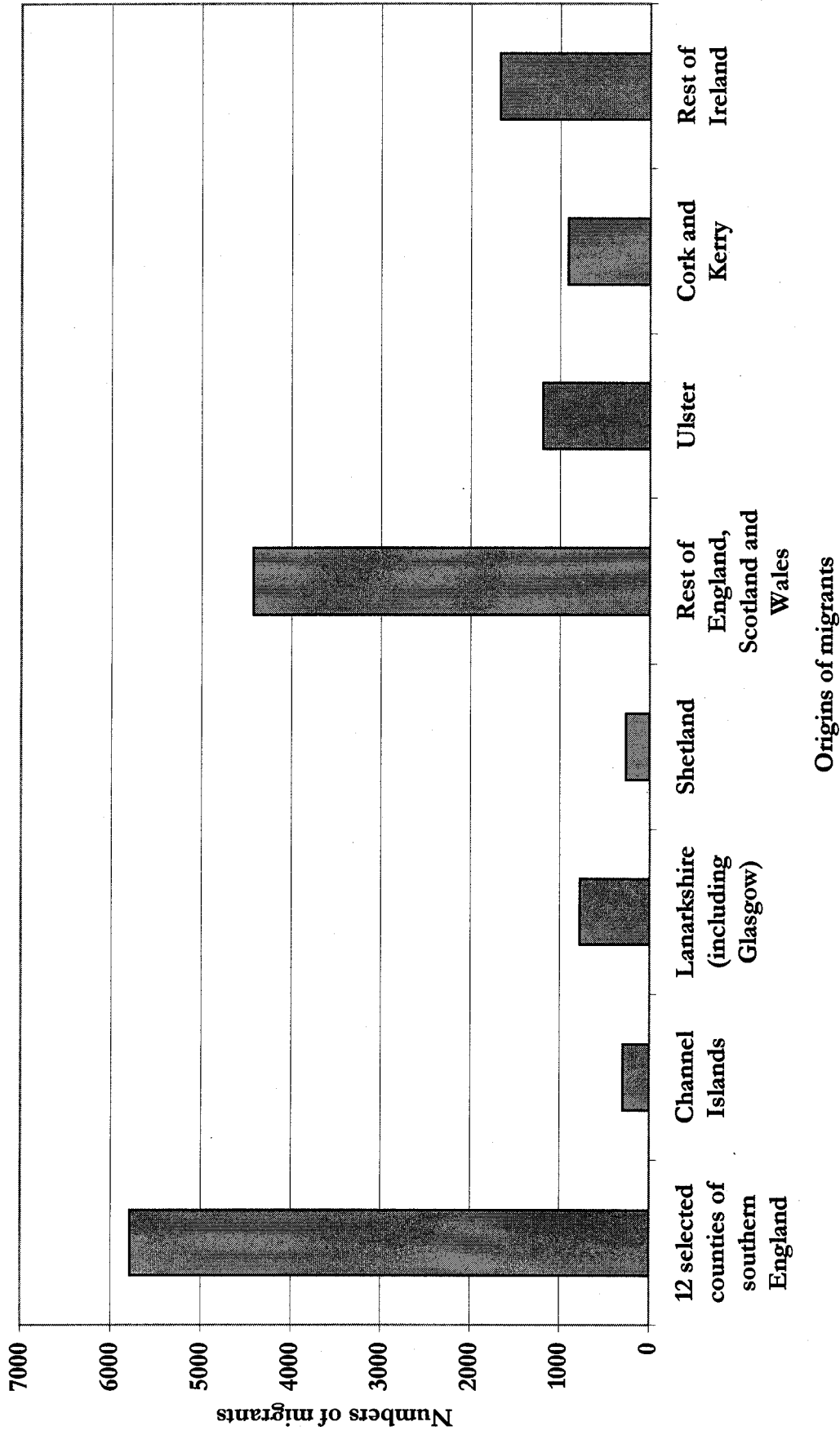
Australia was also an important source of settlement in early New Zealand. Although the figures for *Australia-born* migrants appear rather small – McKinnon et al (1997: Plate 49) suggest the figure is around 7% of the total number of overseas-born in 1881 – many migrants spent time in Australia before moving on to New Zealand. Belich claims that the Australian influence on New Zealand was much greater than the number of Australian-born might suggest: 'Only 4.8% of the New Zealand population in 1871 were Australian-born...but this was the mere tip of an Ausberg' (Belich 1997: 316). Vaggioli ([1896] 2000:112) shows that of the 12, 447 Europeans in New Zealand in 1844, 3464 or 27.8% lived in Auckland, the Bay of Islands or Hokianga¹, and states that 'colonists who settled the upper half of the North Island were mostly migrants from Australia' ([1896] 2000: 112). In addition, McCaskill (1982: 6-7) claims that 'in socio-economic terms, much of the European community in northern New Zealand in the 1830s was a 'drop-out' extension of Sydney society with escaped convicts, former convicts, debtors, traders and land speculators enjoying an early kind of 'enterprise zone' free of oversight and the law'. In a detailed paper on migration between New Zealand and Australia, Carmichael (1993: 516) claims that many of the estimated 2000 first settlers to New Zealand had come from Australia: 'By 1854, the European population totalled 32500 ...12000 in Auckland, a garrison town with probably over half its European population...having come from Australia'. In addition, he quotes William Fox (a former Premier of NZ) who described Auckland in the early 1850s as 'a mere section of the town of Sydney transplanted' (Sinclair 1959: 98; Carmichael 1993: 516). And Arnold (1994:120) suggests that 'many settlers had a period of Australian experience behind them, and an intricate network of interrelationships gave a significant Australasian dimension to colonial New Zealand'.

Figure 2: The origins of emigrants to New Zealand between 1873 and 1876. Figures represent the numbers of emigrants per 100,000 of the county population of 1871 (from Arnold, 1984:103).



¹ In addition, 5699 (or 45.8%) lived in Wellington, New Plymouth or Wanganui, and 3281 (or 26.3%) lived in Nelson or Akaroa in the South Island (Vaggioli [1896] 2000: 112)

Figure 3: Migrants to New Zealand from the British Isles in 1874 (based on McKinnon et al., (1997: Plate 49))



It is interesting to note that many of these comments place the important role of Australians and those who had passed through Australia in the (North of the) North Island. This does, I believe, have important consequences. If there were higher concentrations of settlers with an Australian experience behind them in the North, it would be unusual if this did not leave linguistic traces. Since Australian English in the mid-19th century is unlikely to have been *radically* different from the emerging New Zealand English (but perhaps somewhat more focused), the linguistic traces may well emerge as quantitative rather than qualitative differences in the use of different linguistic variables. The existence of regional variation in NZE, Southland aside, has traditionally been poo-pooed, but it may well be, as result of subtly different combinations of speakers of different origins, that regional variation is mostly unnoticed quantitative distinctions or subtle phonetic differences rather than more categorical and salient ones. This is presumably a testable hypothesis, given comparable methodological techniques applied on comparable data from different parts of the country.

What dialects were the settlers using when they came?

When considering the dialect evidence from the 19th century, therefore, looking for which variants would have been well represented in early New Zealand English, we need to look in particular at those areas which sent relatively high numbers of settlers – the south of England generally, Ireland, Scotland and Australia. Here I will draw principally on one major set of evidence that may shed some light on which forms were taken - Ellis (1889)². This is a dialect survey of the traditional type, based on information from over 1100 locations in Great Britain. Data in the form of spontaneous transcriptions of reading passages and word lists were sent to Ellis by a combination of trained dialect enthusiasts (such as Thomas Hallam) and interested locals. In some locations Hallam was sent to check the validity of the local data collectors' work and investigate some features more thoroughly. Since these data were collected primarily from older people, it gives us a picture of the vernacular dialects of people born in the first half of the 19th century, the period which saw the beginning of widespread Anglophone settlement of New Zealand.

What was the nature of the emergent institutions of social life and social integration in the early colonial years?

² Work is in progress to examine other, later, sources, such as Wright (1905), Kurath and Lowman (1970) and the Survey of English Dialects (see Britain 2001 for an investigation of the history of the MOUTH diphthong from all these sources). Wright (1905) is considerably less detailed than Ellis, Kurath and Lowman only investigate a certain number of features and only in Southern England, and the SED is rather late for the purposes of determining which forms were exported to New Zealand by the settlers in the mid-19th century – hence my use of Ellis (1889) as the most useful source in this survey.

Most dialect contact stories involve social dislocation from the original ‘home’ routine, a move to the new, and a subsequent social reembedding and reroutinization – indeed the search to socially connect in such circumstances is often claimed to be an unconscious human need (Giddens 1989, Cohen 1989). In Britain (1997), I looked at the linguistic consequences of this reembedding, arguing for the crucial role of social network theory (e.g. L Milroy 1980, J Milroy and L Milroy 1985, J Milroy 1992) in helping us to understand how new crystallized dialects focused in contact situations. Belich sees the embedding process as one which typified the nineteenth century migrant population to New Zealand: ‘With migration to New Zealand and places like it, a vast swarm of flies burst free from their webs...Once here they needed community, and turned spiders themselves, busily refurbishing bits of old web and spinning new in which to catch themselves and others’ (1997: 412). In many such situations, however, the webs are broken apart by high levels of socio-geographical mobility and transience, and high ongoing levels of immigration. Fairburn (1982) argued strongly that nineteenth century New Zealand was one such community, and that settlement isolation, mobility, transience and individualism led to the emergence of an atomistic society freeing people both from subservience and from the need to conform that tight-knit local communities often engender. Belich (1997: 414) suggests that between half and three-quarters of all households in the mid-nineteenth century were gone ten or fifteen years later. The picture Fairburn paints is of a society with relatively weak social network ties, the sorts of ties that are the breeding ground for rapid supralocal linguistic change (Milroy and Milroy 1985) and a force against rapid new dialect focusing (Trudgill and Britain, forthcoming). Belich is somewhat less eager to accept atomism, suggesting that colonial New Zealand was more urban than often admitted and that urbanization opened up possibilities of community. ‘Atomism and community’, he suggested, ‘were in dialectical struggle, with the latter prone to win: growing islands of the bonded in a diminishing sea of bondlessness’ (1997: 422). The development of stronger network ties goes hand in hand with new dialect focusing, and, here, the emergence of a distinctive New Zealand English.

How was language socially evaluated in the early colonial New Zealand English speech community?

We know very little about this. Traditional arguments about stigmatization of linguistic forms, the hegemony of the standard, the dominant role of the education system, media and other institutions of the state derive from a 20th century view of the (Western) world. We do need to remember the following, however:

- In mid-19th century Britain, when streams of migrants came to New Zealand, compulsory education did not exist. There was, therefore, no universal institutional medium for the vast

majority of children to be indoctrinated with the ideology of the standard, and no formalized locale where children were brought together for that purpose;

- Literacy levels were also very much lower – as Cipolla (1969) highlights, almost a third of bridegrooms and almost half of all brides in Britain were unable to sign their names in the register on their wedding day; Belich puts the illiteracy rate in New Zealand in 1858 at 25% (1997: 393);
- Daily life for many people revolved around survival – it was the extremely poor social conditions in Britain in the 19th century (and before) that prompted *millions* to leave for a better life in North America and the Southern Hemisphere. Food and shelter were more important concerns than mastery of the aspirate - a fair go for the vast majority involved physical not academic toil;
- New Zealand society of the nineteenth century was a less class-ridden one and a less deferent one than the society the migrants left behind. Migrants engaged in what Belich calls ‘custom shedding’: ‘For European settlers migration was a chance to select cultural baggage – to discard as well as take. Highly overt class differences...excessive deference towards the upper classes and customs that publicly implied subordination were leading candidates for the discard pile’ (Belich 1997: 330).

In these circumstances, it seems hard to believe that the standard dialect was even a minor priority for the vast bulk of the population of New Zealand in the mid to late 19th century. It is unlikely to have had a great influence on the linguistic attitudes of most people at this critical time in the formation of NZE. Those whose job it was to worry and fuss about language worried and fussed, as Elizabeth Gordon’s (1983) research on early School Inspectors’ Reports demonstrated. But this, of course, tells us little about how the vast majority evaluated language. Presumably, without a standard indoctrination, evaluations of language (if there were many) in the mid-19th century British Isles would have been much more locally grounded: local versus non-local, young versus old, this village versus the one over the hill or in town on market day, etc, may well have been the salient themes of linguistic and sociolinguistic debate, rather than ‘right’ and ‘wrong’.

It is difficult to judge how ‘in tact’ these locally-oriented evaluations would have remained following the mixing of dialects in colonial New Zealand. Evaluations of the dialect of the next village in Dorset would have become inconsequential when suddenly your neighbours are from Suffolk or London or the Scottish Lowlands or Australia or are Maori. New, more supralocal evaluations may have arisen in the newly forming New Zealand Anglophone community, but certainly this population had better things to do than worry about the state of /au/ or /ai/. I feel that we must be careful, in summary, not to make assumptions that the NZE-forming community of the mid-19th century was a standard-worshipping one, nor to assume

that it was even very aware of what Standard English was like. This preoccupation may have come to some later on, but its effects, given the present-day distinction between RP and NZE, seem to have been pretty unsuccessful.

The Linguistic Variables

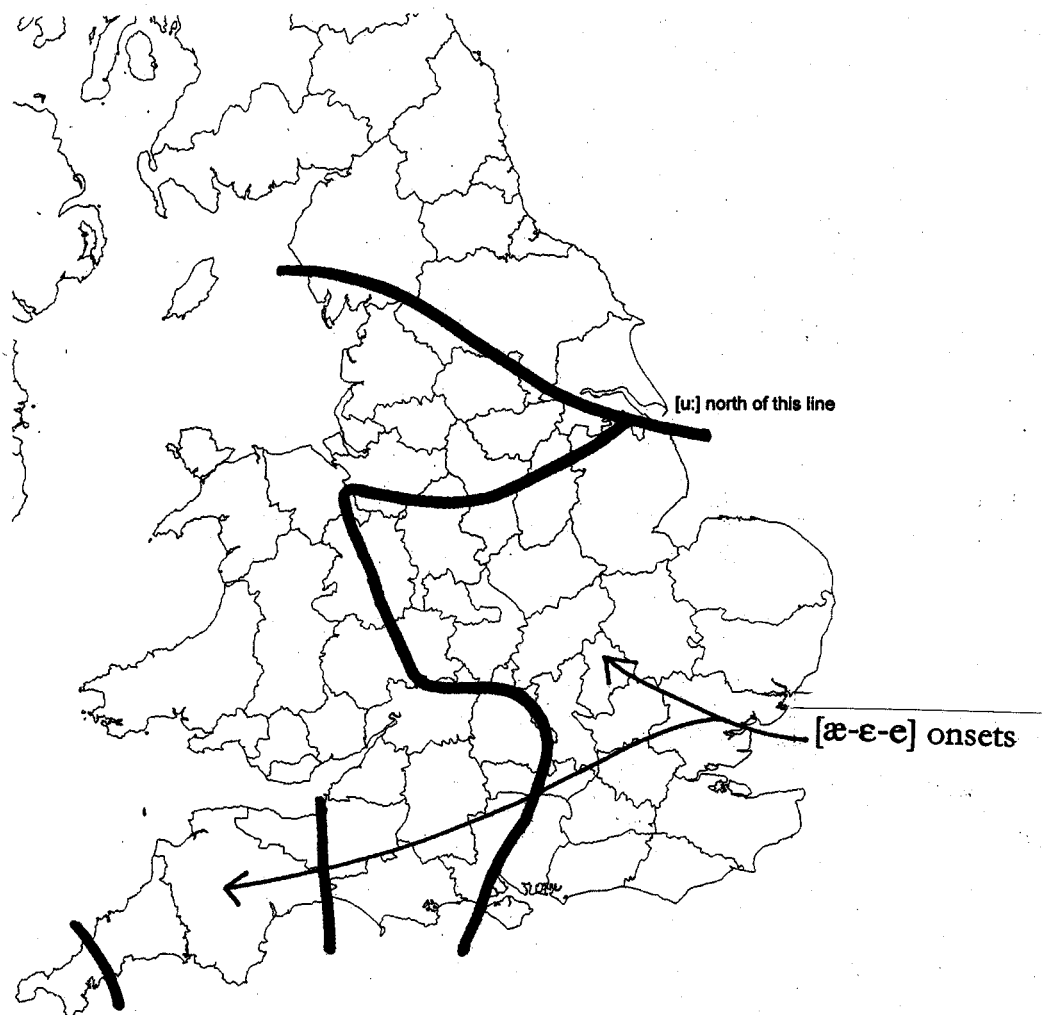
The MOUTH diphthong:

Descriptions of the ‘Southern Shift’ which is assumed to have taken place in New Zealand (e.g. Labov 1994, Wells 1982) and most accounts of the development of present-day NZE realisations of this diphthong – with a mid-open front onset and varying degrees of glide weakening [ɛu - ɛɔ - ɛɪ] - suggest that it is a post-colonial innovation, the onset having raised from [a] (see, for example, Woods 1997, 1999, 2000; Maclagan and Gordon 1996, Maclagan et al 1999, etc, but see Britain 2001a). If this is the case, and given the Founder Principle constraint outlined in the previous section, we should expect to find open onsets of MOUTH a) in those areas of Britain contributing large numbers of migrants to early Anglophone New Zealand and b) in early accounts of NZE. Let’s look at the evidence.

Figures 4a, 4b and 4c show the results of my analysis of the data in Ellis (1889), where I have presented the geographical distribution in England of the three dominant types of MOUTH variant. Areas to the north of the isogloss in northern England – including Scotland - had, according to Ellis, yet to diphthongise the MOUTH vowel, i.e. variants such as [u:] are dominant. The south-east, East Anglia, the Midlands, and large areas of the south-west (in other words, a majority of the population of England at the time) show front mid-open onsets of MOUTH as dominant, according to Ellis’s data. Common also, however, in the south and west, northern parts of East Anglia, the Home Counties, the West Midlands, and small pockets in Lincolnshire, Derbyshire and South Yorkshire are central onsets of MOUTH, around [ɔ - ɜ]. Together these front mid-open and central onsets of MOUTH dominate the south and Midlands of England, precisely those areas which sent large numbers of migrants to New Zealand, as we saw earlier. Realisations of MOUTH with open onsets - [au] – have a much more restricted geographical distribution, and are found in the northern Midlands and the north-west, as well as in the extreme west of Cornwall and as one of the variants found in London.

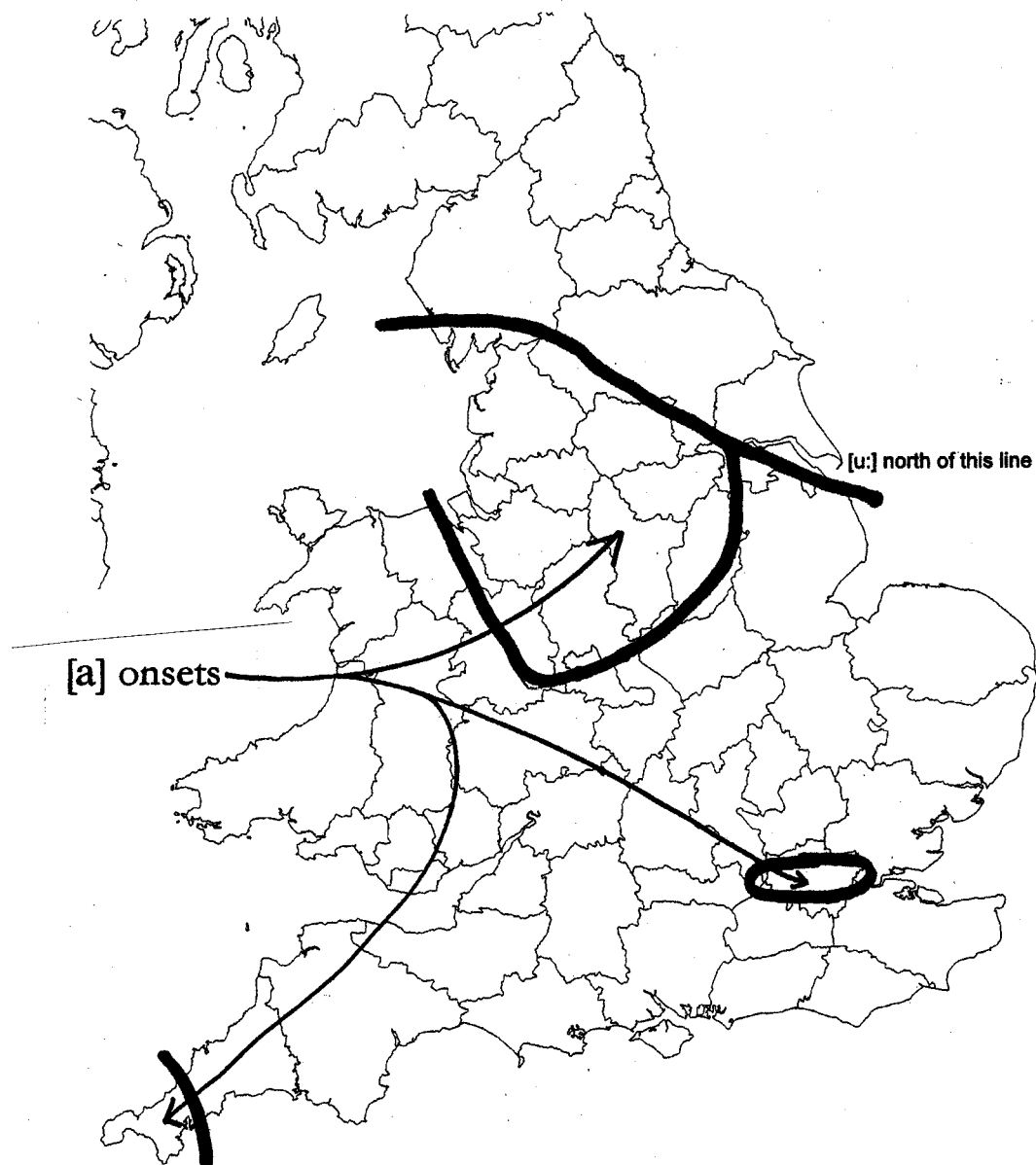
Figure 5 presents the data for MOUTH in Kurath and Lowman (1970) - a survey of dialects in Southern England conducted in 1930. Their comments on the geographical distribution of the different variants will

Figure 4a: The geographical distribution of front mid-open variants of MOUTH in Ellis (1889).



suffice here: 'in most of the eastern counties...the reflex of ME \bar{u} is a diphthong starting in mid-front or lowered mid-front position and gliding up toward [u]. In the central counties this [ɛʊ - ɛɥ - æʊ] is universal. In Norfolk and...the western counties ME \bar{u} has yielded [əʊ]...it is noteworthy that the

Figure 4b: The geographical distribution of fully open forms of MOUTH in Ellis (1889).



Standard British English type [au] does not occur in the folk speech of the section of England dealt with here³.

We have relatively little evidence of the pronunciation of MOUTH in Scotland and Ireland in the 19th century, beyond evidence presented by Ellis (1889) that the Great Vowel Shift had not begun in the far north of England and Scotland (and hence had forms such as [u:] or possibly [ʊu]) and Wright's evidence for the British Isles as a whole. Descriptions of present-day Scottish and Irish English suggest that these 19th century descriptions were largely accurate for MOUTH, since Lass, Wells and others all show relatively conservative central onsets for many locations today. Hickey has suggested that 19th century Dublin had [ɛʊ] (personal communication; see also Hickey 1999: 212).

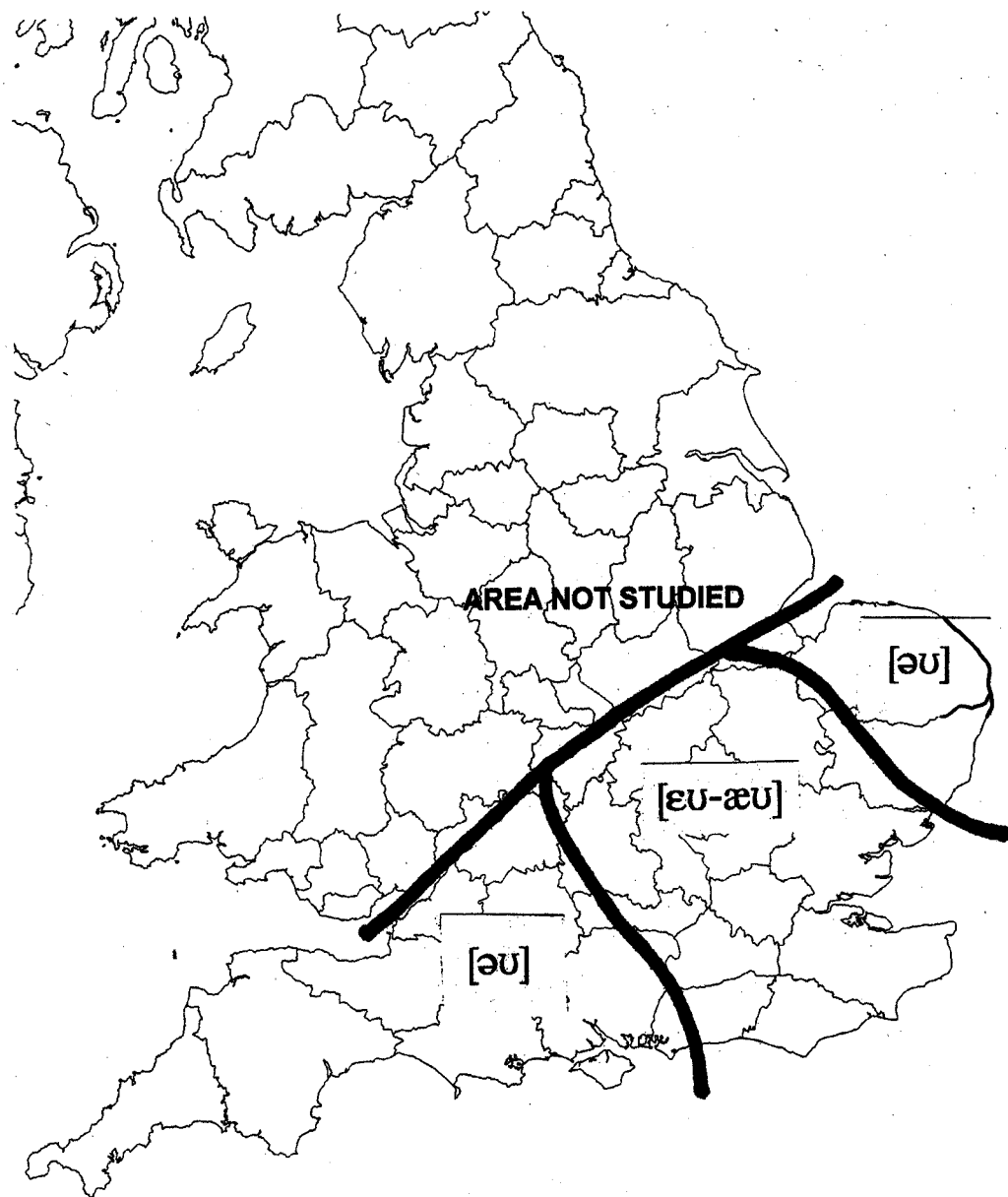
The earliest evidence we have of MOUTH variants in Australian English comes from McBurney (Ellis 1889, see also Britain 2001a, Kniezsa 1997). Diphthongs with front mid-open onsets dominate. Ellis (1889: 237), commenting on McBurney's description, suggested that 'on the whole...a visitor from England to Australasia finds great resemblance to the mode of speech he has left behind him'. He claims that a characteristic of Cockney is 'alteration of the first factor of *ow* in *cow*, so that it is written *kyow* or *caow* [kjɛ'u, kæ'u] (= IPA [kʰɛʊ kʰɛʊ] – DB, following Eustace 1969) [which] has nearly naturalised itself in Australia'. In a rarely cited article, Gunn (1975:11), talking about the role of the early settlers in the formation of Australian English, stated that '/æʊ/, the form established in Australia, must have been very common in these general or advanced speakers'.

The demographic and historical sociolinguistic analysis of the New Zealand migrant population highlights a number of points very clearly indeed:

- Firstly, by far the most dominant variant of MOUTH among the settlers to New Zealand would have had a front mid-open onset. This is shown by the fact that those very areas which saw heavy migration to New Zealand are those areas which, as agreed by several dialect surveys, predominantly used mid-open onsets. These include the south of England, parts of Ireland, and Australia.
- The [au] realisations of MOUTH, necessary for the raising hypothesis to be valid, are found very sparsely indeed in areas which sent significant numbers of migrants, and are more popular in areas which sent relatively few migrants – the North of England.

³ The same picture is portrayed by Wright (1905). See Britain 2001 for maps confirming the dominance of front mid-open forms in his data.

Figure 5: The geographical distribution of variants of MOUTH in Kurath and Lowman (1970).



- Other variants would have also been present in the dialect mix: these include variants with central onsets [əʊ], found far more extensively across England than [aʊ], as well as in Scotland and Ireland, and noted as a minority form in New Zealand by McBurney (Ellis 1889: 241), and pre-Great Vowel Shift [u:] -type variants from Scotland and the far north of England.

In a detailed discussion of the history of MOUTH in NZE (Britain 2001a), I argue that the present day realization of MOUTH in conversational NZE (around [ɛə]) emerged because it was the victor – as the dominant, majority and innovative form - of dialect levelling in the early Anglophone community in New Zealand. Evidence from the analyses of the earliest New Zealand English (e.g. Trudgill et al 2000a, and work by Woods⁴ 1997, 1999, 2000) to the latest (Britain 2001a) demonstrate this (bearing in mind that several studies have relied solely on word-list data which somewhat skews the results in the direction of the standard)⁵.

The PRICE diphthong

In major theoretical accounts of vowel changes across the world's Englishes, the realization of the PRICE diphthong is often considered to be parallel to that of MOUTH. Both are considered to have diphthongised from long close vowels as part of the Great Vowel Shift, and both are assumed to have 'crossed over' each other (with the onset of MOUTH becoming front and the onset of PRICE becoming back) in standard accounts of the evolution of some dialects (including New Zealand English) (e.g. Wells 1982). In some dialects they show parallel allophonic conditioning. In General Canadian English, for example, the onsets of both PRICE and MOUTH are central before voiceless consonants and open elsewhere: 'night time' [nɔɪt tɑɪm] and 'about town' [əbəʊt taʊn]. Given that the PRICE diphthong in present day New Zealand English is around [pɛ] (Bauer 1988:235), it is not surprising that this back non-fully open variant too is considered to have been the result of raising from a standard 'post-Great Vowel Shift' [aɪ]. For MOUTH, however, we saw that this view was erroneous. Let us now consider whether it is true for PRICE.

Figures 6a, b, c and d present the geographical distributions across Great Britain of the different variants of PRICE found by Ellis (1889). Again, if we wish to posit a raising hypothesis, we need to find that fully open variants of PRICE are dominant enough to level away the competition. Figure 6a shows the distribution of

⁴ Woods disagrees about this view of MOUTH in NZE, claiming that it is an innovation, a raising from [aʊ]. Her own data, I feel, contradict this view (see Britain 2001: 46-47).

⁵ A detailed review of past commentary and research on MOUTH in NZE can be found in Britain 2001: 46-50.

open onsets in the Ellis data. The area with open onsets is much larger than the area with open onsets of MOUTH (Figure 4b above) but again the area in which they are dominant is one that sent few migrants to New Zealand - the English north. However, open onsets of PRICE are found:

- In Cornwall and Devon in the South-west (alongside central onsets – see below), an area that did send many settlers to NZ;
- In north-east Scotland (alongside other variants)
- Alongside other variants, in parts of Suffolk and London.

It is likely therefore that more fully open variants of PRICE were found in mid-19th century NZE than fully open variants of MOUTH. But were there enough for this to form the dominant variant? Figure 6b shows the area using back mid-open [ɔɪ - ɒɪ] onsets in the Ellis data. Although covering a smaller area than that with fully open onsets, it falls entirely within that which Arnold (Figure 2) claimed to be the origin of most settlers. It is the dominant variant in the important counties of Kent and Essex, as well as in other counties around London and in the Midlands, including Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire. It would have been at least as important a variant in the early colonial New Zealand English speech community as the fully open one.

As Figure 6c shows, however, central onsets of PRICE may well have been dominant in mid-19th century NZE. They cover East Anglia, parts of London and many of the counties around it, the South, the South Midlands, the West and much of the South-West, as well as part of the Scottish lowlands. Other variants found in Ellis, such as [ɛɪ] and [i:] are found as variants in Scotland and the north of England. Overall the geolinguistic distribution of these variants suggests two ongoing developments in southern England in the mid-19th century. In Devon and Cornwall, where the variants [ɔɪ] and [aɪ] are found, a change is possibly underway from the former to the latter. There is no evidence of back variants there. Across most of the south of England, however, the dominant variants are [ɔɪ] and [ɒɪ] suggesting a change underway directly from the former to the latter, without going through a [aɪ] stage. If such a stage had been on the route of the change, we would expect to find at least some geographical evidence of it – apart from the small area in Suffolk - between areas with the conservative [ɔɪ] form and those with the innovative [ɒɪ] form.

Hickey claims that the conservative Irish English form of PRICE was [ɔɪ], and this is supported by Wells (1982) and Lass (1987). Vernacular Australian English today has a back variant [ɒɪ] (Horvath 1985:14) similar to that of New Zealand. Lee (1989) found, for example, that in 2 Brisbane state-run schools, pupils used [ɒɪ] or [ɔɪ] variants in 86% of tokens. In early Australian English, however, this picture is less clear. A

Figure 6a: The geographical distribution of fully open variants of PRICE in Ellis (1889).

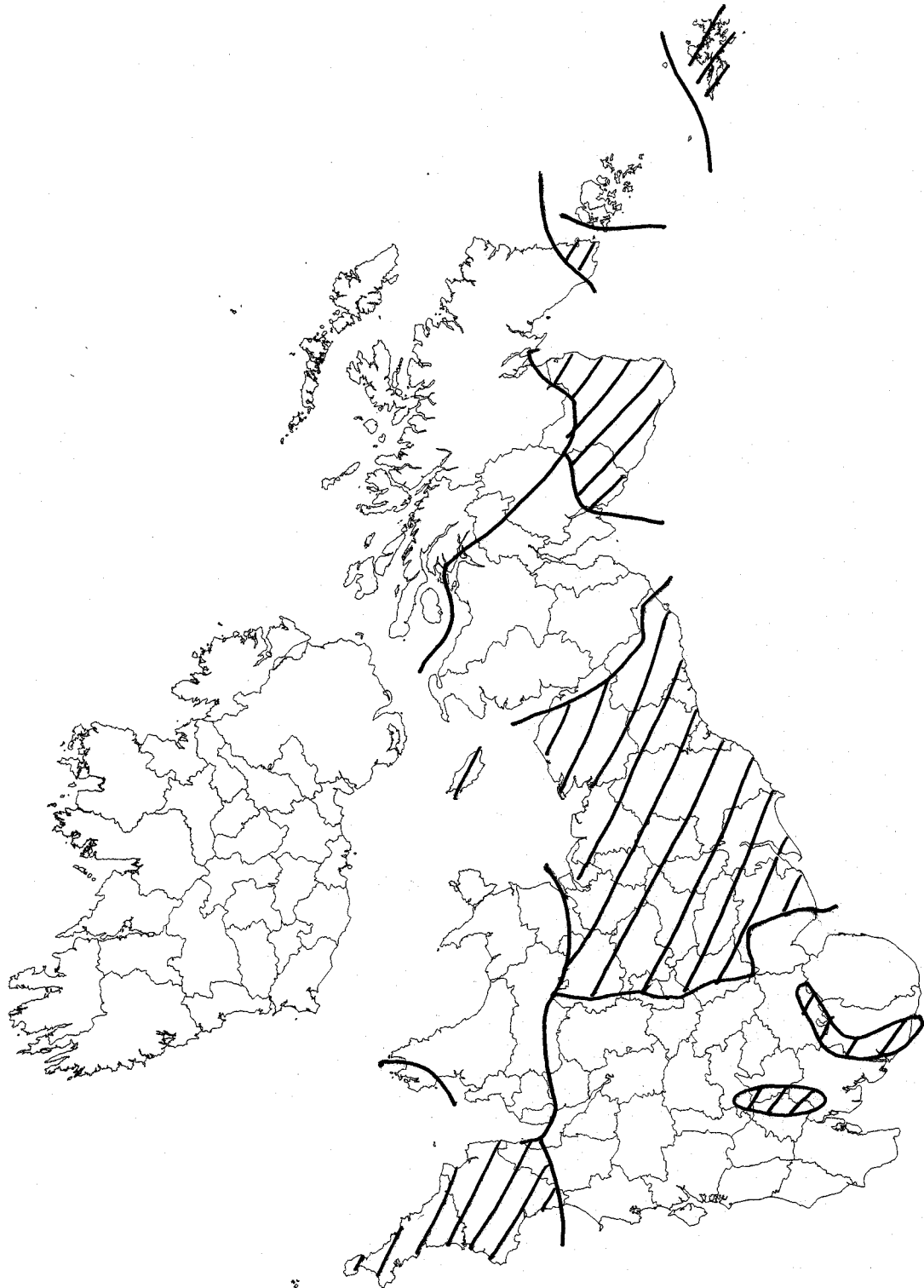


Figure 6b: The geographical distribution of back, non-fully open ([ɒi - ɔi]) variants of PRICE in Ellis (1889).

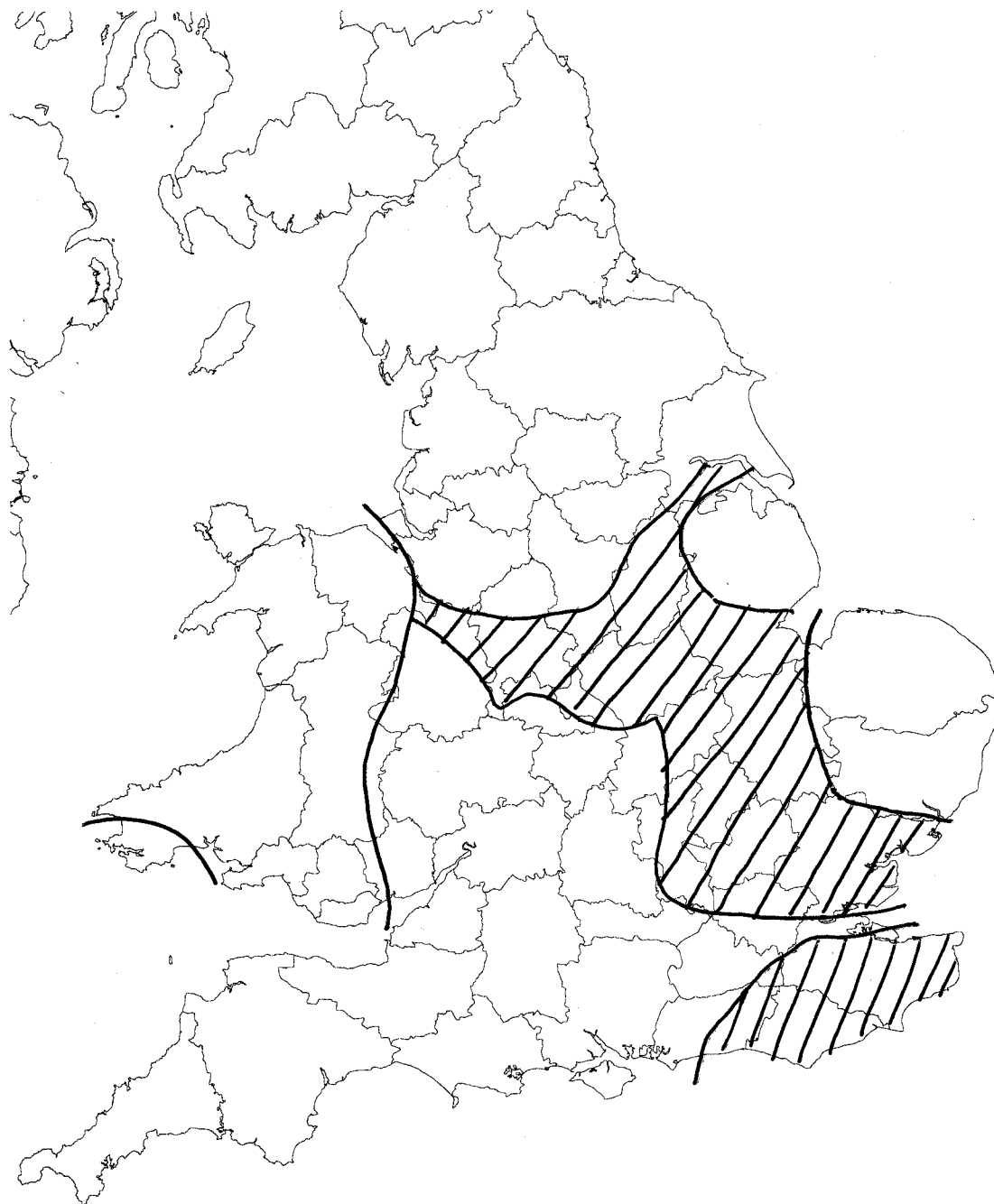


Figure 6c: The geographical distribution of variants of PRICE with central nuclei in Ellis (1889).

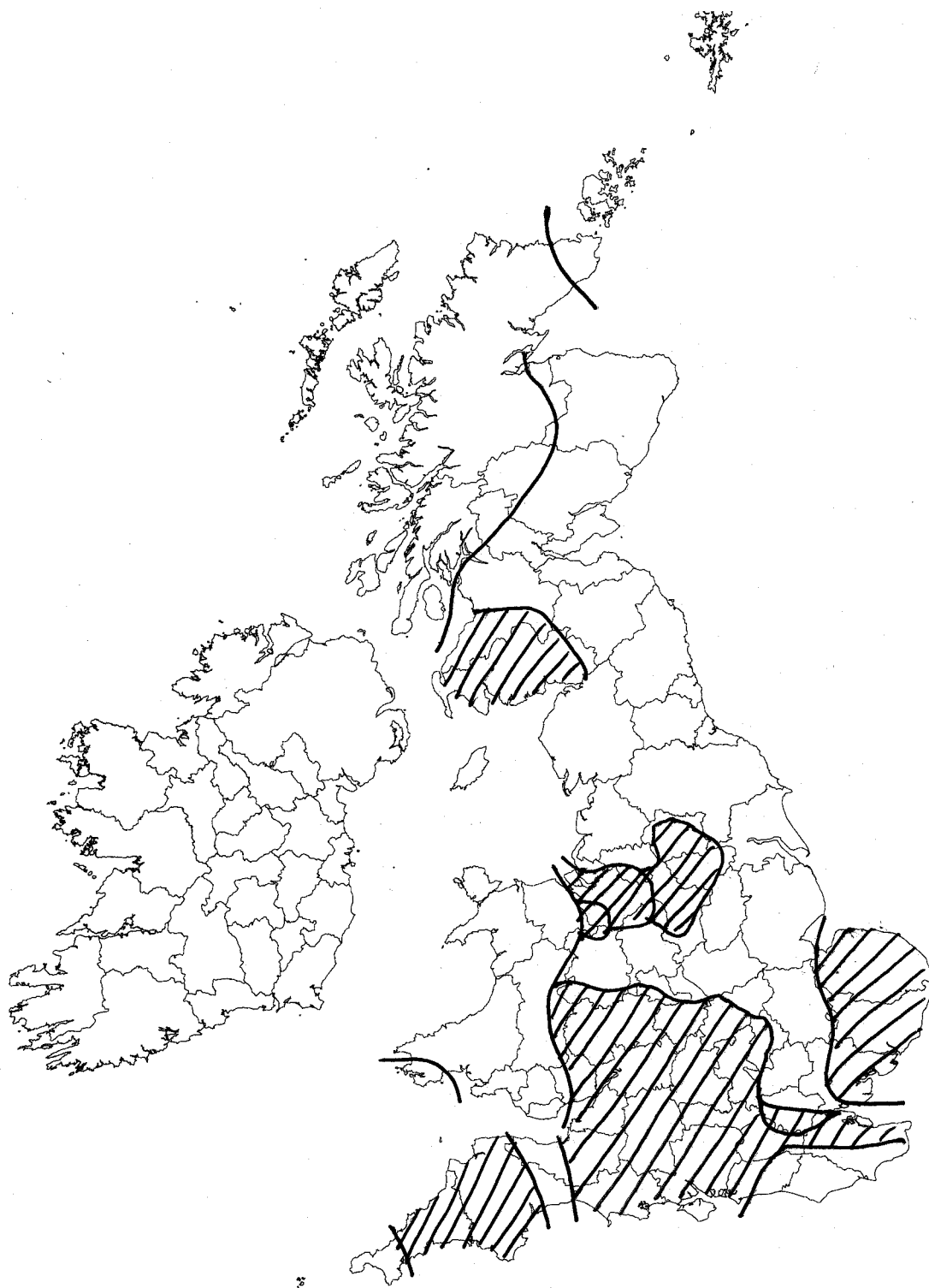
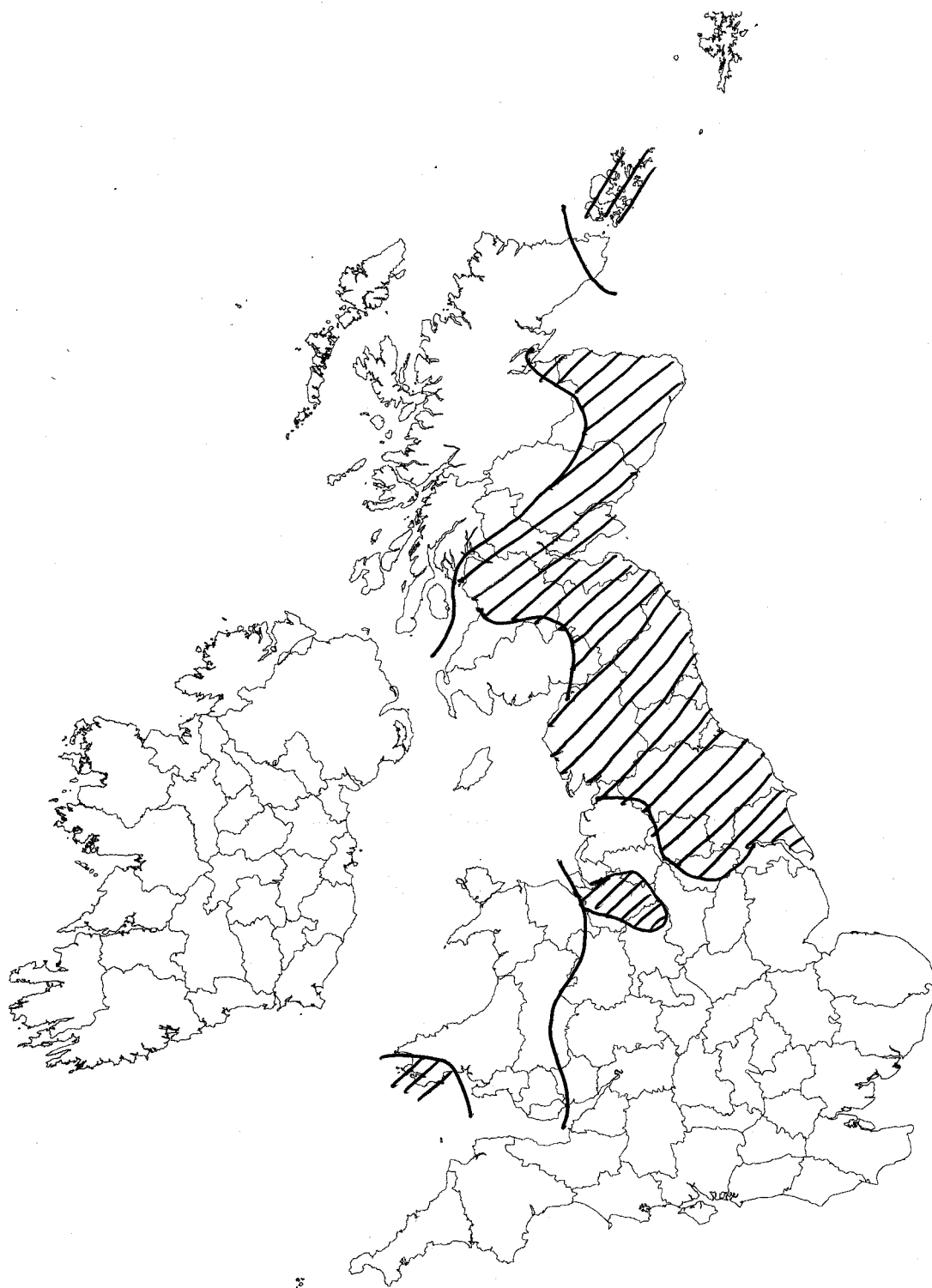


Figure 6d: The geographical distribution of other variants of PRICE in Ellis (1889). These include front onset variants (e.g. [ɛi]) and non-diphthongised ones [i:].



number of locations in Victoria, as well as Sydney, have ‘a few’ or ‘some, several but less than half’ PRICE onsets of [ɹ - ɹ̥]⁶, whilst those variants are in a majority in Tasmania (Ellis 1889: 240-241). It has been claimed (Hill 1967, Kniezsa 1997) that Ellis’s data on Australia is too late to capture first generation Australian English, but it is possibly not too late to provide a snapshot of what Australians migrating to early Anglophone New Zealand would have taken. Given that the Australian settler mix is a slightly earlier one than that for NZ, it is possible that the innovative changes in PRICE to [ɹɪ] underway in Britain were less advanced and therefore less widespread in early AusE than a generation or so later in NZE. Indeed when we consider McBurney’s data in Ellis (1889) for early New Zealand English, quite a different picture for PRICE is found (See Table 2) Back [ɹɪ - ɹɪ] variants are consistently used by boys across New Zealand, while girls use a wide range of forms – mostly open ones but also central ones, back ones and ‘unanalysed’ ones that were probably not fully open (Ellis 1889: 78, 87, 241). This finding is confirmed by Trudgill et al (2000a: 313) who claim that 75% of the 62 speakers in their sample have ‘diphthong shifting’ (use of [ɹɪ] in the case of PRICE – DB), and by Gordon’s research on early School Inspectors Reports (Gordon 1983, 1994, 1998). She finds that comment on back rounded onsets of PRICE begins in 1889, before that on front mid-open onsets of MOUTH, and that criticism was even made of the speech of *teachers* with respect to this feature (1998: 73). She adds however that ‘diphthong shifting’ of PRICE is less advanced than that of MOUTH (1998: 74). The sex difference highlighted by Ellis has persisted into modern times (Bayard 1987: 17; Maclagan et al 1999: 28), though we have no quantitative evidence as yet from analyses of informal conversational NZE. Both Bayard (1987) and Maclagan et al (1999) were based on recordings of formal word list reading. These almost certainly overestimate the amount of standard realizations in the vernacular speech community.

It seems clear, then, that the early speech community was very diffuse. Evidence from the Ellis (1889) survey and from McBurney’s evidence from early NZE shows this to be the case. The back onset, common in south-eastern England and parts of the southern Midlands according to Ellis, seems to have taken hold fairly quickly, given the evidence of McBurney (who showed boys right across the country using it). The central onset – the dominant one in early to mid 19th century Britain – survived to the end of the century vestigially given McBurney’s account. And forms with fully open onsets were variably used by girls. Today, in conversational NZE, back variants dominate. So what has happened to PRICE? I would argue that given that back variants were a vigorous *vernacular* innovation in mid-19th century southern England – an area from which large numbers of settlers went to New Zealand - these forms, back in England, possibly held considerable ‘covert’ prestige among many of the settlers whose social origins were largely

⁶ This is Eustace’s ‘translation’ of Ellis’s palaeotype symbol {A} (see Eustace 1969: 40-41).

Table 2: The realisation of PRICE in varieties of early New Zealand English according to McBurney (in Ellis, 1889: 241), with IPA equivalents from Eustace (1969).

Ellis' transcription (1889: 241)	IPA equivalent, following Eustace (1969)
{ <i>ai</i> }	[aɪ]
{ <i>ai̠</i> }	[aɪ̠]
{ <i>a¹i</i> }	‘an unanalyzed diphthong used where the first element has not been determined’ (Ellis 1889: 78). Ellis makes it clear that the onset can be anywhere lower than central, front or back. The { ¹ } symbol translates as [V̥] (Ellis 1889:87 ‘with a higher tongue or appreciated as a higher sound’) so we can also assume that this vowel was not fully open.
{ <i>A¹i</i> }	[ɤɪ]
{ <i>A¹i̠</i> }	[ɤɪ̠]
{ <i>ə¹i</i> }	[ɜɪ]
Auckland	Girls generally have [aɪ] and boys [ɤɪ] or [ɜɪ] in ‘die’, ‘my’, ‘might’.
Wellington and Napier	Boys [ɤɪ] or [ɜɪ], girls the ‘unanalysed’ diphthong, and some [aɪ].
Nelson and Christchurch	Girls generally have [aɪ] or the unanalyzed diphthong, and boys [ɤɪ] or [ɜɪ]
Dunedin	Boys generally and girls sometimes have [ɤɪ] or [ɜɪ], girls mainly have [aɪ], but have [ɜɪ] before voiceless consonants.

upper working class and skilled manual (Belich 1997: 333)⁷. They may well have been viewed as contemporary and forward-looking in comparison to the rather conservative central forms of the rural south, which, it appears were largely levelled away by the turn of the century in New Zealand. Fully open onsets were rather fewer in number in the settler population, but were the target of change of some south-western dialects and, over time, became associated with more standard forms, producing today’s situation where [aɪ] and [ɤɪ] sit in a standard/non-standard (rather than parent-child) relationship⁸. This appears to be a case of levelling, with a socially prestigious, innovative variant winning out (and rather quickly it

⁷ Since the British input to Australian English would have been drawn a few decades earlier than the input to New Zealand, the area using innovative back variants of PRICE in Britain was presumably smaller. This perhaps helps to explain why McBurney finds greater amounts of the back onset in New Zealand than across the other side of the Tasman.

⁸ We have no diachronic evidence (once more – see Britain 2001) at this time of a raising process underway in the first century of NZE’s existence (nor even later). We know that both [ɤɪ] and [aɪ] variants were present in early NZE, but to show that the [aɪ] variants became less widely used does not demonstrate raising, but, possibly, a destigmatisation of [ɤɪ] or the loss of *speech community* recognition of [aɪ] as a standard form.

seems), instead of the simple majority form, and with the [aɪ] variant (re)allocated a (later) role as a standard variant.

The FACE diphthong

Like MOUTH and PRICE, the FACE diphthong is assumed to be taking part in Southern (Labov 1994) or Diphthong (Wells 1982) shift, with, in this case, the nucleus of the diphthong both centralizing and lowering from an initial [eɪ] position to forms around [ʌɪ], [ɐɪ], [aɪ] or [æɪ] (see for example, Wells 1982: 307, Labov 1994: 210-211 and Tollfree 1999: 166 for London; Williams and Kerswill 1999: 143, 145 for Milton Keynes and Reading; Trudgill 1999: 129 and Labov 1994: 206 for Norwich; Labov 1994: 215-216 for Birmingham, Alabama). This trend is also apparent in some but not all of the Southern Hemisphere Englishes⁹. Horvath (1985: 69) suggests [ʌɪ] for the Australian English of Sydney. Lee (1989) shows Brisbane adolescents using a clear majority of [æɪ - ʌɪ] tokens. Bayard (1987: 33) shows that 50% of tokens of FACE in his Dunedin corpus of reading passage/word list data were [ɐɪ - ʌɪ], while Bauer (1988: 235) puts the present-day New Zealand form at around [ɐe] and Allan and Starks (1999: 65) suggest [æe] or [ɐə]. Given that there was clear evidence of a British antecedent for 'shifted' variants of MOUTH and PRICE, the analysis of data from Ellis (1889) should highlight whether this was the case for FACE too.

Figure 7 shows that the mid-19th century English dialect landscape still retained distinct forms of ME **ā** (as in *daȝe*) and **ai** (as in *daȝs*) in many places, including those shaded on the map where only the nuclei of ME **ai** were lower than [ɛ]¹⁰. The blocked area, mostly the county of Essex, shows merged forms of ME **ā** and **ai** and with a merged form lower than [ɛ]. It is interesting to note that the most advanced forms for FACE are also found in the same place as the most advanced variants of PRICE and MOUTH. Considerable areas of Southern England (and beyond) however, do not have more open nuclei of FACE in either lexical subset: they were not present (in Ellis 1889) in either East Anglia or the South West (both of which preserved distinct but non-lowered forms) or in Scotland or Ireland.

The dialect variant pool in early New Zealand, therefore, would have consisted of merged open variants, split systems with more open variants in the ME **ai** subset, and split systems with no lowering in either subset. In their analyses of the Mobile Unit data, Trudgill et al (2000a: 306) note individual speakers with

⁹ Exceptions, for example, include the Englishes of the Falkland Islands and South Africa where FACE has an [eɪ - ɛɪ] type realization (Sudbury 2001: 68; Lass 1987: 305).

Figure 7: The geographical distribution of the lowering of the nucleus of FACE in Ellis (1889). The blocked area denotes the distribution of dialects with onsets lower than [ɛ] both ME ā and ME ai words. The shaded area denotes the distribution of dialects with onsets lower than [ɛ] in the ME ai lexical set only.



¹⁰ There is somewhat of a parallel here with mid-19th century British realizations of the GOAT lexical set. In Britain 2001b, I show that very few areas of England at that time had merged ME **ou** (the GROWN lexical set) and ME **ɔ:** (the GROAN lexical set).

differing systems of FACE: ‘Mr Ritchie...distinguishes between [eʔ] reflexes of ME *ā* as in *gate* and [ɛɪ] reflexes of ME *ai* as in *chain*. Mrs. Ritchie does not have this feature at all’. As one might expect given the much more circumscribed geolinguistic distribution of nucleus-lowered forms in southern England presented in Figure 7, Gordon (1998: 74) shows that the amount of diphthong shifting of the FACE diphthong was significantly lower than that for MOUTH or PRICE in the Mobile Unit data, and that School Inspector comments about variant FACE usage came later than those about MOUTH and PRICE (1998: 73; see also Gordon 1983, 1994). McBurney (in Ellis 1889: 240-241) shows lowered variants of FACE as ‘general or almost all’, ‘some or several’ or ‘a few’ in several locations in Victoria, Tasmania, Brisbane and Sydney, Australia, but only in Wellington and Napier were such variants found in New Zealand. However, two Scottish teachers in Napier recounted to him that ‘the children used to be very bad’ using {aʔi} (= roughly [ɐɪ] following Eustace 1969 (DB)) in words such as ‘acorn’ and ‘stately’ (Ellis 1889: 246). It seems apparent, therefore, that even though there would have been some lowered nucleus ‘targets’ in the early Anglophone speech community, they would not have been dominant and therefore much of the progress with this change would have taken place on New Zealand soil.

The FLEECE vowel

The diphthongisation of FLEECE is, in some respects, rather different from the other Southern Shift changes discussed here, in that it has failed to attract the attention of the complaint tradition in New Zealand to the extent that MOUTH, PRICE and FACE have (Bauer 1986: 236). Diphthongisation of differing degrees of divergence between nucleus and offglide have been noted in the literature in those speech communities supposedly undergoing Southern Shift. Trudgill (1999: 129) notes [ɪi] for Norwich, Williams and Kerswill (1999: 143) [i - ʔi] for Reading and Milton Keynes; Tollfree (1999: 165) shows [i: - i: - ʔi:] for South East London, while Wells (1982: 306) shows variation from [ɪi] to [ɐi] for London (see also Labov 1994: 210). Labov shows diphthongisation in Wanchese, North Carolina (Labov 1994: 212). Horvath (1985: 69) notes [ɐi] for Sydney Australian English. Once again, the Falklands and South Africa do not seem to be so readily participating. Lass reports [i:] (1987: 305) for South Africa as does Sudbury (2001: 68) for the Falklands, who adds that diphthongisation ‘is not at all common’. Bayard (1995: 51) notes variation from [ɪi] to [ɐi], and, in a quantitative investigation shows that 90% of tokens in his corpus showed some diphthongisation (1987: 34). Bauer (1986: 236), too, suggests [ɐi].

Figure 8 presents a geographical distribution of diphthongised FLEECE variants in Ellis's (1889) British data. Apart from a small area of Kent, the dominant areas of diphthongisation are parts of Yorkshire and Cumbria – relatively low donors of migrants to New Zealand- and the West Midlands (which, incidentally, retain quite heavy diphthongisation of FLEECE to this day (Wells 1982: 363, Mathisen 1999: 109)).

McBurney's account (in Ellis 1889) of late nineteenth century AusE and NZE shows a little lowering of the onset for a few locations in Victoria and Tasmania, but none in New Zealand at all. Of the four 'Southern Shift' variables discussed, there is less evidence of pre-migration shift for this feature than any of the other three, suggesting that, even more clearly than for FACE, this change took off in New Zealand, perhaps germinated among a few of the migrants.

H Dropping:

The dropping of syllable initial /h/ is not a frequently occurring phenomenon in present-day NZE. As Bell and Holmes have shown, once third person pronouns and auxiliaries have been excluded, young speakers in Porirua deleted /h/ just over 10% of the time (1992: 232). Interestingly, however, their data - presented here in Figure 9 - show an apparent-time decline in /h/ dropping, with older speakers on average almost twice as likely to drop /h/ as the young. Some sub-groups of the community had even higher levels of /h/ dropping. They show, for example, that Maori men over 40 have /h/ dropping levels in excess of 30% (1992: 235). Their research presents a picture of a steadily declining feature.

The earlier historical evidence supports this picture. Figure 10 shows the geographical distribution of /h/ dropping in Great Britain based on Ellis (1889). Some areas from which significant numbers of settlers came (Scotland, East Anglia, Devon and Cornwall) retain /h/, while other major contributing areas – most of the rest of the south – are /h/ deleting. In addition, Ireland is /h/ retaining (McCafferty (1999), Hickey (1999)). So, given that /h/ deletion has had innovative force in Britain since the early 19th century, and given that Australia had a higher proportion than New Zealand of /h/ retaining Irish in their settler mix (Nicholas and Shergold (1988: 26) show that just over 33% of convicts transported to New South Wales between 1817 and 1840 were from Ireland) we might expect that the settler mix to Australia – a generation earlier and with more Irish- was slightly less /h/ deleting than New Zealand's. Support for this idea comes from historical and contemporary evidence. Samuel McBurney, reporting in Ellis (1889) shows /h/ deletion in the word 'here' as being far more common in New Zealand than in Australia, and, more recently, Horvath (1985: 101) has found somewhat lower levels of /h/ dropping in Australia than Bell and

Figure 8: The geographical distribution of diphthongised variants of FLEECE in Ellis (1889)

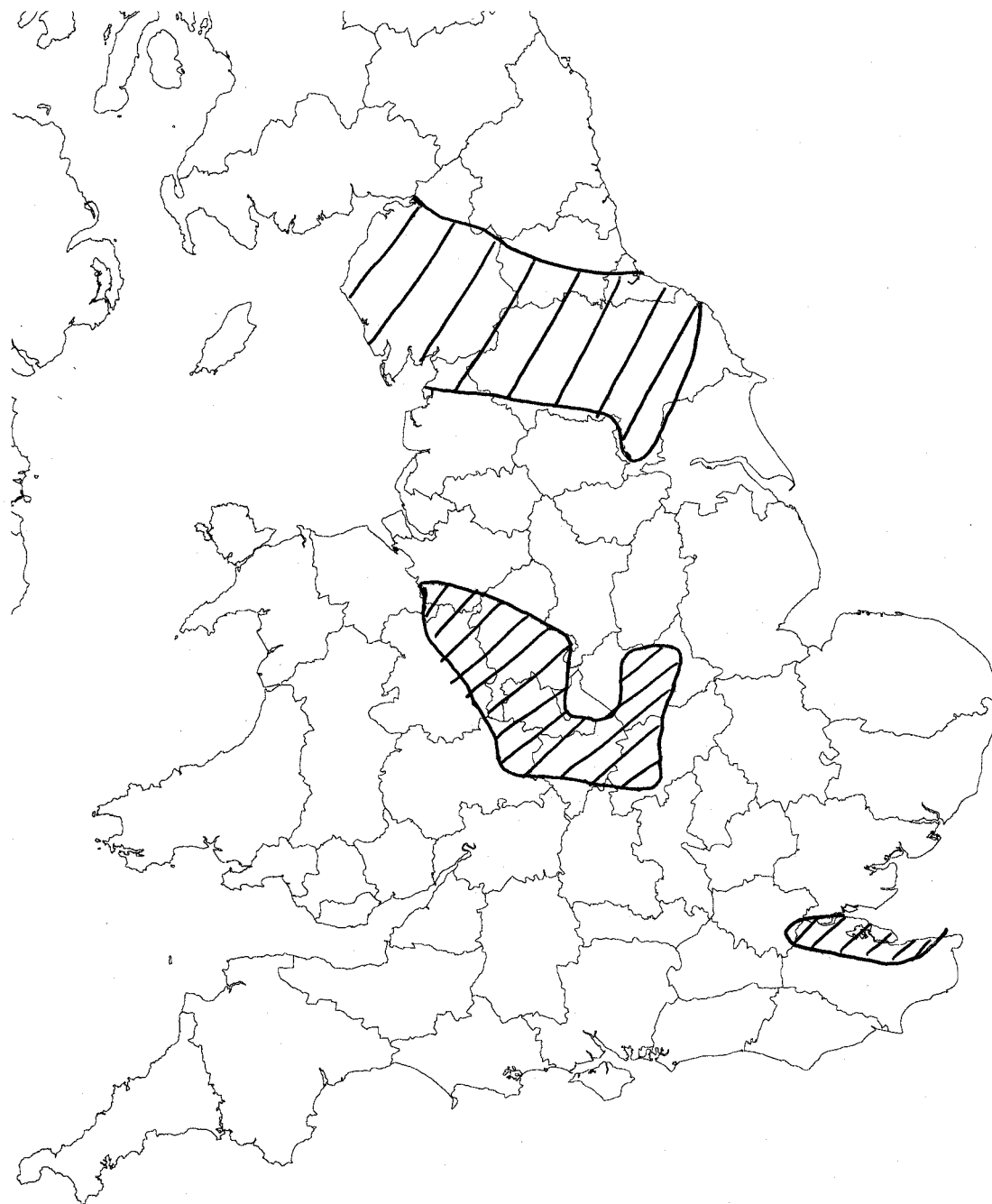


Figure 9: /h/ dropping in Wellington English across three age groups
(from Bell and Holmes 1992)

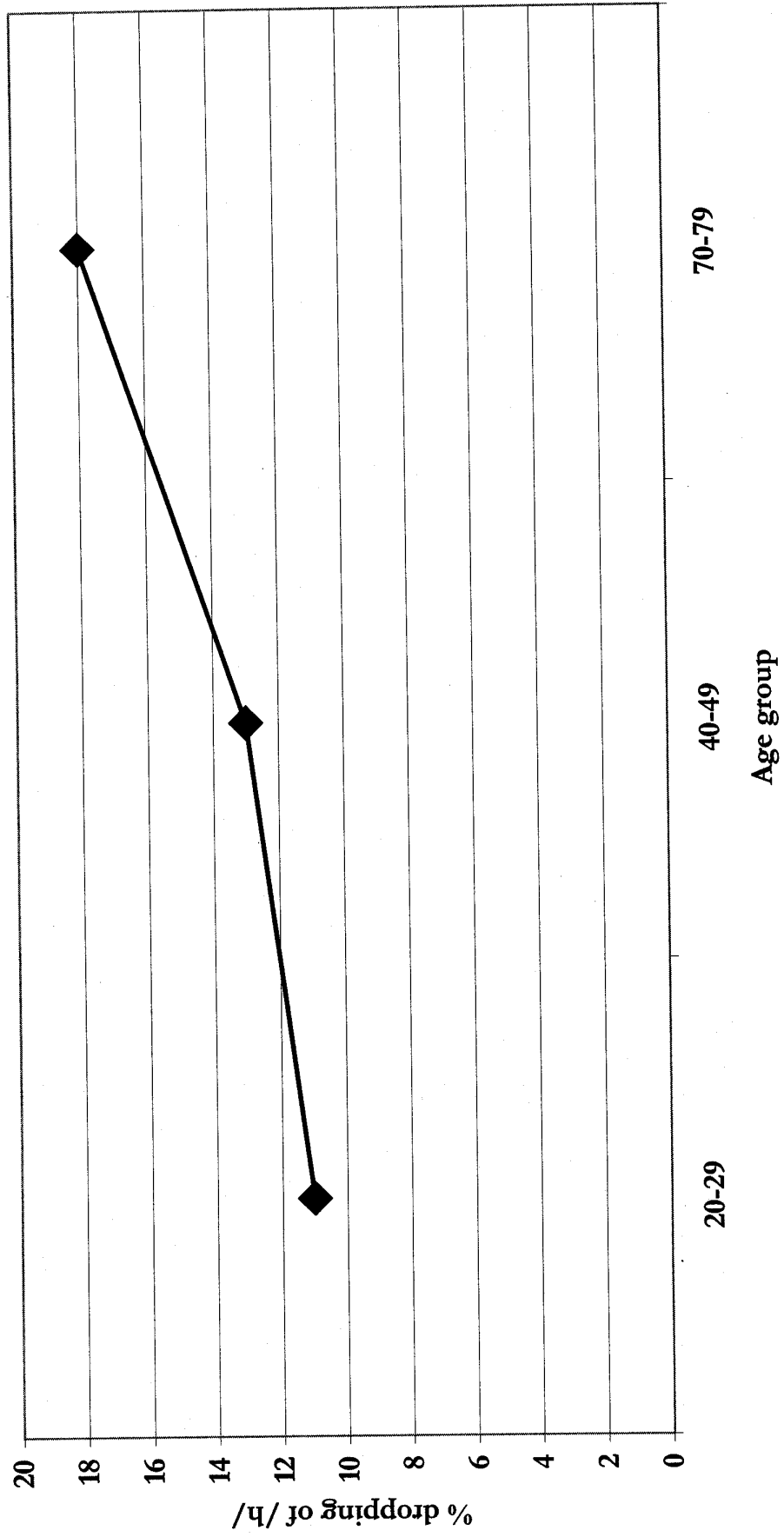
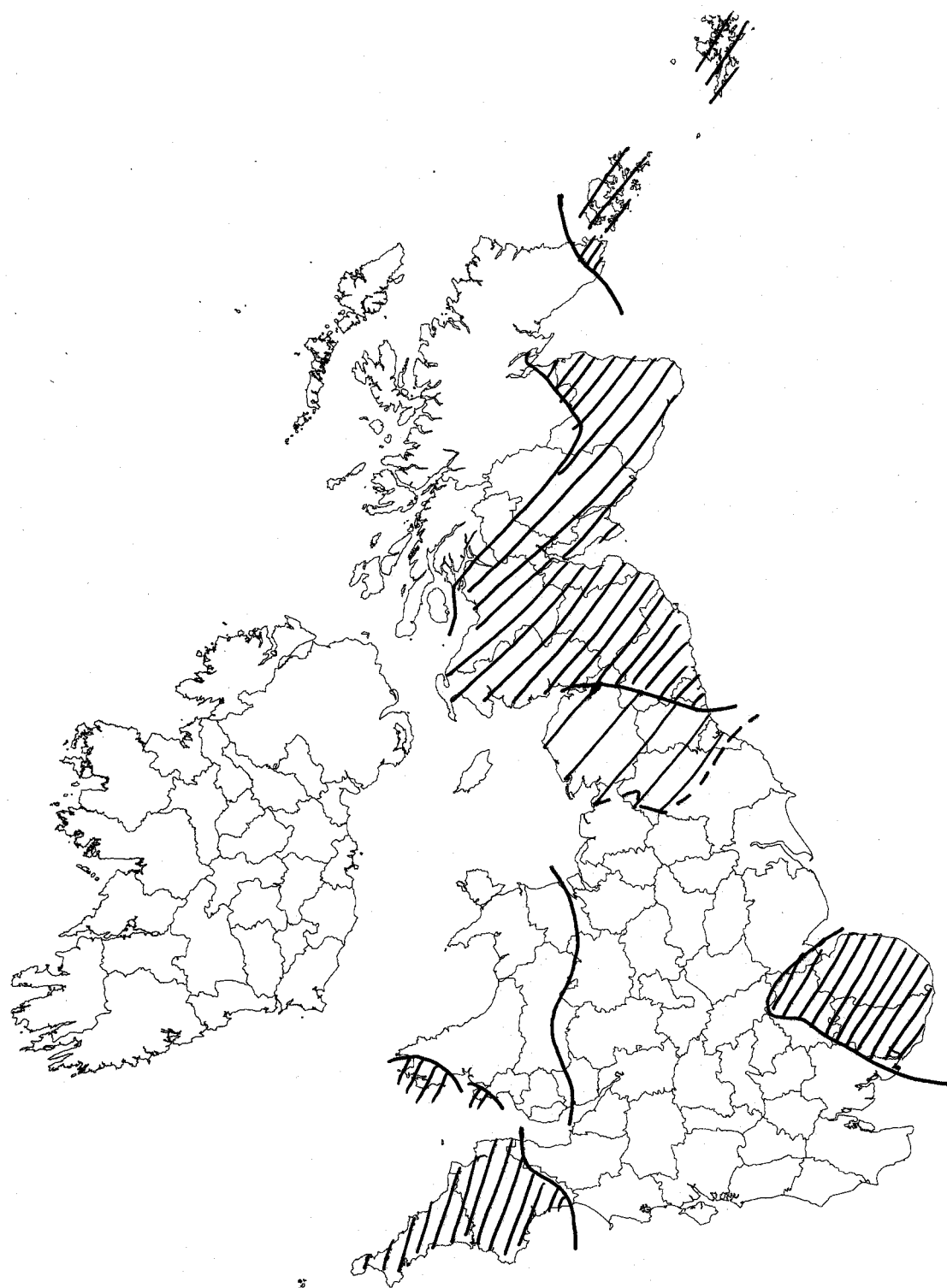


Figure 10: The geographical distribution of /h/ retention in Ellis (1889). The heavy shading denotes areas with /h/ retention throughout. The lighter shading denotes areas with /h/ retention in rural areas, but not urban.



Holmes did for New Zealand. The Australian influence in the emerging NZE speech community, therefore, may well have been (quantitatively) pulling down levels of /h/ dropping.

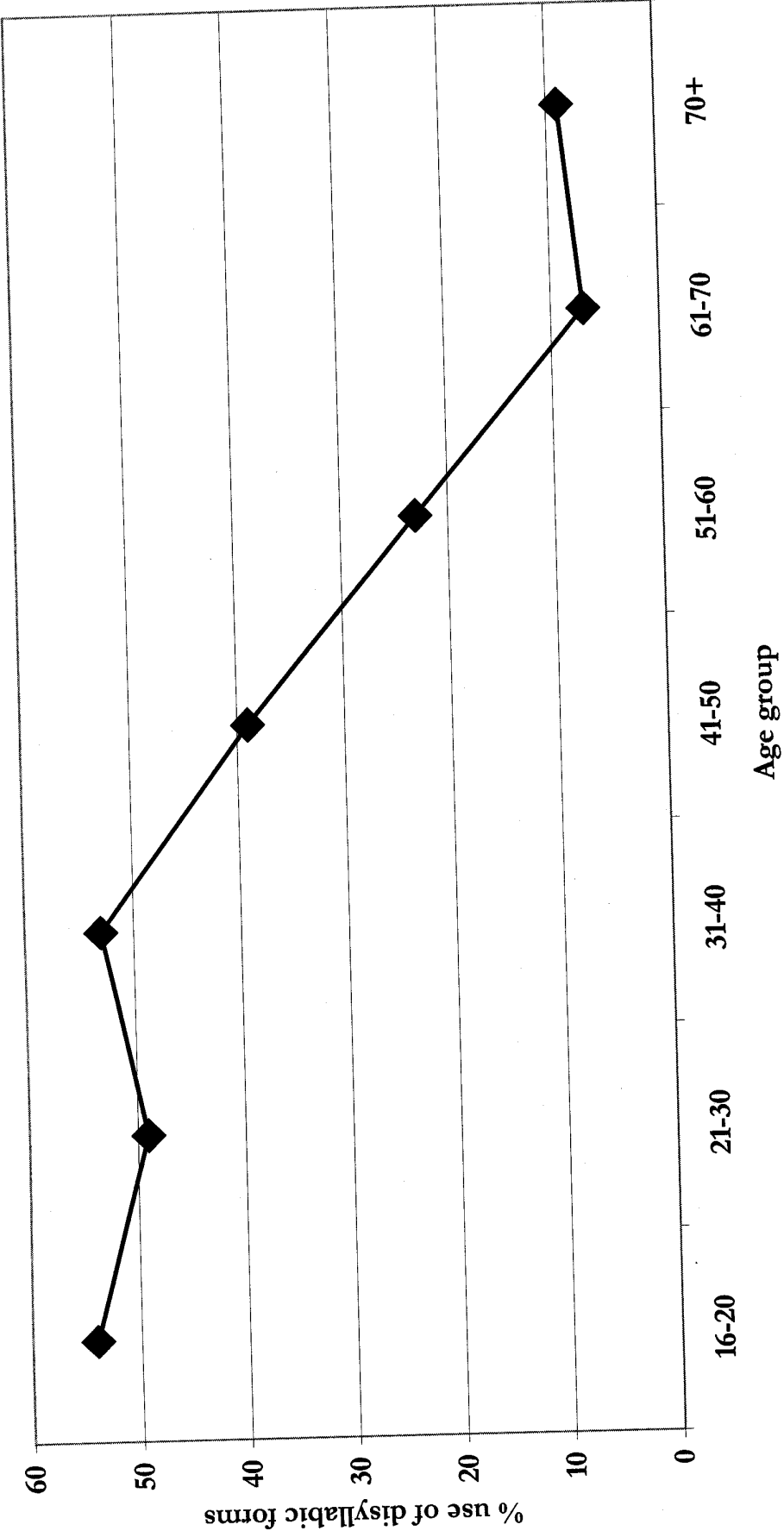
Overall, it must have been touch and go whether /h/ survived in mid-19th century New Zealand English. In its favour were gradually emerging prescriptive norms and its presence in some important settler dialects, against it arguments of markedness and naturalness and, equally, absence in other important settler dialects. The demography being balanced, levelling was not able to operate quickly and readily around a clearly dominant pivot form. Trudgill et al (2000a: 309) state that 25% of the Mobile Unit speakers of early NZE were /h/ droppers. Gordon cites evidence from early School Inspectors that /h/ dropping was ‘very common’ (1998: 70) and a ‘difficulty’ (1998: 70) in the late 19th century, but shows that criticisms tailed off after 1910. 27 of the 37 Mobile Unit speakers analysed in Gordon (1998:72) were variable /h/ droppers, but only one dropped /h/ a majority of the time, and only around a third of them had dropping rates of more than 10%. /h/ won, or rather is winning, as the change towards /h/ use is still to reach completion.

The disyllabification of –own past participles.

Increasingly in New Zealand English, -own and –ewn past participles (*grown, flown, mown, thrown, shown, blown, known, hewn, strewn, mown, sewn, sown* etc) are realized with an epenthetic schwa before the final nasal, rendering ‘thrown’ /θɾɒʌən/ distinct from ‘throne’ /θɾɒn/, and ‘mown’ /mɒʌən/ distinct from ‘moan’ /mɒn/. Figure 11 shows the results of a variationist apparent-time analysis of such forms that I undertook from data contained within the million-word Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English. It shows a steady increase in the use of the disyllabic forms over time, with the youngest speakers using /- ʌʊən/ forms more often than not (see also Maclagan and Gordon 1998). The rapid rise in the use of this form suggests that it is quite unlike, for example, the MOUTH variable which has been relatively stable since the early days of NZE. Its low use among older generations of New Zealanders suggests that this change has been driven within New Zealand, although as we will see, there probably were disyllabic variants as minority forms in the settler mix.

Relatively little has been written about the history of this form, both in New Zealand and other Englishes. A couple of key points have been established, however. Firstly, the diphthong /ʌʊ/ more generally must have been very diffuse indeed in the settler mix. In Britain (2001b), I showed that not only was there a very wide range of variants of /ʌʊ/ in the mid-19th century Anglophone British speech community (from [a:] to [ʌ:] to [ʊə] and [ʊu], for example), but also very few dialects indeed had actually merged ME **ou** and ME **ɔ:**

Figure 11: The % use of disyllabic forms of -own/-ewn past participles in the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English.



(i.e., ‘rows’ and ‘rose’ were mostly still distinct). Secondly, disyllabic forms were or are found in the British Isles, but as a small minority form. Watt (pc) reports that for some Scottish speakers ‘growing’ and ‘grown’ are homophones, and are both distinct from ‘groan’, and Grant (1941: 184, 293) shows evidence of ‘blowen’ and ‘grou(e)n. Ellis (1889) shows sporadic examples of disyllabic forms in South Lincolnshire, parts of eastern and mid-Yorkshire, Leeds, and Hampshire, and they are reported as traditional forms in Essex (Johnson, pc, Hamilton, pc). Joseph Wright (1898) finds disyllabic forms in the North West and in East Anglia. Much more widespread would have been weak verb forms such as ‘blowed’ and ‘growed’ (although these are very rare indeed in NZE today).

So disyllabic forms emerged over a number of generations (as also seems to have been the case, but more slowly, in Australia (Bradley and Bradley 1985)) from a diffuse variant pool in which they were but a minority form. Their survival – as a distinct form in a small closed lexical set – is, in some senses, a dramatic example of counter-levelling. Their rise to prominence could be due to analogical tendencies with some other verbs (e.g. eat- eaten, shake - shaken) (Maclagan and Gordon 1998), or because they were distinctive. Siegel (1997:142) has suggested, for example, that, occasionally, in circumstances of great diversity, ‘if there are too many different items and nothing is very familiar, then a more easily identifiable item may be chosen’ (1997:142). Given that disyllabic forms were in a minority in the early settler mix (Gordon and Trudgill 1999), in analysing their Mobile Unit speakers born in the mid-to-late 19th century, claim that 10 out of 60 (about 17%) speakers had disyllabic forms), it seems evident that although the seeds of innovation may have origins in the British Isles, the linguistic change (cf. Milroy 1992) has grow(ə)n on New Zealand soil, and has caused it to diverge in this respect (its mere presence and its high levels of use) from many typologically similar English varieties. In southern Britain, disyllabic forms appear to have withered away, in Australia and the Falklands they are used substantially less.

Conclusion

The six variables examined here are in many ways quite different. For some – e.g. MOUTH – the present-day New Zealand variant was already well established in those areas of the British Isles that sent many settlers to colonial New Zealand, and leveled away other minority forms. For others, such as FLEECE, and especially GROW(ə)N, very few of the migrants from the British Isles would have brought what ended up being the dominant form in New Zealand. FLEECE has followed the same track in New Zealand as it has in many other speech communities, including some of those areas of Britain from where many migrants

came. Disyllabic forms of GROW(ə)N, however, have expanded in a way not seen in those areas of Britain, and to a greater extent than probably anywhere else in the Anglophone world. Many migrants would have been /h/- droppers, and the New Zealand speech community today is still in the (last stages of) the process of leveling away this form that has spread further in Britain since the mid-nineteenth century. The current variants of PRICE and FACE used in New Zealand English would certainly have been found in the early colonial NZE speech community (given the dialectological evidence), the former more so than the latter, and their presence, as vigorous vernacular variants of the time, strongly shaped the ultimate sociolinguistic outcome.

Woods (e.g. 2000) argues strongly for the role of independent parallel developments in the creation of a New Zealand English which shares some characteristics with other dialects. The evidence presented here suggests she is largely right for FLEECE, but not for MOUTH (since for this variable the development of variants with mid-open front onsets was not independent but derived and imported). Trudgill et al (2000b) claim that some of the features discussed here – MOUTH, PRICE, FACE and FLEECE - were affected by linguistic ‘drift’ – ‘a shared tendency or propensity to the development of the same (or similar) characteristics’ - in this case ‘19th century changes involving the continuation of trends inherited from the British Isles... diphthong shifted vowels were indeed inherited by New Zealand English from English English, but...it was really diphthong shift as an ongoing process which was inherited rather than the vowel qualities themselves’. These are contrasted with other features which were not imported from the British Isles, but which have emerged subsequently, nevertheless, in both Britain and New Zealand – glide weakening and NURSE rounding are suggested as examples. The evidence presented here shows that ‘diphthong shift as the importation of an ongoing process’ probably applies to FACE and perhaps PRICE, but less so to MOUTH (since, as the dialectological evidence shows, innovative [ɛʊ] was in competition not with [aʊ] but with conservative [əʊ]), and because the present-day mid-open front onsets have been shown to be the dominant form since the early days of NZE). FLEECE, meanwhile, looks like a candidate to be included, along with NURSE rounding, in the ‘imported propensity’ group. Although the two do not address each others’ hypotheses directly, the assumption is that Woods’ (e.g. 2000) and Trudgill et al’s (2000b) explanations for such features differ – the former suggesting that these developments in Britain and New Zealand are *independent* of each other, the latter that they are linked by the importation of a shared drive to change in the same way. The loss of /h/ dropping is, of course, difficult to explain using the drift argument, particularly given Trudgill et al’s (2000b) finding, supporting the drift argument, that there were considerable amounts of rhoticity in early New Zealand English, but that the variety ultimately became largely non-rhotic. The rhotic to non-rhotic shift can, of course, be explained in terms of naturalness and

markedness, the same explanations that would lead us to expect, given a sizeable importation of h-lessness in the settler population, that NZE would become h-less. It didn't. Here, then, the koineisation process of levelling (which would favour /h/, as it was in a (small) minority in the settler population) conflicts with possible drift-type outcomes (favouring deletion, since the deletion of /h/ represents a move from marked to unmarked, and was diffusing across Britain at the time of migration to New Zealand) and wins. Neither koineisation nor drift can really explain the behaviour of GROW(ə)N.

Some of the NZE variants discussed here represent 'imports' from the British Isles, some were driven within the NZ speech community, and some were imported but pushed further in New Zealand. Some represent shifts away from ongoing trends in Britain, others represent shared developments. Koineisation cannot explain all of the outcomes (it cannot really explain the success of FLEECE or GROW(ə)N), nor can 'parallel independent developments' or drift. Each variant of present-day NZE has its own history, some tied up in the consequences of colonial settlement, some are more recent and home-growən.

References:

- Ainsworth, Helen. (1993). *Rhythm in New Zealand English*. Manuscript. Wellington: Department of Linguistics, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Allan, Scott and Starks, Donna. (1999). 'No one sounds like us?' A comparison of New Zealand and other southern hemisphere Englishes. In Allan Bell and Koenraad Kuiper (eds.), *New Zealand English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 53-83.
- Arnold, Rollo. (1984). *The farthest promised land: English villagers, New Zealand immigrants of the 1870s*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Arnold, Rollo. (1994). *New Zealand's burning – the settler's world in the mid 1880s*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Bauer, Laurie. (1986). Notes on New Zealand English phonetics and phonology. *English World-Wide* 7: 225-258.
- Bauer, Laurie. (1994). English in New Zealand. In Robert Burchfield (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language: Volume V*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 382-429.
- Bayard, Donn. (1987). Class and change in New Zealand English: a summary report. *Te Reo* 30: 3-36.
- Bayard, Donn. (1995). *Kivitalk: Sociolinguistics and New Zealand Society*. Palmerston North: Dunmore.

- Belich, James. (1997). *Making peoples: a history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*. Auckland: Penguin.
- Bell, Allan and Holmes, Janet. (1992). H-Droppin': two sociolinguistic variables in New Zealand English. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 12: 223-248.
- Bell, Allan. (1999). Maori and Pakeha English: a case study. In Allan Bell and Koenraad Kuiper (eds.), *New Zealand English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 221-248.
- Bradley, David and Bradley, Maya. (1985). The phonetic realisation of a morpheme boundary in Australian English. *Beiträge zur Phonetik und Linguistik* 48: 333-340.
- Britain, David. (1997). Dialect contact and phonological reallocation: 'Canadian Raising' in the English Fens. *Language in Society* 26: 15-46.
- Britain, David. (2001a). If A changes to B, make sure that A exists: a case study on the dialect origins of New Zealand English. *Essex Research Reports in Linguistics* 38: 39-79.
- Britain, David. (2001b). Where did it all start?: dialect contact, the 'Founder Principle' and the so-called (-own) split in New Zealand English. *Transactions of the Philological Society*. 99: 1-27.
- Britain, David. (in preparation). *Social, stylistic and linguistic constraints on a stable linguistic variable: /au/ in New Zealand English*. Manuscript.
- Carmichael, George. (1993). A history of population movement between New Zealand and Australia. *International migration* 31: 513-560.
- Cipolla, C.. (1969). *Literacy and development in the West*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Cohen, Ira. (1989). *Structuration theory: Anthony Giddens and the constitution of social life*. London: Macmillan.
- Ellis, Alexander. (1889). *On early English pronunciation: Part V*. London: Truebner and Co.
- Eustace, S. (1969). The meaning of the palaeotype in A J Ellis's 'On early English pronunciation'. *Transactions of the philological society* 67: 31-79.
- Fairburn, Miles. (1982). Local community or atomized society? *New Zealand Journal of History* 16.
- Giddens, Anthony. (1989). A reply to my critics. In David Held and John Thompson (eds.), *Social theory of modern societies: Anthony Giddens and his critics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 249-301.
- Gordon, Elizabeth. (1983). New Zealand English pronunciation: an investigation into some early written records. *Te Reo* 26: 29-42.
- Gordon, Elizabeth. (1994). Reconstructing the past: written and spoken evidence of early New Zealand English. *New Zealand English Newsletter* 8: 5-10.
- Gordon, Elizabeth. (1998). The origins of New Zealand speech: the limits of recovering historical information from written records. *English World-Wide* 19: 61-86.

- Gordon, Elizabeth and Deveson, Tony. (1985). *New Zealand English: an Introduction to New Zealand Speech and Usage*. Auckland: Heinemann.
- Gordon, Elizabeth and Trudgill, Peter. (1999). Shades of things to come: Embryonic variants in New Zealand English sound changes. *English World-Wide* 20: 111-124.
- Grant, William. (1941). *Scottish National Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Scottish National Dictionary Association.
- Gunn, John. (1975). A possible source of some Australian sounds and their relationship with received English. *Talanya* 2: 5-15.
- Hammarström, Göran. (1980). *Australian English: its origin and status*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Hickey, Raymond. (1999). Developments and change in Dublin English: In Ernst H. Jahr (ed.), *Language change: advances in historical sociolinguistics*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Hill, Robert. (1967). Prospects of the study of early Australian pronunciation. *English studies* 48: 43-52.
- Holmes, Janet. (1995). Time for /t/: initial /t/ in New Zealand English. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 15: 127-156.
- Holmes, Janet. (1997). Maori and Pakeha English: Some New Zealand social dialect data. *Language in Society* 26: 65-102.
- Holmes, Janet and Ainsworth, Helen. (1996). Syllable-timing and Maori English. *Te Reo* 39: 75-84.
- Holmes, Janet and Ainsworth, Helen. (1997). Unpacking the research process: investigating syllable timing in New Zealand English. *Language Awareness* 6: 32-47.
- Horvath, Barbara. (1985). *Variation in Australian English: the sociolects of Sydney*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Knieszka, Veronika. (1997). A nineteenth century report on the pronunciation of Australian English. *Dialectologia et geolinguistica* 5: 65-77.
- Kurath, Hans and Lowman, Guy. (1970). *The dialectal structure of southern England*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Labov, William. (1994). *Principles of Linguistic Change: Internal Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lass, Roger. (1987). *The shape of English*. Dent and Sons: London.
- Lee, David. (1989). Sociolinguistic variation in the speech of Brisbane adolescents. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 9
- Maclagan, Margaret and Gordon, Elizabeth. (1996). Women's role in sound change: the case of the two New Zealand closing diphthongs. *New Zealand English Journal* 10: 5-9.
- Maclagan, Margaret and Gordon, Elizabeth. (1998). How grown grew from one syllable to two. *Australian journal of linguistics* 18: 5-28.

- Maclagan, Margaret, Gordon, Elizabeth and Lewis, Gillian. (1999). Women and sound change: conservative and innovative behaviour by the same speakers. *Language variation and change* 11: 19-41.
- Mathisen, Anne Grethe. (1999). Sandwell, West Midlands: ambiguous perspectives on gender patterns and models of change. In Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty (eds.), *Urban Voices*. London: Arnold. 107-123.
- McCafferty, Kevin. (1999). (London)Derry: between Ulster and local speech – class, ethnicity and language change. In Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty (eds.), *Urban Voices*. London: Arnold. 246-264.
- McCaskill, M. (1982). The Tasman connection: aspects of Australian-New Zealand relations. *Australian Geographical Studies* 20: 3-23.
- McKinnon, Malcolm, with Bradley, Barry and Kirkpatrick, Russell. (1997). *New Zealand historical atlas / Ko papatuanuku e takoto nei*. Auckland: David Bateman.
- Milroy, James. (1992). *Linguistic Variation and Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Milroy, James and Milroy, Lesley. (1985). Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation. *Journal of Linguistics* 21: 339-384.
- Milroy, Lesley. (1980). *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Montgomery, Michael. (1989). Exploring the roots of Appalachian English. *English World-Wide* 10: 227-278.
- Mufwene, Salikoko. (1996). The founder principle in creole genesis. *Diachronica* 8: 83-134.
- Mufwene, Salikoko. (2001). *The ecology of language evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nicholas, Stephen and Shergold, Peter. (1987). Internal migration in England, 1818-1839. *Journal of historical geography* 13: 155-168.
- Nicholas, Stephen and Shergold, Peter. (1988). British and Irish convicts. In James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People*. North Ryde: Angus and Robertson. 23-31.
- Pickens, Keith. (1977). The origins of the population of nineteenth century Canterbury. *New Zealand Geographer* 33: 69-75.
- Poplack, Shana and Tagliamonte, Sali. (2001). *African American English in the Diaspora*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Siegel, Jeff. (1993). Dialect contact and koineisation. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 99: 105-121.
- Siegel, Jeff. (1997). Mixing, levelling and pidgin/creole development. In Albert Spears and Don Winford (eds.), *The structure and status of pidgins and creoles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 111-149.
- Sinclair, Keith. (1959). *A history of New Zealand*. London: Penguin.
- Sudbury, Andrea. (2001). Falkland Islands English: a southern hemisphere variety? *English World-Wide* 22: 55-80.

- Tolfree, Laura. (1999). South-east London English: discrete versus continuous modeling of consonantal reduction. In Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty (eds.), *Urban Voices*. London: Arnold. 163-184.
- Trudgill, Peter. (1986). *Dialects in contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Trudgill, Peter. (1999). Norwich: endogenous and exogenous linguistic change. In Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty (eds.), *Urban Voices*. London: Arnold. 124-140.
- Trudgill, Peter, Gordon, Elizabeth, Lewis, Gillian and Maclagan, Margaret. (2000a). Determinism in new-dialect formation and the genesis of New Zealand English. *Journal of Linguistics* 32: 299-318.
- Trudgill, Peter, Gordon, Elizabeth, Lewis, Gillian and Maclagan, Margaret. (2000b). The role of drift in the formation of Southern Hemisphere Englishes: some New Zealand evidence. *Diachronica* 17: 111-138.
- Trudgill, Peter and Britain, David. (forthcoming). *Dialects in Contact* (fully revised second edition). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Vaggioli, Dom Felice. ([1896] 2000). *History of New Zealand and its inhabitants*. (Translated by J Crockett). Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Warren, Paul. (1998). Timing patterns in New Zealand English rhythm. *Te Reo* 41: 80-93.
- Warren, Paul and Britain, David. (1999). Intonation and prosody in New Zealand English. In Allan Bell and Koenraad Kuiper (eds.), *New Zealand English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 146-172.
- Wells, John. (1982). *Accents of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, Ann and Kerswill, Paul. (1999). Dialect leveling: change and continuity in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull. In Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty (eds.), *Urban Voices*. London: Arnold. 141-162.
- Woods, Nicola. (1997). The formation and development of New Zealand English: interaction of gender-related variation and linguistic change. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 1: 95-126.
- Woods, Nicola. (1999). New Zealand English across the generations: an analysis of selected vowel and consonant variables. In Allan Bell and Koenraad Kuiper (eds.), *New Zealand English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 84-110.
- Woods, Nicola. (2000). Archaism and innovation in New Zealand English. *English World-Wide* 21: 109-150.
- Wright, Joseph. (1898). *English dialect dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wright, Joseph. (1905). *English dialect grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.