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In this illustration, we present a transcription and discussion of the variety of English spoken by people of European descent in New Zealand. Locally, such people are referred to as being Pākehā, using the Māori word. Pākehā speech is illustrated here in the speech of three educated women. Variation in New Zealand English has been illustrated in a number of publications. Much of this variation, however, is lost in the formal environment of reading a short passage for a microphone, especially when, as is the case in the accompanying recordings, the readers are middle-class women. Thus some of the features which might be expected from New Zealanders do not occur in these recordings, although the speakers are all clearly New Zealanders.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d			k g	
Affricate					tʃ ɟʃ			
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ			h
Nasal		m			n		ŋ	
Approximant		w			ɹ	j	w	
Lateral approximant					l			

The consonants of New Zealand English do not differ in terms of number of phonemes from what is found in other comparable varieties of English. For most New Zealanders today there is no independent /m/ phoneme, although this can still be heard from some conservative or southern speakers in words like *which* and *whale*. New Zealanders do not have an /x/ phoneme, though [ç] may be heard as an allophone of /j/ in words like *huge* and *pewter*.

p	pie	t	tie	k	coo
b	buy	d	die	g	goo
f	fie	θ	thigh	tʃ	etch
v	vie	ð	thy	ɟ	edge
		s	sue	ʃ	Confucian
m	my	z	zoo	ʒ	confusion
w	why	n	nigh	ŋ	hang
		r	rye	j	you
		l	lie	h	high

Vowels

The transcription system here is based largely on Bauer & Warren (2004a), with minor modifications due to Bauer & Warren (2004b). The various vowels are identified in the list below using the lexical sets of Wells (1982). Approximate locations of the vowels, including starting and ending points for diphthongs, are given in the accompanying figures (1–3). The system is not designed primarily for the speakers in the accompanying sound files, but as a more general transcription of New Zealand English, and in some instances slightly broader speakers are envisaged in the transcription system. Note for instance that the speakers in the recording have more retracted starting points for the FACE and MOUTH vowels than is indicated in the transcription and vowel charts. As a rule, our choice of transcription symbols is intended to draw attention to differences from other varieties of English without being excessively narrow. Thus the most romanian symbol is often avoided, but diacritics are equally avoided.

In general, the vowel system of New Zealand English can be said to match the vowel system of other non-rhotic standard varieties of English such as RP and Australian English. Phonetically, however, there are important differences, which are indicated in the transcription. Phonemically there are three differences or potential differences. Many speakers, particularly younger speakers, have a NEAR-SQUARE merger. Most speakers have a separate vowel phoneme in what we term the GOLD lexical set. And there is no distinction between the unstressed vowels in words like *villages* and *villagers*. Since the KIT and the *comma* vowels contrast only in unstressed syllables in RP, and since the KIT vowel is notoriously very centralised in New

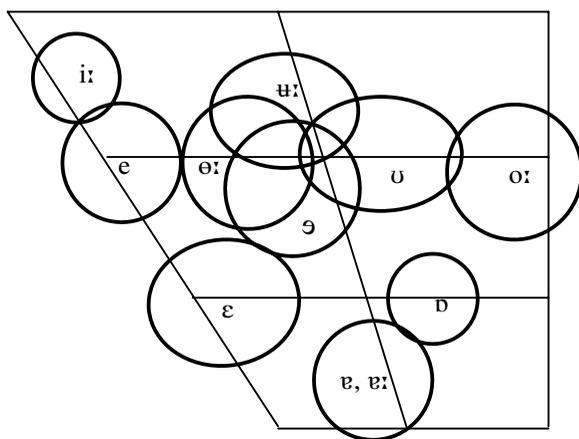


Figure 1 Approximate positions for the New Zealand English monophthongs.

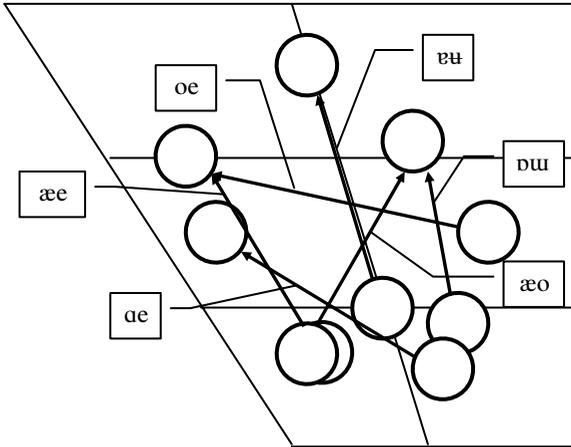


Figure 2 Approximate start and finish targets for the closing diphthongs in New Zealand English.

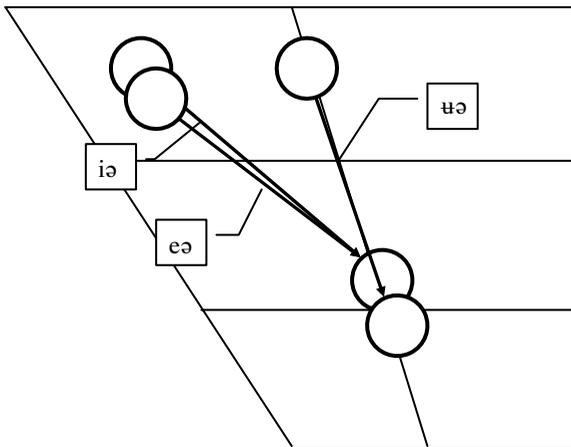


Figure 3 Approximate start and finish targets for the centering diphthongs in New Zealand English.

Zealand English, thus contrasting strongly with the Australian pronunciation, KIT can be attributed to the same phoneme as the *comma* vowel.

ə	KIT	ɔ:	NURSE	æe	FACE
e	DRESS	i:	FLEECE	æ	PRICE
ɛ	TRAP			oe	CHOICE
ɐ	STRUT	øʌ	BATH, PALM, START	øʌ	GOAT
ɒ	LOT	ʊ:	GOOSE	æo	MOUTH
ʊ	FOOT	o:	THOUGHT, NORTH, FORCE	ɒʌ	GOLD
i	happy			iə	NEAR
ə	comma, letter			eə	SQUARE
ʊ	treacle			ʊə	CURE

Minimal pairs to show the phonemic values of these vowels when they occur in stressed syllables are given below.

i:	tea	peat	u:	two	
ə		pit	æe	Tay	pate
e		pet	æ	tie	
ɛ		pat	oe	toy	
ɐ		putt	ɐu	toe	
ɛ:	tar	part	æo	tau	pout
ɒ		pot	ou	toll	
o:	tore	port	iə	tier	
ʊ		put	eə	tare	
ə:		pert	uə	tour	

Stress

Stress as such is not very different from other varieties such as RP, Australian or North American standard Englishes, though full vowels are more likely to occur in unstressed syllables in New Zealand English than in these other varieties. This has been claimed to give New Zealand English a more ‘syllable-timed’ rhythm than other varieties.

Intonation

The most widely discussed feature of New Zealand English intonation is undoubtedly the High Rising Terminal (HRT), a dramatic rise at the end of statement utterances, particularly used by younger speakers of the variety. This tune is often misinterpreted by non-NZE speakers as signalling a questioning or uncertain attitude, but in fact it appears to serve a discourse function of including the hearer in the conversation. There is some indication that such rises on statements are phonetically distinct, in terms of timing of the rise, from rises on questions. The only other intonational feature that has received much comment is a tendency for pitch on unaccented syllables to stay relatively high, compared with other varieties.

Conventions

/p/ is aspirated and /t/ and /k/ are affricated when they occur initially in a stressed syllable (with no preceding syllable-initial /s/). /p/ and /k/ may also be aspirated intervocalically even where not initial in a stressed syllable. In the same position /t/ is usually voiced, possibly tapped as [ɾ]. All three plosives may also be aspirated word-finally, especially before a pause, though there is an increasing tendency for /t/, and to a lesser extent /p/ and /k/, to be glottally reinforced or replaced by [ʔ] in this position. This could lead to [ʔ] becoming a phoneme in New Zealand English, though we do not believe it is yet perceived in such terms. We have transcribed it in the passage below where it occurs. As in other varieties of English, voiced obstruents are devoiced adjacent to a pause or a voiceless segment. In individual lexical items, this devoicing may also affect intervocalic obstruents.

Aspiration/affrication of plosives is realised as devoicing of a following sonorant consonant where there is one in the same syllable. /ɹ/ is typically an approximant, with [v] an extremely rare alternative. It is a fricative following /t/ or /d/, and may be a tap following /θ/. /l/ is typically somewhat velarised prevocally and usually vocalised non-prevocally, especially in broader varieties, which is illustrated in the word-lists accompanying the recording of the passage. The precise nature of the vowel is variable, and the suggested transcription symbol [u] is chosen for its lack of ambiguity rather than for its precise quality.

There is considerable neutralisation of vowels before /l/, with the distinction between /e/ and /ɛ/ being the most thoroughly neutralised pair in this environment. The vowel in the FOOT

lexical set is fronted and unrounded in some lexical items, typically, for example, in *good*, but see also the word *could* both in the passage and in the words in isolation from Speakers 1 and 2. There is an open variant of the *comma* vowel which occurs at word-boundaries, and especially phrase-initially and phrase-finally. This is clearly illustrated in the word *pewter* spoken by Speaker 3. This is then perceived as being an unstressed version of the STRUT vowel, and has been so transcribed here. The *happY* vowel is perceived by New Zealanders as being phonemically identical to the FLEECE vowel, though they are transcribed differently here. Both can be diphthongised. THOUGHT/NORTH/FORCE is often diphthongised in lengthening environments. NEAR, SQUARE and CURE may be disyllabic in all environments.

The recorded passage

The passage used here is the traditional one, ‘North Wind and the Sun’, made more geographically and culturally appropriate by having the North Wind replaced by the Southerly. A series of words is also presented to illustrate some of the vocalic phenomena which are not elicited by the passage, and to illustrate some of the phenomena that are commented on in this text. Minimal pairs or potential minimal pairs were not read next to each other, though speakers could clearly remember having read a similar word earlier.

Three female speakers read the passage. The transcription given below is the transcription for Speaker 1, except that there is a reading error, so that she actually says ‘the Southerly wind’ where the passage had ‘the Southerly’ on the second occurrence of the phrase.

Speakers 1 and 2 are in their twenties and were both MA students in the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies at Victoria University at the time of recording. Speaker 1 is a native of Dunedin and Speaker 2 is a native of Nelson, both in New Zealand’s South Island. Speaker 3 is an older, conservative speaker, raised in a North Island rural area and a former secondary school teacher of English.

Phonemic differences in the readings of the passage are small. Speaker 2 says /mo:ɹ i bləʊ/ with a linking-r; Speaker 3 has a full vowel in *than*, a third syllable in *traveller* in some of the repetitions of this word, a /d/ on the end of *and*, and no linking-r but a full vowel in *of* in the phrase *stronger of the two*. There are also minor differences in stress. In phonetic terms, the open STRUT vowel of Speaker 1, the centralised KIT vowel of Speaker 2 and the close TRAP vowel of Speaker 3 are worthy of note. All the speakers diphthongise the GOOSE vowel in the word *two* at the end of the passage.

In the wordlist material, the hypercorrect clear /l/ of Speaker 3 (in some words) in final position contrasts with the vocalisation of the two younger speakers, as does the clear (if perhaps deliberately so) distinction between *beer* and *bear* and between *Alan* and *Ellen*. The raised vowel in the first pronunciation of the word *southerly* may be an error or may be another hypercorrection. Note though that she has *smile* as the expected disyllable and has a glottal stop in *fitness*. The younger speakers merge *Alan* and *Ellen*, as expected, and have variable mergers in the *fill*, *full*, *fool* set and a long back vowel in *school* (note that the GOOSE vowel is a back vowel in New Zealand English only before an erstwhile /l/, even if that /l/ has now vanished).

The reading passage

The Southerly wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveller take his cloak off should be considered stronger than the other. Then the Southerly blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew, the more closely the traveller wrapped his cloak around him; and at last the Southerly gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shone out warmly, and immediately the traveller took off his cloak. And so the Southerly was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.

The transcription

ðə 'sɛðəli 'wɛnd ən ðə 'sɛn wə dəs'pjʌ:təŋ wəʃ wəz ðə 'stɹɒŋgə wɛn ə
 'tɹɛvlə kæəm ə'loŋ 'ɹɛpt ən ə 'wɔ:m 'klɛʊk || ðæ ə'ɡrɪ:d ðəʔ ðə 'wɛn hɜ:
 'fɔ:s sɛk'sɪ:dəd ən 'mæekəŋ ðə 'tɹɛvlə 'tæek əz 'klɛʊk ɒf | 'ʃud bi:
 kən'sɛdəd 'stɹɒŋgə ðən ði 'ɛðɜ || 'ðɛn ðə 'sɛðəli blæ: əz 'hɜ:d əz hi 'kud |
 bəʔ ðə 'mɔ: hi 'blæ: | ðə mɔ: 'klɛʊsli ðə 'tɹɛvlə 'ɹɛpt həz 'klɛʊk ə'ɹæʊnd
 həm || ɛn ət 'lɜ:s ðə 'sɛðəli 'gæev ɛp ði ə'tɛmpt || 'ðɛn ðə 'sɛn ʃɒn 'æʊ?
 'wɔ:mli | ən ə'mɪ:diəʔli ðə 'tɹɛvlə tʊk 'ɒf həz 'klɛʊk || ən 'sɜ: ðə 'sɛðəli
 wəz ə'blæɛʃd tə kən'fes ðəʔ ðə 'sɛn wəz ðə 'stɹɒŋgəɪ əv ðə 'tɜ: ||

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