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PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENTIATION
IN AMERICAN ENGLISH DIALECTS

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ZRÓŻNICOWANIE FONOLOGICZNE
W AMERYKAŃSKICH DIALEKTACH
JĘZYKA ANGIELSKIEGO

Promotor: prof. UŚ dr hab. Rafał Molencki

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I am very grateful to my mother and wife for constant words of encouragement, for enabling me to think positively and believe in myself.

Last but not least, I wish to thank my wife Klaudia for her understanding and patience.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAVE</td>
<td>African American Vernacular English</td>
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<tr>
<td>AE</td>
<td>American English</td>
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<td>BE</td>
<td>British English</td>
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<td>BEV</td>
<td>Black English Vernacular</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
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<td>GA</td>
<td>General American</td>
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<td>LMC</td>
<td>lower middle class</td>
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<td>LWC</td>
<td>lower working class</td>
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<td>MWC</td>
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<td>OC</td>
<td>occupational class</td>
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<td>OT</td>
<td>Optimality Theory</td>
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<td>RP</td>
<td>Received Pronunciation</td>
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<td>SAE</td>
<td>Standard American English</td>
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<td>SBE</td>
<td>Standard British English</td>
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<td>SEC</td>
<td>Socio-Economic class</td>
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<td>SS</td>
<td>social stratification</td>
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<td>UWC</td>
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<td>V</td>
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INTRODUCTION

There are two main purposes in the following dissertation. The first intention is to indicate variability in both north-eastern dialects of American English as well as Black English Vernacular. I selected several variables and analyzed their realization in a number of phonological contexts. Since it would definitely be implausible to analyze the variables in all the possible phonetic environments, I sought to encounter and analyze speech variation in the articulation of selected variables which occurred only in certain phonological contexts. However, I wished to identify differences in the realization of some variables in miscellaneous environments. It should be stressed that the abovementioned differences of the variables which I selected to investigate were analyzed in terms of simplification or non-simplification. It is undeniable that there are a number of variables which can be deleted, dropped or elided under various circumstances. They can be unreleased, or totally disappear, especially in casual, connected speech, but this phenomenon also pertains to careful or monitored speech, which will be presented in the following dissertation. Thus I analyzed the articulation of the variables (their deletion or non-deletion) which occurred in particular phonetic environments. The occurrence of the variable was either presented at word boundaries or in the final position.

In order to analyze variability, I interviewed the informants whose speech patterns constituted the source of my investigation. I interviewed 80 informants living in the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. The informants were exposed to a number of sentences which they had to read aloud. The sentences contained word items where I had hidden the variables which were supposed to be analyzed. The information about my interlocutors, including the place of living, social position, education, gender and the transcription of the reading script including deletions have been included in the questionnaire (appendix 1).

On recording the informants and identifying the amount of deletion pertaining to each variable, I intended to compare its incidence and frequency. Nevertheless, at this stage, the analysis would undoubtedly be insufficient. I also made an attempt to give a reasonably exhaustive account of low or high incidence of deletion. It was necessary to do so since the amount of elision or deletion was variable, ranging from very low to incredibly high depending on the context sensitivity.
There are a number of factors which contribute to variation in speech. First of all, these are social factors, such as social position in society, education, age, gender, ethnicity, speech style etc. Apart from that, a purely social analysis in order to account for the variability in this respect would definitely be insufficient. Whenever we encounter variation (simplification or deletion in this respect), we should also take purely linguistic factors into consideration. More specifically, linguistic constraints also determine the realization of particular phonemes and their possible deletion. It should be stressed that there is not so much “freedom” in terms of the incidence of deletion processes. There are certain phonological contexts in which deletion is more ubiquitous and there are many others in which it is not observable whatsoever. In other words, there are phonetic contexts which can both favor and inhibit simplification to occur. Apart from that the ubiquity of deletion is also observable in careful speech styles, in standard varieties of American English and finally in the speech of middle class people, which will be presented in the dissertation as well. Moreover, there are a number of sounds the deletion of which is also variable in the same phonological contexts. Thus I also proposed some arguments which might be of some significance (at least partially) and which would be explanatory in the analysis. However, they do not have to be a reliable source since they only constitute an attempt to explain so much differentiation which occurred in the speech of the informants.

The selection of the dialects which constitute the source of the investigation has by no means been made randomly. The pronunciation features which are characteristic of the two varieties and the subject of the investigation are one of the most interesting and crucial. Moreover, since deletion is apparently quite ubiquitous in the speech of native speakers, it seems especially important to discuss this interesting phenomenon. What makes our accent detectable is the fact that as fluent users of English as a second language, we are too preoccupied to sound correct according to the standard pronunciation. At the same time, one of the factors which make us sound “native-like” is the ability to show awareness and use the deletions in appropriate contexts. Finally, apparently, there has not been made much research in the area for the last decades. There are several experiments which were conducted in United States English. However, most of them were carried out in the 1960s and 1970s. There are also certain experiments which have been conducted recently (in the 1990s) but they are few and far
between). Moreover, the latter deal with consonant and vowel reduction pertaining to the frequency of lexical words – which is definitely not the core of the dissertation.

The outline of the dissertation looks as follows. Chapter 1 concentrates on the notion of a “dialect”, the types of dialects and the origin of both American English and Black English Vernacular. It encompasses a short discussion of the development of the two varieties since they will constitute the basic source of my investigation. It also concentrates on a review of the main differences between British and American English. Since British English is the most common variety which is dealt with at Polish schools etc, I considered it necessary to elaborate on it as well. Moreover, the formation of the dialects in the United States is strictly associated with British English. In chapter 2 I paid attention to the pronunciation features which are typical of the two varieties – North-eastern dialect and Black English Vernacular (African American Vernacular English). Although the data which I obtained in the interviews are mainly due to the contribution of white American speakers, it is also crucial to encompass African-American English as well. The reason is that this is the variety which is often labeled as incorrect and far from standard. Since my primary intention was to analyze variability in terms of simplification or deletion mainly in the speech of white people, the discussion of Black English is justified. Chapter 3 will deal with the notion of variability – phonological variability in this respect, phonological processes which cause the occurrence of variability and many other factors which contribute to the formation of speech differences – both social and linguistic. Furthermore, I discussed some major experiments which have been conducted in the field of sociolinguistics. Chapter 4 constitutes my own research, the discussion of the method which has been used and the observations pertaining to the corpus analysis. It will be shown how certain consonants and consonant clusters vary in their realization according to phonological contexts focusing on the incidence of deletion. Apart from that, it is an attempt to explain and justify both low and high incidence of deletion pertaining to particular variables. Chapter 5 encompasses final conclusions which are based on the observations referring to the corpus analysis.
CHAPTER ONE

THE NOTION OF A DIALECT, THE ORIGIN OF AMERICAN ENGLISH, AMERICAN ENGLISH AND BRITISH ENGLISH – PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

1.1. DIALECT

It is obvious that we observe phonological variation in the speech of particular social groups in particular situational settings, in every dialect area. Thus before listing phonological variables typical of a particular area, it is necessary to primarily explain the term “dialect” and introduce some other terms which, if left unexplained or ignored, might lead to the undesirable confusion and lack of understanding.

First and foremost, dialectal differences do not only refer to the differences or variations in pronunciation. Instead, they comprise phonological, lexical, syntactical and morphological variations. Whenever we talk about a dialect, we are expected to analyze differences primarily pertaining to pronunciation and grammar (and lexicon) as these are the two areas which reflect the most identifiable features and differences.

“The features of social dialects are systematic and highly regular and cross all linguistic parameters, e.g. phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, lexicon, pragmatics, suprasegmental features, and kinestics” (Katz, 2001).

Moreover, dialects are currently analyzed much more extensively. In the past, linguists were solely looking for purely regional features which were encountered in a particular dialectal area. If they found more than one possible realization of a particular linguistic feature, for instance phonological variation, it was said to be in FREE VARIATION. In other words, some features were said to have two or more variants and the reason for their choice was of no significance. Only later did the linguists realize that the free variation was not so “free” as they had expected since it correlated with a great many other factors, namely social, stylistic and contextual.
“Where linguistic variation had been observed in the past, it had generally been referred to as FREE VARIATION. One of the achievements of urban dialectology has been to show that this type of variation is usually not ‘free’ at all, but is constrained by social and / or linguistic factors. The insight was achieved in the first instance as a result of the development of the notion of the LINGUISTIC VARIABLE” (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:49).

On the other hand, apparently, there must have been some awareness of the social contribution, which even dates back to classical times. Apparently even in the past regional differentiation did not contribute to the differences in speech etc. “References to koine, or common Greek as opposed to classical Greek were used in different areas by different social groups of Greeks. And the distinction between vulgar Latin and classical Latin persisted in the writings of the scholarly elite” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:26).

As a result it is important to stress that labeling the term “dialect” as a language variation spoken in a particular area is definitely insufficient. In contemporary studies, when investigating linguistic variation, e.g. phonology in a number of geographical areas, we need to take all other aspects into consideration. Thus “A dialect is the variety of language associated with a particular place (Boston or New Orleans), social level (educated or vernacular), ethnic group (Jewish or African-American), sex (male or female), age grade (teenage or mature), and so on” (Pyles and Algeo, 1993:15).

It is also necessary to point out the possible confusion which might arise between the two terms – “dialect” and “accent.” Whereas the former refers to the pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar (and their peculiarities, divergencies or idiosyncrasies), the latter merely comprises pronunciation, e.g. speech patterns, variable realization of particular sounds etc.

It is undeniable that e.g. American speakers display a much greater uniformity in grammar and lexicon at least white American people as Black English Vernacular is characterized by a number of divergencies not only in phonology (phonological variation), but also in grammar (grammatical variation). Nevertheless, due to the enormous size of the area, pronunciation features are much more observable and identifiable in many parts of the United States. Some of them are so noticeable that one does not need to cover long distances in order to encounter these variations. For instance, Standard American portrays a number
of different “accents”, such as Philadelphian, Bostonian, New England, Southern, Californian, New York (in which we can also distinguish Brooklynese etc). We should also take numerous ethnic dialects into account which are also characterized by a number of phonological features. In New York City one can definitely distinguish some ethnic groups the pronunciation of whose can be peculiar. However, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion, I wish to indicate that I will be using the term “dialect” with reference to purely phonological variations since this area constitutes my primary concern. I will primarily focus on North-American and Black English Vernacular phonology which are referred to as dialects of Black English and North-American.

It is worth stressing that the way people talk often comes in for criticism and derision since it is pronunciation which is subject to variation more often. Unfortunately, on account of the selection of particular features, we tend to judge people, very often in a negative and derogatory way. Our judgments pertain to people’s education, social status, the setting etc. “The setting in which language is used makes a difference in our speaking…. Teachers and students are interested in the process of making the “best” impressions with speech in formal settings. The goal of language lessons in school is to reduce traces of regional, social, or foreign accents in grammar and pronunciation in those settings where they would be prejudicial or inappropriate” (Silver, 2005). Moreover, one also ascribes some character features to the users of a particular accent or dialect.

According to Hudson (1996), speech is mostly subject to a number of variations, modifications, simplifications, omissions, reductions etc. There are a number of various circumstances which definitely contribute to a great extent to the realization of the sounds, for instance the style, who we talk to and how fast we talk, even our personality etc. The variation in the way we talk gives rise to the judgments which we tend to make about our interlocutors. “There are those who claim, from an elocution standpoint, that modern speech is becoming increasingly slovenly, full of mumbling and mangled vowels and missing consonants. Alexander Gil and others made the same kind of complaint in the seventeenth century. There is, in fact, no evidence to suggest that the degree of obscurcation and elision is markedly greater now than it has been for four centuries …” (Gimson, 1997:77).
1.2. TYPES OF DIALECTS

It should also be mentioned that we distinguish several types of dialects. The most classic and most common type of dialect is a regional dialect. A regional dialect refers to the variation in language (to the accent in this respect) which is typical of a particular language area or region. There are also other synonymous terms which can be used interchangeably, for instance geographical, territorial or local dialects (Crystal, 1996). For instance, people living in southern states definitely talk differently from the people living in north-eastern parts of the US. Even people from Eastern New England and from Western New England are also expected to show slight differences or variation in the way they talk. Admittedly, the differences are identifiable even within short distances. “…the regional dialect, the assumption being that speakers of the dialect form a coherent speech community living in relative isolation from speakers outside the community” (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer and Harnish, 1997:264).

However, whereas the term “regional dialect” is solely geographically oriented since no other dimensions are taken into consideration, “speech community” does not necessarily need to be region-oriented. According to Shuy (1967), speech communities are also common among different groups of people. Labov (quoted in Wardhaugh, 1998:118) stresses, “The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage”

Another type of dialect, which is of great importance as well, especially in recent linguistic studies, is a social dialect. “The concentrated study of ethnic and social dialects is more recent than that of regional ones, but is now being vigorously pursued” (Pyles and Algeo, 1993:230). This type of dialect arises among social groups (socially-demarcated societies) in relation to a number of other factors, such as style, social status, ethnicity etc (Lyons, 1995). A social dialect is also referred to as a class dialect or a sociolect, which is a recent term (Crystal, 1997). It is also worth mentioning that the emergence of social dialects
does not have a long tradition as opposed to regional dialects, which were being investigated much earlier. “Traditional dialectology concentrated on the relationship between language and geography, and on the spatial differentiation of language. Urban dialectology has looked more to the relationships that obtain between language and social features” (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:57).

Traditional dialectology has come in for criticism since it did not account for other factors, which play a crucial role. However, as soon as dialectologists became aware of the deficiency of the data, they started analyzing dialects from a social point of view. “It also gradually came to be realized that the focusing of traditional dialectology on rural dialects had led to an almost total neglect, in many countries, of the speech forms used by the majority of the population, namely those who lived in towns and cities…. Linguists and dialectologists remained ignorant about the way in which most people in England (and elsewhere) speak, and have therefore been missing out on a great deal of linguistic data” (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:45).

There are also other types of dialects which are not as significant as the two which have been mentioned. These are referred to as historical / temporal dialects which pertain to a particular period in history, such as American English in the nineteenth century or Shakespearian English etc.

Moreover, we also distinguish occupational dialects which is typical of a particular professional group, such as physicians, teachers, journalists etc (Crystal, 1996). The are also referred to as a jargon.

Finally, ethnicity also gives rise to the occurrence of ethnic dialect. “In addition, certain ethnic dialects can be distinguished, such as the form of English, sometimes referred to as Yiddish English historically associated with speakers of Eastern European Jewish ancestry” (Akmajan, Demers, Farmer and Harnish, 1997:260).

There is another aspect which can lead to confusion or misinterpretation, especially among ordinary people. The term “dialect” can be used either positively (or at least neutrally) or negatively. Admittedly, for most people it is merely a non-standard, non-prestigious or even far from a variety of a language. On the other hand, technically, the term “dialect” refers to one of the varieties of a language which by no means should be regarded as worse or incorrect. The
latter definition is much more preferable among linguists and dialectologists. For a number of laypeople, “dialect” is a negative connotation in comparison to language … for many people, dialect is associated with ‘rural’ or low class speech.

It is undeniable that no dialect is more prestigious or better than the other; at least from a purely linguistic point of view. Every dialect is replete with a number of peculiar or unique features which are different from the features typical of other dialects and which are characterized by rules and regularities. However, when language variation is combined with the society, it immediately acquires the status of prestigious or non-prestigious or standard and non-standard. Admittedly, the higher the status of people, the more prestigious the dialect.

“The distinction which I particularly want to draw is between what I have called marked and unmarked RP. Both are non-regional forms and though a present-day speaker of either may well have come from the South of England, he or she could in fact have originated from anywhere in Britain. Unmarked RP suggests a fairly high degree of educatedness, although the social class of its speaker need not be very exalted: he or she may be a primary school teacher, a secretary, a doctor or solicitor, or the archetypal BBC announcer. The marked RP speaker definitely sounds as though he or she has had a privileged kind of education, at a leading public school for example, although not necessarily to a very high level. One is tempted to say that the marked RP accent is associated not so much with an ‘educated’ voice as with a ‘cultured’ voice. As to social standing, every syllable of the marked RP accent seems to assert a claim to a special degree of social privilege” (Honey, 1991:38).

On the other hand, the status of a non-standard dialect is commensurate with regional markers, which are usually regarded as stigmatized. Standard American English pronunciation comprises the language standard for the country, its prestige is not correlated with social dimensions, such as age, gender, social position, etc. It has the status of the standard because one does not identify contain any traces of socially or regionally stigmatized dialect markers”. It confirms the idea that whenever we talk about social dialects, we focus on its users – people with a particular social status.
Apart from that, there are other criteria which determine the “betterness” or “worseness” of a particular dialect (or the status of “standard”) – the number of people who use it and the size of the area where it is being used. Apart from that, it is also significant to encompass dominance of a particular group when evaluating a dialect in terms of prestige or stigma. In other words, if a particular social group is represented by the majority of its speakers, the variety is definitely more prone to be labeled as prestigious.

“For another thing, speakers unfamiliar with the language in question often have the greatest difficulty discriminating between one form of pronunciation and another, never mind identifying the prestige pattern. Among French speakers, for instance, Parisian French is generally held to be more prestigious than French Canadian. Non-French speakers, however, cannot even tell the difference between them, let alone display a consistence preference for one or the other. So there are no purely linguistic grounds for preferring one form of pronunciation to another. It is primarily a matter of social attitude: the speech patterns of the dominant social group come to be regarded as the norm for the whole society, though this nominative pressure may often be rationalized in terms of aesthetic appeal or by reference to false notions of linguistic propriety” (Montgomery, 1995:69).

Finally, standard language is expected to be used in its written form.

“… it is described in dictionaries and grammar books and is taught in schools. Standard English is the written form of our language used in books and periodicals; it is also known as edited English. Standard English is standard, not because it is intrinsically better than other varieties – clearer or more logical or prettier – but only because English speakers have agreed to use it in so many places for so many purposes that they have therefore made a useful tool of it and have come to regard it as a good thing” (Pyles and Algeo, 1993:229).

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that not every speaker is capable of using a standard dialect, especially those with a low social status or those whose education level is not very high as it is in school where there is likelihood of learning the standard language. Understandably, it is a long-term process.

On the other hand, the speakers are often judged by the way they talk. Admittedly, we tend to judge people and label some characteristic features basing our assumptions on their pronunciation. “Indeed, work by social psychologists in
experimental settings has uncovered a surprising range and subtlety in our ordinary reactions to accents. For example, RP speakers are rated more highly than regionally accented speakers in terms of general competence (e.g. ‘ambition’, ‘intelligence’, ‘self-confidence’, ‘determination’, and ‘industriousness’). But they emerge less favourably than regionally accented speakers in terms of personal integrity and social attractiveness (e.g. their ‘seriousness’, ‘talkativeness’, ‘good-naturedness’, and ‘sense of humour’) (Montgomery, 1995:72).

When analyzing speech variations, one should take both regional and social factors into consideration. Only then is it feasible to give a complete, reliable and exhaustive account of the linguistic data which occur in a particular area and among the speakers living in that area. In conclusion, the two factors – regional and social overlap; to some extent they are dependent on each other. “It is important to note that dialects are never purely regional, or purely social, or purely ethnic... regional, social, and ethnic factors combine and intersect in various ways in the identification of dialects” (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer and Harnish, 1997:260).

Therefore, a detailed and satisfactory definition of a dialect would be as follows:
- a particular way of speaking in a particular area which is subject to variation according to the social factors, which can possess rules or regularities (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998).

1.3. THE ORIGIN OF AMERICAN ENGLISH

It is important to stress the historical aspect since the emergence and formation of American English is largely the result of massive and numerous migrations which took place across the history. Many people resolved to leave their homeland in search of a better life, freedom and opportunities for work. Some of them were seeking a new life to escape persecution, oppression or to improve their living conditions. Others hoped to achieve success in the “New
World”. “As the immigrants arrived, some found that their dreams had been
attained. Conversely, some found that the New World was not as fantastic as they
were led to believe” (Callaghan, 1996).

First and foremost it needs to be stressed that the English were not the
first people to settle the shores of America. According to Mauk and Oakland
(1997), there were other people who had already found settlement or had had
colonies there. “The Spanish were in Texas almost a century before the
Jamestown settlement. Both the Spanish and the French had colonies in the South
Carolina in the sixteenth century. Before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock,
the Spanish had founded the City of Santa Fe (New Mexico) and the Dutch were
settling New York. At about the same time that Spanish colonists were coming
into Maryland, Swedes were establishing settlements in neighboring Delaware”
(Millward, 1988:322).

It is assumed that the four main migrations to America from England,
which occurred during the colonial period, contributed to the emergence and
formation of the major dialect areas in United States English

Similarly, Baugh (1974:406) stresses that “The English language was
brought to America by colonists from England who settled along the Atlantic
seaboard in the seventeenth century”. However, it is necessary to mention that it
is not the only language which contributed to the formation of the dialects and
particular phonological features.

Nevertheless, it is not solely the English people whose “accents”
determined the realization of particular sounds in particular areas in
contemporary American English phonology since people from other countries
influenced the way people talk nowadays or talked before as well. For instance,
the occurrence of consonants /t/ and /d/ instead of interdentals /θ/ and /ð/, as in
thrive /θraɪv/, that /ðæt/, filthy /ˈfiθi/, mother /ˈmaðər/ etc is largely the result
of Dutch influence since these interdentals are not encountered in this language.
Still, the application of the “less standard” variants is limited to the low class
speech (Trudgill and Hannah, 1994:51). Similarly, “The conservatism of
American English largely stems from the mixture of various English dialects.
According to Millward (1988:323), “…some of the earliest settlers came mostly
from southern and eastern areas of England while immigrants to western New England and Pennsylvania were often from north of London.”

The majority of the immigrants who resolved to change their homeland for good reasons were British people. Janicki (1989:17) stresses “These considerations were mainly economic, political and religious. The land offered them freedom of various kinds but also a great deal of predictable and unpredictable danger whose actual nature not at all of the settlers realized and foresaw.”

The first influx of religious immigrants took place from 1629:1640. These were Puritans whose objective was to find a place which would be appropriate for the formation of a Promised Land where they could follow and practice their beliefs. They brought their own accent from East Anglia (the eastern sections of Britain) to New England, mainly Massachusetts.

The next group of immigrants who were looking for a new place to live from 1642 to 1675 were the Cavaliers (also called the Royalists) who escaped from southwest of England and settled in Virginia.

From 1675-1725, another religious group were looking for settlement in Delaware and Pennsylvania. Their place of origin was the north of England. The Quakers and the Puritans had one thing in common: both of these groups suffered persecution in their homeland and as a result they hoped to find a perfect place in order to follow their religious beliefs.

Eventually, the Scots-Irish were the last British group to flee their homeland (mostly from Northern Ireland and Scottish lowlands) in search of better living conditions, which occurred in the early eighteenth century. “… in western New England, which received a considerable admixture of Scottish-Irish during the same period and the speech ways of the region soon became established in New York State and in the Western Reserve of Ohio, and thence moved into the whole of the opening West. Unquestionably, this influence of Scottish-Irish example was powerful all along the frontier, and even nearer the coast it must have had some effect, for many of the schoolmasters were Scotsmen or Irishmen” (Mencken, 1979:406). They liked neither the heavy taxations which they had to endure nor the unsatisfactory living conditions which they had to deal with in their mother country.
In the nineteenth century, there was another influx of European immigrants who headed for America to escape religious persecution. These were Jewish people escaping from Germany. Moreover, on account of insecure and unstable political situation; there were a number of other Europeans, especially politicians and intellectuals who decided to change their place of residence in search of happiness in the New World.

Between 1845 and 1849, a number of Irish immigrants came to live in the US due to The Great Potato Famine and mass starvation which made people desperate for food as well as the most basic living conditions.

Jones (1982:365) claims that by the end of the nineteenth century the number of immigrants from northern and western Europe considerably declined but there was a new flow of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, which took place especially in the early twentieth century. The most numerous groups were Hungarians, Italians, Serbo-Croatians, Russians, Poles, Syrians, Japanese, Filipinos, also from other countries, including Canada, Mexico and many others.

As a result the number of immigrants entering the United States border trying to find a new life was so large that the government was obliged to take precautionary measures the purpose of which was to take control over the massive immigration.

Hence the whole immigration gave rise to the formation of three main dialect areas, such as Northern, Midland and Southern, where we can also distinguish a number of other dialects in each of them (Williams, 1975:358). Nevertheless, each dialect area has its own unique features, the differences of which primarily pertain to pronunciation.

Undeniably, immigration to the United States is a very significant factor which contributed to the American life.

"All in all, the heritage of immigrants and immigration has brought enormous benefits to America. German intellectuals who fled Germany after the failed revolutions of 18330 and 1848, for example, brought with them a liberal tradition that did much to change their newly adopted land. Again, a hundred years later, America was enriched by Jewish immigrants who, seen by many as the “refuse” of the world at the time, have added their brilliance to American culture, education and science. Many other ethnic groups have, of course, also added their
contributions to the American Dream, and, by doing so, kept that dream alive” (Stevenson, 1987:21).

It would be a sheer misconception to state that each dialect is characterized by its own unique features which cannot be encountered in other dialects. Although there are a great many dialects which have their own unique characteristic features, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of a “dialect mixture”. Since American people are mobile, they move from place to place and bring their own dialects in new areas. Due to the mobility, regional pronunciation feature are mixed and vanish. As a result there occurs a “dialect mixture”. It is undeniable that a person who has been living in a particular region for a long time, has pure features solely pertaining to that region. However, the purity of their variety, especially speech patterns vanishes in the course of time once he/she changes a place of living.

Mencken (1979:456) stresses, “Even New England variety of American is anything but a homogenous whole. In its coastal form, centering in Boston, it is very like the Standard English of Southern England, but as one moves westward it gradually loses itself in General American.”

Finally, the term “dialect continuum” must not be ignored. Every language has its own spectrum of identifiable dialects. The differences are ascribed to grammar, lexicon and pronunciation. Admittedly, people speaking different dialects can communicate with one another comfortably. However, there are also speakers whose dialects are so different or unique that free communication with other people can be impeded. “What you have is a continuum of dialects sequentially arranged over space: A, B, C, D, and so on. Over large distances, the dialects at each end of the continuum may well be mutually unintelligible, and also some of the intermediate dialects may be unintelligible with one or both ends, or even with certain other intermediate ones” (Wardhaugh, 1998:41).
1.4. AMERICAN ENGLISH AND BRITISH ENGLISH – PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

Before I focus on the area which constitutes the subject of my analysis (which is the pronunciation of North-eastern and Black English Vernacular, I will superficially analyze the most salient pronunciation features between British English (RP) and General American. British English is the variety which is very popular in most Polish school settings, also in a number of universities and colleges.

Furthermore, the phenomena which occur in British English can also be encountered in American English and some of its dialects due to historical factors. As a result regional discrepancies of the north-eastern dialect of the English should not lead to confusion.

It is undeniable that it is much easier to recognize one of the two varieties. Some of the differences are very apparent and easily recognizable; others are discernible to a lesser extent. On the contrary, although it is much more difficult to recognize phonological features within a particular variety of English, especially for a non-native person, there are a number of distinctive phonological features which are typical of a particular region and which we tend to be cognizant of.

Mostly vowels portray differences between the two varieties (Janicki, 1989). One of the most noticeable discrepancies is the distinction between the vowel sound /æ/ and /æ/, as in after /'æ:ftər/ vs /'æeftər/, laughter /'lɑːftər/ vs /'læftər/, crafts /krɑːfts/ vs /kræfts/, last /lɑːst/ vs /læst/, raft /rɑːft/ vs /ræft/ etc. The former is referred to as broad /æ:/ and is characteristic of Southern British English. The latter, which is typical of American English (at least in most areas), is referred to as flat /æ/. However, the flatness of the “a” sound (/æ/) does not pertain to all regions of US English as for instance, in some areas of New England, Boston etc the broad /æ:/ is still dominant. Its distribution will be discussed further.

There is also a restriction pertaining to the realization of the flat /æ/. According to Mencken (1946), if l(m), th and r follow the flat /æ/ then it is
realized as the broad /æ/, as in balm /baːm/, calm /kɑːm/, father /ˈfɑːðər/, bath /baːθ/, rather /ˈrɑːðər/, tart /taːt/, mark /mɑːrk/, part /pɑːrt/ etc.

Another distinction which is also attention worthy is the contrast between the open /ə/ and /æ/. In the former, our lips are open and rounded. In the latter, there is no rounding of the lips, which is typical of most American English dialects where it has been lost. Thus whereas in most American dialects the realization of the vowel /ə/ would be rendered as /æ/; in most British dialects, the rounding of the lips was retained and the vowel would still be realized as /ə/. Although the /æ/ is typical of American English, there are regions where its realization is closer to British English. This difference can be observed in: lot /læt/, cod /kɑːd/, pot /pɑːt/, slot /slɑːt/, clot /klɑːt/, not /nɑːt/, jot /dʒɑːt/, box /bɑːks/, plot /plɑːt/, problem /ˈprɑːbləm/, lock /lɑːk/ etc.

Similarly, it does not mean that we cannot encounter /æ/ in British English in this respect. It is also abundant in this variety, but there are also some restrictions and there are certain sounds before which /æ/ occurs.

Taking non-rhoticity in most British varieties into account, we can come up with a number of homophonous words in both British and American English. For instance,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRITISH (RP)</th>
<th>AMERICAN</th>
<th>PRONUNCIATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guard</td>
<td>god</td>
<td>/gəd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part</td>
<td>pot</td>
<td>/pət/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dart</td>
<td>dot</td>
<td>/dət/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>card</td>
<td>cod</td>
<td>/kəd/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As far as /ɔ/ is concerned, we should expect the same realization in words like taught /tɔːt/, caught /kɔːt/, naughty /ˈnɔːdi/, court /kɔːt/ etc, where the vowel is realized identically. However, at other times, in American English the /ɔ/ is replaced with /æ/ with the latter becoming more and more popular (Wardhaugh, 1998). Thus whereas in British English, the words taught and talk would be rendered as /tɔːt/ and /tɔːk/, in the majority of American English varieties they would be realized as /tæt/ and /tæk/, except for some areas where
/ɔ/ still prevails. It is also argued that the realization of /ɔː/ as /ɑː/ goes so far as to occur in words such as *port*.

However, one might risk a statement that although it is much more probable to encounter the realization of /ɔː/ as /ɑː/ in *taught* /tɔːt/ vs /tɑːt/, *caught* /kɔːt/ vs /kɑːt/, it is much less likely to encounter such a phenomenon in such words as “*port*” /pɔːrt/, *court* /kɔːrt/, *lord* /lɔːrd/, even *pour* /pɔːt/ since the /t/ sound does not facilitate such a change to occur. Although it would be likely to occur in *horrid*, the change does not pertain to other words of the kind. How is it possible that in *horrid* we could expect the realization of the vowel as /ɑː/? We might risk stating that it might have to do with the stress which falls on the first syllable, not on the second syllable beginning with the /t/ sound.

When discussing pronunciation features of American English, the term GA – General American is usually employed since the most typically American pronunciation features can be observed in this variety. Nevertheless, it is common knowledge that “For some GA speakers, however, /ɔ/ and /ɑ/ are not separate phonemes. For such speakers, many of whom are found in the West of the United States, *cot* and *caught* are homophones ... have the same vowel phoneme” (Giegerich, 1992:61).

According to Janicki (1989), there are a few divergences pertaining to diphthongs. The differences are so subtle that they do not impede communication. The first discrepancy is the diphthong /ɔʊ/, as in *broken* /brɔʊkən/, *corrode* /kɔrəʊd/, *impose* /ɪmpəʊzl/, *toast* /tɔʊzl/, *bløke* /blɔʊkl/, *stroke* /strɔʊkl/, *no* /nɔʊl/, *goat* /gɔʊtl/, etc. Its American equivalent is rendered as /oʊl/, as in *broʊkən*, *ɪmpoʊzl*, *goʊtl*, etc. It is also possible to encounter the latter in British English, albeit it is definitely a rarity. Similarly the /ʌʊ/ variants are also observable in some regions of the United States, especially New England etc.

Moreover, there are other diphthongs the realization of which is different in American English. This discrepancy pertains to the diphthongs /ɪɔ/, /ɛə/, /loʊ/ and /ɔː/. Gimson (1997) states that in American they are realized as single vowels combined with the /t/ sound, which is very common in most American dialects (the process is referred to as rhoticity).
a) BE /ɪə/ - AE /ɪə/: fierce, here, near, dear, clear, smear, fear, gear, beard, rear, mere,
b) BE /ɛə/ - AE /ɛə/: wear, fair, hair, pair, tear, pear, stairs, care, fare, bare, flair,
c) BE /ʌə/- AE /ʌə/: cure, beer, endure, lure, pure, fury, moor, tour,
d) BE /ɔə/- AE /ɔə/: infer, prefer, word, work, lurch, search,

There is another phenomenon which is referred to as neutralization of the vowels. It is not so crucial as opposed to other differences; however. In American English, some vowels might undergo the process of neutralization, which does not take place in British English whatsoever. For instance, whereas the vowels of “marry” and “merry” are realized differently in British English, in American English they can be neutralized and as a result articulated identically. Therefore, there is no distinction in the articulation of these two vowels in some American varieties (this change is still taking place in the USA since it has not occurred everywhere yet (Trudgill and Hannah, 1994).

Nasal vowels in American English are nasally lengthened, usually after /m/ and /n/. As a result it takes more time for an American than for a British person to articulate the vowels due to their prolongation. “But vowels may be nasalized if the soft palate is lowered to allow part of the airstream to escape through the nose” (Ladefoged, 1975:204). Vowels are usually nasalized under the influence of the nasal consonants which either precede or follow a particular vowel. However, it usually occurs when a vowel precedes a nasal consonant. “Nasalization is most often induced by the presence of a neighboring nasal consonant, especially a following one: the velum is lowered a little too ‘early’, and the preceding vowel acquires a nasal character” (Trask, 1996:61). Bowen (1975:34) warns us about the risk of exaggerating the appropriate articulation of the vowel sounds which are surrounded by nasal consonants, such as /m/ or /n/. The exaggeration is based on the premise that there should be a considerable nasalization of the vowels due to the phonetic environment and as a result one can identify an observable overnasalization of the vowels. However, this phenomenon is quite common in the speech of English speakers. “There will be
fewer difficulties with these three sounds, although some students may tend to overnasalize vowels adjacent to nasal consonants. Even this is not a serious flaw, since many English speakers show the same influence. Nasal quality of vowels is particularly noticeable when a nasal consonant occurs both before and after a vowel, as in /mæn-nan-neym-mown/, etc.” (Bowen, 1975:34).

It should be pointed out that nasalization is not only restricted to the varieties of British English. Such a phenomenon can also be observed in the speech of American English and it is even commoner in western areas of the United States. According to Schlauch (1959:192), “A pervasive nasalization of vowels is also characteristic of General American speech, especially in the Western areas. The habit of nasal articulation goes back to the 17th century in England, where it was particularly marked among the Puritans. … The Puritans, then, were probably the immigrants who brought nasalization to the English of the New World, but it has spread to the West and become even more marked there than in the Northeast.”

The lengthening of the vowels is not solely restricted to vowels which occur next to nasal sounds. There are other environments where vowels are lengthened in American English. Admittedly, there are regions where the prolongation or lengthening of the vowels is more common or more noticeable (it is especially typical of Black English Vernacular or southern dialects), which is referred to as southern drawling. However, one can state that the realization of the vowels in American English is lengthened, in British English it is not so common (Mencken, 1979).

As far as the consonantal system is concerned, the differences between British and American English are not so abundant. Janicki (1989) claims that there are merely two phenomena which can be observed. These are referred to as flapping and rhoticity. Nevertheless, Mencken (1979) provides us with a much more exhaustive analysis of the peculiarities pertaining to the realization of the consonants. However, these differences occur in particular vocabulary items, for instance hostile /'hɒstaɪl/ vs /'hɑːstəl/, futile /'fjuːtaɪl/ vs /'fjuːdəl/, progress
Rhoticity in most American dialects is one of the most commonly recognized features. It refers to the pre-consonantal or pre-vocalic /r/ as in court /kɔːrt/, cart /kɑːrt/, nerd /nerd/, scarf /'skɑːرف/, burp /bɑːrp/, worse /wɔːrs/, prefer /prɛfr/, offer /ˈɔːfr/, deter /dɛtər/, cater /ˈkeɪtər/, better /ˈbedər/, here /hɪər/, liar /ˈlaɪər/ respectively. “This reflects the allied distributitional difference between RP and GA, namely that, unlike RP, where /r/ occurs only before vowels, GA /r/ can occur before consonants and before pause (GA is called a rhotic dialects and RP a non-rhotic dialect).” (Gimson, 1994:84).

“Rhotacized vowels are often called retroflex vowels, but there are at least two distinct ways in which a rhotacized quality can be produced. Some speakers have the tip of the tongue raised, as in a retroflex consonant, but others keep the tip down and produce a high bunched tongue position. These two gestures produce a very similar auditory effect. Recent x-ray studies of speech have shown that in both these ways of producing a rhotacized quality there is usually a constriction in the pharynx caused by retraction of the part of the tongue below the epiglottis” (Ladefoged, 1975:71).

We should also take the phonetic environment into consideration since the audibility of the r-sound can also be correlated with the neighboring sounds. Finally, the r is clearly realized word-finally (postvocalic /r/), before consonants (pre-consonantal /r/) it is still articulated, but not so clearly. This phenomenon will be discussed more profoundly and elaborately further since its variability is indicative of not only regional, but also social (contextual and stylistic) factors which influence the way people talk.

“…on the realization of the vowel-plus-/r/ sequences in GA. Due to the frequently retroflex character of /r/ in GA with comparatively open approximation, the vowel and /r/ are often merged into what may well appear to be a single sound segment: an r-coloured vowel. This is particularly apparent in the case of /ɔː/ plus /r/, … several other vowels behave in the same way” (Giegerich, 1992:65). It is understandable that /r/ is not very common in some
regions in the US, including Boston, parts of New England, etc. Conversely, the /r/ sound can be quite common in some British dialects as well.

It should be stressed that there are American dialects which are non-rhotic and also British dialects which are rhotic. In the United States, non-rhoticity occurs in the areas of New England (New York City, Boston etc) and in the South.

“As is well-known, some English accents are ‘rhotic’ or ‘r-full’ and others are ‘non-rhotic’ or ‘r-less’... Most of south-western England, together with part of Lancashire in the north-west, have rhotic accents... Most of southern and eastern EngEng regional accents are non-rhotic” (Reese, 1993).

According to Baugh and Cable (1965), most of British dialects have not always been non-rhotic. In the past, the /r/ used to be articulated very clearly. Only later did most British accents become r-less. American English is characterized by the preservation of the /r/ since such a change only took place in England. We may conclude that people flooding in to the “New World” were not so innovative with the way they talked.

As I had mentioned before, some British dialects are also characterized by the occurrence of the post-vocalic r-sound. It happens that some dialects are non-rhotic and they become rhotic in the course of time, i.e. throughout the centuries. “In earlier times, the feature which now occurs in isolated areas was also found in the in-between areas. Its status is now that of a RELIC FEATURE, and the in-between areas show the progress of the innovation. Rhotic (or r-ful) dialects are linguistic relics in England, as shown in Map 7-5. Non-rhotic or r-less dialects have been displacing them since the seventeenth century. Among the linguistically most conservative population in England ... both rhotic and non-rhotic dialects are found throughout the country” (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:95).

Another feature which occurs in American English and does not usually occur in British English (except in fast speech, which, however, pertains to some British dialects) is the movement of the /t/ sound towards /d/, as in better /ˈbedər/, letter /ˈledər/, cater /ˈkeɪdər/, water /ˈwɔːdər/, butter /ˈbʌdər/, litter /ˈlɪdər/, cutter /ˈkʌdər/, plotter /ˈplɑːdər/, heater /ˈhiːdər/, later /ˈleɪdər/, etc. As a result the /t/ sound undergoes voicing and becomes tapped. Similarly, the /t/ variable can also be flapped at times. It usually occurs in fast, unmonitored speech, and is especially typical of most American dialects although in some British varieties it is also observable. “A tap is caused by a single contraction of
the muscles so that one articulator is thrown against another. It is simply a very rapid articulation of a stop closure... A **flap** is an articulation in which one articulator strikes another in passing while on its way back to its rest position” (Ladefoged, 1975:147). It should be stressed that both taps and flaps occur in many American dialects. Both of them usually pertain to /t/, /d/, and /n/. Hence whereas the /t/, /d/ and /n/ would undergo tapping in words such as *letter, later, matter, leader, manner* etc, they would be flapped in words such as *party, wordy, earning, learning* etc.

It does not indicate that we should expect both tapping and flapping to occur in words such as *pertain /pərˈteɪn/, contain /ˈkɔntəɪn/, stain /ˈsteɪn/, start /stɑːt/, train /ˈtreɪn/, teaching /ˈtiːʃɪŋ/* etc. It is crucial to note that there are two restrictions since this rule pertains to the /t/ sound which is never stressed and occurs between two vowels. “… the phoneme /t/ is realized as [r] when it is preceded by a vowel or syllabic consonant, and followed by a stressless vowel” (Fromkin, 2000:530).

Therefore, we should not expect any voicing to occur in e.g. *what /wɔt/, cat /kæt/, late /leɪt/, rate /reɪt/, tight /taɪt/, light /laɪt/, might /maɪt/, white /waɪt/* etc. However, the realization of the final elements (the alveolar stop /t/) is definitely different in connected speech, in which case it usually becomes voiced, as in *might have, what a day* etc. Thus we should encompass other circumstances (e.g. in isolation) in order to thoroughly account for the variability. Conversely, there can be a clear voicing of the /t/ sound in e.g. *pretty /prɪdɪ/, city /ˈsɪdɪ/, calamity /ˈkæləmɪdɪ/, waiter /ˈweɪdər/, waiting /ˈweɪdɪŋ/, potter /ˈpɔːdər/, writing /ˈraɪdɪŋ/, writer /ˈraɪdər/.* Moreover, the articulation of such a /t/ sound is voiced is soft and only slightly aspirated.

Schlauch (1959:191) provides us with another restriction concerning the flapping of the /t/ sound. “In addition there is a very prevalent tendency to voice intervocalic voiceless consonants, especially –t- when not protected by accent. The result is not a fully voiced consonant but what may be called a half-voiced, one transcribed [b, d, g].”

One can come up with a number of words which reflect the phenomenon. Nevertheless, the /t/ is voiced if it is surrounded by vowels. We can encounter
voicing of the /t sound in words ending in -ity-, -ing-, -er/-or-, -al-. For instance:

- **ity-**: calamity, personality, community, integrity, clarity, variety, responsibility, quality,
- **er-**: operator, litter, later, quitter, meter, kilometer, inter, splinter,
- **al-**: brutal, fatal, mortal,
- **ing-**: chattering, meeting, excruciating, waiting, excoriating, procrastinating.

Those two variants (clear /t/ or a flapped /t/) are used interchangeably. However, according to Mencken (19990:98), “… in bitter, betting, plotting and sorted the overwhelming majority of them sounded a clear t, but that in bleating, waiting, hearty, hurting and writing most of them used a consonant that sounded like d”. Moreover, we should stress that the tapping or non-tapping of the /t/ sound is correlated with the style of speech (i.e. formal or informal etc).

Mencken (1990:38) stresses that this phenomenon goes so far as to voice the /t/ sound in street, which, however, is still a rarity. Interestingly, there are other voiceless sounds which become tapped as well, i.e. k is replaced with g, as in score and p becomes b, as in sponge. Admittedly, it must be our perception since there are no /sb/ or /sg/ combinations. The /d sound, as in kidding /ˈkɪdɪŋ/, hiding /ˈhaɪdɪŋ/, reading /ˈriːdɪŋ/ is also realized slightly differently in British and American. British speakers pronounce it clearly; they seem to enunciate the sound. On the other hand, American speakers tend to slur it and as a result its articulation is not so clear, even in relatively formal situations. It is necessary to stress that there are a number of irregular differences in a consonantal system. One of the commonest is a realization of /tʃ/ as in picture /ˈpɪkɪtʃər/, lecture /ˈlɛktʃər/ etc. Whereas in most British dialects it is rendered as /tʃ/, /ˈpɪkɪʃə(r)/, in American English the /t/ sound is likely to undergo deletion and as a result it would be rendered as /ˈpɪkɪʃə(r)/. If the /ʃ/ cluster is rendered as /ʃ/, the process is referred to as deaffricatization.

Mencken (1946:352) contrasts: “English usage prefers a clear tu – sound in actual, punctuate, virtue, and their like, but in America the tu tends to become
In other words /ju:/ is more typical of American English than its counterpart /tju:/ [AmE] vs /tju:/ [BrE].

The (t) sound is not solely encountered in /tʃ/ clusters. It is also deleted in words like printer /ˈprɪntər/, winter /ˈwɪntər/, twenty /ˈtwenti/, interview /ˈɪntərvjuː/, hunter /ˈhʌntər/, painter /ˈpeɪntər/, center /ˈsenər/ etc. In the abovementioned examples, /t/ is either deleted or unreleased. Nevertheless, the /nt/ cluster is a homorganic cluster where the only difference pertains to nasality.

Another sound which can be rendered differently is the contradiction between /u:/ and /ju:/, as in new /nuː/, news /ˈnuːz/, dude /ˈdjuːd/, newspaper /ˈnjuːzpeɪrɪs/, knew /nuː/, during /ˈdjuərɪŋ/. Whereas in most British English dialects the vowel in the words would be rendered as /juː/, in most American dialects (except for New England etc) it would be rendered as /uː/.

There are also a number of irregular differences. It is taken for granted that e.g. the /ɒ/ sound is typical of British as opposed to the American /ɑː/ sound, as in impossible /ɪmˈpɒsəbəl/ vs /ɪmˈpɑːsəbəl/, lot /lɒt/ vs /lɑːt/, plot /plɒt/ vs /plɑːt/, contrast /ˈkɒntrɑːst/ vs /ˈkɑːntræst/, contrary /ˈkɑːntrəri/ vs /ˈkɑːntrəri/ etc.

Nevertheless, there are also some words the pronunciation of which is not governed by any features typical of a particular variety – which is either British or American. These irregular differences are not so crucial or potent as the differences mentioned above, but still I consider it useful to discuss them briefly.

The first two words which I intend to focus on are either and neither. Although there is a clear diphthong /aɪ/ in the British variety, there is a different counterpart in American English, which is far from a diphthongal variant. Whereas a British person is expected to pronounce these words as /ˈaɪðə/ and /ˈnaɪðə/, an American person is more likely to pronounce these two words as /ˈiːðə(r)/ and /ˈniːðə(r)/ respectively. Nevertheless, there are speech areas in both countries where the pronunciation of the words is interchangeable.

I deliberately included all other phonological differences concerning vowels except for that one as I do not regard this discrepancy as influential enough to make another „rule”. This contrast between /aɪ/ and /iː/ pertains to
those two words only. Therefore, I think that it should be considered to be merely an “irregularity.”

Similarly, words like futile, sterile etc are rendered differently. In most American dialects, it is hardly possible to hear a diphthongal variant as is the case with British English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD:</th>
<th>BRITISH ENGLISH</th>
<th>AMERICAN ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hostile</td>
<td>/ˈhɒstɪl/</td>
<td>/ˈhəːstəl/ or /ˈhɒstɪl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>futile</td>
<td>/ˈfjuːtəl/</td>
<td>/ˈfjuːtl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sterile</td>
<td>/ˈsterəl/</td>
<td>/ˈsterol/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fertile</td>
<td>/ˈfɜːtəl/</td>
<td>/ˈfɜːrtəl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mobile</td>
<td>/ˈmoʊbəl/</td>
<td>/ˈmoʊbəl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specialisation</td>
<td>/speʃələˈzɛfən/</td>
<td>/speʃələˈzɛfən/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Janicki, 1989:37)

Another irregular difference is exemplified by the word been which surprisingly enough, despite its evident diphthongal variant /iː/, as in bean, read, peat, mean, bleed etc, is pronounced differently in the United States. The /iː/ is contrasted with the /ɪ/ sound; the former being typical of British English and the latter being typical of American English.

There are also a number of particular words the pronunciation of which differs according to the variety. Sometimes the differences are very subtle, which makes it more cumbersome to discern / distinguish which variety is being used, especially when we are exposed to single words. Sometimes, however, the differences in pronunciation between the two varieties can be considerable.

This is a list of selected vocabulary items which differ in pronunciation, depending on the variety.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD:</th>
<th>BRITISH ENGLISH</th>
<th>AMERICAN ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>herb</td>
<td>/ˈhɜːb/</td>
<td>/ˈɔː(r)b/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leisure</td>
<td>/ˈliːʒə/</td>
<td>/ˈliːʒə(r)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lever</td>
<td>/ˈlevər/</td>
<td>/ˈliːvə(r)/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Janicki (1989:43, 44) gives us a more exhaustive list of the words. Here are some more which Jeremy does not include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD:</th>
<th>BRITISH ENGLISH</th>
<th>AMERICAN ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>advertisement</td>
<td>/əd'vɜːtɪmənt/</td>
<td>/ædvətɪmənt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asthma</td>
<td>/'æstma/</td>
<td>/'æstma/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cordial</td>
<td>/kɔːdrɪəl/</td>
<td>/kɔː(r)dʒəl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>docile</td>
<td>/dɑːsəl/</td>
<td>/dɑːsəl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynasty</td>
<td>/'dɪnəstɪ/</td>
<td>/'dɪnəstɪ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epoch</td>
<td>/'ɪpɔk/</td>
<td>/'ɪpək/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>figure</td>
<td>/'fɪɡə/</td>
<td>/'fɪɡə(r)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>issue</td>
<td>/'ɪʃuː/ or /'ɪʃu:/</td>
<td>/'ɪʃuː/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lieutenant</td>
<td>/'lɪtənɪnt/</td>
<td>/'luːtənɪnt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nephew</td>
<td>/'nevju:/</td>
<td>/'nefju:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>process</td>
<td>/'prəʊses/</td>
<td>/'proʊses/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progress</td>
<td>/'prəʊgres/</td>
<td>/'proʊgres/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suggest</td>
<td>/sə'dʒest/</td>
<td>/sagdʒest/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trait</td>
<td>/treɪt/</td>
<td>/treɪt/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is also advisable to find irregular pronunciation differences in a dictionary, as there is not any reliable reference which gives us a satisfactory account of such differences, for instance, *deliberative* /dɪˈlɪbərətɪv/ vs /dɪˈlɪbərətɪv/, *meditative* /'medɪtətɪv/ vs /'medɪtətɪv/. As can be observed, the differences pertain to both vowels and consonants.

Finally, the last aspect to be accounted for is stress and stress differences which are also detectable between the two varieties. It is important to note that this term should not be confused with *rhythm* and *intonation*. Stress and intonation are two completely different, “divergent” notions and do not meet at any point. Whereas the former pertains to whole sentences, the latter concerns single vocabulary items.
I emphasized intonation, rhythm and their characteristics with respect to both varieties previously.

As far as stress is concerned, I intend to focus on some words which are stressed differently depending on the variety – British or American. It is also claimed that stress differences are of minor importance. Still, it is necessary to elaborate on them as well. In fact the matter is there is a good deal of words which exhibit stress differences, as was the case with irregular pronunciation differences.

First and foremost, it is important to realize that some words are stressed on the first syllable, second, third and even fourth one in order to clearly indicate stress variations concerning Standard British and Standard American. It is understandable that very often we place the stress on a different syllable in a word since both British and American stress is phonemic (Janicki, 1989:45). As a result sometimes the meaning of the word is changed, but most often on account of a “stress shift”, what we do is change the category of speech. For example, when we make something larger in amount, quantity, degree etc we increase something – with the stress on the second syllable; but a rise in amount, degree etc is referred to as an increase – with the stress on the first syllable.

If we take into consideration the treatment of stress in British and American English, we will conclude that in reality there is no rule or pattern to follow. Nothing determines the syllable which is or which should be stressed – neither in British nor in American.

Janicki (1989:47) makes a division into two groups:
1. Words which are stressed on the first syllable in American English, and on the second (or the third) syllable in British English, for instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD:</th>
<th>BRITISH ENGLISH</th>
<th>AMERICAN ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>address (noun)</td>
<td>/ə'dres/</td>
<td>/ædres/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigarette</td>
<td>/sɪɡə'ret/</td>
<td>/sɪɡə'ret/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dictate</td>
<td>/dɪk'tet/</td>
<td>/dɪk'tet/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donate</td>
<td>/dəʊ'net/</td>
<td>/dəʊnet/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>research (noun)</td>
<td>/rɪ'sɜːf/</td>
<td>/rɪ:sɜː:(r)ʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resource</td>
<td>/rɪ'sɔːs/</td>
<td>/rɪ:sɔː(:r)s/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>romance</td>
<td>/rəʊ'mæns/</td>
<td>/roʊ'mæns/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Words which in American English are stressed on the second (or third) syllable, and in British English on the first (or second) syllable, for instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD:</th>
<th>BRITISH ENGLISH</th>
<th>AMERICAN ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ballet</td>
<td>/ˈbæleɪt/</td>
<td>/bæˈlet/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cabaret</td>
<td>/ˈkæbəret/</td>
<td>/kæbəˈret/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cafe</td>
<td>/ˈkæfi/</td>
<td>/kæˈfi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>complex (adj ect.)</td>
<td>/ˈkɒmplɛks/</td>
<td>/kɒˈmpleks/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crochet</td>
<td>/ˈkrɔʃɛt/</td>
<td>/kroʊˈʃet/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>debris</td>
<td>/ˈdiəriː/ or /ˈdɛtriː/</td>
<td>/ˈdebriː/ or /ˈdetriː:/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elongate</td>
<td>/ɪˈlɒŋget/</td>
<td>/ɪˈlɒŋget/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frontier</td>
<td>/ˈfrɒntɪə/</td>
<td>/fræntɪ(r)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harass</td>
<td>/ˈhærəs/</td>
<td>/həˈræs/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, some of the words in the list can be variably pronounced in one variety. The variable pronunciation here refers to the variable stress. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD:</th>
<th>BRITISH ENGLISH</th>
<th>AMERICAN ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cigarette</td>
<td>/ˈsɪɡəret/</td>
<td>/ˈsɪɡəret/ /ˈsɪɡəret/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>romance</td>
<td>/ˈrɒməns/ or /ˈrəʊməns/</td>
<td>/ˈrɒməns/ or /ˈrəʊməns/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harass</td>
<td>/ˈhærəs/ or /həˈræs/</td>
<td>/həˈræs/ or /ˈhærəs/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason why I resolved to draw attention to the term “variable pronunciation” prior to “variable stress” is the fact that sometimes it is possible to encounter a different pronunciation just because the stress is also variable. It means that stress “projects” on the pronunciation to the same extent as the pronunciation sometimes determines which syllable should be stressed, as in harass etc. We do not put stress on the first syllable in harass if the /ə/ sound follows the first syllable since we know very well that this should be unaccented. Such examples depicting this phenomenon could be multiplied.
In conclusion, although a Briton can comfortably communicate with an American person, there are certain differences between the two varieties. Even though different realization of particular sounds does not impede communication, the differences are identifiable immediately. Apart from that, it is worth stressing that there are a number of features pertaining to American English which used to be typical of British English in the past. For instance, rhoticity was very common in British dialects. Nevertheless, the treatment of /r/ underwent a transition from rhoticity to non-rhoticity. It also reached New England and as a result this area is not characterized by the high incidence of rhoticity, as opposed to other regions, such as the midlands and western areas of the USA. Mencken (1979:443) points out that many Scottish, Irish and English people who were heading westward contributed to the rhoticity all over the country as they were not influenced by the London speech. Similarly, the flat vowel /æ/ (as opposed to broad /ɑ:/, was also prevalent in British English. According to Baugh and Cable (1974:434), by the end of the eighteenth century, the realization of the middle vowel in pass, grass, can’t etc resembled the realization typical of contemporary American English, which was a common feature especially characteristic of southern England.

“In the last two centuries, American pronunciation has, of course, changed. New diphthongs have developed in the South and North alike. But certain of our modern American patterns of pronunciation can be traced back to the dialect areas of seventeenth and eighteenth century England, dialect areas which themselves grew out of those in the Middle English period which, in turn, correspond to the OE dialect areas of Mercia, East and West Saxony, Kent and Northumbria, areas that the Venerable Bede (673-735) thought reflected the continental origins of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, whose dialects were allegedly scattered along the North Sea from the Rhine to Denmark – all of which is a continuity that testifies to the enduring nature of language as well as its constant tendency for change” (Williams, 1975:359).

In summary, there were a number of dialects which contributed to the formation of American English. Although it was definitely due to the influence of British dialects, there were also immigrants from other countries whose speech
also had some contribution to the American pronunciation. Nevertheless, American English apparently seems to be more archaic as opposed to the British English dialects mainly due to the preservation of the phonological features which were typical of British English a few centuries ago. “There is ample evidence that the relatively isolated communities of North America were conservatively resistant to changes that affected the mainstream of English in eighteenth century England simply because they had very little contact with that mainstream” (Lawendowski and Pankhurst, 1975:42).

Finally, one cannot ignore the chain shifts which have recently occurred in some American English dialects. The first one is referred to as the **Northern City Vowel Shift**, which can be observed in a great many of large cities, including Syracuse, Buffalo, Toledo, Detroit, Rochester, Rockford, Chicago etc. The other one pertains to southern area of United States English and is called the **Southern Shift**.

Admittedly, there are certain sounds which are moving. According to the diagram above, /æ/ undergoes a transition and becomes more like /ɪə/. Similarly, /ɒ/, as in *clot* /klɒt/, *plot* /plɒt/, *not* /nɒt/ etc is shifted forward. Thus the speakers of others accents have the impression that the variable sounds like /æ/. Furthermore, /ɛ/, as in *pen* /pen/, *lend* /lɛnd/, *rent* /rent/ is shifted down and back to resemble the variable /ʌ/, as in *nothing* /’nʌθɪŋ/, *bud* /bʌd/, *run* /rʌn/ etc. Finally, /w/ as in *wither* /’wɪðər/, *trim* /trɪm/, *flimsy* /’flɪmzɪ/ etc is shifted back to /e/ of *bed* /bed/, *met* /met/, *rent* /rent/ etc. However, one cannot state that a particular vowel undergoes a complete transition and becomes like another vowel. The truth is that it becomes merged. “When a vowel sound moves into another vowel’s territory, the result may be a merger – as when the sound of *caught* comes to be pronounced with the tongue in the same region of the mouth as for *cot*” (Labov, 2001).
CHAPTER TWO

DIALECTS OF AMERICAN ENGLISH

2.1. NORTHEASTERN DIALECT OF UNITED STATES ENGLISH

Admittedly, we should not talk about any homogeneity in the pronunciation since the area is so vast that we need to distinguish several dialects and a number of pronunciation features. It should be stressed that there are a number of pronunciation differences which pertain to particular areas and which cannot be observed elsewhere. Moreover, there are several features which are even difficult to reflect in spelling. “Many more differences in pronunciation can be pointed out. Some are confined to small localities, older generations, or rustics. Others are difficult to illustrate in conventional spelling” (Reed, 1977:34). Apart from the dialectal areas which we can identify in North-east, there are a great many cities which have their own, unique accent. For instance, the accent of New York City is definitely unique. So are the accents of Philadelphia and Boston. In order to give an exhaustive account of the north-eastern speech, we should not solely focus on the speech areas by mentioning the most distinctive features. The pronunciation found in these big, metropolitan cities also deserves attention. Thus New Jersey State, New York City, Philadelphia, Boston and adjacent areas will constitute my primary concern since these are the areas where most of my informants come from or have been living for a long time. “The Boston accent is the dialect of English not only of the city of Boston itself, but more generally of all of eastern Massachusetts; it shares much in common with the accents of New Hampshire and upper Maine. The three regions are frequently grouped together by sociolinguists under the cover term Eastern New England accent, combined with New York-New Jersey English, forms a part of Northeastern American English.” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boston_accent).

Finally, there are a number of other terms which are associated with the notion of prestige in the speech variation. In fact these are terms which are used to refer to pronunciation features which can be found in the speech of both well-educated people as well as less educated people whose accents can be discernible.
“Specialists in the study of language have developed a useful terminology to describe this phenomenon of degrees of difference between speech varieties. The term ACROLECT describes the dialect (or accent) which is accorded highest prestige: in British English the accent concerned in this category is, as we have seen, RP. The ‘broadest’ form of popular speech is called the BASILECT. In 1850, the majority of people in rural areas, especially those with least education, spoke a basilect: those forms survive now among ‘elderly people with little education’ (as one scholar puts it) in rather isolated areas. With every year that passes, fewer and fewer young children are introduced the meanings of the old dialect words, and the accents of more and more of them move to at least an intermediate stage in the direction of RP, which is called the MASOLECT” (Honey, 1991:53).

2.1.1. NEW ENGLAND – PRONUNCIATION FEATURES

First and foremost, one should stress that pronunciation in New England resembles British English due to historical reasons. This is the land which was settled by the first immigrants escaping persecution in search of freedom and a better life. Trudgill and Hannah (1994:49) stress, “This resemblance is due to continuing close links between the port of Boston and London in post-settlement times and the resultant importation of originally southern English features into this area of the United States.” Schlauch (1959:185) claims, “The Northeastern dialect, spoken in New England, and extending into Eastern New York State to a certain extent, is the one which has remained closest to the standard speech of the mother country.”

Before analyzing phonological features concerning New England, it is necessary to stress that even New England dialect should be subdivided into Eastern and Western. As a result we should expect to encounter some differences in pronunciation within the area of New England. The following map portrays the area:
It should be added that in New England there are some areas which are e.g. rhotic, which is not akin to New England dialect (Baugh and Cable, 1965). Mencken (1979:456) stresses, “Even New England variety of American is anything but a homogenous whole. In its coastal form, centering in Boston, it is very like the Standard English of Southern England, but as one moves westward it gradually loses itself in General American.”

Thus although the size of the area is relatively small, the pronunciation features can also be variable. Moreover, there are other factors which determine the way people talk. For instance, socially, young speakers, especially adolescents and teenagers have the tendency to be innovative in their speech. As a result the small size of the area does not determine homogeneity or uniformity. Nevertheless, large areas full of stratified societies are more likely to give rise to linguistic variation.

When comparing Eastern and Western New England dialects, the former is considered to be more distinctive. In fact, it is regarded as one of the most distinctive of all the American dialects which have been distinguished in the US (http://www.geocities.com/Broadway/1906/dialects.html). It is crucial to point
out that the pronunciation features which are characteristic of New England are not encountered all over the place. For instance, Connecticut, Vermont and Western Massachusetts are the areas in New England which are the most innovative. Their innovation means that pronunciation features typical of New England are replaced with the features encountered in Midwest and western part of the USA. In other words, these three areas of New England tend to follow the mainstream American pronunciation (Reese, 1993).

There are a number of dialectal features pertaining to the area:

Non-rhoticity is one of the most noticeable phonological features, which resembles most of British speech areas (Baugh and Cable, 1965). Thus in words like wear, bar, beard, guard, turn, worm, curb, etc the r is not retained. However, there are both linking and intrusive /r/, which pertains to most British varieties of English.

However, there is less propensity for non-rhoticity in most areas of New England today.

"Most North American speech is rhotic, as English was in most places in the 17th century. Rhoticity was further supported by Hiberno-English, Scottish English, and West Country English. In most varieties of North American English, the sound corresponding to the letter “R” is a retroflex semivowel rather than a trill or a tap. The loss of syllable-final r in North America is confined mostly to the accents of eastern New England, New York City and surrounding areas, South Philadelphia, and the coastal portions of the South.” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_English).

It needs to be pointed out that in some regions, non-rhoticity is becoming recessive and the /r/ sound is becoming more and more preferable. This phenomenon can occur in other regions, too. Its articulation is correlated with high class speech at times, at least in some areas, r/ used to be very common in the speech of New Yorkers.

This modification in speech is not solely restricted to the /r/ sound. There are a number of other sounds which undergo modification, especially in the speech of young people. For example, the Northern Cities Chain Shift also occurs among youngsters in the area of Boston (Trudgill and Hannah, 1994:49).
Another feature typical of New England dialect, which is correlated with non-rhoticity is the occurrence of the diphthongal sounds /wə/, /eə/, /oə/ and /ɔə/, as in weary /ˈwɪərɪ/, clear /ˈklɪə/, near /ˈnɪə/, mere /ˈmɪə/, rear /ˈrɪə/, gear /ˈɡɜə/, hair /ˈheə/, stairs /stɜə/, fair /feə/, wear /weə/, lure /ˈlɜə/, during /ˈdjʊərɪŋ/, secure /səˈkjoʊə/, tour /ˈtjoʊ/ respectively. The preservation of the diphthongs is maintained as long as non-rhoticity is maintained. In other areas, the diphthongs disappeared only because /t/ became continuously used. As a result the words below would be articulated in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD</th>
<th>DIPHTHONG, NON-RHOTICITY</th>
<th>RHOTIC DIALECTS; MONOPHTHONGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clear</td>
<td>/klɪə/</td>
<td>/klɪə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weird</td>
<td>/wɪəd/</td>
<td>/wɪəd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>/heə/</td>
<td>/heə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wear</td>
<td>/weə/</td>
<td>/weə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secure</td>
<td>/səˈkjoʊə/</td>
<td>/səˈkjoʊə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>endure</td>
<td>/ɪnˈdjoʊə/</td>
<td>/ɪnˈdjoʊə/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasalization of both vowels and consonants is also common in this area. “New England accent is marked by its “nasal twang,” e.g. vowels and diphthongs are nasalized before and after nasal consonants (Mencken, 1990). However, New England is not the only area where such a phenomenon occurs. “The Puritans, then, were probably the immigrants who brought nasalization to the English of the New World, but it has spread to the West and become even more marked there than in the Northeast.” (Schlauch, 1959:192).

The broad /ɔ/ is also prevalent in most New England areas. It is not only heard in tart /tɔ:(r)t/, part /pɔ:(r)t/, card /kɔ:(r)d/, hard /hɔ:(r)d/, heart /hɑ:(r)t/, starving /ˈstɔ:(r)vɪŋ/ etc but also in laugh /lɑːfl/, demand /dɪˈmɑːnd/, after /ˈɑːftə(r)/, laughter /ˈlɑːftə(r)/, craft /krɛft/, bath /bɑːθ/, dance /dɑːns/, last /lɑːst/ etc (Williams, 1975:358). However, in most American dialects, it is customary to use /æ/ instead of /ɔ/ (Millward, 1988). Similarly, there are also areas in New England where the flat /æ/ is much more preferable and common, but this is a rarity. It is crude to stress that the broad /ɔ/ is also becoming
obsolete in New England, at least in some parts of the area, especially among younger speakers.

According to Mencken (1990:110), “One of the most strange facts unearthed has been noted already – that the broad /æ/ of the Boston area seems to be gradually succumbing to the flat /æ/ of General American even within cannot-shot of the Harvard pumple.” Apart from that, adds Schlauch (1959:186), the flat /æ/ is currently being used in Western New England.

Predictably, another feature is the preservation of a rounded vowel /ɒ/ as opposed to /ɑː/, as in knowledge /ˈnɒlɪdʒ/, what /ˈwɒt/, plot /ˈplɒt/, cop /ˈkɒp/, lot /ˈlɒt/, not /ˈnɒt/, problem /ˈprɒbləm/, God /ˈɡɒd/, clot /ˈkɒt/, on /ˈɒn/ etc. Francis (1958:515) adds, “/ʊ/ (phonetically [ɒ]) in “short-o” words: crop, lot, on, fog; often no distinction between these words and words like fought, law, horse, etc. Sometimes the latter group has a higher vowel somewhat lengthened: [ʊ∗] (phonemically /ɒh/ or /oh/).” Nevertheless, there are a number of regions in New England where the rounded vowel /ɒ/ is becoming less common and the application of /ɑː/ is much preferable, such as /ˈnɑːlɪdʒ/, /ˈprɒbləm/, /ˈkɒt/.

Moreover, stress Trudgill and Hannah (1994:49), the vowels in cot-caught, cod-cord, tot-taught, pot-port, sod-sought etc are not distinguishable any more. In other words, they have already become merged and as a result are homophonous. “In New England the short o of cot, lot, nod and the original ME au of words like caught, law, launch, as well as original o before r, all appear as [ɒ(:)], with length again a non-distinctive feature.” (Schlauch, 1959:186). This change is said to have occurred in eastern New England, Pittsburgh and adjacent areas and from the Great Plains westward (Trudgill and Hannah, 1994).

2.1.2. NEW YORK CITY, NEW JERSEY

The pronunciation features which I intend to focus on do not only pertain to the city itself, but also to the neighboring areas of New York State, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Admittedly, even within the city and the state of New Jersey there is variation among the speakers, which is always the case in the speech of stratified societies. Thus New York dialect influences
the speech of the North Jersey. Similarly, Philadelphian speech has a strong impact on the South Jersey (Reed, 1977).

The accent of New York City is very distinctive in comparison with other accents. “This distinctiveness can be ascribed in part like that of the Boston area, to the city’s role as a port with close links with England at earlier periods but it is also due in part to considerable immigration by speakers of Yiddish, Irish, Irish English, Italian and other European languages, as well as to independent developments.” (Trudgill and Hannah, 1994:50).

There are the following pronunciation features typical of New York accent and adjacent areas.

First of all, the accent of New York is non-rhotic, just like Bostonian and other areas of New England. Nevertheless, there might be r-intrusion or r-linking in the speech of New Yorkers. Moreover, this feature becomes recessive as there are more and more people, especially young people from higher classes who exhibit a high frequency of /r/, not only intrusive or linking, but prevocalic and postvocalic as well (Trudgill and Hannah, 1994:50). Labov’s experiment in 1970s proved how common and prestigious the /r/ sound could be. However, when talking to a New Yorker today, one might be confused since this dialect does not seem to be so rhotic. In other words, even in monitored speech, the /r/ sound is not articulated so clearly or audibly. There are some conditions that favor the articulation or non-articulation of the /r/ since “Non-rhoticity now happens sometimes in New Yorkers with entirely rhotic speech if r’s are located in unaccented syllables or words and the next syllable or word begins in consonant.” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_York-New_Jersey_English).

Another feature is the occurrence of the diphthongs /aʊ/, /eʊ/, /ɔː/ and /ʌ:/ (this feature is attributed to non-rhoticity), as in near /nəʊ/, mere /məʊ/, rear /rəʊ/, fair /feɪ/, hair /heɪ/, boor /bɔː/, cure /'kjuːə/, learn /ləʊ:n/, burn /bɜːn/, etc respectively. Similarly, people following the American mainstream pronunciation are rhotic and the abovementioned diphthongs become monophthongized then.

The next characteristic feature, typical of New York speech pertains to the vowel /ɒ/, as in not, lot, plot, knock, dollar, slot, which is unrounded in this area.
(unlike eastern New England). The above words are realized as /nɔt/, /lɔt/, /plɔt/, /nɔk/, /dɔlɔr/, /slɔt/. This feature is typical of most American dialects.

The vowel /ɔ/ in the New York dialect is common. For instance, the vowels in *cot-caught, pot-port* etc have merged (Baugh, 1974). Their pronunciation of the vowel will differ; /kɔt/ - /kɔt/; /pɔt/ - /pɔt/.

One of the most interesting peculiarities is the occurrence of the vowel /eɪ/ instead of /æ:/ before consonants, as in *word /weɪd/, nerd /neɪd/, world /weɪld/, emerge /ɪmˈeɪdʒ/ etc. This feature is usually encountered in the speech of older and low class people. Moreover, it is becoming obsolete (Trudgill and Hannah, 1994:50). This feature does not take place in word-final position, as in *prefer /prɪˈfɜːr/, were /wɜːr/, infer /ɪnˈfɜːr/ etc. It is also observable to encounter pronunciation of /æ:/ as /ɔ/., which is especially identified in Brooklyn, Charleston and New Orleans. “Another feature of this kind, found particularly in New York City (where it is sometimes classed as “Brooklynese”), in Charleston, and around New Orleans, is the suggestion of something like an oi sound in words like bird, heard, and curl. These cities were among those maintaining close contact with London for a good while, and they bear the marks of a social class which contributed heavily to their development” (Reed, 1977:34).

Another discrepancy is the occurrence of the variant dental stops /t/ and /d/ instead of their “standard” counterparts /θ/ and /ð/, as in *theme park, thus, thought, this, than, there* etc. Their possible realization would be rendered as /tɪ:m ˈpɑk/, /θɔt/, /dɪs/, /dɛl/, etc. However, these dental stops are regarded as stigmatized and typical of uneducated and low class people.

The Jersey accent shares a number of pronunciation features with the New York accent. Thus both the accent of New York and New Jersey (at least northern part) are regarded as one dialect. One of the differences is rhoticity since “the Jersey accent is at least somewhat rhotic and æ - tensing is less pronounced than in New York” (Trudgill, 1996).
Black English Vernacular is considered to be one of the most distinctive American nonstandard dialects. It is also referred to as African American Vernacular English (AAVE), however, it is usually termed “Ebonics” (Whatley, 1982). The term “Ebonics” was first introduced in the 1970s. According to Rubba, “Within sociolinguistics, Ebonics has been known as Black English, Black English Vernacular or BEV (pronounced ‘bee-ee-vee’ or ‘Bev’), and (most currently) African American Vernacular English or AAVE (pronounced like ‘have’ without the ‘h’, or ‘ay-ay-vee-ee’) (Rubba, 1977).

Its peculiar phonological and grammatical features are so much different from the Standard American English that some people even prefer to regard this variety as a different language – the language which can be difficult to understand at times and which is far from correct and standard. It is necessary to define the notion of “Standard American” before analyzing the differences between these two varieties. First of all, it would definitely be a misconception to label Standard American as one and the only variety which is correct and standard whereas all other varieties and dialectal variations as incorrect and erroneous versions of Standard American. The linguistic (in this case phonological) features do not determine the status or prestige of a particular variety. Nevertheless, Standard American is the most prestigious because it is a variety which is used in public places, a number of institutions; it is a variety which is also used in mass-media, school settings and which can be encountered in text-books, literature etc.

As a result a number of people are convinced that Black English Vernacular is a much worse dialect which is used by uneducated and low class people. Surprisingly, not only ordinary people draw such conclusions but also experts who strive to prove the inferiority or worseness of this attention worthy variety. “There are critics who attempt to equate the use of African American English with inferior genetic intelligence and cultural deprivation, justifying these incorrect notions by stating that AAVE is a “deficient, illogical, and incomplete” language.” (Fromkin and Rodman, 1998:413).

Today the majority of linguists are cognizant of the fact that labeling this variety as “hybrid”, “improper” or “deficient” would be a sheer misconception.
“Although there is a small minority who continue to question the legitimacy of AAE, among linguists and other language researchers it is widely accepted as a legitimate dialect form that differs in systematic, identifiable ways from SAE” (Washington, 1988).

Admittedly, when we analyze its features superficially, we think that they would be unacceptable in everyday speech among speakers using Standard American.

There are a number of peculiarities and idiosyncrasies in both grammar and phonology. In the former, we encounter:

- double negation, i.e. *They don’t do nothing. I don’t have no money. She ain’t no good* etc
- the omission of the copula, i.e. *I fed up with him; he too proud, you good to me* etc
- the use of uninflected *be*, i.e. *She be insane; you be good to me; they be very impolite* etc
- no tense-concord, i.e. *She cook delicious dinner yesterday; He smoke a lot then* etc
- no inflection of the lexical verbs in the third person singular, i.e. *He go there for no reason at all; he try as best as he can; she live in the country* etc.

Phonologically, there are a great many discrepancies which are regarded as non-standard, incorrect or stigmatized. There is a lot of reduction or simplification to be identified, which especially pertains to consonant clusters, but not only. For instance, the final l-sound can be deleted, as in *tall /tɔːl/, wall /wɔːl/* etc. The r-lessness is not as striking as the monophthongization, as in *Let’s go for a ride /lets gɔʊ fə rɑːd/* etc. The final /l/ or /d/ simplification is even more noticeable, as in *waste /wɛst/, most /moʊst/, played /pled/, liked /laɪkt/,* etc.

“Final t disappears after voiceless consonants, * kep, bæŋkrup, sof, lof, mus, ʤes* ‘just’ … “(Dillard, 1979)). The omission of other consonants is also typical of the variety, as in *risk /rɪsk/, dusk /dʌsk/, cold /kɔld/,* etc. Finally, the use of plosives /t/ and /d/ or labiodentals /f/ and /v/ instead of dental fricatives /θ/ and
/ð/ is also a very common feature in AAVE, as in theme park /ˈtiːm pær/, lethal /ˈliːfəl/, filthy /ˈfɪlfi/, breathe /ˈbriːv/ etc.

These features are not just different from Standard American; they are considered to be incorrect linguistic forms, used by uneducated people, especially Afro-Americans. As a result not only does their language come in for criticism, but also the speakers themselves.

Nevertheless, it is undeniably a misconception. First and foremost, there should be no discrimination against either its people or their language. Albeit different from the standard variety, the language of Afro-Americans is also characterized by a set of rules, both in the area of grammar and pronunciation. The use of the so-called nonstandard Afro-American features is not random and has nothing to do with the betterness of Standard American. Instead, the use of the forms is correlated with the rules and linguistic constraints. The choice of particular linguistic forms is subject to variability depending on the linguistic environment, as in a word, in adjacent words etc.

There is one important thing which should not be ignored. We should not forget that the features in Black English Vernacular are also common in other white American nonstandard dialects. Paradoxically, it even happens that white people who depict the same features look down on Black English Vernacular and regard it as inferior and not deserving attention.

I intend to give a more exhaustive account of the phonological features in Black English Vernacular. In order to understand and appreciate Black English Vernacular, we should profoundly analyze its features, variability and linguistic environments in which they occur.
2.2.1. AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH – PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

African American English is one of the most peculiar dialects. Regardless of the language area, this variety portrays a number of differences in comparison to Standard American. The differences are observable in both grammar and pronunciation. However, it should be pointed out that its unique phonological and grammatical features contribute to people’s misconception about its worseness, incorrectness and corruption.

There are a number of phonological differences between AAVE (African-American Vernacular English) and SAE (Standard American English). One of the most noticeable phonological differences is non-rhoticity. In initial positions in a word, the /r/ is always articulated, which is perfectly understandable. In other positions, the realization of the /r/ is variable. However, it can also be observed in many English varieties, especially British, but also American, for instance southern dialects, New England, Bostonian etc.

It is also important to take distribution into account. Since in Standard British English, the /r/ solely occurs in pre-vocalic position, it has a more limited distribution (Gimson, 1994:82). Fromkin and Rodman (1998:213) stress that in AAVE the /r/ is not deleted before vowels. However, we should remember about the linking-r which is applied when a word ends with /ə/ and the next one also begins with a vowel, as in Linda and his fans /lɪndərən ɪz fænz/ etc. The r-sound is not the only one to be inserted. Similarly, /w/ can be applied when a word ends with a back vowel and the next word begins with a vowel, as in Romeo and Juliet etc.

Conversely, in AAVE the ubiquity of the r-lessness is noticeable in word final positions, both before vowels and consonants. Paradoxically, this phenomenon is a contradiction to Standard American in which the r-sound is very common. In fact, whenever spelling indicates, the r-pronunciation takes place. Furthermore, the r-sound can also be inserted (can be audible) even though the spelling does not indicate it. In r-less dialects of New England r can be inserted in words that are not spelled with /r/ when a word beginning with a vowel follows (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:140).
Due to the r-lessness in AAVE there occurs identical pronunciation in words like *part* – *pot* /pɑːt/, *card* – *cod* /kɔːd/, *dart* – *dot* /dɑːt/, *tart* – *tot* /tɔːt/.

It is also claimed that in AAVE the r-sound also disappears after a vowel and before another vowel in a word. Hence it is not even audible in words like *lorry, parry, strawberry, marry, contrary, horrible, horrified* etc. However, the deletion of the r-sound in this position (so called intervocalic position) is not as common as the deletion of the /t/ in the terminal position or when it precedes a consonant (post-vocalic /t/), as in *lawyer* /'lɔːər/, *failure* /'feɪlər/, *measure* /'meʒər/, *pleasure* /'pleʒər/, *leisure* /'liːʒər/ or /'liːər/, *rapport* /'ræpərt/, *surd* /sɜːrd/, *court* /kɔːrt/, *nerd* /nerd/, *jerk* /'dʒɜːrk/, *lard* /lɑːrd/ accordingly.

We cannot ignore the correlation of the post-vocalic r-deletion with grammar. Wolfram and Fasold (1974:141) stress that the r-sound may also undergo deletion when it occurs between a voiceless /θ/ and either /Z/ or /ʃ/. Similarly, it can be unarticulated in unstressed syllables. As a result the r-sound is dropped in words like *throb, throttle, through* etc. We can expect the loss or the non-realization of the r-sound in *prefer* /pɾɪfər/, *predict* /pɾɪdɪkt/, *profess* /pɾəfəs/ since it occurs in unaccented syllables. The deletion would not be applied in words like *grandmother* /'ɡrænmɑːdər/, *straight* /streɪt/, *dressing-gown* /'dresɪŋ ɡɔʊn/, *freaking* /'friːkɪŋ/ etc since the approximant palato-alveolar variable /t/ appears in stressed syllables (including the word “straight” since albeit there is solely one syllable, it is also stressed).

Another feature, which is also characteristic of AAVE is consonant cluster simplification. There are a number of consonants which undergo reduction or simplification, and thus the last element (consonant) is unarticulated. For example, /st/, /sk/, /nd/ reflect this phenomenon. Such reductions are also observed in fast, unmonitored speech. Furthermore, whereas in AAVE the last consonant always undergoes reduction, in other varieties it can be pronounced weekly or be unarticulated whatsoever (Rickford, 1996).

The abovementioned clusters are not the only clusters which reflect the process of simplification in AAVE. There are much more of them, but their selection cannot be random or haphazard. There is a regularity pertaining to consonant cluster simplification. According to Rickford (1996), such a reduction
can only take place if both consonants are either voiced or voiceless. Under no circumstances should deletion be expected if one is voiced and the other is voiceless. Therefore simplification should also be expected in clusters such as: /ptl, /ndl, /mdl, /fls, /ldl, /zd, /bd/. As a result the final consonants would be deleted in the following words:

/stl/: waste /weisl, dust /dəs/, nest /nesl, lost /ləs/, worst /wəs/, missed /məs/, kissed /kəs/.

/skl/: bask /bəs/, task /təs/, risk /rəs/, mask /məs/, flask /fəs/, dusk /dəs/.

/husk /həs/.

/ftl/: loft /ləf/, craft /krəf/, draught /drəf/, laughed /ləf/, puffed /pəf/, coughed /kəf/.

/ptl/: stopped /stəp/, mapped /məp/, whipped /wəp/, ripped /rəp/, topped /təp/, flipped /fəp/.

/ndl/: mend /mən/, land /lænd/, listened /ˈlɪsn/, complained /kəmˈplɛɪn/, contained /kənˈteɪn/.

/mdl/: claimed /kleɪml/, aimed /eɪml/, lamed /leɪml/, timed /taɪml/, tamed /teɪml/, famed /feɪml/.

/ldl/: build /bɪld/, wild /waɪld/, cold /kəld/, appalled /əˈpɔld/, told /tʊld/, piled /paɪld/, riled /raɪld/.

/zdl/: raised /reɪzd/, razzed /ræzd/, praised /preɪzd/, teased /tiːzd/, pleased /pliːzd/.

/blazed /bleɪzd/.

/bdl/: robbed /rəʊbd/, throbbed /θrəʊbd/, webbed /webd/, sobbed /səbd/, fobbed /fəbd/.

/str/: bashed /bæʃd/, clashed /klæʃd/, leashed /liːʃd/, blemished /ˈblemɪʃd/.

It is necessary to point out that some of the words given above can have a different realization. It especially pertains to /ə/, as in coughed, throbbed, sobbed, fobbed, which in both American English and Black English Vernacular is characterized by a variable realization, such as /kəf/ vs /kɒf/, /θrəbd/ vs
\(/\theta r \text{bd}/, /s\alpha: \text{bd}/ \text{vs} /s\text{bd}/, /f\alpha: \text{bd}/ \text{vs} /f\text{bd}/ \text{respectively} \text{ (albeit the former is definitely more observable)}.\)

Wolfram and Fasold (19974:131) add that we can observe the deletion or simplification of the final element of the consonant cluster in standard dialects, as well. However, the circumstances under which this rule operates are different. /st/ cluster is usually simplified if the next word starts with /t/ or /d/, in both standard and nonstandard dialects. However, if the next word starts with a vowel, the reduction of the abovementioned cluster would also be possible only in AAVE. Hence whereas in AAVE the /t/ or /d/ would be reduced in Don’t waste my time /do\text{on} \text{w}e\text{ts} \text{ma}r \text{tam}/; This is my last question /d\text{I}s \text{Iz} \text{ma}r \text{l}\text{a}s \text{‘kw}e\text{s}\text{f}\text{on}/, She is the best player I’ve ever known /f\text{I} \text{d}e \text{b}es \text{‘p}l\text{e}t\text{e}\text{r} \text{‘e}v\text{e}\text{n} \text{noon}/, I need a rest right away /a\text{t} \text{n}i:d \text{a} \text{r} \text{es} \text{r}a\text{t} \text{‘w}e\text{t}/. In other dialects such a reduction would work in Don’t waste time; This is my last doughnut; She is the best teacher I’ve ever seen; I need a rest, darling. Moreover, there are other consonant clusters the deletion of which is strictly correlated with grammar. According to Fromkin and Rodman (1998), the final /t/ or /d/ does not undergo deletion so often if one of them represents the past tense morpheme. For example, the deletion is more likely to take place in words, such as waste /we\text{ts}/, past /p\text{a}es/ etc. than in missed /m\text{I}s/, pissed /p\text{I}s/, passed /p\text{a}es/. In the latter, the /t/ is expected to be retained. Nevertheless, it does not indicate that this rule is stable. In She missed her husband so much last week, there are two words where the deletion is likely to occur – missed and last. Whereas in the latter, the final /t/ is very likely to be dropped, in the former it is expected to be retained. However, if a speaker using Black English Vernacular realizes missed as /m\text{I}s/, it does not indicate that he / she is unfamiliar with the grammar rules or does not care about the tense concord or is uneducated. However, the deletion of the final /t/ is less probable as a particular word (in this case a verb) consists of a base and an inflectional morpheme). If these two components are put together, the deletion is not so frequent. Hence the pronunciation or realization of the final /t/ is governed by a rule. If the final /t/ represents a suffix –ed, its deletion is less frequent.

However, it should be stressed that the “ed” suffix has some functions and it has been proven that these functions are also to do with the final /d/ or /t/
realizations (in this case its deletion frequency – its function is a past tense marker, a past participle marker and an adjective marker). It has been proven that when the –ed constitutes a past tense morpheme, the deletion of /t/ is not so ubiquitous. According to Wolfram and Fasold (1974:140), “Some of the data we have collected indicate that there is systematically less deletion when the construction marks past tense than when it marks past participle or derived adjectives.”

According to Fromkin and Rodman (1998:413), the deletion of the final /s/ or /z/ will not occur in hates, loves, or girls. In the verb, the /s/ represents another inflectional morpheme; in girls it represents plural. It will not undergo deletion if it a morpheme does not have a function (present tense morpheme, plural etc). As a result the realization of the final /s/ or /z/ is also rule-governed.

Another phonological feature concerns /θ/ and /ð/. Their position in a word determines the realization. In initial position, the unvoiced /θ/ becomes /t/ and its voiced counterpart becomes /d/. In other words, in AAVE those dental fricative sounds become alveolar plosive sounds. According to Sidnell (2005), the unvoiced /θ/ can be also rendered as /f/, which becomes a labiodental fricative.

We should also remember that the realization of the /ð/ as /d/ is less stigmatized and can be observed in the speech of Standard English. On the other hand, both variants /θ/ and /ð/ are typical of uneducated speech in New York City (Trudgill and Hannah, 1994:51). Conversely, Wolfram and Fasold (1974:135) add that there is no clear evidence that /t/ and /d/ are socially stigmatized.

According to Wolfram and Fasold (1974:135), the variants /t/ and /d of the variable /θ/ and /ð/ even constitute a consonant system of Standard English. However, there are two conditioned to be fulfilled:

1. The tongue should be put against the upper teeth, not against the roof of the mouth
2. The /t/ should not undergo aspiration

Moreover, initially, it is less stigmatized to articulate the voiced /ð/ as /d/ since it is much more common among speakers of Standard English. The /t/, which is used for /θ/ is also quite common if the /t/ sound follows the /θ/. Thus the “more stigmatized” variant /t/ for /θ/ should be expected more often in threat /tret/, thrive /traɪv/, throw /troʊ/, thrust /trʌst/, throne /troʊn/, three /triː/, thrift
/trif/, throat /troot, through /tru:/, than in words as thunder /ˈθʌndər/, thump /θʌmp/, Thursday /ˈθɜːzdeɪ/, thwart /θɔːrt/, think /θɪŋk/, thought /θɔːt/, thirsty /ˈθɜːsti/, thing /θɪŋ/, theme /θiːm/, theory /ˈθiːri/, theft /θeft/, the initial sound of which is realized as /θ/ etc. If the voiceless /θ/ is followed by a vowel its variant /t/ is not so common as it is when it precedes a consonant /t/. However, it should be mentioned that there is no other combination of the variable th and other consonants.

There is another variant, which can be used instead of labiodental fricative /θ/, especially in medial and terminal position. Its articulation resembles labiodental fricative /f/ (Sidnell, 2005). It is also worth mentioning that the /f/ variant for its “more standard” counterpart /θ/ is often used by the learners, especially those whose mother tongue does not encompass the /θ/ or /θ/ sounds. There is no doubt that for learners sounds which do not exist in their first language are especially difficult to learn and to use regularly.

Medially, the voiced /ð/ has also its two identifiable variants - /ð/ and /d/. For the voiceless /θ/, however, the t variant is a rarity in AAVE (it is common in other nonstandard dialects). In AAVE, the f-sound is usually preferred. Similarly, the voiced /v/ sound is used for /ð/ in the middle of the word.

Terminally, in a great many of nonstandard varieties, the voiceless /θ/ is realized as /t/ if its occurrence can be found next to a nasal consonant. Hence we can hear the /t/ variant in such words as: tenth /tent/, strength /strent/, etc.

Our analysis would be incomplete if we ignored the final /d/ and /t/ reduction. First of all, the abovementioned phenomenon has nothing to do with consonant clusters. The final /d/ and /t/ sounds can become unreleased in a terminal position within a word even though they are not part of a cluster. Thus the final deletion in words like God /gɑːd/, lot /lɑːt/, wood /wʊd/, pot /pɑːt/, cod /kɑːd/, not /nɑːt/ etc should also be expected, as in Although she reads a lot, she doesn’t know anything about it, etc. There is no reason to assume that the deletion is possible when the /t/ or /d/ sounds follow the /æ/ or /e/. Wolfram and Fasold (1974) do not provide us with other conditions in which the deletion can be applied. However, since /t/ and /d/ sounds are deleted after /e/ or /o/, why should not they undergo deletion after diphthongs? Apparently, the deletion is not solely restricted to the two sounds. One can also notice the disappearance of
final /k/, /g/, /p/ and /b/, but it is much less frequent. As a result it is possible to realize the words in AAVE and other nonstandard dialects *pork* /pɔːk/, *took* /tʊk/, *dark* /dɑːk/, *take* /teɪk/, *tag* /tæg/, *rug* /ræg/, *plug* /plæɡ/, *rap* /ræp/, *tap* /tæp/, *tape* /teɪp/, *hip* /hɪp/, *mob* /mɑːb/, *lab* /læb/, *gab* /gæb/, *hub* /hʌb/ without the final consonant. As a result one could expect these words to be realized as *pork* /p/, *took* /tʊk/, *dark* /d/, *take* /teɪk/, *tag* /tæg/, *rug* /ræg/, *plug* /plæɡ/, *rap* /ræp/, *tap* /tæp/, *tape* /teɪp/ etc. Nonetheless, at other times, it seems that the final element is not totally deleted. It is barely audible since it might be unreleased instead.

The deletion of the abovementioned consonants is not solely restricted to the short vowels or is only applied after long vowels or diphthongs. Apparently, there are no restrictions concerning the deletion. Admittedly, however, the deletion is more likely to occur in words with final t/d sounds. Therefore it is more likely to encounter deletion in *pad* /pæd/, *pat* /pæt/, *bat* /bæt/, *bad* /bæd/, *mate* /meɪt/, *made* /meɪd/ than in *book* /bʊk/, *look* /lʊk/, *mug* /mʌɡ/ etc.

There is one thing which one should pay attention to. Assuming that the final t / d deletion is also encountered after diphthongs, we should ask ourselves what about the different realization of the diphthongs (depending on if it precedes a voiced d or a voiceless t). It is common knowledge that the vowels preceding voiced plosives are lengthened in order to make the words distinct and at the same time avoid confusion (Gimson, 1994). Hence the vowel sounds in *lout* vs *loud*, *slap* vs *slab*, *seat* vs *seed*, *not* vs *nod*, *root* vs *rude*, *feet* vs *feed*, *cart* vs *card*, *bite* vs *bide*, *bet* vs *bed*, *rope* vs *robe*, *caught* vs *cord*, *tight* vs *tide*, *wheat* vs *weed*, *wait* vs *wade*, *prick* vs *prig*, *back* vs *bag*, *bit* vs *bid*, *rack* vs *rag*, *greet* vs *greed*, *bet* vs *bed*, *gap* vs *gab*, *duck* vs *dug*, *lock* vs *log*, *bat* vs *bad*, *beat* vs *bead* etc would be realized differently in terms of the duration (lengthening and shortening of the medial vowel).

It has already been mentioned that the final /t/ or /d/ can be deleted in some nonstandard American dialects (including Black English Vernacular). Hence in *late* vs *lade*, *wait* vs *wade*, *greet* vs *greed* etc with the deletion of the final t/d, we would be left with the final diphthongs. Is the articulation of the vowels different due to the reduction of the /t/ or /d/? Would the vowel preceding
the deleted /t/ be shortened as opposed to the vowel preceding the deleted /d/?

According to Roach (1994:34), “… if we take the pair ‘right’ raft and ‘ride’ rait, and then compare ‘rye’ raɪ, the length of the ai diphthong when no consonant follows is practically the same as in ‘ride’; the ai in ‘right’ is much shorter than the ai in ‘ride’ and ‘rye’. …”. However, we should stress that this phenomenon occurs in British English.

The /t/ and /d/ deletion is not applied randomly; its application or non-application, the frequency of the deletion is dependent on the following rules:

a) the final voiceless /t/ is not deleted as frequently as its voiced counterpart /d/. Thus the deletion is more likely to occur in the words made /meɪt/, good /ɡʊd/, said /seɪd/, read /riːd/. It is, however, less probable in date /deɪt/, light /laɪt/, bite /baɪt/, late /laɪt/, etc.

b) if the two final stops precede a vowel (two words), the deletion is less likely to occur (both for /t/ and /d/). Conversely, if the next word begins with a consonant, the /t/ and /d/ sounds are more likely to undergo reduction. For instance, in combination of two words the deletion is expected much less frequently in late at night /leɪt ət neɪt/, not at all /nʌt ət ɔːl/, beat around the bush /biːt əˈraʊnd ðə bʊʃ/, caught in the act /kɒt ɪn ˈdɪ ækt/, beat it /biːt ɪt/, make light of /meɪk laɪt ɔːl/, waste of time /wɛst əv taɪm/ rather than in late husband leɪ tˈæzbən/, waste time /wɛsts taɪm/, the worst film /ðə wɜːst fɪlm/, most people /məʊs ˈpiːpəl/ etc.

c) the deletion of the two final stops is more likely to occur in unstressed syllables. As a result the deletion should rather be expected in inhabit /ɪnˈhaɪbɪt/, vomit /ˈvɒmɪt/, limit /ˈlɪmɪt/ rather than in what /wɒt/, but /bʌt/, rid /rɪd/, etc.

d) an –s suffix favors the deletion of final /d/. With an –s suffix favoring the deletion of /d/, we can expect the deletion to occur in words wɜːzl, crowds /kraʊz/, etc
e) the deletion of the /d/ can also be applied in –ed suffix (the deletion occurs when the –ed suffix is attached to the base verb the final sound of which is a vowel. The deletion in these circumstances is not so systematic

f) the frequency of deletion is also strictly correlated with the function of the –ed suffix

(Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:139).

Another peculiar feature is deletion of the /l/ sound. This deletion will not occur in plumber /ˈplʌmər/, class /ˈklɑs/, blame /ˈbleɪm/, flavor /ˈfleɪvər/ etc since it is solely applied after vowels. Although the l-deletion rule is not as common as i.e. the r-deletion rule, it should also be accounted for. First and foremost, it should be pointed out that the l-sound does not undergo deletion between vowels. Thus /smlʃ/ for smallish would be unheard of or at least would sound odd.

The l-deletion occurs in the same word, but not only. In Black English Vernacular, /l/ can be dropped, especially when the consonants /wl/, /lt/, /lj/ follow the l, in both the same word or two words (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:141). Therefore we can expect the deletion of /l/ to occur in stallion, well-run, the girl yelling at him, the girl waiting for her family, will you help me?, already. all right, etc.

Moreover, the /d/-deletion is unlikely to occur when the l precedes a vowel (The gall on the wall is disgusting etc). It is, however, more possible to be applied when a consonant follows, not only the abovementioned. For instance, in the wall in the kitchen is dirty, the final /l/ in wall would probably be retained /wɔl/ since it precedes a vowel. However, it would be subject to deletion in the wall /dɔ wɔl/ which is dirty etc.

Apart from that, there is another linguistic constraint under which the frequency of the l-deletion increases. Wolfram and Fasold (1974:141) stress that back rounded vowels contribute to the realization and deletion of the l more frequently than front or central vowels. Thus /l/ is more likely to be unarticulated in words like gold /gʊld/, bold /bʊld/, told /tʊld/, fault /fɔːlt/, halt /hɔːlt/, sold /sʊld/, appalled /ˈæpəld/ etc, as opposed to wild /wɔɪld/, child /ʃəld/, tilt /tɪlt/, kilt /klɪlt/, jilt /dʒɪlt/ etc. However, if the /l/ occurs before labial consonants in the same syllable, its articulation is not expected, either, as in help /hɛp/ etc.
Neutralization of /ɪ/ and /e/ before nasal sounds is also common in the non-standard varieties. The two sounds become neutralized, which means that there is no distinction between in the pronunciation between the two sounds. For example, the vowels of tin vs ten, win vs when, him vs hem, etc would be produced much alike.

There is another reduction in AAVE, which concerns another diphthong - /əʊ/. It is sometimes reduced to the monophthongal variant /oʊ/, especially when it precedes the l-sound. The vowels in coil, toil, soil etc would undergo monophthongization and as a result would be realized as /kʊl/, /tʊl/, /slʊl/. However, it is not always the l which determines the monophthongization of /əʊ/. The /oʊ/ can also be reduced when it is in the final position in a word. Thus we can also expect the reduction in toy /tʊ/ employ /ɪmplʊ/, annoy /ənˈʊnʊ/, etc, obtaining a semivowel instead of a typical diphthongal variant.

It should be pointed out that one should expect differences due to other influences – mainly social factors, such as social position, education etc. It indicated that there occurs variation in speech depending on the abovementioned factors. “The regional aspects of Black English are nonetheless undeniable, though they are obscured by the complex levels of modern urban society. Differences in the nature of Black English then, as suggested above, are dependent upon varieties of in-group participation, educational success, economic stratification, or even the sociology of the sexes – factors which influence the texture of urban speech in general beyond the equally important considerations of ethnic tradition” (Reed, 1977:78).

In conclusion, when we analyze the pronunciation features typical of the speech of Black English Vernacular, most of them are characterized by substitution or replacement and simplification (loss of variables in particular phonetic environments). The former pertains to another realization of a particular variable, which is usually less standard. The latter is based on the premise that there are a number of variables which are simplified in the articulation.
Whenever we encounter variation in speech, there are usually at least two alternative articulations of a particular sound. There are a number of sounds reflecting “fluctuation”, not only in English, but also in every language.

We distinguish various kinds of phonetic variation. The following words, *wait* /weɪt/, *rate* /reɪt/, *late* /leɪt/, *mate* /meɪt/, *date* /deɪt/, *fate* /feɪt/, *gate* /geɪt/, *hate* /heɪt/ etc are differentiated by the first sound segment (the initial consonantonal element), which is called a phoneme. The consonants /w/, /r/, /l/, /m/, /d/ etc are the smallest contrastive units which contribute to the differentiation of the words. Similarly, we observe a number of different phonemes in *bite*, *light*, *tight*, *right*, *white* etc. The words *pot* /pɒt/ or /pɑːt/, *pat* /pæt/, *peat* /piːt/, *pet* /pet/ etc are distinguished by the distinctive phonemes in medial position. If the vowels /ɒ/, /æ/, /iː/, /e/ etc were one phoneme, the words would not be contrasted. This kind of variation is analyzed at the phonemic level. According to Fromkin (2000:523), “Virtually all the phonemes in English show phonetic variation, depending on their context.”

Another kind is the variation the analysis of which is made at the allophonic level. In this case, we do not talk about distinctive phonemes in which each of them contributes to making a new word. We analyze different or alternative realizations of one particular phoneme. These optional realizations are called allophones. “The different phones that are the realizations of a phoneme are called the allophones of that phoneme. An allophone is therefore a predictable phonetic variant of a phoneme” (Fromkin and Rodman, 1999:260). When describing allophones, we usually take phonetic environment into consideration since it determines the realization of a particular phoneme and as a result gives rise to the formation of other variants of a phoneme – in other words, other allophones.
“Once we have established the inventory of sounds used in a language, we will wish to know what relationships those sounds have to each other. An important distinction traditionally drawn is between those sounds which are used contrastively and those which are variant pronunciations of contrastively used sounds... The sounds used contrastively are called phonemes. However, a given phoneme may in fact be realized as a number of different sounds depending on the phonological context in which it is found. Such variant pronunciations are called conditioned variants or allophones of a phoneme. The phenomenon itself is called allophony” (Spencer, 1997:4).

At other times, however, we also distinguish at least three allophones just because the pronunciation of particular phonemes is variable. The phenomenon is called free variation. It should be stressed that we can have free variation of phonemes, as in director etc.

“Realisational variation. This type of variation, where the number and systematic relationship of the phonemes are the same and only their phonetic realizations differ from one accent to another, is extremely common... the variable realization of the phoneme /æ/ in the accents of England. /æ/ is realized as a low vowel in RP but as a considerably higher one in the Midlands and South-West—roughly between /ə/ and /ʌ/ (Giegerich, 1992:52).

It often happens that different speaking styles in various circumstances give rise to the occurrence of free variation where we distinguish more identifiable articulations of a particular phoneme. Apparently, there are a number of other factors which can also affect our speech. “Some important factors of the comprehensibility are the speaker’s age, gender, anatomy and also the dialect, sociolect and idiolect of the speaker. The speech can be affected by the emotional status and health condition and also if the person is much stressed up.” (Bjursater, 2004). As we can observe, free variation is not so free at times since it is commensurate with regional, stylistic, contextual factors, which indicates that it is not totally independent. “The choice of the allophone is not random or haphazard; it is rule-governed. No one is explicitly taught these rules. They are learned subconsciously when the native language is acquired. Language acquisition, to a certain extent, is rule construction” (Fromkin and Rodman, 1999:260).
One can give a lot of examples in which phonetic context contributes to the selection of one of the two (or more) allophones. Phonetic environment is referred to as **context sensitivity** by some linguists. Moreover context contributes to the variation of the phoneme, but this type of variation is rule-governed (Fromkin, 2000:522). Thus the phonetic environment gives rise to the predictability of particular variants. Whenever phonetic environment is to do with the realization of the phoneme, we talk about **complementary distribution**. A typical example example of a complementary distribution is a different realization of /l/, clear and dark /l/.

“The English lateral has two main variants as far as the place of articulation is concerned. While both are alveolar, one is the so-called ‘clear’, and the other the so-called ‘dark’ /l/. The clear English /l/ has the same overall auditory quality as its Polish counterpart. Dark /l/, on the other hand, has no real counterpart in contemporary Polish, although a similar sound existed in dialects spoken in Eastern Poland before the Second World War (so called ‘Kresy Wschodnie’), and for some time afterwards in the stage variety of Polish. As a variant of Polish /l/, the dark lateral is now well on its way to extinction, with only some elderly people still preserving it in their speech... The English dark ‘l’ is, however, very much alive. In articulating the sound, the tongue, while keeping the alveolar contact, rises towards the velum ...“ (Sobkowiak, 2001:83)

There are a number of other examples in which we observe sounds occurring in complementary distribution. Another one is the lengthening of the vowels in medial position before voiced consonants, as in **beat** /bi:t/ vs **bead** /bi:d/, **white** /waɪt/ vs **wide** /waɪd/, **mate** /meɪt/ vs **made** /meɪd/, **right** /raɪt/ vs **ride** /raɪd/ etc.

There are also a number of aspects of connected speech (unmonitored speech in which we do not pay close attention to the enunciation). These processes take place within words or at word boundaries. For instance, **assimilation** (where we distinguish its two types – allophonic and phonemic), **elision** (also allophonic and phonemic), **liaison** etc.

Since the purpose of the dissertation is the analysis of a variation within a particular sound, with a view to avoiding unnecessary confusion I will stress that
analyzing alternations in the articulation of the selected sounds at the allophonic level is my primary concern. Moreover, the research constitutes variation which depends on regional and contextual conditioning.

I have the intention of focusing on **allophonemicization** in terms of free variation. I will seek to analyze selected phonemes the articulation of which is variable, which would have at least two identifiable positional variants.

### 3.2. Linguistic Variable

**A linguistic variable** is a term used to define a particular linguistic element or unit which comprises possible variants. Occasionally more than two identifiable variants can be observed (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:50). Linguistic variables do not solely occur in phonology since such variation is undeniably observable in morphology and grammar as well (Wardhaugh, 1998:138). Moreover, we can also identify lexical variability, which is usually exemplified by synonymous vocabulary items (Hudson, 1996:171).

“... linguistic variable, an analytical construct which enables them to contrast people’s use of different variants. A variable is a linguistic unit which has two or more variants that are used in different proportions either by different sections of the community or in different linguistic or contextual circumstances. Variables can be concerned with phonological factors, the topic of this section, and also with word structure, word meaning and syntax” (Radford, Atkinson, Britain, Clahsen and Spencer, 1999:53).

We can distinguish the following types of linguistic variables:

- **phonetic**
- **phonological**
- **grammatical** (where we distinguish morphological and syntactic variables)
- **lexical** (or **semantic**)

Undeniably variation can be identified in a number of contexts – both in the speech and written texts. Moreover, variation is not a recent phenomenon. It has prevailed for ages. “In various texts there occur some isolated variations of
the perfect infinitive. Thus in the first medical writing in Scots instead of the expected auxiliary have we find its past form had” (Molencki, 1999:265).

Phonetically, there are different realizations which are observable in the same phonological patterns. We can exemplify this kind of variability by listing a number of phonological units. Similarly, in case of phonological variables, we encounter alternative phonological structures in a particular lexical item (Hudson, 1996:170). First of all, it is necessary to stress that phonological variation is observable in either alternation of particular sounds or modification of sounds, i.e. nasalization, rounding, unrounding, frontness, backness, tenseness or laxness etc (Wardhaugh, 1998: 138). Whereas the former refers to the presence or absence of distinct variants, the latter pertains to the articulation of the variant in terms of its quantity.

It is also advisable to stress that phonetic variability does not solely stem from the differences in the speech of many speakers (caused by a number of regional, social and contextual factors). What is also significant is phonetic context or context sensitivity, or more generally linguistic environment (phonetic environment in this respect). In other words, there are environments which favor the amount and frequency of variability. These two factors give rise to the mergence of alternate or variable pronunciation of particular sounds. For instance, the pronunciation of /r/ is more audible and clear when the sound is in the terminal position in a word (post-vocalic /r/, as in tar /tər/, clear /klɛr/, wear /wɛr/, enter /ˈentər/, wither /ˈwɪðər/, brother /ˈbrʌðər/ etc. Alternatively, consonants, especially voiceless consonants preceded by /r/ do not favor its clear articulation, and as a result the final /r/ either disappears or is not articulated very clearly. as in part /pær/, work /wɜrk/, burp /bɜrp/, curse /kɜrs/ etc. “Some used virtually no /r/ at all, others – who were obviously further ahead in the change – used /r/ all the time, but most used it some of the time but not on every occasion. The study thus provided Labov with a convenient snap-shot of the progress of this change through the speech of individuals, particular groups and the whole New York speech community” (Radford, Atkinson, 1999:62).

There are so many speech variables to be identified that it gave rise to the emergence of Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky, quoted in Hammond, 1999)). It is based on the premise that there are usually at least two (or more)
identifiable variants of a particular variable. “Optimality Theory (OT) holds that there is some set of possible pronunciations for any particular form” (Hammond, 1999:13). Hence with a view to avoid confusion, it is right to introduce other equivalent terms referring to the *variable* and its *variants*. Hammond (1999:13) introduces other terms which prove useful in the distinction of the two confusing words. He suggests that the term variable can be called to the “*input*” and its alternate realizations (possible or identifiable realizations of the “input”) are referred to its “*candidates*”.

Moreover, according to Cetnarowska (2005:45), “Researchers who developed the framework of Prosodic Phonology, including Selkirk (1980, 1984) and Nespor and Vogel (1986), postulated the existence of phonological hierarchical structure, which is motivated by, but not identical to, syntactic structure. This new level of representation, i.e. prosodic structure, mediates between the syntactic and phonological modules of grammar”. There are certain prosodic features of speech, including *pause, pitch, stress, volume* and *tempo* (Goldsmith, 1996).

Hence there are the following prosodic categories to be recognized:

1. Utterance
2. \( \rightarrow \)
3. Intonational Phrase
4. \( \rightarrow \)
5. Phonological Phrase
6. \( \rightarrow \)
7. Prosodic Word
8. \( \rightarrow \)
9. Foot
10. \( \rightarrow \)
11. Syllable

Similarly, Nespor and Vogel (1986) introduced same hierarchy of prosodic categories which are the following:
Phonological Utterance >> Intonational Phrase >> Phonological Phrase >> Clitic Group >> Prosodic Word >> Foot >> Syllable


The idea is based on the premise that as far as speech sounds are concerned, the order is not linear. It is hierarchically arranged into the structure of prosody (prosodic structure) where segments are put into syllables, *syllables* into *stress feet*, feet into *phonological words*, *phonological* (or *prosodic words*) words into *phonological phrases*, *phonological phrases* into *intonational phrases* and *intonational phrases* into *utterances*.

It is important to note that such variation within particular variables gives rise to labeling some variants as standard or prestigious and others as non-prestigious, nonstandard or incorrect. The value which is given to a particular variable and its variants is strictly correlated with social factors since linguistically there is no betterness or worseness of a particular variant. From a linguistic point of view, “... there is nothing inherently superior in the linguistic structure of Standard English compared to non-standard varieties” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2005). We do not observe any evaluation of a particular dialect since every dialect has its own features the occurrence of which should not be labeled as improper or substandard. Nevertheless, as soon as social factors are taken into consideration, we immediately evaluate and label dialect as good, bad, better or worse than others. “There is NOTHING inherently better about either dialect. In fact, it is only attitudes towards speakers that result in one falling into the sphere of acceptable varieties while the other remains outside ... But, it is important to note that dialects are intimately related to the notion of prestige within a society. Basically, the standard dialect is the dialect that is associated with prestige in the society at large” (Gerfen, 1999).

There are several *extra-linguistic variables* which are significant in determining our speech. Whenever we analyze linguistic variability, we also encompass social factors. We take a number of factors into consideration, such as social position of a speaker, education, gender, age, the style of speech (formal and informal). It is necessary to stress that a *linguistic variable* will be discussed socially as well. Let us distinguish the notion of a *phoneme* and a *variable* (a *sociolinguistic variable* in this respect) with respect to variation since they are
the key notions in the analysis. A phoneme can have its possible, identifiable variants – which are referred to as allophones. It is important to stress that the usage of allophones originate from purely linguistic variation (intra-linguistic variation). On the other hand, when we analyze variation from a sociolinguistic perspective, the term phoneme seems to be insufficient since it does not encompass any social parameters.

“Critics of sociolinguistics have had much to say about the social variables discussed above, but much less about the idea of the linguistic variable. This is a relatively old concept in linguistics, most familiar in the idea of the phoneme, which typically manifests itself in the form of variants known as allophones. The sociolinguistic variable is also manifested in the form of variants. It differs from the phoneme, however, in that the focus on social variation rather than exclusively on intralinguistic variation. Thus the range of a sociolinguistic variable does not normally correspond to that of a phoneme, as different social values may be attached to different patterns within a given phoneme and may overlap with different phonemes. The nonidentity of the sociolinguistic variable with the phoneme is not always sufficiently emphasized by investigators” Milroy and Milroy, 1997:60).

In order to exemplify the abovementioned variation, I will select a few linguistic units. One of the most common elements subject to variation is the /r/ sound in the terminal position, as in paper /'peɪpər/, litter /'lɪdər/, titter /'tɪdər/, cutter /'kʌtər/, rapper /'ræpər/, cater /'keɪtər/ etc or before consonants, as in burp /bɜːrp/, part /pɑːrt/, sort /sɔːrt/, word /wɜːrd/, worse /wɜːrs/, curse /kɜːrs/, curve /kɜːv/ etc. These words can have different pronunciation due to the /r/ sound the pronunciation of which is variable or alternate. Its presence or absence or degree of rhoticity depends on the linguistic environment (it tends to be articulated more clearly in word final positions) or on the style of speech (monitored vs unmonitored speech).

Another variable which is subject to variation is the /t/ sound which occurs in intervocalic position, as in cutter /'kʌtər/, better /'bɛtər/, litter /'lɪtər/, potter /'pɔtər/ etc. This feature differentiates American English from British English (although not all American dialects have this feature) and is also especially observable in casual, unmonitored speech. Apart from the standard /t/ sound,
there are other variants to be identified – we might also articulate it by voicing the sound to finally reach a *flapped* or *tapped* /t/. Alternatively, we can also observe the realization of /t/ as /t/. Similarly, there is a rule which permits the variable pronunciation of /t/ to occur. This phenomenon takes place only if the /t/ sound occurs both between the two vowel sounds and in unstressed syllables. “In addition there is a very prevalent tendency to voice intervocalic voiceless consonants, especially –t-, when not protected by accent. The result is not a fully voiced consonant but what may be called a half-voiced…” (Schlauch, 1959:191). Therefore we should not expect any tapping or voicing of /t/ in e.g. *kit* /kɪt/, *pit* /pɪt/, *sort* /sɜːt/, *wait* /weɪt/, *try* /taɪ/, *timing* /ˈtaɪmɪŋ/, *training* /ˈtreɪnɪŋ/, *pertain* /pɜːˈteɪn/, etc. One can identify alternate realization of the /t/ sound with adjacent vowels in words ending in -ity, -er, -or, -al, and finally -ing as in *responsibility* /rɪˈspɒnsɪbɪlɪtɪ/, *calamity* /ˈkæləmətɪ/, *clarity* /ˈklærɪtɪ/, *quality* /ˈkwɒlɪtɪ/, *quitter* /ˈkwɪtər/, *bitter* /ˈbɪtər/, *latter* /ˈlætər/, *fatal* /ˈfeɪtəl/, *mortal* /ˈmɔːrəl/, *excoriating* /ɪkˈsɔːrɪətɪŋ/, *dating* /ˈdeɪtɪŋ/, *meeting* /ˈmiːtɪŋ/ respectively.

The articulation of /t/ has been discussed more exhaustively before, but there is one more aspect which deserves attention. According to Mencken (1990:98), there are some inconsistencies at times since “… in *bitter*, *betting*, *plotting* and *sorted* the overwhelming majority of them sounded a clear *t*, but that in *bleating*, *waiting*, *hearty*, *hurting* and *writing* most of them used a consonant that sounded like *d*.” There is nothing wrong in the fact that some words are realized with the flapping of the /t/ and others are not. However, there is one example of two words given by Mencken which does not conform to the abovementioned rule. “*Hearty*” and “*hurting*” are the two words which deserve our attention. Given that most American English dialects are rhotic and all r’s are usually clearly articulated in most of them, the /t/ sound in the two words does not neighbor with two vowels sounds (which should be so for flapping to occur); it neighbors with a consonant /r/ on the left hand side and with a vowel sound on the right hand side. Although we encounter a different linguistic environment in this respect, still the flapping does occur.

Finally, there are words where flapping might occur, but it is still a rarity. It is possible to encounter variable pronunciation of the words “*street*”, in which the /t/ sound might also undergo tapping and as a result the word could be
rendered as /sdriːt/. Moreover, there are cases where other voiceless sounds are also subject to voicing, for instance \( k \) tends to be replaced with \( g \) and \( p \) becomes \( b \), as in *score sponge* (Mencken, 1990:98). As a result *score* and *sponge* are realized as /skɔːt/ and /spəŋdʒ/, but they might also be realized as /sgɔːt/ and /sbəŋdʒ/ respectively. Similarly, such a combination is apparently against the rule since it is obvious that whereas we distinguish /sp/, /st/, and /sk/ clusters, we do not distinguish /sb/, /sd/ or /sg/. The abovementioned phenomenon is referred to as lenition, which can be encountered in Celtic, Spanish etc.

The diphthong /æɪ/ has got two identifiable variants. The first one is its standard pronunciation and the other one is a monophthongal variant /æ/, which, however, is typical of Black English dialects and dialects spoken in southern parts of the United States. Thus ethnicity and region contribute to the monophthongal realization of the variable. According to Trudgill and Hannah (1994:44), the monophthongal articulation of the variable /æɪ/ is restricted to some southern states and used only in word final positions or when preceding voiced consonants, as in *lie* /læɪ/, *cry* /kræɪ/, *try* /træɪ/ (word-finally), *contrive* /kən'traɪv/, *benign* /bə'næɪn/, *collide* /kə'laɪd/ (before voiced consonants) etc.

Neutralization also perfectly exemplifies phonological variation. For instance, the vowel in *tot* vs *taught*, *not* vs *naughty*. In these words we can identify two different phonemes - /æ/ and /ʌ/, which are totally independent. However, they tend to be merged at times and as a result the realization of the two vowels is not distinguished whatsoever. “A merger (merge) is a term used in LINGUISTICS, especially in HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS, to refer to the coming together (or CONVERGENCE) of linguistic UNITS which were originally distinguishable” (Crystal, 1998:239). Thus the vowel in *taught* might be variable as there are two variants to be distinguished - /ʌ/ or /æ/ or it might not be distinct if the two sounds are merged - /tæt/. Since this phenomenon is becoming more and more widespread in the United States, we should expect merging of the two vowel sounds to become complete in the future. There are a number of other sounds which are also becoming merged, such as /t/ and /e/ before nasal sounds,
i.e. pin vs pen etc or /ɪ/ and /iː/ before /r/, as in fill vs feel, will vs wheel, hill vs heal etc.

Quantity also plays a crucial role in determining variation of a particular unit. The realization of the final /r/ (post-vocalic /r/) or /l/ preceding consonants (pre-consonantal /r/) can be variable in two dimensions. In other words, there appear to be two ways of its analysis as far as its variability is concerned. Firstly, we can measure its variability in terms of its presence or absence when pronouncing particular words in a number of circumstances (formal, informal, monitored vs unmonitored speech etc). On the other hand, we can also observe the variation of the /r/ sound in terms of the amount, quantity or degree of its articulation. Undeniably in some social settings and linguistic environments, the pronunciation of /r/ is very clear and audible. In others, although it is still identifiable, it is much less audible. Thus we can talk about the degree of rhoticity, which means that we do not analyze its articulation in terms of its existence or non-existence in this respect, but in terms of the gradual increase of its audibility.

Another interesting example of variability can be observed in final consonant clusters, as in /st/, /sk/, /kt/, /nd/, /ld/ etc where the final element (a stop consonant) undergoes deletion or reduction process (final consonant cluster simplification), as in cast /kæst/ or /kæs/, bask /bæsk/ or /bæs/, collect /kə'lekt/ or /kə'lekm̩, wind /wɪnd/ or /wɪn/, world /wɜːrl/ or /wɜːrl/ respectively. It is important to stress that there are linguistic constraints under which the first element. “The reason is that the reduction rule operates only when the second member is a stop consonant (eliminating ps and ks), and only when both members of the cluster are either voiced or voiceless (eliminating mp, nk, lp, and lt)” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:130). A similar reduction process pertains to the final /l/ or /d/, representing the suffix –ed, as in washed /wɔːʃt/, crashed /kræʃt/, laughed /læfurt/, brushed /brəʃt/, puffed /pʌft/, arrived /əˈrɪvld/, bribed /briːbd/ etc. According to Wolfram and Fasold, (1974:130), “In Nonstandard English, when the addition of the –ed suffix results in either a voiced or voiceless cluster, the cluster may be reduced by removing
the final member of the cluster.” This phenomenon has also been discussed more elaborately in the previous chapter. In conclusion, the abovementioned examples reflect phonological variation which portrays either alternation of a particular sound or modification of sounds (i.e. nasalizing, neutralization etc).

All the abovementioned **linguistic variables** are also referred to as **dependent variables**. However, we also distinguish **independent variables**, which are also called **social variables**.

Whereas the former constitutes purely linguistic elements, the latter pertains to social factors or extralinguistic factors, such as social class, level of education, level of income, sex, age etc, but also geographical location, length of residence etc respectively.

Chambers and Trudgill (1998:130) emphasize that both these dimensions interact with each other in the process of linguistic variation or differentiation and that nonlinguistic elements (independent variables) are indispensable in the formation of the linguistic variables, which means that without them the linguistic variables would be deprived of meaning.

“In theory, we can distinguish the linguistic variable itself, which is realized linguistically by its variants in the context of variable constraints, and the factors such as style and class, which define the social context in which the speech even takes place. However, it is only in the presence of the latter that the linguistic variable becomes meaningful, because it is dependent upon them and correlated with them. In practice, the distinction between the linguistic and nonlinguistic aspects of variability cannot be made, because the most compelling proof of structural significance of the linguistic variable consists in showing that the variable alters in an orderly way when one or more of the independent social variables change” (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:130).

Thus the purpose of sociolinguistics is to measure correlation or relationships between linguistic and social variables; in other words – dependent and independent variables.

**Independent variables** are also termed **predictor variables**. They can be used in order to classify particular people or groups of speakers. Wolfram’s division of his informants by social class in order to observe differences in the frequency of i.e. /ɪ/ (its presence or absence) led to an interesting conclusion that
retention of the /r/ sound prevails among the people from the upper class. “Wolfram’s general findings in Detroit were that social status was the single most important variable correlating with linguistic differences with the clearest boundary being between the lower middle and upper working classes” (Wardhaugh, 1998:173).

Since independent variables are referred to as predictor variables, language can also be a predictor of behavior. It indicates that people can be grouped according to the dialect that they use. As a result one can even measure behavior towards those informants. For instance, a person using nonstandard variants in the area of pronunciation, grammar etc is likely to be subject to derision or even criticism.

It is necessary to stress that apart from social variables (such as social position in a society, age, gender, education level etc), there are also linguistic constraints which either favor or inhibit the formation of a particular variable. It especially occurs when one of the variants (candidates) of a particular variable (input) is simplified or reduced. The incidence of its deletion (or reduction) is often correlated with the linguistic environment (more specifically phonological context or context sensitivity).

3.3. PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

There are a number of phonological processes or rules which are usually distinguished: 
assimilation (progressive and regressive, e.g. progressive and regressive alveolar-stop place assimilation, regressive nasal assimilation in many contexts), dissimilation, insertion, deletion (e.g. alveolar stop deletion etc) and reordering. Many of them are especially observable in natural, unmonitored speech. In a number of textbooks, we also refer to as fast speech. Nevertheless, fast speech does not have to be associated with natural speech since we can e.g. read a particular text very fast and at the same time be faced with an unnatural situation. However, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion, whenever I use the term “fast speech” I mean natural circumstances.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the faster we talk, the more connected our speech becomes.
“Connected speech, as the term suggests, is such where phonetic forms (be them words, phrases or sentences) are not pronounced in isolation but in close connection with their neighbours in the spoken string. Connected speech may or may not be natural: reading from prepared script will necessarily produce connected speech, and it may or may not be fast: ... On the whole, the faster the speech the more ‘connected’ it becomes in the sense that words and phrases are squeezed into every shorter periods of time and made to simplify, reduce and overlap in many ways” (Sobkowiak, 2001:269).

Since people strive to convey as much information as they can in the simplest and fastest way, it is obvious that simplifications in the speech do occur. On the other hand, however economical our speech is, we tend to insert some sounds, which do not normally appear in a particular word.

“New segments may appear ‘from zero’ in formerly unoccupied marginal positions in the word or morpheme, or between two previously abutting segments.” This type of insertion is referred to as epenthesis. It often pertains to any addition of an element in different positions. There are two types of epenthesis to be distinguished – prothesis and anaptyxis. Whereas the former involves the insertion of an initial segment, usually a vowel, the latter denotes the insertion of a vowel between two consonants, i.e. film /’fɪlәm/ etc.

“Anaptyxis happens sporadically in English: you may have heard athlete pronounced as athalete, or film pronounced as fillum – not to mention the distinctive Cockney pronunciation of Henry as Ennery” (Trask, 1996:67). Such inserted vowel sounds are also referred to as “anaptyctic” or “parasite”, or in Sanskrit “svarabhaki” (Lass, 1991:180). Trask (1996:67) claims that in case of prothesis, vowels are the only sounds which are added in this respect. A prothetic vowel is a vowel which is added in initial position. There is one more process which pertains to adding a particular element, however, it encompasses the addition of an element to the word in the final position, which is referred to as paragoge (…). Trask (1996:67) stresses that as far as the terminal position is concerned, consonants are the only sounds which can be added in this respect.

“The addition of a segment to the end of a word is occasionally called paragoge, but only consonants are commonly added in this position, and usually only after another consonant, and most linguists prefer to call this excrescence.”
English *amonges, amides*, and *betwixt* have acquired an excrecent */t/*, producing *amongst, amidst*, and *betwixt*. A very odd example is the development of *no* into colloquial *nope*, presumably from our habit of closing our mouth after uttering this word” (Trask, 1996:67).

Nevertheless, there are a number of deletion processes which occur in the way people talk. They seem to be much more abundant, especially in casual speech and nonstandard dialects. There are three types of deletion to be observed: **aphaeresis**, **syncopation** (or **syncope**) and **apocope** (or **apocopation**).

It should be stressed that there are some linguists who label both **aphaeresis** and **apocope** only with reference to the reduction or loss of vowel sounds. Nevertheless, such restrictions are definitely pointless since apparently there are a number of consonant reductions pertaining to the two processes as well. “Loss of an initial segment, as in knee, is called **aphaeresis** (less commonly **aphesis**), while loss of a final segment, as in French *lit*, is **apocope** … The word *especial* is now usually reduced to *special*, and *opossum* is commonly reduced in many areas to *possum*, both showing aphaeresis, and the words *make* and *time*, as the spelling suggests, once had a final vowel which has undergone apocope” (Trask, 1996:66). Similarly, there can be many other examples of aphesis where the initial consonant undergoes reduction and as a result is not articulated. These are the following: *honest* /ˈɑːnast/, *hour* /ˈaʊər/, *honour* /ˈɑːnɔːr/, *gnome* /nɔʊm/, *gnaw* /nɔː/ or /nɑː/, *gnat* /nɑːt/, *know* /nɔʊ/ /nəʊ/, *kneel* /niːl/, *knock* /nɒkl/, *knife* /naɪfl/, *pneumonia* /nuːˈmɔːniə/, *psychology* /psɪˈkɒlədʒi/. As far as apocope is concerned, the plosive bilabial */b/, but also others, such as */p/ or */l/, for instance *dumb* /dʌm/, *bomb* /bɑːm/, *climb* /klaɪm/, *comb* /koʊm/, *coup* /kʊː/, *corps* /kɔːrs/ etc. **Apocope** (or **apocopation**) is used to define deletion of a final element within a word or between words (at word boundaries). It entails reduction of both vowels and consonants. When vowels undergo reduction, we talk about the **apocope of vowels**. For instance, in the word “police”, the */l/ disappears and becomes homophonous with “*please*” (apart from the */z/ in the latter) (Schramm, 2000). There are a number of such examples where a final element undergoes simplification or reduction. Admittedly, there are a number of final positions for the deletion in the final position, such as coup, corps etc. According to ……, there
are many reductions of the plosive alveolar /t/ in final position, especially when it precedes another consonant, as in best friend /bes frend/ etc.

Syncope (syncopation) involves deletion or reduction in internal positions and usually pertains to vowel loss, although the deletion of a consonant internally is also labeled as syncopation. Thus “Syncope (syncopation) is formative-internal deletion: the term is most frequently used for vowel loss, but some writers extend it to consonants as well” (Lass, 1991:187). As we can observe, Lass definitely prefers to use the term when discussing the vowel loss. Nonetheless, Trask (1996:67) definitely uses the term with reference to vowel reductions. “Word-medially, consonants are rarely lost abruptly except in the simplification of clusters, as illustrated by the loss of the first /d/ in Wednesday. Much more frequent is syncope: the loss of a medial vowel. English words like chocolate and camera have now lost the vowel in the second syllable for nearly all speakers, and many speakers in England have further lost the first vowel in words like police and correct, the second vowel in words like medicine and battery, and the third vowel in words like dictionary” (Trask, 1996:67). There are a number of such words where we can observe syncopation. As far as the loss of consonants is concerned, these are the following exemplars: receipt /rɪˈsaɪt/; cupboard /ˈkʌbɔrd/; debt /dɛt/; doubt /dəʊt/; listen /ˈlɪsən/; glisten /ˈɡlɪsən/; castle /ˈkæsəl/; wrestle /ˈrɛsəl/; Christmas /ˈkrɪsməsl/; fasten /ˈfæsən/; bustle /ˈbʌsəl/; exactly /ɪgˈzækli/; talk /tɔːk/; walk /wɔːkl/; folk /fɔːkl/; chalk /tʃɔːkl/; could /kʊd/; would /wʊd/; should /ʃʊd/; salmon /ˈsɑːmən/; half /hæf/; calf /kɑːfl/; grandparents /ˈɡrænpərənts/; handcuff /ˈhæŋkʌf/; handsome /ˈhænsəm/; sign /saɪn/; campaign /kæmˈpeɪn/; poignant /ˈpɔɪnjənt/; exhibition /ɪkˈstʃɪʒən/; exhausted /ɪgˈzɔːstɪd/; etc.

Apart from deletion and epenthesis, there is one more process, which however, is much less common. It is referred to as metathesis (reordering). It is changing the order of the sounds which, however, neither contribute to changing the meaning of a word nor to lack of comprehension or misunderstanding. “In present-day English [r] frequently metathesizes with an unstressed vowel; thus the initial /prə/ of produce may become [pər] and the opposite reordering can be
heard in *perform*” (Pyles and Algeo, 1993:38). It was much more ubiquitous in the past, especially in Old English. Nevertheless, it is still apparent in some varieties of contemporary English, including Black English Vernacular, as in *ask* /æks/ etc and in American dialects as well, surprisingly even as in *pretty* /ˈpərti/ for /ˈprətii/, *bird* /brɪd/ for /bɜːrd/ or *grass* /ɡærs/ for /ɡræs/. Apparently the word “axe” is not realized as // in Black English Vernacular. There are a number of varieties where such a realization can be observed. “This is not common in English, but a good example is Old English *wæps*, which has become *wasp* in modern English, with metathesis of the last two consonants (in fact some regional varieties have *wops* today). Since the Old English period, speakers have been vacillating between *ask* and *aks*; the first has finally won out, but again some regional varieties have *aks* (often spelled *ax*, as in *He axed me a question*) (Trask, 1996:68).

It should be stressed that we do not need to analyze nonstandard varieties of American English in order to encounter simplification or deletion in daily speech as it can be observable in standard varieties as well, as in i.e. Standard American where some sounds are variable and others undergo simplification. On the other hand, some simplified variants tend to be considered incorrect and typical of nonstandard dialects at times. However, it is common to encounter such variations among white standard dialects used by well-educated, high-class people. Apparently, casual settings contribute to their frequency of their usage since the simplification is claimed to be uncommon in clear, unmonitored speech, where all sounds are pronounced clearly and audibly. There are a number of such phonemes which undergo deletion or simplification. As a result their pronunciation is also variable.

It is evident that in formal circumstances, more attention is paid to the clear realization. For instance if we give a talk in front of the people on a particular issue, our speech is definitely monitored and careful. If, however, we talk to a friend whom we have just met, it is undeniable an informal situation where little attention is paid to the clear enunciation. “One of the main sources of variability in speech is speaking style. There are a plethora of descriptive terms
for speaking styles: careful / clear / formal / casual / informal / conversational / spontaneous / scripted / unscripted / reading, etc. Sloppy speech is loosely associated with conversational speech or spontaneous speech” (Yu, 2004).

I will list a few most significant examples between fast speech vs clear / monitored speech.

One of the commonest sounds which is rendered differently and at the same time simplified is the /t/ sound which is articulated as /d/ if the two adjacent sounds on both sides are vowels and if the /t/ is followed by an unaccented syllable (tapped or flapped /t/). Why is it simplification? We can risk statement that this sound is simplified because it takes much less effort for an American to articulate /t/ as /d/, especially in fast, casual speech. The flapping has been discussed more exhaustively in the previous chapter.

Another simplification involves /tʃ/, which is rendered as /θ/ in casual circumstances, as in washing /ˈwɔʃɪŋ/ vs /ˈwɔʃθɪŋ/, crashing /ˈkraʃɪŋ/ vs /ˈkraʃθɪŋ/, sleeping /ˈslɪpθɪŋ/ vs /ˈslɪpθɪŋ/ etc.

Another simplification pertains to some consonant clusters, such as /nd/ where the final element disappears or is unreleased. It is stressed that in order to observe the deletion, the consonant in a particular cluster need to be either voiceless or voiced (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974). However, in spoken American English we should also expect simplification to occur in /nt/ clusters, where one of the elements is voiced and the other one is voiceless. Hence the /t/ sound in e.g. “Clinton” is not articulated or becomes unreleased.

Similarly, the /nt/ cluster undergoes simplification if there are two vowels between and the second vowel is not stressed. In this case, the deletion of the final element (although the former is voiced and the latter is voiceless) seems justifiable because the /nt/ cluster is not a final element in a particular word. As a result it would be a gross exaggeration to assert that the /t/ becomes inaudible when following /n/. Whereas it is possible for the /t/ to lose its audibility in painter /ˈpeɪnθər/, winter /ˈwɪntθər/, dentist /ˈdentθɪst/, hunter /ˈhʌŋθər/, etc, it will definitely retain its audibility in hunt /hʌntθ/, print /prɪntθ/ etc, although the deletion in the last two words can also occur, which was mentioned above. Moreover, there is one fact which is also significant. Both /n/ and /t/ are alveolar consonants. Although the manner of articulation is different since the former is
nasal and the latter is plosive, still, the place of articulation is the same. Hence
the reduction of the final element (the reduction of the latter in this respect)
might be correlated with the same place of articulation.

A very interesting and significant deletion or reduction pertains to the /t/ and
/d/ sounds which are preceded by a vowel and which constitute a final
element in a particular word. Such reduction only occurs in unmonitored and
casual speech, where little attention is attached to clear pronunciation. Both the
former and the latter can either be pronounced or lightly pronounced. It only
involves positions at the end of a word (terminal position) and never before a
vowel (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974). As a result the following words may be
articulated as: light /laɪ/, white /waɪ/, straight /strɛɪt/ and become homophonous
with lie, why and stray respectively.

Moreover, the consonants /b/, /d/, /g/, /k/, /p/ can also undergo
simplification even when following vowel sounds. Therefore there is merely a
light articulation of one of these sounds after a glottal stop, as in rob /rəʊ(b)/, ride
(raɪ(d)/, lag /læ(g), like /laɪ(k)/, ripe /raɪ(p)/ etc.

However, a similar reduction, which is also said to be restricted to casual speech
and non-standard varieties, can be observed when the abovementioned phonemes
are preceded by a consonant, as in curb /kɜː(r(b), word /wɜː(r(d), work /wɜː(r(k)/,
perk /pɜː(r(k)/, burp /bɜː(r(p)/ respectively.

The consonant clusters discussed before are undeniably also typical of
daily, sloppy speech. It seems natural to omit some sounds in the circumstances
which do not require us to articulate the sounds clearly. Moreover, it is right to
know which sounds disappear under which conditions and why in order to have a
deeper insight and understanding of the processes. Apart from that, having
sufficient knowledge of the simplification processes in casual speech enables us
to sound more native-like and natural.

3.4. BASIC TERMS

SOCIAL DIAGNOSTICISM is a concept which is often employed in the
discussion of the linguistic variability. All linguistic variables, both phonological
and grammatical, portraying differentiation or variation which is determined by
the social position in stratified societies are referred to as SOCIALLY DIAGNOSTIC. Thus some features are termed as proper or standard, others are incorrect or nonstandard, which means that the people themselves determine the status of a particular linguistic variant (more precisely variants used by high class people are regarded as more correct than those employed by low class users of a language). “… the incidence of variants correlates with different social status groups” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:80). As a result whereas socially stigmatized items (e.g. phonological or grammatical) are characteristic of groups from lower classes (low status groups), socially prestigious items are typical of high class speech (Wolfram, 1982:55). It should not be surprising that in stratified societies such a phenomenon as variation, which is apparently inevitable and ubiquitous, occurs very frequently.

More specifically, as far as linguistic variation is concerned, we distinguish two types of distributions: **categorical** and **variable** (or **quantitative**). Whereas the former pertains to the application or non-application of the linguistic forms depending on particular groups, the latter pertains to the constant usage of a particular feature (variable) by all groups, but with a greater or lower frequency discrepancy.

“a. Categorical: This means that while some groups use the linguistic form in question at least sometimes, other groups NEVER use it …

b. Variable . Quantitative: This means that all groups use the form sometimes, but the difference in their use patterns is a matter of percentages.” (http://faculty.etsu.edu/gross/spring03/socpsych/dialects_overview.htm).

It is also necessary to become familiar with other concepts, such as **sharp stratification** and **gradient stratification**. Gradient stratification is observable when the application or non-application of a particular linguistic variant increases progressively or gradually in correlation with social groups and the style of speech.

However, there are other linguistic features the distribution of which is not gradual. Although there is also some progression to be observed, adjacent social classes are sharply demarcated in the use of a variant. According to Wolfram and Fasold (1974:80),
In contrast to post-vocalic $r$-lessness, we find that the two middle-class groups (UM and LM) are sharply contrasted to the two working-class groups (UW and LW). In the case of sharp stratification, we find clear-cut patterns of correlation in terms of major social classes, whereas gradient stratification does not show the same discrete distribution. The most clear-cut linguistic boundary is found between the lower middle class and upper-working class. This represents a typical pattern of distribution. There is usually less clear-cut distinction between the two middle-class groups and two working-class groups with respect to sharp stratification” (UM stands for upper middle and LM stands for lower middle class).

There are a number of linguistic variants which perfectly exemplify the two processes. Finally, one question arises since as we know “Studies of variation employing the linguistic variable are not confined solely to phonological matters” (Wardhaugh, 1998:138), we can notice that “Grammatical variables more typically show sharp stratification than phonological ones. Gradient stratification is more characteristic of phonological variables although there are, of course, exceptions. In the sense that grammatical variables more discretely divide the population than phonological ones, we may conclude that they are generally more socially diagnostic” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:81).

Whenever we encounter speech variability in a particular language or dialect, we immediately identify its variables and variants. It is said that there are at least two variants to distinguish. Thus whereas some variants are considered to be either standard, correct or even prestigious, others are referred to as non-prestigious or stigmatized. It is customary to label some linguistic variables as prestigious (or non-stigmatized) or non-prestigious (stigmatized).

However, it is important to stress that although different dialectal features are crucial, it is its people who determine if they are prestigious or stigmatized. The status of a particular dialect is correlated with the social status of the group of people. From a linguistic point of view, all dialects and varieties of a language and its features are equal. Taking linguistic features into consideration, one should not label dialects as good or bad, as right or wrong, as correct or incorrect. If a particular dialect is a form which is used by a group of people who understand others and are understood, then one can consider it to be correct or standard since it serves as a form of communication. “Any variety – whether it be a dialect, social dialect, anti-language, or whatever – as long as it is sustained by
a group of speakers must, by that very fact, adequately serve their communicative needs. In this sense there is no inadequate, inferior or incorrect variety” (Montgomery, 1995:177). What makes dialects unequal is the social position or status of the people who use them since “from a social point of view, some dialects are more prestigious than others. Some variants are regarded as superior or more prestigious, others as stigmatized or non-standard. Unfortunately, although it is common knowledge among linguists that “language variety does not correlate with intelligence or competence” (Preston, 1999). Unfortunately there are a number of people who are discriminated against because their speech patterns are not the same as the speech patterns found in a particular language area in a particular social group.

“In many senses, the standard, particularly with respect to accent is increasingly stigmatized in certain contexts. Varieties of language are inevitably bound up with social evaluation, whether we like it or not. Experiments designed to elicit evaluations of regional and social varieties, known as “matched guise experiments”. (speakers matched for voice quality pitch etc.. reading from same passage but with accent as the only variable). These have frequently demonstrated a high degree of consensus amongst informants, regardless of their own variety of speech and other social factors. There is a tendency for instance in Britain to rate RP speakers as high in terms of intelligence and confidence, whilst non-standard speakers are rated high on qualities like sincerity and friendliness. This is despite the fact that there can be no real correspondence between a social or character evaluation and a linguistic set of features. One possible explanation is the representation of non-standard forms in public media. The advertising industry, for instance, readily exploits and reinforces our stereotyped views of accents” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006).

It is necessary to account for the term “social evaluation”. There are a number of factors which contribute to the positive or negative social evaluation of a particular dialect (and sometimes even its users). Apart from the social position, education level etc, there are also historical reasons which can determine the prestige of a particular dialect.

"The process whereby the south-east Midlands dialect, for example, evolved into the standard dialect of English was not determined by some kind of intrinsic linguistic superiority. It was underwritten by social and historical factors such as
its use by sections of the mercantile class and by students at the two Universities. Its growing adoption from the fifteenth century onwards as the preferred variety for written communication, in education, in the conduct of the professions, etc. is a question of historical contingency rather than linguistic superiority. The establishment of a standard has clear advantages in terms of mutual intelligibility. But it also leads to a situation in which the standardized variety exerts normative pressure on other varieties – a pressure that stems in large part from its use by dominant groups within society for privileged forms of communication; but we should not be misled thereby into believing that it represents some absolute standard of correctness. Nor should we be misled into supposing that the language used by subordinate groups or in less status-marked settings is in some way inferior or deficient, merely because the patterns displayed therein are not identical to those of the standard” (Montgomery, 1995:177).

It should also be mentioned that there is no stability in the relation between prestigious and non-prestigious or stigmatized variants of a particular variable. As a result whereas a variant can have the status of prestigious at one time, its prestige can disappear in due course (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:82). A perfect example which reflects this attention-worthy phenomenon is the /r/ sound, its realization and various statuses, both stigmatized and non-stigmatized in the last two centuries. For instance, in the USA, the popularity of /r/ was commonly known in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth century the (r) sound was not so common. It became prestigious again after World War II (Wardhaugh, 1998:161).

Apart from that a language area also determines the status of a particular variant, where it can be prestigious in one area, but it can equally be stigmatized in another one. For instance, the /r/ sound is undeniably much more common and as a result standard in most American dialects whereas in British English dialects its occurrence is much less ubiquitous for a simple reason that most British English dialect are not rhotic, as opposed to American English varieties.

Moreover, it is also significant to observe that assimilation of prestige variants usually occurs among low class members. In other words, people from lower classes are very eager to adopt the features which are typical of high class speech. Hence prestigious forms tend to lose their prestige value. Therefore new prestige variants are introduced by middle class. Wolfram and Fasold (1974:82) continue, “At this point, the middle class may simply introduce new prestige
variants. Innovations can also begin in the lower classes, but unless they win acceptance by the middle classes they do not become characteristic of the language as a whole “.

Socially diagnostic linguistic features (both phonological and grammatical) include 3 types of subjective evaluation, such as social indicators, social markers and social stereotypes (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998).

An indicator / A social indicator – is observable, but it is of less significance as it does not bring forth much social importance. Although it is socially significant, both the listener and the speaker do not show any awareness (Labov, 1998). For instance, the words *not* and *naughty* do not need to be distinguished by the medial vowels: the medial vowels may have an identical or different realization. Nonetheless, only highly experienced linguists are cognizant of the indicators (Wardhaugh, 1998:140).

A marker, on the other hand, unlike the indicators, is associated with the social status and encompasses much social significance. “… a variable which carries social information and of which the distribution is related to social groupings” (http://www.ecu.au/ses.research/CALLR/sociowww/notes/notes3.htm:1). Wardhaugh (1998:140) claims that social groupings and styles of speaking determine the distribution of social markers that the speakers and listeners are characterized by the awareness. A typical example of a social marker is rhoticity or non-rhoticity in New York City (Bailey and Robinson, 1973). For instance, non-rhoticity is the speech of some New Yorkers which marks them as low class people since this feature is definitely not regarded as prestigious in that area. Thus “New Yorkers are conscious of this fact and may vary their use of /r/ according to circumstances” (Wardhaugh, 1998:140). In other words, when the people adopt their speech to the speech of others in particular circumstances, they become involved in style-shifting.

It is also worth mentioning that social markers are much more abundant in the American variety of English, unlike the social indicators, which are not very common or ubiquitous. There are two charts which perfectly exemplify the variation in speech by class and style. The first one (with the (ŋ) variable indicates its tendency to variation for stylistic reasons, class, sex and age. They are referred to as markers. Other variables, such as (a:) (which is shown on the
second chart) do not pertain to systematic stylistic variation and as a result are referred to as *indicators* (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:72).

![Chart 1: Indicators and markers](image1)

![Chart 2: Norwich (ng) by class and style](image2)

A stereotype – is not so common since it solely refers to a particular characteristic feature which is typical of a particular region and which is a subject of social discussion. According to Wolfram and Fasold (1974:83), “In the case of social stereotypes, particular linguistic features become the overt topics of social comments in the speech community.” The features which exemplify the phenomenon are numerous.

“New York *boid* for *bird* or *Toitytoid Street* for 33rd *Street*; Texas ‘drawling’ or *Howdy Pardner*; a Northumbrian *Wot-cher* (What cheer?) greeting; the British use of *chap*; or a Bostonian’s *Pahk the cah in Hahvahd Yahd*” (Wardhaugh, 1998:140).
Similarly, the use of ain’t instead of is not, are not, am not, haven’t got, hasn’t got is also referred to as stereotypes. The /t/ and /d/ variants which are dental stops of the /θ/ and /ð/ variables, observable in such words as pathetic, healthy, lethal, myth, uncouth, loath, bath, ruthless etc can be encountered in the speech of low class people (Reese, 1993). However, we should not solely analyze their distribution in terms of social conditioning. Shuy (1967:6) observes that “Professor Labov of Columbia University has observed, for example, that New York working-class people tend to say dis for this and dese for these when they are talking about a bad accident or about a personal brush with death. They say dis and dese less frequently when talking with teachers and even less frequently when reading aloud.” As can be observed, there are various circumstances in which speech modification is likely to occur.

Moreover, add Wolfram and Fasold (1974:83), stereotypes do not solely pertain to regular phonological or grammatical patterning since the realization of such words as neither, either or vase is also a typical example of a sociolinguistic stereotype. It is also crucial to mention that sociolinguistic stereotypes often pertain to the whole languages, not just selected phonological features since there are a number of sociolinguistic stereotypes. For instance, Spanish is claimed to be a fast language, French has romantic associations etc.

Finally, hypercorrection (which can also be referred to as overgeneralization) also plays a crucial role when analyzing speech differences, which are attributed to regional, social, contextual and stylistic factors. The assumption is that the speakers from lower class tend to use or apply more correct and prestigious forms than their counterparts from higher classes (even with a much higher frequency), especially in more formal situations, when they feel the need to speak appropriately and become aware of it. “Thus the lower middle-class informants were especially hostile to stigmatized features, showed the greatest stylistic fluctuations, and tended to ‘over-correct’ in their pursuit of respectability ... This linguistic insecurity was seen as evidence of social insecurity and ambition in a mobile society” (Edwards, 1976:21).
There are two possibilities of explaining the process of hypercorrection: “the tendency of a less prestigious class to exceed a higher class in correctness, or to use a higher percentage of prestige variants.

The tendency to overgeneralize, such as saying ‘talking with you and I’ (this should be “talking you and me,” because the pronoun is the object in this respect)”

The phenomenon when people have the tendency to over-extend a particular grammatical rule and start applying it in a number of new structures where the rule should not be applied is referred to as **structural hypercorrection**. However, when a particular rule is over-extended to a context in which speakers using standard varieties do not apply it (or at least not as frequently) as their counterparts, the hypercorrection is called **statistical hypercorrection** (http://faculty.etsu.edu/gross/spring03/socpsych/dialects_overview.htm:3).

One of the commonest examples of hypercorrection is the /r/ sound the over-extension of which, as Labov (quoted in Akmajian, Demers, farmer and Harnish, 1997:266) names it, is also called hypercorrection.

“… The more formal the situation is the more will the middle class adopt the features of the higher class and will even overtake the rate of the upper class in the most formal style. This is the result of the higher prestige of the accent of the higher class. The higher class is not in a process of changing the same features and therefore does not “correct” their pronunciation. They are in a state of stable affiliation to their class while the lower middle class strives for social advancements and is therefore in a state of changing affiliation” (Labov, 1972).

The insertion of the /r/ sound is commonplace and is even overgeneralized, which indicates that this sound is articulated even though it does not appear in spelling with a view to emphasizing the rhoticity, which, as it appears, is so highly valued. It is usually referred to as “intrusive r’.

It is worth pointing out that generally hypercorrection is especially observable in the speech of women who apparently pay more attention to the correct and prestigious realization of particular speech variables.

“Whilst sections of the working class may have a strong sense of loyalty to the speech patterns of their own locality, other strata of the population display in certain settings an exaggerated preference for the prestige forms. It has been discovered, for example, that in both Norwich and New York the lower middle
class produce relatively more of the prestige forms when reading aloud from word lists than do members of the social group immediately above them on the social scale, even though they produce less than this group in ordinary casual speech. In settings that allow for more careful pronunciation they tend, as it were, to ‘overproduce’ the prestige forms. This tendency, sometimes known as ‘hypercorrection’, turns out to be particularly noticeable amongst women of the lower middle class, a trait that can be interpreted in a variety of ways” (Montgomery, 1995:68).

3.5. VARIATIONS IN SPEECH

It is common knowledge that there are a number of crucial factors which determine the way people talk in different circumstances. A number of experiments have been conducted which perfectly exemplify people’s speech variation due to a number of factors. The differences are not only the result of regional factors where oftentimes it is not difficult to identify a particular feature which is typical of a particular region. In order to have a deeper and more profound insight into the dynamicity of the speech patterns and their variability with regard to speech style etc, it is necessary to list the factors which inevitably contribute to linguistic variation.

a) Region

It is evident that the region or the area of living is one of the most significant factors. In other words, there are many linguistic features which vary regionally, spatially or geographically. One does not need to give an exhaustive and profound analysis of linguistic features in English speaking countries in order to identify speech differences. There are a number of dialectal areas where the differences are identifiable. Whereas some features are possible to be discerned, others require us to possess a deeper expertise in order to be noticed. Unavoidably, there are social factors which contribute to the differentiation in speech even within a small speech community. However, from a purely regional or geographical point of view, the differences, especially in the phonological system are easily observable in United States English, which should be perfectly understandable due to the enormous size of the country. However various and different they are, they do not impede mutual comprehension. It appears that
regional differences and peculiarities are of minor importance; what is considerably crucial in this respect is the social status, educational level etc since

“Regional differences of accent are far less important as a rule than differences associated with social class and education. Most New Yorkers, for example, can detect non-standard features in the speech of their fellow-citizens and use these accent features as the basis of unfavourable judgements on such speakers. Like their counterparts in Britain, they do this even when their own speech is full of the accent forms they disparage in others… Certainly there is the same general tendency in the United States for professional people to be expected to have divested their speech, in the course of extended education, of accent features associated with the working classes” (Holey, 1991:71).

b) Age

Age is another variable which affects variation in speech. More precisely, people of different generations are expected to show variation in speech. As a result there is not much speech variation among people whose ages are similar, at least when we take this factor into consideration.

According to Wolfram and Fasold (1974:89), there are two parameters in terms of which we should analyze the impact of the variable of age. The first one is referred to as generation differences; the other one pertains to age-grading.

As far as generation differences are concerned, we should expect to encounter linguistic variation among the speakers representing different generations.

“It is these changes of the English language. Each generation retains, to some extent, the language patterns that were originally learned early in life … the older generation may retain phonological and grammatical patterns they learned in their south while the new generation may use different forms … More importantly, phonological and grammatical changes take place as generations adopt different speech patterns. The farther apart generations are, the more apparent differences in language structure become… the speech of a contemporary group in the age range of 60 to 69 may represent one period in the history of the language while a younger group, say 30 to 39, represents another time period.” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:89).
It is undeniable that it will be much easier to identify variation or pronunciation differences when comparing the speech of the speakers whose ages are very different. Hence we should expect linguistic variation to occur in the speech of a child or adolescent and a middle-aged person rather than in the speech of a 10-year-old and an adolescent (at least solely taking this factor into account). For instance, the speech of very young children is unique since one of the most peculiar phonological features is reducing consonant clusters, twisting particular sounds, especially consonants which are sometimes an impediment to our comprehension.

Once the children grow old and become more mature, the sloppiness of their speech vanishes. Although middle-aged speakers can also portray sloppiness in their speech, it is usually attributed to the speech-style rather than the inadequacy to speak appropriately, even in formal circumstances.

As far as age-grading is concerned, it usually refers to vocabulary and grammar. Especially teenagers and adolescents are very prolific in coming up with a number of slang phrases due to their innovation and creativity. Admittedly, people at this age show enormous suggestibility, impressionability to others; their openness to their peers’ influences is really noticeable.

Similarly, phonologically and grammatically, there occurs systematic and regular affiliation among the adolescent speakers, in which case stigmatization of particular linguistic variables prevails, which is often the result of incredible peer pressure and the desire not to “stand out”.

“Of a more substantial nature is the fact that there is a correlation between age and the use of certain socially stigmatized phonological and grammatical variants. During the first stage of a child’s life, up to approximately the age of five or six, the main rules of language are learned in order for a child to participate in basic communication. During the pre-adolescent and adolescent years, a child learns a local dialect that is primarily that of his immediate peers. The emphasis on peer influence on speech cannot be underestimated. There is clear-cut evidence that adolescents desire to talk like their peers and there is considerable peer pressure to do so. During this period, the influence of peers can readily negate any potential influence from the norms of parents ... During the adolescent years, the use of socially stigmatized forms may be expected to be at a maximum .. there is an age-level difference that generally obtains regardless of social class. Adults typically use fewer stigmatized forms than either the 10 to 12-year-old or the 14 to 17-year-
old informants. A similar distribution could be indicated for any number of phonological or grammatical features.” Wolfram and Fasold (1974:90).

It should be stressed that stigmatization can be seen differently pertaining to a variety. In some varieties, a particular variable can be stigmatized whereas in other dialects or varieties the same variable can be devoid of any stigmatization. “The absence of [r] before consonants in forms like farm, father, etc., is stigmatized for similar reasons in New York, but in New England – and not of course in England, where it is a characteristic feature of RP” (Lyons, 1995:272).

However, the speech of mainly grown-up people, especially middle aged people, tends to be modified. More precisely, middle aged people are prone to speak more correctly or prestigiously, which is mainly ascribed to the pressures of society. A number of circumstances require us to monitor our speech. Nevertheless, the older we are, the less prestigious our speech becomes again since we do not pay so much attention to the way we talk, even in circumstances which demand appropriate or monitored speech. “Vernacular usage gradually increases again in old age as social pressures reduce, with people moving out of the workforce and into a more relaxed phase of their lives” (Holmes, 2001:168).

It is inevitable that the higher the class is, the more prestigious or the less vernacular our speech patterns are. In other words, once we communicate with higher class people, our speech will not be characterized by many stigmatized forms. Similarly, the style of speech is also a crucial factor in determining whether we use stigmatized or non-stigmatized variants, regardless of the age. Although stylistic variation is determinant as well, it is not always ubiquitous. A very young child is not expected to show awareness of the necessity of modifying speech just because a particular situation requires to do so. It is assumed that stylistic variation becomes fixed at a certain point, not at the onset of growing up. Admittedly, it would be ridiculous to expect children to modify their speech in order to sound appropriately. Moreover, they themselves have so many interests and pursuits that there is no space or time for monitoring their speech.

“The variable of age cannot be considered independent of the previously discussed variables of class and style. Those who show upward social mobility can be expected to change their speech in conformity with the norms of the social class to which they are moving. As young adults begin to achieve their social status
independent of their parents, though education, occupation, and social class associations, their speech will conform to their own status groups ….. In pre-adolescence there is generally little stylistic variation. In early adolescence the social significance of indigenous dialects becomes apparent through exposure to other speech forms. At this point, a child may still be close to a monostylistic speaker of his local vernacular” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:92).

c) Sex / Gender

Sex is another variable which can also contribute to linguistic variation, primarily lexicon, grammar and phonology as well. It is inevitably one of the most influential factors contributing to the speech patterns. According to Montgomery (1995:152), “Gender is now generally recognized as the most widely salient dimension of social difference, and has become the focus for a great deal of recent discussion within sociolinguistics as a result of the burgeoning of feminists scholarship.” Radford, Atkinson, Britain, Clahsen and Spencer (1999:55) go so far as to assert that “The relationship between language variation and speaker gender is probably the most well studied in sociolinguistic research.” In most cultures, linguistic variation is attributed to sex or gender. However, its influence is dependent on the culture, which indicates that there are cultures in which the contribution of sex is barely identifiable in linguistic variation, but in others it is undoubtedly very potent and impossible to be ignored. It should be pointed out that in our culture the differences in the speech between the women and men is undeniably subtle. Phonologically, huge or noticeable differences in the realization of particular variables should not be expected. Nor are the grammatical discrepancies expected to be encountered. Nevertheless, sex is also one of the most important variables (social variables) which in association with a number of other variables can be quite influential as well. “Although sex differences cutting across the different varieties of American English may be difficult to establish for syntax and phonology, sex has been shown to be an important variable intersecting with other social variables such as region and social status” (Wolfram, 1982:57).

Holmes (2001:153) admits that “… women and men do not use completely different forms … Both the social and the linguistic patterns in these communities are gender-preferential (rather than gender-exclusive). Though both women and men use particular forms, one gender shows a greater preference for them than the other.”
Nevertheless, there can be linguistic variation in lexicon / vocabulary, grammar and phonology, which is attributed to gender. Potential differences in vocabulary which can be encountered are mainly the result of areas of interest, occupations, activities etc. It is obvious that men are expected to be much more knowledgeable about automobile repair, sport, the mechanism of the equipment and the specialization of the words connected with a particular fields. Conversely, women’s knowledge is about fashion, clothing etc (Shuy, 1967:15).

Grammatically, women have the tendency to use stigmatized variants less frequently, which was indicated in a number of linguistic experiments. The following chart is a perfect reflection of the phenomenon, where in this case the frequency of multiple negation for four social classes is higher in the speech of males. Nevertheless, the differences in grammar are not so ubiquitous as the differences in pronunciation. It is more plausible to identify pronunciation differences between men’s and women’s speech that in their application of grammatical forms (Smith, 1979:110).

There are a number of variables the realization of which is rendered differently in the speech of both men and women.

The variable /ɪŋ/ also varies with regard to sex (but also social class), which was shown in another experiment conducted in Norwich by Trudgill (Trudgill, 1974), who was also trying to identify the differences in the language with respect to both social stratification and style of speech. According to the diagram below, we can clearly observe that the more standard /ɪŋ/ variant is typical of the women’s speech, whereas the less standard variant /ɪn/ is preferable among the whole speakers.
Another experiment which exemplifies women’s preference for standard forms was carried in Reading by Cheshire (1982). According to her observations, “Girls used the –s ending as much as boys, but did not exhibit the same correlation between frequency of use and index scores. They also shifted their use of the (s) variable toward Standard English norms in formal situations to a greater extent than the boys” (Wardhaugh, 1998:168).

Similarly, the variable /θ/ is much more preferable among the speech of females than males, who tend to realize the variable as /f/ or /t/. According to Radford, Atkinson, Britain, Clahsen and Spencer (1999:55), “One of the most consistent findings is that, all other things being equal, women use proportionately more standard variants than men. Again, examples can be found from many very different societies around the world and an illustration appears in figure 19, where we can see that women are using more of the standard variants: the General American standard [θ] as opposed to non-standard variants /f/ or /t/ or 0 …”
Similarly, there are a number of areas where the differences in speech between both men and women are much more recognizable. In other words, it is much less cumbersome to identify the potential speech differences in the speech of males and females. Fortunately, the people living in these areas are cognizant of that fact, which does not impede mutual understanding. There are also a number of particular vocabulary items which are realized differently with regard to sex. According to Holmes (2001) in Montana in the Gros Ventre American Indian tribes, the pronunciation or realization of the word “bread” varies according to sex. Whereas the women realize this word as /kja’tsa/, the men’s realization of the word is rendered as /dza’tsa/. Oddly enough, once the articulation of the word is confused by either men or women, there is a risk of considering such a person to be bisexual.

However, it is common knowledge that men tend to use less standard or more stigmatized linguistic features. Even phonologically, women have the tendency to use vernacular speech less often; women’s speech is characterized by more standard or prestigeful forms. It is also important to stress that although women from all social classes are more sensitive to speech, it is especially observable in the speech of lower middle-class and upper working-class women. “Females show more awareness of prestige norms in both their actual speech and their attitudes towards speech. Female sensitivity to speech is particularly characteristic of lower middle-class and upper-working class speech, although it is generally characteristic for all social classes” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:93).

Thus we should expect phonological variation to occur due to the social status as well. In general, more prestige forms can be identified in the speech of
females. “More recent studies show a consistent tendency for women to produce more standard, or rhetorically correct pronunciations, which generally correspond to the realization, as opposed to the omission, of certain speech sounds” (Smith, 1979:111).

Moreover, the stigmatization in the speech of males is not regarded as shameful or negative. In fact it is commonly known that the speech of even well-educated men is characterized by numerous stigmatized speech variables. The fact that men’s speech is less standard does not make them feel inferior or less educated and does not provide us with a reason to label their speech as less standard and wrong since

“The tendency of males to use more stigmatized variants in their speech than females must be seen in terms of the possible positive value that nonstandard speech can have for a male. Nonstandard speaking may indicate virtues of masculinity and toughness for a male. It is no accident that our stereotypic notions of masculine heroes such as boxers and football players often include nonstandard speech. Tough men are supposed to talk in a masculine way, and this include the use of stigmatized features. For females, there do not appear to be positive values associated with working-class speech which are analogous to those operating for males” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:94).

d) Social status

Education is one of the social factors which can contribute to linguistic variation in the area of lexicon, grammar and pronunciation. Similarly, social status is attributed to the variation in all of the areas mentioned above. Undeniably, linguistic stigmatization is more typical of lower class and less educated people. Contradictorily, the more educated we are, the more standard or prestigeful are the linguistic features which are employed phonologically, grammatically and lexically.

As far as lexicon is concerned, it is common knowledge that the knowledge of the words is correlated with the level of education. As a result people with higher education should possess greater vocabulary store, they know more sophisticated words and make use of them in a number of circumstances. Nevertheless, it is necessary to make a distinction between ACTIVE and PASSIVE vocabulary.
According to Crystal (1996:123), our vocabulary increases depending on our profession. For instance, whereas a secretary is claimed to know and make use of around 31,600 vocabulary items, a lecturer’s vocabulary is much greater since he/she is said to possess 56,000 words. As far as the passive vocabulary is concerned, whereas a secretary’s vocabulary constitutes 38,000 words, a lecturer’s vocabulary is also much greater as it encompasses 76,000. These differences in the amount of the words are attributed to the profession or occupation. Regardless of the occupation, it is undeniable that our passive vocabulary is much greater.

Grammatically, there is also variation which can be a result of social influences – education level in this respect. There are a number of instances which clearly indicate that there is variation in grammar as well. For instance, the use of *ain’t* is quite common in the speech of lower classes and less educated speakers, but it is also dependent on the speech style. Multiple negation is another example which illustrates grammatical differentiation caused by different education level. One should expect multiple negation to occur among both low-class people and educated people. It should not be observable in the speech of well-educated people whatsoever.

Eventually, there is also variation in pronunciation which by no means should be ignored as it is strictly associated with the social position in society. In other words, speech differentiation or variation is caused by the various social statuses the speakers are characterized by. Phonologically, these are a number of variables the variation of which is attributed to the social class. Admittedly, the higher the social class is, the fewer no-standard features occur. Conversely, non-standard or stigmatized phonological features are typical and more observable in the speech of low class people. There were a number of sociolinguistic experiments which reflect the abovementioned variation. Labov’s experiment carried out in New York City department stores constitutes a perfect illustration of the social contributes (social position, speech style, education level) to the variable realization of particular sounds. Similarly, “Pronunciation differences may be minor, and thus scarcely contribute to the problem of intelligibility, or they may create substantial problems. It may also be that “educated” varieties of an English may be intelligible, but not some other varieties. It is possible that a
speaker of GA might find educated Indian English more intelligible than, say, Cockney English” (Kachru, 1982:37).

Finally, it is necessary to stress that some people have the tendency to style-shift in a number of situations. In other words, they might vary the realization of particular phonemes (both consonants and vowels) in accordance with a particular situation. It might be done both consciously and unconsciously and can be quite common. For instance, if a particular situation requires doing so, an informant switches from using stigmatized items and tries to use standard or even prestigious variants in order not to “stand out”.

e) **Stylistic variation / contextual influences**

The style of speech (formality and informality etc) also has an enormous contribution to the variation in speech. Whereas “formality” indicates paying close attention to the clear and correct pronunciation (enunciation) due to the speakers’ awareness, informality implies natural, careless speech.

“There is, however, a further crucial dimension along which language varies: it varies not just according to who we are, but also according to the situation in which we find ourselves. This latter type of variation is traditionally approached through the concept of register, sometimes also being referred to as stylistic variation. The basic notion is that any given instance of language is inextricably bound up with its context if situation and that different types of situation require us to handle the language differently” (Montgomery, 1995:105).

In formal circumstances, our primary intention is to sound correct and clear since the situation enables us to monitor our speech. In less formal or informal situations clear, monitored realization is peripheral since what we aim at is not the content and the need to convey it as soon as possible. Everyday circumstances facilitate casual speech style where there is not enough time for monitoring the speech and enunciation or clear realization of the sounds.

“This dimension can be approached most clearly by defining formality in terms of the amount of attention paid to speech. The more attention paid to speech, the more formal the style. Formal styles are thus defined as those situations where speech is the primary focus, whereas informal styles are defined in terms of those situations where there is the least amount of audio-monitoring of speech” (Wolfram, 1982:55).
It is also necessary to mention that stylistic differentiation is more observable in some periods of our lives. Its contribution is apparently strictly correlated with the age. Thus the speech style is constantly fluctuating in various circumstances and stages of our lives. Naturally the situations accompany us all the time and evidently the constantly influence our speech style. However, as far as the age is concerned, “There is, however, less stylistic differentiation in the earliest stages of adolescence and the older stages of the life cycle. ... stylistic variation appears to be at its maximum during those periods in the life cycle when adults are establishing their own status and role in American society” (Wolfram, 1982:59).

Similarly, another example of stylistic variation is reflected in the diagram below, where an assistant working as a travel agent in Cardiff, Wales, modifies her speech in order to accommodate to the speech of her clients. According to Coupland’s results (quoted in Radford, Atkinson, Britain, Clahsen and Spencer,
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, who investigated the experiment, there was a clear alternation of the worker’s speech in order to match to their client’s speech.

“... Nik Coupland investigated the extent to which an assistant in a travel agency in Cardiff, Wales shifted her speech to match that of the social class of her clients... These results show how the assistant altered her use of this variable quite radically when speaking to clients of different social classes” (Radford, Atkinson, Britain, Clahsen and Spencer, 1999:57).

![Sound variation graph](image)

(Radford, Atkinson, Britain, Clahsen and Spencer, 1999:58)

f) Ethnicity

Ethnicity also plays a crucial role in determining the linguistic variation (speech variation as well). There are a number of societies where phonological differences in the speech of selected ethnic groups have been researched. According to Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:94),

“The extent to which ethnicity correlates with linguistic diversity is a function of the distance between particular ethnic groups. Where there is assimilation of ethnic members into the larger culture, we may expect the factor of ethnicity to be of minimal significance, but where there is ethnic isolation of one type or another we may expect this variable to be of major significance. In reality, of course, ethnic isolation occurs in various degrees depending on the social role of various ethnic groups in our society.”
However, it is significant to stress that the historical origin intersects with ethnic varieties in the realization of particular sounds. It is obvious that every ethnic variety possesses its representatives whose speech patterns stem from their ancestors’ speech. Moreover, we should not ignore a number of social variables and patterns which also contribute to the realization of phonemes in contemporary American English. Thus “For the professional student of language, the dispute concerning ethnic varieties of English centers around the historical origin of the variables used in the United States and the dynamics of social patterns that affect speech” (Wolfram, 1982:55).

It is common knowledge that there are a number of phonological features (phonological markers) which are typical of the speech of a particular ethnic group. For instance, the speech of American Black speakers is a good example. According to (Giles, 1979:259), the phoneme /r/ is not used in numerous contexts, especially when it occurs in the final position in the word, as in wear /we(r)/, par /pσ:(r)/, star /stσ:(r)/ etc. Similarly, certain consonant clusters which also occur in the final position undergo deletion as well. Moreover, the final /d/ can also be unarticulated or disappear completely, as in paid /peɬ(d)/, raid /ret(d)/, bade /beɬ(d)/, fade /feɬ(d)/ etc. However, such differences do not impede mutual communication and understanding; both Black and White Americans can communicate with each other well.

Another example pertains to the realization of interdental /θ/ and /ð/. Since Dutch does not have any interdental sounds, Dutch Americans do not use /θ/ or /ð/ in words such as thrive, theme, thrust, filthy, myth, weather, bathing etc. The /θ/ and /ð/ variables are rendered as /t/ and /d/ respectively. Nevertheless, many immigrants who arrived in the United States to start a new life did not manage to maintain their own dialectal features. Although their influence was noticeable, they themselves became influences by the features characteristic of a particular area. It is also worth mentioning that Jewish immigrants who left their homeland in Eastern Europe had the heaviest contribution to New York phonology (including vocabulary).

“But one group contributed heavily to New York English. Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, most of whom spoke Yiddish, added their own additional flavor to
New York phonology and vocabulary... The Ashkenazi Jews in Central Europe spoke a dialect of German called Yiddish. The Sephardic Jews of Spain spoke Ladino, a medieval dialect of Spanish. Yiddish especially has influenced New York speech and also contributed words than Americans of all dialects may use and know” (Vajda, http://pandora.cii.wwu.edu/vajda/ling201/test3materials/AmericanDialects.htm).

g) Individual characteristics

Oddly enough, differences in our character are also crucial in this respect. It is important to take personality traits, differences in the character into consideration when analyzing variation in speech. Admittedly, personal characteristics are also influenced in the contribution to the realization of selected variables. In order to portray the importance of character, it is enough to focus on the investigation which was conducted in Articlave (a little village in Northern Ireland).

“Although their educational and occupational background was noted, all the informants were also rated by all the others in terms of how keen they were thought to be ‘to get in the world’. This was found in many cases to correlate more closely with their usage of certain linguistic variables than other more objective indices such as occupation and income” (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998:68).

Moreover, speech modifications are not only the result of the abovementioned factors. There are also cases where speakers tend to adjust their speech patterns to the speech patterns of their interlocutors. The phenomenon is referred to as accommodation, which was initialized by Giles and Smith (1979). When analyzing accommodation theory, we can distinguish convergence or divergence. Whereas the former is based on the premise that an informant tries to adjust his / her speech to the speech of his / her peer, the latter reflects the fact of making one’s speech is different as possible. “Interlocutors’ reactions, providing feedback, are also an important factor here, since it is well known that, for example, speakers of standard varieties who attempt to “accommodate” in the direction of nonstandard spoken forms are suspected of mockery, while accommodation in the other direction does not usually carry this implication” (Honey, 1997:105).
In conclusion, there are a number of factors which contribute to the betterness (in terms of non-stigmatization pertaining to non-stigmatized or prestigious items) or worseness (in terms of stigmatization pertaining to socially stigmatized items) of a particular variety. Nevertheless, the we should stress that phonologically, there is no need for the competition among the varieties to occur since all of them are definitely equal.

“Any variety – whether it be a dialect, social dialect, anti-language, or whatever – as long as it is sustained by a group of speakers must, by that very fact, adequately serve their communicative needs. In this sense, there is no inadequate, inferior or incorrect variety” (Montgomery, 1995:177).

3.6. CONSONANT CLUSTERS DELETION

There are a number of combinations of consonant clusters in different positions, in initial, medial and final position as well. However, some clusters which can be used in one position cannot be used in another one. For instance, the consonant cluster /pt/ cannot be used initially as there is not such word which could reflect such a combination. Similarly, the cluster /nd/ can be encountered in both medial and terminal position in a word. However, it cannot appear initially. Native users of a language can immediately identify the acceptability or non-acceptability of a particular consonant cluster in a particular position in a word. These are also referred to as phonotactic restrictions.

“Native speakers of English can instantly tell if a combination of sounds is possible, suggesting that speakers have internalized a set of principles that determine well-formedness” (Akamjian, Demers, Farmer and Harnish, 1997:93).

Sobkowiak (2001:271) stresses that “… connected-speech assimilations and deletions often apply at morpheme and word boundaries, i.e. in so-called sandhi (‘sandhi’) contexts. In other words, we are faced with sandhi contexts when we analyze e.g. simplification or deletion of particular variables (e.g. alveolar stop deletion) which occur between two words, as in last time /læs(t) tæm/, cold that /kOl(d) ðæt/, first mistake /f³r§(t) mIs/teIk/, intelligent people /In‘telIdʒən(t) ‘pi:pəl/, different kettle of fish /’difərən(t) ‘kedəl əv fɪʃ/ etc.
Sobkowiak (2001:271) provides us with a number of examples where the alveolar stop /t/ or /d/ become deleted. However, all the examples which he gives us constitute consonant clusters, such as /ft/, /st/, /pt/, /nd/, /bd/. There are, however, other phonological contexts in which the deletion of the alveolar stops is favored as well. Apparently, the linguistic constraints are not so strict with regard to some variables (although they apparently must have been in the past).

There are a number of **consonant clusters** which are subject to deletion processes. As a result the pronunciation of such a cluster is optional or variable, which means that the cluster can be fully articulated, the other member can undergo deletion or become unreleased. Such productions are not only confined to English. Latin is another example where reduction occurred, so are Spanish and other Romance languages.

“Will final /t/ and /d/ deletion after a consonant turn out to be a regular sound change? There is certainly precedent for such a change being regular in the end, especially in certain phonetic contexts. Final consonants in Latin have deleted completely in Spanish and other Romance languages: Latin final /m/ deletes in all words of two syllables or more, e.g. Latin *quindecim* > Spanish quince ‘fifteen’, *caballum* > *caballo* ‘horse’, *novem* > *nueve* ‘nine’; Latin /t/ also deletes: *caput* > *cabo* ‘end’, *amat* > *ama* ‘3s loves’, as do other consonants (Menendez-Pidal, 1968). In English erosion has been working on final consonants for some time. The deletion of a /b/ and /g/ after a homorganic nasal, as in *bomb* and *gang*, was completely regular and leaves English speakers virtually unable to produce final [mb] or [ng] clusters. Final /nd/ could certainly follow and delete regularly as well” (Bybee, 2001).

There are a number of deletions or reductions which can be distinguished. Semantically, there are mainly three types of deletions - **contextual**, **situational** and **linguistic**

**Contextual deletion** pertains to the deleted element which is known by means of the context. In other words, context is a major factor which contributes to the deletion or elimination of a particular linguistic element. For example, instead of asking someone “*Are you in this game?*”, it is enough to ask them “*Are you in?*” and everything is perfectly understandable. Similarly, asking someone “*Are you out?*” entails much more than what is seen on the surface. I might
equally mean “Are you still involved in this suspicious business or are you too afraid to take a risk?”

**Situational deletion** which occurs where the situation is encompassed in particular circumstances. For instance, if someone’s behavior is annoying on account of his / her constant complaints, our saying “Stop!” instead of “stop complaining” or “Stop whining” would be sufficient.

Finally, **linguistic deletion** also occurs by means of context but the linguistic context in this respect. There is no need to repeat particular linguistic elements since there is no doubt as to the element which is being referred to.

Nevertheless, what is crucial in my analysis is the elimination (reduction) of particular sounds in the speech. One of the commonest examples of consonant cluster deletion is the final /t/ or /d/. In other words, these sounds are subject to deletion or reduction and this phenomenon can be observed in a number of circumstances regardless of the social status and phonetic context. However, it is necessary to make a distinction between **mono-morphemic** forms and **bi-morphemic** forms. In the former, the final part of a cluster constitutes an integral or inherent part of a stem which is not grammatically significant (is devoid of grammatical significance). There are a number of clusters which comprise two consonants where the other element / segment, which cannot exist independently (as it is part of a typical mono-morphemic cluster), is the final /t/ or /d/. The latter pertains to past tense forms, as in *watched* /wɔ:t/; *looked* /lʊkt/; *relaxed* /rækst/; *packed* /pækt/; *talked* /tɔ:kt/; *lacked* /lækt/; *picked* /pɪkt/; *helped* /hɛlpt/; *worked* /wɜ:k/; *liked* /laɪkt/; *repaired* /rɪˈpeərd/; *loved* /laʊd/; *cleaned* /kliːnd/; *blamed* /bleɪmd/; *aimed* /eɪmd/; *claimed* /kleɪmd/; *bathed* /beɪðd/; *breathed* /breðd/; *moved* /muːvd/; *stained* /stɛɪnd/; *prepared* /prɛɪpərd/; *nagged* /nægð/ etc.

There are certain experiments which dealt with /t/ or /d/ deletion and which indicate that there is a greater frequency of deletion in the realization of /t/ or /d/ in mono-morphemic forms rather than in bi-morphemic forms. “All studies of English native speakers to date agree in showing less deletion in these past-
marked cases than in mono-morphemes, and this has been described as a pan-

First and foremost, it should be stressed that the reduction process of /t/ and /d/ can be observed if a cluster comprises either two voiced or two voiceless elements (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:130). In other words, if a particular cluster is hetero-voiced (as in case of a combination of a both voiced and voiceless element), such deletion would not occur. Therefore reduction of the second member should not be expected in such clusters as /mp/, /nt/, /lt/ etc.

It is also claimed that there can be deletion of the final element in both standard and nonstandard dialects. However, as far as the latter is concerned, there are some restrictions to be observed. Whereas in nonstandard varieties the reduction can even occur if the next word begins with both a consonant and a vowel, in the majority of standard dialects the reduction can only occur if the second member of the cluster precedes a consonant (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:131). However, according to Wolfram and Fasold (1974:131), “Even in nonstandard dialects, the presence of a following vowel has a partial inhibiting effect. Clusters are less frequently simplified if the next word begins with a vowel than if it does not. Another major constraint on deletion frequency is whether or not the final member of the cluster represents –ed. If it does, there will be a lower frequency of simplification than if the final member is an inherent part of the word.”

It is important to take these factors into consideration, especially the position of a cluster and its status (whether it is grammatical, as in bi-morphemic words or it has no grammatical significance, which can be found in mono-morphemic words. “The three most frequently-examined structural constraints are the grammatical status of the segment, its preceding phonetic environment, and its following phonetic environment” (Patrick, 1991).

Moreover, the incidence of consonant cluster reduction is also dependent on social factors, including ethnicity, social position in society etc. It is also conditioned internally – in a particular phonetic environment. Therefore the incidence of the reduction is correlated with both internal and external factors.

Bybee (http://www.unm.edu/~jbybee/Lexical%20Diffusion.doc), claims that who conducted his experiment in Los Angeles analyzing the speech of
Chicano English speakers, lexical frequency contributes the frequency of consonant cluster deletion. According to his observations, high frequency words give rise to more frequent deletion. Such a deletion is not so common in the realization of low frequency vocabulary items. This phenomenon seems to be understandable. Since in this hectic everyday life our primary concern is to convey as much as possible within as little time as possible, it should not be surprising that deletion is even more observable in high frequency words.

Surprisingly, in most Spanish dialects the situation is similar. “Again we have evidence that obstruent deletion can diffuse gradually through the lexicon, affecting high frequency words earlier than low frequency words. We do not know if this sound change will turn out to be completely regular” (Bybee, http://www.unm.edu/~jbybee/Lexical%20Diffusion.doc).

A consonant cluster is a combination of at least two consonants. It does not necessarily need to consist of two voiced or two voiceless consonants. As a result apart from a combination of both voiced or both voiceless consonants, there are also combinations where one identifies both a voiced and a voiceless element in a cluster, such as /lt/ or /nt/. Conversely, a combination of a cluster in which the first element is followed by a voiceless consonant is even more observable in English, for instance /kl/, /pl/, /kr/, /sl/, /tr/, /pr/, /fr/, /mp/ etc. Finally, there are a number of consonant clusters which constitute a combination of both two voiced elements (consonants) or two voiceless sounds, as in /bl/, /br/, /dr/, /gl/, /gr/, /nd/, /lb/, /rb/, /rd/, /lg/, /ft/, /pt/, /kt/, /sp/, /st/, /sk/ respectively.

Undeniably, the position in a particular word is also crucial in this respect since it affects the frequency of a cluster. At other times, it determines if a particular consonant cluster can be used in a language.

“The consonant phonotactics of numerous languages makes it obvious that different types of consonant cluster must be distinguished. tr, for example, is more common a cluster at the beginning of words than rt – the latter being impossible there in the overwhelming majority of languages -, while rt is more common at the end of word…” (Szigetvari, http://seas3.elte.hu/szigetwa/papers.no_bogus.pdf).

There are certain sounds the articulation of which can be simplified to some extent. The deletion or simplification usually pertains to consonant clusters
where one of the elements (usually the second one) becomes unreleased or unarticulated whatsoever. In the majority of cases, the abovementioned reduction of the final element does not impede understanding. There reason for the deletion is usually trivial – the articulation is easier and less time-consuming. However, there are cases in which the simplification occurs naturally and is not ascribed to laziness etc.

There are certain sounds which are unreleased naturally. For example, there are voiceless stops the articulation of which is not so clear in final position. “In final position (before silence) the /p, t, k/ are usually unreleased, unless the word is pronounced very forcefully or emphatically (in this respect they are like /b, d, g/” (Bowen, 1975:37).

Moreover, according to Wolfram and Fasold (1974:138), in non-standard dialects it is possible to encounter deletion of the stop consonants /t/ and /d/ word finally even when they are not parts of a consonant cluster. In other words, the /t/ and /d/ can undergo deletion even if it is an independent element (when it does not constitute a cluster, such as /st/, /pt/, /ft/, /kt/, /bd/, /gd/ etc), as in rat /ræ(t)/, lot /lɑ:(t)/, plot /plɑ:(t)/, bet /be(t)/, what /wɔ:(t)/, clot /klɑ:(t)/, trait /treɪ(t)/, plate /pleɪ(t)/, bed /be(d)/, bad /bæ(d)/, mad /mæ(d)/, crud /krʌ(d)/, fate /feɪ(t)/, bite /baɪ(t)/, side /saɪ(d)/, ride /raɪ(d)/, blood /blʌ(d)/, stood /stʊ(d)/, parade /pəˈreɪd/ etc.

“This kind of consonant absence seems to be largely restricted to just these two stops; the absence of final k, g, p, or b is far less frequent. Just how widespread among nonstandard dialects the deletion of –t and –d actually is is not known, but these deletions occur at least in Vernacular Black English and in Puerto Rican English in New York City, and at higher frequencies in Puerto Rican English than in Vernacular Black English” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:139).

Taking for granted that the /t/ or /d/ are the commonest sounds which are subject to deletion, it is necessary to discuss if one of the sounds undergoes deletion more often and if it does – how can such a phenomenon be justified? Admittedly, there are a few linguistic constraints which contribute to the frequency of their deletion.
First and foremost, the /d/ sound, which constitutes the voiced element of the pair (as in /nd/, /md/, /ld/, /gd/, /bd/ etc, undergoes deletion much more often than its voiceless counterpart /t/, as in /st/, /ft/, /kt/, /pt/ etc. However, the deletion will definitely be more observable in clusters which constitute an integral part in a word, as in crust /krʌst/, paste /peɪst/, lift /lɪft/, raft /ræft/, expect /ɪk'spekt/ rather than in clusters representing morphemes (grammatical morphemes), as in missed /mɪst/, promised /ˈprɑːmɪst/, laughed /læft/, coughed /kɔːft/ or /kɑːft/ , looked /lʊkt/, packed /pækt/, whipped /wɪpt/, cramped /kræmpt/ respectively.

It will undeniably be less frequent in case of clusters which constitute a morphemic part in a word, as in fined /faɪnd/, pined /paɪnd/, named /neɪmd/, tamed /teɪmd/, baled /beɪld/, called /kɔːld/, ragged /rægd/, fagged /fægd/, fobbed /faːbd/, robbed /raːbd/ respectively.

Secondly, one should expect deletion to occur if the /t/ or /d/ are preceded by a consonant. If they are preceded by the vowel sound, deletion is definitely less likely to occur. Thirdly, deletion is more frequent if the final stop is in an unstressed syllable. Moreover, the deletion of /d/ is even more observable if it precedes an –s suffix, which is not typical of final /t/ (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:131). Put simply, it is observable that the linguistic constraints are also very significant since they can be either favorable or inhibitive for the amount or frequency of deletion.
Below is the diagram which portrays the consonant cluster reduction in selected varieties pertaining to variable linguistic constraints:

![Diagram]

Table 7.1 Comparison of Consonant cluster reduction in representative vernacular dialects of English (adapted from Wolfram, 1991).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE VARIETY</th>
<th>Followed by consonant</th>
<th>Followed by vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not -ed % reduction</td>
<td>-ed % reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard English</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern white working class</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern white working class</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appalachian working class</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern African-American working class</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern African-American working class</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicano working class</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican working class</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian working class</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puebloan English</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese English</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Wolfram, 1997:115)

In conclusion, there are a number of clusters to be distinguished in different positions in a word. The acceptability or non-acceptability of a particular cluster depends on a language and its position in a word. Whereas in one language a particular cluster is appropriate in e.g. initial position, in another language the occurrence of the same cluster in the same position is unacceptable. Similarly, within one language, whereas the occurrence of a particular cluster is acceptable in one position in a word, it is unacceptable in another position.

Moreover, especially consonant clusters are said to be subject to a number of deletion or reduction processes in which case one element is simplified (it is either unreleased or unarticulated). There are a number of factors which contribute to the simplification or non-simplification of a particular variable (a
consonant cluster in this respect), mainly extra-linguistic factors, such as social status, gender, age, education etc. Nevertheless, the incidence of reduction is not only correlated with the factors given above. It is also dependent on purely linguistic factors which also favor or inhibit the reduction. There are a number of linguistic constraints which operate in the incidence of the reduction processes. In other words, first of all, the high or low incidence of deletion is associated with the type of the consonant cluster which is subject to deletion. If it is a mono-morphemic cluster, there will definitely be a higher frequency of deletion, as opposed to bi-morphemic clusters, where the amount of deletion is hardly observable (and is mainly restricted to non-standard varieties). Secondly, the phonetic environment is a crucial factor in this respect as well since it does matter whether the cluster occurs in terminal position, before a vowel or consonant.

3.7. SELECTED VARIATION STUDIES – SELECTED VARIABLES

In order to reflect variation in pronunciation, I will discuss certain experiments carried out by famous sociolinguists. I find it crucial to exemplify the phenomenon profoundly to have a good picture of what variables depict variation and under what circumstances. As the USA is not the only place where such experiments have been conducted, I also have the intention of analyzing the most significant research work which has been done up till now elsewhere as well. However, I am not going to discuss the research the purpose of which is analyzing variation in e.g. grammar, for instance double or triple negation etc. I will confine myself to elaborating on the sociolinguistic research which is strictly connected with variation in speech patterns since this is my primary concern in this dissertation.

Primarily I will focus on the experiments which were carried out in England. My next step will be analyzing variation studies in the USA and other areas.
Peter Trudgill is another sociolinguist whose investigation contributed to the importance of social influences. It is worth mentioning that this English town was not chosen randomly. Firstly, Trudgill was knowledgeable about the social demarcation of the Norwich society and its regional features. Secondly, as a resident of this town, he spoke the same regional accent as his informants did and therefore did not encourage them to modify or monitor their speech. “…encouraging speakers to speak more naturally than they might have done had he used RP. It is important to emphasize this kind of fact, since the influence of the interviewer’s own speech on the interviewee is a potential problem when using formal interviews for collecting data.” (Hudson, 1956:159).

Trudgill (1974) analyzed several phonological variables (three consonants and three vowels). His investigation consisted of various contextual circumstances (styles of speech). In other words, his participants were exposed to reading passages, word lists, casual settings etc. In order to present speech variability which is conditioned socially and contextually, I will discuss only some of the variables investigated by Trudgill. These are: the (ing) variable, as in waiting /ˈweɪtɪŋ/, doing /ˈduːɪŋ/, looking /ˈlʊkɪŋ/ etc; which can have two possible articulations - /ɪŋ/ and /ɪn/; the (t) variable in a medial position, as in better /ˈbetər/, cater /ˈkeɪtər/, pottery /ˈpɔːtərɪ/, battery /ˈbætərɪ/ etc, where we distinguish two identifiable variants - /t/, /d/ or sometimes even a glottal stop. The third variable is (h) in an initial position, as in honest /ˈɔːnst/, hour /ˈaʊər/, house /haʊs/ etc which has two variants - /h/ or with the /h/ dropped.

Trudgill’s results are commensurate with his assumptions. In general, the occurrence of the less standard /ɪn/, /ɪd/ and the /h/ dropped and their more standard, less stigmatized counterparts is strictly related with the social class and speech style. The occurrence of the former was found in the speech of low class people. The variability is not always so regular.

“However, whereas members of the lower working class almost invariably say singin’, they do not almost invariably say ‘ammer. Moreover, although members of the lower working class say singin’ when they are asked to read a word list containing words ending in –ing, they pronounce the (ng) with the [ŋ] variant on the majority of
occasions. The data also suggest that, so far as the (ng) variable is concerned, its use is related not only to social class but also to sex, with females showing greater preference for [ŋ] than males, regardless of social class membership.” (Wardhaugh, 1998:166-167).

As far as the /ŋ/ variable is concerned, its less standard counterpart /ŋ/ is found both among low-status speakers and in more casual, natural, less monitored speech. Conversely, the higher the class is, the more attention we pay to the speech and as a result the more frequent the usage of /ŋ/ is/. The diagram below reflects the phenomenon.

With a view to giving a more exhaustive account of the /ŋ/ variable, Wardhaugh (1998:167) adds: “For example, middle middle-class speakers always avoid –‘in’ pronunciations in the two most formal styles but ‘relax’ considerably more in casual style. Upper working-class speakers make a very sharp differentiation between the two reading styles and the two speaking styles. Lower working-class speakers make no real distinction between the two speaking styles and use –‘in’ pronunciations almost exclusively in both; however, just like middle working-class speakers, they are conscious that –‘ing’ pronunciations are used in reading styles and do manage to introduce them on many occasions. “

Moreover, the /ing/ variable and its variability is not solely correlated with social status and the tempo of speech, but also sex. He observed that the less standard /ünü/ variant was preferable among the speech of females (Holmes, 1996:162). Similarly,
the occurrence of the (h) variable is socially conditioned, which means that the lower the social group is, the more frequent the /h/ dropping is.

Finally, the articulation of the /t/ variable also undergoes variation. Within the groups and stylistic circumstances, a number of variants were identified, for instance standard /t/ and the non-standard glottal stop /ʔ/ or /tʔ/. The more standard variant /t/ is more observable among middle and upper middle class people and in monitored speech style. However, there are a few inconsistencies. According to Hudson (1996:162), “….even for middle-class speakers, there was very little change for the (t) variable between casual and formal styles, which seems to refute the first part of the hypothesis. Moreover, some other variables seem to show very little change at all between styles within any group of speakers, although different groups of speakers differ clearly in their use of those variables.”

b) New England – Fischer

Fischer’s (1958) primary concern was analyzing variability in “ing”, as in going /’goʊɪŋ/, waiting /’weɪdɪŋ/, complaining /kəm’pleɪɪŋ/, doing /’dju:ɪŋ/, thinking /’θɪŋkɪŋ/, sleeping /’sliːpɪŋ/ etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.1 Preferences for -ing and -in’ endings, by sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ing &gt; -in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fischer (1958, p. 48)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.2 Preferences of two boys for -ing and -in’ endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Model’ boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Typical’ boy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fischer (1958, p. 49)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.3 Preferences for -ing and -in’ endings, by formality of situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most formal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fischer (1958, p. 50)

(Fischer, 1958)
According to the chart, it is observable that non-standard forms (in this case /\textit{\textipa{In}}/) are typical of unmonitored, casual speech in which case the correct articulation of the sounds is not that significant. Apart from that being relaxed or tense also influences the way we talk. “Fischer’s conclusion (p. 51) is that ‘the choice between the \textit{\textipa{\text{-}ing}} and the \textit{\text{-in’}} variants appears to be related to sex, class, personality (aggressive / cooperative), and mood (tense / relaxed) of the speaker, to the formality of the conversation and to the specific verb spoken.’” (Wardhaugh, 1998:159).

c) New York City – William Labov

William Labov is one of the most renowned American linguists whose extraordinary research has proven how important it is to encompass social factors when analyzing speech variability. If we were to find out if New York dialect is rhotic (if New Yorkers pronounce the r sound in all positions), we would not probably obtain a satisfactory and clear-cut answer. The reason is that New Yorkers exhibit variability in the pronunciation of the r-sound. Labov’s (1972) experiment, the purpose of which was the analysis of the r-sound was carried out around New York City department stores – Sax, Macy’s and Klein. Sax was for high class people, people who were well-off and could afford to purchase very expensive things. Macy’s was appropriate was middle-class people whose income was average. Klein was intended for the customers with relatively low social position.

Labov intended to analyze the variability of /\textipa{\text{r}}/ and the speech data which he obtained was the product of the speech which was socially demarcated (and that was his intention).

He put forward the following assumptions:
- the higher the class is, the greater frequency of the r-sound
- the r-pronunciation is observable in the speech of younger people, such as adolescents, teenagers; it is not so common in the speech of older generation
- formal situations lead to the increase of the r-pronunciation, i.e. while reading or talking in public
- the r-pronunciation is preferable word-finally, as in \textit{\textipa{\text{backfire}}} /ˈbækfæ\textipa{\text{r}}, \textit{\textipa{\text{lore}}} /\textipa{\text{lo:}}\textipa{\text{r}}, \textit{\textipa{\text{implore}}} /\textipa{\text{im\text-/\text{plo:}}\textipa{\text{r}}}, \textit{\textipa{\text{core}}} /\textipa{\text{ko:}}\textipa{\text{r}}, \textit{\textipa{\text{indoor}}} /\textipa{\text{in\text-/\text{d\text-/\text{r}}}}, \textit{\textipa{\text{barber}}} /\textipa{\text{ba\text-/\text{rber}}}/
Labov intentionally made use of the phrase “fourth floor” /fɔ: ruθ flɔ:xl/ where we observe the two types of the r-sound – pre-consonantal, as in fourth and post-vocalic, as in floor. Moreover, the whole situation was quite natural since he ingeniously elicited the phrase “fourth floor” by asking people to tell him the location of department which he knew to be situated on the “fourth floor.” By pretending not to have understood and asking for repetition, he obtained speech samples in formal settings. Similarly, by asking his informants to read the text and words, he obtained speech data in more formal circumstances.

The results which Labov obtained were congruent with his assumptions. First of all, it turned out that the /r/ pronunciation increases if the socioeconomic class increases. This led him to the assumption that the r-sound is highly prestigious since people from higher classes (with a high social status) are characterized by the frequent use of the r-sound.

Another noteworthy observation was the increasing frequency of the r-sound in careful or monitored speech where people’s primary concern is the correct pronunciation. Having feigned deafness and making the informants utter the phrase “fourth floor” /fɔ: ruθ flɔ:xl/ once again, he created a formal setting which was still natural. It is obvious that the speakers repeated the phrase more clearly with a view to avoiding the hustle and being understood. The majority of the informants displayed the increasing r-sound in careful speech having been
Another observation pertains to the frequency of the r-sound in syllable final positions and consonant cluster position. Regardless of the department store (Sax, Macy’s and Klein), Labov observed a greater rhoticity word-finally. The frequency of the r-sound was much lower when /r/ preceded consonants.

According to the diagram, we observe a much higher percentage of the r-sound. High class people portray a preference for the /r/ sound as opposed to lower class people. However, it is also observable that all of these social groups increase their use of the r-sound in repeated responses.

Another crucial factor is age, which also determines the way people talk. As Labov observed, the younger the informants are, the more frequent and favorable r pronunciation is. Nevertheless, it is so only in Sax. The results in Klein appear to be much more complicated since “...the data from S. Klein on this point were quite inconclusive and the results from Macy’s point in a direction completely opposite to that predicted: r-pronunciation actually increased with age” (Wardhaugh, 1998:161).

Surprisingly, there is not much correlation to what Labov assumed before the experiment (apart from Sax). Thus this led Labov to conclude that whereas
high class and low class people do not have the tendency to modify their speech after its “fixation” in the period of adolescence, middle class people tend to do so due to their social aspirations.

Labov also intended to observe the frequency of the r-sound realized in a number of speech styles. Hence he exposed his informants to casual vs careful speech, reading style, word lists and even minimal pairs.

It goes without saying that the continuum there are various speech styles (ranging from very formal to casual), some of them expose the people in a natural setting; others become more artificial since the speakers immediately become aware of being recorded and monitor their speech. However, it is not a drawback whatsoever, since Labov also sought to analyze variability of the r-sound in both formal and informal setting. This helped him identify the differences easily, which would have been very difficult in only one of the speech styles.

The following diagram reflects the variability of the r-sound in a number of speech styles.

![Variation Studies: Some Findings and Issues](Labov,1996:240)

This diagram is a perfect reflection of the r-variability with regard to the style of speech. The continuum depicts different styles; as the style becomes
more formal, the r increases. The percentage of the r-sound is much higher in word lists and minimal pairs. The r pronunciation decreases when the informants are exposed to the reading style: in casual speech the r is hardly audible. In this style they do not pay so much attention to the enunciation since they focus on the content of what they wish to convey. Admittedly, as the meaning is a primary concern, the speech itself is no longer monitored as well as it is in word lists and minimal pairs. It becomes unmonitored, casual, careless, sloppy, especially that there is no need to enunciate the words; the purpose is to convey the meaning in as little time as possible.

However, there is another phenomenon which Labov did not predict and which is referred to as **hypercorrection**. According to the diagram, there are two speech styles (word lists and minimal pairs) where lower middle class speakers increase the usage of /r/. One might regard one of Labov’s assumptions as a failure. Nevertheless, these results contributed to Labov’s better understanding the process of hypercorrection. The fact that lower class people’s r is so abundant can be accounted for. The reason is that they display explicit endeavors to imitate the speech of upper-middle class people. In this case, they are well aware of the fact that the r-sound is typical of the speech of high class people. Hence they attempt to copy it in order to sound good, just like high class people. Hence

“... The more formal the situation is the more will the middle class adopt the features of the higher class and will even overtake the rate of the upper class in the most formal style. This is the result of the higher prestige of the accent of the higher class. The higher class is not in a process of changing the same features and therefore does not “correct” the pronunciation. They are in a state of stable affiliation to their class while the lower middle class strives for social advancements and is therefore in a state of changing affiliation.” (Trippel, http://coral.liliouni-bielefeld.de/~ttrippel/labov/node17.html).

Although there can be a number of instances of the hypercorrection process, it is worth mentioning that it is especially characteristic of women’s speech. As a result one can conclude that women are more likely to use more standard forms (forms which are typical of high class speech). Moreover, although women’s speech is characterized by the higher frequency of hypercorrection, it is not always observable in the speech of all social classes. Admittedly, it occurs in the speech of a particular social class.
“... studies of social class differences in pronunciation in both the US and the UK had observed a tendency amongst lower-middle-class speakers to produce relatively more prestige forms when reading aloud from word lists than do members of the social group immediately above them on the social scale, even though they produce less than them in ordinary casual speech: in effect, they overproduce the prestige form (the socially favoured pattern of pronunciation) in formal settings, a phenomenon sometimes referred to as ‘hypercorrection’. Women, especially those from the lower middle class, seem to be more prone to this tendency than men” (Montgomery, 195:153).

Thanks to Labov’s research, we can appreciate the popularity of the r-sound in New York City. However, the r-sound is not so prestigious in other regions. Whereas in New York City it is highly valued, it can have the status of just “standard” elsewhere. In other areas, it can even be regarded as stigmatized.

“Post-vocalic [r] illustrates very clearly the arbitrariness of the particular forms which are considered standard and prestigious. There is nothing inherently bad or good about the pronunciation of any sound, as the different status of [r] pronunciation in different cities illustrates. In New York City, pronouncing [r] is considered prestigious. In Reading in England it is not” (Holmes, 2001:140).

Apart from the variable /l/, Labov also investigated /θ/, as in thrive, thrust, think etc. He was only interested in the realization of the voiceless variable in an initial position, in which case we can distinguish three possible variants (candidates): the most standard /θ/, the less standard /tθ/ and the most non-standard /l/. As we can observe, the occurrence of the non-standard variant is also strictly correlated with the style of speech and socio-economic class.
Apart from that, Labov also dealt with consonant cluster simplification.

Table 7.11 Final cluster simplification among black youth in New York City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simplification (%)</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>pass(ed) eleven</td>
<td>-ed, before vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>pass(t) eleven</td>
<td>not -ed, before vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>pass(ed) five</td>
<td>-ed, before non-vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>pass(t) five</td>
<td>not -ed, before non-vowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: based on Labov (1972b, p. 222)

Table 7.12 Final cluster simplification among black upper working-class adults in New York City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simplification (%)</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>pass(ed) eleven</td>
<td>-ed, before vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>pass(ed) five</td>
<td>-ed, before non-vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>pass(t) eleven</td>
<td>not -ed, before vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>pass(t) five</td>
<td>not -ed, before non-vowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: based on Labov (1972b, p. 222)
“Whereas adolescents are inhibited in their simplification of final clusters, first by whether the following segment is a vowel and only then by the nature of the [t], adults are inhibited in their simplification first by the status of the [t]; i.e., they are reluctant to omit it if it represents –ed, and only then by the presence of a following vowel.” (Wardhaugh, 1998:182).

d) Detroit – Walt Wolfram

Another linguistic investigation was conducted in Detroit by Walt Wolfram. It dealt with both phonological and grammatical variables. Grammatically, Wolfram analyzed a number of variables pertaining to multiple negation, the occurrence and non-occurrence of the functional suffix -s / -es in third person singular verbs, as in He goes to work /hi: goʊz to wɜːrk/ etc., the insertion or non-insertion of the copula be (so called copula deletion), as in She malicious /ʃi: mæˈlɪʃəs/; lack of the conjugated copula be, as in He be stubborn /hi: biːˈstɜːrn/ etc, the usage and non-usage of the –s suffix in plural nouns etc. Apart from some inconsistent usage of the linguistic forms, there is a correlation between the occurrence of variants and social status. Moreover, the more formal the situation is, the more frequent the application of stigmatized forms is.

Wolfram dealt with phonological variables, which included: final cluster consonant simplification, the realization of the /θ/ and /ð/ variables in both medial and terminal position, as in filthy /ˈfɪlθi/, ruthless lˈruːθəsl/, something lˈsʌmθɪŋ/, nothing lˈnʌθɪŋ/, pathetic /ˈpæθedɪk/, lethal lˈliːθəl/, faithful lˈfeɪθəl/ (medially) and loath lˈloʊθ/, path lˈpæθ/, with lˈwɪθ/, bath lˈbeθ/, bathe /bæθ/, death lˈdeθ/, faith /feɪθ/ etc (terminally). Other variables included: the occurrence of /d/ in terminal positions or its deletion (inaudibility), as in appeared lˈpɜːtrd/, elided lˈtəlɪdɪd/, endeavored lˈɪnˈdɛvərd/ but also in words where the final /d/ does not constitute the –ed suffix, as in good /ɡʊd/, world /wɜːrd/, bed /bed/ etc; the occurrence of /t/ after vowels (post-vocalic /t/), as in lawyer lˈloʊˈjər/ or lˈləvər/, paper lˈpeɪpər/, later lˈleɪtər/, par lˈpær/ (word-finally) and tart tərt/, card kɑːrd/, nerd lˈnɜrd/, cord lˈkɔːrd/ - following consonants (prevocalic /t/).

As far as the /t/ sound is concerned, its occurrence increases in the speech of lower and upper middle class. Conversely, the /t/ sound becomes inaudible
among the speech of low class people. The diagram below presents the changeability of the /r/ sound.

![Diagram showing changeability of /r/ sound](image)

(Wardhaugh, 1998:172)

The occurrence of the /r/ sound is random among black speakers as well. However, it is dependent on social status.

It is crucial to point out that this is a typical example of so-called *gradient stratification*, which means that there is a clear, regular, progressive increase in the occurrence of a particular variant (in this case the articulation of /r/). Conversely, the absence of third person singular z-suffix observed in the speech of black people in Detroit exemplifies the phenomenon referred to as *sharp stratification*. Hence there is no regular increase according to the social groups. Instead “The most clear-cut linguistic boundary is found between the lower middle class and upper working class. There is usually less clear-cut distinction between the two middle-class groups and two working-class groups with respect to sharp stratification” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1973:81).

According to the diagram given below, we observe that it does matter if the informants are interviewed by “a black person.” It is evident that the /d/ sound (word-finally) undergoes deletion more often if the interviewer is black.
Similarly, cluster simplification is more common in the interviews conducted by black people. However, it should be pointed out that only the occurrence of the /d/ variable is subject to noticeable variability. The difference in the realization of cluster simplification and –z-deletion is much subtler (Wolfram and Fasold, 1973:98).

This research also proves that the race of the interviewer is crucial since it can also contribute to the occurrence or non-occurrence of stigmatized variants.

Wolfram also investigated consonant cluster simplification in the speech of black people, where we observe that consonant clusters undergo simplification among all social groups but it is much more observable in the speech of working class people. According to 7.10 diagram, the higher the social class is, the less reduction takes place. Apart from that, a phonetic environment is also crucial in this respect. For instance, a final consonant is simplified if it precedes another consonant; the ‘ed’ suffix also favors the reduction if another consonant follows. However, the reduction of the final consonant is not so widespread if it precedes another consonant. If a final /t/ or /d/ sound is part of an “ed” suffix and when it precedes another vowel, the reduction is not so common.
Table 7.9 Final cluster simplification among black speakers in Washington, DC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% deleted</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>san(d) castle</td>
<td>after sonorant, before non-vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>fas(t) car</td>
<td>after non-sonorant, before non-vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>wil(d) elephant</td>
<td>after sonorant, before vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>lif(t) it</td>
<td>after non-sonorant, before vowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: based on Wolfram and Fasold (1974, p. 102)

Table 7.10 Final cluster simplification among black speakers in Detroit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Upper middle</th>
<th>Social class</th>
<th>Lower middle</th>
<th>Lower working</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>burn(ed) up</td>
<td>-ed, before vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>col(d) out</td>
<td>not -ed, before vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>burn(ed) coal</td>
<td>-ed, before consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>col(d) cuts</td>
<td>not -ed, before consonant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: based on Wolfram (1969, pp. 59–69)

(Wardhaugh, 1998:181)
Another experiment was conducted by Coupland (1984). He investigated the speech of the informants with socially different accents in Cardiff, Wales. The crucial notion in his study is accommodation (more specifically short-term accommodation). Coupland investigated three variables - /h/, as in her, hammer, hinder etc, /l/, as in letter, cater and /ŋ/, as in losing, waiting, crying etc. The results which he obtained confirmed his assumptions that according to a particular situation, speakers tend to accommodate to the speech of other speakers whose accent might even be different. It is observable on the diagram that even if these are non-standard variants, they are employed by others in order to make their speech more similar.
(Trudgill, 1998:311)

**f) Panama - Henrieta Cedegren**

Henrieta Cedegren collected data on Panamanian Spanish in 1970. She put five variables under investigation, including /r/, /para/, /esta/, /s/, /ch/. In her study she revealed that reduced variants were more typical of less prestigious social group as opposed to more prestigious social group who employ standard variants more frequently. In other words, the articulatory reduction of particular sounds is more observable in the low class speech. “In the case of (R) and (S) the non-prestige speakers tends to weaken or delete a syllable final consonant. In the case of (PARA) and (ESTA) the non-prestige tendency is to drop an entire syllable. With (CH) no deletion is involved but the tendency is still to replace an energetically pronounced consonant with a weaker one” (Kroch, 1998:252).
Montreal - William Kemp And Paul Pupier

Kemp and Pupier conducted an experiment in Montreal in order to analyze variation in Montreal French. The experiment was carried out in 1976 and similarly it dealt with consonant cluster deletion. According to their observations, simplification of consonants is more frequently identified in non-prestige dialects. Especially fast speech is favorable for deletion processes to occur in this respect. According to the diagram below it is observable that the consonant reduction becomes lower once the social group becomes more prestigious.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(R)</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>2.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PARA)</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ESTA)</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(S)</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CH)</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a_{From \ Cedergren \ 1970.}\)

\(^b_{The \ highest \ social \ group \ is \ I, \ the \ lowest \ IV.}\)

**FIGURE 2.** Consonant cluster reduction by class group in Montreal French (Kemp and Pupier 1976).
h) Other

There are also some other experiments which have been conducted recently as well, but there are many of them. Due to obvious reasons, only several experiments have been selected in order to present variation studies and their observations.

There are certain experiments which have been conducted recently. Bybee studied the deletion of apical stops /t/ and /d/ in Chicano English in Los Angeles focusing on lexical frequency. According to his observations, high frequency words are characterized by higher incidence of deletion than low frequency words.

Jurafsky obtained similar results. He used 2042 monosyllabic content words in which the final /t/ or /d/ occurred.

“The cases documented so far indicate that high frequency words tend to change before low frequency words when the change is the deletion of stops (English t/d deletion), the deletion of fricatives (Spanish . deletion), some vowel shifts (Labov 1994, Moonwomon 1992), the reduction of vowels to schwa (in both Dutch and English) and the deletion of schwa in (American English). One might therefore predict that in general reductive changes tend to occur earlier and to a greater extent in words and phrases of high frequency” (Bybee, http://www.unm.edu/~jbybee/Lexical%20Diffusion.doc).
CHAPTER FOUR

CORPUS ANALYSIS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Before recording potential speakers, it is important to take a number of factors into consideration. First and foremost, there can be a number of purposes for a particular interview, which should constitute our primary concern. Only then can we assume that the data which we obtain is an adequate and reliable source of our investigation. The purposes pertain to the linguistic items which are the subject of our analysis (exposure of the informants to separate words, sentences or to a number of speech styles, spontaneity or non-spontaneity of an interview), ranging from free conversation to reading word items, and even a number of the informants, such as interviewing individual speakers or groups of people simultaneously.

“The crucial consideration in selecting a sample is the goal of the research. If our goal is to describe peer-group adolescent black speech in Harlem, for example, our essential goal is to define the sample in terms of criteria related to the establishment of peer groups. But if we desire to describe the various social parameters of social stratification in the speech of several classes of adult New Yorkers, we want quite a different type of sample. Our sample cannot be selected without prior consideration of what social parameters of speech we want to examine” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:40).

The naturalness or artificiality of a particular situation are especially crucial in this respect. If we want to obtain natural speech data in order to base our analysis on the reliable source, we should make sure that the circumstances are relatively informal or casual. However, if we are analyzing careful or monitored speech, it is necessary to enable our informants to enunciate their speech (in other words cause the situation to be sufficiently formal – the circumstances would be artificial in this respect). Nevertheless, the very act of being recorded usually
makes the whole situation unnatural and as a result the speakers’ consciousness becomes “switched on” (the informants tend to pay more attention). As a result it is more adequate and common to analyze speech data in natural or casual circumstances since mostly such settings are preferable. Moreover, although spontaneous interviews facilitate the elicitation of casual speech samples, they are more cumbersome to be conducted appropriately. Asking an informant to read the script and at the same time maintain casual speech style is undeniably implausible. Labov (1972) introduced the term the observer’s paradox to account for the disadvantage of interviewing formally, which indicates that it causes the situation to be unnatural or artificial and as a result undesirable (if an interviewer’s primary concern is obtaining natural speech data, then such a material could definitely constitute a very unreliable source of linguistic investigation), which would be disadvantageous in such an analysis.

There are a number of techniques which can serve to elicit some linguistic data, in this case speech data. Some of them are quite simple; others are much more complicated since they require much more effort and flexibility.

One of the easiest ways is by choosing particular vocabulary items (in which specific phonological items are hidden) and asking the speakers to read them. Therefore one could make some observations pertaining to specific pronunciation features and differences in their speech. In order to make sure that our informants are unaware of the variables which we wish to investigate, the order of the words could be arranged randomly. If we arrange it according to the variables, then there is a risk that our interlocutors would notice which of them constitute the source of our analysis. As a result there would be no point of the whole interview.

Another method is through recording the informants who read whole sentences which would comprise words with selected phonological variables. Although such a situation is still unnatural, it seems better than the previous one, since here the pronunciation of every word is not undesirably monitored.

Asking speakers to consciously describe their speech is another solution. Nevertheless, even an incredibly profound and exhaustive account of such a theoretical description would not definitely be sufficient if our purpose is to obtain real, natural pronunciation and realization of particular variables. The informant is definitely unaware of which words we are looking for and to make it more difficult
– which sounds we wish to analyze. Thus although some monitoring occurs, it is not so disadvantageous any more. Although we can choose such a technique, it is a good idea to primarily record our interviewees before discussing the theoretical background pertaining to the realization of particular items.

According to Wolfram and Fasold (1974:50-53), there are several rules which often facilitate eliciting free conversation samples. They are the following:

1) it is advisable to use *open-ended questions* instead of *yes/no questions*
2) the questions should apply to our informants’ interests
3) the pursuit of our informants’ interests should be maintained or facilitated by our cues
4) the informants’ awareness of their speech should be alleviated by asking questions
5) the intentions in a particular interviewing should not be revealed

The first point is undeniably understandable and obvious. The more our informants talk, the more linguistic data we are capable of eliciting and analyzing thoroughly. As a result the best way is to expose the speakers to various narrations or descriptions where they would be talking instead of us while the interviewers’ talking time should be reduced minimally. Apart from that, another advantage is the fact that the speakers’ attention is not solely focused on the correctness of their pronunciation since they are concentrated on the content and the desire to convey what they want.

Secondly, in order to succeed in conducting an interview, it is indispensable to be knowledgeable about a particular group of people who are being interviewed, especially their social position, but also their interests and everyday activities. “The use of questions to which informants can easily relate assumes that we have a certain pre-knowledge of the community in which we are interviewing” (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:50). Hence, asking Amish people to explain how power works or to exhaustively discuss the mechanism of cell phones or DVD players would definitely be unreasonable. Similarly, a ten-year-old does not possess much knowledge about stressful factors at work or important family decisions, etc.

Thirdly, “*Cues of informants’ interests should be pursued.* To a certain extent, a lack of knowledge concerning the community can be compensated for by sensitivity to the interests of the informant as expressed in the interview”
Admittedly, our knowledge about a particular topic does not need to be very deep in order to obtain sufficient and satisfactory linguistic data. By appropriate maintaining and pursuing their interests in the conversation, one can cause a natural situation in which our informants can comfortably focus on the content.

Moreover, one of the most important factors in obtaining free speech samples is by drawing our informants’ attention to what they are talking about rather than how they are talking. In other words, the style of speaking should be of little or preferably no importance whatsoever; the content or the message should constitute our primary concern. For instance, exposing informants to conversations where they are emotionally involved would definitely be a key to success.

Apart from that, it is preferable if an interviewer adopts his / her speech style to the speech style of the informant. Such a situation alleviates a natural setting in which a conversation is not conducted artificially. However, it could be difficult to fully accommodate to our interlocutors’ speech and at the same time maintain natural conversation. There is a risk that our attempt to sound like our informants would be revealed because it is exaggerated or made unnecessarily artificial.

Finally, sensitivity to our informants’ unnecessary suspicions should be preserved to avoid potential confusions or misunderstandings. If our interviewees become suspicious of our purposes or if our purposes become revealed, even the most active, extroverted, eloquent and garrulous informants will definitely restrict themselves to talking as little as possible. There is no question that this would definitely be undesirable for us since the whole interview might end in failure.

It is also important to stress that interviewing individual informants is not the only technique which is available. There are also group interviews which reflect both advantages and disadvantages. One of the advantages is the fact that an interviewer is not required to participate so actively in a conversation. They can solely restrict themselves to passively observing a conversation or a discourse and still contribute to the naturalness of the situation. On the other hand, interviewing groups of people is not very appropriate as “Phonological details, in particular, are almost impossible to transcribe reliably when an entire group is being recorded on one track (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974:55). Apart from that, identification of the
informants when one track is used can also be very difficult. As a result our observations pertaining to particular sounds would be unreliable and doubtful.

There are a number of techniques and cues pertaining to interviewing our informants successfully. Unfortunately, there are always some shortcomings (which are difficult to predict at times) and which can appear even during the interview. However, it is always advisable to carefully plan and prepare the interview beforehand in order to achieve relatively reliable and unbiased results which can further constitute the primary and more importantly – more reliable source of our investigation.

Since variation in speech constitutes my primary concern in the dissertation, it is understandable that the observations should be based on the way people talk in selected circumstances or settings. Therefore, facing such an objective, the best way to do this is by recording people and transcribing their speech patterns. With a view to analyzing speech variability, I selected particular variables which I hid in a number of words and sentences. It would be pointless to analyze variability in the articulation of the sounds which the speakers are cognizant of. For obvious reasons, our data would be unreliable since it would not be commensurate with real, natural pronunciation. Thus it is very important to carefully and profoundly plan the research and possibly predict potential obstacles and undesirable effects. Apart from that, before reading the sentences and the words, I asked them to read naturally as in everyday speech and to forget that they were being recorded. Nevertheless, the very recording makes the whole situation fairly unnatural, which, however, was not an obstacle regarding my purposes the speech style which the informants were exposed to while being interviewed). As a result I decided to ask the informants to read the sentences. The fact that I sought to find differences in the articulation of selected variables in sentences pertains to stylistic purposes. Stylistically, the speakers are expected to modify their speech in a number of various circumstances (formal or informal settings etc). It should be emphasized that the act of recording informants undeniably makes the situation unnatural and formal in which they are likely to put considerable or at least some emphasis on correct pronunciation or enunciation. However, it should also be emphasized that reading separate words makes the whole situation even more artificial and unnatural than reading sentences, where in case of the latter the
opportunity of enunciating particular sounds is reduced to a minimum (when the speaker is asked to read the sentences fast or at least naturally, as if he / she was talking in natural, everyday circumstances, he / she would not be expected to know or become aware which sounds and their variation an interviewer is looking for since first of all, it would not be easy to detect them and secondly, there is not sufficient time for that).

Moreover, the very recording of informants and bringing forth unnatural circumstances should not be regarded as disadvantageous in this respect. It is evident that conversational speech style (casual or sloppy speech) gives rise to the formation of phonological variability (in which case a number of phonemes undergo reduction, are unreleased or their properties considerably change). However, my exposing the informants to sentences does not pertain to the desire to create both an extremely natural (informal situation) and an extremely unnatural. Admittedly, I intended to expose the speakers to the situation which would enable them to at least monitor their speech to some extent but at the same time maintain sufficiently natural speech.

There are many other reliable pronunciation dictionaries or textbooks on which the symbols of pronunciation can be based. Nevertheless, the symbols used for particular sounds are miscellaneous.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variants of broad transcription for English.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As in the word:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>port</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In order to reflect the pronunciation of the informants in my investigation, I selected the transcription which is based on the symbols taken from Wells’ Pronunciation Dictionary (2005). There are both pronunciations in the dictionary – British and American (although Wells uses British phonetic symbols). Moreover, the symbols which he introduces resemble the IPA symbols, which are the commonest. I used a phonemic or broad transcription in order to reflect the speech patterns of the informants and symbolize the realization of particular variables. Thus particular sentences have been separated by slashes (not by square brackets, which is typical of narrow transcription). Thus I did not encompass any other additional symbols (which are referred to as diacritics), which is only done in phonetic or so called narrow transcription. “In order to describe the allophones of a phoneme or to make a narrow phonetic transcription you will need to know various DIACRITICS devised by phoneticians for this purpose” (Katamba, 1992:71). For instance, I did not mark any aspiration of plosive sounds in stressed syllables. Nor did I differentiate the length of vowels in e.g. tree /tri:/ – treat /triːt/ – treen /triːn/ (in which case in the first word it would probably be relatively long, in the second word its length would be medium and in the third one it would be relatively short, however). Although the phonetic transcription definitely provides us with more information as to the properties of particular sounds, it is not necessary to use this transcription system in this respect. Since the primary
purpose is to reveal the simplification or non-simplification of selected variables, using the phonemic transcription is definitely sufficient for these purposes.

The sentences which I exposed the informants to reflected every day language. The words were not very sophisticated or difficult to understand. If they had been cumbersome, used solely by high class and well educated people, there would have been unnecessary confusion. Since the purpose was to obtain reliable pronunciation of the variables in the words, they words had to be familiar for everyone (appendix 2, 3) and used frequently. There were, however, several incidences in which the interlocutors were confused. However, my intention was definitely not to confuse the informants since it would have been pointless. If some of them hesitated because of the unfamiliarity of a particular word, it was not made on purpose.

The reason is that I sought to encounter variation in the pronunciation of some variables even in such circumstances. More precisely, I endeavored to identify at least two identifiable realizations in terms of deletion or non-deletion – in other words **variants** of a particular **variable**. Whereas the variable is also called **input**, the identifiable variants are also referred to as **candidates**. However, one of the key notions in the analysis of variation in this dissertation is **simplification** or **reduction**. If a sound is simplified or reduced, it means that under certain circumstances (phonological context, phonetic environment, style of speech etc), it either disappears completely (there is no audibility) or is barely audible. Thus a particular variable might either be unarticulated or just unreleased. Whether there is a total disappearance of a sound in the articulation or if a sound is solely unreleased, we definitely deal with simplification, reduction or deletion.

Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the alveolar stop /t/ can also become **glottalized** (as a result we obtain a glottal stop), as in letter, cutter, matter etc. According to Sobkowiak (2001:99), glottalization is one of the commonest features which are typical of connected speech. He adds that it is necessary to focus on the phenomenon since it often contributes to confusion or lack of understanding. “… the wide-spread ignorance of the issue among Polish learners has a negative influence on the comprehension of natural English speech, where glottals appear so frequently. Glottal stops are among the main culprits making casual English pronunciation so ‘unclear’ or ‘blurred’ to Polish ears. This
impression is caused by the lack of distinct oral articulation. Alerted to the problem, Poles will be able to ‘compensate’ for the lacking auditory cues” (Sobkowiak, 2001:99).

There are a number of instances where we can distinguish a variable realization of a particular phoneme. In other words, there are plenty of variables (inputs) which have at least two identifiable variants (candidates). For instance, a variable /r/ (an approximant post-alveolar consonant) in the word “neighbor” has two identifiable variants (or if we were to use another terminology candidates). The first one is /r/ and the second one is non-realization of the variable or its deletion (in which case it is completely inaudible). Similarly, /r/ in e.g. “curt” also encompasses two variants since the word might be rendered as either /k3ːt/ or /k3ːrt/.

In other words, my intention was to analyze speech variation in terms of simplification or non-simplification of a particular variable. Eliciting speech data where a particular variable either undergoes simplification or is clearly articulated was my primary concern. Hence, I selected some variables the articulation of which (deletion or non-deletion) constituted a source of my analysis. The variation (the variationist realization of particular phonemes in this respect) was studied quantitatively. In order to observe either a clear articulation or simplification of a particular variable, perhaps the best solution is to count the number of reductions (variants) pertaining to selected variables in the speech of the informants. Afterwards, there is a stage when we can make appropriate observations, possibly find explanatory arguments or even regularities and draw possible conclusions according to the data and a reliable source for the further analysis. Such a method seems to be reasonable when doing the research in this area since “Quantification is an essential methodological tool of the variationist paradigm, and for this reason it is sometimes called quantitative social dialectology” (Milroy, 1997:49).

Contradictorily, I did not intend to investigate speech variation where a selected variable is characterized by a clear articulation or realization of its two or more variants. Undeniably there are a number of variables which have at least two identifiable variants and where each of them have a particular realization (barring reduction). In other words, we can distinguish e.g. two (or even several) candidates where neither of them is characterized be deletion. For instance, the variable /θ/
(which is a voiceless fricative dental consonant) in “thrive” can have even as many as three possible candidates (realizations), such as /θ/ (fricative dental consonant), /t/ (plosive alveolar), or /f/ (fricative labiodental). As a result the word could be realized as /θraɪv/, /traɪv/ or /fraɪv/ (in which case the first one is assumed to be the most standard). In this case, although we still talk about the variability of the input /θ/, we do not analyze it in terms of simplification since irrespective of the realization of the variable, it has got a particular realization which can be any /t/ except for deletion.

It should be stressed that simplification should be expected especially in casual, unmonitored speech. Nevertheless, I also wished to identify a considerable amount of simplification as in reading sentences. Moreover, it would have been impossible to ask the informants to read even sentences and at the same time expect the situation to be very natural (even if there are sentences, not words). There is no doubt that such an interview is quite unnatural in itself since during such interviews, the speakers are likely to modify their speech purposefully and consciously. Moreover, in order to convince such speakers, it is necessary to at least familiarize them with the purpose of the interview. In fact, several people declined to participate in the research, especially without knowing the purpose of the interview. It does not indicate that an interviewer is required or expected to profoundly and elaborately tell a potential interviewee all the details etc. An effort to acquaint an average informant with a profound, exhaustive and detailed description of our purposes would be both ridiculous and futile. Nevertheless, stating a clear purpose of the interview in a few words is undoubtedly advisable and even necessary. In fact the matter is, there are a number of potential speakers who were reluctant to be a part of the interview for many reasons. From my observations, apart from complaining about having insufficient time, not having the slightest desire to make any contribution, etc, they also make false and mistaken assumptions as to the real purpose of the interview. Many potential interviewers refuse to take part mainly because they assume that their speech (including them) would be ridiculed, criticized or pointed at. Thus they either make up some flimsy excuses or simply turn down. Stating clearly what the real
purpose of the interview is should undoubtedly reduce the speakers’ wrong suspicions about the interviewer’s “insidious” tactics or “cruel” intentions.

In the dissertation the simplification or deletion of the investigated variables was based on two dialects. Naturally, there are a number of other dialects which can undeniably be distinguished in those two varieties. However, both the *North-eastern dialect* and *African American English* constituted the main background for the description of their phonological characteristics. I mentioned that there were a number of informants who could have participated in the interview but who unfortunately refused to do so. It should be stressed, however, that the majority of the informants are white American speakers who were undeniably more willing to contribute. Unfortunately, there are much fewer Black speakers who agreed to participate in the interview. Since Black English is often regarded as an incorrect, substandard variety in which there are a myriad of deletions, the unwillingness of African Americans to make a contribution is self-explanatory, at least to some extent (since some of them refused due to having insufficient time to spare). Nevertheless, there is a huge amount of deletion in the speech of white people as well, which will be indicated furthermore.

The informants are mainly American speakers living in north-eastern parts of the United States, mainly in the states of New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, speakers living in both little towns, villages and huge metropolitan cities, such as New York City, Philadelphia and Boston. There are as many as eighty informants who agreed to participate in the interview. Nevertheless, there were several people who refused to contribute.

I consider it important to stress that the sounds which I selected to analyze were not selected randomly. These are the sounds the characteristics of which are subject to reduction or simplification. I selected some of them on the basis of other experiments which have already been investigated and analyzed including others which were selected at random in order to measure their realization in contemporary North-Eastern American English speech. The purpose is to analyze the pronunciation variability (its realization of particular sounds and their variability of the speech of some informants from the United States). Moreover, my intention was to analyze the relation of a number of sounds with respect to the frequency of deletion or simplification and the dependency of the simplification to the phonetic environment of selected variables.
There are a number of sounds which would be appropriate for the analysis and on the basis of which I made the reading script. I intended to analyze speech variability in particular phonological contexts. As a result I investigated the articulation of the variables which occurred in word boundaries or in final position. There are only several variables which I elaborated on after making the interviews. One of the most important sounds (variables or inputs in this respect) which contributed to the source of my investigation was the /t/ sound which would be identified in a word as a separate element, which means that it was not a part of a consonant cluster, as in /stl/, /ptl/, /tlt/, /f/tl/, etc. The /t/ sound is ubiquitous, which means that it can be encountered in a number of words. In final positions, the plosive alveolar can be a single phoneme where it is not a part of a cluster, as in *right /tatl/*, *bright /bratl/*, *insight /’insatl/*, *contrite /kæntraatl/* etc. Similarly, also in final positions, it can also be one of the two or three elements in a cluster, as in etc. For instance, one can identify it in consonant clusters, such as /stl/, /ktl/, /ptl/, /ftl/. Similarly, /d/ forming a consonant cluster constituted another important source of my investigation. A plosive alveolar consonant /d/ can be found in such clusters as /bdl/, /ndl/, /mdl/, /ldl/, /vdl/, /zd/ etc. As can be observed, these clusters constitute two elements which are either voiced or voiceless. However, there are also other combinations concerning the /t/ variable which comprise both a voiceless and a voiced element, such as /ntl/ (a cluster which encompasses a nasal alveolar and a plosive alveolar consonant), as in *want /wɑntl/*, *rant /ræntl/*, *vent /ventl/*, *meant /mentl/* (which is claimed to undergo less reduction or in fact no reduction whatsoever). Therefore, I paid some attention to the articulation of such clusters (combinations of both a voiceless and a voiced sound) with a view to analyzing their potential variability (in terms of simplification). Although /ntl/ was not the subject of my investigation, its variability is reflected in the transcription (appendix 3). There are other clusters which are more significant in the analysis, such as /rdl/ and /rtl/, which will also be discussed furthermore. Such combinations of clusters are claimed to be devoid of variable pronunciation since simplification is hardly ever identified. Nevertheless, I put forward a hypothesis that despite their characteristics (a combination of both a voiced and voiceless element), high frequency of simplification should be expected as well. For instance, the deletion should not only be limited to such words as *don’t, can’t /doʊn(t)l/*, /kænt(t)l/*, etc in
which the final /t/ is claimed to undergo frequent simplification, but also a number of other words which comprise the /nt/ cluster, such as *want, pant* etc /wɔ:nt/, /pænt/ (I marked the deletion as … , which means that it might either be unreleased or unarticulated). In order to investigate the articulation of the clusters, I decided to select the /rt/ cluster, which is also a combination of both a voiced and a voiceless element.

It is necessary to distinguish clusters which constitute the /ed/ suffix or are an inherent part of the word. Whereas the former are referred to as bi-morphemic, as in *passed* /pæst/, *missed* /mɪst/, *whipped* /wɪpt/, *crushed* /krʌʃ/, *bummed* /bʌmd/, *pined* /paɪnd/, *clubbed* /klʌbd/, the latter are termed as mono-morphemic, such as *list* /lɪst/, *crust* /krʌst/, *lift* /lɪft/, *mend* /mɛnd/, *wind* /wɪnd/, *rent* /rent/, etc. Although bi-morphemic clusters are observable in a number of contexts, they constitute a peripheral subject of my investigation. As far as voiceless components (elements forming a cluster) are concerned, there are a few clusters which comprise the /ed/ suffix, such as the following:

/st/, as in *cussed* /kʌst/, *passed* /pæst/, *divorced* /dɪˈvɔːrst/, *missed* /mɪst/, *phased* /feɪst/

/ft/, as in *laughed* /lɑːft/, *puffed* /pʌft/, *stuffed* /stʌft/, *buffed* /bʌft/

/pt/, as in *ripped* /rɪpt/, *rapped* /ræpt/, *stopped* /stɔːpt/, *whipped* /wɪpt/

/kt/, as in *locked* /lɑːkt/, *baked* /beɪkt/, *whacked* wækt/, *mocked* /mɔːkt/, *picked* /pɪkt/, *raked* /rækt/, *faked* /fɛkt/, *lacked* /lækkt/, *hike* /haɪkt/, *biked* /baɪkt/

/lst/, as in *finished* /ˈfɪnɪʃt/, *blushed* /blʌʃt/, *wished* /wɪʃt/, *crashed* /kræʃt/

/ʃt/, as in as in *watched* /wɔːʃt/, *wrenched* /rɛnts/, *drenched* /drentʃt/, *pinched* /pɪnts/
Similarly, there are both voiceless and voiced elements which do not constitute a suffixal element in a particular word but are an inseparable part of a word (mono-morphemic clusters). Most of them are congruent with the consonant clusters mentioned above, for instance:

/st/, as in waste /weɪst/, west /west/, paste /peɪst/, past /pæst/, crust /krʌst/, just /dʒʌst/, fist /fɪst/, feast /fiːst/, cussed /kʌstɪst/, hant /hænt/, blast /blæst/, paste /peɪst/

/kt/, as in expect /ɪkˈspekt/, perfect /ˈpɜːfɪkt/, exact /ɪgˈzækt/

/ft/, as in draft /dræft/, craft /kraːft/, theft /θeft/, raft /raːft/, left /left/

/nd/, as in wind /wɪnd/, grind /ɡraɪnd/, land /laːnd/, bend /bend/, round /raʊnd/,

blind /baɪndl/, mind /maɪnd/, stand /stænd/, mend /mænd/

/ld/, as in cold /kɔld/, wild /waɪld/, bald /bɔːld/, told /təld/, riled /raɪld/,

mold /moʊld/, weld /weld/

There are a number of clusters which comprise either a part of a morpheme or a part of a lexeme or even both of them.

As can be observed, each of them constitutes a combination of a consonant and /t/ or /d/. However, the selection of /t/ or /d/ which constitute a part of a cluster was not made randomly. The selection of /t/ or /d/ is correlated with their
counterparts (in a particular cluster). As a result it is observable that the clusters comprise either two voiced or two voiceless elements. The only exception is a cluster with a combination of /t/ preceded by a nasal sound /n/, which constitutes a homorganic consonant. Such clusters are also interesting because of their unique combination (a voiceless + voiced sound). Albeit these two consonants differ in voicing, there occurs considerably high incidence of reduction which is also associated with the premise that both /n/ and /t/ are alveolar sounds (and deletion is facilitated in this respect).

Apart from that, there are other clusters to be observed, such as the realization of the clusters (observing its potential simplification) which constitute both a voiced and a voiceless element. Such clusters are said to be devoid of alternate pronunciation (there are no candidates to be identified), especially in monitored speech as they constitute both a voiced and a voiceless element. However, surprisingly, such a cluster is subject to variation, not only informally, but also in formal, usually unnatural settings, where the speech is consciously monitored, at least to some extent, as in reading. As a result simplification in African American Vernacular English would be expected in this respect. These are some exemplar clusters (which encompass both a voiceless and a voiced element and where reduction can still occur in the variety):

\[/nt/ : \text{rant} /\text{rænt}/, \text{bent} /\text{ben(t)}/, \text{blunt} /\text{blʌnt}/, \text{went} /\text{wen(t)}/, \text{want} /\text{wɔ:nt}/, \text{etc}
\]

\[/lt/ : \text{colt} /\text{koʊlt}/, \text{bolt} /\text{boʊlt}/, \text{fault} /\text{fɔːlt}/, \text{belt} /\text{bel(t)}/, \text{melt} /\text{mel(t)}/, \text{jilt} /\text{dʒɪlt}/, \text{belt} /\text{belt}/, \text{tilt} /\text{tɪlt}/, \text{felt} /\text{felt}/, \text{etc.}
\]

The former is a combination of a nasal alveolar and a plosive alveolar; the latter is a combination of a lateral alveolar and a plosive alveolar. It is especially interesting since each of them consists of both a voiced and voiceless consonant. Its uniqueness is based on the fact that such clusters are claimed either not to undergo any deletion whatsoever or to be subject to little deletion in rare circumstances. Nevertheless, although the realization of these clusters is interesting, they solely constitute a peripheral part in the analysis.

-Don’t waste your time sitting on the sofa and drinking beer.

-She missed you so much; and you don’t even care.

-Why don’t you ask for help? “Are you all right?” she asked.
-Your joke wasn’t that funny because nobody laughed.
-Don’t tempt me; I will not change my mind.
-You shouldn’t have blamed me; it wasn’t my fault.
-It’s not the end of the world – don’t cry!
-It’s about time to get up if we don’t want to be late.
-Only five students haven’t passed the exam.
-I don’t like it when people are rude and uncouth.
-I don’t know her at all; what is she like?
-If you are reluctant to learn, clean up the table at least.
-She’s got a flair for teaching young children. However, she doesn’t like it when they swear.
-Before he left for work, he had an argument with his wife.
-I don’t think that she’ll be back until midnight.
-His company thrived for a long time. Afterwards, it went down the drain.
-This event took place on the third of May, in 1965.
-There’s no point in waiting here for such a long time.
-Don’t even breathe a word; it’s a secret!
-They loathe talking about unimportant things.

There are the following phonetic environments in which the /nt/ can be identified (this cluster is referred to as hetero-voiced since it constitutes a combination of a voiced and voiceless element):

/ɒɑ/ + /nt/ + # /w/: /dʊʊnt/ weɪst jər tɑɪm *sɪdɪŋ dʌn əd sʊɛf ən *drɪnkJ bɪr/
/ɒɑ/ + /nt/ + # /iː/: /ʃiː mɪst jə sʊɔ mɑːɭ ən jə dʊʊnt ˈiːvən kɛr/
/ɒɑ/ + /nt/ + # /j/: /wæɪ dʊʊnt jə əsk fər help/ər jə ɔːl ræɪt /ʃiː əeskt/
/əl + /nt/ + # /ɫ/: /ʃoː dʒɔʊk ˈwɔzɔŋt dək tʃənɪ bɪˈkæz ˈnɔʊbədɪ lɛft/
/ɒɑ/ + /nt/ + # /t/: /dʊʊnt tɛmpt miː/əI wɪl nɔːt ʃɪˈɛɪndʒ mæɪ mətnd/
/əl + /nt/ + # /ɑː/: /juː ˈjʊdɑnt əv bletmd miː/It ˈwɔzɔŋt mæɪ fəːlt/
/ɒɑ/ + /nt/ + # /k/: /ɪts nɔːt ˈdiː end əv də w3ːrd/dʊʊnt kræɪ/
/ɒɑ/ + /nt/ + # /t/: /juː kænt dʒəst ɡɪv æp/ɪf jə dʊʊnt træɪ juː wɪl ˈnɪvər nʊʃ/
/ɒɑ/ + /nt/ + # /w/: /ɪts əˈbaʊt tɑɪm tə ɡet æp ɪf wiː dʊʊnt wʊːnt tə biː læɪt/
It is necessary to mention that the simplification of the /t/ in the /nt/ cluster is dependent on the word in which the cluster appears. According to the recordings and my observations, although both lexical words, such as went /went/, mint /mɪnt/ and grammatical words, such as don’t, can’t, etc indicate a high degree of simplification (the /t/ in this cluster is either simplified or at least unreleased), the amount of deletion is much higher pertaining to function words. It does not undoubtedly matter whether the speech style is more formal or informal (as in reading whole sentences or only word lists).

There are also a number of consonant clusters the pronunciation of which is variable since e.g. one of the elements (which is the plosive alveolar /t/ or /d/) is
reduced or simplified. Reading sentences gave rise to the simplification. Surprisingly, there was very little variation in the articulation of both /st/ (a combination of a fricative alveolar and a plosive alveolar) and /kt/ (a combination of a plosive velar and a plosive fricative) since the /t/ was not subject to reduction or even being unreleased irrespective of the social class and contextual environment. Mostly the plosive alveolar variable /t/ was retained. Nevertheless, its reduction was more observable in the speech of Black speakers which is a typical feature of Back English Vernacular. Still, there are a few clusters which are characterized by considerable variation due to the extensive or enormous simplification. One of the most subject to variation are /nd/ (a nasal alveolar and a plosive alveolar) and /ld/ (a lateral alveolar and a plosive alveolar). Whereas the former tends to undergo simplification extensively, the latter does so more sporadically. The /ld/ cluster, which has been discussed peripherally, could be encountered in the following contexts:

- I’ve already told you – I don’t know! It’s cold in here, let’s get inside.
- He failed to convince her. She only smiled and left.
- It’s not the end of the world – don’t cry!
- She’d like to go on a trip around the world.
- You’re on a tight budget, my old friend.

The /ld/ cluster can be identified in the following phonological contexts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonological Context</th>
<th>Example Sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/oʊ/ + /ld/ + # /j/:</td>
<td>/aɪv ɔ:!’redi tɔld jæ/ɹ doʊnt nd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oʊ/ + /ld/ + # /t/:</td>
<td>/ɪts koʊld ɪn hɪr/letz get ɪn’saɪd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/ + /ld/ + # /t/:</td>
<td>/hi: feɪld tə ʊn’vɪns hər/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑɪ/ + /ld/ + # /o/:</td>
<td>/ʃi: ‘ɒnli smaɪld ənd left/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/ + /ld/:</td>
<td>/ɪts nɑ:ʃi end ən və ʒə wɜ:ɹld / doʊnt kraʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/ + /ld/:</td>
<td>/ʃi:ʃ lək tə goʊ ʊn ə trɪp ə’raʊnd ʊə wɜ:ɹld/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oʊ/ + /ld/ + # /f/:</td>
<td>/jəɾ ʊn ə tæt ‘bʌnd maɪ oʊld frend/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, /rd/ and /rt/ are the examples of two clusters where in the former we have a combination of two voiced elements whereas in the latter there are both a voiced and a voiceless element. Clusters such as /rt/ are claimed not to undergo deletion in everyday speech.
The incidence of simplification of the variables was analyzed linearly. According to the research, analyzing speech sounds in the linear arrangement is claimed to be insufficient since prosodic structure should also be taken into account (Phonological Utterance>>Intonational Phrase>>Phonological Phrase>>Clitic Group>>Prosodic Word>>Foot>>Syllable). However, since the core of the analysis in this dissertation is deletion in several phonological contexts, was made linearly and prosodic phonology was discussed peripherally.

First and foremost, I have come up with the assumption that there are a great many more phonetic conditions where reduction or simplification can be expected. It is claimed that there are a number of restrictions which prevent simplification from occurring, e.g. there is simplification if the two elements are only voiced or only voiceless or it is especially common in consonant clusters. As a result there are only some phonetic environments and circumstances where it might be identified. Nevertheless, it has been assumed that the linguistic constraints do not need to be so strict.

Moreover, the circumstances do not have to be very informal or casual in order to identify deletion. In other words, it has also been assumed that deletion can also be identified in quite formal settings, such as reading sentences. Moreover, the phonetic environment is not necessarily so restrictive since as we will learn, the simplification also occurs in a number of other contexts which are claimed to impede deletion.

I have also put forward an assumption that the simplification and its frequency is not solely restricted to nonstandard varieties of English, but also in the varieties which are considered to be standard and prestigious (albeit it is less numerous).

Finally, I have also assumed that deletion of particular variables is more observable in contexts in which the variable or word are still predicted. In other words, if one reduces a particular phoneme and it does not bring forth any confusion, the deletion is favored. If, however, the deletion of one sound could contribute to the formation of another word since there would be more sounds which could replace the original one and it would not impede grammaticality of the sentence, then the deletion is less frequent.
There are eighty informants who participated in the interview and contributed to the investigation. All the necessary information about the interlocutors’ place of residence, social status, education etc has been collected (appendix 1). With a view to exemplifying the phenomenon of simplification, I primarily sought to analyze the speech of mainly white middle-class American people living in the area of New York State, New Jersey State, Massachusetts State and the city of Philadelphia, where the reduction of the sounds has a reflection in various circumstances (not only conversational, very natural settings, but first of all in the circumstances where speech is monitored profoundly or superficially).

The interlocutors were exposed to the reading script which they were supposed to read. There were some sentences to read. In the script there were word items encompassing the variables which I wished to investigate. Although the situation was quite formal, the informants were unaware of which sounds I was looking for. Afterwards I made a transcription which also encompassed all the deletions which had occurred in the speech of the interviewees.

One should remember that from a regional point of view – there is inevitably an undeniable equality among particular varieties and dialectal variations. Socially, however, we often talk about either the betterness or worseness of dialects in terms of pronunciation, grammar and sometimes even vocabulary. Still, regarding a variety as incorrect because it is used by poor people from lower classes would be a sheer misconception since the same variety is used by high class people as well. Regionally, labeling a dialect as worse or incorrect is also erroneous as the linguistic features or phenomena which are typical of the dialect can also be encountered in other dialects, even those regarded as prestigious. However, there are a number of linguistic features (phonetic and phonological in this respect) which are highly criticized and regarded as highly substandard because they constitute pronunciation features pertaining to a certain dialect used by a particular social group of people, not to certain phonetic features which reflect low class speech and a substandard variety. Therefore, e.g. Black English Vernacular is a variety which comes in for much criticism and disregard. Phonologically, due to a number of omissions, simplifications or reductions (e.g. consonant cluster simplifications etc), alternate or different realizations of both vowels and consonants (the articulation of which is not highly valued in most white American varieties of English). One goes so far as to assert that Black
English undergoes so much simplification since it is used by uneducated, low-class, simple people, which is a total misconception or fallacy. It should be pointed out that there are a number of people who use the variety, but just poor people lacking proper education, but also middle-class and high-class people with a high education level. Most importantly, the abovementioned reductions, simplifications and sound alternations are also encountered in a number of varieties labeled as standard and correct, including white standard American typical of middle class speech. Although there might be other sounds which undergo both alternation in the articulation and also considerable simplification, it is worth pointing out that nonstandard dialects (or dialects regarded as nonstandard) are not the only varieties where such processes do occur. Especially simplification is also typical of standard varieties of American English including formal circumstances. It might be done due to the unawareness of one’s own imperfections in the articulation, slobbiness, carelessness, lack of knowledge about the simplification which is ubiquitous or desire to disrespect other varieties, dialects and their speakers.

It should be stressed that the majority of the speakers who contributed to the analysis are middle class speakers whose dialectal properties are usually regarded as standard. Contrary to other social statuses, such as lower middle, the characteristics of their speech patterns should be different to the characteristics of low class speech. Apparently, whereas alternate pronunciation should definitely be expected across all classes and varieties, simplification undeniably seems to be typical of primarily low class speech (if not solely). In other words, the speech of low class representatives is unavoidably much more likely to undergo simplification as opposed to the more standard speech of middle and upper class people the betterness of which is mainly based on the premise that there are much fewer reductions to be identified in the speech of mostly middle and high class people. However, apparently, simplification is not solely observable in less prestigious dialects; it seems to be more ubiquitous than expected.

In order to reflect the real pronunciation and articulation of particular variables of the informants, I transcribed the whole reading script (appendix 3). However, I find it necessary to introduce some symbols which would be a clear reflection of the speech patterns and variability of particular sounds. Since simplification is my primary concern, it is very important to stress how it has been presented in the transcription which is included in the appendix. Undeniably, it
was necessary to encompass it in the transcription, especially that there was a huge amount of identifiable simplification. It should be added that the simplification involved a total disappearance of sounds at times in which case they were completely inaudible (the sounds were unarticulated whatsoever). Nevertheless, whereas some sounds were inaudible whatsoever, others were only unreleased. In order to present their simplification or disappearance in the pronunciation of the informants, I highlighted the variable. Thus in the word “tart”, if the final /t/ was not articulated at all, it was marked it in bold in order to reflect its total reduction. Similarly, if the final plosive alveolar /t/ in the word “late” was not audible, the final /t/ was marked as /t/. On the other hand, there were a number of words in which one of the sounds underwent a partial reduction or simplification, which means that such a sound was barely articulated. The sounds the realization of which was barely audible were also marked in a similar way. Nevertheless, at times I found it difficult to reliably decide if a particular variable was just unreleased or its simplification went so far as to total disappearance.

Nevertheless, as I had mentioned before, my primary concern was centered on consonant clusters which constituted an integral or inherent part in a word. As a result I did not focus on clusters which constituted a grammatical morpheme, as in "washed /waʃt/, booked /bʊkt/, looked /lʊkt/, packed /pækt/, smiled /smaɪld/, smoked /smʊkt/, finished /'fɪnɪʃt/, poached /poʊtʃt/, etc. Instead I sought to analyze the articulation of the clusters which had nothing to do with grammatical morphemes. In other words, my intention was to primarily observe the variability of the sounds which constituted an inherent part in a word, as in "wild /waɪld/, told /tɔld/, word /wɜːrd/, curt /kɜːrt/, part /pɑːrt/ etc.

Nevertheless, before I made the recordings, I had already known that not all of the abovementioned variables would constitute the primary subject of my analysis. I have intentionally chosen more variables and then selected these which were especially subject to be deleted or articulated alternatively in some circumstances and as a result which were the most attention worthy. It is obvious that the language is very dynamic and that many features are constantly changing. What we tend to read in a number of books might be obsolete or no longer reliable. Thus I resolved to expose the speakers to a greater amount of the script and choose those which deserve paying considerable attention to. Undeniably it entails more
time and effort (especially on the part of the interviewee), but regardless of the huge amount of the sentences and words, I considered it to be a good solution in order to obtain sufficient linguistic data. Although I was running the risk of being rejected by a number of potential speakers, there are some other advantages as well, when reading, the speakers were becoming less unnatural in the course of time i.e.; when reading in due course the speakers’ attention and consciousness switched off etc. Therefore, there are a number of variables which are characterized by the enormous simplification or reduction processes, which is especially typical of Black English Vernacular and other nonstandard varieties of American English. These are some of them: /st/, /ft/, /kt/, /nd/, /ld/, /rd/ etc.

While interviewing my informants, I noticed another example of simplification. In this respect, one does not talk about clusters anymore since the sounds which are simple sounds are not a part of any consonant cluster and can surprisingly still undergo simplification, including unnatural situations where the speech is consciously monitored (such as reading word lists and whole sentences). It also pertains to both /t/ and /d/, which constitute a final part in a word, as in case of the former


As one can observe, there are a number of vowels preceding /t/ and /d/. However, only some of them facilitate deletion (or at least some of them cause more deletion than the others), which will be indicated and discussed more elaborately and extensively in the further analysis.

It is also necessary to take phonetic environment into consideration. Let us give a short account of both voiceless and voiced plosive alveolar consonants /t/ or
/d/ simplification in final position being on its own (word finally) and preceding various other sounds (both vowels and consonants, constituting different characteristics and properties).

We should encompass the phonetic environment of the adjacent words as it does play a significant role in determining the realization or non-realization of a particular variable. There are the following phonetic environments where the /t/ sound as a single element not forming a part of a cluster might undergo simplification in the speech of even middle class people whose speech is usually regarded as standard and correct:

/t/ + vowel: e.g. lot and /ɔːt ənd/, lot on /ɔːt ən/, lot of /ɔːt əv/ or /ɔːd əv/, late again /liːt ə'gen/, straight ahead /strεIt ə'hed/, white as /waɪt əz/.

/t/ + /j/: e.g. treat you /trɪːt jəl/, but you /bʌt jəl/, about your /ə'baʊt jəl/ /ɪtʃ jəl/, /bʌʃ jəl/, /ə'baʊʃ jəl/.

/t/ + /w/: e.g. lot when /lɔːt wen/, sheet when /ʃiːt wen/, it when /ɪt/.

/t/ + /b/: e.g. plight but /plaiɪt bʌt/, tight budget /taɪt 'baʊzɛt/, might be /maɪt bi/.

word final positions: e.g. date /deɪt/, late /leɪt/, midnight /'mɪnət/, flat /flaɪt/, secret /'siːkrət/, right /raɪt/, it /ɪt/, out /aʊt/, white /waɪt/, plight /plaiɪt/, might /maɪt/, right /raɪt/, throat /θroʊt/, straight /strεɪt/, night /naɪt/, late /leɪt/, wait /weɪt/, tight /taɪt/, sheet /ʃiːt/, date /deɪt/, flat /flaɪt/ etc.

One of the most interesting consonant clusters, which admittedly I had not previously assumed to be subject to deletion and which drew my attention the most was the variable /r/ which constituted a cluster in a combination with both /t/ and /d/. Hence, the first cluster which we obtain constitutes a combination of both a voiced /r/ and voiceless /t/ obtaining the variable /rt/. Moreover due to a combination of /t/ and /d/ we obtain the variable /rd/.

/rt/: curt /kɜːrt/, short /ʃɔːrt/, wart /wɔːrt/, sort /sɔːrt/, part /pɔːrt/, blurt /blɜːrt/, flirt /flɜːrt/
Whereas in the former, simplification would definitely be less likely to occur due to the fact that both components are voiced, the latter would be characterized by higher incidence of deletion. Nevertheless, the first cluster definitely deserves more attention since the pronunciation of the cluster is also alternate or variable in which case /t/ is surprisingly simplified (in spite of a combination of a voiced and a voiceless sound).

If one analyzed non-rhotic varieties where /r/ is inaudible, such an analysis would undeniably be pointless. However, since a number of speakers exhibit a high frequency of r-ness in their speech patterns due to the fact that one of their dialectal properties is rhoticity, there are justified reasons why such an analysis is relevant in this respect.

As I had mentioned before, due to the enormous amount of data, I selected and analyzed only certain variables. Apart from that, I find it necessary to stress that these are only some phonetic environments which I put under investigation and analyzed more elaborately in the dissertation. Even though these particular contexts pertain to specific variables such as /nd/, /t/, /d/, /rt/, /rd/ etc, these variables are only analyzed and investigated under some selected, specific conditions (certain phonetic environments).

There are the following contexts in which I intended to analyze the variability of /nd/ cluster:

1. /aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /t/
2. /æ/ + /nd/ + # /ʌ/ or /ɑː/
3. /e/ + /nd/ + # /a/
4. /æ/ + /nd/ + # /t/
5. /æ/ + /nd/ + # /n/
6. /aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /p/
Moreover, I paid closer attention to the alveolar stop /t/ in a number of phonological contexts, usually preceding another phoneme at word boundaries.

\[
/\text{a}/ + /\text{nd}/ + \# /\text{ð}/ \\
/\text{a}/ + /\text{nd}/ + \# /\text{ð}/ \\
/\text{ə}/ + /\text{nd}/ + \# /\text{j}/ (3) \\
/\text{a}/ + /\text{nd}/ + \# /\text{j}/ \\
/\text{u}/ + /\text{nd}/ + \# /\text{j}/ (3) \\
/\text{u}/ + /\text{nd}/ + \# /\text{j}/ \\
/\text{a}/ + /\text{nd}/ + \# /\text{w}/ (3) \\
/\text{u}/ + /\text{nd}/ + \# /\text{w}/ \\
/\text{i}/ + /\text{nd}/ + \# /\text{w}/ \\
/\text{a}/ + /\text{nd}/ + \# /\text{b}/ (3) \\
/\text{t}/ \text{ in final positions} \\
\]

Finally, there are also consonant clusters with a combination of a consonant and the alveolar stop /t/ or /d/. There are two consonant clusters which the articulation of which I investigated – these are /rt/ and /rd/:

\[
/\text{a}/ + /\text{rd}/ + \# /\text{t}/ \\
/\text{u}/ + /\text{rd}/ + \# /\text{p}/ \\
\]
Nevertheless, there are many more phonetic environments of e.g. vowel + /t/ + vowel. Admittedly, the variable /t/ can be both preceded and followed by a number of other sounds which can also be either facilitative or debilitative in its simplification.

4.2. LINGUISTIC DATA AND OBSERVATIONS

Firstly, I will present data which I obtained during the interviews. I will make a list of the contexts, phonetic environments and the number of deletions pertaining to each of them. Secondly, I will make an attempt to account for the miscellaneous incidence of deletions regarding variables in selected phonological contexts.

Let us analyze the variability of particular variables thoroughly. First and foremost, the /nd/ cluster definitely deserves some more attention. There are a number of phonological contexts in which this cluster can be identified. There are the following contexts and possible reductions to occur; they are arranged according to the order of the reading script (appendix 2, 3, 5-7):

- Before he left the room, he found his first draft.
/bɪˈfɔːr hɛ lʊt ðə rʊm hɪ: faʊnd hɪz fɜːst draɪft/
-Don’t tempt me; I will not change my mind.
/ˈdɔnt ˈtemp mi:/əI ˈwil nɑ: t ɪʃɛɪndʒ maɪn/

-It’s a brand new car; I paid a lot of money for it.
/ɪts ə ˈbrænd ɲjuː ˈkeɪt ə pɛɪd ə lɑːt əv ˈmæni fɔr ɪt /

-Many of these people left their homeland in search of a better life.
/ˈmeni əv dɪ:z ˈpiːpəl left dər ˈhoʊmlænd ɪn sɜːrtʃ əv ə ˈbedər laɪf/

-She planned on getting divorced.
/ʃiː ˈplænd ɔn ˈgedɪtʃ ɪn tʃˈvɜːrst/

-It’s not the end of the world – don’t cry!
/ɪts nɑː t əi ɛnd əv ə ˈwɜːrld/ˈdɔnt ˈkræt/

-I expect you to hand in the report as soon as possible.
/əI ɪkˈspekt jə tə ˈhænd ɪn ə ˌrɪpɔːrt əz suːn əz ˌpɔːsˈɪbl/

-It’s rude to burp when you are around people.
/ɪts ruːd tə ˈbɜːrp wen ʒər əˈrænd ˈpiːpəl/

-You learned a lot and you didn’t pass this test? How come?
/juː ˈlɜːnd ə ˈlɔːt ənd jə ˈdɪdənt pæs əv ˈtest ˌhæ skem/

-She’d like to go on a trip around the world.
/ʃiːd ləɪk tə ˈgoʊ ən ə ˈtrɪp əˈrænd ə ˈwɜːrld/

-Where did you find this word, young man?
/ˈwɛr dɪd jə ˈfaɪnd dɪz ˈwɜːrd ˈjʌŋ mæn/

-You’re on a tight budget, my old friend.
/ˈjər ə tæt ˈbædʒɪt maɪ ˌoʊld frend/
The /nd/ cluster occurs in three positions, before vowels, consonants and in the final position. Before vowel sounds it is identified in the following phonetic environments (appendix 2, 3, 5):

/aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /i/: /bɪ'faɪ:r hi: lɛt ðə ru:m hi:/ faʊnd ɪz fɔːst draɪft/
/a/ + /nd/ + # /i/: /ˈmeni æv ðiːz ˈpiːpəl left ðər ˈhəʊʊmlænd ɪn sə:rt əv ə 'bedər laɪft/
/a/ + /nd/ + # /ʊ/ / /ɑː/: /fɪː ˈplaʊnd ɒn ˈgedɪŋ drɪvər:st/
/a/ + /nd/ + # /ʌ/: /aɪ ɪkˈspekt jə ˈæn d hænd ɪn ðə rɪˈpɔːrt əz ˈpʊərɪbəl/

It is also identified before consonants, as in:
/aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /n/: /ɪts ə brænd njuː kə:t / əɪ ˈpeɪd ə lʊ:t əv ˈmænɪ fər ɪt/
/a/ + /nd/ + # /p/: /ɪts ruːd tə bʊːrp wen jər əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpəl/
/aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /ð/: /fɪː d lɑːk tə ɡʊð ɒn ə trɪp əˈraʊnd əʊ wɜːrld/
/a/ + /nd/ + # /θ/: /wɜːd jə faɪnd ɪts wɜːrd jəŋ mæn/

In the final position, there are merely two phonological contexts:
/a/ + /nd/: /dʊnt tempt miː / əɪ wɪl nət ˈʧɪŋdʒə r maɪ maɪnd/
/e/ + /nd/: /jər ɒn ə tɑːt ˈbædʒɪt maɪ əʊld frends/

**Phonetic environment**  **number of speakers:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>d-simplified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /ɪ/</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ + /nd/ + # /i/</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ + /nd/ + # /ʊ/</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ + /nd/ + # /ʌ/</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ + /nd/ + # /i/</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phonetic environment number of speakers: 
d-simplified

/path/ + /nd/ + # /n/, as in /brænd nju:/ 30
 pathology /ææ ææ

/path/ + /nd/ + # /p/, as in /ˈraʊnd ˈpiːpəl/ 23
pathology

/path/ + /nd/ + # /ð/, as in /ˈraʊnd ðə/ 24

/path/ + /nd/ + # /ɨ/, as in /fənd əɪs/ 2

Phonetic environment number of speakers: 
d-simplified

/path/ + /nd/, as in /matnd/ 17

WithPath

/path/ + /nd/, as in /frend/ 24

However, one of the most important variables which drew my attention the
most was the /t/ variable which occurred in a number of phonological contexts.
There are certain phonetic environments which I considered crucial to analyze.
First and foremost, I sought to analyze the variability of /t/ preceding a vowel
sound. Below I marked in bold type the phonetic environment where the
simplification might be expected although does not necessarily need to occur
(appendix 2, 3, 8).

-It’s a brand new car. I paid a lot of money for it.
/ɪts ə brænd njuː kɔːr / ai ˈpiːd ə loʊd əv ˈmʌni fɔr ɪt /

-I worked a lot on this project. Now I need to have a few hours’ rest.
/əɪ wɜːrk ə loʊt dɑːn əɪs ˈprəʊdʒekt / nɔʊ ai niːd tə hæv ə fjuː: ˈæʊər rest /

-You learned a lot and you didn’t pass the exam? How come?
/juː lɜːnd ə loʊ t ænd jə ˈdɪdənt pæs əʊ tɛst / haʊ kæm /

-He got a prize, but he deserved it.
/hɪː ɡɔːt ə prəɪz bæt hɪː diˈzɜːrv It /

-It’s a brand new car. I paid a lot of money for it.
/ɪts ə brænd njuː kɔːr / ai ˈpiːd ə loʊd əv ˈmʌni fɔr ɪt /

-I worked a lot on this project. Now I need to have a few hours’ rest.
/əɪ wɜːrk ə loʊt dɑːn əɪs ˈprəʊdʒekt / nɔʊ ai niːd tə hæv ə fjuː: ˈæʊər rest /

-You learned a lot and you didn’t pass the exam? How come?
/juː lɜːnd ə loʊ t ænd jə ˈdɪdənt pæs əʊ tɛst / haʊ kæm /

-He got a prize, but he deserved it.
/hɪː ɡɔːt ə prəɪz bæt hɪː diˈzɜːrv It /
She’s got a flair for teaching young children. However, she doesn’t like it when they swear.

-You’d better think about it before you do anything.

-Go straight ahead and turn right.

-She became as white as a sheet when she saw a ghost.

In the above contexts, /t/ is surrounded by two vowel sounds. It is a final sound in a word which follows a vowel and at the same time precedes another vowel which is an initial sound in the next word. Briefly, a pattern for the above combinations looks as follows:

\[ V + /t/ + # V \]

According to the given sentences above, there are the following combinations in which the variable /t/ is encountered respectively (appendix 8):

-\[ /\alpha:/ + /t/ + # /\alpha/ \]
-\[ /\alpha:/ + /t/ + # /\alpha:/ \]
-\[ /\alpha:/ + /t/ + # /\alpha:/ \]
-\[ /\alpha:/ + /t/ + # /\alpha:/ \]
-\[ /\alpha:/ + /t/ + # /\alpha:/ \]
-\[ /\alpha:/ + /t/ + # /\alpha:/ \]
-\[ /\alpha:/ + /t/ + # /\alpha:/ \]
-\[ /\alpha:/ + /t/ + # /\alpha:/ \]

Although the alveolar stop does not form a consonant cluster, as in /pt/, /st/, /kt/, /ft/ etc, there are a number of informants whose /t/ is either unreleased at times or even inaudible, even though it precedes a vowel sound. One of the most important queries would be about the frequency of /t/ deletion in these phonetic environments. Perhaps the best way would be to count the speakers whose /t/s
were either reduced or retained in the abovementioned phonological contexts (which is indicated in appendix 2, 3, 8). As a result in order to thoroughly analyze the realization of the plosive alveolar /t/ variable in these phonetic contexts, it would be advisable to present it in a chart with the pattern reflecting the contexts and the number of speakers who simplified the variable respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː:/ + /t/ + # /ɑ:/, as in /ə lɑː d əv/</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː:/ + /t/ + # /ɑː/, as in /ə lɑː t ən/</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː:/ + /t/ + # /ɑː/, as in /ə lɑː t ənd/</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː:/ + /t/ + # /ɑː/, as in /ɡɑː:d ə/</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː:/ + /t/ + # /ɑː/, as in /ɡɑː:d ə/</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː:/ + /t/ + # /ɑː/, as in /ɜː’baʊt ɪt/</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eɪ/ + /t/ + # /ɑː/, as in /streɪt ə’hed/</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː/ + /t/ + # /ɑː/, as in /waɪt əz/</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the observations, some of the phonetic environments are definitely more likely to facilitate or favor the simplification to occur than the others. One can state without hesitation that a phonetic environment where a plosive alveolar is surrounded by /ɑː:/ and /ɑː/ is the most favourable for the deletion of the /t/ variable to occur. Moreover, a combination of /ə/ following the variable /t/ preceded by /ɑː:/ is also characterized by the enormous amount of reduction. However, such an enormous deletion is not typical of all the contexts reflecting such a phonetic environment. Nevertheless, it is the first impression since it is observable on the surface. However, there are many arguments which could support the regularity.

There are a number of phonetic contexts where the /t/ variable precedes consonant sounds. I selected several consonants in order to analyze variation of /t/: /t/ + # C.
One of the phonetic environments in which the variable /t/ can be encountered and analyzed in terms of its realization (and deletion) is a combination where it precedes /j/, as in “treat you”, “but you”, “about you”, etc. There are three different phonetic environments in which such a combination is identified. The sound following /t/ is the same – it is an approximant palatal /j/. The sounds preceding /t/ are different. These are the following contexts where such a combination can be encountered (appendix 2, 3, 9):

- *This is a very difficult task, but you can do it.*
  /ðɪs ɪz ə veri ˈdɪftɪkəlt tæsk bæt ʤə kæn duː ɪt /

- *I treat you like that because you deserve it.*
  /aɪ trɪːt ʤə lɑɪt ʤə kəz ʤə ˈdɪzərv ɪt /

- *I’m sorry about your plight, but I was unable to help you.*
  /aɪm səˈri aˈbaʊt ʤə prəˈlaɪt bæt əɪ wəz ənˈeɪbəl tə help ʤə /

As a result there are the following phonetic environments to be distinguished (appendix 9):

- /ʌ/ + /t/ + # /j/, as in /bAt ʤə/
- /i:/ + /t/ + # /j/, as in /triːt ʤə/
- /aʊ/ + /t/ + # /j/, as in /əˈbaʊt ʤər/

Similarly, there are a number of other phonetic environments in which the plosive alveolar variable /t/ precedes /j/, but which is preceded by other sounds. Nevertheless, I decided to restrict myself to the three preceding vowels - /ʌ/, /i:/ and /aʊ/ due to the necessity of analyzing other variables as well.

What about the frequency of /t/ deletion in these phonetic environments? In which combinations is /t/ likely to be retained and in which of them is it likely to undergo deletion? The phonetic transcription of such an environment in the articulation of the informants has been presented in appendix 9.
According to the data, the variable /t/ following /i:/ and preceding the approximant palatal /j/ is the most likely to undergo simplification. In other words, /i:/ facilitated the deletion of /t/ preceding an approximant palatal consonant /j/ in these circumstances. Whereas only two informants simplified /t/ following /aʊ/, /t/ following /aʊ/ was not simplified whatsoever. Still, it definitely requires a more exhaustive explanation.

An approximant bilabial /w/ following the plosive alveolar /t/ is another source on which our analysis can be based. In the reading script, such a combination can be identified in “lot when” /lɑːt wen/ and “sheet when” /ʃiːt wen/ (appendix 2, 3, 10).

-She smoked a lot when she was a waitress.
/ʃiː smɔʊkt ə lɑːt wen fiː ʃwɛkt ə ‘weɪtrəs /

-I liked them a lot when I was little.
/ɑː laɪkt ə lɑːt wen ɑː ˈwɛzləl /

-She’s got a flair for teaching young children. However, she doesn’t like it when they swear.
/ʃiː z gɔt ə flər fər ‘tiːfɪn ˈɪldərn hæˈevər fiː ‘dɛzənt laɪk ɪt wen dɛt swər /

-She became as white as a sheet when she saw a ghost.
/ʃiː bɪˈkɛtIm əz wɛlt ə fʃiːt wen fʃi sə: ə ɡɔʊst /
There are the following phonetic environments in which the variable /t/ preceding /w/ can be encountered (appendix 10):

- /a:/ + /l/ + # /w/, as in /ə lə:t wen/
- /a:/ + /l/ + # /w/, as in /ə lə:t wen/
- /I/ + /l/ + # /w/, as in /Iə t wen/
- /i:/ + /l/ + # /w/, as in /ə jə:t wen/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-simplified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a:/ + /l/ + # /w/</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a:/ + /l/ + # /w/</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/I/ + /l/ + # /w/</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i:/ + /l/ + # /w/</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for the third combination, quite an enormous amount of simplification in the speech of the informants can be observed. Apparently an approximant bilabial /w/ favors /t/ deletion in such an environment. Although the variable /t/ which is preceded by /i:/ is characterized by less simplification as opposed to the variable /t/ which is preceded by /a:/, there is a considerable amount of simplification which occurs in this respect. However, if the plosive alveolar variable /t/ is surrounded by both /l/ and /w/ (/l/ and /w/ are adjacent sounds), there is almost no reduction to be identified. Similarly, there is a deeper insight into the incidence of /t/ deletion, which will be accounted for.

A combination of the plosive alveolar /l/ and a plosive bilabial /b/ is also attention worthy since there is also a huge amount of identifiable reduction. It occurred in the following contexts (appendix 2, 3, 11):

- I’m sorry about your plight, but I was unable to help you.
  /əm sə:ri ə’bæt jət plət bət ə wəz ən’ətəbəl tə help ə/  
- We should never let our children play with a knife since it might be dangerous.
  /wə: nəvə lət ‘auəər ‘ʧildərn plət wɪθ ə nət ənts tə mət bə: ‘dənəʤərəs /
-You’re on a tight budget, my old friend.

Although there are as many as three different contexts, there is only one phonetic environment which can be identified in his respect (appendix 11):

- /æ/ + /t/ + # /b/, as in /plæt bʌt/
  
    /maɪt biː/
    /taɪt ˈbʌdʒɪt/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/æt/ + /t/ + # /b/</td>
<td>t-simplified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/maɪt biː/</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/taɪt ˈbʌdʒɪt/</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would be a gross exaggeration to state that if the plosive alveolar variable /t/ follows the diphthong /æ/ and precedes the plosive bilabial /b/, there is also a huge amount of reduction to be identified. Although the informants were exposed to these sentences including such a combination, the phonetic environment was identical.

The plosive alveolar /t/ in the final position is also significant. Apparently the position of a final /t/ in a word also favors simplification (in other words causes simplification to occur more frequently although it is not a part of a cluster). Paradoxically, one should expect a clear articulation of /t/ in such a phonetic environment due to an obvious reason – the fact that there is no other sound and as a result no need for further effort. However, the effort for the articulation of the variable /t/ in this respect is reduced to a minimum. There are a number of sentences in which I hid such a combination with a view to eliciting its realization. These are the following sentences in which such a phonetic environment occurs (appendix 2, 3, 12).
-If you promise to ask her out, do not back out of it.
/ɪf  d prɒ:mɪs tə æsk ðə aʊt du: nət bæk aʊt əv ɪt /

-Why don’t you ask for help? Are you all right?, she asked.
/waɪ dəʊnt jə æsk frə hɛlp / ə r jə ɔːl ræt /ʃi: æsk t /

-We finally reached New York City before midnight.
/wiː ˈfaɪnəli riːʃt ɪʃ njuː ˈsɪtiː bɪfrə ˈmɪdnɔt/ 

-It’s a brand new car. I paid a lot of money for it.
/ɪts ə b्रænd njuː kɔːr / ə pæd ə lɔːd əv ˈmæni fər ɪt /

-It’s about time to get up if we don’t want to be late.
/ɪts əˈbaʊt tæɪm tə ɡet ʌp ɪf wiː dəʊnt wʊːnt tə biː lɛt /

-I know life is harsh sometimes, but what can we do about it?
/æɪ nɔʊ lɑːf ɪz hɔːr ˌsæmtæɪmz bæt wʊːt kən wiːː də əˈbaʊt ɪt /

-It’s not worth living in here. Sooner or later you’ll be fed up with it.
/ɪts əˈbaʊt taɪm tə ɡet ʌp ɪf wiːː dəʊnt wʊːnt tə biː lɛt ɪt /

-If you want to have good marks, you must work a lot.
/ɪf jə wʊːnt tə həv ɡʊd ˈmɑːrks jə mʌst wɜːrk ə ləːt /

-I treat you like that because you deserve it.
/æɪ trɪːt jə laɪk ˈdæt brˈkæz jə dɪˈzɜːrv ɪt /

-He got a prize, but he deserved it.
/hiː ɡɔːt ə praɪz bæt hiː dɪˈzɜːrv ɪt /

-I don’t think that she’ll be back until midnight.
/æɪ dəʊnt θɪŋk ə dæt ʃiːl biː bæk ænˈtɪl ˈmɪdnɔt /

-You’d better shape up or else I’ll throw you out. It’s not a threat, it’s a promise.
/ʃeɪp ər əl ˈθɪər ə pɑːz əz /nət əθrət ɪts ə prɒˈmɪz /
-Your joke was truly pathetic. That’s why it fell flat.
/ jɔr ðʒəʊk wæz ‘tru:li pə’θetɪk / ðæts wət ðt fel flæt /

-Although he is quite shy, he had enough courage to ask her out.
/ ɔ:l’dəʊ hi: ɪz kwɔt fəi hi: hæd ɪ’nʌf ‘k3:riʤ tə əsk hər aʊt /

-Don’t even breathe a word – it’s a secret.
/ doʊnt ‘i:ven bri:ð ə w3:rd / ïts ə ’siːkrət /

-Go straight ahead and turn right.
/ goʊ streθ ə’hed ən t3:rn ræt /

-You’re right. Last night she had a date.
/ ju: ɔ:r ræt / læst nɑt fi: hæd ə dɛt /

There are a number of phonetic environments where the variable /t/ can be encountered in the final position. I will make a list of these in the order in which they appear in the context and give the number of the informants who simplified the variable (appendix 12):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/aʊ/ + /t/, as in /aʊt/</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɪ/ + /t/, as in /ɪt/</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æt/ + /t/, as in /ræt/</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑt/ + /t/, as in /ɑt/</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eɪ/ + /t/, as in /eɪt/</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/et/ + /t/, as in /ɛt/</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʊ/ + /t/, as in /ʊt/</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ + /t/, as in /æt/</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/ + /t/, as in /ɑt/</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛt/ + /t/, as in /ɛt/</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɜ/ + /t/, as in /ɜt/</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑt/ + /t/, as in /mɪdnaɪt/</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑʊ/ + /t/, as in /aʊt/</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛt/ + /t/, as in /ɛt/</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the data given above, one might be confused. First of all, there are a lot of contexts reflecting the variable /t/ in the final position. Moreover, the numbers of the informants who simplified the variable /t/ in these phonetic environments are miscellaneous, ranging from very high to surprisingly low. Although the vowels which precede the variable /t/ are different, the context is similar.

Finally, there are two clusters which constitute a significant source of the investigation - these are both /rd/ and /rt/. I also had the intention of analyzing their articulation and variability in final positions and in different phonetic environments. Whereas the variable /rd/ is a combination of an approximant post-alveolar /r/ and a plosive alveolar /t/, the variable /rt/ constitutes a combination of a voiceless plosive alveolar /t/ preceded by an approximant /r/.

As far as the /rd/variable is concerned, there is also some simplification to be observed, although surprisingly, it is much more observable in a cluster where /t/ is combined with its voiceless counterpart /t/. First and foremost, let us give a short account of the /rd/ which can be identified in the following contexts (appendix 2, 3, 13-15). Similarly, the order of the contexts has been made according to the reading script.

-Don’t even breathe a word. It’s a secret.
-Good lord. He’s such a nerd. I heard it was his part.
-This story is sort of weird. Don’t start over.
-It’s hard to learn it by heart.

Potentially, the reduction should be observable in:
-Don’t even breathe a word. It’s a secret.

/dɔntˈiːvən briːðə wɔːrd/ /Itsəˈsiːkrət/
-Good lord. He's such a nerd. I heard it was his part.

/ god lɔːrd / hiːz ɔː nerd / aɪ hərd ɪt wəz hɪz pɑːrt /

-This story is sort of weird. Don't start over.

/ ðɪs ˈstɔːri ɪz ˈstɔːrt əv ˈwɜːrd / dʌnt stɔːrt əʊvər /

-It's hard to learn it by heart.

/ Its hɔːrd tə ləːrn It bæɪ hɔːrt /

Hence we deal with merely one phonetic environment in this respect, which is the following:

- [3ː] + /rd/ + # /t/:

Secondly, it also precedes a consonant, as in the following contexts (appendix 2, 3, 14). Hence there are two phonetic environments in which the cluster /rd/ is identified before consonants at word boundaries:

-It's hard to learn it by heart.

- [aː] + /rd/ + # /t/:

-He's a very weird person.

- [ɪ] + /rd/ + # /p/:

Thirdly, it can be encountered in the final position (terminally). The cluster is preceded by four different vowel sounds (appendix 2, 3, 15):

- [3ː] + /rd/

- [ɔː] + /rd/
-/e/ + /rd/
-/ɪ/ + /rd/

-Don’t even breathe a word. It’s a secret.
/ doʊnt i:vən bri:ð ə w3:rd / Its ə ‘siːkrət /

-Good lord. He’s such a nerd. I heard it was his part.
/ ɡʊd ɪdʒ ə zæt ə nɜːrd / ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜz hɪz pɑːrt /

-This story is sort of weird. Don’t start over.
/ dɪz ‘stɔːri ɪz sɔːrd əv wɜːrd / doʊnt stɔːrd ‘ɔʊvər /

With a vowel following the /rd/ cluster (appendix 13):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʌ:/ + /rd/ + /ɪ/</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above example of such a phonetic environment is not appropriate if one expects a huge amount of deletion to encounter. However, we should not exclude other environments, e.g. other vowel sounds preceding the variable /rd/ and /ɪ/, for instance /ɔ:/ or /ɑ/. Similarly, there is no reason to assume that there would be little or no reduction if the variable /rd/ preceded other vowel sounds (apart from /ɪ/), such as /ʌ:/, /ʌ/ or /æ/. 
With a consonant following the /rd/ cluster (appendix 14):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d-simplified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- /ɑ:/ + /rd/ + # /t/, as in /hɑ:rd tə/ | 1
- /l/ + /rd/ + # /p/, as in /wrd 'p3:rsən/ | 34

Finally, there are also many speakers who simplified the /rd/ cluster in the final position (appendix 15):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d-simplified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- /ɔ:/ + /rd/, as in /wɔ:rd/ | 4
- /ɔ:/ + /rd/, as in /lɔ:rd/ | 4
- /ɛ/ + /rd/, as in /nerd/ | 3
- /ɪ/ + /rd/, as in /wird/ | 20

Undoubtedly, the cluster /rd/ preceded by /l/ in this respect is characterized by considerable amount of reduction since there are as many as twenty informants whose /d/ was simplified in this phonetic environment. As far as other phonetic environments are concerned, such as the cluster /rd/ preceded by /ɔ:/, /ɛ:/ or /ɛ/, the simplification is not very frequent (the incident of /d/ deletion is relatively low).

Simplification of the /rd/ was observable in the speech of a number of speakers (at least in certain phonological contexts). Nevertheless, generally, its reduction was not as frequent as in case of /rt/ cluster (a combination of an approximant and a post-alveolar). Admittedly, this cluster is not so much indicative of simplification as its counterpart /rt/. Whereas the former constitutes a
combination of both voiced elements, the latter consists of one element which is voiced and the other which is voiceless. Surprisingly, such a combination, albeit including two different elements with regard to voicing is characterized by a great deal of simplification where the second element (a plosive alveolar consonant /t/) is usually unreleased or even unarticulated at times.

Such a cluster can be identified in the following sentences (appendix 2, 3, 16-17).

-He wiped his dirty hands on the back of his white shirt.
/ hi: waɪpt hɪz ˈdɜːrdi hænds ɒn ˈdə bæk əv hɪz wɔrt /

-I expect you to hand in the report as soon as possible.
/ aɪ ɪkˈspekt əʊ tə hænd ɪn əʊ rtˈpɔːrt əz su:n əz ˈpɔːstɜːbəl /

-If you want to be healthy, you should practice sport on a regular basis.
/ ɪf jə ˈwɜːnə bɪ: ˈhelθi jə ʃeɪd ˈprɛktɪs spɔːrt ɒn ə ˈregjʊlər ˈbeɪsts /

-Good Lord. He’s such a nerd. I heard it was his part.
/ ɡʊd lɔːrd / hi:z sʌf ə nerd / aɪ hɔːrd ɪt wɜːz hɪz pɑːrt /

-This story is sort of weird. Don’t start over.
/ ðɪs ˈstɔːri tɪz sɔːrt əv wɜːrd / doʊnt stɑːrt ˈdʊvər /

-It’s hard to learn it by heart.
/ ɪts hɑːrd tə lɜːrn ɪt bæt hɑːrt /

As can be observed, there are two phonological contexts in which the cluster is identified. First and foremost, /rt/ precedes a vowel sound, as in “sport on”, and “start over” /stɑːrt əʊvər/. Secondly, it is a final element in a word, as in “shirt” /ʃɜːrt/, “part” /pɑːrt/.

In the former, reduction might occur as follows (appendix 2, 3, 16):

-/ɔː/ + /rt/ + # /ə:/ /aɪ ɪkˈspekt əʊ tə hænd ɪn əʊ rtˈpɔːrt əz su:n əz ˈpɔːstɜːbəl/
As a result one observes two different phonetic environments of the cluster /rt/ (although one of the phonetic environments is reflected by two contexts) (appendix 16, 17):

As far as the variable /rt/ preceding another vowel is concerned, the simplification is quite common but there are also some constraints.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ɔː/ + /rt/ + # /o/</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔː/ + /rt/ + # /u/</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː/ + /rt/ + # /o/</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are different vowel sounds which surround the variable /rt/ in these contexts given above. The highest frequency of deletion is portrayed in the first combination where the variable /rt/ is preceded by /ɔː/ but which in turn precedes /ɑː/. Apart from that, there is also a considerable amount if reduction of the /rt/ which is preceded by /ɔː/ but where one of the following vowel sounds is /u/. However, one does not identify any reduction of the variable /rt/ which neighbors with /ɑː/ on the left and a diphthong /oʊ/ on the right.
It is evident that there is a huge amount of simplification of the variable /rt/ in the final position. Irrespective of the preceding vowel sound, the final /t/ undergoes frequent deletion. In these phonetic environments, there are apparently no constraints as to the simplification of the variable /rt/.

As one can observe, the percentage of simplification is miscellaneous and differs according to the properties of the sounds and their phonetic environments. In some of them, the amount of reduction is considerable; in others one can hardly identify it or it is identifiable but to a lesser extent. However, there are a number of sounds the properties of which are the same but which at the same time vary according to the frequency of simplification. One of the most important queries would be why the occurrence of simplification varies so extensively. How is it possible that some of the variables are simplified so frequently and the simplification of the others is barely noticeable? Similarly, how is it plausible that the variable is often simplified in this phonetic context but the same variable is not simplified at all in that phonetic context? One of the answers would be that some variables are more likely to undergo reduction as opposed to the others where simplification is not so common. Moreover, one might state that under specific phonetic environments deletion of a particular variable is more likely to occur than the deletion of the same variable in another phonetic environment. Nevertheless, such conclusions are quite general. A deeper insight into the analysis of the abovementioned variables would definitely help us understand the phenomenon. It would be right to analyze the variability and endeavor to account for the miscellaneous frequency of deletion.

Let us take the realization (the amount of simplification) of the variables into consideration and concentrate on other reasons of their simplification. First and
foremost, let us give a deeper insight into the analysis of a V + /t/ + # V at word boundaries combination and try to account for the frequency of /t/ deletion in the abovementioned contexts. One thing which is common is the fact that the plosive alveolar /t/ is surrounded by two vowel sounds. However, the vowel sounds which both precede and follow /t/ are numerous ranging from simple vowels, such as /a:/, /ə/, /ɔ/ to diphthongs, such as /aʊ/, /eɪ/ and /aɪ/.

Perhaps the best thing we can do is to put forward a reasonable assumption. Let us assume that deletion is more likely to occur only if the sound which is supposed to undergo deletion can be omitted (deleted in this respect) but the deletion of which must not lead to any confusion. In other words, if the deletable variable were not articulated or were articulated very unclearly (or is unreleased), the word would still be known since other words would not be relevant in the context.

Another assumption pertains to the replacement of one sound with other sounds. First of all, the analysis of replacing the variables with others (albeit irrelevant phonemes) would definitely be pointless. As a result replacing one variable with any other one would definitely be insufficient and as a result futile. Therefore the only variables (these other inputs) which will be taken into consideration will be those which are relevant in terms of forming another word and maintaining a correct sentence. For instance, in the word *late*, replacing the final variable /t/ with another one, such as /m/ would lead us to forming another word which can be found in the English lexicon. As a result the sound /m/ is relevant in this respect since it gives rise to the formation of another word (and a new meaning). Similarly, /k/ would be another sound which is definitely relevant in this respect since it forms another word – *lake* /leɪk/. However, whereas the former does not seem to cause any problems, the influence of the latter is a little confusing since it contributes to the formation of a new word but at the same time to changing the part of speech. In other words, if we replace the final /t/ with /m/ we obtain another word, but the part of speech is retained (it is still an adjective although it can also be a verb). If, however, we replace the final /t/ in *late* /leɪt/ with another input /k/, what we do is not only change the meaning of the word but also the part of speech (what we obtain is a noun). In the explanation of further analysis, it will be of significance at times as well. In the attempt of explaining the
miscellaneous percentage of reductions, phonological variability will be taken into consideration. Still, it will be accounted for in correlation with both morphology and syntax. Let us analyze the following example:

-She's wearing a white shirt today.

In the word “white” we can identify a variable /t/ which can be substituted with a number of other variables, such as /d/, /f/, /l/, /n/, /p/, /z/. Thus we form a number of new words and new meanings, such as wide /waɪd/, wife /waɪf/, while /waɪl/, whine /waɪn/, wipe /waɪp/ and wise /waɪz/ respectively. As we can observe, there are a number of other sounds which can substitute the original input /t/. As a result we are faced with several new words (meanings of words). However, it is also significant which of the abovementioned words could replace the original “white”. It is obvious that the relevance of the word substitution hinges on the part of speech as well. Since the original word is an adjective, the only word which can substitute it is the adjective as well in order to maintain a grammatically correct clause.

Hence the frequency or incidence of simplification could be compatible with the substitution of other variables, which would also theoretically fit the context and which could cause formation of other words whose part of speech is still retained.

Why not verify if the assumptions pertains to the data and the results which have been obtained in the interviews. With a view to analyzing variability, let us present the percentage of deletion pertaining to particular variables. The total number of the informants who participated in the interview is eighty.

The first phonological variable pertains to the /nd/ cluster in several phonetic contexts (the occurrence of /nd/ cluster before vowel sounds, consonants and also in the final position is identified). The reduction of the final /d/ in the /nd/ cluster varies as well, ranging from 0 to as many as 35. (appendix 5-7). There are certain phonetic environments for each of them. There are the following phonetic environments where the /nd/ cluster is surrounded by vowel sounds at word boundaries:
There are the following phonetic environments where the /nd/ cluster is preceded by vowels and precedes consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d-simplified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| /æ/ + /nd/ + # /l/ | as in /brænd nju:/ | 30 |
| /aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /p/ | as in /ˈraʊnd ˈpiːpɔl/ | 23 |
| /aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /ɔ/ | as in /ˈraʊnd əɔ/ | 24 |
| /ɑː/ + /nd/ + # /ɔ/ | as in /faʊnd ɔɪs/ | 2 |
Finally, there are merely two phonological contexts where the /nd/ cluster, which is preceded by vowels occurs in the terminal positions. These are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d-simplified</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ + /nd/ + # /n/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /p/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /θ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aɪ/ + /nd/ + # /θ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aɪ/ + /nd/ + # /θ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetics</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ + /nd/ + # /n/</td>
<td>37,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /p/</td>
<td>28,75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /θ/</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aɪ/ + /nd/ + # /θ/</td>
<td>2,5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As far as the vowels following the /nd/ cluster (and in fact preceding the cluster) are concerned, the amount of reduction is miscellaneous – ranging from 0 to 35. There is no reduction to be identified in the following context /æ/ + /nd/ + #
/ɔ/ or /ɑː/, as in /plænd ɔn/, which is obvious in this respect: the cluster constitutes a grammatical morpheme the reduction of which is expected to be rare (if it had been reduced, first of all, the tense would be unknown). Thus it would be uncommon to encounter deletion of /d/ (which constitutes a grammatical morpheme, especially among middle class informants in quite formal circumstances, such as reading sentences. Although there is no time reference in this context which might confirm the tense, it is obvious that the variable /n/ should be realized as /nd/ in order to mark the tense and maintain a fully correct sentence. There is, however, much deletion in the second environment: /æ/ + /nd/ + # /ɻ/, as in /ˈhoʊmlænd ɪn/, where there are as many as 35 deletions. First and foremost, homeland could equally be a final word and the sentence would still be correct. Moreover, the context is sufficient and as a result deleting the final element would not cause any confusion. Finally, there are not many other phonemes which could be used instead of the original /d/ in the /nd/ cluster. As a result the final element (which was reduced) is somewhat predictable.

There is also high incidence of deletion in the first three phonological contexts where the /nd/ cluster precedes a consonant; such as the following: /æ/ + /nd/ + # /n/, as in /brænd njuː/, /aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /p/, as in /ˈrɑʊnd ˈpiːpəl/, /ɑʊ/ + /nd/ + # /ð/, as in /ˈrɑʊnd əʊ wɜːrld/ and /aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /ɻ/, as in /ʃænd ɻɪə wɜːrd/. As one can observe, in the second and the third one there is the same word in which the /nd/ cluster occurs – it is “around”. Although apparently, both /p/ and /ð/ favor the deletion of /d/ in this respect. The sounds preceding the cluster should not be unnoticed. In /aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /ɻ/, as in /ʃænd ɻɪə wɜːrd/, the preceding variable is the diphthong /aʊ/. Still, in these circumstances it is quite predictable since there are not many other variables which could be replaced with the original /aʊ/. If, however, it were not for /ɜː/ in the initial position, the diphthong /eɪ/ would give rise to the formation of “rained”, which, nevertheless, be devoid of any sense in this respect. Similarly there are not many other elements apart from /d/ in the /nd/ cluster which could substitute the original /d/ and form another word which could be appropriate in the context. The first context is also characterized by high incidence of /d/ reduction. It is even more understandable since the /nd/ cluster
(which is a combination of a nasal consonant and an alveolar stop) precedes a nasal consonant again, which by no means should inhibit deletion to occur. Hence even though deletion does occur in these environments, it does not lead to any confusion or misunderstanding:

\[ /ææ ææ / + /n/ + # /n/, \text{ as in } /bræn d nju:/ \]

\[ /aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /p/, \text{ as in } /əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpəl/ \]

\[ /aʊ/ + /nd/ + # /ð/, \text{ as in } /əˈraʊnd ə w3ːrd/ \]

If we simplify the cluster by reducing the /d/m what we get is:

\[ /ææ ææ / + /n/ + # /n/, \text{ as in } /bræn nju:/ \]

\[ /aʊ/ + /n/ + # /p/, \text{ as in } /əˈraʊn ˈpiːpəl/ \]

\[ /aʊ/ + /n/ + # /ð/, \text{ as in } /əˈraʊd ə w3ːrd/ \]

which still does not bring forth any undesirable confusion.

Even though we replaced the whole cluster with another variable, there would not be many other possibilities of forming new meanings of the words.

Nevertheless, the last phonetic environment \[ /ææ ææ / + /nd/ + # /ð/, \text{ as in } /fænd ə w3ːrd/ \], is not favorable for the deletion of /d/ to occur. Still, the /d/ constitutes a part of a cluster (although its deletion would not lead to confusion). If, however, the /nd/ cluster were substituted with another input (variable), such as /l/, /t/, /v/, /n/, we would form several new words and thus new meanings, where most of them would fit the context.

Eventually, in the last two phonetic environments, the /nd/ cluster occurs in the final position. There is also relatively huge simplification in both of them. The explanation is similar – if we replaced the final elements in the cluster, there would not be many other words. The absence of the final element does not impede understanding. Apart from the context which is sufficient, the words (both “mind” and “friend”) are quite predictable. Since the meanings of the words are predictable, the final elements in the /nd/ cluster are predictable as well.

Another phonological context looks as follows: \[ V + /t/ + # V \] (appendix 2, 3, 8). There are certain sentences where the plosive alveolar /t/ can be identified in such an environment (the plosive alveolar /t/ which is surrounded by two vowels).
-It’s a brand new car. I paid a lot of money for it.

/ɪts ə brænd njuː kɑːr / ə pɛɪd ə lɑːd əv ˈmæni fɔr ɪt/

-I worked a lot on this project; now I need to have a few hours’ rest.

/æɪ wɜːrk a lɑːt ən lɑːkt ə prəˈdʒekt / naʊ ə nɪd tə hæv ə fjuː: ˈæʊərz rɛst/

-You learned a lot and you didn’t pass the test. How come?

/lʌ:rn d ə lɑːt ənd jə ˈdɪdnt pæs ðə tɛst / hæt kæm/

-He’s got a prize, but he deserved it.

/hɪ: gɑːt ə prɑːtiz bət hɪ: diˈzɜːrv ɪt/

-She’s got a flair for teaching young children. However, she doesn’t like it when they swear.

/ʃi:z ɡɑːt ə flər fɔr ˈtiːɬɪŋ dʒən ˈtʃɪldrən / hæoˈevər ʃiː ˈdɛzənt laɪk ɪt wɛn dɛɪ swer/

-You’d better think about it before you do anything.

/ʃəd ˈbedər θɪŋ kəˈbaʊt ɪt brɪˈfɔːr jə duː ˈeniθɪŋ/

-Go straight ahead and turn right.

/ɡʊʃ streɪt əˈhed ən tɜːr rɔrt/

-She became as white as a sheet when she saw a ghost.

/ʃiː brɪˈkeɪm əz wɔt əz ə fiːt wɛn ʃi sɔː ə ɡuːst/

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It is evident that the second and third environment are the only where simplification of the apical stop /t/ is the most noticeable (appendix 8). Even though vowels /ɑː/ and /ə/ are preceded by /t/, still the /t/ undergoes deletion. However, the deletion of /t/ would be more justified if the following sound were a consonant since it probably involves more effort to articulate the plosive alveolar /t/ if it was surrounded by a vowel on the left and by a consonant on the right (albeit at word boundary), as in tight budget /ˈtaɪt ˈbaɪdʒət/, white shirt /ˈwaɪt ˈʃaɪrt/, meet friends /miːt frɛndz/ etc..

However, there are some reasons which could account for the deletion of the plosive alveolar /t/ preceded by a vowel and at the same time preceding another vowel, which is the case in the second and third phonological context.
First and foremost, it should be pointed out that in both the second and the third contexts, the first four words can undeniably constitute separate and independent sentences. In other words, the rest could be cut off and we would still be left with a correct sentence, as in:
- I worked a lot.
- Now I need to have a few hours’ rest.

- You learned a lot.
- You didn’t pass the test.

As a result in the former, “on this project…” and in the latter “and you didn’t pass the test …” could equally constitute separate, independent clauses in which case no rules would be violated. The only difference is that in the former a prepositional phrase on this project constitutes an optional complementation and in the latter, a conjunction and joins two independent entities. Hence in:
- You learned a lot and you didn’t pass the test, we can distinguish two independent clauses joined by a conjunction “and”.

- You learned a lot
  - you didn’t pass the test

In -I worked a lot on this project and Now I need to have a few hours’ rest, it is also possible to identify two independent clauses, but the situation is different a little bit since in the first clause we also have an optional prepositional phrase “on this project”.

As a result the final /t/ is a final element in lot in both contexts which in turn could be a final word in the sentence (if we were to make two independent clauses in each of them).

Apart from that, the truth is that there are not many other variables which would replace the plosive alveolar /t/ in the original word lot. For instance, it could be a plosive velar /k/ [t/ - /k/]. Hence what we get is lock /lɑːk/, instead of lot /lɑːt/. Although structurally, it would be correct to replace lot with lock since we would come up with I worked a lock or You learned a lock. Nevertheless, it would not make much sense. Moreover, as I mentioned above, such modifications would be rare in this respect since there are not many variables which could be used interchangeably instead of the original plosive alveolar /t/, as in lot. Moreover,
although the /t/ undergoes simplification in the contexts above, the absence of /t/ in the articulation neither causes unnecessary confusion nor impedes understanding. What is equally important is the intonation which also divides the whole sentence into two segments:

\(/\text{aI w3:rkt } \partial \text{l\text{aI}:t/ and } /\text{dn } \delta \text{I}s \text{ 'pr\text{aI}:d\text{zekt/}}\)

However, the first phonological context is also similar:

"It’s a brand new car. I paid a lot of money for it."

\(/\text{Its } \partial \text{ br\text{\ae}nd nju: k\partial:r / aI } \text{p\text{eI}d } \partial \text{l\text{q}:d } \partial \text{v } \text{ 'm\text{\aa}ni f\text{\ae}r } \text{t}/\)

In fact it is identical to the third one: \(/\text{q:\text{I/ } + /d/ } + \# /\text{aI/}. What is confusing is the fact that as far as the first environment is concerned, there is no deletion whatsoever (none of the speakers deleted or simplified the alveolar stop /t/ in this context). Still, apparently, the preposition of /\text{av/} determines a clear articulation of the /t/ here.

The remaining phonological contexts are characterized by little or in fact almost no deletion whatsoever. What is striking is the fact that there is one phonetic environment which is identical to the ones previously discussed (the one where deletion occurs) in which deletion is not identified. It pertains to the fourth and fifth phonological context, which is also undeniably identical but which is deprived of deletion of the plosive alveolar /t/, as in the following:

"He’s got a prize, but he deserved it."

\(/\text{hi: g\text{\text{aI}:t } \text{a pra\text{I}z b\text{\text{\ae}}t hi: di’z\text{\text{3:rvd }t}/}\)

"She’s got a flair for teaching young children. However, she doesn’t like it when they swear."

\(/\text{fi:z g\text{\text{aI}:t } \text{a f\text{\text{\ae}}r } ‘\text{ti:}'\text{f\text{n}\text{j\text{\aa}n ‘}\text{fI}\text{ldr\text{\ae}n / h\text{\text{\ae}}v\text{\text{\ae}}r }\text{f\text{i: } ‘}\text{d\text{\text{\aa}\text{\text{\ae}}nt l\text{\text{\aa}I }t\text{\text{\ae}}n }\text{\text{\text{\ae}}I }\text{sw\text{\text{\ae}}r/}\)

A combination of \(/\text{a:\text{I/ } + /t/ } + \# /\text{d/} is a context which definitely favors the deletion to occur (there are as many as 33 informants in the second context) and 19 in the third one who simplified /t/ accordingly).

However, one observes that whereas in the second and third one there is high incidence of deletion, in the fourth and fifth one there is no deletion whatsoever. Given that the phonetic environment is the same, it seems that there is a sort of irregularity, which is difficult to explain. If, however, we take the previously
mentioned analysis into consideration (the analysis based on the premise that if we can extract an independent sentence in which the deletable element (variable) does not cause any confusion) we will conclude that in both

-He’s got a prize, but he deserved it.

/hiː gət ə prætʃ bæt hiː di’zərvd ɪt/

and

-She’s got a flair for teaching young children. However, she doesn’t like it when they swear.

/lɪz gət ə flɛr fər ‘tɪəfɪŋ jʌŋ ‘ʧɪldrən / hæt evər ʃiː ‘dæzænt læɪk ɪt wen dɛI swɛr/

we must not extract any separate or independent sentences from other independent sentences, as it would definitely be erroneous (it would lead to the formation of ill-formed clauses). In the majority of the contexts given above, there should be a complementation in order to make a grammatically correct sentence. The point is that initially, as far as the fourth and fifth contexts are concerned, there is probably insufficient context for the deletion of the /t/ in got /gət/ to occur. Although, there are not many variables which could replete the plosive alveolar /t/ (and as a result the frequent deletion of the /t/ variable could be justified in this respect), it is the context which is undeniably too insufficient due to which deletion of the plosive alveolar /t/ might not have occurred.

As far as the first context is concerned, the deletable plosive alveolar /t/ which also precedes a vowel /ə/ as in lot of /lə:d əv/, is not subject to any deletion either. Although the word lot /lə:t/ could constitute the final word and as a result the /t/ would be the final element, and we would be left with: I paid a lot /aɪ peɪd ə ɪ:lə:(t)/, in which case the deletion of /t/ would not lead to lack of comprehension, the huge amount (a lot) is complemented by specifying what. As a result if we are faced with the phrase a lot of, the final apical stop /t/ in lot is definitely audible in this respect. In this case, one should rather analyze the context /aɪ peɪd ə lə:d/ including /əv/ - /aɪ peɪd ə lə:d əv/.

In -You’d better think about it before you do anything.

/ jəd ‘bedər θɪŋk ə’bæʊt ɪt bɪ’foʊ jə duː ‘eniθɪŋ /

the plosive alveolar /t/ in about /ə’bæʊt/ is not reduced whatsoever. Nonetheless, if it underwent simplification, we would be left with a bow /ə baʊ/. 
Similarly the context /eI/ + /l/ + # /ə/ encompasses a similar pattern where the variable /t/ also precedes /ə/ but is preceded by /eI/ instead.

-Go straight ahead and turn right / goʊ streɪt əˈhed ən tɜːrm ræɪt /
we do not observe high incidence of deletion either.

Finally /aːt/ is another diphthong which precedes the variable /t/ which in turn precedes /ə/.

-She became as white as a sheet when she saw a ghost.
/ʃiː bɪˈkeɪm əz wætə z ə fiːt wen fiː sə ə goʊst/

As we can observe, all the three contexts, where /t/ is preceded by a diphthong and which precedes either /t/ or /ə/ are not very favorable for the deletion to occur.

The /t/ variable can also be encountered in a number of other phonetic environments in which it precedes consonants.

As far as the pattern V + /t/ + # /j/ is concerned, there are three phonological contexts where it can be observed. First and foremost, there is the following combination:
/A/ + /t/ + # /j/, as in:
-It’s a very difficult task, but you can do it.
/ðɪs ɪz ə veəri ˈdɪfɪkəlt tæsk bæt jə kæn duː ðiː /

Apart from that, there are two other phonological contexts in which /t/ can be observed in this respect (where it precedes /j/ and is preceded by three different vowel sounds):
/Aʊ/ + /t/ + # /j/
-I’m sorry about your plight but I was unable to help you.
/aɪm sərɪ bɑːʊt dʒə plæɪt bæt əɪ wəz ənˈeɪbəl tə ʜɛlp dʒə/

/iː:/ + /t/ + # /j/, as in:
-I treat you like that because you deserve it.
/aɪ trɪːt dʒə laɪk ət bɪˈkɛz jə dɪˈzɜːrv ðə/
In summary, there are three different sounds which precede the /t/ + # /j/ pattern, /aʊ/ and /iː/. However, the only phonological context in which a relatively considerable amount of deletion occurred is the third one since there were as many as 12 speakers who deleted /t/ (as opposed to other environments):

/iː/ + /t/ + # /j/, as in:
-I treat you like that because you deserve it.
/aɪ triː t jʊ laɪk dʒæt bɪ’kæz jʊ dɹ’zəːv ɪt/

One might wonder why the /t/ in this context is subject to deletion. First of all, the omission of /t/ in *treat* does not undoubtedly leave us with a confusing word since it is still known as *treat* /triːt/. Although the final /t/ is unreleased in the context, we still know that it is “*treat*”. Apart from that, there are not many variables which would substitute the original variable /t/, such as /z/, as in *trees* /triːz/. It would definitely be erroneous to use *trees* /triːz/ here (structurally, *I trees* /aɪ triːz/ would definitely be ill-formed, as in *I trees you like that because you*
deserve it). It is inevitable that the subject I should precede a verb rather than a noun in this respect. As a result in I treat you ... , if we modified the second context by replacing /i:/ with /t/ and /t/ with other phonemes (deletable or non-deletable), there are a number of other words which we could come up with, such as trim /trɪml/, trick /trɪk/, trill /trɪl/, trip /trɪp/. If it were the case, we might expect less deletion to occur (naturally assuming that the final phonemes are subject to deletion as well) since if the final sound was deleted, it might not be so clear which word it is (especially if the context is insufficient). In other words, the potential deletion of the alveolar stop /t/ in this respect might cause unnecessary confusion or misunderstanding and therefore the deletion would not be observable.

In the first context, where /t/ is preceded by /N/ and precedes /j/, as in the pattern (/N/ + /t/ + # /j/), as in:

-It’s a very difficult task, but you can do it.

/ðɪz ɪə vərɪˈdɪfɪkəlt ˈtɛsk bæt ʃə kɛn dʊ /t /,

there are merely two informants who deleted the plosive alveolar /t/ in this respect. However, even though the context is sufficient, there are a number of other variables which could replace /t/, such as the following: /m/, /d/, /l/, /l/, /s/, /z/, as in bum /bʌm/, bud /bʌd/, bug /bʌɡ/, buff /bʌf/, bun /bʌn/, bus /bʌs/, buzz /bʌz/ accordingly.

Admittedly, most of the abovementioned variables would contribute to the formation of a number of other words which could equally substitute the original word but /bʌt/ and even still maintain a grammatically and syntactically well-formed sentence with the appropriate intonation (at least some of them).

Another phonological context also encompasses the /t/ which is preceded by vowel sounds, but which precedes a consonant /w/ (appendix 10):

There are the following sentences which reflect the abovementioned phonological contexts:

/a:/ + /t/ + # /w/: /fiː smaʊkt ə lɑːt wen ʃiː wɜːrkt əz ə ˈwɛɪtrəs/

/aː/ + /t/ + # /w/: /aɪ lɑːkt əʊm ə lɑːt wen aɪ wəz ˈɪdəl/

/ɪ/ + /t/ + # /w/: /ʃiː z ɡɑːt ə fler fər ˈtɪːfɪŋ jæŋ ˈfɪldræn / hæˈevər ʃiː ˈdæzənt ˈlæɪk

It wen ˈdɛɪ swɛrt/
According to the data given above, we can identify quite a huge amount of deletion in three contexts in this respect (except for the third one). In the word *lot*, which appeared in the previous contexts, the plosive alveolar /t/ becomes deleted again; however, it precedes an approximant bilabial /w/ in this respect. We do not need any attempt to account for this phenomenon since the explanation could probably be the same as the one which had been given previously (where the /t/ was surrounded by two vowel sounds on both sides). In the sentence:

*She smoked a lot when she worked as a waitress,*

/ʃi: smɔkt ə lə:t wen ʃi: w3:rtk əz ə ‘wɛtˈtræs/  

*when she worked as a waitress* is an additional piece of information. Although *She smoked a lot* /ʃi: smɔkt ə lə:t/ is complemented, it could equally stand on its own,
as an independent clause, as in *She smoked a lot* /ʃi: smʊkt ə lɑːt/. Although the final variable /t/ in *lot* /lɑːt/ undergoes deletion, it does apparently not impede comprehension. In fact there are not many other sounds which could fit in the context. A similar situation pertains to the second context, as in:

*I liked them a lot when I was little.*

/ɑːl + /t/ + # /w/: /aɪ laɪkt dəm ə lɑːt wen wəz ˈwɪldəl/

in which *I liked them a lot* is a correctly formed clause which is complemented by another one – *when I was little*.

In the fourth context, where the deletion is also observable (although the quantity of deletion is not so considerable anymore), the situation is similar. In this case, the deletable plosive alveolar /t/, which is the final element in *sheet* /ʃiːt/ was deleted by 14 informants. First of all, there are not many other variables which would substitute /t/ in this respect (apart from /n/, /z/, /p/ or /θ/; as in *sheen* /ʃiːn/, *shees* /ʃiːs/, *sheep* /ʃiːp/, or *sheath* /ʃiːθ/). As a result there are not many variables (deletable or non-deletable) which could lead us to unnecessary confusion. The conditions for the deletion are especially favorable as *sheet* could be the final word in the sentence and there is not any risk of changing the meaning. If you become very *white*, you definitely compare the fact of becoming white to a *sheet* /ʃiːt/ and not to e.g. *sheep* /ʃiːp/ or *sheath* /ʃiːθ/. As a result the final /t/ in *sheet* has underwent reduction (it was unreleased).

There is, however, one phonological context where there is almost no reduction whatsoever: /t/ + /t/ + # /w/, as in:

*She’s got a flair for teaching young children. However, she doesn’t like it when they swear* /ʃiːz ɡɑːt ə fler fɔr ‘tiːʃiŋ jʌŋ ‘ʃɪldrɛn / haʊ’evər fiː ‘dəzənt laɪk ɪt wen dəI swɛr/.

Although *She doesn’t like it* /ʃiː: ‘dəzənt laɪk ɪt/ would be a fully correct sentence (and as a result the deletion of the plosive alveolar /t/ would be expected), if it were not for the complementation (*when they swear* /wen dəI swɛr/), we would still be confused as to what is the thing that “she doesn’t like”. Therefore, the deletion of the plosive alveolar /t/ in *She became as white as a sheet* seems to be relatively justified. Similarly, the deletion of /t/ in *I worked a lot on this project.*
Now I need to have a few hours’ rest should definitely be expected more frequently than the deletion of /t/ in e.g. She doesn’t like it when they swear.

Moreover, there is a phonological context where the variable /t/ is surrounded by the diphthong /aɪ/ on the left and by /b/ on the right. There were the following contexts in which such a pattern (phonological context) appeared (appendix 11):

- I’m sorry about your plight, but I was unable to help you.
  /aɪm sɔːri əˈbaʊt jər plaɪt bʌt aɪ wɜz ənˈɜːtɪdəl tə help jə/  

- We should never let our children play with a knife since it might be dangerous.
  /wiː ʃəd ˈnɪvr let ə ˈʃɪldrən plaɪ wɪə nəft sɪns ɪt maɪt biː ˈdiːnʤərəs/  

- You’re on a tight budget, my old friend.
  /ə ˈtɛnd biː/  

Phonetic environment

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<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
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/t/-deletion in: V + /t/ + # C

- /ɑt/ + /t/ + # /b/ in /plaɪt bʌt/  
- /ɑt/ + /t/ + # /b/ in /maɪt biː/  
- /ɑt/ + /t/ + # /b/ in /tæt ˈbædʒɪ/
As one can easily observe, the only context in which there is a considerable amount of deletion is the first one - /aɪm sɔːri əˈbaʊt ʃər plæt ət ə wəz ənˈeɪbəl tə help jə/. Although the phonological context is even identical, it is even more surprising that the amount of deletion in the same phonological context is so various. There is also some deletion to be observed in the third environment, although the incidence of deletion is not as noticeable as in the first context (43 speakers). In the first context, *but* /bɑːt/ is a conjunction and it joins two independent sentences. As a result we obtain two simple sentences, such as the following:

- "I'm sorry about your plight /aɪm sɔːri əˈbaʊt ʃər plæt/"
- "I was unable to help you /ət ə wəz ənˈeɪbəl tə help jə/"

Admittedly, the final /t/ in *plaint* /plæt/ could equally be qualified as the variable which occurs in the final position. Intonation also confirms the idea that the word *plaint* /plæt/ could equally constitute a final word item in the sentence. *But* is merely a conjunction which joins two independent clauses and makes the sentence complex. Moreover, if we wished to replace the variable /t/ with other variables, we would definitely not have many possibilities. Therefore the simplification of /t/ in *plaint* would definitely not lead to any confusion.

The second context is characterized by almost no deletion at all. In the third one, we cannot identify much simplification either, although there are seven deletions of /t/ in the third one. The second context looks as follows:

/wiː ʃəd ˈnevər lɛt əˈʃəːdrən ˈpleɪ wət ə naɪf ʃɪns ɪt maɪt biː ˈdeɪndʒərəs/  
/ljər ə tæt ˈbaʊt maɪt maɪ oʊld frɛnd/

The /t/ in *might be* is not reduced since we would be faced with *may be*. Although it is implausible to form such a combination (and thus the deletion would not cause much confusion since *be* can only be preceded by a modal verb), the reduction is not identified in this respect, however. There are, however, certain variables, which could replace the plosive alveolar /t/, such as /sl/, /kl/, /nl/, /n/, as in *mice* /maɪs/, *mice* /maɪk/, *mime* /maɪm/, *mine* /maɪn/, it might apparently be of some significance as well.

In the third context, although there is certain deletion to be identified, it is definitely not as noticeable as, e.g., in the first phonetic environment. It is undeniable that *budget my old friend* cannot constitute an optional
complementation of You’re on a tight since tight definitely needs complementation (in fact You’re on a tight needs a complementation). Apart from that, there are some other variables instead of /t/ which could be used, such as /l/, /m/, /d/, /k/, /p/, as in tile /taɪl/, time /taɪml/, tide /taɪd/, tyke /taɪk/, type /taɪp/, and even /θ/, as in tythe /taɪθ/. As a result low incidence of deletion of the plosive alveolar /t/ in this context can be regarded as accounted for, at least to some extent.

There are numerous contexts where the variable /t/ occurs in the final position (and is preceded by a number of other variables). In fact there are as many as 19 different environments where the plosive alveolar /t/ is encountered in the final position. The number of deletions is miscellaneous, ranging from 0 to 58 (appendix 12).

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<td>/ɪ/ + /t/, as in /ɪt/</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑ/ + /t/, as in /ɑt/</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɪ/ + /t/, as in /ɪt/</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɪ/ + /t/, as in /ɪt/</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑɪ/ + /t/, as in /mɪndət/</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑʊ/ + /t/, as in /ɑʊt/</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/ + /t/, as in /θret/</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/ + /t/, as in /flæt/</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑʊ/ + /t/, as in /ɑʊt/</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ə/ + /t/, as in /ˈsi:kət/</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑɪ/ + /t/, as in /raɪt/</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑɪ/ + /t/, as in /raɪt/</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eɪ/ + /t/, as in /deɪt/</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
First and foremost, one can observe that there is a high incidence of deletion of the /t/ variable which is preceded by a diphthong /a\-w/. Similarly, a diphthong /e\-w/ apparently also gives rise to a huge amount of elision. The deletion of the /t/ is the most observable (the incidence of /t/ deletion is the highest) in *I don’t think that she’ll be back until midnight*. It is obvious that the plosive alveolar /t/ is the only variable which can constitute a part of the whole word *midnight*. As a result although the final input /t/ is unarticulated or unreleased, it does not cause much confusion.
Apart from that, there is also a huge amount of simplification in the realization of the plosive alveolar /t/ which is preceded by both /a/ and /e/ in the final position right /rat/ and date /det/, as in:

-Go straight ahead and turn right.
/goʊ stɹeɪt əˈhed ən tɹænt rat/

-You’re right. Last night she had a date.
/juː ər rat ˈlæst næt fɪ: hæd ə ˈdeɪt/

Undeniably, the absence of /t/ in its realization would not bring forth much confusion. Although there are other sounds which go together with /rat/, such as /sl/, /d/, /l/, /m/, /f/, /z/, as in rice /raɪs/, ride /raɪd/, rife /raɪf/, rile /raɪl/, rime /raɪm/, ripe /raɪp/, rise /raɪz/, syntactically there are not many which could be used instead of right since syntactically, the sentence would be erroneous. Therefore, huge amount of simplification of the plosive alveolar /t/ seems to be justified in this respect.

The last phonetic environment is also significant since there also occurs high incidence of reduction. There are 45 informants who deleted the final plosive alveolar /t/. Let us enumerate other variables instead of /t/. These might be the following: /l/, as in dale /deɪl/, /m/, as in dame /deɪm/, /n/, as in Dane /deɪn/, /t/, as in dare /der/, /z/, as in days /deɪz/ etc. In fact the matter is there are not many words given above which could substitute the original word date /deɪt/, as in:

-You’re right. Last night she had a date /juː ər rat ˈlæst næt fɪ: hæd ə ˈdeɪt/.

Some of them would cause an ill-formed sentence, as in She had a days. Others, on the other hand, would not make much sense, as in She had a Dane. Thus even though the plosive alveolar /t/ undergoes reduction, as in date, still one knows that it is the word date and not other words which might contribute to a possible confusion.

Similarly, as in It’s about time to get up if we don’t want to be late /ɪts əˈbaʊt tæɪm tə gɪt æp ɪf wiː dɒʊnt wənt tə biː ˈleɪt/, the final /t/ in late is the variable which is undeniably subject to considerable deletion. Undoubtedly, there is a good deal of deletion in this phonological context as well (there are as many as 41 informants who simplified the plosive alveolar /t/ in late). Let us make a list of other possible
variables which could equally replace the original variable /t/, as in “late”. These are the following: /s/, /d/, /m/, /n/, /ð/, as in lace /leɪs/, laid /leɪd/, lame /leɪm/, lain /leɪn/, lathe /leɪð/ accordingly. Although there are certain words which could be used in the context, such as lame /leɪm/ etc, the percentage of confusion with other words (if /t/ is unarticulated) is not high whatsoever.

As far as other phonetic contexts are concerned, the deletion is hardly observable.

Finally, there are also environments where the variable /t/ constitutes an element in a consonant cluster. These are both /rd/ and /rt/ clusters in a number of phonetic environments. As far as the former is concerned, it is preceded by certain vowel sounds, such as /æ:/, /ɔː:/, /e/ and /ə/. It is analyzed in three different environments – when it precedes a consonant, a vowel sound or when it occurs in the final position (in which case no other sounds follow the cluster).

Before a consonant, the /rd/ cluster occurs in the following phonological contexts (appendix 14):

/ɑː/ /rd/ + # /t/: /tʃ ɜːrd tɔ l3:rm ɪt bɜːrt/

/ɻ/ /rd/ + # /p/: /ʃ əʊ ɜːrd ˈpɜːrn/

With a consonant following the /rd/ cluster (appendix 14):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d-simplified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː/:+ /rd/ + # /t/, as in /hɑːrd tɔ/</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɻ/ /rd/ + # /p/, as in /wɜrd ˈpɜːrn/</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is huge amount of deletion in the second phonetic environment since there are as many as 34 informants who simplified /d/ in the /rd/ cluster: /hi: ɹɬə ‘veri wIRd ‘p3ːrsən/.

Similarly, the following sound (the plosive bilabial /p/ influences the realization of the previous one (reduction of the plosive alveolar /d/ in the /rd/ cluster in this respect). As a result we may risk a statement that the plosive bilabial /p/ is much more favorable and contributes to the deletion of /d/ in the /rd/ cluster. Contradictorily, /t/ (which follows the /rd/ cluster) does not contribute to the simplification. At first it is surprising since the properties of the sounds which are not deleted are similar. The plosive alveolar /d/ in the /rd/ cluster where /t/ is a following sound does not undergo simplification although both /d/ and /t/ are plosive alveolar sounds (the only difference pertains to voicing where the former is voiced and the latter devoiced). In the environment where the /rd/ cluster precedes a plosive bilabial /p/, as in /hi: ɹɬə ‘veri wIRd ‘p3ːrsən/, the second element of the /rd/ cluster (/d/) undergoes deletion. Although the manner of articulation of both /d/ and /p/ is the same, the place of articulation is different, however. Whereas the former is a plosive alveolar, the latter is a plosive bilabial. Nevertheless, it was apparently enough for the deletion to occur. Thus there are … % of the informants who deleted /d/ in the /rd/ cluster.

Apart from that, let us return to the assumption that deletion of a particular variable is more likely to occur if there are not many other variables which could be replaced and thus change the articulation, form a new word and as a result change its meaning. The /rd/ cluster preceding the plosive bilabial /p/ (weird
The word *weird* includes the */rd/ cluster* the second element of which (which is */d/) undergoes a considerable amount of simplification in this context sensitivity. The */rd/ cluster preceding */l/ (hard to) in: *It’s hard to learn it by heart* /ɪts hɑːrd tə l3ːnɪt bɑɪ hɑːrt/, is not characterized by any deletion (there is merely one informant who reduced the plosive alveolar */d/ in the */rd/ cluster). If we replaced the plosive alveolar */d/ with another variable in the word *weird* /wɜːrd/, we would definitely be left with another word. However, there would not be many words with such a combination. As a result there is considerable amount of */d/ deletion which can be identified. Why is there so much identifiable deletion in this context? The answer is simple – if there was another variable (apart from */d/) and it would form another word or other words which in turn could be replaced, then the incidence of deletion might not be so high since there would be a risk of facing a certain confusion. If we take the first phonetic environment into consideration (/ɑː/ + */rd/ + */l/), as in *It’s hard to learn it by heart* /ɪts hɑːrd tə l3ːnɪt bɑɪ hɑːrt/, the crucial word is *hard* in this respect since it encompasses the */rd/ cluster. If we replaced the plosive alveolar */d/ with other sounds, first of all, there would not be the */rd/ cluster anymore. However, there are a number of other sounds which could be used instead of */d/ and which at the same time would form other words, such as *harm* /hɑːrm/, *hark* /hɑːrk/, *heart* /hɑːrt/, *harp* /hɑːrp/, *harsh* /hɑːʃ/ etc. As a result the word *hard* /hɑːrd/, could be replaced with other words if the second element of the */rd/ cluster was simplified and e.g. substituted with */m/ , */k/ , */t/ , */p/ , */f/ forming the following consonant clusters: */rm/, */rk/, */rt/, */rp/, */rf/ respectively. Still, not all of them could replace the original */d/ in the */rd/ cluster.

Let us try to account for the amount of deletion od the */d/ in the */rd/ cluster in the final position. There are four phonological contexts in which the */rd/ cluster appears in the final position (appendix 15):

/ɜː/ + */rd/ : /dəʊnt iːvən briːðə wɜːrd/ɪts ə ’siːkrət/
/e/ + */rd/ : /gʊd lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə ə ɜːnd/aiɜːrd ɪt wɜz hɪz pɑːrt/
/ɪ/ + */rd/ : /dɪs ’stɔːri ɪz sɔːrt əv wɜːrd/doʊnt stɑːrt ɔʊvər/
As we can observe, although the phonetic environment is similar (excluding the vowels which precede the /rd/ cluster), the fourth phonological context is the only one where simplification is noticeable to a great extent.

In the first phonetic environment, in most cases the word was rendered as ..., in which case the simplification is hardly identifiable. However, if we replaced the final /d/ in the /rd/ cluster with another variable, we would come up with a number of other words, such as worse, work, worm, worth etc.

The /rt/ cluster also deserves paying attention to in the attempt of accounting for the amount of the deletion. There are two environments where the /rt/ cluster occurs – before the vowel sound and in final position. Before the vowel sounds, the /rt/ cluster appears in the following phonological contexts (appendix 16):

/ɒ:/ + /rt/ + # /ɑ/: /ət ɪk’spekt ʃə tə hænd ɪn ət rəʊ:rt əz su:n əz ‘pə:sɪਬəl/
/ɔː/ + /rt/ + # /øː/: /ɪf jə wɔːnt tə bi: 'helθi jə fəd 'præktɪs spɔːr t ən ə 'regjʊlər 'bɛɪsɪs/

/ɑː/ + /rt/ + # /ʊː/: /ðɛɪs 'stʊəri ɪz ʊər wɜːrd/duənt stɑːr t əʊʊvər/

### Phonetic environment number of speakers: 
* t-simplified

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonetic environment</th>
<th>number of speakers:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ɔː/ + /rt/ + # /æ/</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔː/ + /rt/ + # /ʊ/</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɑː/ + /rt/ + # /ʊ/</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ɑː/ - deletion in : V + /rt/ + # V

- /ɑː/ + /rt/ + # /æ/ (43.75%)
- /ɑː/ + /rt/ + # /ʊ/ (25%)
- /ɑː/ + /rt/ + # /ʊ/ (0%)

In the first and second phonological context, there occurs a considerable amount of simplification - /t/ in the /rt/ cluster is characterized by high incidence of reduction (appendix 16). However, the /t/ does not undergo any reduction in the third environment (there is no deletion to be identified). However, it should be pointed out that the first syllable in the word over /əʊvər/ is stressed. Apart from that, there apparently occurred fusion and as a result the alveolar stop fused with the following vowel.

Let us replace the variable /t/ with another set of variables, such as /z/, /k/, /l/.

What we obtain is the following set of words with the following realization:

* star /stɑːr/, stars /stɑːrz/, stark /stɑːrk/, starve /stɑːrv/.
Admittedly, there is a kind of regularity. It is even more observable if we take the realization of /rt/ cluster in the final position into consideration. First of all, the /rt/ cluster can be identified in three phonetic environments, such as the following (appendix 17):

\[
\text{Phonetic environment} \quad \text{number of speakers: t-simplified}
\]

\[
/ə:/ + /rt/, \text{as in } /pə:rt/ \quad 49
\]
\[
/ɔː:/ + /rt/, \text{as in } /hɔː:rt/ \quad 47
\]
\[
/s:/ + /rt/, \text{as in } /fʃ:rt/ \quad 24
\]

/t/-deletion in : V + /rt/

- /s:/ + /rt/, as in /fʃ:rt/ (30%)
- /a:/ + /rt/, as in /pa:rt/ (58.75%)
- /aː:/ + /rt/, as in /haː:rt/ (61.25%)

It is evident that one can identify high incidence of simplification in these environments, especially in the second and third one. The /t/ in the /rt/ cluster preceded by /aː:/ (in both contexts) is characterized by the high percentage of deletion. However, although the final /t/ in both part /pə:rt/ and heart /həː:rt/ is deleted, at the same time there are a number of other variables which would also replace /t/ from a cluster with /t/ and form a new word. Thus the abovementioned assumption is apparently not relevant. In the word part /pə:rt/, instead of the
plosive alveolar /t/, there could equally occur such variables as /k/, /v/, /s/, /t/. As a result we would obtain park /pɑːrk/, parve /pɑːrv/, parch /pɑːrtʃ/, parched /pɑːrtʃ/ respectively. Similarly, the final element of /rt/ cluster in heart /hɑːrt/ would also be replaced by a number of other variables, such as /m/, /d/, /p/, /k/, /l/, and as a result one would come up with harm /hɑːrm/, hard /hɑːrd/, harp /hɑːrp/, harsh /hɑːrf/ etc. The newly suggested variables which in turn contribute to the formation of new words are quite numerous. However, we should point out that the words belong to different parts of speech. In the contexts, the /rt/ cluster is part of a noun. If there was to be another cluster (instead of /rt/, such as /rm/, /rk/, etc in part and another cluster in heart the only words which could replace both part and heart (and as a result bring forth confusion) are also nouns. If it was the case, there are not many other nouns which could substitute the original ones. As a result since there is no such a risk of confusion, the huge amount of deletion is understandable and justified at times. Even though the final /t/ in the /rt/ clusters undergoes deletion, it does not cause any confusion to occur.

The phonetic environments above are characterized by reduction or simplification the incidence of which is quite miscellaneous. Some variables undergo considerable deletion whereas others there is not much reduction to be identified. There are instances where it is cumbersome to account for high or low incidence of deletion pertaining to particular variables. However, in some of them, one can definitely find some explanatory arguments where the deletion is either favored or inhibited. It is due to a kind of variable which is analyzed and the phonological environment. Admittedly, some variables are more subject to deletion than others. Moreover, there are phonological contexts which favor or inhibit deletion to occur, both these which precede a particular variable and these which follow it. Apart from social factors which definitely are significant in the articulation of the variables as well, there are linguistic constraints the contribution of which is very significant. More specifically, from a purely linguistic point of view, the articulation of a number of variables (the incidence of simplification) is apparently correlated with the phonological context (which either favors or inhibits deletion). The deletion is not independent of morphological constraints either (which was not a crucial point I the analysis). Syntactically, however, it seems that
with regard to elision, there is a strict correlation between phonology and syntax as well.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

The dissertation investigated phonetic and phonological variability, paying attention to the two American English dialects – *North-eastern dialect* and *Black English Vernacular*. One of the purposes was to indicate variation in speech in terms of deletion of the variables (which is also referred to as *simplification*, *elision* or *reduction*). A considerable attention was paid to the realization of particular variables in certain phonological contexts (ranging from clear realization of the variable, to its non-realization – total deletion in this respect). Moreover, an attempt to possibly account for the different realization of the variables constituted another subject of the analysis. It was based on justifying high or low incidence of elision – in other words - on either elision of a particular variable or its retention (in terms of its articulation).

It is usually claimed that although deletion is common, it is likely to occur in certain circumstances. The circumstances which cause the occurrence of deletion are numerous, including *linguistic*, *social* and *contextual* ones. Socially, deletion is especially typical of non-standard dialects, such as Black English Vernacular (although it is claimed that there are certain rules which determine deletion). Conversely, standard varieties of English are characterized by less deletion (if any), at least in quite formal settings, which is the case in e.g. monitored speech style etc. Moreover, from a linguistic point of view, frequency of deletion is correlated with the phonetic environment. In other words, there are several linguistic constraints which either favor or impede deletion. For instance, it is claimed that consonant clusters are elided in non-standard varieties and especially in unmonitored speech, in which case one of the two elements is deleted mostly if both of them are either voiced or voiceless consonants. Apart from that, it is common knowledge that deletion of a variable is more likely to occur if it precedes another consonant since it involves much effort for its clear articulation. Finally, the style of speech is also of significance in determining the amount of deletion. As a result, there are a number of circumstances which can either inhibit or favor the occurrence deletion.

It has been assumed that the circumstances which permit or favor simplification are not so restrictive or inhibitive. First of all, non-standard dialects are not the only
dialects which are characterized by the high incidence of simplification since, as it has been assumed, deletion is also typical of middle and even high class speech. Moreover, it has been assumed that in the formal speech style, such as reading the script, one can also identify a considerable amount of deletion. It has also been assumed that the linguistic constraints (both the type of variable and phonetic environment) are not so strict and that deletion is more ubiquitous in a number of speech styles. It contradicts the premise that there are many linguistic constraints which limit the occurrence of deletion. In other words, apparently, there are many other phonetic environments in which one can observe high incidence of deletion.

There were a number of sentences that the informants were exposed to during the interview. Before explaining the purpose of the interview briefly, without discussing any details (it would have been undesirable since it might have increased the interlocutors’ awareness), I asked them to read the sentences aloud. In the sentences there were different words which contained the sounds I was investigating. The informants were unaware of the variables since due to a number of variables and phonological contexts, it was definitely difficult to find a pattern. If the interlocutors had known which sounds I was seeking, the recordings could have been unreliable. All the necessary information about the interlocutors has also been included in the questionnaire, such as the place of living, social position, education, occupation etc.

Several sounds have been selected in order to analyze their variability in some phonological contexts. These were: consonant clusters, including /nd/, /rd/ and also /rt/ (the last one is hetero-voiced and as a result it is especially interesting since hetero-voiced clusters are characterized by low incidence of deletion). There are other variables the realization of which was investigated in the dissertation as well, such as an alveolar stop /t/ as a single variable in a number of phonetic environments in which it was preceded and followed by a number of sounds. It needs to be stressed that the articulation of the variables was investigated at word boundaries, which means that their articulation and the whole analysis were based on whole sentences, not just separate words.

According to the data and observations, it can be stated that deletion is not only restricted to non-standard varieties of English where little attention is paid to both correct and clear articulation. Put more elaborately, even a huge amount of deletion is observable in the speech of middle class people. Moreover, the observations pertaining to the speech style are also congruent with the assumptions. Despite formal settings,
such as reading, one can observe a high incidence of deletion in the speech of high class people. Finally, as far as linguistic constraints are concerned, it can be observed that they are not so strict, as it is commonly claimed. First of all, one can encounter a huge amount of deletion pertaining to hetero voiced clusters, such as /nd/ and /rd/.

It would be a gross exaggeration to admit that each of the variables showed much deletion in each phonological context. There were phonetic environments which appeared to either favor or inhibit deletion of a given variable, including the /nd/, /rd/, and /rt/ clusters and the /t/ variable. For instance, at word boundaries, there was a huge amount of elision in the following phonetic contexts: /æ/ + /nd/ + # /p/, /æ/ + /nd/ + # /d/, /æ/ + /nd/ + # /l/, /æ/ + /nd/ + # /t/, /æ/ + /nd/ + # /l/, /æ/ + /nd/ + # /b/. In the final position, reduction could be identified in the following phonetic contexts: /æ/ + /nd/, /æ/ + /nd/, /æ/ + /nd/, /æ/ + /nd/, /æ/ + /nd/, /æ/ + /nd/, /æ/ + /nd/. However, the amount of elision does not solely depend on the position of the variable in a particular context and the influence or contribution of adjacent sounds. There were several cases in which the variables occurred in the same environment but whose incidence of deletion was miscellaneous, ranging from extremely low to extremely high. For instance, /æ/ + /nd/ + # /p/, /æ/ + /nd/ + # /d/, /æ/ + /nd/ + # /l/, /æ/ + /nd/ + # /t/, /æ/ + /nd/ + # /l/, /æ/ + /nd/ + # /b/.

Thus in order to at least understand and account for the phenomenon, it has been proposed that if the simplifiable (or deletable) variable does not cause any confusion or misunderstanding, deletion is less inhibited (since the message is still conveyed albeit faster and easier). If, however, the elided variable might bring forth confusion in which the sense of the word is lost, the deletion should not be expected whatsoever. Similarly, if a variable can be replaced with another one, and, as a result, if the newly formed word (the newly formed meaning of the word) is still appropriate in the context, the deletion is also less likely to occur since the sense of the word is simply changed. If, however, there are not many other sounds and at the same time if the meaning of the word can be predicted, then the deletion of a particular variable is favored more frequently since it is obvious or perfectly clear which meaning is being conveyed. The appropriateness of another variable and meaning of the word is based on the condition that sense and grammaticality of the sentence are still maintained. In other words, if one elided a variable and if it could be substituted with another one which would form a new word (the content should be meaningful and logical), deletion would be inhibited if the newly
formed word were syntactically correct. If substitution of a variable with another one led to the formation of a new word, but whose part of speech were different, deletion should be more expected. For instance, if in a particular sentence, such as “Why are you so late?” in the word *late* /leɪt/ the final alveolar stop /t/ undergoes deletion. However, the incidence of deletion would probably be lower if there were many other variables (sounds) which could replace the original variable /t/. Although there are some of them, such as /s/, /d/, /ð/, /m/, as in /lew/, /lew/ and /lew/, /lew/, only the last one might cause confusion since we would obtain *Why are you so lame?* Since such a risk is reduced to a minimum in this respect, we should expect the high incidence of deletion. Similarly, in *he’s wearing a white shirt*, if the variable /t/ in “*white*” were substituted with a number of other variables, such as e.g. /p/ which in turn would contribute to the formation of a new word – such as “*wipe*”. In this context, due to grammatical reasons, deletion would probably occur (at least one would probably encounter a huge amount deletion) mainly because the part of speech is different (the original “*white*” is an adjective and a newly formed word is a verb). Hence, reduction would not be less inhibited since even though another variable - /p/ in this respect forms a new meaning of the word and as a result confusion is unavoidable, on no condition would the word “*wipe*” fit the whole context since first of all, it would contribute to the formation of an ill-formed sentence.

The whole analysis encompasses several variables in a number of phonological contexts. Some of them are characterized by higher incidence of deletion than others; other variables indicate high incidence of deletion only in particular phonetic environments. The majority of the variables which are elided are those which do not impede communication or understanding. In other words, although they are simplified, it is still clear the meaning of which word we are conveying. Moreover, as one can observe, deletion is prevalent even in the speech of white middle class American people even in formal circumstances such as reading. As a result, it is wrong to criticize varieties and label them as nonstandard (e.g. Black English Vernacular) if the same phenomenon occurs in the varieties which are considered as standard and correct, such as in the speech (monitored speech) of white middle class American speakers. Even though there are many deletions to be observed, their occurrence in the majority of cases seems to be justified (at least to some extent). Nevertheless, it would be right to extend the analysis, investigate the articulation of many other variables in other selected phonological contexts and analyze their variability in a number of speech styles.
STRESZCZENIE

Przedmiotem rozważań niniejszej pracy jest zróżnicowanie fonologiczne w wybranych dialektach amerykańskiej odmiany języka angielskiego. Analiza ta oparta jest na podstawie nagrań wybranych rozmówców zamieszkiwujących północno-wschodnią część USA, władających północno-wschodnim dialektem (North-eastern dialect) oraz afro-amerykańską odmianą języka angielskiego (African American English).

Dysertacja ma dwa główne cele. Głównym celem jest ukazanie zróżnicowania w wymowie wybranych fonemów. Jednakże różnice w jakości artykulacji poszczególnych głosek nie były przedmiotem owej analizy. Głównym tematem owej pracy jest analiza uproszczenia wybranych spółgłosek oraz zbitek spółgłoskowych (consonant clusters) w uwzględnieniu otoczenia fonetycznego (phonological context or phonetic environment). Dlatego owe zróżnicowanie fonetyczne rozpatrywane było w kategorii uproszczenia lub wyraźnej artykulacji wybranych dźwięków. Kolejnym, równie istotnym celem, była próba racjonalnego wyjaśnienia uproszczeń lub braku uproszczeń poszczególnych dźwięków w danych otoczeniach fonetycznych, które można było zarejestrować w wypowiedziach rozmówców.

Nie ulega wątpliwości, iż na artykulację i tym samym na zróżnicowanie w wymowie wpływa wiele czynników, zarówno o podłożu społecznym, jak i równie językowym. W skład czynników społecznych wchodzi status społeczny, wykształcenie, wiek, płeć, pochodzenie oraz okoliczności w jakich się znajdujemy. Jednakże również istotne znaczenie ma dana głoska oraz otoczenie fonetyczne, którego wpływ na dany dźwięk nie jest obojętny. Innymi słowy, oprócz czynników społecznych, istotne znaczenie ma również jaki dźwięk ma ulec uproszczeniu oraz w jakim otoczeniu jego artykulacja jest badana (na poziomie wyrazu, granicy wyrazów czy całego zdania). Uproszczenie niektórych spółgłosek było zróżnicowane nawet wtedy, gdy znajdowały się w podobnym otoczeniu fonetycznym. Dlatego w sposób szczegółowy podjęto próbę wykazania relacji pomiędzy owymi czynnikami, a artykulacją poszczególnych zmiennych (variables). Wykazano, że częstotliwość uproszczenia zależy w dużym stopniu od możliwości zastąpienia owych dźwięków innymi, które mogłyby przyczynić się do powstania nowego wyrazu. Innymi słowy, częstotliwość uproszczenia jest większa, jeśli kontekst jest wystarczająco duży i z kontekstu wynika znaczenie danego słowa. Ponadto, częstotliwość uproszczenia jest również zauważalna, gdy nie ma
możliwości zastąpienia danej głoski inną lub zastąpienie pewnej jej innymi powoduje, że zdanie jest niepoprawne. Wykazano również, że nawet w mowie klas średnich oraz w sytuacji dosyć formalnej mają miejsce liczne uproszczenia. Ponadto przedstawiono, iż dialekty niestandardowe nie są jedynymi w których można zaobserwować to zjawisko, gdyż ma ono miejsce także w odmianach, które uważane są za standardowe, a nawet prestiżowe.
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APPENDIXES
APPENDIX 1
The following chart constitutes information about the interlocutors, their ages, places of residence, education and occupation, social class, about their families background, place of residence, etc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th><strong>Place of residence</strong></th>
<th><strong>Education/occupation</strong></th>
<th><strong>Social class</strong></th>
<th><strong>Parents’ place of residence</strong></th>
<th><strong>Parents’ education/occupation</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Lynbrook, New York</td>
<td>high school student</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Lynbrook, New York</td>
<td>Masters in Administration, principal</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lynbrook, New York</td>
<td>college, general manager of a camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Max</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Maplewood, New Jersey; born: Corning, New York</td>
<td>BA, homemaker</td>
<td>upper middle</td>
<td>Corning, New York</td>
<td>college, management</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Corning, New York</td>
<td>housewife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Alex</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>New York City, New York (38 years); West Palm Beach, Florida</td>
<td>freelance educator</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>New York City, New York</td>
<td>high school, laborer</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New York City, New York</td>
<td>high school, housewife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Lesley</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Arizona, (5 years); Long Island, New York (28 years); Pennsylvania (8 years)</td>
<td>Bachelors of science in Business + Economics, accountant</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>salesperson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>teacher</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nr</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>Education/occupation</td>
<td>Social class</td>
<td>Parents’ place of residence</td>
<td>Parents’ education/occupation</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mildred</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Milford, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>high school</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>New Jersey, high school, housewife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(grew up in Philadelphia until age 17)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ph. D, masters + undergrad, psychologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Carol</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>New Jersey; grew up in Philadelphia until age 17</td>
<td>Master's Degree in Education, teacher</td>
<td>upper middle</td>
<td>Philadelphia, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Master's Degree, electrical engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Melissa</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>West Caldwell, Massachusetts</td>
<td>MS-Special Education, teacher</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Staten Island, New York</td>
<td>Staten Island, New York, Associates in accounting, accountant (retired)</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Janet</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>East Brunswick, New Jersey</td>
<td>college, computer consultant</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Ocean Tournship, New Jersey</td>
<td>Ocean Tournship, New Jersey, college, accountant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nr</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>Education/ occupation</td>
<td>Social class</td>
<td>Parents’ place of residence</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Amy S.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>high school, Med Assisting School, full time camp director</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Southern, New Jersey</td>
<td>Southern, New Jersey, college, printer, dental hygienist, pharmacy assistant</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(14 years); Long Island, New York (3 years); Binghamton, New York (4 years); Long Island, New York (2 years); Queens, New York (2 years);</td>
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<td>Nr</td>
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<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>Education/occupation</td>
<td>Social class</td>
<td>Parents’ place of residence</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Amy P.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Fort Lee, New Jersey (10 years); Teaneck, New Jersey (5 years)</td>
<td>Queens (33 years), now: Manalapan, New Jersey</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>MS – Education teacher</td>
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<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>high school</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>high school</td>
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<td>Beth</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Boston, Massachusetts (38 years); Pennsylvania</td>
<td>BA – Criminal Justice</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>New York; now: Massachusetts</td>
<td>Cambridge, Massachusetts</td>
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<td>BA, advertising company</td>
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<td>BA - teacher</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Haley</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Ocean Township, New Jersey</td>
<td>student (education psychology)</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Ocean Township, New Jersey</td>
<td>Ocean Township, New Jersey</td>
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<td>BA in education, watch making</td>
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<td>Maters in education, jewelry salesperson</td>
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<td>Nr</td>
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<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>Education/occupation</td>
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<td>Parents’ place of residence</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Josh</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>New York City, New York (1 year); Huntington, New York</td>
<td>primary school</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Northport, New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Gail</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Milford, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>12 years - retail</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Ulster County – New York</td>
<td>Ulster County – New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Norma</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Queens, New York (19 years); New Jersey (33 years); Milford, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>college + graduate degrees, photographer -writer (retired teacher)</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>New York City, New York</td>
<td>New York City, New York</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Carol</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Colorado (3 years); Milford, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>Bachelors Degree in Education, school librarian</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Milford, Pennsylvania (16 years); New York State</td>
<td>high school diploma, maintenance</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Milford, Pennsylvania (16 years); New York State</td>
<td>high school diploma, child care</td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Hope</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Brooklyn, New York (6 years); Long Island, New York (age 6-33); Livingston, New Jersey</td>
<td>college, B.S in economics, elementary teacher</td>
<td>upper middle</td>
<td>Long Island, New York</td>
<td>B.A in Liberal Arts, salesman</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Long Island, New York</td>
<td>2 years’ college, office manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>Bachelor of Arts – Camp Administrator</td>
<td>upper middle</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>BA in CPA</td>
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<td></td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>BA, self-employed</td>
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<td>Nr</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Sex</td>
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<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>Education/occupation</td>
<td>Social class</td>
<td>Parents’ place of residence</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Larry</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>college student, exercise physiology/environmental, politics major</td>
<td>upper middle</td>
<td>East Brunswick, New Jersey</td>
<td>East Brunswick, New Jersey college, police officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Becca</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Scarsdale, New York</td>
<td>student, elementary school</td>
<td>upper</td>
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<td>Brooklyn college, Pace University, New York University, bio majors</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} year student in college Criminal Justice</td>
<td>upper middle</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Tara</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Wayne, New Jersey</td>
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<td>BA, editor (makes stories)</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>New Jersey</td>
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<td>Julie</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>Student majoring in neuroscience and minoring in French</td>
<td>middle</td>
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<td>B.S in chemical engineering, chemical engineer</td>
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<td>Olivia</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>student starting college at University of Wisconsin</td>
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<td>college + grad school, history major, telecommunications, market research, business owner</td>
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<td>college + grad school, Spanish major, teacher</td>
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<td>works at a hotel</td>
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<td>31.</td>
<td>Chuck</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Bronx, New York</td>
<td>Masters, lawyer</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Brooklyn, New York</td>
<td>high school, lawyer</td>
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<td>(27 years);</td>
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<td>Linda</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>New York City, New York; New Jersey</td>
<td>Bachelors Degree, registered nurse</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>New York City, New York</td>
<td>high school, accountant</td>
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<td>high school, school aide</td>
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<td>Connie</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Edgewater, New Jersey</td>
<td>BS in Science, unemployed scientist</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>high school, engineer</td>
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<td>high school, real estate agent</td>
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<td>34.</td>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Buffalo, New York</td>
<td>B.A History, teacher, nature's classroom</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Syracuse, New York</td>
<td>high school, salesman</td>
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<td>(21 years); Pittsburgh, New York (3 years); Connecticut (1 year); New York City (6 months)</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Mike</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>New York City (2 years); Buffalo, New York (10 years); England (6 years)</td>
<td>finished high school, about to go to college</td>
<td>upper</td>
<td>Albany, New York</td>
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<td>middle</td>
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<td>PhD, chemist</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Caryl</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>New York City, New York (23 years); New Jersey (20 years)</td>
<td>college + graduate school, social worker</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>New York City, New York (40 years); now: New Jersey (12 years)</td>
<td>New York City, New York (40 years); now: New Jersey (12 years)</td>
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<td>high school graduate, blue collar worker</td>
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<td>high school graduate, teachers assistant</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>New York City, New York (5 years); New Jersey (5 years)</td>
<td>elementary school (5th grade)</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
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<td>college, jeweler</td>
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<td>college, produces signs</td>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>Education/occupation</td>
<td>Social class</td>
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<td>Long Island, New York</td>
<td>college graduate, BA, registered nurse</td>
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<td>39.</td>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Long Island, New York</td>
<td>freshman at university of Delaware</td>
<td>upper middle</td>
<td>Long Island, New York</td>
<td>Bachelor Degree, Chief Executive Officer of Jewish Community Center</td>
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<td>Associate Degree, teachers assistant</td>
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<td>40.</td>
<td>Laurel</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>New Jersey (30 years); Pennsylvania (2 years)</td>
<td>12th grade, bus driver</td>
<td>lower middle</td>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>9 grades, truck driver</td>
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<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>12 grades, worked for the government, retired</td>
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<td>41.</td>
<td>Jonathan</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Maryland (6 years); New York City, New York (5 years); Stamford, Connecticut</td>
<td>educator + youth director, teacher</td>
<td>upper middle</td>
<td>Brooklyn, New York (20 years); Stamford, Connecticut</td>
<td>PhD of Professor of Math and Chemistry, chemical engineer</td>
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<td>Brooklyn, New York (20 years); Stamford, Connecticut</td>
<td>trained as elementary school teacher, market research</td>
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<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>Education/ occupation</td>
<td>Social class</td>
<td>Parents’ place of residence</td>
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<td>42.</td>
<td>Susan</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>New York City, New York (13 years); Pennsylvania (30 years)</td>
<td>high school, store owner</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>college, farmer</td>
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<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>college, housewife</td>
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<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Joann</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Baltimore, Maryland (25 years); Florida (22 years); Milford (1 year)</td>
<td>BA in Arts, artist</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Baltimore, Maryland</td>
<td>high school, retired</td>
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<td>Baltimore, Maryland</td>
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<td>44.</td>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Manhattan, New York City, New York</td>
<td>BA-liberty arts, MA-English literature, MS-psychology, teacher in New York City public schools</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>New York City, New York</td>
<td>BA, businessman</td>
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<td>New York City, New York</td>
<td>high school, housewife</td>
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<td>Nr</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>Education/occupation</td>
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<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
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<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Boston, Massachusetts (25 years); New York City, New York (15 years); Bergenfield, New Jersey (6 years)</td>
<td>Masters Degree (MS) in Occupational Therapy, works with difficult children</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Boston, Massachusetts</td>
<td>Boston, Massachusetts</td>
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<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Robin</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Brooklyn, New York (12 years); New Jersey (32 years)</td>
<td>B.S.-nursing, RN (registered nurse)</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>New York City, then New Jersey after marriage</td>
<td>New York City, then New Jersey after marriage</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Rob</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>physician</td>
<td>lower upper</td>
<td>New York City, New York</td>
<td>New York City, New York</td>
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<td>Boston, Massachusetts</td>
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<td></td>
<td>BA in Business, facilities manager</td>
<td>high school, piano teacher</td>
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<td>high school + 2 years technical school, salesman</td>
<td>high school + 1 semester college, library assistant</td>
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<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Place of residence</td>
<td>Education/ occupation</td>
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<td>48.</td>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Charleston, South Carolina (all life); Dorchester, Massachusetts (2 months)</td>
<td>B.S., CPA (certified public accountant), MBA, CFO (certified financial officer), Bio-tech</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>Charleston, South Carolina</td>
<td>engineer</td>
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APPENDIX 2
The following is a reading script which the informants were asked to read

-Communism is a thing of the past.
-Don’t waste your time sitting on the sofa and drinking beer.
-Most people stay at home at this time of the year.
-Which cigarettes do you like most?
-This is the best film I have ever seen.
-If you promised to ask her out, do not back out of it.
-She missed you so much; and you don’t even care.
-You messed it up again, how come you’re such a bungler?
-After breakfast I relaxed a little and left for work.
-After the party, there was no food left.
-This is a very difficult task, but you can do it.
-If you betray her, you risk losing someone who loves you a lot.
-Why don’t you ask for help? “Are you all right?” she asked.
-Before he left the room, he found his first draft.
-Your joke wasn’t that funny because nobody laughed.
-I’m sorry to have kept you waiting.
-Don’t tempt me; I will not change my mind.
-Somebody help me! I’m trapped in an elevator!
-The stopped arguing right after someone knocked on the door.
-She finally dumped him for no reason at all.
-She smoked a lot when she worked as a waitress.
-I’m whacked. I need some sleep.
-This place is packed. Let’s go somewhere else.
-After he washed, brushed his teeth and finished breakfast, he left for work.
-We finally reached New York City before midnight.
-You should have watched the news yesterday.
-Mark robbed the bank but the police are looking for him.
-It’s a brand new car; I paid a lot of money for it.
-Many of these people left their homeland in search of a better life.
-She planned on getting divorced.
-They screamed for help, but nobody heard them.
-You shouldn’t have blamed me; it wasn’t my fault.
-I’ve already told you – I don’t know! It’s cold in here, let’s get inside.
-He failed to convince her. She only smiled and left.
-When they were married, she loved him very much.
-She believed him and now she regrets it.
-She was raised in a poor neighborhood.
-Where did you get raised? – Where did you grow up?
-I praised them for the great job they’re doing. They’ve been praised again.
-She regretted smoking so much when she was young.
-They wanted to take a look at this computer, but there was no power.
-Why did you do this to me, you rascal? I don’t really know why I’m still with you!
-It’s not the end of the world – don’t cry!
-You can’t just give up – if you don’t try, you will never know!
-It’s about time to get up if we don’t want to be late.
-Once you hit your stride, you can do this immediately.
-Most people are wise after the event.
-I’m really happy to be here with you, fine people.
Only five students haven’t passed the exam.
I tried to convince her, but it was futile.
He died of pneumonia a long time ago.
I know life is harsh sometimes, but what can we do about it?
I’m sorry about your plight, but I was unable to help you.
It’s a nice place but I will never return there again.
We should never let our children play with a knife since it might be dangerous.
Just wipe it off, it should disappear.
I don’t like it when people are rude and uncouth.
I don’t know her at all; what is she like?
He wiped his dirty hands on the back of his white shirt.
I liked them a lot when I was little.
I expect you to hand in the report as soon as possible.
First of all, I’ve never talked to her in person.
It’s not worth living in here. Sooner or later you’ll be fed up with it.
When her husband died, she was left in the lurch.
It’s rude to burp when you are around people.
If you want to have good marks, you must work a lot.
I worked a lot on this project; now I need to have a few hours’ rest.
My last encounter with this freak totally unnerved me.
If you are reluctant to learn, clean up the table at least.
You learned a lot and you didn’t pass this test? How come?
She’d like to go on a trip around the world.
The last time I saw a worm was a few days ago.
What do you think we should do to curb the spread of the virus?
I treat you like that because you deserve it.
He got a prize, but he deserved it.
She’s got a flair for teaching young children. However, she doesn’t like it when they swear.
If you don’t submit the paper on time, you’ll fail the course, I’m afraid.
Put this paper near the ash-tray, please.
You’d better think about it before you do anything.
The solution you came up with is much better.
Has he improved his English? –Oh, by far!
I’m afraid it’s much too far to go there on foot. It’s far away from here.
I’ve been waiting for the answer for a few weeks.
Before he left for work, he had an argument with his wife.
I don’t think that she’ll be back until midnight.
His company thrived for a long time. Afterwards, it went down the drain.
You’d better shape up or else I’ll throw you out. It’s not a threat; it’s a promise.
This event took place on the third of May, in 1965.
I definitely prefer to ride a bicycle rather than drive a car.
They say that she dumped him because of his irresponsibility.
There’s no point in waiting here for such a long time.
Suddenly something strange appeared in the river.
There’s nothing to do here. Let’s go somewhere else.
Your joke was truly pathetic. That’s why it fell flat.
If you want to be healthy, you should practice sport on a regular basis.
Although he is quite shy, he had enough courage to ask her out.
Her scathing remarks about his irresponsibility touched him on the raw.
It bothers me when she complains about the weather.
I’m tired and dirty. It’s time to have a bath.
I’ve been running for an hour. I’m out of breath.
I could go there with you, if you insist.
Who did you go there with?
He got up, bathed, brushed his teeth and got dressed.
-Don’t even breathe a word; it’s a secret!
-They loathe talking about unimportant things.
-She lives on the tenth floor, which is a nuisance.
-I could feel the warmth of her smile when she looked at me.
-Good night, honey! Don’t wait for me. I might be late again.
-Good Lord. He’s such a nerd. I heart it was his part.
-This story is sort of weird. Don’t start over.
-Go straight ahead and turn right.
-It’s hard to learn it by heart.
-Where did you find this word, young man?
-You’re right – last night she had a date.
-She became as white as a sheet when she saw a ghost.
-He is a very weird person.
-You’re on a tight budget, my old friend.
-Do it right now!
-You should sign your contracts!
-You didn’t sign your contract yet!
-He understood this question perfectly.
APPENDIX 3
The following is a transcription of the reading script

/ˈkɑːmjəntəzəm ɪz ə θɪŋ əv ɬə ˈpæst/
/dəʊnt wɛlst ʃər tæm ‘sɪdɪŋ ɒn ɬə ‘soufə ɑn ‘drɪŋkɪŋ bɪt/
/moʊst ‘piːpəl stɛt ət hɔʊm ət ðɪs tæm əv ɬɪ ʃɪt/
/wɪʧ ‘stɡərəts də jə laɪk moʊst/
/ðɪs ɪz ə ˈbɛst ˈfɪlm ət hɔv ‘ɛvər ˈsiːn/
/ɪf jə ‘prəːmɪts tə əsk ər ət duː ɬət hɛk ət ɬə ɪt/
/ʃiː ˈmɪst jə sʊʊ mʌt ən jə doʊnt ‘ɪən kər/
/ʃuː ˈmɛst ɬɪ ɑp ə ‘ɡen / hæʊ kæm jər sʌt ə ‘bæŋklər/
/ælər ˈbɛrkfast ət rɪˈlɛkst ə ‘lɪdəl ən left ər wəːrk/
/ælər də ‘pəːtəri ɬə ˈwɔz əʊ uː ˈfʊd ɬɪft/
/ðɪs ɪz ə ˈvɛri ‘diffrəʊkt ˈtɛsk ɬæt ə kən ɬə ɪt/
/ɪf jə bɪˈtret ɦɔr ər ɬə rɪsk ˈluːtsɪŋ ‘sæmˈwæn ɦuː ɬæv ɬə ɬə tʃt/
/wɔɪ ˌdoʊnt ɚə əsk ər ɬə t ɬər ɬə ɬə ɹɑt / ʃiː əskt/
/bɪˈfɔːr hɪː ɬət ɬə ruːm hɪː ˈfænənd ɪz ˈfæːst draɪt/
/ʃəːr ˈdʒʊʊk ˈwɔzənt ɬɛt ɬənɪ bɪˈkæz ˈnɔʊbədi ɬɪft/
/ɑːm ʃəːrɪ tə hɔv kɛpt jə ‘wɛltnɨ/
/dəʊnt ˈtɛmp tʃiː ət ɡwɪt ɬər ‘tɛmpt miː / ət ɰɪ ˈnɔt: tʃɛɪnʤ ɰɪ nətɪŋ/
/sæmˈbædɪ help miː / ɑːm tɾept tən ɬələˈvɛktər/
/ðet ʃəːpt ˈɑːrɡjʊnɪŋ rɑt / ælər ɬəs ˈsæmˌwæn nɑːkt ɪn də dɔːt/
/ʃiː ‘fæɪnəli ɬəmpt hɪm ər ɰɪ ‘riːzən ət ɬə lɨ /
/ʃiː ‘smaʊk tə lət ɰɪ tʃiː ɰɪnkt ət ‘wɛltnɨ/
/ɑːm wɛkt / ət niːd ɰɪm ɬɨp/
/ðɪs plɛts ɬə pɛkt / ɬɛts ɡʊt ɬə ‘sʌmˌvər ɬɜːs/
/ælər hɪː wɔːtʃ bɹɑft ɪz tʃiː ɬə ˈfɪnɪt / ‘bɛrkfast hɪː ɬət ɬə wəːrk/
/wiː ‘fæɪnəli ɬɪʃiː ɱuː ɬærk ɬənɪ bɪˈfɔːr ‘mɪdnɔt/
/ʃuː ˈfæd oʊ ɰɪ ɬɪʃiː ɬə njuːz ‘ɬɛstərdi/
/maɪər rɔːtɪd bən bɛŋk ɬæt ɬə pəliːs ər ‘lʊktɪŋ ɬə hɪm/
/ɪts ə ˈbrænd njʊː ˈkɑːr / ət ɬɛtɪd ə lʊt əv ɬə ‘mænɪ ɬə ɪt/
/ˈmeni əv ɬɪːz ‘piːpəl left dər ‘həʊmˌlɛnd ɪn ˈsɜːtʃ əv ɬə ‘ˈbedər ɬɛf/
/ʃiː ‘plɛnd ɬən ‘ɡɛdɪŋ dlɪˈvɜːrst/}
/ðet ˈskrɪːmd ɡər ɬər hælt ɬə ‘nɔʊbədi ɬæːrd ɬəm/
/ʃuː ‘ʃədɔnt ɬə ˈbɛltɪmd miː / ɬɪ ‘wɔzənt ɰɪ n ɬə lɪt/
/æt ɬɪ ɬɪ ‘rɛdɪ tɔstId jʊ / ɬə doʊnt ɰʊ / ɬɪts ɬʊstɪd ɪn hɪr / ɬɛts ɡɛt ɬɪn ɬɨstɪd/
/ɬɪ ‘fɛltɪd ɬə kanˈvɪns ɬær / ʃiː ‘ɔʊnli ɬməltɪd ənd ɬɪft/
/ɬɛnt ɬɪər ɰɛr ‘mɜːrd fiː / ɬæv ɬɪ ɬə ‘vɛri ɰʌtʃ/
/ʃiː ‘bɪˈliːvd ɪm ɬɪn ɰʊ fiː / ɬɪ ‘ɡrɛts ɪt/
/ʃiː ɰʌz ɬɛtɪzd ɪn ə pʊr ‘nɛθərˌhʊd/
/wɛr ɬɪd tʃo ɡɛt ɬɛtɪzd / ɬɛr ɬɪd tʃo ɡrʊʊ ɬəp/
/æt ɬɛtɪzd ɬæm ɬər ɬə ɡretɪt ɬdʒɪə ɬɪər ‘dʒuːwɪɲ/
/ʃiː ‘rɪˈɡrɛtɪd ‘ʃmʊʊkɪŋ sʊʊ mʌf ɰɪ n fiː / ɰʌz ɬæɲ/
/ðet ‘wəʊntɪd tə tɛtɪk ə lʊk ‘ət ðɪs ɬæmˈpjuːd ɬə tər wəz ɰʊ ‘pɑːdər/
/ɰɪd tʃo ɬɪ duː ðɪs tə miː juː ‘rɛskəl / ɬɪ ɬəʊnt ɾɪəli ɰʊ / ɰɪ m stɪl wəθ ɬɪ juː/
APPENDIX 4
The following appendix is a transcription of the recordings. It constitutes the transcription of the sentences in which there is deletion.
HARRIS (1)

/*æftar 'brekfaːst' at rˈlækst ə 'lɪdəl ən left fər w3ːrk*/
/wət dʊnt jə ʔæsk fər həlp/ə.t jə ɔːl ræt//fiː ʔæskt/
/jʊr dʒʊʊk 'wɔːzn ə dət 'fən i ˈbrɛk ənəbəd ət fər w3ːrkw/
/dʊnt tɛmp miː/at wɪl nət ʃi ʃɛnt maɪ mæɪn/
/ʃiː smuːkt oʊ ləl; wən fiː wɜːrkt az o ˈwɛtərəs/
/*æftər hɪː 'wɔːlt bræft tə tʃiːən ən 'fɪnɪt ˈbrɛkfuːst hɪː ət fər wɜːrk*/
/*meni ən dɪəz 'piːpəl lɛft ər 'həʊmlənd ɪn s3ːr təv ə ˈbedər lətfl*/
/ɪts ə 'bɑːtɪ təɪm tə gət əp ɪf wɪː dʊnt wɜːnə bɪː ət fər wɜːrk/
/æɪm sɔː ɾət ʃɔːl plət ɾət at wɜːz ən ˈetɪbəl tə həlp jə/
/æt lɑːkt dom ə loʊl; wən æt wɜːz 'lɪdəl/
/*æt tɪk ˈspɛkt jə tə hænd tə ət tɪp ər az sən az 'pɔːstərəl*/
/ɪf jə rə tˈlæktənt tə l3ːm kliːn əp əʊ 'təɪbəl ət lɪːf/
/ɪd ə lɑɪk tə goʊ ət nət ə tɪp ə rəʊnə tə wɜːrkl/
/æt tɹɪː jə lɑɪk dɪət brɪ ˈkæz jə dɪ tɜːz ʒv nɪ/
/bɪˈfɔːr hɪː ət fər wɜːrk hɪː hæd ən 'ɔːr ˈbaɪəmənt wɪtə hɪzd ʍɪt/
/ʃəd ˈbedər jɛt əp ər elz əl ˈθroʊ ʃə oʊ ˈlɪts nət: o ˈbətət ɪts ə 'prɔːmɪs/
/ðəz nɔʊt ˈpɔɪn t ɪn ˈwɛtən hɪr fər səf əl ə təɪm/
/ˈdɛt lʊd ˈtʃə: ˈkɛn ə ˈbɑːtɪ ənɪm ˈprɔːrənt ŋɪnəz/
/ɡʊd lɔːr hɪː z ʃəf ə ˈnɛrd ət hɜːr tɪ də wɜːz hɪzd ˈpərəl/
/ɡʊd ˈstɛrt ə ˈhæd ən tɜːm rəʊl/
/ɪts hɜːr tə lɜːm tɪ bət hɜːr/

MAX (2)

/wət dʊnt jə ʔæsk fər həlp/ə.t jə ɔːl ræt//fiː ʔæskt/
/dʊnt tɛmp miː/at wɜːnt ʃi ʃɛnt maɪ mæɪn/
/ɪts ə b-rating njuː kərət ət ʃəd ə ˈmæni ər lət/
/*meni ən dɪəz 'piːpəl lɛft ər 'həʊmlənd ɪn s3ːr təv ə ˈbedər lətfl*/
/ɪts ə 'bɑːtɪ təɪm tə gət əp ɪf wɪː dʊnt wɜːnt tə bɪː ət fər wɜːrk/
/*məʊz/ 'piːpəl ər wət ˈæftər dɪ ˈvən/"
/æɪm sɔː ɾət ʃɔːl plət ɾət at wɜːz ən ˈetɪbəl tə həlp jə/
/ɪts rʊd tə hɜːr ɾət wən jə ə ɹəʊnə ə 'piːpəl/
/æt tɹɪː jə lɑɪk dɪət brɪ ˈkæz jə dɪ tɜːz ʒv nɪ/
/hiː ɡʊd ə praɪt bət hɪː ˈdiː ʒv ɾəd ɪʃ/
/æt dʊnt ˈθɪŋk ˈdɛt fɪː ə biː ˌbɛk ənˈtɪl ˈmɪdˈnæt/"
/ʃuː ər ræt ləst nət fɪː əd ə dɛt/

ALEX (3)

/*kə:ˈmiːnɪzəm tə ə ˈθɪŋ kəv ðə ˈpæs/"
/*məʊz/ 'piːpəl ˈstɛt ət həʊm ət ɪts təɪm əv dɪ jɪt/
/*ˈæftər 'brekfuːst ət rˈlækst ə 'lɪdəl ən left fər wɜːrk/"
/wət dʊnt jə ʔæsk fər həlp/ə.t jə ɔːl ræt//fiː ʔæskt/
LESLEY (4)

/waɪ dəʊnt əʊ ə skər fɔr hɛlp/ æ:rk jo ɔ:1 ræt //fi: æ:skt/
/dəʊnt ɪmp ə/ æ:rk ɒt / fi: æ:skt/
/ˈæftər hɪ: ˈwɔːʃt bɹaɪst ɪz ti:ð ən ˈfɪnəl ˈbərkflɔst hɪ: lɛft fər wɜːrk/
/wi: ˈfæməlɪ riːtʃ ˌnjuː ˈdɔːr ˈstɪdi bɪˈfɔːr ˈmɪdnaɪt/
/ɪts ə bəʊt tæm ɪt tɔ ˈgfət ə pə ˈmɪdnaɪt/
/ˈmeni əv ˈdiːz ˈpiːpəʊ lɜːf dər ˈhəʊmleɪn ɪn ˈsɜːtʃ əv ə ˈbedər lɑːf/
/ɪts nɪːt dɪ ənd əv ɒt ɜːr ˈfɜːr wɜːrld/ˈdəʊnt kraɪ /
/ət ˈfɜːt ˈpə:k ər əl ˈtəʊd jə æːt/ ɪts nɪːt ə tɜːt ɪts ə ˈprəʊmɪs/
/ˈdəʊnt ɪvən bɪːðər ə ˈwɜːrld /
/ət loʊd ˈtəʊkɪŋ ə bəʊt ˈæntɪm ˈpəːtəm ə ˈtɪŋəz/
/ˈdʒuːd ˈlɔːrd/hiːz ˈsæl ə ˈnɜːd/ət ˈhɜːr ɪt ɜːz ˈhɪz ˈpɔːr
/ɪts ˈsɪˈtʃiː tə zɔr̩t əv wɪnt/ˈdəʊnt sɪˈtʃiː tə ˈsʊvər/
/ɪts ˈhɜːrd tə ˈlɜːm tə ˈbæt ˈhɔɹn
/ˈdʒər ɒn ə tæt ˈbædʒɪt mat ould fɜːn/}

MILDRED (5)

/ðɪz ɪz ə ˈvɛrɪ ˈdɑːrɪkəl ə skər bæt jo kæn du: ɪ/
/wæt dəʊnt əʊ ə skər fɔr hɛlp/æːrk jo ɔːl ræt //fi: æːskt/
/wi: ˈfæməlɪ riːtʃ ˌnjuː ˈdɔːr ˈstɪdi ˈæftər ˈmɪdnaɪt/
/ɪts ə bəʊt tæm ɪt tɔ ˈgfət ə pə ˈmɪdnaɪt/
/ˈmeni əv ˈdiːz ˈpiːpəʊ lɜːf dər ˈhəʊmleɪn ɪn ˈsɜːtʃ əv ə ˈbedər lɑːf/
/ɪts ə bəʊt tæm ɪt tɔ ˈgfət ə pə ˈmɪdnaɪt/
/ˈmeni əv ˈdiːz ˈpiːpəʊ lɜːf dər ˈhəʊmleɪn ɪn ˈsɜːtʃ əv ə ˈbedər lɑːf/
/ɪts nɪːt dɪ ənd əv ɒt ɜːr ˈfɜːr wɜːrld/ˈdəʊnt kraɪ /
/ət ˈfɜːt ˈpə:k ər əl ˈtəʊd jə æːt/ ɪts nɪːt ə tɜːt ɪts ə ˈprəʊmɪs/
/ˈdəʊnt ɪvən bɪːðər ə ˈwɜːrld /
/ət loʊd ˈtəʊkɪŋ ə bəʊt ˈæntɪm ˈpəːtəm ə ˈtɪŋəz/
/ˈdʒuː ər ɽæt ˈlɜːst nɑːtʃ fiː ˈhɑːd ə ˈdɛlf
ZACK (6)

/æfɔr /brekfast at rɪˈlækst ə ˈlɪtdəl ən lefl fɔr w3ːrkw/ ˌʃmoʊktərə ˌlɑːn ˈwɛn ˈʃiː w3ːrkw ə ˈwɛtərəs/ ˈæfɔr hiː wɔːʃt braɪt tə tʃiː ən ˈfɪntʃt ˈbrekfast hiː left fɔr w3ːrkw/ ˈwɪː /ˈfænəlɪ ˈrɪːʃtf njuː ˈʃɔːrk ˈstɪdi brəˈʃt ˈmɪdnɔːt/ ˈmeni ən dɪ ˈpiːpəl lef t dər ˈhoʊʊmlænd ɪn s3ːrɪ ən ə ˈbedər lɑːtɪf/ ˈjuː /ˈʃoʊdən hɑːv blɛɪmd miːti ˈwɔzən mæt fɔːl/ ɪts nɔːt dɪ end ən dʊ w3ːrkw dəʊən kɾaɪ/ ɪts ə ˈbɑːtɪ tæm tʊ ˈgɛt əp ɪf ˈwʊnt ˈwɒnt tʊ biː left/ ˈɑːm ˈsɔːrɪ ə ˈbɑːtɪ ʃɑːr ˌplæɪ ˌbæt ət wɔz ən ˈeɪtəbəl tʊ ˈhɛlp ə/ ˈaɪ ˈlɑːkt dəm ə ˈlɑːn ˈwɛn ət wɔz ˈlɪtdəl/ ət wɜːrkw ə ˈlɑːn ən ˈdiːs ˈprəˈɡeik/nəʊ ət niːd tʊ həv ə fjuː ˈæʊərəz rɛst/ ˈljuː lɔːn də ˈlɑːnd ənt də ˈdɪdən ˈpɛs əʊ tɛst/ˈhæt kæm/ ətrɪː ʃʊ lərk ˈdɛt brəˈkæz ʃʊ dɪ ˈzɜːrɪ fɪ/ ˈbrɪˈfɔːr hiː lef t fɔr w3ːrkw hiː hæd ən ˈɑːrgjʊmənt wɪə hɪz ˌwɛtfl/ ˈaɪ ˈdʊnt ˈwʊnt ˈdɛt ˈʃiː bɪː ˈbæk ənˈtɪl ˈmɪdnɔːt/ ˈjəd ˈbedər ˈʃɛpt ər ər əl tʰrəʊ jə ət/ɪts nɔːt ə ˈθrɛt ɪts ə ˈprəmɪs/ ˈwɜːrkw ṇəʊt ˈpɔɪnt ɪn ˈwɛtɪŋ/hɪr fər sɑːf ə ˈlɑːn tæm/ ˈjɔːr ˈdʒʊt̠k wɔz ˈtrjuːlɪ pəˈθɛtɪk/ˈdɛtʃ wɪ ən flɛk/ dəʊən ɪv ˈbɜːrɪdə ə wɜːrkw/ɪts ə ˈsɪˌkræʃ/ ˈdɛt ˈlʊdʊ ˈtɔːkɪŋ əˈbætɪn tɜːnt ˈtɪməz/ ɡʊd lɔːr/hɪz sɑːf ə ˈnɜːrd/ət hɔːr/ɪts hɔːr tʊ lɔːr/ɪts hɔːr/ɪts ˈræt ˈtɛst nɑːt ʃɪː hæd ə dɛf/ ˈhiː tː ə ˈvɛrɪ wɪɾə ˈpɜːrson/

CAROL (7)

/æfɔr /brekfast at rɪˈlækst ə ˈlɪtdəl ən lefl fɔr w3ːrkw/ ˌwɔrt ˈdʊnt jə əsk fɔr həlp/ət ə ɔːl ˈræt ə ˈæskt/ ˈbrɪˈfɔːr hiː left əʊ rʊːm hiː faʊnd hɪz fɜːtʃ tɹɛft/ dəʊən ɪv ˈtɛmp miːət wɪl nɔːt ʃɛɪnɪŋ ˌmæt ˈmænɪŋ/ ˈæfɔr hiː wɔːʃt braɪt tʃiː ən ˈfɪntʃt ˈbrekfast hiː left fɔr w3ːrkw/ ˌwɪː /ˈfænəlɪ ˈrɪːʃtf njuː ˈʃɔːrk ˈstɪdi brəˈʃt ˈmɪdnɔːt/ ˈmeni ən dɪ ˈpiːpəl lef t dər ˈhoʊʊmlænd ɪn s3ːrɪ ən ə ˈbedər lɑːtɪf/
MELISSA (8)

/æftər ‘brekfəst aɪ rɪ’lækst ə ’lɪdal ən lɛf fər wɜːrk/  
/wɒt dʊnt jə əsk fɔr hɛlp/ər jə ər ræt/ʃi: æskt/  
/
/
/‘æfæt hɪ: wɒʃt b्रɪft ɪz ʧi: ən ’fɪnɪʃt ‘brekfəst hɪ: lɛf fər wɜːrk/  
/wi: ’fɪməli rɪtʃi nju: ʤərk ’sti’d bɪ’fɔr ’mɪdnɑːt/  
/‘æfæt hɪ: wɜːrk ə bɔːt jə plæt/ bæt ət wɔz ən ’eɪtəl tə hɛlp jə/  
/aɪ tək’ spekt jə tə hænd ɪn əʊ rɪ’pɔːt əz suːn əz ’pɑːsɪbəl/  
/aɪ wɜːrk ə ʟɪdʒ ən ʤɪ’sprəʊtək nəʊ ət nɪd ət hæv ə ʃuː: ’æsərz əv rest/  
/
/jæd ‘bedər əŋk ə ’bɒt tə bɪ’fɔr jə ʤuː: ’enɪnθi/  
/’brɪfɔr hɪ lɛf fər wɜːrk hɪ hæd ən ’rɪɡɜːmənt wɪð hɪz wɜːt/  
/aɪ dʊnt əŋk ət lɪ: bi: bæk ənt’ɪl ’mɪdnɑːt/  
/
/jæd ‘bedər ʃeɪp ər əl əʊr əd ɪts ə ’prəʊmɪtʃəs/  
/ʃer ʤeu,t wɔz ’truːli pə’θetɪk/ʤeɪts wɜːt ɪt fɛl fɛt/  
/ɪf əʊr wənt tə biː ’helə ʃəd ’prəʊtəks spət/ ɪn ə ’rɪgɜːmənt ’bətɪts/  
/’fɪ əʊr hɪ: ɪz kwaɪt fət hɪ: hæd ɪn əf ’kɜːrɪŋ tə əsk hɔr ət/  
/gʊd lɑːrd/ɪz səf ə nərd/ət hɜːrd ɪt wɔz hɪz pə’tʃɪl/  
/gʊv stɛrt tə hɛd əʊ tɜːm ræt/  
/ɪts hɑːt/rd tə tɜːm ɪt bæt hɑːt/r  
/ʃiː ə ræt/læst nɑːt fʃiː hæd ə dətʃiː/  
/’hɪ: ɪz ə ’veri wɪt ə ’pɜːrɪsən/
AMY S. (10)

/‘æf@r ‘brekfæst æt rt’lækst æ ‘ltdol æn lef for w3:rk/
/ðits æn ‘veri ‘difftkæl tæsk hað jo kæn du: z/ 
/doʊnt temp mi:/æt wɪl nɔt tʃeɪndʒ mai mænð/ 
/‘æf@r hi: wɔ:ft bɾæft iz ti:ð æn ‘fɪnɪʃt ‘brekfæst hi: lef for w3:rk/
/wi: ‘fænæli rɪtʃ nju: ʃɔrkt stɪdi brɔr ‘mɪndnæf/
/its æn bрен /nju: kɑ:t petɪd æ lɜ:d æv ‘mænɪ æv tɪ/ 
/‘meni æv dɪ:z ‘piːpɔl left ðər ‘hʊəumlæn tɪn sɜːrd æv æ ‘bɛdər ˈlæf/ 
/ju: ‘fɒd@n hæv bletɪmd mi:/ɪt ‘wæz@n miæt fɔː k/ 
/its nɔt dɪ end æv do w3:rlɪ/doʊnt kɾæt/ 
/its ɔːbæt tʌɪm tɔ get æp fɪ wi:/ doʊnt wɔːn tɔ bi: lef/ 
/mɔʊvz ‘piːpɔl ær wɔɪt æf@r dɪ ɪ’vɛn/ 
/æm sɔːri æ ˈbɑːtɪt ʃɔrt plæt at waz æn ‘seqtɪl tɔ help ja/
/its rʊd tɔ bɜːrp wɛn ja æ r’ræʊnɪŋ ‘piːpɔl/
/if jo wɔːnt tɔ hæv gʊd mɑːrks jo mɑːst w3:rk æ lɔːr/
/at w3:rlɪ æ lɑːt. ɒn dɪs ‘prɑːsɛkt nuːt æt nɪd tɔ hæv æ ʃuː ‘æʃɔrz rɛst/
/if d lɑːt kʊt goʊd ɒn æ trɪp r’ræʊn ɒ d wɜːrlɪ/
/at trɪt jʊ lɑːt dɛt bɜːkæz jʊ dɪ tɜːr vɪ l/
/bɪ ‘fɔː r lef for wɜːrk hi had an ‘ɛrgjʊmənt wɪð hɪz wɔɪt /
/ˈɒrɔz nɔt pɔɪn tɪn ‘weɪtɪŋ hɪər fɔr sɑːf ə lɔː ˈtɛm/ 
/if jo wɔːnt æ bi: ‘hɛltɪ ɪə fəd ‘præktɪs spɔː tɪn æ ‘rɛgjułər ‘bɛtsɪs/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf æ nɛrd/æt hɜːrd ɪt waz hɪz pɔːt r/ 
/goʊd streɪt ɔ ˈhɛd ɒn tɜːr ræt/ 
/its hɜːrd tɔ lɜːr n ɪt bɑːt hɑːr/ 
/juː æ ræt/lɛst nɔt fɪ: had æ dɛt/ 
/hɪ: tɜː ə ‘vɛrɪ wɪð ‘pɜːrsɒn/ 
/jær ɒn ə tæt ‘hædɪt mat oʊʊld frend/
AMY L. (11)

/fi:/ mist ja soy maʃ en ja doun /i:van ker/
/wa/ doʊnt ja əsk fər help/ət jo ɔ:lin rai/t/æsk\ /
/btʃ/ for hi: leif ðə ru:n hı: faʊnd ðz fres dræft/ /
/ji:/ smaʊk ə laɪt wen fi: wɜːrk aʊ ə ‘wettras/
/ætæm wæk/at ni:d sʌm slı:p/ 
/ðz pleʃts ɪz pæk/lets gʊt ’samwer els/ 
/wi/: ‘fæmpli rɪt/ŋju: jɔrk ’stɪdi bɪ’fɔr ’mɪdnat/ 
/at/ ɔ: ‘rɛdɪ tɔʊld /jə/at doʊnt nəʊ/ɪts kəʊtɪn hɪ/lets getɪn’saɪd/ 
/ɪts nɑː ɪ d end ɔv ðo wɜːrld doʊnt kɹət/ 
/ju:/ kɛnt ʧʌst ɡɪv ɑp/ɪf jo doʊnt træt ju: wɪl ‘nɛvər nʊ/ 
/ɪts ɔ’bæt tɑɪm tə get əp ɪf wi: doʊnt wɔːnt tə bi: lɛt/ 
/æt doʊnt laɪk ɪt wɛn ’piːpəl ær rʊnd æn’kjuːθ/ 
/æt doʊnt nʊt hər æt ɔ:/wʊtɪz fiː lɑɪk/ 
/həi: wɔːt hɪz ‘d3ːrɪ hænds ɒn ðo bɛk əv hɪz wɔɪt ˈfæt/ 
/at tʃ/ spekt jə tə hænd ɪn ðə rt’pɔːr əz ˈsʌn əz ‘pɔːstɪbəl/ 
/ɜːt nɜːt ən ɔː lɪv ‘nɛvər tɔːk tə hər ɪn ’pɜːrson/ 
/ɪts rʊd tə bɜːrp wɛn ʃə ə ˈræʊnt ’piːpəl/ 
/maɪ ｌeɪs ɪn ’kæntɔr wɪð ɒts fri:k ’tɔʊdəli ʌn’nɜːsɪv mɪ/ 
/ðə leɪs tɑɪm ɑt ˈsɒ ə wɜːrm wæz ə fjuː: dɛiz ə ’ɡʊt/ 
/btʃ for hi lef fər wɜːrk hi: hæd ən ’tʃærjəmənt wɪð ɪz wɔɪt/ 
/ɪf jo wɔːnt tə bi: ’hɛləʊ jə fəd ’præktɪs spɔːr ɪn ə ’rɛʤɪtər ˈbɛtsɪs/ 
/ɪts ’stɪəri ɪz sɔːrt əv ˈwɜːrld doʊnt sɔːrt ˈʃʊvər/ 
/hɪ:/ ɪz ə ’vɛri wɪd ˈpɜːrson/ 

AMY P. (12)

/’æftər ‘brekfaq/ ɪt rt ˈlækst ɔ ’lɪdəl ən lɛf fər wɜːrk/ 
/wi:/ ’fæmpli rɪt/ ŋju: jɔrk ’stɪdi bɪ’fɔr ’mɪdnat/ 
/ju:/ ʃəd əv wɔtʃ/ ən njuːz ’jɛstərdi/ 
/ju:/ ’ʃʊndənt əv blɛtmɪ/ ˈmiːt/ ’wɜːzənt maɪ fɔːl/ 
/ɪts nɑːt ði end əv ðo wɜːrl ɪs doʊnt kɹət/ 
/ɪts ɔ’bæt tɑɪm tə get əp ɪf wi: doʊnt wɔːnt tə bi: lɛt/ 
/hɪ:/ wɔːpɔt hɪz ‘d3ːrɪ hænds ɒn ðo bɛk əv hɪz wɔɪt ˈfæt/ 
/at tʃ/ spekt jə tə hænd ɪn ðə rt’pɔːr əz ˈsʌn əz ‘pɔːstɪbəl/ 
/ɜːt nɜːt ən ɔː lɪv ‘nɛvər tɔːk tə hər ɪn ’pɜːrson/ 
/ɪts rʊd tə bɜːrp wɛn ʃə ə ˈræʊnt ’piːpəl/ 
/ɪf jo wɔːnt əʊ hʌv ɡud mɑːrks jə mɔːst wɜːrk ə lɑː/
BETH (13)

/moʊst 'piːpɔl stɛt ət houm ət ðɪs tɛm əv ði jɪr/
/juː mest ði əp ə'gen/hɑtʊ kæm jər sɑf ə 'bæŋɡlər/
/doʊnt tɛmp miːət wʊl nɑt feɪndʒ mat mæɪnd/
/ˈeɪfter hɪː wɔːʃt bremʧ iz tɪː ðə ŋ 'fɪŋʃt 'bɛrkflst hɪː lɛf fər wɔːr kɪk/
/ɪz nɔːt ði ənd ən ðə wɔːrklæd doʊn kral/
/ɜːrst əv ðil ət vɜːn tɔk tə hær tən 'pɜːrson/
/ɪts rɪd tɔ hɜːr pɛn jə ðə rəʊnt 'piːpɔl/
/ʃiːd lɛrk tə gʊt dən ə ˈtrɪp ə'raʊnd ðə wɔːrklæd/
/ˈbrɪfɔːr hɪː lɛf fər wɔːr kɪk hɪː hæd ðən 'ɑrɡjəmənt wɪð iz wɔːt/
/ɪf əʊ wɔnt tə biː: 'hɛlθi jəd ˈpræktɪs spɔːrɪŋ ðə ˈrɛɡjʊlər 'bɛtɪsɪs/
/dət lʊtə 'tɪːkɪŋ ə'bæst ə'nɪm'pɔːr'teŋ ɒnɪz/
/ðɪs ˈstɔːri iz sɔːrt əv wɪnt doʊnt stɑːrt ˈɒʊvər/
/hɪː iz ðə 'vɛrɪ wɪrt' 'pɜːrson/

HAYLEY (14)

/wɔt doʊn jə əsk fə hɛlp/tɔː r jə ði ər ræt fiː æskt/
/doʊnt tɛmp miːət wʊl nɑt feɪndʒ mat mæɪnd/
/ʃiː smʊkt ə lɔːt ən wɛn fiː wɔːr kɪk ə ˈwɛttrəs/
/ˈeɪfter hɪː wɔːʃt bremʧ iz tɪː ðə ŋ 'fɪŋʃt 'bɛrkflst hɪː lɛf fər wɔːr kɪk/
/wiː 'fæməli rɪtʃt njuː jɔːr kɪk 'sɪsti bɪ:ər 'mɪdnait/
/ˈmeni əv ðiːz 'piːpɔl lɛft dər 'hʊʊmlænd ɪn sɔːrɪ fə ðə 'bɛdər lɑɪf/
/juː 'ʃɛdən ˈhæv bletmd miːt 'wæsən ˌmat fə:'l/ 
/ɪts ə 'bɑːtɪ tæm tə ɡet əp ɪf wiː doʊn wɔːnt ðə biː ˈlɛf/
/ət mɔːn ə 'bɑːtɪ jər plæt bət ət wɑz ən 'ɛtʃbəl tə hɛlp jə/
/ət lɛkt ˈdɒm ə lɔːt ən wɛn ət wɑz ˈɪtʃdəl/
/ət rɪk ˈspɛkt jə tə hɛnd ɪn ðə ˈrɪˈpɔːrəz sən ən ˈpæsɪbəl/
/juː ˈlɜːnd ə lɔːt ənd jə ˈdɪdən ˈpɛs ðə tɛst/hæt kæm/
/ˈbrɪfɔːr hɪː lɛf fər wɔːr kɪk hɪː hæd ðən 'ɑrɡjəmənt wɪð hɪz wɔːt/
/ət doʊn tʃɪŋk ˈdeɪt fiː l biː bɛk ən ˈtɪː 'mɪdnait/
/dɔrz noʊ ˈpɔɪnt ɪn ˈweɪtɪŋ hɪr fər sɑf ə ˈloʊŋ tæm/
/ɪf əʊ wɔnt tə biː: 'hɛlθi jəd ˈpræktɪs spɔːrɪŋ ðə ˈrɛɡjʊlər 'bɛtɪsɪs/
/dət lʊtə ˈtɔːkɪŋ ə'bæst ə'nɪm'pɔːr'teŋ ɒnɪz/
JOSHDUB

\[\text{'after hi: wo:ft brəft iz ti:Œ an 'fɪnɪt 'brekfa:st hi: lef for wɜ:rk/}
\text{wi: 'fæmlı riːt nju: jʊrk 'sɪdi bɪ'fɔːr 'mɪdnɔt/}
\text{meni ov diːz 'piːpɔl lef dɔr 'hʊmlɛnd in sɜːr əv o 'bedər laiʃ/}
\text{atm sɔːri a'baʊt jər plæt bat aɪ waz an 'eɪtəbal to help ju/}
\text{aɪ lɛɪkt dəm ə lo: wen aɪ waz 'ɪtəd:/}
\text{aɪ rək spekt ju to hænd i:n do rə'pɔːz az su:n az 'pɑːʃəbal/}
\text{brɪər hi lef for wɜːrk hi had an 'ɑːrəˈgæmənt wɪð hɪz wɔ:t/}
\text{aɪ doʊnt θɛŋk dɛt ʃiː l bi: bɛk ən 'tɪl 'mɪdnɔt/}
\text{dɔd 'bedər jətŋ ər ɛl əl ɔːrəʊ jə əd/its nɔt ə θɛɛr ət sə ə 'prɑːmɪts/}
\text{dɔr əʊt ʃəʊm ɪn 'wɛtɪŋ hɪz fər səf ə loːŋ tæm/}
\text{tɪf ʃu wɔːnt tə bi: 'helθi jə jʊd 'præktɪs spər ɪn ə 'rɛɡjʊlər 'bɛɪts/}
\text{tɪːdʊ hɪ: ɪz kwɔ:t fət hi: had tən 'kɜːtʃʊd tə wɛs kər ar/}
\text{gʊd ʃʊd hiːz 'sæf ə nɛrd/ɪt hɜːt ɪt wɔz hɪz prɔː/}
\text{gʊt strɛt tə hɛd ən tɜːm ræɪ/}
\text{ɪts hɜːt ɪt tɜːm ɪt bæt hɔːt/}
\text{ju: ər ræɪ/laest natt ʃi: had ə dɛt/}

JANE

\[\text{'æftər 'brekfast ət ɪ'tɛɪkst o 'ɪtədəl ən lef for wɜːrk/}
\text{ʊts ɪz ə 'veri 'dɪftɪkəlt tɛsk ʃæt ʃe kæn du: ɪ/}
\text{fɪː smɔːtkt ə lɔː ʃen ʃi ː wɜːrt əz ə 'weltræs/}
\text{aɪ 'æftər hi: wɔːft brəft iz tiːɊ an 'fɪnɪt hɪz 'brekfast hi: lef for wɜːrk/}
\text{wiː 'fæmlə riːt njuː jʊrkJ 'sɪdɪ bɪ'fɔːr 'mɪdnɔt/}
\text{meni ov diːz 'piːpɔːl lef dɔr 'hʊmlɛnd in sɜː:t əv o 'bedər laiʃ/}
\text{juː 'ʃʊdən hæv bɛltimd mi:/tɪ 'wæson mat fɔːl/}
\text{ɪts nɔt ə end əv do wɜːrkt doʊnt kraɪ/}
\text{atm sɔːri a'baʊt jər plæt bat aɪ waz an 'eɪtəbal to help ju/}
\text{aɪ lɛɪkt dəm ə loː ʃen ə waz 'ɪtəd:/}
\text{ɪf ʃu wɔːnt ə boʊ ɡʊd mərks ʃə ʃæst wɜːrk ə lo:/}
\text{aɪ wɜːrkt ə lɔː ʃən ʊts 'prəʊŋk ʃeɪd ət niːd ə hav ə ʃuː ː 'æsər ɾest/}
\text{ʃuː lɜːnm ə loː ʃənd ə 'dɪdəm pɛs ə test/hæt kæm/}
\text{aɪ triː juː lɛɪkt dɛt ətʃ ʊz ʃə ʃɪ zɜːtʃʊ ɪ/}
\text{hiː ɡʊd a prɑːtʃ bat hiː di'zɜːrtd ɪ/}
\text{bɪ'fɔːr hi lef for wɜːrk hi had an 'ɑːrəˈgæmənt wɪð hɪz wɔːt/}
\text{aɪ doʊnt θɛŋk dɛt ʃiː l biː bɛk ən'əl 'mɪdnɔt/}
GAIL (17)

/*æftær ‘brekfast at rt’lækst o ‘lídol oñ left fr w3:rk/
/dís í x o ’veri ‘difícult tæks bát ja kën du: it/
/doønt temp mi: ài wíl na’t fëntëg mat maind/
/*æftær hi: së:ft bræft í z tì:ð an ‘fínit ‘brekfast hi: left fr w3:rk/
/*fó:ri hí left fr w3:rk hi had an ‘s:ji:jamant wíð híz wátf/
/*dés lóö ‘tò:kì ‘baút Aním’pó:tton ðímg/
/goò stërrt o’hed àn t3:rn rai/
/its hò:rd tò t3:rn òt båt hò:rd/

NORMA (18)

/*íf jo prág:ü:is tò ñesk or añ du: ná’t bëak oñ àv ñ/
/*æftær ‘brekfast at rt’lækst o ‘lídol oñ left fr w3:rk/
/doønt temp mi: ài wíl na’t fëntëg mat maind/
/*í: smòft o lón: wen í: w3:rk òz o ‘wëttòrs/
/its o bënn ní:ju: ká:ri ài péò d oñ: òv ‘màni fr ñ/
/*mëni òv dì:z: pí:pol left dår ‘hëomblënt ín s3:fr òv o ‘bëdàr làtn/
/*jú: ‘jò:don hòv bëltëmd mi: òti ‘wàzòn mat fo: /
/*fì: wàz rëizd ín o pùr ‘nëtëbàrdö/
/its o ‘bàut tàim tò get ãp íf wì: doønt wàønt tò bi: left/
/*ám sò:ri o ‘bàut jàr plàt båt ài wàz àn ‘èbòl tò help ja/
/*áì látkt dàm o lón: wen ài wàz ‘lídol/
/*áì tık spëkt jo tò hënd ín ñò rò ‘pà:ri: òz sën òz ‘pà:èbòl/
/its rúd tò h3:rp wen jà o ‘rëønt ‘pì:pol /
/*áì w3:rk òlòn òn dís ‘prà:ø:ęk nàu àí nìd tò hòv o fjú: ‘àvørz rëst/
/*jì: lákt tò gòò òn o tìp o ‘rëønt òò wà:rl/"
/í:doønt òhëk dët fì:bi: bëak tì ‘mënd/"
/*jëd ‘bëdà ‘jètògrim òr èlles all òrò:ù ã ãu ìs: nàt o òrët ìs o ‘prà:ø:is/
/*dàø ‘nàt pënt òn ‘wëtëtë hír fr sà:ft o lón: tàim/
/*íf jò wàønt tò bi: ‘hëltì jà jàd ‘prëkitts spà:ò òn ò ‘rëgjûlt ‘bèisûs/
CAROL (19)

/gʌd lɔ:r/hiːzd ə ˈnɜːrd/ət hɜːrd ɪt wɔz hɪz pɑːr/ /gʊ ˈstreɪt əˈhɛd ən tɜːrn rɑː/ /juː ə rɑːt/ˈleɪst nɑːt fiː hæd ə dɛt/ /hiː t ə ˈvɛrɪ wɜːp ˈpɜːsən/ /ʃærd/ət maɪt əʊʊld frend/ 

HOPE (20)

/gʌd lɔ:r/hiːzd ə ˈnɜːrd/ət hɜːrd ɪt wɔz hɪz pɑːr/ /gʊ ˈstreɪt əˈhɛd ən tɜːrn rɑː/ /hɜːt hɑːrd tə lɜːrn ɪt bæt hɜːt/ 

MARK (21)

/gʌd lɔ:r/hiːzd ə ˈnɜːrd/ət hɜːrd ɪt wɔz hɪz pɑːr/ /gʊ ˈstreɪt əˈhɛd ən tɜːrn rɑː/ 

LARRY (22)

/ˈætʃər ˈbrɛkʃəst ət rɪˈleɪkst əˈlɪdəl ən lɛf ˈfər wɜːrk/ /bɪˈfɔːr hiː həd də ruːm hiː faʊnd ɪz fɜːst dרצ/ /ˈætʃər hiː wɜːst bɾaɪt ɪz tɪːən ˈfɪntʃt ˈbrɛkʃəst hiː lɛf ˈfər wɜːrk/ /juː ˈfaːnəli rɪŋ ˈjʊː ˈjʊːk rɪ dɪ bɪˈfɔːr ˈmɪdnɔːt/ /juː ˈfæd hʌv wɔːt ɪd ˈdjuːz ˈjɛstərdi/ /hɪz ə bɾɛnɪŋ ˈnjuː ˈkwərt ə lɔːd əv ˈmæni fɔr ɪt/ /fiː wɔz rɛtʃən ə pɜːr ˈneɪtɪbə r hʌd/ /hɪz ˈnɔːt ɪ dɪ ˈend əv ˈfər wɜːrk/ /dʊn/ krɑːf/ /ˈɔʊnli fəˈtʃuːrdənts ˈhævn ˈpɛst ɪgˈzɛm/ /ətʃərn ˈsɔːri ə bɔːt ˈdʒæk pleɪŋ bæt ət wɔz ənˈeɪtəl tə hɛlp ˈʃæd/ /ət laɪk əm ə lɔːt ˈwən ət wɔz əˈlɪdəl/ /ət dʊn/ Θŋk ˈdiː tʃiː biː ˈbek ənˈtɪkl ˈmɪdnɔːt/ /ɪf jə woʊnt tə biː ˈhelbi jə ˈʃæd præktɪs spəˈtɒn ə ˈrɛɡjʊlar ˈbeɪts/ /ˈdiː lʊstəd ˈtʃiː bɔːt əntɪm ˈpɔːrtn ˈθŋz/ /gʊ ˈstreɪt əˈhɛd ən tɜːrn rɑː/ /hɜːt hɑːrd tə lɜːrn ɪt bæt hɜːt/ /ʃærd/ət maɪt əʊʊld frend/
BECCA (23)

'wefar hi: wɔj brʌŋ iz tí: ɔn 'fɪmʊ 'brekfɔst hi: left fɔr wɜ:rk/
/wi: jɔd 'nevər ɫet 'sɔ: 'fɪlɪdɒn plɛt wɪð ɔ nɔr tfns ɪt maɪ bɪ: 'dɛindrical/
/at 'tk' spekt ɻa to hend ɪn ɻo t'pɑ: ɻæ ʮwɜ: n 'pɑ:sɪbəl/
/ʃiː d laɪk tɔ ɡʊʊ ɻən ə tɾɪp ə 'rævənl ɻə wɜ:rl/
/bɪ fɔːr hi left fɔr wɜ:rk hi hæd ən 'ɔːr'ɡɜːmənt wɪð ɪz waɪf/
/at dʊnt ʊŋk dɛt ʃiː biː ɓɛk ɻan'tɪtl 'mɪdnɪt/
/ɡʊʊ lɔːrd/hɪː z 'ʃæt ə nerd/ɑt hɜːd rɪt ɪt wɔz hɪz pʊːr/
/ɡʊʊ stɹt ə hɛd ən ɪsːm ræf/

MAX (24)

/kɑː mɪtjʊnɪzəm iz ə ˈθjuː əv ˌdə pɛs/ 
/ðɪz ɪz ˌdə bɛst ˈfɪlm ət hæv 'ɛvər sɪn/ 
/ʃiː mɪst juː sʊ ˈmɑːf ən juː dʊnt əi:'væn kɛn/ 
'wefar 'brekfɔst at rt'leɪkstə ɻɪˈdɔl ən left fɔr wɜːrk/
/ðɪs ɪz ə ˈvɛrɪ 'dɪfɪkəlt tæsk ɻæt ɻə kɛn ðu: ɪt/
/dʊnt ˈtempl miː/æt wɪl nɔt tʃeɪnd ˈmæt maɪnd/
/ðɪs plɛts iz ˈpɛkl/letʃ ɡʊʊ 'sæmwer ɛls/
'wefar hiː wɔːf brəŋ iz tíː ɔn ˈfɪmʊ 'brekfɔst hiː left fɔr wɜːrk/
/wiː ˈfæməli ˈrɪtʃ njuː jɔːrk ˈsɪdɪ bɪː fɔr ˈmɪdnɪt/
/ʃuː ʃæd əv wɔːf ɻə ɻə:njuː ˈjestardɪ/
/'meni əv ðiːz ˈpiːpəl left ðər ˈhoʊmleɪnd ɪn sərtʃ əv ə ˈbedər lɑːtʃ/
/ʃuː ʃɒdən əv ˈbɛtɪm d miː/ɪt ˈwɔzænt ˈmæt fɔːl/
/æt ɔːl'redi təʊld jə/æt dʊnt əʊ/tʃʊs kʊəld ɪn hɪt/lets get ɪn'saɪd/
/hɪ: fɛrtld tə kæn'tɪŋz ær/ʃiː: ˈəʊnli ˈsɜːrɑːd ən əl left/
/ʃiː wɔz rɛtʃ ɪn ə ˈpʊt ˈniːbərɜʊd/ 
/mɑʊz ə 'piːpəl ɔr wɔːl wɛfər ət ðə ˈvɛn/ 
/æt mə kær ə 'bætʃ ɻə plæt bæt ɻə wɔz ɻən'etbəl tə hɛlp ɻə/ 
/ɪts rʊd tə bɜːrp wɛn ɻə ə ɻə:'rɑːnt ə ˈpiːpəl/ 
/æt wɜːrk ə lɑːt ən ˌdɪs prɔ:tsɛk/næt ə miːd tə hæv ə fjuː: ˈæɑːrəz rɛst/
/ʃuː ˌlə:n d ə lɑːt ən ˈdɪdənt pɛs də tɛst/hæt kæm/
/brɪ'fɔːr hi left fɔr wɜːrk hi hæd ən ˈɔːr'ɡɜːmənt wɪð ɪz waɪf/
/at dʊnt ʊŋk dɛt ʃiː biː ɓɛk ɻan'tɪtl 'mɪdnɪt/
/hɪz ˈkæmpənɪ ˈθræɪv fər ə ˈlɔːŋ tæm/ˈæfərwɔːrdz ɪt wɛn dɑːn ən ɻɛtʃ/ 
/duːn ɪv ˈbriːd ə wɜːrk/ɪts ə 'siːkræt/ 
/æt ləʊd ə 'tɔːˈkɪp əˈbætənt ˈænɪm poʊ:tən ˈθɪŋz/ 
/ɡʊʊ stɹt ə hɛd ən ɪsːm ræf/
/ɪts hʊːrd tə ɪsːm rɪt bɑːt hɑːr/
TARA (25)

/'æfər 'brekfəst aɪ rɪ'leɪkst ə 'lɪdəl ən leɪ fɔr wɜːrkl/
/ɪf ɡoʊ bɪ'tret hɔr ɡo ɹɪsk 'luːzɪŋ 'sæmweɪn hjuː ləv v ə lʊk/
/wɔɪ doʊtn ɡo aʃk fɔr hɛlp/ər tʃ ə ɹæl fɾiː əʃk/
/'æfər hiː wɜːʃt bræft ɪz ɪəθ ən 'fɪnɪʃt 'brekfəst hiː lɛft fɔr wɜːrkl/
/wiː 'fætnəli riːʃl njuː ʃɔːrl 'stìði bɪ'fɔr 'mɪdnaɪl/
/'mɛn əv dɪz 'piːpəl lɛft dɔr 'həʊmlendz ɪn sɜːrə ov ə 'bɛdər lɜːt/
/juː 'ʃʊdənt əv ˈbliːtməd miːt/ɪt 'wɜːzən mæt tʃoʊl/
/ɪts ə bɔːt tæɪm tə gɛt ɪp ɪf wiː doʊtn wɜːnt ə biː lɛf/
/ˈoʊnli fætɪŋ 'ʃtjuːdənts 'hævən pæst əʊ ɪɡ ˈzæm/
/ətɪm sɔːri ə bɔːt jɔr plæt bɑt aɪ wɜːz ən 'ɛtɪbəl tə hɛlp jə/
/ət tʃk ˈspɛkt ʃə tə hænd ɪn ə ɹɪˈpɔːr əz suːn əz 'pɜːˈstɪbəl/
/ɪts rʊd tə bɜːrp ˈwɛn ɡər ə 'rɑːʊnɪŋ 'piːpəl/
/briveɪ hiː lɛft fɔr wɜːrkl ɡiː hɪd ən ˈɔːr'ɡɪmənt wɪð ɪz wɜːf/
/ɪf ɡoʊ wɜːnt tə biː 'helbɪ ɡoʊ ˈpræktɪs spɔːr tɔn ə ˈrɛɡjʊlər ˈbɛɪzɪs/
/bəl dʊ tʃiː hiː ɪz kwaɪt fæt hɪː hɔd ɪn əf 'kɜːrɪdʒ tə əʃk hər aʊ/
/ˈdɛt lʊdə tʃəʊkɪŋ ə bɔːt əntɪm 'pɔːrtnəŋ ˈtɪŋz/

HARRY (26)

/brɪtʃə hiː lɛft də ruːm hiː fiːnənd ɪz fəz ə dɹɛft/
/duːnt ˈtɛmpi miːt/ər wɜːt ɡeɪt fɨntəd maɪt mæɪnd/
/wiː ˈsmaʊkt ə lʊk ˈwɛn wiː wɜːrkl əz ə 'wɛtərəs/
/ətɪm wɜːk/əf ɪd səm sliːp/
/əts ˈplɛts ɪz ˈpækt/ˈletz ɡʊd ˈsæmweɪr ɛlz/
/wiː ˈfætnəli ˈriːʃl njuː ʃɔːrl ˈstɪði bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdnaɪl/
/juː ˈʃʊdənt əv wɜːnt ə ˈʃiːzdətɪŋ /
/juː ˈʃʊdənt əv ˈblɛɪməd miːt/ɪt 'wɜːzən mæt ˈfɔːl/
/ˈoʊnli fætɪŋ 'ʃtjuːdənts 'hævən pæst əʊ ɪɡ ˈzæm/
/ətɪm sɔːrɪ ə bɔːt jɔr plæt ˈbæt aɪ wɜːz ən 'ɛtɪbəl tə hɛlp jə/
/ət tʃk ˈspɛkt ʃə tə hænd ɪn ə ɹɪˈpɔːr əz suː əz 'pɜːˈstɪbəl/
/ɪts rʊd tə bɜːrp ˈwɛn ɡər ə ˈrɑːʊnɪŋ 'piːpəl/
/ət wɜːrk ə lʊt ɪn əts ˈprəʊˈsɛkt/ˈnæs ə niːd tə həv ə fjuː əˈʃærz rɛst/
/hɪː ɡət ɪp ˈbɛtə bræft ɪz ɪəθ ən ɡət drest/
/ˈdɛt lʊdə tʃəʊkɪŋ ə bɔːt əntɪm ˈpɔːrtnəŋ ˈtɪŋz/
/ɡʊd stɹɪt əˈhed ən tɜːr ˈræf/
/juː ər ræf əˈlɛst nɑːt ʃiː hɔd ə dɛf/
/hɪː ɪz ə ˈvɛrɪ wɪrə ˈpɜːrson/
/jɔr ən ə tæt ˈbætɪŋ maɪt əʊʊld frend/
JULIE (28)

/ˈkɑːməntɪzm/ iz ə θɪŋ av do pes/
/əʃtər ˈbrekfəst æt rtˈlɛkst ə ˈlɪdl ən lef ər wɜːrkl/
/wɔt dɔʊnt jo əsk fər help/æt jo ɔːl ræt/ fɪ: æsklt/
/briː/ fɔːr hi: lef ə ru:m hi: əʊnd hɪz fəs dræft/
/æt stɑːpt ˈɑːrgju:ɪŋ ræt əˈʃtər ˈsæmwaɪ əŋk ən do ər/
/ʃiː: ˈplænd ɒn ˈgɛdɪŋ dɪˈvoʊərs/
/juː/ ʃədən əv bletɪmd miːt/ɪt ˈwɑːzən maɪ fɔːl/
/jiː: wɔz rɛtɪŋ ɪn ə pɜːr ˈnetɪbərəd/
/wər dɪd ən ɡet rɛtɪŋ/
/ɪts nɔt ə di ɛn dʊv ə ʍɔːr/ ˈdʊʊnt ˈkræt/
/juː/ ˈkɛn/ ʧəst giːv əp/ɪf jo ˈdʊʊnt ˈtræt juː ˈwɪl ˈnɪvr ˈnəʊ/ 
/ˈoʊnli feɪv ˈʃtjuːdənts ˈhævən ˈpɛst ə tɪʁ ˈzɛm/ 
/ət ɪk/ spekt ə tə ˈhænd ɪn do rtˈpɔːr təz suːn əz ˈpɔːtɪbəl/
/ɪts ruːd tə bɜːrp ən ʒo ə rˈɑːnt/ ˈpiːpəl/
/ət wɜːrkt ə lʊt\ ɪn ˈdɪts ˈprɔʊdʒekt/ ˈnɔːt ə ˈniːd tə həv ə ʃjuː ˈæʊər z əˈʃɛrə s\ /
/juː/ lɜːmd ə lʊt: ənd ən ˈdɪdən ˈpɛs ə ˈtɛst/ hæz ˈkæm/ 
/ɪf ˈdʒəʊr ˈsəbˈmɪt ə tə ˈpetər ɒn tæm ʃæl ˈfɛt lə ˈkɔːrs ətəm əˈfɛtɪd/ 
/ɒt ˈlʊdə ˈtɔːkɪŋ oʊˈbætɪn ˈpɔːrtən θɪŋz/ 
/ɡud ˈlɔːrd/ ɪz ˈsæf ə nɜːd/at bɜːrd it ˈwɔz ɪtˈz ˈpɔːr/ 
/ˈdɪts ˈstɔːrɪ iz ˈsɔːrt əv wɜːr/ ˈdʊʊnt ˈstɔːrt ˈsəʊvər/ 
/ɪts hɜːrd tə lɜːd it ˈbæt ˈhɜːɾ/ 
/hiː: ɪz ə ˈvɛrɪ wɛl ˈpɜːrson/ 

BRIAN (27)

/'kɑːməntɪzm/ iz ə θɪŋ av do pes/
/mɔːst/ ˈpiːpəl stɛt ə təʊm ət ˈdɪs tæɪm ov ə ti ˈʃiː/ 
/ˈəʃtər ˈbrekfəst æt rtˈlɛkst ə ˈlɪdl ən lef ər wɜːrkl/
/wɔt dɔʊnt jo əsk fər help/æt jo ɔːl ræt/ fɪ: æsklt/
/wɪˈɡɑːst/ ˈtʃɪŋ ə ˈdɪst ə trop/ ˈkær ə ˈæft/ mət /
/hiː ˈwɔːtɪŋ hɪz ˈdɪːr ˈhændz ɒn ə̈ ˈbæk əv hɪz wɔːt ˈfɜːti/ 
/ət ɪk/ spekt ə tə ˈhænd ɪn do rtˈpɔːr təz suːn əz ˈpɔːtɪbəl/
/ɪts ruːd tə bɜːrp ən ʒo ə rˈɑːnt/ ˈpiːpəl/ 
/fɪːd lɜːk tə ˈɡʊt ɒn ə ˈtɪp əˈraʊnd ər wɜːrkl/
/jiːz ˈɡʊrd ə flɛt fər ˈtɪʃɪŋ ʃæn/ ˈfɪt ˈdrən/ hæt/ əˈvər ʃiː ˈdæsənt ˈlɑːk tı ˈwɛn ˈdɛt ˈswər/ 
/pʊt ˈdɪts ˈpɛtər ə nɪt ət əˈʃɛtɪ pliːz/ 
/ˈdæd ə ˈbɛd ə θɪŋk əˈbæt ɪt ɪˈtʃɪŋ ʃæn juː ˈenɪθɪŋ/ 
/əˈtɪv bɪn ə ˈwɛtɪŋ ən ə ˈænsər ə før ə ʃjuː: ˈwɪks/
OLIVIA (29)

"Wait doont ja ask for help/oː r joʊ ɔː l rai/l/jiː əskt/ 
/bt/ for hiː left ə do rëum hiː faʊnd ɪz fæst draıft/ 
/juː 'ʃʊndən ov blætmɪd miː/ɪl 'wæzont maɪ fɑːl/ 
/ɪts nɔːt ði end əv ə doʊ wɜːrd/duʊnt kræt/ 
/juː ken dʒæst gɪv ɪf jə duʊnt træt jʊː əl 'nevor nod/ 
/ɪts ər baʊtɪ tæm tə gɪt ɪf wɪː duʊnt wɑːnt tə biː lɛt/ 
/ətɪm sɔːr rə ər hæt jər plet bæt ət wæz ən'etbəl tə help jə/ 
/hiː wæpt hɪz ə ˈdɛrti hænds ən ə bæk əv hɪz wɔːt ʃæt/ 
/ət tɪk spekt jə tə hænd tən ə ət ˈpærəz ŋ ə suːn əz ə ˈpɜːstbəl/ 
/ɪts rʊd tə bɜːt ən ər ə ˈræʊnd ə ˈpiːpəl/ 
/ɪf jə wɔːnt tə həv əʊd mɑːrkz jə mæst wɜːrk ə lɔː/ 
/ət wɜːrk tə ləʊŋ ðə tɪs ˈprɑːrəknt nɑːt ət niːd tə həv ə fjuːː ə ˈwɜːz rɛst/ 
/juː lɜːmd ə lɔː ənd jə ˈdɪdən pəz ə də tɛst/hɑːt kɑːm/ 
/bt/ for hɪ left fər wɜːrk hɪ hæd ən ə ˈrɛɡjəmənt wɪð ɪz wɔːt/ 
/ət duʊnt ən'tʃək fət ʃطفال bɛk ən'tʃɛl ə ˈmɪdənəl/ 
/hɪz ˈkæmpnɪ ˈθrævə fər ə ˈloʊʃə tæm/ˈæftərwɔːrdz ðə wɛnt ˌdæn ə drent/ 
/ɪf jə wɔːnt tə biː əhelə jə fəd ˈprɛktts spər tən ə ˈrɛɡjəlar ˈbɛɪts/ 
/duʊnt ɪv ən briːd ə wɜːrd/ɪtst ə ˈsiːkrət/ 
/gʊd nəl ˈhæn/duʊnt weɪt fər miː/ət maɪ niːd ə biː lɛt ə ˈgɛn/ 
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz ˌsætʃ ə nərd/ət hɜːrd ɪt wɔz hɪz pərʃən/ 
/gʊd stɛt ə lɛd ən tɜː ən rai/ 
/ɪts hɑːrd tə lɔːrm tə bat hɑːt/ 
/juː ə r rai/lɛst nɑːt jì əd ə ˈdɛl/ 
/ʃiː ˈbɪˈkɛtɪŋ əz wɔːt əz ə ʃɪː ən ʃɪ ˈsɔːr ə ɡʊst/ 
/hiː ɪz ə ˈverɪ wɪtə ˈpɜːrəns/ 
/jər ən ə tæt ˈhæd/ət maɪ əʊl'd frɛnd/
CHUCK (31)

LINDA (32)

CONNIE (33)

/wət/ dəʊnt jə əsk fər həlp/ə:r jə ə:l ræt/ /fiː/ æskt/
/bruːt fɔːr hiː/ left əʊ rəm hiː fəʊnd tʃ ræt dræft/
/ɪts ə ˈbreɪn njuː/ kærət ə petd ə ləʊt ã ˈmæni fər ɪt/
/ˈmeni əʊ ˈdiːz/ ˈpiːpəl lɛft dər ˈhəʊmland in sɜːtʃ ən ə ˈbedər lətʃ/
/juː/ ˈfɔːdənt əv bletimd miː/ɪt ˈwəʊzmæt fəʊtʃ/ /
/ˈəʊ ʌnli ˈfeɪtʃuːdænts ˈheɪvən ˈpes ði ɪg ˈzæm/ /
/hɪː/ ˈweɪpt hɪz ˈdɜːrti hænds ðn ðə bɛk əv hɪz wɔːt fɜːtʃ/
/ət ləɪkt ˈdæm ə ləʊt/ wɛn ət wɔz ˈlɪdal/
/ət t̬k/ spəkt jə tə hænd ðn ðə ˈrɪpər əz sʊn əz ˈpæsɪbəl/
/ɪf jə ˈwɔːnt tə hæv ɡʊd mɑːrkɪz jə mæst wɜːrkl ə ləʊt/ /
/ɪə t̬ ˈwɜːkl ə ləʊt ðn ˈdɪz ˈprɔɡɛkt/ˈneɪt ən iː tə hæv ə jjuː/ ˈæʊərs rɛst/
/juː/ lɜːrnd ə ləʊt/ ənd jə ˈdɪdənt ˈpes ðə tɛst/hæt ˈkeɪm/
/bruːt fɔːr hiː left fər ˈwɜːrkl hiː hæd ən ˈɑːrgjəmənt wɪð ɪz wɔːt/
/ɡʊd lɜːr/hiːz ˈsteɪt ə ˈnɜːrd/ət lɜːr ɪt wɔz hɪz ˈpæka\n
/ɡʊs strɛt əˈhɛd ən tɜːr ræt/
/ɪts hɑːrd tə lɜːt ɪt ˈbæt ˈhɑːt
/juː ər ræt/ˈleɪst nɑːt jɪː/ hæd ə dɛf/  

MARK (34)

/ɪf jə brˈtret hər jə rɪsk ˈluːzɪŋ ˈsæməwən həuː læv jə ə lɔː/ /
/waɪ/ ˈfæməli ˈrɪtʃ njuː jʊrək ˈstɪdɪ brˈfɔːr ˈmɪdnɔt/
/ˈmɛni əʊ ˈdiːz/ ˈpiːpəl lef t dər ˈhəʊmland ɪn sɜːtʃ ən ə ˈbedər lətʃ/
/hɪː/ ˈweɪpt hɪz ˈdɜːrti hænds ðn ðə bɛk əv hɪz wɔːt fɜːtʃ/
/ət ləɪkt ˈdæm ə ləʊt/ wɛn ət wɔz ˈlɪdal/
/ət t̬k/ spəkt jə tə hænd ðn ðə ˈrɪpər əz sʊn əz ˈpæsɪbəl/
/ʃiː də læk tə gʊs ðn ə tʃɪp əˈræntwʊz də wɜːrld/
/bruːt fɔːr hiː lef t fər ˈwɜːrkl hiː hæd ən ˈɑːrgjəmənt wɪð ɪz wɔːt/
/ɪf jə ˈwɔːnt tə biː ˈheləði jə ˌfəd ˈpræktɪs sɔːr ˈdən ə ˈrɛɡjələr ˈbɛtsɪs/
/ɡʊd lɜːr/hiːz ˈsteɪt ə ˈnɜːrd/ət lɜːr ɪt wɔz hɪz ˈpæka\n
/ɡʊs strɛt əˈhɛd ən tɜːr ræt/
/ɪts hɑːrd tə lɜːt ɪt ˈbæt ˈhɑːt
/juː ər ræt/ˈleɪst nɑːt jɪː/ hæd ə dɛf/
MIKE (35)

/doʊnt temp mi:/ət wɪl nɔ:t /ɪnɔd maɪ mæm/  
/wiː /ˈfæməli rɪˌfɪt njuː jɔrk ˈstɪdi bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdnɔt/  
/juː /ˈfɔdɔnt hɑv bletmɪd miː/ɪt ˈwæzən maɪ fɔːl/  
/ɪts nɔːt ˈdiː ɛn əv əʊ wɜːrkl dəʊn kraɪ/  
/ɪts əˈbaʊt tæɪm tøː gɪt Ap ɪf wiː /dəʊnt wɔːnt tøː biː ˈlɛt/  
/hiː /wɔːpt hɪz ˈdɜːrti hænds ɒn əʊ bæk av hɪz wɔːrt fɜːr/  
/ɪə təkˈspɛkt ʃəʊ tə hænd ɪn əʊ rtˈpɔːr əz sʊn əz ˈpɑːstɪbəl/  
/ɪts nɔːt wɜːrə ˈlɪvɪŋ hɪr/ sʊnəru ər ˈletdɔr ʃəl biː /fɛd Ap wɪˈθʊ/  
/ɪf jʊə wɔːnt tø ˈhæv ɡʊd mɑːrks jə mɒst wɜːrk ə lɑː/  
/ɪə wɜːrkl ə laːn ɒn ət ˈprəʊdəˌsɛk ˈnɒt ə niːd tø hæv ə ˈʃjuː /ˈævərz ˈrest/  
/ɪf jʊə rə rˈlæktnt tø lɜːrn kliːn əp əʊ ˈtɛmbəl ət lɪsː/  
/ʃiːd lɑːkt tʊ gʊd ɒn ə ˈtrɪp əˈrɑʊnd əʊ wɜːrkld/  
/brˈfɔːr hi ˈlɛft ər wɜːrk hɪ ˌhæd ən ˈɑːrgjʊmənt wɪˈθʊ tɜː ˈwɔːt/  
/ɪə dəʊnt ˈθɪŋk ət ʃəːt ʃiː biː /bæk ənˈtɪl ˈmɪdnɔt/  
/ɪf jʊə wɔːnt tø biː /ˈhelədi jʊə fəd ˈpræktɪs spər tʊn ə ˈrɛɡjʊlər ˈbɛtsɪz/  
/ɡʊd nɑːt ˈhæni/dəʊnt ʊn ə fər miː/ət mɑːt biː /lɛt əˈɡɛn/  
/ɡʊd lɔːrld/hiːz sɑːf ə ˈnɜːd/ət hɑːrld it wɔːz hɪz pɑːr/  
/ɪəts ˈstɪʃi rɪ tɜ ˌsɔːrt əv wɜːrkl /dəʊnt stɔːrt ˈɔʊvər/  
/ɡʊd sтрɛf əˈhɛd ɒn tɜːrn rɛf/  
/ɪts hɑːrd tʊ lɜːrn ɪt ˈbɑːt hɑːr/  
/ʃjuː ə rɛt/ˈlɛst nɑːtʃən ʃiː /hɔːd ə detʃ/  
/hiː /tɜː ɔr ˈveri wɪrld ˈpɑːrsən/  
/lər ɒn ə tɑːt ˈhædɪt ˈmæt əʊtˈfɜːl frend/  

CARYL (36)

/ɪf jʊə bɪˈtret hɔːr ə rɪsk ˈluːzɪŋ ˈsæmˌwən hjuː ˈlæv jə ə lɑː/  
/bɪˈfɔːr hiː /ˈlɛft ər ruːm hiː /fæʊnd tɜː ˈfæsː drɛft/  
/ʃiː /ˈsmʊəkt ə laːn ʃiː /wɜːrkl zə ˈwɛttrəs/  
/ˈæfər hiː /wɔːt bɪˈrɛft tɜː tiː ən ˈfɪnɪf /ˈbrɛkfəst hiː /lɛfl for wɜːrkl/  
/wiː /ˈfæməli rɪˌfɪt njuː jɔrk ˈstɪdi bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdnɔt/  
/ɪts ə ˈbɛntʃ ˈnjuːː /kɑːr/ət ˈpɛd ə lɑːd əv ə ˈmæni for ɪt/  
/ˈməni əv diːz ˈpiːpəl ləft ər ˈhoʊmliend ɪn sɜːrɪ əv ə ˈbedər lɑːft/  
/ʃjuː /ˈfɔdɔnt əv bletmɪd miː/ɪt ˈwæzən maɪ fɔːl/  
/ət ˈrɪsk əˈdɪt tiːd ɨtə dəʊnt ʊn/ɪts kʊˈlʊd ɪn hɪr/lets get ɪnˈsæriː/  
/ˈɔʊnli ˈfæt ˈstɪʃʊ dənts ˈhævən ˈpæs ə ɪz ˈɪgˈzɛn/  
/ət ˈmən ˈsɔːri əˈbaʊt ʃər ˈplæt ˌbæt ət wɔz ən ˈɛtɪbəl tə ˈhælp ʃə/  
/hiː /wɑːp hɪz ˈdɜːrti hænds ɒn əʊ bæk av hɪz wɔːrt fɜːr/  
/ət lɑːkt ɒm ə lɑːn ən wət wɔz ˈlɜːdəl/  
/ət ɪkˈspɛkt ʃəʊ tə hænd ɪn əʊ rtˈpɔːr əz sʊn əz ˈpɑːstɪbəl/  
/ɪf jʊə wɔːnt ə hɔv ɡʊd mɑːrks jə mɒst wɜːrk ə lɑː/  
/ɪə wɜːrkl ə laːn ɒn ət ˈprəʊdəˌsɛk ˈnɒt ə niːd tø hæv ə ˈʃjuː /ˈævərz ˈrest/  
/ʃiːd lɑːkt tʊ gʊd ɒn ə ˈtrɪp əˈrɑʊnd əʊ wɜːrkld/  
/bɪˈfɔːr hiː /lɛft ər wɜːrk hɪ ˌhæd ən ˈɑːrgjʊmənt wɪˈθʊ tɜː ˈwɔːt/
/ai doun/ ṭiŋk dët fi:1 bi: baek An’ti:l ‘midnaiv/
/hiz ‘kamponi ṭraiv for a lo:v tam/‘afterwardz it wen daun do drein/
/jad ‘bedar fëtp a’r els ati ṭıro jë at/its na:1 a ṭre/a its o ‘pra:mis/
/jar do:uk waz ‘tru:li po’oretik/đëts wai it fel flæ/
/daun/ i:van br:i: o w3:rh/its o ‘si:кра/
/gud na:1 ‘hani/do:un weit fær mi/ai ma: bi: lai p’gen/
/gud j3:rd/hiz sa:1 a nerd/at h3:rd it waz hiz po:ri/
/gou strei:t o’hed on 13:rn rai/
/its hɔ:rd to 13:rn it bar hɔ:rt/
/hiz ‘o ‘veri wri: p3:ııson/

BEN (37)

/if jà b’tret hor ja risk ‘lu:zǐ ‘samwa:n hu: la:vz jo o lo:1/
/wai doun/ jà aek fær help/a’t jà o:l rai/ﬁ: aekt/
/doʊnt temp mi/at w1l nɔt fëndʒ mat ma:n/
/ﬁ: smoʊkt o lo:1 w3:kt o ‘wetnas/
/wi: ‘famali ri:1 nju: jɔ:rk ‘stdi b’tfɔr ‘mᴑdnaiv/
/its a bɾæŋŋ nju: kɑ:ɾ/at peid o lo:d o:v ‘məni for it/
/mənli ∅v diːz ∅pːl left dɔr ‘hoʊmlend in s3:rtʃ ov o ‘bedar laﬁ/
/ju: j3:dn o:v bleitm mi:/iː ‘wazɔn mat lɔ:1/
/its nɔːt iː end ov o:v o wɔ:nt doʊn kɾat/
/juː kæn d3:st ɡiːv ap/if jà dəʊnt tʃai tjuː w1l ‘nɛvər nɔː/
/its a bɔːt tame to get a p if w1: doʊnt wɔːnt to bi: leif/
/’oʊni fiːv ‘stjuːdants ‘həvən pæst ɔi tʃəzəm/
/atm sɔːr iː bɔːt jɔr plei bat ait waz An’etbəl to help ja/
/hiz ‘warf hiz ‘d3:rti hænds ɔn do bær ov hiz waft ʃən:
/at laikt ðəm o lo:1 wen ait waz ‘l3dɔ:
/at jk spekt jà to hɛnd in ðə ɾɔː‘s az suːn az ‘pæːstibəl/
/if jà wɔːnt iː həv gud maːŋːks jà məst w3:ɾ kɔ o lo:1/
/juː lɔ:rd o lo:1 and jà ‘tʃdən pæs ðə test/hau kəm /
/at triː ja ʃækt bɛt ’kwɔː ʃə drzəían tʃ/
/jiː gɔːd o ɾler fɔr ‘tʃiːtiŋ jəŋ ‘tʃiːdɔːn/hɔː ‘evəɾ jì: ‘dəzɔn lɔːt k ɪ ən ʃeit swet/
/jad ‘bedar ʈiŋk ʈə bəʊ tɪ b’tɔːr jə du: ‘eɾiːnŋ /
/bɔːt foːɾ hi lef t for w3:ɾ kί iː həd an ‘ṣrjəmənt w1θ iz waft /
/at doun/ ʈiŋk dët jì:1 bi: baek An’tiːl ‘mədnaiv/
/o:1’duː hiː iz kwɔːd faː hiː həd ɹəf ‘k3:ɾɪdʒ ʈə aek ʃor aʊ /
/ˈɛt ɫɔːt ‘tʃiːn o ɾæt əmɪ pətən ʈiŋj/
/gud j3:rd/hiz saːf o nerd/at h3:rd it waz hiz po:ri/
/gou strei:t o’hed on 13:rn rai/
/its hɔ:rd to 13:rn it bar hɔ:rt/
/waɾ ʃtə də fænt ðəs w3:ɾ jɑːŋ mən/
/juː ɔɾ raiː/east naːf jiː həd o dɛʃ /
/ﬁ: b’t keɪm az waiː əz o jìː ʃən jìː sɔː ‘gʊst /
/hiː iz o ‘veri wriː p3:ııson/
/jar ðn o tʃiː ‘bæktʃ mat ɔʊld frend/
ALEX (38)

/If jo prəmɪs to æsk or æt du: nət beak æt ov ɪt/
/'æftər 'brekfast at rt'lækst o 'lɪdəl on left' far w3:rk/
/If jo br' tret hor jo rİsk 'lu:ətɪn 'səmwaɪn hu: lɑːvz jə o lɑːl/
/waɪ dəʊnt jə æsk far help/at jə ɔ:1 rɑɪl /fi: æskt/
/dəʊnt tɛmp mi:ə wɪl nət tʃəɪnd mat máɪnd/
/'æftər hi: wəʊf ræst tʃi:ə o n 'fɪnst 'brekfast hi: left' far w3:rk/
/wi: 'fæmlı nɪ:ʃ tʃu: jʊrk 'stɪdi bɪ'fɔr 'mɪndnaɪ/
/ɪts o brænd ʃu: kər/æt pɛdæ o ɔ:rd æv 'mʌnɪ fər ɪl/
/ɪts nət di end æv ɒʊ w3:ɪət dəʊn krət/
/ɪts o'bæt tæɪm tə get ɑp /fi: dəʊnt wɔ:ɪn tʃu: bi: left/
/əm ɔ:ɹə o'baɪ tʃəɪt jər plæt /bæt æt waz ɔn'etbəl tə help jə/
/æt dəʊnt nʊt hər ɔt ɔːl/wɔt tʃi: laɪk/
/hɪ: wʊɪpt ɪz 'dæ:ri hænds ɒn də bæk æv hɪz wæt jɔːr/
/æt laɪkt dəm ø lɑːl wen æt waz 'lɪdəl/
/æt tʃk spekt jə tə hænd ɪn də ɔt pəræ: æz ʃu:n æz 'prətɪbəl/
/æt w3:rk ø lɑːl œn dɪs 'prəgæk næt æt nɪd tə həv ø fuː 'æʊəz rest/
/ju: lɜːmd ø lɑːl ænd jə 'dɪdənt pæs ðə tɛst/hæn kæm/
/bɪ'fɔr hɪ left fər w3:rk hi had øn 'ɔ:rzjʌmənt wɪð ɪz wæf/
/æt dəʊnt ðəɪŋk ətʃi: ø bi: 办好 æn'tɪl 'mɪndneɪ/
/jʊd 'bedər jɛtɪp ɑp ær ɛls æl zaʊ 'θrəʊə jo æt/ɪts nət o 'θrəʊə ɪt s 'prəmɪs/
/ɔːl ˈdʊst hɪ: ðə kwɔt tʃa: hɪ: hæd ɪn ˈnæf 'kɜːrɪdʒ tə æsk hər æt/
/ɡʊd næt 'hʌnɪ/dəʊnt wɛf fər mi/ət ʍatt bi: lett ə'gen/
/ɡʊd lɔːz hɪ:z sətə o nɛrd/æt hɜːrd ðɪ wɔz hɪz pəːr/
/ɪts 'stɔːri tʃɔːr əv wɪtə dəʊnt stɔːrt 'məʊvər/
/gʊv streɪt s'hed ɒn tɜːm rʌt/
/ɪts hɔːd rʊt tə lɜːm ɪt bæt hɑːr /
/ju: ær rɪt ləst nætʃiː hæd ə deɪt/
/hɪ: ɪz ø 'veri wɜːt pɜːrsən/

SARAH (39)

dəʊnt weɪst ʃər tæɪm 'stɪdɪŋ ɒn də 'sɔsɪʃ ɒn 'drɪŋkɪŋ bɪn/
/ɪf jo prəmɪs tə æsk ær ər əd du: nət beak æt əʊ æv ɪt/
/'æftər 'brekfast at rt'lækst o 'lɪdəl on left' far w3:rk/
/dəʊnt tɛmp mi:ə wɪl nət tʃəɪnd mat máɪnd/
/'æftər hi: wəʊf ræst tʃi:ə o n 'fɪnst 'brekfast hi: left' far w3:rk/
/wi: 'fæmlı nɪ:ʃ tʃu: jʊrk 'stɪdi bɪ'fɔr 'mɪndnaɪ/
/ɪts o brænd ʃu: kər/æt pɛdæ o ɔ:rd æv 'mʌnɪ fər ɪl/
/juː 'ʃʊdən øv bleɪmd miːt 'wɔzən mat ɪfoːlt/
/ɪts nət di end æv ɒʊ w3:ɪət dəʊn krət/
/ɪts o'baɪ tæɪm tə get ɑp /fiː dəʊnt wɔ:ɪn tʃu: bi: left/
/əm ɔ:ɹə o'baɪ tʃəɪt jər plæt /bæt æt waz ɔn'etbəl tə help jə/
/æt laɪkt dəm ø lɑːl wen æt waz 'lɪdəl/
/æt w3:rk ø lɑːl œn dɪs 'prəgæk næt æt nɪd tə həv ø fuː 'æʊəz rest/
LAUREL (40)

/pi:pol stɪt ə houm ə tɪs tæm əv ə di jɪn/  
/ɔɪs lɪ ə bɛst ˈfɪlm ət hʌv ˈeʊvər sɪ:n/  
/ɔɪs lɪ ə ˈvɛrɪ ˈdɪfɪkəl tɛsk bæt jo kæn duː ɪ/  
/ɪf ɔ lɪ ˈtɛrt hɔr jə rɪsk ˈluːzɪŋ ˈsæmˈwæn hjuː lɑvz jə ə lɔt:/  
/wɔɪt doʊn jə əsk fər hɛlp/ət jə ə l ræn/fiː əskt/  
/bɪˈfɔr hiː leɪt əʊ ˈʃʊm ə hiː faʊnd lɪ ˈɜːf/  
/ʃmoʊkt ə lɔː fən ʃiː wɜːr lɑː ə ˈwɛttrəs/  
/ˈæftər hɪː ˈwɔːst ˈbreɪft tɪz tiː ən ˈfɪnɪst ˈbɛrkfaʊst hɪː leɪt fər wɜːrkl/  
/wiː ˈfaɪməli ˈrɪtʃ njuː ˈdɔrk ˈsɪdi bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdnɔɪl/  
/ɪts ə ˈbreɪnt ən kɑːrət petd ə laʊd əv ˈmæni fər l/  
/juː ˈʃɒtəm ov ˈblɛɪmd miː tɪ ˈwæzənt mæt fɒːl/  
/ɪts ə bɔːtɪ tæm tə ˈget əp ɪf wiː doʊn wɒnt tə biː leɪt/  
/mɔʊs;/pi:pəl ər wɔɪt eəftər dɪ tʔˈven/  
/ət nəʊ lɑɪf lɪz hɑːtʃ səmˈtæmzm bʌt ˈhʌt əʊ kən duː; əˈbɑːt ɪt/  
/ətɪm sɔːri əˈbɑːt jɑr plæt bɑt ət wɜːz ənˈɛtbaʊl tə hɛlp jɑː/  
/hiː ˈwɔːpt hɪz ˈdɜːrti hændz dən ə ˈbɛk əv hɪz wɔɪt fɜːn/  
/ət tˈkwɛkt jə tə hænd ɪn də ˈrɔːləz ən ənˈzɛpt/  
/juː lɜːrnd ə laʊ; ənd jə ˈdɪdəm əs ˌdəʊ tɛʃtaʊ kæm/  
/ɪf jə dʊnt ˈsæbˈmɪt ə ˈpɛtər ən tæm ˈdʒæl fɛl ə ðərs ətɪm əˈfrɛd/  
/ləd ˈbedər ˈʃɛpt əp ər əl ˈθrʊə ə ət/ɪts næɡ ə ˈθrɪz ɪts ə ˈprɔˈmɪts/  
/jər ˈdʒuːk wɔz ˈtrjuːli pəˈθetɪk/ətɪs wɜːz ɪt ˈfel fliː/  
/əˈlʊdʊ hɪː ɪz kwɔɪt fət hɪː hæd ɪnˈnæf ˈkɜːrtɪŋ ə əsk hær ət/  
/ɡʊd næt ˈhæni/doʊn ˌweɪ ɚ miːə ˈmæt biː ɭɛt əˈgɛn/  
/ɡʊd lɜːd/ɪz ˈsælf ə ˈnɜːd/ət hɜːrd ɪt wɔz hɪz pər/  
/ˈdɪs ˈstəri tɪz sɔːrt əv wɜːz/ˈdʊnt stʊːr tˈoʊvər/  
/ɡʊd stɛrt əˈhɛd ən tɜːr nɛɪt/  
/ɪts hærːd tə lɜːrnbɪt hɑːt ˈfɑːt/  
/juː ər ræt/ˈlest næt fɪː əd e diː  
/fiː ˌbrʔˈkɛɪm əz wɜːt ə f ʃiː ɭeɪn fɪː sʊː ə ɡʊst/
JONATHAN (41)

If jo prə:maıts tə əsk or aʊ du: na:t bæk aʊt av /it/ 
doʊnt əmp mi/at wɪ nət fənθ mat məm / 
fi: smʊkt o lɑ: / wen fi: wə:kt oʊ o wə:ttiəs / 
əʻeftər hi: wə:kt braft tə tʰ o ʻfimʃt ʻbrekfəst hi: ləf fər wə:kt / 
wi: ʻfaimli ri:ʃ nu: jɔ:rk ʻstədi bɪ ʻfɔr ʻmɪdnət / 
ju: ʻʃədən əv bleɪmd mi: /tə wəzənt mat fə: / 
its nə: dəi end əv oʊ do wə:kt/dəʊnt kɾæt / 
its ʻə:baɪ təm tə get əp fə wi: doʊn wə:nt o bi: ləf / 
aɪm sə:ri ʻə:baɪ tər plaɪt bət aɪ wæz ən ʻetɨbol tə həlp jə / 
a t ləɪkt dəm o lɑ: / wen aɪ wæz ʻlɪtəl / 
a t tk ʻspɛkt jə tə hæn ə mə do rt ʻpə:ri əz sə:n o ʻpə:stɨbol / 
fi: d ləɪk tə goʊ ən o tɪp o ŋərənd ə do wə:kt / 
_brə:kəst hi: ləf fər wə:kt hi had o ʻstərjestənt wɪə frə wət / 
ədəʊn ə təŋ ə tət jə bæk ən tɪəl ʻmɪdnət / 
/jəd ʻbedər jept əp ər eIs əl tərə ə aʊ / its nə: t o tərə its o ʻprə:maɪts / 
doʊnəl i: vən brɪəd ə wə:kt / its o ʻstədi ʻkraɪ / 
ət ləʊn ʻtə:kɪŋ o ʻbəst ənɪm ʻpəːtən ə tɪŋz / 
ɡʊd lə:təd/hɪəz səl fə nɜrd/aɪ hətəd tə wæz hɪz pə: / 
ɡʊst ʃrɛt a ˈhɛd ən tə st rɛt / 
its hə:təd tə lə:təd tə bət hə:tə / 
hi: ɪz o ʻveri wɪtʃ pə:rsən / 
ʃər ən o tət tə ʻbaːdət mat əʊld fərə/ 

SUSAN (42)

/weɪst jər təɪm ʻstɪdiŋ ən ə ˈsoʊʃən ən ʻdriŋkɪŋ bɪn / 
/meɪt / ˈpiːpəl ʃtɪt ət həʊ̯n ət əts təɪm ən ə dʒɪt / 
ʻəeftər ˈbrekfəst ət rt ˈlækst ə ˈlɪdəl ən lef fər wə:kt / 
əts ɪz ə veri ˈdɪfɪkəl t ˈtɛsk bə ə ɔ kən du: / 
_brə:kəst hi: ləf əd rəm ə hi: fəʊnd ɪz fə:st ˈdɾɛft / 
fi: smʊkt o lɑ:/ wen fi: wə:kt oʊ o wə:ttiəs / 
ʻəeftər hi: wə:kt braft tə tʰ o ʻfimʃt ʻbrekfəst hi: ləf fər wə:kt / 
wi: ʻfaimli ri:ʃ nu: jɔ:rk ʻstədi bɪ ʻfɔr ʻmɪdnət / 
meni əv əɪ ʻpiːpəl lef tər ʻhoʊmmlənt ɪn sə:ɾɪŋ əv ə ʻbedər lətʃ / 
ju: ʻʃədən əv bleɪmd mi: /tə wəzənt mat fə: / 
wen ət wər ʻmərɪə fi: ləv ɪm ʻveri məl / 
its nə: dəi end əv oʊ do wə:kt/dəʊnt kɾæt / 
a t ləɪkt dəm o lɑ:/ wen aɪ wæz ʻlɪtəl / 
a t tk ʻspɛkt jə tə hæn ə n do rt ʻpə:ri əz sə:n o ʻpə:stɨbol / 
ju: lə:təd o lə:təd ən jə ʻdɪdən əs ə test/həʊ ˈkæm / 
a t rɪʃ jə ləɪkt dət bɪ kəz jə dɪ tə ʃər ɪt / 
ɔl ˈdʊə hi: ɪz kwɔt ʃt hi: hæd ɪ ˈnæf ʻkət rɪdʒ tə əsk hər əʊ / 
ɡʊd nət ˈhæni doʊnt wɛt fər mi:ət mət ə bi: lət ə ˈgen / 
ɡʊd lə:təd/hɪəz səl fə nɜrd/aɪ hətəd tə wæz hɪz pə: /
SUSAN (42)

/ju: 'meni do hi: ju: /g157 /g
/SUSAN (42)

/ðtɪs ðz ð’vəri ‘ðtfɪkəlt ˌtɛsk bæt jo kæn du: /t/
/doʊnt tɛmp mi:/æt wɪl nɑ:t tʃɛɪndʒ mat mætənd/
/’æftər hi: wɔ:ʃt bɾɑːft tʃ ɪði ən ‘fɪntʃ ‘bɹɛkfaʊst hi: lɛf fər wɜːrk/
/wi: ‘fɛɪnli ri:ʃi ɲu: jɔrk ɹi’di ʃi’fɔr ‘mɪdɔnɔ/
/ðtɪs o ˈbreɪnɪŋ nju: kæʃtət pɛd ə lɔt əv ‘mæni fər ɪt/
/ju: ‘ʃɔdən hɑv bletɪŋ mi:/tʃ ‘wɔzən mat fɔrɪt/
/ðtɪs nɑ:t ði ɛnd əv ɔʊ wɜːril/duəŋ kræt/
/ðtɪs o ‘bɔt ˌtæm tə ɡɛt əp ði wi: dɔʊnt wɔ:mə lo bɪ: lɛf/
/æt mɔ:ri o ‘bɔt jɔr plaɪt bæt ɔt wɔz ən ‘etəbol tə help jʊ:
/æt lɑːt ɔt ɒm ðə lɔd: wɛn ət wɔz ‘lɪdal/
/ðtɪs rʊ:d tə bɜːrp wɛn jʊə r’ædɪn ˈpiːpol/
/æt wɜːrkt o lɑd: ðɪst ˈprəʊdʒek/næt ət ni:d tə hɑːv ə ʃju: ‘ævərz rest/
/ʃi: lɑːt kɪŋ ˈtʊdəŋ ə trɪŋ ə rʊnd ə wɜːrld/
/æt ˈtrɪː ʃʊ tɔ lɪt kɪŋ ði ʃi: lɪd ni: bɪ: bɛk ən’tɪŋl ‘mɪdɔnɔ/
/ɔvər nʊ ˈpɔɪn tɪn ‘wɛtɪŋ hɪr fər ˈsætʃ ə lɔː ˈtæm/
/ɡʊd nɑt ‘hæni/duəŋ wɛn ət maɪt bɪ: lɛt ə ˈgen/
/ɡʊd lɔːrdi: ʃi: ˈsætʃ ə nɜrd/æt hɜːrd ɪt wɔz hɪz pɔɪt/
/ɡʊd ˈstreɪt əˈhɛd ən tɜːrn rɛf/
/ju: ə ræl/ˈtɛst nɑtʃ ʃʊ əl hɑːd ə ˈdɛel/
/ʃi: ʃi’kɛtɪŋ əz wɔlt əz ə ʃiː wɛn ʃi sɔː ə ɡʊst/
/hiː ɪz ə ‘vɛrɪ wɪtʃ ‘pɜːrsən/

JOANN (43)

/ɡʊd ˈstreɪt əˈhɛd ən tɜːrn rɛf/
/ɪts hɑːrd tə lɜːrn it bət hɑːr/
/ʃæt ðn ə tælt ˈbædʒɪt mat əʊld frend/
JACK (44)

If jo prə:mts to ask or aUt du: no:t beak aUt av ɪ/.
"æftər 'bre:kfast at rɪ'le:kst a 'lɪdəl an left fər w3:rk/
/'Ogres Iz o veri 'dfɪzkəlt tæsk bæt jə kən du: ɪ/
/waɪt dʊnt juə ask fər helprə: biər juə rəl raɪət: æskt/.
/or'fr hi: lɪt də ru:m hi: faʊnd Iz fə:s drɛf/.
/dʊnt tempˌ mi/at wəl no:t ʃɛɪndʒ mat maɪnd/
"æftər hi: wɜːft brafə Iəz ə ˈfɪmɜːrt 'bre:kfast hi: lɪt fər w3:rk/
/wiː 'fænəl riːtə njuː jʊər ˈstɪdi bɪˈfɔrə 'mɪdnɔt/
/ɪts ə brend ˈnjuː kərətə petə lətə ov 'məni fər ɪ/
/juː ˈfɪdən ˈhæv bletɪm miː/tɪ 'wɔzən mat fɔːlt/
/ɪts nəːt ənd əv doʊ wɜːrld/ˈdʊn kərəz/
/ɪts əˈbəʊt təɪm tə get əp ɪf wiː dʊnt wɔːn tə biː lɪt/
/ˈoʊnli faɪv ˈstjuːdənts ˈheɪvən pəst ə ɪŋ 'zəm/
/hiː watɪpt hɪz ˈdɜːrti hænds ən doʊ beək əv hɪz wɔːt fəːr ɪ/
/ɪf əʊ wənt tə ˈhæv ɡʊd mɑːrks jə məst wɜːrklə ɡə lək/.
/at ətrɪt ə ˈlɑːkt dət ˈbrəʊk ə də ˈzɔːrə ɪt/
/ət dʊnt ˈθɪŋk ət ʃəl biː beək ˈænˈtɪl 'mɪdnɔt/
/ɪf əʊ wənt tə biː ˈhelθi jə ˈʃæd ˈpræktɪts spər tən ə ˈregjələr 'betɪts/
/ɡʊd ˈlɔːrdiːz səLF ə nɜrd/ət hɜːrd it wɔz hɪz pəːt/.
/ɡʊd strɛtɪ hɪd ən ɪsːrən raɪˌ 
/juː ər rət/ˈlɛst naiːt fIː ˌhæd ə dɛt/
/hiː iz o ˈveri wɪrˈpɜːrˈsən/.
/ʃər ən o tæt ˈhædət maɪ əʊd frend/.

KAREN (45)

If jo prə:mts to ask or aUt du: no:t beak aUt av ɪ/.
"æftər 'bre:kfast at rɪ'le:kst a 'lɪdəl an left fər w3:rk/
/jʊər ˈdɔʊk ˈwɔzən dət ˈfænɪ bɪˈkəʊz ˈnəʊbədɪ ləf/.
/ɪts ˈpəlts ɪz ˈpɛkt/ ˈletz gʊd ˈsɑməwər əls/.
/wiː ˈfænəl riːtə njuː jʊər ˈstɪdi bɪˈfɔrə 'mɪdnɔt/
/juː ˈfɪdən ˈhæv bletɪm miː/tɪ 'wɔzən mat fɔːlt/
/ɪts nəːt ənd əv doʊ wɜːrld/ˈdʊn kərəz/
/ɪts əˈbəʊt təɪm tə get əp ɪf wiː dʊnt wɔːnt tə biː lɪt/
/ˈoʊnli faɪv ˈstjuːdənts ˈheɪvən pəst ə ɪŋ 'zəm/
/ˈætɪm səːtɪ ə ˈbɜːtən ʃər plɑɪt hæt ət wɔz ən ˈeɪtɪbal tə help ɿ/.
/at ɪkˈspɛkt joː tə hænd ɪn ər rɪˈpɔːr tə əz suːn əz ˈpɑːsɪbəl/.
/or'fr hiː lɪt fər wɜːrkl ɪz hæd ən ə ˈæŋɡɪmənt wɪð iz wɔːt/.
/at dʊnt ˈθɪŋk ət ʃəl biː beək ˈænˈtɪl 'mɪdnɔt/.
ROBIN (46)

/If jo prə:mɪs tə əsk ər aʊ\ du: nɑ:t bæk aʊt əv ɪ/,
/‘æfter ‘brekfast ət rɪ’lækst o ‘lɪdal ən left fər w3:rk/,
/‘æfter hi: wɔ:f stəft tə tɪ:ən ən ‘fɪnst ‘brekfast hi: left fər w3:rk/,
/jʊ: ‘fɒdən həv bletmd mɪt/ wəζən mat fɔ:/,
/məʊsɪs ‘pi:prəl aw ətəf oʊ I’veŋ/,
/ət ləkt dom ə lət wən ətə wəz ‘lɪdal/,
/ət tək spekt jə tə hænd Iə ət rɪ’pɔ:t əz su:n əz ‘pəʊstəl/,
/bɪ’fɔːr hi left fər w3:rk hi hæd oʊ ‘ɑ:rgjəmən wɪə hɪz wɔt/,
/ðəz nɑʊ pɔɪn t ən ‘wɛtɪŋ hɪr fər ə əʊ:ŋ təɪm/,
/goʊ stərt ə’hɛd ən tɜ:rn ræɪt/,
/jʊ: ər ræɪt/ lɛst nɑɪt ʃi: hæd ə dɛt/,
/hɪ: ɪz o ‘veri wɪn ə pdəsən/.

ROB (47)

/If jo prə:mɪs tə əsk ər aʊ\ du: nɑ:t bæk aʊt əv ɪ/,
/ðɪs tə ə’veri ‘dɪfɪkəlt tæsk bət jə kæn du: ɪ/,
/ʃi: sʊməʊt o lət\ ʃi: w3:rk oʊ w ‘wɛtɪəs/,
/ət ləkt dom ə lət wən ətə wəz ‘lɪdal/,
/ət tək spekt jə tə hænd Iə ət rɪ’pɔ:t əz su:n əz ‘pəʊstəl/,
/ət w3:rk ə lət\ ɒn ət’s prədəkət/nɔʊ aɪ ni:d tə hæv o jju: ‘ɑ:ʊərz rɛst/,
/jʊ: lɜ:məd o lət\ ən də dɪ’təʊn pæs də tɛst/hæt kəm/,
/ət ətr iə lət kəz ət’kəz jə dɪ’zɜ:rn ɪt/,
/bɪ’fɔːr hi left fər w3:rk hi hæd oʊ ‘ɑ:rgjəmən wɪə hɪz wɔt/,
/jəd ‘bedər ʃeɪp ər əl tə əʊ:s jə əʊt/lɪts nɑ:t ə əʊ:s ɪts o ‘prə:mɪs/,
/goʊ stərt ə’hɛd ən tɜ:rn ræɪt/,
/ɪts hɑːrd tə lɜ:m ɪt bæt hɑːr/,
/jʊ: ər ræɪt/ lɛst nɑɪt ʃi: hæd ə dɛt/.
SCOTT (48)

/moʊs/‘piːpəl stət hʊmət dɪs tæɪm əv di jɪr/
/ˈdʊnt temp mi/ət wɪl nɑːt tʃɛɪndʒ mat mɑːnɪŋ/
/ˈfiː smʊəkt ə lɑːr wɛn ˈfiː wɜːrkt əz ə ‘wɛttrəz/
/ˈwiː ‘fæməli riːtʃ njuː jɔːr k ˈstɪdi bɪˈfɔr ‘mɪdnɔːl/
/ˈjuː ‘fʊdən həʊ blɛɪmd mi/ɪt ‘wɔzən mat fɔːl/
/ɪts nɔːt ə di end əv əʊ wɜːrkt əˈduːn krɛt/
/ˈjuː kɛn ʧæst gɪv əp/ɪf jo ˈdʊnt træt ju: wɪ ˈnɪvər nʊʊ/
/ˈjuː lɜːrənd ə lɑːr ənd ˈdɪdən pəs ə tɛst/haʊ kæm/
/ˈfiː d lɛt kʊ t ɡʊd ən ɔ trɪp əˈraʊnd ə wɜːrkt əˈduːn krɛt/
/ət triː ə ˈlæt dɛt bɪˈkɔːz ə dɪˈzɜːrv ɪt/
/ˈbrɪːf hɪ lɪf ər wɜːrkt əˈduːn hɪ ən ˈɑːrɡjʊˈmeɪn wɪð hɪt ˈwɑːtʃ/
/ˈdɛl lʊtəd ˈtəʊˌkɪŋ əˈbætɪnt ɑnɪmˈpɜːrtən ˈðɪnz/

LUANN (49)

/moʊs/‘piːpəl stət hʊmət dɪs tæɪm əv di jɪr/
/ˈæftər ‘bɛrkfrəst ə tɪˈlɛkst ə ‘lɪldəl ən ˈlɛft fər wɜːrkt əˈduːn/
/ˈdɪs ɪz aˈveri ˈdɪfɪkəlt ˈtɛsk ˈbæt ək ˈkæn daʊ ɪt/
/ɪf ə bɪˈtɛrɪ hʌr ər ɪtʃk ˈluːzɪŋ ˈsæmˈwɑːn hjuː ˈlɛvz ju oʊ ˈlɑːɾ/
/ˈwæt ˈdʊnt ək ˈsɛrk fər hɛlp/ət ər ə ˈræt ˈfækt/ˈɛːktʃər/
/ˈdʊnt ˈtɛmp mɪ/ət wɪl nɑːt tʃɛɪndʒ mat mɑːnɪŋ/
/ˈfiː smʊəkt ə lɑːr wɛn ˈfiː wɜːrkt əz ə ‘wɛttrəz/
/ˈæftər hɪ wɜːz ˈbræft ɪz tɪˈθʌn ən ˈfɪnɪʃt ‘bɛrkfrəst hɪ: ˈlɛft fər wɜːrkt əˈduːn/
/ɪts ə brenət njuː kər/ət ə pɛl ə lɑːr ən ˈmæni ər ɪt/
/ˈjuː ˈfʊdən həʊ blɛɪmd mi/ɪt ‘wɔzən mat fɔːl/ɪt/
/ɪts nɔːt ə di end əv əʊ wɜːrkt əˈduːn krɛt/
/ɪts əˈbætɪnt tæɪm tə ˈɡet əp ɪf wɪ ˈdʊnt wɜːrkt ə bɪ: lɛɪn/
/ˈmoʊs/ ‘piːpəl ər wɜːt əˈɛftər ət ˈiːvən/
/ˈaɪm sɔːr əˈbætɪn dʒɔr ˈplæt bɪət ət wɜːz ənˈɛtɪbəl tə hɛlp jə/
/ət ˈlækt ˈdɒm ə lɔːr ən wɛn ət wɜːz əˈlɪdəl/
/ət wɜːrkt ə lɑːr ən ˈdɪz ˈprəʊˈdʒek/naʊ tə ən iːd tə həʊ ə fjuː ˈɑːɑrəz rɛst/
/ˈbrɪːf hɪ lɪf ər wɜːrkt əˈdʊnt hɪ ən ˈɑːrɡjʊˈmeɪn wɪð ɪz wɑːtʃ/
/ət ˈdʊnt ˈθɪŋk ət ʃiːl bɪ: bɛk ənˈtɪl ɪmˈdænət/
/ˈjər ˈdʒʊt wɔz ˈtruːli ˈpɔːrˈθɛtɪk/ˈdɛts wɜːt ɪt ˈfɛl fliː/
/ˈɡʊd nɑːt ˈhæni/ˈdʊn tən ər mi/ət mi ə ˈmæt ə ˈrɛt əˈgen/
/ˈɡʊd lɜːr/ˈhɪ z ælər/ə ˈnɛrd/ət hɜːr ɪt wɜːz hɪz ˈpərɪŋ/
/ɪts ˈstɪʃri ɪz ˈsɔːrt əv wɜːrkt əˈduːn stɑːrt ˈoʊˈsəʊn/
/ɪts ˈhɑːr tə lɜːr ɪt bæt hɜːr/
/ˈjuː ər ˈræt əst lɑːt nɑːt fɪ: hæd ə ˈdɛl/
/ˈhiː ɪz ə ‘vɛrɪ wɪd ˈpɜːrən/
HARRIET (50)

‘kɔ:mqunizəm ɪz ə ðəŋ av ðɔ pæst
/moʊs/ pi:pəl stɛt ət houm ət ðɪs taim əv ði jɪn/
/ðɪs ɪz ə ’veri ‘dɪfɪkəlt tɛst hɑt jə kæn du: ɪ /
/ɪf jə bɪ’rɛt hɔr jə rɪsk ’lu:zɪŋ ’sæməwən hə: lavz jə ð ɔ lɔ /
/wɔt doʊn jə əsk fər ʜe lp/ər jə ɔ l ɹæt/ʃi: əskʃə
/bɪ’fɔːr hɪ: lɛft ðə ruːm hɪ: faʊnd ɪz f3ːs drɛft/
/doʊnt ˈtɛmp mi:/aɪ ˈwɪl nɑt ʃiːtənɡ ʃeɪm ˈmænt mɑɪnd/
/ʃiː snaʊkt ə lɔːr wən ʃiː wɜːrk əz ə ˈwɛtərəs/
/’ɛftər hɪː wɔːʃ ˈbrɛtʃ ɪz tɪː ðə nən ’fɪʃiŋ ’brepʃʊs hɪː lɛft fər wɜːrk/
/mɔʊst piːpol ər wɔtə əftər ət ɪ’vɛnt/
/ət doʊnt ˈθɪŋ ət ʃiː l ə: beɪk ən’ɪl ˈmɪdnət/
/ɪf jə wɔnt tə biː ’helɔ ə jə ʃəd ’præktɪs ˈspɔrt ɒn ə ’rɛɡjʊlar ’bɛtstʃəs/
/ɔːl ˈdɔʊ hɪː ðə kwɔt fət hɪː hæd ɪn ˈnɔf ’kɜːrɪŋ tə əsk hɔr ətʃə
/hiː ɡeɪt əp ˈbɛəd draɪt ɪz tɪː ðə ən ɡɛt tə dres/
/doʊt laʊd ’tɔ:kiŋ ə ˈbaʊt ɡəntɪ ˈpɔːrən ˈθɪŋz/
/ɡʊd ˈlɔːrd/hiː z ʃæl ə nɜːrd/ət hɜːrd ðə wɜːz hɪz pɔːr
/ðɪs ’sɛːrə lɪz ɔːr tə lət ər wɜːrn/ doʊn ʃtərt ˈəʊvər/
/goʊ stɛrɪt ə ’hɛd ən tɜːr ən ræt/
/ʃiː bɪ’kɛm əz wɔɪt əə tʃiː t wɛn ʃi ˈsɔːr ə gʊsəs/

IGOR (51)

/if jə bɪ’rɛt hɔr jə rɪsk ’luːzɪŋ ’sæməwən həː lavz jə ə lɔːt/
/bɪ’fɔːr hɪː lɛft ðə ruːm hɪː faʊnd ɪz f3ːs drɛft/
/doʊnt ˈtɛmp miː/ɪət wɪl nɔːt ʃiːtənɡ ˈmænt mɑɪnd/
/ðɪs ə ˈbɾɛnt njuː kɔːr ət ˈpiːtəd ə ˈlɔːt əv ˈmæni fər ɪ/
/ðɪs ˈnɔːt ə ɛnɡ əv ə l hɜːrd/ doʊn ˈkræt/
/ətɪm ˈsɔːrɪ ə ’bɔːt jɔr plær bət ət wɜːz ən’ɛtɪəl tə help jə/
/ðɪs ˈnɔːt wɜːr/ ’lɪvɪŋ hɪˈnɔːr sənɔːr ər ˈlɛrtʃər ʃəl əl ɪːd əp wɜːr ɪ/
/ət wɜːrk ə ˈlɔːt ən ˈdɪz ˈprəʊdʒəkt ˈnaʊ ət nɪd tə hæv ə fjuː ə ˈwɑːz ɾɛst/
/ʃiːd lærk tʊ ɡʊd ən ə ˈtɑːrəp ɔ rɑʊnt əʊ ðɜːl/ wɜːl/
/bɪ’fɔːr hɪː lɛft fər wɜːrk ɪəd ən ’ɑːrəɡəmən ɪət hɜːz wɔtʃ ə tʃə /
/ɡʊd ˈlɔːrd/hiː z ʃæl ə nɛr/ət hɜːrd ɪə wɜːz hɪz pɔːr/ɪət hɜːrd tə lɜːrnm ðə bær hɔːr
/ʃuː ər ræt/lɛst nɑːt ʃiː ʰɑd ə dɛt/
/hiː ɪz ə ˈvɛrɪ ˈwɜːt ˈpɜːrəsən/
/jər ən ə tɑːt ˈhedʒɪt maɪ əʊld ˈfrend/
TIM (52)

/don//west jar taim 'stdin on do 'sosan on 'drinkin bin/
/moos//pi:pol stei at houm at dits taim ov di jin/
/fts yo pramis ts aek ar adv du: nai: beak adv ov it/
/fts jo bi tret hor jo risk 'lu:zi: 'samwan lu: lavz jo o lo/
/wai dount jo aek for help/ø:ar jo o: rail/ji: aekti/
/dount temp mi/at wli noat fiend mat matim/
/wi: 'faenli ri:flt nu: jo:rk 'stdi bi:for 'midnah/
/fts o bren/nu: kai:at petd o ligt ov 'manii for it/
ju: 'jo:don hov bleimd mi/it 'wazon mat fo:li/
/fts no:ti di end ov do w3:ri/doun krat/
/fts o baot taim to get Ap if wi: doun w3:ni o bi: leif/
/moos: 'pi:pol o warz æftor di I'ven/
/at nou laif Iz hæ:rf samtaimz bat whog: kan wi: du: o baot it/
/atim so:ri o baot jor plai bat at waz an 'etbal to help ja/
/wi: jad 'never let 'ø:or 'ylldran plet war o naif sinks it mat bi: 'detndæros/
/at dount ðapæt fi: bi: beak an 'till 'midnah/
/ljad 'bedar feip Ap ar els all ðoud jo aot/its no:ti o ðret its o 'pramis/
/øræz nøo po:ti in 'weidin hir for satt o ligt taim/
/jor dook waz 'tru:li po 'øetik/øets wai it fel flei/
/doun i:van bři:ð o w3:rd/its o 'si:krə/
/øet laod 'o:ki:n o 'baot aním' po:to:n ðainz/
/øgod nati 'hæni/doun wef for mi/it maat bi: leif o:gen/
/fts 'ø:ri iz sø:t o wri/dount stört 'øvər/
/øgod streit o:hed on t3:rm rail/
/fts hæ:rd to l3:rm it bat hæ:rd/
/wer dtd jo faim o dits w3:rd jn̄n men/
/ju: ør rail/lest nati fi: had o detl/
/hi: Iz o 'veri wri 'p3:sən/

JON (53)

/moøs//pi:pol stei at houm at dits taim ov di jir/
/æ'tar 'brekfast at r'lækst o 'ldol on left for w3:rk/
/bir'for hi: left do ru:rm hi: faönd iz f3:s drink/
/dount temp mi/at wli no:t fiend mat matim/
/ʃi: smøukt o lo: wen fi: w3:rk at ø ´weitras/
/æ'tar hi: w3:ft braid iz ti:ð an 'finft 'brekfast hi: left for w3:rk/
/wi: 'faenli ri:flt nu: jo:rk 'stdi bi:for 'midnah/
/ømen o ïz 'pi:pol left där 'houmlænt in s3:ri ov ø 'bedar laif/
/ju: 'jo:don hov bleimd mi/it 'wazon mat for/
/fts no:ti di end ov do w3:ri/doun krat/
/fts o baot taim to get Ap if wi: dount w3:nt to bi: leif/
/moøs: 'pi:pol ø warz æftor di I'ven/
/atim so:ri o baot jor plai bat at waz an 'etbal to help ja/
ADAM (54)

/hi: waipt hiz ‘d3:rti hends DN do bæk æv hiz wait f3:rl/
/at latkt dom o la: wen a waz ‘ltol/
/at tk’ spekt jo to hænd in do ri’pæ:oz su:n az ‘pæ:sibol/
/at tri: jo latk daet br’kaz jo dr’z3:rv it/
/br’før hi left for w3:rk, hi had æn ‘ørgjaman w1@ hiz wait/
/at daunt ðiŋk daet fi:l bi: bæk an’tíl ‘mídnaí/
/ðet lori ‘tø:kiŋ o’ba:tAnti’pɔ:ton ðiŋz/
/gud l3:rd/hiz satf o nerd/at h3:rd it waz hiz pø:r/
/gōu streit o’hed æn t3:rn ra/
/ju: æt ra/Iest naft fi: had æ de:/
AMY (55)

"after 'breakfast at rt' least c 'ltdol an left' for w3:rk/
/wat dounjt jo æsk for help/at jo c:1 rat/ʃi: æskt/
/ʃi: smookt ə ʃæŋ/ wen ʃi: w3:rt ə c 'wettrəs/
"after hi: wɔʃ braʃ tʃi ʃi: an 'fəʃt 'breakfast hi: left' for w3:rk/
/wi: 'faɪnəli ri:ʃi: nju: jo:ʃəri bɪ:'fɔːr 'mɪdnɔt/
/ɪts ə ˈbrend njuː ˈkeɪrət ə lɔt əv 'mæni ʃi: l/ɪʃi: 'ʃdəm ʃəv bletʃes miːt/ʃi 'wəzən ʃai foːt/ɪts nɔt də end əv ʃə wəz rɪŋ doun ʃrat/
/ɪts ə ˈbɑːt təm tə ɡet əp ʃi: doun wəz neɪʃə bɪ: leŋ/ moʊʃ ə piːpəl ər wɔːt æftər dɪ tʃ ˈveɪnt/
/ətɪm ʃəri ə ˈbɑːt ʃər plaɪt bət ət wəz ən ˈɛtəbl tə ɡəl ʃə/
/wi: ʃd ˈnevɚ let ˈædər ˈʌɪldrən plɛt wɪt ə nətʃ sɪns ɪt maɪə bi: ˈdɛtnɜːrəs/
/hiː wɔːtpt hɪːz ˈdɜːrri ˈhænds ɒn ə ˈhæk əv hɪz wɑːt tʃərum/
/ət ləkt ˈdɒm ə ʃæŋ/ wen ət wəz ən ˈltdəl/
/ət ɪk ˈspɛkt ʃə tə hɛnd ɪn ən rt ˈpɔːt əz suːn əz ˈpəsətʃəl/
/ɪts nɔt ə tʃər tiːnt ət suːnər ər ˈlɛdər ʃər biː ʃɨd əp wɪtər ɪt/
/ət wɜːrkt ə ʃæŋ/ ən ʊtʃ ˈprəʊʃəkt/nəʊ ət niːd tə həv ə fjuː ˈæʃər ʒəst/
/jʊː lərəm ə ʃæŋ/ ənd ʃə ˈdɪdən ʃiːs ə tɛst/ʃət ʃət ˈkæm/
/ət trɪə ʃə lərk ʃiːt ʃiː ˈkæʃ ʃə dɪrˈzərv it/
/hiː ˈɡɔːt ə ˈprætʃ ʃət ʃət ɪt ʃiːz ˈrɪvər ɪt/
/ˈbɪ fɔːr ʃɪ ˈfər wɜːrkt ɪt ɦəd ən ər ˈɑːːɡjəmən wɪtər ɪz wɑːt/
/ət dɔʊnt ˈθɪŋk ʃiːt ʃiːl biː ˈhæk ənˈtɪl ˈmɪdnɔt/
/ˈdəʃər ʃəʊ pɑːtʃ in ən ˈwɛtɪŋ ɦɪr ʃər ˈʃɑːf ə lɔːl ˈtæm/
/ɪf ʃə ˈwɑːnt ə biː ˈhɛlti ʃə ʃd ˈprɛktʃəs ˈspər tʃ ən ə ˈrɛʤɪtər ˈbɛtʃɪəs/
/dɔʊnt ɪː ˈvən ˈbreɪtə ə wɜːrd ət ʃəs ˈʃiːkrə/
/ˈdɪ tə loʊð ˈtəːkɪŋ ə ˈbætənt ənɪm pəˈtɔːn ˈθɪŋz/
/ˈɔɪts ˈstərri ɪz sɔːrt əv wɪtəd dɔʊnt sɔːrt ˈɔʊvər/
/ɡʊ d ˈstɛnt əˈhɛd ən tʃərm ʃæft/
/juː ər ʃæft ˈlɛst nɑːt ʃi: həd ə ˈdɛtʃ/
ANDY (58)

/If ja b'tret har ja risk /lu:ziŋ 'sæmwaŋ hu: læv jo ə ʃæl:/
/wai dʊnt jo æsk fər help/ər jo əl ræŋ/ji: æsk/ /dʊnt temp mi:/æt wɪt nʌt ʃeɪnɡ mat mɑɪn:/ /æm wʊkt ə nʌt wɛn jɪ: wɜːt kəz ə 'weɪərs/
/'æftər hɪ: ˈwɔːt brɑːt ɪz ti:ɬ ən ˈfɪnɪʃt ə 'briːkfast hɪ: lɛf fər wɜːt kɜ:/ /wɪ: 'fæməli riːtʃ nju: ˈʃʊrk ˈstɪdi bɪ foʊ ə ˈmɪdnɔt/ /luː ˈʃʊdən hɒv blɪtmaɪ miː/ˈtɪ ə 'wæmp mat foʊl:/ /ɪts nɔt dɪ end ən əʊ wɜːt kɹæɪ / /ɪts ə 'bæt tɑɪm tʊ gɛt əp ɪf wɪ: dʊnt wɔːn ʃʊ ə biː lɛt/ /moʊst ˈpiːpəl ər wɔːt æftər dɪ ɪwən/
/'ɔʊnli fɑːv ˈstjuːdənts ə ˈhɛvən əʊst ə ɪg'zɛm/
/ɑːm sɔːri ə 'bæt jər plæt ət wɔz ən 'ɛtɪbəl tʊ hɛlp jə/ /əl lɪəkt ʔɒm ə lɑː wɛn ət wɔz ˈɪtdəl/
/əl t̑kˈspɛkt jo tʊ hænd ɪn dʊ ə tʃə əʊ sʊn əz ə ˈpɑːstɪbəl /
MIKE (59)

/ｍｏʊs/  ’ｐｉ:ｐａｌ ｓｔｅｉ ｔａｔ ｈｏｕｍ ａｔ ｄｉｓ ｔａｉｍ ｗｖ ｄｉ ｊｉｒ/  
/’æftər  ’ｂｒｅｋｆｏｓｔ ａｔ ｒ’ｌｅａｋｓｔ ｏ’ ǚｔｄｏｌ ｏｎ ｌｅｆｔ ｆａｒ ｗ３:ｒｋ/  
/’æftər ｄｏ  ’ｐａｒｔｉ ｄａｒ ｗａｚ ｎｏｂ ｆｕｄ: ｌｅｆｔ/  
/ｗｉ:  ’ｆａｍａｌｉ ｒｉ:ｔ ｎｊु: ｊｏ:ｒｋ  ’ｓｔｄｉ ｂ’ｆｏｒ: ’ｍｉｄｎａｉ/  
/ｊｕ: ｊａｄ ａｖ ｗｏ:ｔ/  ｄｏ ｎｊｕ:  ’ｊｅｓｔａｒｄ/  
/ｊｕ:  ’ｆｏｒｄａｎ ｈａｖ ｂｌｅｔｍｄ ｍｉ:ｔ/ ’ｗａｚｏ:ｎ ｍａｔ ｆｏ:ｌ/  
/Ｉｔｓ ｎａ:ｔ ｄｉ ｅｎḍ ｗｖ ｄｏ ｗ３:ｒｋ ｄｏｕन: ｋｒａｆ/  
/ｍｏʊｓ/  ’ｐｉ:ｐａｌ ａｒ ｗａｔ ａｆｔｅｒ ｄｉ ＇Ｉｖｅｎｔ/  
/ａｔｍ ｓॉ:ｒｉ  ｏ’ｂａｒｔ ｊａｒ ｐｌａｔ ｂａｔ ａｔ ｗａｚ ａｎ’ｅｔｂｏｌ ｔａ ｈｅｌｐ ｊａ/  
/ｊｕ: ｌ３:ｒｄ ａｌ:ｔ ａｎ ｊｏ  ’ｄｉｄａｎｔ ｐｅｓ ｄｏ ｔｅｓｔ/ｈａｂ ｋａｍ/  
/ａｔ ｄｏｕन:  Ｔｉｊｋ ｄｅｔ ｆｉ:ｌ ｂｉ: ｂेｋ ａｎ’tｉｌ ’ｍｉｄｎａｔ/  
/ｈｉ: ’ｋａｍｐｏｎｉ ｔ्रａｉ:ｔ ｆｏｒ ａ ｌａｒ ｔａｉｍ/ ’ａｆｔｅｒｗａｒｄｚ ｉｔ ｗｅｎｔ ｄａｏन ｄｏ ｄｒｅｉｎ/  
/Ｉｔｓ  ’ｓｉｃ:ｒｉ ｔｚ ｓｏ:ｒｔ ａｖ ｗｔｉ:／ｄｏｕन: ｓｔａ:ｒｔ  ’ｏʊｖｅｒ/  
/ｇｏʊ ｓｔｒｅｔ:ｔ ｏ’ｈｅｄ ａｎ ｌ３:ｒｍ ｙａｉ/  
/Ｉｔｓ ｆｅｒ ｄｏ ｌ３:ｒｍ ｉｔ ｂａｒ ｈａ:ｒ/  
/ｊｕ:  ｏｒ  ｒａｉℓ:ｌｅｓｔ ｎａｉ ｆｉ:  ｈａｄ ａ ｄｅｉ/  
/ｈｉ:  ｔｚ  ａ  ’ｖｅｒｉ ｗｔｉ:／ ｐ３:ｒｓｏ:/  
/Ｊａन  ｏ  ｔａｉ:ｔ  ’ｂｅａｇ:ｔｉ  ｍａｔ ｏｕｌｄ ｆｒｅｎ:/

JUDITH (60)

/ɪｆ ｊｏ  ｐｒʌ:ｍɪｓ:  ｔａ  ｅｓｋ  ｏｒ  ａｕｔ  ｄｕ:  ｎɑ:ｔ  ｂｅａｋ  ａउ:ｔ  ａｖ  ｈ/  
/Ｉｔｓ  ｔｚ  ｏ’ｖｅｒｉ  ‘ｄｉｆｉｋｌ：ｔ ｔａｓｋ  ｂａｔ  ｊｏ  ｋｅｎ  ｄｕ:  ｈ/  
/ｗｉ:  ’ｆａｍａｌｉ ｒｉ:ｔ ｎｊｕ: ｊｏ:ｒｋ  ’ｓｔｄｉ ｂ’ｆｏｒ: ’ｍｉｄｎａｉ/  
/ｊｕ:  ｊａｄ ａｖ ｗｏ:ｔ/  ｄｏ  ｎјｕ:  ’ｊｅｓｔａｒｄ/  
/Ｉｔｓ  ｏ’ｂｒｅｎ:ｔ  ｎｊｕ:  ｋａ:ｒ/ｆａｉ  ｐｅＩｔ  ａｌ:ｔ  ｗｖ  ‘ｍａ：ｌ ｆｏ:ｒ  ｈ/  
/ｊｕ:  ’ｆｏｒｄａｎ  ｈａｖ  ｂｌｅｔｍｄ  ｍｉ:／ ‘ｗａｚｏ:ｎ  ｍａｔ  ｆｏ:ｌ/  
/Ａｔｍ  ｓॉ:ｒｉ  ｏ’ｂａｒｔ  ｊａｒ  ｐｌａｔ  ｂａｔ  ａｔ  ｗａｚ  ａｎ’ｅｔｂｏｌ  ｔａ  ｈｅｌｐ  ｊａ/  
/Ａｔ  ｌａｉ:ｔ  ｄｏｍ  ａ  ｌａ:  ｗｅν  ａｔ  ｗａｚ  ＇ｌｔｄｏｌ/  
/Ｉｔｓ  ｒｕ:ｄ  ｔｚ  ｂ３:ｒｐ  ｗｅｎ  ｊｏ  ｏ’ｒａｕ:ｎ  ’ｐｉ:ｐａ／  
/ｊｕ:  ｌ３:ｒｄ  ａｌ:ｔ  ａｎ  ｊｏ  ‘ｄｉ：ｒａ：ｎ  ｐｅｓ  ｄｏ  ｔｅｓｔ/ｈａｂ  ｋａｍ/  
/Ａｔ  ｔｒｉt:  ｊｏ  ｌａｉｔ  ｄｅｔ  ｂ’ｒ  ｋａ:ｚ  ｊｏ  ｄｉ:ｚ３:ｒｖ  ｈ/  
/ｈｉ:  ｇｏ:ｔ  ａ  ｐｒａｔｚ  ｂａｔ  ｈｉ:  ｄ’ｚ３:ｒ：ｖｄ  ｈ/  
/Ａｔ  ｄｏｕνｔ  Ｔｉｊｋ  ｄｅｔ  ｆｉ:ｌ  ｂｉ:  ｂेｋ  ａｎ’tｉｌ ’ｍｉｄｎａｔ/  
NIA (61)

'afar 'brekfast at rt' lækst o 'ltdol on left for w3:rk/
/afar hi: wɔ:ʃ braʃt iz ti:θ on 'fint/ 'brekfast hi: left far w3:rk/
/wi: 'fæməli ri:ti nju: jɔrkr 'stid bi'fɔ:r 'midnai/
/its o brænd nju: kɔ:rt petd o loj on 'məni for ti/
/its na: di end on ðə w3:rk/ðən kræt/
/əʊnli fatv 'ʃtju:donts 'hævən pæst ði Ig'zæm/
/atm sɔ:ri a'braʃt jər plæt bæt aiz ðə 'etbəl tə help ja/
/if jo wɔ:n ðə hæv ɡʊ:rməks jə mæst w3:rk ø lɔi/
/at w3:rk t ø lɔi ən ðən ətʃɔ:kl/nəu aiz ni:d tə hæv ø fju: 'əʊərz rest/
/ɡʊd natt 'həni/ðənt wæn fər mi/ət mæt bi: lett ø'gen/
/ɡʊd streit ø'hed on t3:rn ræt/
/its hɑ:rd tə l3:rn ðə bæt hɔ:rt/
/ju: ør ræt/last natt fju: hæd ø deIt/

KATHARINA (62)

'afar 'brekfast at rt' lækst o 'ltdol on left for w3:rk/
/doʊnt tempt mi:ət wəl na:t ʃɛntɔ(mat maɪn)/
/ʃi: smɔ:kt ə lɔi: wən ʃi: w3:rk ø ə 'wettrəs/
/wi: 'fæməli ri:ti nju: jɔrkr 'stid bi'fɔ:r 'midnai/
/'mæni ø dæ:z 'pi:pəl left ðər 'hɒumlænt in s3:ri ø a 'bedər latʃ/
/its ø'brət tæm tə get Ap ɪf wi: doʊnt wə:n tə bi: lett/
/atm sɔ:ri ø'bræt jər plæt bæt aiz ðə 'etbəl tə help ja/
/at tɔk'pekt jə tæ hænd in do ɾpɔ:ɾ əz sʊn øz ø'pɔ:stəbl/
/at w3:rk ø lɔi ən ðən øtʃɔ:kl/nəu aiz øtʃɔ:kl/nət ø ni:d tə hæv ø fju: 'əʊərz rest/
/ju: l3:ɔnd ø lɔi: ənd jo øtʃə:n ʃæs ðə tɛst/haʊ kæm/
/at trɪ:ə laɪk ðət bi'kæz jə dɪ'z3:ri tɪ/
/bɪ'fɔ:r hi left for hʊəm hi ən ø'ʃrəmən wɪθ hɪz wɔtʃ/
/ɡʊd lɔ:rd/hɪz sɔf ø nərd/ət h3:rd tl wɔz hɪz pɔ:tʃ/
/its hɔ:rd tə l3:rn ðə bæt hɔ:rt/
/jər ən ø tæt 'bædʒɪt maɪ əʊld frend
CAMILLA (63)

/’æftər ‘brekfəst ðə rt’lækst ɔ ’ltdəl ɔn lɛf fər wɜːrks/ 
/wɔt dɔnt ɔ əsk fər həlp/ɔ t ɔ l ɹæf/ fiː əskt/ 
/ðə fɔr hɪ: lɛft ðə rʊm hɪ: fəʊnd tɜː fɜː dɾeɪft/ 
/dəʊnt ɪntempt miː/ɔ t wɪl nɑːr rɪndʒ mat mæntəd/ 
/wi: ’feɪməlɪ riːt njuː rɪ’tɪŋk/ tɔ fɔr ’mɪdnɔt/ 
/’mɛni əv ɔɪz /piːpəl lɛft dɔr ’hʊəmlænd ɪn sɜːriŋ əv ɔ ’bɛdər lɑtɪf/ 
/juː /’ʃʊdən həv bləɪmt miː/ɪt /waːzən mat fɔːli/ 
/ɪts nɔːt ən ən dən ðə wɜːrks/ /dəʊnt /

/CAMILLA (63)

CHERYL (64) [black]

/’æftər ‘brekfəst ə rt’lækst ɔ ’ltdəl ɔn lɛf fər wɜːrks/ 
/dɪz ɪz ɔ əveri ’dɪfɪkəlt tæsk bæt jə kɛn də/ ɪt/ 
/wɔt dɔnt ɔ əsk fər həlp/ɔ t ɔ l ɹæf/ fiː əskt/ 
/ðə fɔr hɪ: lɛft ðə rʊm hɪ: fəʊnd tɜː fɜː dɾeɪft/ 
/ʃiː smʊtʃt ɔ lɑːr/ wənt fiː /wɜːrks/ 
/’æftər hɪ: wɜːft ˈbreɪftɪz tɜː ɪð ən ’fɪntɪʃ ’brekfəst hɪ: lɛft fər wɜːrks/ 
/ɪts ɔ bæŋd ɪn  liː at petd ə lɑːt əv ɔ ’mæn fər ɪ/ 
/juː /’ʃʊdən həv bləɪmt miː/ɪt /waːzən mat fɔːli/ 
/ɪts nɔːt ən ən dən ðə wɜːrks/ /dəʊnt /

CHERYL (64) [black]
PAULA (65)

/ʃi: smu:kt ə lɔː/ wen ʃi: w3ːrkt ə ʃ 'wɛtrəs/
/'æftər hi: wɔːft braɪt ɪz ti:ð ən fɪntɪ/ 'brekfɔst hi: left ər w3ːrkt/
/wi: 'fænælɪ riːtʃ nju: ʃɔːrk 'stɪdi bɪ'fɔr 'mɪdnɔːt/
/'mɛni əv diːz 'piːpol left dɔr 'hɔʊmænt in s3ːɹf ən ə 'bedər ɔftl/
/juː 'ʃodən hɒv blækt miːt ə fɪt 'wɔzən ɔn fɔːr/
/ɪts ɔːt ə ʊnd əv w3ːrkt hʊənkr krat/
/ɪts ə 'bæt tæt tæm tə get əp ɪf wi: dʊnt wɔːnt tə bi: left /
/at ʃəri ə ˈbæt jər plæt ət wəz ən 'etbəl tə help jə /
/hiː waːpt ʰiz 'dʒɔːti hændz ən əʊ bæk əv ʰiz waːt fɜːn/
/at laɪkt ɒm ə lə ː wen ət wəz 'lɪdəl/
/biːfɔːr hiː left ər w3ːrkt hiː hæd ən ər 'rgjəʊmɑːn wɪð ɪz waːt/
/at dʊnt θɪŋk dɪt ʃiː biː əek θənt 'mɪdnɔːt/
/jɔd 'bedər ʃept əp ər əl əl θrəʊt əd ət ɪts nɑːt ə θrət ɪts æ 'prəʊmɪts/
/goʊ streɪt ə'hed ən tɜːrn ræt/
/juː ær ræt/laɪst nɑːt fiː hæd ə dɛt/

ROSEMARY (66) [black]

/'æftər 'brekfɔst ət riːlækst ə 'lɪdəl ən lef ər w3ːrkt/
/wɔːt dʊnt jo æsk fər help/ər jə ɔːl ræt ʃiː æsk/
/'æftər hiː wɔːft braɪt ɪz ti:ð ən fɪntɪ/ 'brekfɔst hiː left ər w3ːrkt/
/wiː 'fænælɪ riːtʃ njuː ʃɔːrk 'stɪdi bɪ'fɔr 'mɪdnɔːt/
/hiː waːpt ʰiz 'dʒɔːti hændz ən əʊ bæk əv ʰiz waːt fɜːn/
/hiː gɔːt ə præt hæt hiː diːzːrɪd ɪ/
/jɔd 'bedər fɪt əp ər əl əl θrəʊt əd ət ɪts nɑːt ə θrət ɪts æ 'prəʊmɪts/
/ɒr ən pɔːt ɪn 'wɛntɪŋ hɪr fər sətʃ ə ɔːtʃ tæm/
/ət lʊð 'tɔːkŋ ə'bæt əntɪm pɔːrən tʃɪŋz/
/goʊ lɔːrd/hɪː sətʃ ə nɛrd/ət hɜːrd ɪt wəz hɪz ˈpɜːr/ɡ/ goʊ streɪt ə'hed ən tɜːrn ræt /
/juː ær ræt/laɪst nɑːt fiː hæd ə dɛt/

MARK (67)

/'æftər 'brekfɔst at riːlækst ə 'lɪdəl ən lef ər w3ːrkt/
/wɔːt dʊnt jo æsk fər help/ər jə ɔːl ræt ʃiː æsk/
/biːfɔːr hiː left əʊ rʊm hiː fəʊnd ɪz fɜːst ˈdrɛft/
/jɔːr dʒuːk 'wɔzən ət ʃən 'fæn ə bɪ'kæz 'nɔʊbədi əftl/
/wiː 'fænælɪ riːtʃ njuː ʃɔːrk 'stɪdi bɪ'fɔr 'mɪdnɔːt/
/juː 'ʃodən hɒv blækt miːt ət 'wɔzən ɔn fɔːr/
/ɪts ə 'bæt tæt tæm tə get əp ɪf wiː dʊnt wɔːnt tə biː left /
/at wɜːrkt ə ʃeɪd ən dɪz 'prəʊdʒekt/nɒʊ ət əd tə hæv ə fjuː 'ɑʃər rest/
/biːfɔːr hiː left ər w3ːrkt hiː hæd ən ər 'rgjəʊmɑːn wɪð ɪz waːt/
/at dʊnt θɪŋk dɪt ʃiː biː əek θənt 'mɪdnɔːt/
DENNIS (69)

/ðærz nʊʊ pɔim in 'weitɪŋ hɪr fɔr sʌf ə lʊːtɪŋ tæm/
/gʊʊ streɪt ə'hed ən ɪˈɜːrm ræɪt/
/juː ər rɑɪt/laːst nɑːt fiː həd ə dɛf
/ˈtrɪpɔɪl/

ROB (68)

/ˈæftər ˈbrekfəs at rtˈlækst ə 'lɪdal ən lef ər w3:rk/
/wɔt dʊənt jə əsk fər help/ɔt jə ɔːl rɑɪt/ʃiː: æskt/
/dʊənt tɛmp miː/at wɪl nɔt tʃɛɪndʒ mat mæɪnd/
/wiː ˈfætnəli rɪfʃiː njuː ˈjʊərk ˈstɪdi ˈbɪː fɔr ˈmɪdnɔɪt/
/ɪts ə ˈbrɛnt niː jʊː kæːrət ə lɔːt əv ˈmænɪ fɔr ɪ/
/ɪts nɔːt ə dɪ ənd əv ə wɔːt/klɪːn dʊənt kraɪt/
/ɪts ə ˈbɑːtɪ tæɪm tɔ ɡet əp ɪf wiː ˈdʊənt wɔːnt tɔ bɪː lɛt/
/ˈæm sɔːri ɪ ˈbɑːtɪ ʃaɾ plæɪ tɪ at wɔːz ən ˈɛtɪdəl tɔ ˈhelp jə/
/hɪː wɜːtɪp hɪz 'dɜːtɪ hænds ən ə bɛk əv hɪz wɜːt ɪˈɜːrm/
/at laɪk tʊm ə lɔːt; wɛn at wɔːz 'lɪdal/
/ʃiː d laɪk tɔ ɡʊʊ ən ə tɾɪp əˈraʊnd ə wɔːt/klɪːn
/ˈbɪˈfɔːr hɪ ˈlɛft ər wɔːt/klɪːn hɪ əd ən ˈɑːrɡjʊənən wɪð ɪˈɜːrm wɜːt/
/at ˈdʊənt ðɪŋk ət fiː ə biː kæːn əˈtɪl ˈmɪdnɔɪt/
/ʃəd ˈbɛdər fɛtɪp ər ər əl ðrʊʊ ʤ ə ə tɪts nɔːt ə ərɪt ɪts ə ˈprʊmɪts/
/ðærz nʊʊ pɔim in 'weitɪŋ hɪr fɔr sʌf ə lʊːtɪŋ tæm/
/ˈdɛt lʊdɔ ˈtɔːkɪŋ ə bɑːtɪ ˈæntɪm ˈpɔːrtnən ðɪŋz/
/ɡʊd lʊːrd/hɪːz sæf ə nɜːrd/at hɜːrd ɪt wɒz hɪz pɑːrʃ/
/gʊʊ streɪt əˈhed ən ɪˈɜːrm ræɪt/
/ɪts hɜːrd tɔ ɪˈɜːrm ɪt bɑːt hɜːrd/
/juː ə rɑɪt/laːst nɑːt fiː həd ə dɛf/
/ʃiː bɪˈkɛɪm əz wɜːt ə sʃiː wɛn fiː sʊː ə ɡʊʊʃt/
NEIL (70) [black]

/æftər 'brekfəs/ at rt'lækst o 'lɪdɒl on left/ for w3:rk/
/'æftər ðə 'pɑ:rti dør wɔz nɔt fud/ left/
/æftər hi: wʊ:t brafst tiz t iː ð oʊ on 'fɪntʃt 'brekfəst hi:/ left for w3:rk/
/wiː 'fɑːməli riːf njuː jʊrk sɪdi bɪ'fɔːr 'mɪndnɔɪ/;
/ɪts o brenɡ njuː kɑːr/ət petd o lɔːt av 'mənɪ fɔː rɪ/;
/meni av bɪz 'piːpɔl lɜft dør 'həʊmlən/ in sɜːr tɪəv ɔv 'bɛdər lɑːfi/;
/juː 'fɒdən hʌv bletɪmd mɪːt 'wɛzən/ mæt fɔːrli/;
/hiː fɛltl tɔ kɑːn'vents hərʃiː oʊnəli smæltənd ənd ʃeɪf/;
/ɪts ə bɑːt tɑɪm tɔ get Ap ɪf wiː dʊnt wɔːnt tɔ biː ʃeɪf/;
/əɪm sɔːr iə bɔrt ʃər plæt/ bɔt ət wɔz 'æn'ɪbəl tɔ hɛlp jə/
/hiː wɔːtɪ hɪz 'dɜːtɪ hænds dən də bɛk əv hɪz wɔːt tɜːt ʃrɪŋ/;
/at wɜːk tə l ɔːl/ dən ðɪs 'preʊdʒek/ nɔt ət nɪd tɔ hʌv ðə fjuː: 'æʊəɾz rɛst/;
/at triː jə lɜrk ət et bɪ'kɔz jə diːzɜː ɹvɪ/;
/bɪ'fɔːr hɪ ʃeɪf ər wɜːk hiː dʌn ən 'əʊrgjəmɑːnt wɪð ɪz wɔːt/;
/ərd zʊr pɔɪnt ɪn 'wɛtɪŋ hɪr fɔr sɑːf/ oʊn t ɪː tɪm/;
/ɔːl'ðʌʊ hiː ɪz kwɔt fət hɔː tʊn tʃ ɔf 'k3ːrɪdʒ tə əsk hər əʊ/;
/gʊd loʊrd/hiːz sɑːf/ oʊ nɛrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɔz hɪz pɔːr/;
/gʊst ʃtɛt s'heɪd ən tɜːt ɪː tɪm ræt/;
/juː ər rɑːt/lɜst nɔt fʃiː həd ə dɛɪt/;
/jər on ə tæt 'hʌdʒɪt mæt oʊʊld frend/
VIRGINIA (71) [black]

/æftər 'brekfɒst æt rt'lækst ə 'litdəl ən left fɔr wɜːrk/
/æftər də 'pərti ðər wɔz nəʊ fəd lɛf/
/waɪ dəʊn juː əsk fər həlp/ðə rə tʃ ən rad/ðiː əskt/
/bɪ'fɔːr hiː lɛf ət rʊm hiː fəʊnd ɪz fɜːz dref/ 
/dəʊnt tɛmp miːt wɪt wʊ tʃ ən tʃɪndʒ mat mæntn/ 
/æftər hiː wɔːf ɪst ɪz tɪː ðən 'fɪnɪʃt 'brekfɔst hiː lɛf fɔr wɜːrk/
/wiː 'fɪnəli rɪːft njuː jɔːrk bɪ'fɔːr 'mɪdnɪt/
/ˈmeni əv dɪz 'piːpəl ət dər 'hɔʊmlænd in sɜːtʃ ən ə 'bɛdər lætʃ/
/ɪts nʊt ən də ən də wɜːrd/ðə dʊn ˈkræt/
/ɪts ə'baʊt tæm tə get ɪp ɪf wiː dəʊn wʊŋt tə biː əd/
/məʊs, 'piːpəl ər wɔɪt æftər dɪ ɪ'vent/
/ət lɑːkt dəm ə ləːf wɛn ət wɔz 'litdəl/
/ət tk spekt ət tə hænd ɪn ən rt'pɔːr əz sʊn əz 'pɔːstbol/
/ɪts rʊd tə bɜːr rən ən ər ə'raʊnd 'piːpəl/
/ət wɜːrk ə lət ɪn dɪz 'prəʊ'ʃək nɔt ət nɪd tə həv ə fjuː 'aʊərəz rɪst/
/ˈfɪd ləkt tə gʊt ɪn ə tərp ə'raʊnd ə wɜːrld/
/bɪ'fɔːr hiː lɛf fɔr wɜːrk hiː hæd ən 'ərjəmənt wɪθ ɪz wɔɪt/
/ɪts dəʊn əŋt ək tʃ ə ˈbɛk an'ɪtʃ 'mɪdnɪt/
/ədərz nʊt pɔɪnt ɪn ə 'wɛɪdɪŋ hɪr fɔr sɑːf ə lɔːŋ tæm/
/dəʊnt ɪv: ən bɪːd ə wɜːrd ɪn ə 'sɪkrət/
/gʊd lɜːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːd at hɜːrd ɪt wɔz hɪz ˈpɔːrɪŋ /
/gʊd strɛt tʃ ə'hed ət tɜːrn ræɪn/
/ɪts hɜːrd tə lɜːrn ɪt bæt hɑːrə /
/juː ə ræɪn/əst nɪt fiː hæd ə dɛf /
/jər ɪn ə tælt 'bædʒɪt mat oʊld frend/

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CAROL (72) [black]

/æftər 'brekfɔst ət rt'lækst ə 'litdəl ən left fɔr wɜːrk/
/æftər də 'pərti ðər wɔz nəʊ fəd lɛf/
/bɪ'fɔːr hiː lɛf ət rʊm hiː fəʊnd ɪz fɜːz dref/
/æftər hiː wɔːf ɪst ɪz tɪː ðən 'fɪnɪʃt 'brekfɔst hiː lɛf fɔr wɜːrk/
/wiː 'fɪnəli rɪːft njuː jɔːrk 'stɪdɪ bɪ'fɔːr 'mɪdnɪt/
/ɪts nʊt ən də ən də wɜːrd/ðə dʊn ˈkræt/
/ɪts ə'bəʊt tæm tə get ɪp ɪf wiː dəʊn wʊŋt tə biː əd/
/məʊs, 'piːpəl ə ət wɔɪt æftər dɪ ɪ'vent/
/ˈfɪd ləkt tə gʊt ɪn ə tərp ə'raʊnd ə wɜːrd/
/ədərz nʊt pɔɪnt ɪn ə 'wɛɪdɪŋ hɪr fɔr sɑːf ə lɔːŋ tæm/
/gʊd nɪt 'hæni/dəʊnt wɛnt fɔr miːt ət mɑːt biː əd ə'gen/
/gʊd lɜːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːd at hɜːrd ɪt wɔz hɪz ˈpɔːrɪŋ /
/gʊd strɛt tʃ ə'hed ət tɜːrn ræɪn/
/juː ə ræɪn/əst nɪt fiː hæd ə dɛf /
/jər ɪn ə tælt 'bædʒɪt mat oʊld frend/
SHERYL (74) [black]

/wai doʊnt jo əsk fər helpt/ð jo ɔ:/t raiʃ/fiː əskt/
/ˈæftər hiː ˈwɔːft brɑːft ɪz ˈtɪːð ən ˈfɪntʃ ˈbrekʃt hiː lɛf t fər wɜːrkw/
/wiː ˈfæmlɪ riːft ˈniː ˈjɔːrk ˈstɪdi ˈbɪt ər ˈmɪdnaiʃ/
/ˈmeni əv dɪz ˈpiːpol ˈlɛft ˈdɔːr ˈhoʊmlaɪnd ɪn sɜːr əv ə ˈbedər laɪʃ/
/juː ˈʃʊdən ˈhɑːv ˈbliːmɪd miː/ɪt ˈwɔːzn ˈmæt foːl/
/ɪts ə ˈbætə tæɪm tə ɡet əp ɪf wiː doʊnt wɔːnt tə biː lɛf t/
/ˈmoʊz̩ ˈpiːpol ər waɪt ˈæftər əɪ ˈɪvənt/
/wiː ˈʃəʊd ˈnɪvər lɛt ˈæzər ˈθɪldrən plet wɪð ə ˈnaɪtʃ sɪns ɪt ˈmæt bɪː ˈdɛɪnəʊʃəz/
/ət ɪkˈspɛkt jʊ tə ˈhænd ɪn də rɪˈpɔːr t əz ˈsʌn əz ˈpɑːsɪˈbeɪl/
/ət wɜːrkt ə ˈloʊt ən dɪz ˈprəʊbək/ˈneɪt ə niːd tə hɑːv ə fjuː ˈæzər ˈrest/
/ˈbɪtʃər əl hiː lɛf t fər wɜːrk hɪd hæd ən ˈɑːrˈɡeɪʃmənt wɪð ˈhɪz wɑːt/
/ˈɑrzh nɔt poʊɪnt ɪn ˈweɪtɪŋ hɪr fər ˈsɑːt ə lʊŋ tæɪm/
/ˈdoʊnwɜːn iːˈvæn ˈbriːð ə wɜːrt/ɪts ə ˈsɪːkrət/
/ɡʊt stɹət ə ˈhɛd ən tɜː ˈmæt rɑːt/
/juː ər rɑːt ˈlɛst nət tʃiː ˈhæd ə dɛt/
/hɪː tɜː ˈvɛrɪ ˈwɜːt/ˈpɜːrəʊn/
/ˈʃær ən ə tæt ˈbægɪtʃɪt ˈmæt ˈoʊld ˈfrɛnd/

SHERYL (74) [black]

/ˈæftər ˈbrekʃt ət ˈrɪˈlækst ə ˈlɪdəl ən ˈlɛf t fər wɜːrk/  
/ˈdauɳ əmp tʃiː/ɪ ə ˈwɪl ˈnɔːt ˈʃeɪndʒ ˈmæt ˈmænʊt/
/ˈæftər hiː ˈwɔːft brɑːft ɪz ˈtɪːð ən ˈfɪntʃ ˈbrekʃt hiː lɛf t fər wɜːrk/  
/wiː ˈfæmlɪ riːft ˈniː ˈjɔːrk ˈstɪdi ˈbɪt ər ˈmɪdnaiʃ/
/ˈmeni əv dɪz ˈpiːpol ˈlɛft ˈdɔːr ˈhoʊmlaɪnd ɪn sɜːr əv ə ˈbedər laɪʃ/  
/juː ˈʃʊdən ˈhɑːv ˈbliːmɪd miː/ɪt ˈwɔːzn ˈmæt foːl/  
/ɪts ət ən ən ən ən ən ən /ˈmɔʊz̩ ˈpiːpol ər waɪt ˈæftər əɪ ˈɪvənt/  
/ət ˈlækt dəm ə loʊt ən ən ən ən /ˈfʊst ˈpiːpol ər waɪt ˈæftər əɪ ˈɪvənt/  
/hɪː tɜː ˈvɛrɪ ˈwɜːt/ˈpɜːrəʊn/  
/ˈʃær ən ə tæt ˈbægɪtʃɪt ˈmæt ˈoʊld ˈfrɛnd/
MARK STEW (75) [black]

/ˈeːftər ˈbrekfəst ət rɪˈleɪkst ə ˈlɪtdəl ən lef t fər w3ːrkJ/  
/ˈdɑːnt ˈtempt ˈmɑːt ˈwɜːl/  
/ˈeːftər hɪ: ˈwɔːt braɪt tɪ ː ɵən ˈfɪntʃ ˈbrekfəst hɪ: lef t fər w3ːrkJ/  
/ˈwiː ˈfætməli ˈrɪːft njuː ˈdɔːrk ˈstɪdi ˈbɪˈfɔːr ˈmʌdnəl/  
/ˈmɛni əv ˈdiːz ˈpiːːpəl ˈlef t dər ˈhoʊmlənts ɪn s3ːrɪt əv ə ˈbedər ˈlɑːtɪf/  
/ˈjuː ˈfɒdən ˈhɑːv ˈblɛtmd ˈmɪt/  
/ˈæt ˈtɪk ˈspɛkt ˈdə t hænd ɪn ˈdə tˈpoʊrt əz ˈsʊn əz ˈpoʊˈstɪbəl/  
/ˈbɪˈfɔːr hɪ lef t fər w3ːrkJ hɪ hæd ən ˈɑːrɡjəmən ˈwɪð ˈhɪz ˈwɔːt/  
/ˈɑːrɪz ˈnʊÒ ˈpɔɪnt ɪn ˈwɛrdɪŋ ˈhɪr fər ˈsætʃ ə ˈlɔːn ˈteɪm/  
/ˈdɪz ˈstɪˈrɪ tɪ ˈsɔːrt əv ˈwɪtr/  
/ˈgʊd strɛtˈt əˈhɛd ən tɜːr ˈmeɪl/  

EUGENE (76) [black]

/ˈeːftər ˈbrekfəst ət rɪˈleɪkst ə ˈlɪtdəl ən lef t fər w3ːrkJ/  
/bɪˈfɔːr hɪ: ˈleɪt ˈdər ˈrʊm ɦɪ: ˈfæʊnd ɪz ˈfɜːst ˈdɾeɪt/  
/ˈdɑːnt ˈtempt ˈmɑːt ˈwɜːl/  
/ˈwiː ˈfætməli ˈrɪːft njuː ˈdɔːrk ˈstɪdi ˈbɪˈfɔːr ˈmʌdnəl/  
/ˈmɛni əv ˈdiːz ˈpiːːpəl ˈlef t dər ˈhoʊmlənts ɪn s3ːrɪt əv ə ˈbedər ˈlɑːtɪf/  
/ˈjuː ˈfɒdən ˈhɑːv ˈblɛtmd ˈmɪt/  
/ˈhiː ˈfɜːlɪd tə ˈkænˈvɪns hɑrˈfiː ˈoʊnli ˈsmaɪld ənd ˈleɪf/  
/ˈɪts ˈnɔːr t ən ˈdəʊ ˈwɜːrld/  
/ˈæt ˈwɜːrkJ tə ˈleɪt ˈdɪn əs ˈprɔˈbɛkləˈneɪt ən ˈdɪ niːd tə ˈhɑːv ə ˈfjuː ˈɑːrɪz ˈrɛʃ/  
/ˈjuː ˈlɜːmd ə ˈlɑːg ən ˈdɔːr ˈpæs ə ˈdɛst ˈhɑː ˈkæm/  
/ˈfɪs ˈleɪk tə ˈgʊt ɪn ə ˈtrɪp əˈrɑːnɪŋ əs ˈwɜːrld/  
/ˈbɪˈfɔːr hɪ lef t fər w3ːrkJ hɪ hæd ən ˈɑːrɡjəmən ˈwɪð ɪz ˈwɔːt/  
/ˈɑːrɪz ˈnʊÒ ˈpɔɪnt ɪn ˈwɛrdɪŋ ˈhɪr fər ˈsætʃ ə ˈlɔːn ˈtɪːm/  
/ˈdɪ ˈlʊd ˈtɔːkɪŋ əˈbætɪn ˈɑmɪm ˈpɔːrtaɪn ˈθɪŋz/  
/ˈgʊd ˈlɜːrd/  
/ˈsɪ ˈnɜːrd/  
/ˈdɪn ən ˈhɜːrd ɪt ˈwɜːz ˈhɪz ˈpɔːr/  
/ˈdɪz ˈstɪˈrɪ tɪ ˈsɔːrt əv ˈwɪtr/  
/ˈfɪ: ˈbɪˈkeɪm əz ˈwɔːt əz ə ˈfɪːn ˌwɛn ˈfɪ sɔː ə ˈgʊdɪ/  
/ˈhiː ɪz ə ˈvɜːri ˌwɪtr ˈpɔːrson/  
/ˈʃɑːrn ən tæt ˈbædʒɪt ˈmæt ˈoʊld ˈfrend/  

LEO (77) [black]

/moʊs/ ˈpiːːpəl ˈstɛt ət ˈhoʊm ət ˈdɪz ˈtæm əv ə ˈdɪ ˈjɜːr/  
/ˈwɪf ˈstɪgərəts ˈdəʊ ˈlɑːtɪk ˈməʊs/  
/ˈeːftər ˈpɔːrti ˈdər ˈwɔːz ˈnʊt ˈfɜːrd ˈleɪf/  
/ˈwɔːl ˈduːn ˌjər ə ˈeɪsk fər ˈhɛlp/  
/ˈdɑːnt ˈwɜːl/  
/ˈeːftər hɪ ˈwɔːt braɪt tɪ ː ɵən ˈfɪntʃ ˈbrekfəst hɪ: lef t fər w3ːrkJ/  
/ˈwiː ˈfætməli ˈrɪːft njuː ˈdɔːrk ˈstɪdi ˈbɪˈfɔːr ˈmʌdnəl/
OWI (78) [black]

/moʊs/ 'piːpəl stet at həʊm at ðəs tæm av ði jər/
/'æftər 'brekfɔst at rtˈleɪkst oʊ 'lɪdəl on left fər w3ːr/k/
/ðəs ləm oʊ 'veri 'dɪfɪkəl tæsk bæt jo kæn duː ɪt/
/wɔt dən jə æsk fər həlp/ər jə ɔːl ræt/ʃiː æskt/
/ʃiː smʊkkt oʊ ɔːl wɛn jɪː w3ːr/k at ɔ oʊ 'wɛttræs/
/'æftər hiː wɔːft bɾɑft ɪz tiː 6 ən fɪntʃt 'brekfɔst hiː left fər w3ːr/k/
/wiː 'fæməli rɪːtʃ niː jʊ ːr/k ˈstɪdi 6r ɪfɔr 'mɪndnɑɪl/
/'meni oʊ dɪz 'piːpəl lefð oʊ ˈhʊmlənd in səɾt oʊ ðə 'bedər lɑːt/
/ðəs nət ði end əv ðə w3ːrld/dən nət kət/
/moʊs/ 'piːpəl ər wɔːt æftər ði Iˈven/
/at ɪk ˈsplekt jə tə hɛnʃ ɪn ðə rˈpɔr əz wʊn əz 'pʊːstɪdəl/
/ət w3ːr/k oʊ 6 ln ðəs 'prəʊdʒək/naʊ ðə niːd tə həʊ ŋ a ʃjuː: ðərəz rɛst/
/ət trɪːt jə lɑːk dæt frˈkæz jə dər z3ːrt rɪˈlæktʃən/ət frɔːr hiː lefð fər w3ːr/k hiː hæn d ən ˈærgjʊmən wɪər ɪz wælf/
/at dən ʊŋk dæt ʃiːl ɪ biː bæk ənˈtɪl 'mɪndnæl/
/ðərəz nəʊ pɔɪn ɪn 'wɛtˈdɪn hɪr fər sɑːf oʊ lɑːŋ tæm/
/ɡud loːrd/hɪz sɑːf oʊ nɛr/ət h3ːr/ɪt wɑz ɪz pɔːr/
/ðəs 'stɔːri ɪz sɔr əv wɜːt/dən sɔːrt 'ɔʊvnər/
/ðəs hər də tə lɜːrn bæt həːr/
/ʃuː ə ræt/læsə nət şīː had ə deɪʃər /
/ʃiː b'r ˈkɛm əz wænt əz ə ʃiː wɛn şī səː ə ɡʊsks/
/hiː ɪz ə 'veri wɜːt pər rəʊn/
/jɔr dən ə tæt 'bæğ lɪt mat frend/
APPENDIX 5
This pattern is a combination of the /nd/ cluster which precedes a vowel sound:

/nd/ + # V

/æ/ + /nd/ + # /h/: /bɪ'fɔr hɪ: left ðo rʊm hɪ: faʊnd hɪz fɜːst dɹɛft/

/æ/ + /nd/ + # /t/: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/

/æ/ + /nd/ + # /s/: /'plænd ɒn 'gedɪŋ də'vɜːrst/

/ɛ/ + /nd/ + # /s/: /ɪts nɔːt ði end əv ðə wɜːrd / dɔʊnt krɑːt/

/æ/ + /nd/ + # /t/: /aɪ tk'spekt jə tə hænd ɪn ðə rt'pɔːrt az sʊn az 'pəːstɪbol/

Harris [1]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Max [2]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Alex [3]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/

/æ/ + /nd/ + # /t/: /aɪ tk'spekt jə tə hænd ɪn ðə rt'pɔːrt az sʊn az 'pəːstɪbol/
Lesley [4]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Zack [6]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Carol [7]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Janet [9]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Haley [14]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Josh [15]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Jane [16]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Norma [18]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Max [24]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Tara [25]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Julie [28]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/

Connie [33]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Mark [34]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Caryl [36]: /aɪ tk'spekt jə tə hænd ɪn ðə rt'pɔːrt az sʊn az 'pəːstɪbol/
Ben [37]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/

Jonathan [41]: /aɪ tk'spekt jə tə hænd ɪn ðə rt'pɔːrt az sʊn az 'pəːstɪbol/
Susan [42]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Joann [43]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Igor [51]: /ɪts nɔːt ði end əv ðə wɜːrd /dʊnɪn krɑːt/
Jon [53]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Adam [54]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Judith [60]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Katherina [62]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Camilla [63]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
Paula [65]: /'meni əv diːz 'piːpol left dər 'hoʊmlænd in sərəf əv ə 'bedər lɑtʃ/
APPENDIX 6
This pattern is a combination of the /nd/ cluster which precedes a consonant:

/nd/ + # C

/æ/ + /nd/ + # /n/: /its ə brend njuː kɔːr/ aɪ petd ə lɔːd əv 'mæni fɔr ɪ/  
/æ/ + /nd/ + # /p/: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
/æ/ + /nd/ + # /d/: /fiːd laɪk tə goʊ ən ə trɪp əˈraʊnd də wɜːrd/  
/æ/ + /nd/ + # /d/: /wer dɪd jə faɪnd əts wɜːrd jənʃ men/  

Max [2]: /its ə brend njuː kɔːr/ aɪ petd ə lɔːd əv 'mæni fɔr ɪ/  
Alex [3]: /its ə brend njuː kɔːr/ aɪ petd ə lɔːd əv 'mæni fɔr ɪ/  
Mildred [5]: /its ə brend njuː kɔːr/ aɪ petd ə lɔːd əv 'mæni fɔr ɪ/  
Carol [7]: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
Janet [9]: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
Amy [10]: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
Amy [12]: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
Beth [13]: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
Norma [18]: /its ə brend njuː kɔːr/ aɪ petd ə lɔːd əv 'mæni fɔr ɪ/  
Larry [22]: /its ə brend njuː kɔːr/ aɪ petd ə lɔːd əv 'mæni fɔr ɪ/  
Becca [23]: /fiːd laɪk tə goʊ ən ə trɪp əˈraʊnd də wɜːrd/  
Max [24]: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
Tara [25]: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
Harry [26]: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
Brian [27]: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
Julie [28]: /its ə brend njuː kɔːr/ aɪ petd ə lɔːd əv 'mæni fɔr ɪ/  
Olivia [29]: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
Aaron [30]: /its ə brend njuː kɔːr/ aɪ petd ə lɔːd əv 'mæni fɔr ɪ/  
Chuck [31]: /its ruːd tə bæːrp wen jɔʊ əˈraʊnd ˈpiːpol/  
Linda [32]: /its ə brend njuː kɔːr/ aɪ petd ə lɔːd əv 'mæni fɔr ɪ/
This pattern is a combination of the /nd/ cluster which occurs in final position:

/nd/ in final position

/at/ + /nd/: /dɔnt tempt mi: / at wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/

/e/ + /nd/: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/

Harris [1]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Alex [3]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Carol [7]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Melisa [8]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Janet [9]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Norma [18]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Carol [19]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Larry [22]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Harry [26]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Olivia [29]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Aaron [30]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Chuck [31]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Mike [35]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Ben [37]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Sarah [39]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Jonathan [41]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Susan [42]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Jack [44]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Scott [48]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Luann [49]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Igor [51]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Nancy [57]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Andy [58]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Mike [59]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Katherine [62]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Dennis [69]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Neil [70]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Virginia [71]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Carol [72]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Nicola [73]: /ʃər də tæt 'bʌdʒɪt mai ɔʊld frend/
Sheryl [74]: /dɔnt tempt mi:/aɪ wɪl nʌt tʃeɪndʒ mai mæɪnd/
Mark [75]: /doʊnt tempt mi:/əɪ wɪl tʃɪəndʒ mɑɪ maɪnd/
Eugene [76]: /doʊnt tempt mi:/əɪ wɪl nɑːt tʃɪəndʒ mɑɪ maɪnd/
Leo [77]: /doʊnt tempt mi:/əɪ wɪl nɑːt tʃɪəndʒ mɑɪ maɪnd/ /ʃər ŋn ə tæt ˈbædʒɪt mɑɪ frend/ 
Jennie [80]: /doʊnt tempt mi:/əɪ wɪl nɑːt tʃɪəndʒ mɑɪ maɪnd/
This pattern is a combination of the alveolar stop /t/ which precedes a vowel sound:

\[ /t/ + V \]

\[ /ɑ:/ + /t/ + /al:/ /ɪs ə bænd nju: kɑ:ʃəl petd ə lɑ: t əv 'mæni fər t/ \]

\[ /ɑ:/ + /t/ + /æ:/ /æət /ɑ:t ən ɪʃts 'prɑ:ʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ \]

\[ /ɑ:/ + /t/ + /æ:/ /ju: ɪʃn ə lɑ: t ənd ət 'dɪdənt pæs ət test/hæt kæm/ \]

\[ /ɑː/ + /t/ + /æ:/ /hi: ɡɔːt ə praɪt bɔt hɪ: di'zɜːrv t/ \]

\[ /ɑː/ + /t/ + /æ:/ /fiːz ɡɔːt ə fər 'tiːtʃɪŋ jæŋ 'ʃɪldən/hæt'evər ʃɪ: 'dɪəzənt laɪk ɪt wɛn ət ʃwɛn/ \]

\[ /ɑː/ + /t/ + /æ:/ /fiːd 'bɛdər ɵŋk ə'bæut ɪt ʃɪr ər jə də 'eniðɪŋ/ \]

\[ /æt/ + /t/ + /æ:/ /ɡəʊ streɪt ə'hed ən tɜːrn ræt/ \]

\[ /æt/ + /t/ + /æ:/ /fiː bɪ'kɛɪm əz wɔːt əz ə fiː tən fi sə ə gʊst/ \]

Alex [3]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/

Zack [6]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/

/ju: ɪʃn ə lɑ: t ənd ət 'dɪdənt pæs ət test/hæt kæm/ 

Carol [7]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/

Melissa: [8]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz əv rest/

Janet [9]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/

Haley [14]:

/ju: ɪʃn ə lɑ: t ənd ət 'dɪdənt pæs ət test/hæt kæm/

Jane [16]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/

/ju: ɪʃn ə lɑ: t ənd ət 'dɪdənt pæs ət test/hæt kæm/

Norma [18]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/

Brian [27]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/

Julie [28]:

/ʃiː bɪ'kɛɪm əz wɔːt əz ə fiː tən fi sə ə gʊst/

Olivia [29]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/

/ɡʊə streɪt ə'hed ən tɜːrn ræt/ 

Aaron [30]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/

/lju: ɪʃn ə lɑː t ənd ət 'dɪdənt pæs ət test/hæt kæm/ 

Linda [32]:

/ʃiː bɪ'kɛɪm əz wɔːt əz ə fiː tən fi sə ə gʊst/

Connie [33]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/

/lju: ɪʃn ə lɑː t ənd ət 'dɪdənt pæs ət test/hæt kæm/ 

Mike [35]:

/æt wɜːrkt ə lɑːt ən ɪʃts 'prɑːʤɛkt/nætʊ ət ni:d tə hæv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/

/ɡʊə streɪt ə'hed ən tɜːrn ræt/ 

Ben [37]:

/lju: ɪʃn ə lɑː t ənd ət 'dɪdənt pæs ət test/hæt kæm/ 

/ʃiː bɪ'kɛɪm əz wɔːt əz ə fiː tən fi sə ə gʊst/
Alex [38]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Sarah [39]: /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Laurel [40]: /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Katherina [62]: 'ʃi: ət'kɪm əz wænt əz ə fɪər wɛn fə sə: ə goʊst/
Susan [42]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ /fi: ət'kɪm əz wænt əz ə fɪər wɛn fə sə: ə goʊst/
Joann [43]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/
Rob [47]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Scott [48]: /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Luann [49]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ 
Igor [51]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ 
Adam [54]: /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Amy [55]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Nancy [57]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Andy [58]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/
Mike [59]: /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Judith [60]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Nia [61]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/
Camilla [63]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ 
Cheryl [64]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ 
Mark [67]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ 
Dennis [69]: /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Neil [70]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ 
Sheryl [74]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ 
Eugene [76]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ /ju: ɪːz:md ə laʊtən dəd 'dtdənt pəs tə test/hæt kæm/
Owi [78]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ 
Nii [79]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/ 
Jennie [80]: /aɪ wɜːrk tə laɪtən dɪz 'prəʊdʒek/tə naʊ ə nɪd tə həv ə fju: 'ævərz rest/
APPENDIX 9
This pattern is a combination of the alveolar stop /t/ which precedes an approximant palatal /j/:

/\t/ +\t/ +# /\j/

\ä\ä  \ä\ä / + /\t/ +# /\j/: /\t/+# /\j/

Harris [1]:  /\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\ä\a
APPENDIX 10
This pattern is a combination of the alveolar stop /t/ which precedes an approximant bilabial /w/

/t/ + /w/: /fiː smɔ:kt ə lɔ:t wɛn fiː wɜː rkt ə ˈwɛitrəs/

/t# + /w/: /ɑt laftkt əm ə lɔ:t wɛn aɪ wɔz ˈɪtdəl/

/as/ + /t/ + #/w/: /fiː ɡɑt ə fler fərˈtiːj n ˈjæŋ ˈʃildrən/ˈhætˈevər fiː ˈdəzənt lɑtɪk ɪt wɛn dɛt swɛr/

/t/ + /t/ + # /w/: /fiː ˈbrəkæt əz wɔt əz ə fiː wɛn fi ˈʃoː ə gʊst/
Sarah [39]: /əɪ laɪkt dəm ə laɪt wən ə tədəl/  
Laurel [40]: /fi: ˈbrɛkəm az wɔt az ə fɪn wən fɪ sə: ə goʊst/  
Jonathan [41]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Susan [42]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Joann [43]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Robin [46]: /əɪ laɪkt dəm ə laɪt wən ə tədəl/  
Rob [47]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Scott [48]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Luann [49]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Harriet [50]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Jon [53]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Adam [54]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Amy [55]: /fi: ˈbrɛkəm az wɔt az ə fɪn wən fɨ sə: ə goʊst/  
John [56]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Nancy [57]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Judith [59]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Katherine [62]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Cheryl [64]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Paula [65]: /əɪ laɪkt dəm ə laɪt wən ə tədəl/  
Rob [68]: /əɪ laɪkt dəm ə laɪt wən ə tədəl/  
Virginia [71]: /əɪ laɪkt dəm ə laɪt wən ə tədəl/  
Sheryl [74]: /əɪ laɪkt dəm ə laɪt wən ə tədəl/  
Eugene [76]: /fi: ˈbrɛkəm az wɔt az ə fɪn wən fɨ sə: ə goʊst/  
Leo [77]: /fi: ˈbrɛkəm az wɔt az ə fɪn wən fɨ sə: ə goʊst/  
Owi [78]: /fi: smøukt ə ləd wən fɨ: w3:rkət az ə ˈwettrəs/  
Nii [79]: /fi: ˈbrɛkəm az wɔt az ə fɪn wən fɨ sə: ə goʊst/
This pattern is a combination of the alveolar stop /t/ which precedes a plosive bilabial /b/:

\[
\text{/t/ + /b/} \\
\text{/at/ + /t/ + /b/} \\
\text{/at/ + /t/ + /b/} \\
\]

\[
\text{Harris [1]}: \\
\text{Max [2]}: \\
\text{Alex [3]}: \\
\text{Zack [6]}: \\
\text{Carol [7]}: \\
\text{Melissa [8]}: \\
\text{Janet [9]}: \\
\text{Amy S. [10]}: \\
\text{Haley [14]}: \\
\text{Josh [15]}: \\
\text{Jane [16]}: \\
\text{Norma [18]}: \\
\text{Larry [22]}: \\
\text{Becca [23]}: \\
\text{Max [24]}: \\
\text{Tara [25]}: \\
\text{Harry [26]}: \\
\text{Julie [28]}: \\
\text{Olivia [29]}: \\
\text{Aaron [30]}: \\
\text{Linda [32]}: \\
\text{Cary [36]}: \\
\text{Ben [37]}: \\
\text{Alex [38]}: \\
\text{Sarah [39]}: \\
\text{Laurel [40]}: \\
\text{Jonathan [41]}: \\
\text{Susan [42]}: \\
\text{Karen [45]}: \\
\text{Luann [49]}: \\
\text{Igor [51]}: \\
\text{Tim [52]}: \\
\text{Jon [53]}: \\
\]
Adam [54]:  /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Amy [55]:  /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Nancy [57]: /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Mike [59]:  /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Judith [60]: /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Nia [61]:   /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Katherina [62]:  /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Camilla [63]: /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Paula [65]:  /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Rob [68]:    /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Dennis [69]: /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Neil [70]:    /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
Leo [77]:     /aɪm sə:ri oˈbaɪt jər plæt bæt æɪ wəz ənˈetbəl tə help ju/
This pattern is a combination of the alveolar stop /t/ which occurs in final position:

/t/ in final position

/at/ + /t/: /wət dəʊnt jə əsk fər help/ð:ɹ jə ðə lətɪʃiː /æskt/

/wət dəʊnt jə əsk fər help/ð:ɹ jə ðə lətɪʃiː /æskt/
/atʊt ə bæt̪ t tæm tə ɡet ɪp ɪf wɪː dəʊnt wənt tə biː lət/ /jəd ‘bɛdər fɛtəp əp ər əl təʊrəʊ jə ətʊt tɪs nə,t ə ətət tɪs ə ‘prəʊmɪts/
/goʊ stɛr tə hɛd ən tɜːn rət/ Max [2]:

/wət dəʊnt jə əsk fər help/ð:ɹ jə ðə lətɪʃiː /æskt/
/atʊt ə bæt̪ t tæm tə ɡet ɪp ɪf wɪː dəʊnt wənt tə biː lət/ /æt triː tə lɑtɪk dæt ət kəz əd ɪt’zər vɪŋ ɪt/ /hiː gə,t ə præt bæt hɪː dɪ’zər vɪŋ ɪt/ /æt dəʊnt ətŋk dæt ʃiː lɪ ə bæk ən ɪt’l ‘mɪdntətʃ/ /jʊː ər rət/ləst nətʃ fɪː hæd ə det/ Alex [3]:

/wət dəʊnt jə əsk fər help/ð:ɹ jə ðə lətɪʃiː /æskt/
/wiː ‘fænəli rɪʧɪŋ njuː jə:ɹk ‘sɪdi bɪ ‘fɔr ‘mɪdntətʃ/ /jəd ‘bɛdər fɛtəp əp ər əl təʊrəʊ jə ətʊt tɪs nə,t ə ətət tɪs ə ‘prəʊmɪts/
/dəʊnt i:vən bɾɪð ə wɜːr/ɪts ə ‘sɪ:kraʊt/ Lesley [4]:

/wət dəʊnt jə əsk fər help/ð:ɹ jə ðə lətɪʃiː /æskt/
/wiː ‘fænəli rɪʧɪŋ njuː jə:ɹk ‘sɪdi bɪ ‘fɔr ‘mɪdntətʃ/ /atʊt ə bæt̪ t tæm tə ɡet ɪp ɪf wɪː dəʊnt wənt tə biː lət/ /æt triː tə lɑtɪk dæt ət kəz əd ɪt’zər vɪŋ ɪt/ /hiː gə,t ə præt bæt hɪː dɪ’zər vɪŋ ɪt/ /jʊː ər rət/ləst nətʃ fɪː hæd ə det/ Mildred [5]:

/ɪts izə veri ‘dɪfɪkəl tɛsk bæt jə kæn dət/ /wət dəʊnt jə əsk fər help/ð:ɹ jə ðə lətɪʃiː /æskt/
/wiː ‘fænəli rɪʧɪŋ njuː jə:ɹk ‘sɪdi ‘æftər ‘mɪdntətʃ/ /atʊt ə bæt̪ t tæm tə ɡet ɪp ɪf wɪː dəʊnt wənt tə biː lət/
Haley [14]:

Zack [6]:

Carol [7]:

Melissa [8]:

Janet [9]:

Amy S. [10]:

Amy L. [11]:

Amy P. [12]:

Haley [14]:
Josh [15]:

/æɪ dʌt n̩ əŋk ət fə:li: bi: bæk ən’tɪl ’mɪdnɔt\n
/gʊt stɪr tɔ hɛd ən tɹən ræt\n
/ju:/ æ r ræt/læst nɔtʃi:/ əd ə dɛt\n
Jane [16]:

/ðɪz ɪz ə veri ’dɪfɪkəlt tæsk bæt ə kæn də fə t\n
/wi:/ ’fænəli riːtʃ njuː jɔːrk ’sɪdɪ bɪ’fɔːr ’mɪdnɔt\n
/ɪf jə wɔːn’t həv ɢʊd maːrkɪŋz ə ʊə bæst wɜːkə ə loː\n
/æt triː jə lɑːk ət bi’kæz jə də ’zɜːr vɪ\n
/hɪː gət ə prætɪz bæt hiː di ’zɜːr vɪ\n
/æt dʊt əŋk ət fə:li: biː bæk ən’tɪl ’mɪdnɔt\n
/ɔːl’dʊt hɪː ɪz kwɔːt fæt hɪː həd t’næf ’k3:ɹɪtʃ tə əsk hər aʊ\n
/Gail [17]:

/gʊt stɪr tɔ hɛd ən tɹən ræt\n
/Norma [18]:

/ɪf jə prɔːmɪts tə əsk ər aʊ’tɪl ə bæk əʊt əv ɪ\n
/wiː ’fænəli riːtʃ njuː jɔːrk ’sɪdɪ bɪ’fɔːr ’mɪdnɔt\n
/ɪts ə ˈbɛrən njuː kəʊrə pɛktə ə lɒː əv ’mæni fər ɪ\n
/ɪts ə ’bæt tɔm tə get ɑp tə fɪː diː nʊnt wɔːnt tə biː lɛt\n
/æt dʊt əŋk ət fə:li: biː bæk tɪl ’mɪdnɔt\n
/ʃəd ’bɛdər fɛt ə pər əls əl əɪ oʊ jə əʊ/tɪs nɔt ə ət ɪts ə ’prɔːmɪts/\n
/ʃuː æ r ræt/læst nɔtʃiː əd ə dɛt/\n
/Carol [19]:

/gʊt stɪr tɔ hɛd ən tɹən ræt\n
/Juː æ r ræt/læst nɔtʃiː əd ə dɛt/\n
/Mark [21]:

/gʊt stɪr tɔ hɛd ən tɹən ræt\n
/Larry [22]:

/æt dʊt n̩ əŋk ət fə:liː biː bæk ən’tɪl ’mɪdnɔt\n
/gʊt stɪr tɔ hɛd ən tɹən ræt\n
/Becca [23]:

/æt dʊt əŋk ət fə:liː biː bæk ən’tɪl ’mɪdnɔt\n
/gʊt stɪr tɔ hɛd ən tɹən ræt\n
/Max [24]:

/wiː ’fænəli riːtʃ njuː jɔːrk ’sɪdɪ bɪ’fɔːr ’mɪdnɔt\n
/æt dʊt əŋk ət fə:liː biː bæk ən’tɪl ’mɪdnɔt\n
/gʊt stɪr tɔ hɛd ən tɹən ræt\n
/Tara [25]:

/ɪf jə bɪ’rɛt hər ər ʃət kə ’lʌvə ’sæmən huː læv iz ə ɪɡ\n
/wɔt dʊt n̩ ə əsk fɔːr ʜɛlp/ər jə ɔːl rætʃiː əsɛkt/\n
/wiː ’fænəli riːtʃ njuː jɔːrk ’sɪdɪ bɪ’fɔːr ’mɪdnɔt\n
/ɪts ə ’bæt tɔm tə get ɑp tə fɪː diː nʊnt ən tɔ biː lɛt/\n
/ɔːl’dʊt hɪː tə kwɔːt fæt hɪː həd t’næf ’k3:ɹɪtʃ tə əsk hər aʊ\n
/Harry [26]:

/wiː ’fænəli riːtʃ njuː jɔːrk ’sɪdɪ bɪ’fɔːr ’mɪdnɔt\n
/gʊt stɪr tɔ hɛd ən tɹən ræt\n
/juː æ r ræt/læst nɔtʃiː əd ə dɛt/\n
/Brian [27]:

/wɔt dʊt əŋk ə əsk fɔːr ʜɛlp/ər jə ɔːl rætʃiː əsɛkt/\n
/Julie [28]:

/wɔt dʊt əŋk ə əsk fɔːr ʜɛlp/ər jə ɔːl rætʃiː əsɛkt/
Nancy [57]:

/wat dəʊnt ə əsk fər helplə tə jə ɔ:1 ræftʃi: æskt/
/at dəʊnt əŋ tə ˈmɪdnæt

/ə:l ə əsk hi: ɪz kwaɪt fæt hɪ: hæd tə ˈnælt ˈkɑː rɪtʃ tə ə əsk hər aʊ/
/ɡʊə stɛrt ə ˈhɛd ən tə:rn ræt/

Igor [51]:

/ɪts o ˈbɛrə niː nuː kətə tə ə ˈmæni fər tʃi/,

Tim [52]:

/ɪt ə ˈbɛrə niː nuː: ˈfɑːmlə riːtʃtʃ njuː jəːr ˈsɪdɪ bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdnæt/.

Jon [53]:

/ɪt ə ˈbɛrə niː nuː kətə tə ə ˈmæni fər tʃi/.

Adam [54]:

/ɪt ə ˈbɛrə niː nuː kətə tə ə ˈmæni fər tʃi/.

Amy [55]:

/ɪt ə ˈbɛrə niː nuː kətə tə ə ˈmæni fər tʃi/.

Nancy [57]:

/ɪt ə ˈbɛrə niː nuː kətə tə ə ˈmæni fər tʃi/.
Andy [58]:

/ju: ar ral/ least natt fi; had a det/

Mike [59]:

/wi: 'fatnoli ri:'t nju: j0:rk 'sidi b:t'f0:r 'mtdnatl/
/at d0:nt ßntk in: fi:1: bi; beak An'tttl 'mtdnatl/
/g00t str0:t ß'hed an t3:rn ral/

Judith [60]:

/ßf ßj pr0:mt0:t to arsk ar aot du: n4:1 beak aot ßv t/
/ßts iz ß veri 'difkkt:lt tæsk b4:t j0: k4n d0 t/
/wi: 'fatnoli ri:'t nju: j0:rk 'sidi b:t'f0:r 'mtdnatl/
/ßts ß bran: nju: k0:t/r/a t3:t d0: t a ß'v 'm4ni for t/
/ßts 0:'bat0:t t4:m to get Ap ßf wi: doont w0:n to bi: le:t/
/at tri:t j0: la:kt ßnt b:t'k0:z j0: d0: n3:rv ß/
/ßi: got 0 praiz b4:t bi: d0: n3:rv t/
/at do0:nt ßntk ßnt fi:1: bi: beak An'tttl 'mtdnatl/
/ß: 'd0: ßhi: iz kwatt fæt ßi: had t'nal 'k3:ri:t5 t0 arsk h4:r a0 t/
/ßu: ar ral/ least natt ßi; had ß d3tt/

Nia [61]:

/wi: 'fatnoli ri:'t nju: j0:rk 'sidi b:t'f0:r 'mtdnatl/
/ßf ßj w0:n:0 ßh0:v g00t m0:rk:s j0: mast w3:rk ß lo: t/
/g00t str0:t ß'hed an t3:rn ral/
/ßu: ar ral/ least natt ßi; had ß d3tt/

Katherina [62]:

/wi: 'fatnoli ri:'t nju: j0:rk 'sidi b:t'f0:r 'mtdnatl/
/ßts 0:'bat0:t t4:m to get Ap ßf wi: doont w0:n:t to bi: le:t/

Camilla [63]:

/ßf d0:nt j0: arsk f0:r help/4:0: j0: 0:1: ral/ji: ß3kt/
/wi: 'fatnoli ri:'t nju: j0:rk 'sidi b:t'f0:r 'mtdnatl/
/at do0:nt ßntk ßnt fi:1: bi: beak An'tttl 'mtdnatl/
/g00t str0:t ß'hed an t3:rn ral/

Cheryl [64]:

/ßts iz ß veri 'difkkt:lt tæsk b4:t j0: k4n d0 t/
/ßf d0:nt j0: arsk f0:r help/4:0: j0: 0:1: ral/ji: ß3kt/
/ßts ß bran: nju: k0:t/r/a t3:t d0: t a ß'v 'm4ni for t/
/ßts 0:'bat0:t t4:m to get Ap ßf wi: doont w0:n:t to bi: le:t/
/g00t str0:t ß'hed an t3:rn ral/

Paula [65]:

/wi: 'fatnoli ri:'t nju: j0:rk 'sidi b:t'f0:r 'mtdnatl/
/ßts 0:'bat0:t t4:m to get Ap ßf wi: doont w0:n:t to bi: le:t/
/at do0:nt ßntk ßnt fi:1: bi: beak An'tttl 'mtdnatl/
/j0:d 'bedor j3:t ßp ßr el:s a0: t ßr0: ßj a ot/ its n4:t ß ßtet its ß 'pr0:mt0:t/
/g00t str0:t ß'hed an t3:rn ral/
/ßu: ar ral/ least natt ßi; had ß d3tt/

Rosemary [66]:

/wi: 'fatnoli ri:'t nju: j0:rk 'sidi b:t'f0:r 'mtdnatl/
/hi: got 0 praiz b4:t bi: d0: n3:rv t/
/j0:d 'bedor j3:t ßp ßr el:s a0: t ßr0: ßj a ot/ its n4:t ß ßtet its ß 'pr0:mt0:t/
Mark [67]:
/wat doʊnt jo æsk fər help/go:ɹ jo ɔ:ɹ ræt/ʃi: æsk/ 
/wi: ˈfaɪnəli rɪtʃt njuː jɑːrk ˈsɪdi bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdɪnæt/ 
/ɪts ə ˈbætɪ tæm tə get Ap ɪf wiː doʊnt wʊːnt tə biː letʃ/ 
/at doʊnt θŋk ðet ʃiːli biː bæk ənˈtɪl ˈmɪdɪnæt/ 
/goʊt strɛt əˈhed ən tɹ:rn ræt/ 
/juː ər ræt/ˈlaɪst nɔtʃiː: həd ə ˈdetʃ/ 

Rob [68]:
/wat doʊnt jo æsk fər help/go:ɹ jo ɔ:ɹ ræt/ʃi: æskt/ 
/wi: ˈfaɪnəli rɪtʃt njuː jɑːrk ˈsɪdi bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdɪnæt/ 
/ɪts ə ˈbætɪ tæm tə get Ap ɪf wiː doʊnt wʊːnt tə biː letʃ/ 
/at doʊnt θŋk ðet ʃiːli biː bæk ənˈtɪl ˈmɪdɪnæt/ 
/jəd ˈbedər ʃetp ɪp ər əl əl θroʊ jə ər ɪts nɔːt ə θret ɪts ə ˈprɑːmɪts/ 
/goʊt strɛt əˈhed ən tɹ:rn ræt/ 
/juː ər ræt/ˈlaɪst nɔtʃiː: həd ə ˈdetʃ/ 

Dennis [69]:
/ɪts ɪz ə vəriˈdɪfrəʊlt tɛsk bɔt jə kɛn dʊ tʃ/ 
/wat doʊnt jo æsk fər help/go:ɹ jo ɔ:ɹ ræt/ʃi: æskt/ 
/wi: ˈfaɪnəli rɪtʃt njuː jɑːrk ˈsɪdi bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdɪnæt/ 
/ɪts ə ˈbætɪ tæm tə get Ap ɪf wiː doʊnt wʊːnt tə biː letʃ/ 
/hɪː gət ə præt bɒt hiː ˈdɪzɜːrv / 
/at doʊnt θŋk ðet ʃiːli biː bæk ənˈtɪl ˈmɪdɪnæt/ 
/jəd ˈbedər ʃetp ɪp ər əl əl θroʊ jə ər ɪts nɔːt ə θret ɪts ə ˈprɑːmɪts/ 
/ˈɔːlˈdəʊ hiː tʃ kwɑt fət hɪː həd ˈtʃæf ˈkɜrɪŋ ə æsk hər əʊ/ 
/goʊt strɛt əˈhed ən tɹ:rn ræt/ 
/juː ər ræt/ˈlaɪst nɔtʃiː: həd ə ˈdetʃ/ 

Neil [70]:
/wiː ˈfaɪnəli rɪtʃt njuː jɑːrk ˈsɪdi bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdɪnæt/ 
/ɪts ə ˈbætɪ tæm tə get Ap ɪf wiː doʊnt wʊːnt tə biː letʃ/ 
/ˈɔːlˈdəʊ hiː tʃ kwɑt fət hɪː həd ˈtʃæf ˈkɜrɪŋ ə æsk hər əʊ/ 
/goʊt strɛt əˈhed ən tɹ:rn ræt/ 
/juː ər ræt/ˈlaɪst nɔtʃiː: həd ə ˈdetʃ/ 

Virginia [71]:
/wat doʊnt jo æsk fər help/go:ɹ jo ɔ:ɹ ræt/ʃi: æskt/ 
/wiː ˈfaɪnəli rɪtʃt njuː jɑːrk ˈsɪdi bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdɪnæt/ 
/ɪts ə ˈbætɪ tæm tə get Ap ɪf wiː doʊnt wʊːnt tə biː letʃ/ 
/goʊt strɛt əˈhed ən tɹ:rn ræt/ 
/juː ər ræt/ˈlaɪst nɔtʃiː: həd ə ˈdetʃ/ 

Carol [72]:
/wiː ˈfaɪnəli rɪtʃt njuː jɑːrk ˈsɪdi bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdɪnæt/ 
/ɪts ə ˈbætɪ tæm tə get Ap ɪf wiː doʊnt wʊːnt tə biː letʃ/ 
/goʊt strɛt əˈhed ən tɹ:rn ræt/ 
/juː ər ræt/ˈlaɪst nɔtʃiː: həd ə ˈdetʃ/ 

Nicola [73]:
/wat doʊnt jo æsk fər help/go:ɹ jo ɔ:ɹ ræt/ʃi: æskt/ 
/wiː ˈfaɪnəli rɪtʃt njuː jɑːrk ˈsɪdi bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdɪnæt/ 
/ɪts ə ˈbætɪ tæm tə get Ap ɪf wiː doʊnt wʊːnt tə biː letʃ/ 
/goʊt strɛt əˈhed ən tɹ:rn ræt/ 
/juː ər ræt/ˈlaɪst nɔtʃiː: həd ə ˈdetʃ/ 

Sheryl [74]:
/wiː ˈfaɪnəli rɪtʃt njuː jɑːrk ˈsɪdi bɪˈfɔr ˈmɪdɪnæt/
Mark [75]:

/wi: 'fænəli riʧt nju: jɔ:rk 'sədi bi'tɔr 'mɪdnaɪ/
/goʊ streɪt ə'hed ən tʃːrɪn ræɪ /
/juː ə ræɪ/ɿɛst nɑːt fiː ɿəd ə dɛt

Jennie [80]:

/wiː 'fænəli riʧt njuː jɔːrk 'ʃədi bɪ'tɔr 'mɪdnaɪ /
/goʊ streɪt ə'hed ən tʃːrɪn ræɪ /
/juː ə ræɪ/ɿɛst nɑːt fiː ɿəd ə dɛt

Owi [78]:

/ət iz o veri 'difɪkəl tɛsk bæt jə kæn dʊ ɪ /
/wɔt dɔʊnt jɔ əsk fɔr hɛlp/ʊəɾ jə ʃəːl ræɪ fɪː əɛkt/ 
/wiː 'fænəli riʧt njuː jɔːrk 'ʃədi bɪ'tɔr 'mɪdnaɪ /
/ət ə bænd njuː kɔːt rə petd ə lʊt ə ʊ'nəni fɔr ɪ /
/If jə wɔːn ʃə həv gʊd məːks jə mɔst wɜːt kə ʊl/ 
/ət triːt jə ləɪk dæt bɪ'tæk jə dɪˈzɜːr v ɪ /
/hɪː ɡət ə præɪz bæt bɪi dɪˈzɜːr v ɪ /
/ət dɔʊnt θŋk ət jɪː bɪː bæk ən'tɪl 'mɪdnaɪ /
/jɔː ə ræɪ/ɿɛst nɑːt fiː ɿəd ə dɛt

Nii [79]:

/ət iz o veri 'difɪkəl tɛsk bæt jə kæn dʊ ɪ /
/wɔt dɔʊnt jɔ əsk fɔr hɛlp/ʊəɾ jə ʃəːl ræɪ fɪː əɛkt/ 
/wiː 'fænəli riʧt njuː jɔːrk 'ʃədi bɪ'tɔr 'mɪdnaɪ /
/ət ə bænd njuː kɔːt rə petd ə lʊt ə ʊ'nəni fɔr ɪ /
/If jə wɔːn ʃə həv gʊd məːks jə mɔst wɜːt kə ʊl/ 
/ət triːt jə ləɪk dæt bɪ'tæk jə dɪˈzɜːr v ɪ /
/hɪː ɡət ə præɪz bæt bɪi dɪˈzɜːr v ɪ /
/ət dɔʊnt θŋk ət jɪː bɪː bæk ən'tɪl 'mɪdnaɪ /
/jəd 'bedər ʃeɪp əp ər əl θrʊʊ əu ɪts nɑːt ə ʊrɛt ɪts ə 'prəʊmɪts/ 
/dɔʊnt ɪːvən briːdə wɜːt tʃːrəts ə 'skɪkər /
/goʊ streɪt ə'hed ən tʃːrɪn ræɪ /
/juː ə ræɪ/ɿɛst nɑːt fiː ɿəd ə dɛt

Nii [79]:

/ət iz o veri 'difɪkəl tɛsk bæt jə kæn dʊ ɪ /
/wɔt dɔʊnt jɔ əsk fɔr hɛlp/ʊəɾ jə ʃəːl ræɪ fɪː əɛkt/ 
/wiː 'fænəli riʧt njuː jɔːrk 'ʃədi bɪ'tɔr 'mɪdnaɪ /
/ət ə bænd njuː kɔːt rə petd ə lʊt ə ʊ'nəni fɔr ɪ /
/If jə wɔːnt tə həv gʊd məːks jə mɔst wɜːt kə ʊl/ 
/ət dɔʊnt θŋk ət jɪː bɪː bæk ən'tɪl 'mɪdnaɪ /
/goʊ streɪt ə'hed ən tʃːrɪn ræɪ /
/juː ə ræɪ/ɿɛst nɑːt fiː ɿəd ə dɛt
APPENDIX 13
This pattern is a combination of the /rd/ cluster which precedes a vowel sound:

/rd/+ # V

/ɜː/ + /rd/ + # /uː/: /gʊd lɔ:rd/hiːz sʌf ə nərd/ər hɜː:rd ɪt wəz hɪz pɑːrt/

Leo [77]:/gʊd lɔ:rd/hiːz sʌf ə nərd/ər hɜː:rd ɪt wəz ɪz pɑːrt/
This pattern is a combination of the /rd/ cluster which precedes a consonant:

/rd/+ # C

/ɑː/ + /rd/ + # /t/ : /t̚s hɔːrd t̚o lərm ət bæt hɔːrt/
/æ/ + /rd/ + # /p/: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/

Beth [13]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Haley [14]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Jane [16]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Carol [19]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Harry [26]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Brian [27]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Olivia [29]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Aaron [30]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Chuck [31]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Linda [32]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Mark [34]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Mike [35]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Caryl [36]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Ben [37]: /t̚s hɔːr t̚o lərm ət bæt hɔːr t̚/

Alex [38]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Sarah [39]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Joann [43]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Robin [46]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Luann [49]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Igor [51]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Tim [52]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Adam [54]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Nancy [57]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Andy [58]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Mike [59]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Camilla [63]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Cheryl [64]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Dennis [69]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Nicola [73]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Eugene [76]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Leo [77]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Owi [78]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
Nii [79]: /t̚z ə ˈveri wɪrd ˈpɜːrson/
APPENDIX 15
This pattern is a combination of the /rd/ cluster which occurs in final position:

/rd/in final position

/ə/ + /rd/: /dəʊnt i:vʌn bɾi:d ə wɜːrd/ɪts ə 'sɪ:kraɪ/
/ɑ/ + /rd/: /gʊd loːrd/hɪːz sɑːtʃ ə nɜːrd/æt hɜːrd ɪt wɔz hɪz pɑːrt/
/ʌ/ + /rd/: /ðz 'stʊːri ɪz sɔːrt əv wɜːrd/ˈdəʊnt stɑːrt ˈoʊvər/
This pattern is a combination of the /rt/ cluster which precedes a vowel sound:

/rt/ + # V

/o/ + /rt/ + # /ə/: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/

/o/ + /rt/ + # /a/: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/

This pattern is a combination of the /rt/ cluster which precedes a vowel sound:

/rt/ + # V

/o/ + /rt/ + # /ə/: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/

/o/ + /rt/ + # /a/: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/

Harris [1]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Alex [3]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Carol [7]: /ə f jo wɔ:nt tɔ bi: ‘helti jo fəd ‘prək’tis spɔ:rt tən ə ‘regjəlar ‘beɪtɪs/
Melissa [8]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Amy L. [11]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Amy P. [12]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Haley [14]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Josh [15]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Norma [18]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Larry [22]: /ə f jo wɔ:nt tɔ bi: ‘helti jo fəd ‘prək’tis spɔ:rt tən ə ‘regjəlar ‘beɪtɪs/
Becca [23]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Tara [25]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Harry [26]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Brian [27]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Julie [28]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Aaron [30]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Linda [32]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Connie [33]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Mark [34]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Mike [35]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Caryl [36]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/
Ben [37]: /ə t k’spek t jo t hænd In do rt’pɔ:rt az sun az ‘pə:sibəl/

Alex [38]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
Sarah [39]: /ɪf ɪə wɔːnt tə bi: 'heləbi jə fəd 'prəkts spɔːt ən o 'rɛɡjələr 'bɛtɪs/
Laurel [40]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
Jonathan [41]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
Susan [42]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
Jack [44]: /ɪf ɪə wɔːnt tə bi: 'heləbi jə fəd 'prəkts spɔːt ən o 'rɛɡjələr 'bɛtɪs/
Karen [45]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
Robin [46]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
Rob [47]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
Harriet [50]: /ɪf ɪə wɔːnt tə bi: 'heləbi jə fəd 'prəkts spɔːt ən o 'rɛɡjələr 'bɛtɪs/
Jon [53]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
Adam [54]: /ɪf ɪə wɔːnt tə bi: 'heləbi jə fəd 'prəkts spɔːt ən o 'rɛɡjələr 'bɛtɪs/
Amy [55]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
/Nancy [57]: /ɪf ɪə wɔːnt tə bi: 'heləbi jə fəd 'prəkts spɔːt ən o 'rɛɡjələr 'bɛtɪs/
Judith [60]: /ɪf ɪə wɔːnt tə bi: 'heləbi jə fəd 'prəkts spɔːt ən o 'rɛɡjələr 'bɛtɪs/
Katherina [62]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
Nicola [73]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
Mark [75]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
Owi [78]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
/Jennie [80]: /ər ɪk’spekt ʃoʊ tə hænd ɪn ðə ɪr'pɔːr t əz ɹən əz 'pæ:sɪbol/
APPENDIX 17
This pattern is a combination of the /rt/ cluster which occurs in final position:

/rt/in final position

/ɒː/ + /rt/ː /hiː waɪpt ʰɪz 'd3:rɪ hænds ɔːn ɔː bɛŋ ʰv ʰɪz wɑːt ʃ3ːrt/

/ɒː/ + /rt/ /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Harris [1]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Alex [3]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Mildred [5]: /ɪts ʰaːr/td tɔ ˈlɜːrm ɪt bæt hɑːrt/

Zack [6]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Carol [7]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Melissa [8]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Janet [9]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Amy S. [10]: /hiː waɪpt ʰɪz 'd3ːrɪ hænds ɔːn ɔː bɛŋ ʰv ʰɪz wɑːt ʃ3ːr/

Amy L. [11]: /hiː waɪpt ʰɪz 'd3ːrɪ hænds ɔːn ɔː bɛŋ ʰv ʰɪz wɑːt ʃ3ːr/

Amy P. [12]: /hiː waɪpt ʰɪz 'd3ːrɪ hænds ɔːn ɔː bɛŋ ʰv ʰɪz wɑːt ʃ3ːr/

Haley [14]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Josh [15]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Jane [16]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Norma [18]: /hiː waɪpt ʰɪz 'd3ːrɪ hænds ɔːn ɔː bɛŋ ʰv ʰɪz wɑːt ˈtiːː rt/ʃ3ːr/

Carol [19]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Hope [20]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Mark [21]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Larry [22]: /ɪts hɑːr/td tɔ ˈlɜːrm ɪt bæt hɑːrt/

Becca [23]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

Max [24]: /ɪts hɑːr/td tɔ ˈlɜːrm ɪt bæt hɑːrt/

Brian [27]: /ɡd ɔːd/hiːz sʌtʃ ə ˈnɜːrd/ət h3ːrd ɪt wɜːz ʰɪz pɑːrt/

**Julie [28]:**

'/hi: waɪpt hɪz 'də:ri hænds æ:n ðə bæk əv hɪz wɔːtʃ 3:r/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3:rd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts hə:rd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Olivia [29]:**

'/hi: waɪpt hɪz 'də:ri hænds æ:n ðə bæk əv hɪz wɔːtʃ 3:r/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3:rd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts hə:rd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Aaron [30]:**

'/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Chuck [31]:**

'/hi: waɪpt hɪz 'də:ri hænds æ:n ðə bæk əv hɪz wɔːtʃ 3:r/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3:rd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts hə:rd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Linda [32]:**

'/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3:rd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Connie [33]:**

'/hi: waɪpt hɪz 'də:ri hænds æ:n ðə bæk əv hɪz wɔːtʃ 3:r/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3:rd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Mark [34]:**

'/hi: waɪpt hɪz 'də:ri hænds æ:n ðə bæk əv hɪz wɔːtʃ 3:r/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3:rd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Mike [35]:**

'/hi: waɪpt hɪz 'də:ri hænds æ:n ðə bæk əv hɪz wɔːtʃ 3:r/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3:rd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Caryl [36]:**

'/hi: waɪpt hɪz 'də:ri hænds æ:n ðə bæk əv hɪz wɔːtʃ 3:r/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3:rd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Ben [37]:**

'/hi: waɪpt hɪz 'də:ri hænds æ:n ðə bæk əv hɪz wɔːtʃ 3:r/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3:rd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Alex [38]:**

'/hi: waɪpt hɪz 'də:ri hænds æ:n ðə bæk əv hɪz wɔːtʃ 3:r/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3:rd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Sarah [39]:**

'/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Laurel [40]:**

'/hi: waɪpt hɪz 'də:ri hænds æ:n ðə bæk əv hɪz wɔːtʃ 3:r/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Jonathan [41]:**

'/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Susan [42]:**

'/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Jack [44]:**

'/hi: waɪpt hɪz 'də:ri hænds æ:n ðə bæk əv hɪz wɔːtʃ 3:r/
/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Rob [47]:**

'/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Luann [49]:**

'/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/ɪts həːrd tə l3ːm tɪ bæt hɑːr/

**Harriet [50]:**

'/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/

**Igor [51]:**

'/gʊd lɔːrd/hɪz sɑːf ə nɜːrd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pɑːn/
/its hɔːrd tɔ l3ːm tɪ bai hɔːr

Tim [52]:

/jɔiː waɪt hɪz 'd3ːriː hænds ɔːn də bæk ɔv hɪz wɔːt f3ːr/ 
/jʊd lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Jon [53]:

/hiː waɪt hɪz 'd3ːriː hænds ɔːn də bæk ɔv hɪz wɔːt f3ːr/ 
/jɔiː waɪt hɪz 'd3ːriː hænds ɔːn də bæk ɔv hɪz wɔːt f3ːr/ 

Adam [54]:

/hiː waɪt hɪz 'd3ːriː hænds ɔːn də bæk ɔv hɪz wɔːt f3ːr/ 
/jɔiː waɪt hɪz 'd3ːriː hænds ɔːn də bæk ɔv hɪz wɔːt f3ːr/ 

Amy [55]:

/hiː waɪt hɪz 'd3ːriː hænds ɔːn də bæk ɔv hɪz wɔːt f3ːr/ 
/jɔiː waɪt hɪz 'd3ːriː hænds ɔːn də bæk ɔv hɪz wɔːt f3ːr/ 

Nancy [57]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Mike [59]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Judith [60]:

/hiː waɪt hɪz 'd3ːriː hænds ɔːn də bæk ɔv hɪz wɔːt f3ːr/ 
/Nia [61]:

/hiː waɪt hɪz 'd3ːriː hænds ɔːn də bæk ɔv hɪz wɔːt f3ːr/ 
/Katherina [62]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Cheryl [64]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Rosemary [66]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Rob [68]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Dennis [69]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Neil [70]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Virginia [71]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Carol [72]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Sheryl [74]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Eugene [76]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Leo [77]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Owi [78]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Nii [79]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/ 

Jennie [80]:

/ɡud lɔːrd/hiːz sɑːfə nərd/æt h3ːrd tɪ wɔz hɪz pəːn/
APPENDIX 18
The following CDs include:

1. the recordings
2. the contents of the thesis in both formats: .doc. and .pdf.