Errata

p 18, sec 1.4.1, line 4: Change comma after "correct" to full stop
p 25, para 2, line 2: "hereafter" for "heretofore"
p 27, line 18: "probable" for "probably"
p 29, line 8: "s/he" for "he"
p 29, line 9: "hereafter" for "heretofore"
p 33, para 3, line 1: "hereafter" for "heretofore"
p 50, last sentence: "Bialystok and Hakuta (1994)" for "Bialystok and Hakuta (1999)"
p 51, lines 14-15: "a high level of L2 use had a significant and independent effect" for "a high level of L2 use significant and independent"
p 55, sec 3.5, para 1, line 7: "(e.g. Fishman 1972; Giles 1977; Gudykunst 1988)" for "(e.g. Fishman, 1972; Giles, 1977; Gudykunst 1988)"
p 64, footnote 19: "of new dialect formation" for "of dialect formation"
p 67, first sentence: Insert "tʃ" and "dʒ" between slash marks
p 70, para 5, sentence 2: "*duke*" for "*dyook*"
p 71, para 2, last sentence: "Clarke (1993b), De Wolf (1992: 99-104), Woods (1991)" for "(Clarke 1993b; De Wolf 1992: 99-104; Woods 1991)"
p 100, first line: "as detailed in Baker (1945: 265-267) and Simpson (2001)" for "detailed in (Baker 1945: 265-267; Simpson 2001)"
p 111, para 3, first line: "based on a" for "based a"
p 155, para 3, sentence 2: "acquire" for "acquired"
p 164, sec 7.10, para 1, first sentence: Insert a full stop after United Kingdom
p 175, para 1, first sentence: delete "Matras 1994"
p 176, footnote 60: "this section" for "this sections"
p 185, para 2, sentence 5: "Poplack (1980)" for "Poplack (1982)"
p 207, line 2: "see sections 9.1.6, 9.1.8 and 9.1.2" for "see section 9.1"
p 247, para 2, sentence 2: "(Guiora et al. 1972; 1980;" for "(Guiora 1972; 1980;"
p 252, sec 9.5.5.2, line 1: "Chapter 5" for "Chapter 9"
p 382, reference 9: Delete ". **4**" after "Walter de Gruyter"
p 384, reference 4: Delete "**146**"
p 387, reference 8: Delete "**11**."
p 388, reference 3: Delete ". **3**"
p 388, reference 5: Delete "**11**."
p 390, reference 14: Insert umlaut on "Görlach", delete ". **9**"
p 393, reference 9: Delete "**53**"
p 394, reference 11: Insert "**1**" after "*Transactions of the Philological Society*"
p 396, reference 9: Delete ". **4**"
p 396, reference 11: Insert umlauts on "Mühlhäusler"
p 398, reference 14: "Poplack, S. (1980)" for "Poplack, S. (1979)"
p 399, reference 5: "Giacolone Ramat, A." for "Ramat, A. G."
p 403, reference 9: Delete ". **4**"
p 403, reference 15: Delete "**11**"

Addenda

p 17: After para 4, add:
"The main emphasis of the analysis is placed on the kinds of phonetic changes that are made by adult speakers, since most of the subjects are adults and the majority of the differences between the varieties are phonetic in nature. These results are compared with adult phonological acquisition and the phonetic and phonological acquisition patterns of subjects who arrived at a relatively young age. The sample of adult speakers and the phonetic approach of the analysis are relevant for the study of the Critical Period Hypothesis (discussed in section 3.3) because it is important to understand precisely what types of phonetic and phonological changes adult speakers are capable of making, if any. This study provides the perfect microscope for examining adult phonetic acquisition, since the situation of acquiring a second dialect avoids most of the secondary influences of lexical, syntactic and morphological acquisition found in second language acquisition."
p 23, para 1, last sentence: Add "(Labov 1972b)" at end of sentence.
p 27, para 1: Delete sentence 8 and insert "Research in this area has often assumed that if speakers acquire any features of the second dialect, however perfectly or imperfectly, they will do so without a great deal of instruction or conscious effort; rather, it will be a process that occurs below the level of consciousness."
p 29, line 19: Add "In my personal experience," before "I can add another two case studies"
p 30, para 2, sentence 2: "regional dialects may have" for "regional dialects have" and insert "in some situations" after "low social status"
p 30: After para 2, add:
"Of course, most speakers do not have a complete repertoire of every sociolect in their community, but, on the other hand, there are no native speakers who speak exactly the same way in every situation – every native speaker has some of range speaking styles available to him or herself, however extensive this range may be. Within the SAT/CAT framework, accommodation appears to take place within each individual's range of speech styles. Speakers will also almost certainly have had more exposure to the sociolects of their community than they will have had to various regional dialects from outside that community."
pp 31, sec 2.1.6, first sentence: Replace "SAT and CAT" with "an accommodatory framework"
p 32, para 1, sentence 2: Add "(Labov 1963, 1964, 1972a, 1972b)" after "Labov (in his early work)"
p 33, para 2, line 12: "(Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 247)" for "(Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985)"
p 45, sec 3.1.8, para 4, sentence 3: "Sancier and Fowler (1997: 421)" for "Sancier and Fowler"
p 55, sec 3.5, first sentence: After "identity issues", insert footnote to read "In this thesis I will treat *identity* as the mental and emotional results of the choices an individual makes of self-ascription to various groups."
p 61, sec 4.1, para 3: Insert "[_] to mean retracted" after "the following diacritics:"
p 70, sec 4.4.1.3, para 3, first sentence: Delete "British English" and replace with "Received Pronunciation (RP, a prestige accent in some parts of England)"
p 73, last sentence: Delete "(RP, the prestige accent of Great Britain)" and replace with "RP"
p 85, first sentence: Insert "of stable linguistic variables" after "standard variants"
p 87, first sentence: Delete "British forms of English" and replace with "RP"
p 95, sec 4.6, para 3, sentence 3: Insert "(as a noun)" after "such as recommending *progress*"
p 96, para 3, first sentence: Delete "Great Britain" and replace with "the British Isles"
p 101, para 1, first sentence: Delete first and second sentences and read "This chapter will address cultural differences between the mainstream Anglo-Celtic cultures of Australia, the United States and Canada."
p 123: After para 2, add:
"Of course, most of the phonetic variants which do not resemble the target are probably interdialect forms. The forms "en-route" to an AusE target, or which have overshot an AusE target may also be considered interdialect forms, but it proved impossible to include these closer matches to the phonetic targets in the analysis because of several reasons. First of all, it is very difficult to identify a precise auditory phonetic target for a form and to definitely say whether or not the subjects hit the target, especially for vowel variables in a dialect such as AusE, which can have several different possible realizations for one phoneme. Acoustic analysis could not alleviate this problem because it is equally difficult to specify the precise formant targets for every individual; only a range of possible targets can be specified with any reliability. There is considerable individual as well as community variation in the realization of many vowels, so that the best possible solution to this problem seemed to be simply specify a range of targets which could be considered as AusE. This is different from studies of phonological acquisition, where features may be more categorical in nature and it is thus easier to identify a definite target and subsequent interdialect forms. The only studies to my knowledge which have examined a range of phonetic interdialect forms are Britain (1997b) and Kerswill and Williams (2000), for the STRUT and the GOAT vowels respectively, and in those cases there were a range of targets which were sufficiently different to enable reliable identification. The vowel variables in this study have a range of realizations which span the trajectory to one target area in the vowel space, thus rendering this type of analysis nearly impossible."
p 147: After ex 8, add:
"Subjects who used AusE variants of FACE, PRICE and FLEECE did not appear to clearly favour any particular phonetic environments for the use of the AusE variants. Overall, subjects preferred the AmE or CE variants in all phonetic environments and there was no clear pattern of preferring an AusE variant mainly in any particular phonetic environment."
p 155, para 1, line 1: Delete "The CE equivalent" and insert "The CE LOT vowel"
p 156, para 1, sentence 2: Delete sentence 2 and insert "The LOT vowel is very stylistically sensitive in CE (Woods 1991: 142), and speakers tend to use more rounded variants in more formal contexts. This may also occur in AmE, although it has not to date been documented. The rounding strategy used by these subjects may be built upon these D1 stylistic habits."
p 158: After line 18, add:
"However, because there are only small number of subjects with a young AOA in this study, this is not the best test of the complexity argument put forth by Chambers (1998a).

Because of the small number of THOUGHT tokens per interview, this variable was not analyzed quantitatively."

continued in back

Pretending to be Someone You're Not:
A Study of Second Dialect Acquisition in Australia

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Monash University
Linguistics Program,
School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics

Melbourne, April 2003

The minute I go down the steps of the National Hotel the boys at the Lyric Cinema call across Pery Square, Hoi, Yankee soldier, yoo hoo, do you have any choon gum? Do you have a spare shilling in your pocket or a bar of candy in your pocket? They pronounce candy like Americans and that makes them laugh so hard they fall against each other and the wall.
(McCourt 1999: 103)

Abstract

The objective of this dissertation is to account for some of the factors involved in second dialect acquisition; in particular which linguistic, social and individual factors make speakers more or less likely to acquire the phonetic and phonological features of a second dialect. This dissertation also aims to investigate which types of phonetic, phonological, and lexical features are more readily acquired.

These objectives are pursued through the examination of spoken data from a study of the changes in the speech behaviour of American English and Canadian English speakers since migration to Australia. Data is collected through recorded interviews with the subjects. This data included longitudinal evidence dating back 11 years for six of these subjects, and evidence dating back 27 years for two subjects. The data is examined for changes in six linguistic variables (non-prevocalic /r/ and the vowels in the words *kit, goat, fleece, face* and *price*), and these are transcribed, counted and analyzed quantitatively. Other aspects of change in the subjects' speech are analyzed qualitatively.

This research is relevant to the Critical Period Hypothesis. It is found that most of the speakers who arrived in Australia after adolescence did not acquire features of the second dialect. However, some subjects who arrived in Australia after adolescence did acquire some features of Australian English, and most of these features were phonetic rather than phonological. The length of time that the subjects had lived in Australia, whether or not they were married to Australians and whether or not they maintained friendships with other North Americans were also found to be important influences on the acquisition or non-acquisition of some aspects of the second dialect. The subjects' feelings of national identity also appeared to have a strong impact upon second dialect acquisition.

The interviews in this study were also designed to test the applicability of accommodation theory to the study of second dialect acquisition by using two interviewers; one interviewer who speaks the native dialect of the subjects (or one very similar to it) and one interviewer who speaks the target dialect (Australian English). In general, the subjects in this study did not accommodate linguistically to the regional dialect of their interlocutor. It is argued that linguistic accommodation is a process which occurs when there is a disparity between the statuses of the speakers in an interaction.

The study findings are compared with other research into second dialect acquisition and this leads to six hypotheses concerning dialect acquisition.

Statement of Originality

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, or which has been previously submitted for any degree or diploma. It contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

[redacted]

Annik Foreman

Acknowledgements

A dissertation is always an opportunity to learn a great deal, and not just about the topic of one's dissertation but also about self-discipline, one's strengths and weaknesses and the trials and tribulations of organizing a major project. This dissertation has been no exception. Through the process of completing this thesis, I have also learnt a great deal about the importance of support from one's peers, who make it possible to persevere at times of low energy and enthusiasm.

Thanks are due for the support of many people, including Prof. Michael Clyne and Dr. Laura Tollfree, who inspired this project and pushed it forward in its early stages. Special thanks to Dr. Mark Newbrook who always had a wealth of insightful and useful comments that considerably improved this dissertation. Also special thanks to Dr. Heather Bowe, who was an unfailingly supportive and available supervisor, who encouraged me to find creative solutions to old problems and who made it possible to complete this dissertation.

Thanks to all the people who volunteered their time to be interviewed for my study, obviously nothing would be written here without their contribution. Thanks to the people who read of some of my thesis or offered words of encouragement and interest in my project – Dr. Paul Tankard, Dr. Katie Oppel, Amelia Church, Antonella Refatto, Mike Schouten, and Dr. Bob Kennedy. Thank you to Mark for all the proofreading. Thank you to Peter and John for the computer help.

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Finally, thank you to my husband who provided personal and material support during the long process of writing this dissertation, especially for hiring a cleaning lady during the last two months of this project...

This dissertation is dedicated to my daughter Emma who had to put up with moving to Australia and less time with her mum so that it could be written.

1 Introduction

1.1 Why Study Dialect Acquisition?

Dialect acquisition is a topic rife with assumption, among both lay people and academics. More than one person has expressed surprise at the topic of my thesis, since many people think the factors involved in second dialect acquisition are obvious, verging on common sense. Even opinions from practicing linguists and academics seem to be based more on anecdotes or assumption than they are on actual research into the subject. For instance, Wolfram (1991: 141) states, "the vast majority of speakers in a speech community seem incapable of using non-native regional and ethnic dialect forms other than the occasional stereotyped expression borrowed from these varieties," although he then goes on to describe a study where some of the participants actually did acquire some features of a second dialect. Similarly, Scovel (1988: 171-172) states, "In my 1969 paper, it was suggested, somewhat facetiously, that the difference between a language and a dialect might be defined as whether or not you could pick up a new variety of speech after puberty and still sound like a native speaker: If you could accomplish this task, the new variety would be simply a dialect of your mother tongue, but if you could not learn this new variety without an accent, it was obviously a completely different language." He then goes on to contradict this hypothesis in his 1988 book, although he admits, "the evidence in support of this particular application of the critical period hypothesis is not as copious or as strong as the evidence which we have reviewed for the learning of a new language" (Scovel 1988: 174). I find this line of thinking is quite interesting, since there often seem to be intriguing surprises hidden beneath aged assumptions.

1.2 Aims of this Study

While a large body of research has been devoted to the study of the acquisition of second languages, relatively little research has examined the acquisition of second dialects (very closely related language varieties). This dissertation investigates the acquisition of a second dialect (heretofore SDA will stand for second dialect acquisition) in the situation where the dialects in question are standard national varieties. Specifically, this dissertation studies the situation of speakers of standard varieties of

American and Canadian English who migrate to Australia and have the opportunity to acquire standard Australian English.

The research entailed a study of the changes in the speech behaviour of American and Canadian immigrants to Australia since migration. The goals of the study are:

- to investigate which factors make speakers more likely to acquire a second dialect, or some features of it;
- to examine which phonological and phonetic features are more readily acquired, and which are more difficult to acquire;
- to determine whether speakers' use of phonological or phonetic features belonging to a particular dialect is sensitive to or dependent on the dialect in use by the audience.

In order to answer these questions, American and Canadian study participants were interviewed, and these interviews were recorded and transcribed. The main focus of the analysis is on one phonological variable and five phonetic variables (non-prevocalic /r/, and the vowels in the words *kit, goat, fleece, face* and *price*). I examine the background and social environment of the study participants, including their age of arrival, their length of stay in Australia, their family and social contacts (and the dialects spoken by those people), and their national identity.

This study does not focus on morphological or syntactic acquisition, since there are few differences of this nature between the varieties. I consider lexical acquisition, especially in relation to phonetic and phonological acquisition. The use of phonetic variants or phonemes of the target dialect in particular words or classes of words is studied.

Most of the research to date about the acquisition of a regional dialect or accent (e.g. Trudgill 1986; Auer 1988; Dittmar and Schlobinski 1988; Prince 1988; Stern 1988; Werlen 1988; Deser 1989; Kerswill 1994; Chambers 1998a) has used Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles 1973) as a theoretical framework, based on a hypothesis put forth in Trudgill (1986). Little research has actually tested the applicability of Speech Accommodation Theory or Communication Accommodation Theory (SAT/CAT) to this type of speech behaviour, however, and so this dissertation critically approaches and tests the use of SAT/CAT as a theoretical framework for SDA.

1.3 This Dissertation

This dissertation is prefaced by a definition of key terms in Chapter 1, followed by a review of relevant theories and research to date in Chapter 2 and 3, a description and comparison of phonetic, phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic aspects of each of the three varieties of English (Australian, Western American and Canadian) in Chapter 4, and a brief description of some cultural differences faced by American and Canadian immigrants to Australia in Chapter 5.

The methodology of the study is described in Chapter 6. The analysis of the linguistic variables is described in Chapter 7. Analysis of some longitudinal data collected as part of the main study is presented in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 consists of the quantitative (statistical) analysis of the social variables of the study, and also a qualitative analysis of some of the social variables. Discussion of the findings and conclusions are presented in Chapter 10.

1.4 Definitions

1.4.1 Variety

Variety is used in this dissertation as a neutral term referring to any sub-set of a language, be it regionally or socially defined. *Standard variety* is defined by Wells (1982a: 34-36) and Matthews (1997: 352) as the variety of a language which is generally considered correct, Wells (1982a: 34) goes on to say that "it is held to be a model of how one ought to speak, it is encouraged in the classroom, it is widely regarded as the most desirable accent for a person in a high-status profession to have." It is usually the variety of a language which is used in writing and for official functions, such as politics, government, education etc., and it is usually the variety used for dictionary entries.

1.4.2 Dialect

Languages are not homogeneous, uniform entities, but vary from community to community, from speaker to speaker, and indeed from situation to situation, audience to audience, mood to mood etc. for individual speakers. *Dialect* is a rather ambiguous term that has been used to refer to this sort of variation. It has been difficult for linguists to

agree on a rigorous and strict definition of the term. For most non-linguists, *dialect* is a vaguely pejorative term used to refer to any variety of the language spoken by a group to which one does not belong (Chambers 1980: 3), or any variety that has been the target of mimicry or stereotypes (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 3). However, for most linguists it is a neutral term used to refer to a variety of a language which is somehow distinct from other varieties of that language.

The definition of the term *dialect* most often given is that the dialects of a language are mutually intelligible to one another, whereas different languages are not mutually intelligible to one another, a definition which is difficult to defend upon close examination (Petyt 1980: 13). It may be confused by the fact that speakers of Mandarin and Cantonese, for example, consider themselves speakers of Chinese (often even considering Cantonese a dialect of Mandarin) despite the fact that they are mutually unintelligible. This could be because they share a writing system (Petyt 1980: 15). On the other hand, speakers of Norwegian, Swedish and Danish consider themselves speakers of three different languages, despite the fact that the languages tend to be mutually intelligible for the most part (Chambers 1980: 4). In some cases there may be less intelligibility between what are commonly considered dialects of language than there is between languages (e.g. "Spanish (based on the Castilian dialect) and Portuguese (strongly related to the Spanish Gallego dialect) probably share higher mutual intelligibility than Spanish (Castilian) and the Spanish dialect of, let us say, the Alto Aragon" (Politzer 1993: 45)).

In addition, it is difficult to define the degree to which a language has to be unintelligible to hearers from another dialect group or language group before it can be called a language rather than a dialect (Petyt 1980: 13; Chambers 1980: 4). "Most of us can remember times when our failure to recognize a word used by some regional or social group resulted in confusion, if not outright communication breakdown," state Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998: 36) of interdialect communication. Intelligibility may also be better for one speaker than another – a speaker of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) from a working-class, rural environment may not be understood by a speaker of standard American English, while s/he may have no trouble understanding the speaker of the standard. Indeed, statements from speakers of non-standard dialects are often presented with translators in legal settings and subtitles in documentaries and other media broadcasts. Nonetheless, this speaker of AAVE and the speaker of the

standard may both agree that they are speaking English, perhaps in the same way that the speakers of Mandarin and Cantonese both agree that they are speaking Chinese.

Petyt (1980: 14) resolves this question by stating that the dialects are defined as belonging to a particular language depending on which standard variety they use as a reference (provided that it is not a variety unrelated to their dialect). Speakers of a dialect of Italian spoken near the French border, for example, may be able to understand the French speakers who live nearby, but they use standard Italian as a reference point for their ideal form of language and so they consider themselves speakers of Italian and not French. This might then explain the cases of Mandarin and Cantonese or Norwegian and Danish, but this criterion is not so helpful with pluricentric languages[1] such as English or Spanish which have more than one accepted standard. American English, for example, uses a somewhat different spoken and written standard than British English.

Research into actual speaker behaviour suggests that, within the minds of speakers, there is usually no firm and decisive division between the language varieties to which they have access. The idea of a continuum for bidialectal and bilingual speaker behaviour has been argued for by several linguists, including Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) and Gardner-Chloros (1995). Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), who worked with speakers in the Caribbean, Belize and with London Jamaicans found that speakers quite often made adjustments on some linguistic levels but not all (such as phonological, morphological, lexical etc.), producing forms which could not really be characterized as belonging to any particular variety. Gardner-Chloros (1995) further argues this point and adds examples from other studies of Alsatian French, London Greek, Punjabi English, and dialects in Norway.

The term *dialect* is used in this dissertation to refer to closely related language varieties of regional groups (based on the conventional use of the term to refer to regional varieties and for the purposes of terminological convenience). It will be used to refer to the closely related language varieties in question here (Western American English, Canadian English and Australian English). As noted above, the distinction between dialect and language is not at all clear-cut, so this is more a convenient term, which fits most people's concept of the relationship between these varieties, than it is a

[1] The concept of pluricentric languages is not universally accepted, but for the purposes of this dissertation it is reasonable to hypothesize that the varieties of Australian English, Canadian English and American English are roughly equal in status, at least for pronunciation. For an in-depth explanation and description of pluricentric languages, see Clyne (1992b), specifically Leitner (1992) on English as a pluricentric language.

rigorously defined linguistic term. This will not have an enormous impact theoretically; it will simply mean that some of the findings of this study may be applicable to the acquisition of closely related languages as well as to dialects (however one might conceptualize a dialect).

1.4.3 Accent

Accent is a term often used to refer to the phonetic and phonological features of a person's speech that make it recognizable as belonging to a certain dialect area or socio-economic class (though it can of course have other meanings, such as stress or auditory prominence). Like dialect, it is seldom used to refer to one's own speech, but rather it is applied to the speech of others. For the purposes of this dissertation, *accent* will be defined as the phonological or phonetic components of dialect variation.

Foreign accent is a term used to refer to the phonetic characteristics of a learner's speech which mark him or her as a learner of that language rather than a native speaker. It is usually not used to refer to speakers of different varieties of the same language; for example a speaker of Liverpudlian English living in Australia probably would not be described by Australians as having a foreign accent although he does not have an Australian accent, because he would still be a native speaker of English. Nonetheless, a possible interpretation of foreign accent which is applicable for this dissertation could be the phonetic characteristics which characterize a learner of a second variety, even if that variety is an accent or dialect of the same language.

Markham (1997) contrasts phonological versus phonetic accent for second language acquisition. Phonological accent (the inability of a learner to accurately produce the phonemes of a language) is probably less common for SDA than it is for second language acquisition, but still exists. Petyt (1980) finds that this arises during SDA where there has been a phoneme merger in one dialect but not in another, such as the distinction between /ʊ/ and /ʌ/, which occurs in South England but not in North England. Phonetic accent, on the other hand, occurs when a learner has not been able to produce a native-speaker-like realization of a phoneme.

1.4.4 Other Terminology

The term *sociolect* is employed in this dissertation to refer to a variety of a language associated with a particular social group, such as a particular socio-economic class. The distinction between dialect as regional and sociolect as socio-economic is important to

make here because speakers in any given region usually have some degree of access to or capability to reproduce at least some aspects of the sociolects of that region for sociostylistic effect, but that is often not the case for dialects from different regions. Wolfram (1991: 151) points out, "stylistic shifting takes place by varying forms within a unitary system", meaning that a number of different sociolects exist as an integral part of a system and are acquired as a part of it. Nonetheless, there is almost always some degree of crossover between sociolects and regional dialects. For instance, the varieties dealt with in this dissertation have clear regional affiliations, but there may also be some social value intertwined with this.

The term *style* is used in reference to the level of formality. *Register* refers to specialized forms of language used for a particular purpose or audience (such as baby talk or academic language).

Phonological acquisition (the acquisition of a phoneme) will stand in contrast to *phonetic acquisition* (the acquisition of a phonetic realization), as in Markham (1997). These two terms are often merged under the term *phonological acquisition*, but in this case it is important to make a distinction between the two types of phenomena. In this study, subjects may unmerge two phonemes as they acquire the second dialect; this will most often be referred to as the learning of a new phonological opposition (one aspect of phonological acquisition). Subjects may also change their phonetic realizations of their current phonetic categories (phonetic acquisition).

2 Theoretical Frameworks

2.1 Accommodation Theories

2.1.1 Speech Accommodation Theory

Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) was first proposed in 1973 by Howard Giles, a social psychologist, when he showed evidence of speakers making some features of their speech more similar to their hearers' speech (Giles 1973). This theory was initially conceived of as a critique of some aspects of the sociolinguistic framework developed by William Labov. Giles intended to re-direct attention away from issues of social context and back towards the individual speakers and their psychological characteristics, as well as towards the interaction itself. The theory stresses the idea that a speaker formulates an utterance for a particular hearer, consciously or subconsciously, and this influences and shapes the form of the utterance. In this way, SAT takes into consideration the motivations and affective states of speakers and hearers in the course of the speech act (Giles and Smith 1979). This stands in contrast to the Labovian paradigm where speakers respond to a situational context – whether formal, informal or reading a word list, for example -- rather than to the interviewer himself or herself. Giles proposed that Labov's subjects in his studies may in fact have been mirroring Labov's own expectations of their speech behaviour and his own production of the phonological and phonetic variants he was expecting to hear.[2]

The prototype SAT theory presented in Giles (1973) focused on changes in accent motivated by a wish to gain the hearer's approval. He states:

> ...if the sender in a dyadic situation wishes to gain the receiver's social approval then he may adapt his accent patterns towards that of this person, i.e. reduce pronunciation dissimilarities – accent convergence. On the other hand, if the sender wishes to dissociate himself from the receiver (maybe because of unfavourable characteristics, attitudes or beliefs), then there may exist tendencies opposed to the receiver, i.e. emphasize pronunciation dissimilarities – accent divergence.
> Giles (1973: 90)

He specifically emphasizes the prestige value of the accents in question, stating,

[2] This idea was investigated and tested by Trudgill (1986), using data from his 1974 study in Norwich. Trudgill found that he converged somewhat towards speakers of other social classes mainly for markers (speech features that are salient to speakers and indicative of social class) but not for indicators (speech features that indicate social class but are below the level of awareness). He interprets this as his convergence towards the subjects' speech behaviour rather than his subjects converging towards his speech behaviour since he used less of the stigmatized marker than the subjects of the lowest social class and more of the stigmatized marker than the subjects of the highest social class. Thus he rejects Giles' hypothesis.

> if a sender in social interaction perceives the pronunciation patterns of his receiver as relatively higher in terms of accent prestige than his own idiolect, provided that his intentions and social desires are those of integration and gaining approval, the modification of his accent towards that of his receiver may be termed, 'upward accent convergence'. The other direction of accent convergence, is 'downwards' and implies that the sender perceives the receiver as possessing relatively lower accent prestige and in a context of approval gain, may modify his pronunciation towards these less prestigious patterns.
> Giles (1973: 90-92)

Pursuant to these ideas of prestige, the experiment conducted in Giles (1973) and many of the other preliminary SAT experiments were performed in situations with obvious power differentials between linguistic groups, e.g (Giles et al. 1973; Bourhis and Giles 1977; Bourhis et al. 1979). Experiments such as Bourhis and Giles (1977), were conducted in places like the United Kingdom, where regional dialects almost always have a social value and sociolects are often linked to a particular region. These studies do not give a clear indication of speaker behaviour in situations where regional dialects with no definite prestige value (positive or negative) are being acquired.

One of the few experiments that examined a situation where a prestige/stigma or power relationship was not evident was Giles and Smith (1979). In this experiment, a group of British teachers listened to and evaluated recordings of a Canadian male reading a text (I could find no evidence to suggest that Canadian English is stigmatized in the United Kingdom). There were eight recordings, one where he made no attempt at convergence, and seven others where he converged on speech rate (slowing his speech),[3] pronunciation and content (explaining the meaning of words), or a combination of two or more of these variables. Interestingly, the speaker was more favourably rated when he converged for content and speech rate alone than when he converged for content, speech rate and pronunciation. This contrasts with other experiments in situations involving British sociolects where power conflicts might be a more salient issue (e.g. Bourhis et al. 1975) and where pronunciation convergence had a more positive effect, suggesting that power may be an important variable with relation to pronunciation.

2.1.2 Communication Accommodation Theory

Accent convergence and accent divergence were later re-named *speech convergence* and *speech divergence* respectively to include a wider variety of

[3] Giles and Smith state that the speaker normally had a fast speech rate, and that, when converging for speech rate, he slowed it in order to give his audience more time to process what he was saying. However,

phenomena. Speech convergence tends to be evaluated positively by listeners (Giles et al. 1991: 18-21). In contrast, speech divergence tends to be evaluated negatively by listeners (Giles et al. 1991: 27-32), but positive or negative evaluations depend on the motivations for the behaviour that are inferred by the listeners (Simard et al. 1976). Speakers may also demonstrate *speech maintenance*, wherein neither divergence nor convergence is demonstrated. Another strategy explained within the theory is that of *speech complementarity* where changes are made to speech or speech-related behaviour which may outwardly appear divergent but are actually interpreted as a kind of convergence towards expected norms based on social roles, such as where a male might deepen the pitch of his voice, and a female might raise the pitch of her voice, in a heterosexual encounter (Coupland et al. 1988: 7). Convergence, divergence, maintenance and complementarity are all referred to as approximation strategies.

The SAT framework presented in Giles (1973) later became Communication Accommodation Theory (heretofore CAT) (Giles et al. 1987). Coupland et al. (1988) describe an expanded model of CAT that includes strategies other than approximation. They place approximation strategies under the umbrella term of *attuning strategies*, which are "general sociolinguistic behaviours wherein speech (and nonverbal behaviour) is, consciously or subconsciously, adapted in relation to the interlocutor's perceived general communicative characteristics and not merely his or her speech output" (Coupland et al. 1988: 27). They also describe a number of *discourse management strategies* such as topic selection, turn managing and face maintaining, *interpretability strategies* such as altering the amplitude, syntax and lexis of one's speech, and *interpersonal control strategies* concerning role relations in the interaction, and including such things as interruption and forms of address.

CAT addresses a wide range of behaviours, both linguistic and paralinguistic. Jones et al. (1999: 124) point out that CAT treats "strategies as synonymous with behaviour," although many behaviours can be motivated by more than one strategy. They propose coding behaviours and strategies separately; stating, "whether a particular behaviour was an example of one strategy or another depended on the motive of the speaker, the way in which the behaviour was enacted, or the way in which combinations of behaviours were enacted" (Jones et al. 1999: 131). This approach, however, relies on a large number of subjective judgements by the researcher, and it is particularly difficult to

they do not give any data to indicate if there is actually a difference in speech rate between Canadian

accurately assess a speaker's motivations. The range of behaviours encompassed by the theory is so vast that virtually anything a speaker does or says can be labelled as a form of accommodation. For instance, a speaker might make an offensive joke, and the researcher may deduce that this behaviour is part of an interpersonal control strategy, for example. It could be, though, that the speaker's behaviour is not designed to control the role of his or her audience in the interaction, but rather is due to his or her unusual sense of humour, or having misjudged the situation due to a lack of social skills, or unfamiliarity with the opposite sex, etc. CAT becomes unfalsifiable if one can assign any motivation to any type of behaviour. Likewise, Wolfram (1991: 148) comments, "the original accommodation model, rooted simply in social approval, has now been subjected to considerable revision as different kinds of data have been examined, so that the original social psychological explanation has so many amendments that it is sometimes difficult to identify the actual underlying principle(s) that 'explain' why stylistic[4] variation takes place" (his quote marks).

Moreover, since the expansion of SAT into CAT, relatively little work has focused on phonetic or phonological accommodation. Research has branched out into bilingual speech behaviour and paralinguistic phenomena such as intonation patterns, utterance length, speech rate, pause length, back-channelling, turn-taking, low-frequency non-verbal signals, etc. Probably the most in-depth study of CAT relative to pronunciation is Coupland (1984; 1988), who made recordings of a travel agent speaking to her clients, finding that she accommodated towards her clients' use of several sociolectal variables. He comments, "it is difficult to see how variation in pronunciation can be treated alongside shifts in, say, utterance length; phonological behaviour is known to be socially meaningful within the speech community in a regular and specific way, unlike utterance length" (Coupland 1984: 66). He goes on to argue that speakers probably do not simply try to match their pronunciation pattern to that of the audience (as they might do with utterance length or other paralinguistic phenomena), rather they aim for an intended social meaning.

2.1.3 SAT and Dialect Acquisition

Trudgill's book *Dialects in Contact* (1986) is an innovative discussion of how individuals acquire the speech sounds, vocabulary, morphology, etc. of other dialects,

English and British English.

and how this acts as a mechanism of language change. Trudgill provides a micro- and macro-level view of dialect contact, and the role of the spread of features of regional dialects in language change. He uses SAT as the theoretical framework.[5] Trudgill (1986) proposes that there might be two types of accommodation; short-term, which is transitory, and long-term, which occurs when frequent repeats of short-term accommodation cause an individual to permanently adopt the speech features of a particular dialect area. This line of research has been taken up in work such as (Auer 1988; Dittmar and Schlobinski 1988; Muller 1988; Prince 1988; Stern 1988; Werlen 1988; Chambers 1998a), and usually involves a situation where people move from one region to another and acquire the dialect of the new region. Most cases of SDA fall within this category. This type of dialect or accent acquisition is distinctive in that it is seldom explicitly taught (the subjects were not taught the second variety in any of the aforementioned studies). Researchers have tended to assume that people will acquire the second accent or dialect fairly effortlessly. As a theoretical framework, it is possible to use SAT on this basis – speakers converge to one another's speech without being conscious of doing so (most of the time) and over a period of time this results in a new phonological, morphological and/or syntactic inventory (provided divergence, speech maintenance or speech complementarity do not occur). The probably reason for this is that there is not a great deal of pressure on people in this type of situation to acquire the dialect perfectly, and if they do not, the effects of this are not particularly grave. Thus, researchers in this area have looked for what speakers do naturally, without instruction.

Most of the studies mentioned above assumed that dialect acquisition is an accommodatory behaviour and then proceeded to assess speaker behaviour on this basis. None of them used a methodology typical of other SAT/CAT studies – i.e. they did not test to see if the speakers had different responses to different audiences. So, rather surprisingly, there is still insufficient evidence to support Trudgill's (1986) theory of SDA after over fifteen years since *Dialects in Contact* was published.

There are some problematic issues that arise when SAT/CAT is used as a framework for researching SDA. One possible problem, especially with the idea of long-

[4] Wolfram (1991: 147-148) describes SAT as a model for explaining stylistic variation.
[5] *Dialects in Contact* (1986) was written before SAT had been re-named CAT, but at a stage when it had obviously been expanded much beyond the original Giles (1973) model. Therefore, we can safely assume that many of the ideas presented in CAT in Giles et al. (1987) were already familiar to Trudgill in 1986.

term accommodation, was pointed out by Chambers (1998a). With regards to his study of individuals acquiring a second dialect, he comments,

> The responses of my six subjects might possibly be construed as 'long-term accommodation', but I suspect,...that they are not accommodating at all under the circumstances...My evidence against accommodation and for the more permanent acquisition follows simply from the fact that the Canadian youngsters were interviewed individually in their Oxfordshire homes by me, in my normal, unaccommodated middle-class Canadian English accent. The subjects had no reason to accommodate to me in any direction whatever, and there is every indication that they did not.
> (Chambers 1998a: 147-148)

Regrettably, Chambers does not elaborate as to what motivates the children to acquire the dialect if it is not accommodation, or through what process the child acquires the second dialect. In fact, the notion of long-term accommodation is not explicitly defined in Trudgill (1986), so it is unclear if he intended it to mean accommodation which has repeatedly occurred and so now occurs regardless of whether or not a member of the target group is present (i.e. relatively constantly), or if he meant a kind of behaviour more similar to short-term accommodation – a continuous series of linguistic and paralinguistic adjustments. This brings up an interesting point since some people could theoretically display a kind of short-term accommodative behaviour for dialects wherein their speech behaviour is immediately responsive to their audience. Other people who fairly consistently use one dialect (even if it is a mixed dialect) may not actually be consistently responding to their audience. So, are both groups actually showing accommodation or would these two behaviours be classified differently and result from different motivations?

Markham (1997: 49-53) does make a distinction between these two types of behaviours. He states "accommodation involves the alteration of behaviour to increase perceived communicative (psychological or social) proximity to express similarity in, for instance, status, attitude or social group", and he uses the term *linguistic ambience* to refer to "an 'automatic', 'unintended', or 'reflexive' movement of phonetic behaviour towards that of the linguistic environment (ambience)...e.g. change of accent, or adoption of a friends' speaking style." Markham's distinction appears to centre on the idea that for the linguistic ambience effect, there is no intention, conscious or sub-conscious, to socially ingratiate one's self; it is merely an automatic response to an often-repeated stimulus.

2.1.4 Accommodation or something else?

Changes made by some speakers after moving to a different dialect area may not always be convergence towards the other dialect, or divergence away from it. Their speech may become less regionally specific (e.g. (Trudgill 1983)) without beginning to resemble the dialect of the region where they are now living. That is to say, an American who has been in Australia for twenty years may sound less typically American without sounding more Australian. S/he may have lost certain regional features, such as regionally specific words or expressions, and thus he may sound more like a speaker of standard American English without sounding like a speaker of Australian English (heretofore referred to as AusE). There is obviously a marked difference between someone like this and an American who, after twenty years in Australia, has acquired AusE intonation patterns, does not pronounce non-prevocalic /r/, and has acquired the characteristic AusE vowels. For example, Markham (1997: 83-84) describes a number of case studies of SDA which are all very different: an Australian woman who lived in the United States for a few years sounds Australian in formal contexts, but sounds American in spontaneous speech; a Scottish woman who moved to Australia at the age of 9 sounds predominantly Australian except for a few words which still sound Scottish; and another Australian who lived in South-east England between the ages of 3 and 9 and who uses Australian vocabulary but retains English pronunciation. I can add another two case studies: one of a Scottish woman who moved to London and then to Australia, and who still pronounces non-prevocalic /r/ – but who uses a retroflexed American [ɻ] not the Scottish apical [r], despite the fact that she has never lived in or travelled to North America. The other case study is a six year old child, who moved from Canada to England, and after approximately six weeks in England during which she spoke with a Canadian accent, she stopped talking for a week and when she began speaking again her pronunciation sounded typically English (to non-linguists). These differences may be due to the amount of accommodation taking place, the reasons for it, or a number of other factors which are not explicitly addressed by accommodation theories.

2.1.5 The Power Variable

As noted in 2.1.1, at its inception in Giles (1973), SAT was hierarchically oriented, and this is also a characteristic of CAT. Giles et al. (1991: 11) affirm that convergence and divergence can be "either upward or downward" in terms of status along a social

continuum, thus implying that they cannot be anything but upward or downward in some sort of hierarchy. The importance of the power variable is also reiterated in Giles and Coupland (1991: 73-74) and Giles et al. (1991: 19-21), and stressed as a key point of the theory in Gregory and Webster (1996: 1232). Much of the experimental testing of the theory has been in situations involving the power variable (e.g. Giles 1973; Coupland 1984; Coupland et al. 1988; Bourhis 1991; Street 1991; Linell 1991; Gregory and Webster 1996; Willemyns et al. 1997), or has yielded results pointing to the significance of the power variable (Giles and Smith 1979; Jones et al. 1999).

This could pose problems when using CAT as a theoretical framework for SDA research. The power variable may be important for sociolects, but it is clearly less relevant for regional dialects and accents (as mentioned in 2.1.1, some early studies of SAT were done in the United Kingdom, where regional dialects have a low social status). Accommodation between regional dialects has been termed "horizontal accommodation" (versus vertical or sociolectal accommodation) (Auer and di Luzio 1988; Wolfram 1991), but a horizontal or geographic mode of accommodation does not appear to have been intended by the authors of the theory. Some adjustment could be made to the theory to include horizontal accommodation, but whether or not accommodation really occurs horizontally in the absence of the power variable should be studied and tested first. There is a very important difference between horizontal and vertical accommodation: vertical accommodation assumes adjustment within the speaker's existing repertoire of stylistic variants, while horizontal accommodation implies acquisition.[6] Consequently, there is no reason to assume that horizontal accommodation will necessarily follow from vertical accommodation, since they actually refer to two different processes.

In terms of geographic mobility, some immigrants may want to accommodate to the main culture of their new country to acquire its "economic benefits and social rewards", as Giles et al. (1991: 20) posit as the motivation for dialect accommodation in immigrants, but it is certainly not the case that all immigrants arrive with a feeling of inferiority (or superiority either). A good example is the case of Americans or Canadians who immigrate to Australia. The standard of living is comparable for all three countries, and people who emigrate from one place to another do not necessarily do so to improve

[6] Coupland's (1984; 1988) study of a travel agent's accommodation towards her clients was probably the most in-depth study of phonological and phonetic accommodation. Before beginning his study, he tested her speech behaviour in a number of situations so that he could assume that, "Sue's phonological repertoire allows her to vary her pronunciation in relation to gross changes in the speaking situation" (Coupland 1984: 54). This was established before beginning the test of SAT; thus it was not a test of acquisition of variants.

their employment prospects. Many emigrate or move for a few years to have an adventure (this was the most common motivation reported in Cuddy (1977: 39)).[7] Rather than feeling inferior to Australians, Canadians and Americans may simply be difficult to fit into the Australian socio-cultural hierarchy (see Chapter 5 for further discussion of this). In fact, a situation such as that presented here, where the relationship between two groups appears to be relatively equal, has not often been studied.

This study may indicate whether or not CAT is only applicable to situations heavily involving the power variable, or if it can be extended to other "horizontal" situations as well. It may be that some sociolectal types of variables (in other words, variables which are associated with status and power-related phenomena) are more audience dependent than are regional variables which are more associated with group membership or personal identity and that the behaviour of this latter class of variables is less sensitive to audience and/or situation. CAT treats all variables equally and the audiences differently, but there may be a difference in how speakers relate to different speech features (this is also a possible interpretation of the results of Giles and Smith (1979)). To put it another way, while there is considerable evidence to suggest that some linguistic and/or paralinguistic behaviours are manipulated during an interaction depending on who the speaker is addressing, this does not necessarily mean that *every* linguistic and/or paralinguistic behaviour is audience-dependent. It could even be that accommodation on a paralinguistic level compensates (in terms of solidarity) for a lack of accommodation on a linguistic level.

2.1.6 Summary

Trudgill (1986) proposed that SDA might be a process of accommodation. I have argued here that SAT and CAT face the following problems with regards to explaining SDA:

- CAT as a theory attempts to deal with such a large range of behaviours, strategies and motivations that it may be unfalsifiable.

[7] Although Cuddy's study is twenty five years old, it is the most in-depth study of American immigration to Australia that is available at present. With regards to motivations for moving and some of the cultural adjustments that the immigrants have to make, it is likely that many of the observations made by the study participants in Cuddy's (1977) study remain the same today.

- Linguistic behaviour may be a special case – i.e. speakers may not treat it in the same way as paralinguistic behaviour since it involves meaning (Coupland 1984).
- Some case studies of SDA suggest that speakers behave in many different ways and there may not be one common motivation for all speakers.
- SAT and CAT are power and status oriented theories and the evidence to date shows that power and status are very important factors which influence accommodatory behaviour. This may not be relevant for SDA in (regional) situations where status and power are not salient issues.
- Researchers have not actually tested whether or not accommodation occurs between two regional dialects (where power and status are not at issue) using a methodology typical of other SAT/CAT studies.

This thesis deals specifically with linguistic forms of accommodation and whether or not speakers accommodate linguistically to speakers of other regional varieties (especially on lexical, phonetic and phonological levels; morphological or syntactic accommodation are not examined in detail because the varieties are too similar). Paralinguistic accommodation may take place during the study in a number of ways, however that it is not at issue here.

2.2 Acts of Identity

The Acts of Identity theory (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 113-117) was also envisaged as a response to the Labovian paradigm of sociolinguistics. Le Page suggested, unlike Labov (in his early work), that speakers did not always share the same targets. Le Page had done extensive work on creole and pidgin languages, and based on the behaviour of speakers in multilingual communities, he proposed the following riders for linguistic behaviour:

> The individual creates his systems of verbal behaviour so as to resemble those common to the group or groups with which he wishes from time to time to be identified, to the extent that
> he is able to identify these groups
> his motives are sufficiently clear-cut and powerful
> his opportunities for learning are adequate
> his ability to learn – that is, to change his habits where necessary – are unimpaired.
> (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 115; quoted from the original source document Le Page 1968: 192)

This theory has been used less frequently than SAT/CAT to explain SDA, but it is potentially applicable to SDA since even in monolingual communities speakers have access to more than one model (i.e. accent, dialect, sociolect, etc.). Trudgill (1983) originally used it to explain the singing behaviour of British pop stars who emulated an American model of speech in their music. SAT was not an appropriate theoretical model for the pop stars singing behaviour since they were clearly not accommodating to British audiences, rather they seemed to choose American speech as a model because of some stereotypes or images associated with it. Simpson (1999) continued and expanded this discussion of pop music with reference to more recent music. In addition, Underwood (1988) used Le Page's theory as a framework for his study of the identity of Texan speakers in relation to their use of a Texan phonological variant.

Le Page's theory resembles Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (now called the Rational Choice Model) (Myers-Scotton 1983; 1993; 1998a; 1998b), in that the speakers' will to negotiate his or her identity as an on-going process throughout the spoken interaction is a key factor in the conversation (Mæhlum 1992: 123). The Markedness Model, however, does not deal with the process of acquisition, whereas Le Page's theory does and so is better suited to explain processes like SDA. Unlike the Labovian model or CAT, speakers are not as bound to react to their environment or to their audience because they are more focused on constructing a particular role and identity. Le Page's theory also differs from theories based on inter-group interactions and dynamics, such as Giles' ethnolinguistic identity theories. Giles' theory is based more on objective measures of group identity, while Le Page argues that ethnic groups are not "clearly definable external objects" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985), but are only concepts formed by individuals. In Le Page's view, studies which use predefined social phenomena (such as social class or ethnic group membership) as variables have to make assumptions about what characteristics are important for speech behaviour before any observation has actually begun. This then begs the very important question of what speakers actually think are important group characteristics. Thus, Le Page focuses on what the individuals want to identify with, or *self-ascription* as he terms it, rather than whether or not one can objectively say that they belong to a particular group.

The Acts of Identity theory (heretofore AI theory) has the advantage of being less hierarchically oriented than CAT, but the terms of riders are vague – what, for example, constitutes a sufficiently powerful motivation, and what exactly is an adequate opportunity for learning? The ambiguousness of the riders could be problematic.

Nonetheless, with some refinement, the theory could prove useful for explaining some types of behaviour that evade the propositions of CAT, such as the difference between an individual who has acquired most of the phonology of AusE and an individual who merely sounds "less American" than s/he used to, or the Scottish woman who uses American [ɹ].

AI Theory is also much better at explaining situations where children use certain dialects or accents for certain functions or to create the desired function, regardless of their audience. For instance, a case study of a Canadian child (aged 3) living in Australia found that the child used AusE for play, even when playing with Canadians, and Canadian English (CE) for other functions. Foreman (2000a) comments:

> Y's behaviour correlates with findings by Purcell (1984) and Youssef (1993) who studied children's language acquisition in a situation where the children were required to learn both a creole and a standard language. Purcell and Youssef ascertained that children did not consistently converge with other speakers, but rather that each code had a particular function for the children. In both studies, creole tended to be the language of intimacy and friendship, whereas the standard language was used more for strangers and for schoolwork. Apparently, a similar situation arose for Y, where she was not so much converging as assigning each code a social value. Y designated Australian English as the code for play and Canadian English as the code for whatever did not cour.' as play. This finding would also appear to indicate that the terms "convergence" or "divergence" are not entirely applicable to pre-school children's language. It is interesting that this behaviour arose for Y in this context, since AE and CE are not heavily socially stigmatized or prestigious codes in either Canada or Australia, in contrast to the diglossic situations presented by Youssef and Purcell.
> (Foreman 2000a)

2.3 Foreign Accent Theories

A particularly interesting area of research into SLA is foreign accent. Many adult and adolescent language learners have difficulty with the pronunciation of a second language (heretofore L2), even if they have a good grasp of the syntax and morphology of the L2 (the so-called Joseph Conrad phenomenon (Scovel 1988)); and the learners of second varieties of a first language (heretofore L1) often have similar problems (see sections 2.1.4 and 3.3). This latter type of speech behaviour can also be subsumed under the term foreign accent. Foreign accent is a complex phenomenon, including not only pronunciation of the various phones of a language variety, but also such things as prosody, syllable stress, timing and articulatory setting (the over-all impression of foreign accent is often called global foreign accent (Major 2001: 19)). Several researchers have developed hypotheses to explain foreign accent.

One of the best-known theories of the acquisition of L2 phonology is Flege's (1995: 239) Speech Learning Model (SLM), which is based on the impressive body of research generated by Flege and his associates. SLM consists of four postulates which are:

1. The mechanisms and processes used in L1 learning can also be accessed and applied during L2 learning;
2. Speech sounds are grouped into phonetic categories which are language specific;
3. Phonetic categories evolve as both L1 and L2 phones are identified as realizations of each category;
4. Bilinguals try to maintain separate phonetic categories for each language.

SLM also consists of seven hypotheses resulting from these postulates:

1. Sounds of the L1 and L2 are related perceptually at the allophonic rather than phonemic level;
2. A new phonetic category can be established if learners can discern some differences between the L1 and L2 sounds;
3. The greater the phonetic dissimilarity between the L1 and L2 sounds, the greater the likelihood that differences will be perceived;
4. The ability to discern differences decreases as age of learning increases;
5. An L2 sound may be mistakenly classed as equivalent to an L1 sound and put into the L1 category;
6. A bilingual's phonetic categories may differ from a monolingual's if the bilingual is trying to maintain a contrast between L1 and L2 categories or if the bilingual's categories rely on different features than those of the monolinguals;
7. The production of a sound eventually corresponds to the properties represented in its phonetic category representation.

SLM "focuses on bilinguals who have spoken their L2 for many years, not beginners" (Flege 1995: 238).

Best's Perceptual Assimilation Model (PAM) is based on the premise that non-native segments "tend to be perceived according to their similarities to, and discrepancies from, the native segmental constellations that are in closest proximity to them in native phonological space" (Best 1995: 193). PAM predicts that non-native sounds may be:

1. Assimilated to a native category;

2. Assimilated as an uncategorizable speech sound that is not "a clear exemplar of any particular native category (i.e. it falls within native phonological space but in between specific native categories) or;
3. Not assimilated to speech – heard as non-speech sounds.

PAM is similar to SLM, since they both focus on whether or not perceptual differences are sufficient for speakers to establish new categories, but SLM provides more detailed predictions and allows for changes in the perception and behaviour of the speaker whereas PAM is more static in its view. Impressionistically, PAM appears to focus more on beginning L2 learners, while SLM deals more with experienced learners, but this is not stated explicitly in Best (1995). Also, Best (1995) gives the philosophy of direct realism[8] as the basis for PAM, asserting that speech sounds are perceived directly without a cognitive interface, unlike traditional linguistic theory which posits a separation between phonetic (acoustic or gestural) and phonemic (cognitive) levels. Thus, PAM does not address discrepancies between perception (as a certain phoneme) and phonetic production, as does SLM.

[8] Briefly, direct realism is a philosophical theory based on the premise that perceptual objects are directly perceived (rather than that a representation of the object is perceived and that the object is inferred from this representation).

3 Previous Research into Second Dialect Acquisition

3.1 Linguistic Factors

Some of the main linguistic factors reported to have an impact on phonological and phonetic acquisition in SDA are: mutual intelligibility, salience, orthography, phonological naturalness, phonotactic constraints and imitative skill. There are also indications that different types of linguistic features (e.g. phonological, phonetic, lexical) are acquired differently from each other.

3.1.1 Intelligibility

There is a wide-ranging amount of anecdotal evidence suggesting that mutual intelligibility is an important issue in dialect contact.

In *Dialects in Contact*, Trudgill recounts several anecdotal instances where he was misunderstood in North America because of his British accent. For example "[ɑ-a] is close enough to cause confusion, as in the case of my *Barb* being interpreted as *Bob*" and

> I can attest that one factor that without doubt precipitated the introduction of flaps into my own speech in America was the number of people who thought, for example, if only for a second, that I wanted a *pizza* rather than that my name was *Peter*. And, while I did not generally change /a:/ to /æ/ in the lexical set of *dance* etc., I did end up saying words such as *glass, half,* and *bathroom* with /æ/ in service encounters in shops, bars, and restaurants, in order to avoid exchanges of the type below:
> Waiter: Would you care for another bottle of wine?
> Author: A half bottle, please.
> Waiter: Coffee?
> The problem was of course that the /a:/ in *half* sounded to the waiter more like his own vowel in *coffee* then the expected /æ/ vowel of *half*.
> (Trudgill 1986: 23)

It also seems that almost all immigrants and tourists who visit another part of the English speaking world have some anecdote to recount of how their accent or lexical choice led to confusion or breakdown of communication. Mitchell documents a clear example of this sort of occurrence in his paper on "The Australian Accent":

> ...the performance of the *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll* in London and New York was an interesting happening. Australian English was heard in London and New York as a living dramatic medium in a play good enough to be taken seriously by serious critics. The interesting thing was that the language was accepted in London...On the whole the London critics accepted the accent as refreshing, salty, remarkably like Cockney. The New York critics, on the other hand, seem undoubtedly to have killed the play because of their difficulties with the language. They had trouble with the sounds. One said that by the time he

realised that *Bonnie* was not a girl but a man called Barney, the plot had moved on so that he could not catch up. Some said they found the accent so exotic as to be virtually unintelligible.
(Mitchell 1970: 13)

In a related study described in Delbridge (1970), nine male speakers of three sociolects of AusE were recorded speaking sixteen stressed vowels in citation form. One hundred and fifty subjects with normal hearing listened to these vowels after they had been abstracted from the carrier phrases and produced along with some white noise to obscure voice idiosyncrasies. The subjects were asked to identify the vowels heard as the tape was played. The short vowels were consistently identified correctly, but

> Broad Australian [a working class variety of AusE] /ɐɪ/, which is often heard as /aɪ/ by foreign listeners, was not misheard in this way by Australian listeners. The Cultivated [an upper class variety of AusE] /aɪ/ sound, on the other hand, was heard as /ɐɪ/ a significant number of times. This would seem to indicate that Australians automatically expect to hear fairly broad allophones of the /ɐɪ/ sound.
> (Delbridge 1970: 29)

Although these vowels were produced in citation form, this still seems to show a tendency for speakers to interpret speech "in terms of a generalised vowel chart constructed from the speech of the majority of the community" (Delbridge 1970: 29), and this in itself may cause misunderstandings, repeats, clarifications, etc., and even though these are usually brief, they are often enough to exasperate speakers of foreign dialects. Flanigan and Norris (2000) also found that speakers from Northern Ohio dialect areas had difficulty understanding citation form utterances produced by a native speaker of South-eastern Ohio English, particularly in words which were affected by vowel mergers.

Another study of intelligibility and comprehensibility tested the ability of native and non-native listeners to understand fluent English speakers who were not native-speakers or who spoke non-standard varieties of English. Subjects listened to a tape of a conversation, filled in a cloze test and paraphrased what was said. It was found that non-native speakers who were familiar with several different national varieties of English did better on the tests than native speakers (Smith 1987). This is interesting in connection with Delbridge's (1970) work, suggesting that familiarity breeds understanding, more so than does fluency. On the other hand, Trudgill (1982) found that speakers of one dialect tended to judge the syntactic and semantic constructions of another dialect as ungrammatical in any form of English, even when they had had exposure to that dialect. He concludes that comprehension occurs during the process of communicating and that speakers do not actually keep an internal representation of other dialects – but it could be that while speakers do not keep a schematic representation of the syntactic systems

of other dialects, they do keep representations of the phonological systems of other dialects with which they are familiar.

Trudgill (1986: 23) also quotes a manuscript by Shockey, stating "in addition to the sociopsychological factors which lie at the root of accommodation..., the desire to be intelligible is also an important factor." Shockey reports that vowel differences and low-context situations (such as service encounters) led to misunderstandings in her own experience as an American living in the United Kingdom, such as receiving cherries when she had asked for carrots. Shockey also states that the flapping of intervocalic /t/ seems to result in the most comprehension difficulties for British listeners, and this feature is one of three phonetic features changed in the speech of many Americans who have lived in Britain for long periods. By contrast, she shows some evidence that Americans reduced the percentage of flapped /t/'s in their speech measurably more than the percentage of flapped /d/'s, and she hypothesizes that this may be because flapped /d/'s are acoustically more similar to other realizations of /d/ than are flapped /t/'s to other (unflapped) realizations of /t/, due to the acoustic effects of voicing (Shockey 1984).

Shockey's hypothesis is supported by a case study in Australia wherein a three and a half year old English-speaking Canadian child was studied as she acquired an AusE dialect (Foreman 2000a). The first measurable change that the child made to her speech after coming to Australia and beginning nursery school was the use of an unflapped intervocalic /t/ in place of her native intervocalic flap (/t/'s are commonly flapped intervocalically in CE, as in American English (De Wolf 1992: 57-69)). The child also introduced unflapped intervocalic [t] into other words and even began to hypercorrect /d/ to /t/ in words like *middle, cuddle, daddy, already, playdough* and *shadow*. However, in contrast to the situation presented by Shockey, where the use of flapped /t/'s is not common in Britain, in Australia there is evidence that a high percentage of AusE speakers use flapped /t/'s intervocalically in the majority of possible instances (Tollfree 2001). (See section 4.4.1.2 for a more complete description of this consonant in AusE and Canadian English).

Why then would this child begin using a speech feature that is common to neither dialect for an informal style (and no more common in either for a formal style)? Given that she had no exposure to or preconceptions of AusE, she could not deliver a version of AusE based on expectations of less intervocalic /t/ flapping. A possible explanation is that she was simply trying to assist her AusE speaking listeners in understanding her accent. Foreman (2000a) states:

> ...it was also difficult for Y's caregivers to understand her. Children's speech is notorious for being less intelligible than adult speech because of children's incomplete acquisition of phonemes, as well as other normal features of children's speech such as metathesis, substitution and syllable deletion (Owens 1992: 346). Therefore, even though the staff at the day care might know that *ketchup* is a synonym for the AE word *tomato sauce*, they might not understand a child's request for [ʃakʌp], when the child has a habit of metathesizing the [k] and the [ʃ], as Y did, and they are expecting the words *tomato sauce*. That is to say, [mero sɒs] with the syllable deletion and Canadian English vowels might be intelligible to a person used to child language and to Australian English but [ʃakʌp] may require too much linguistic processing.

This research suggests that intelligibility may be an important initial motivation which spurs on the learner towards acquisition of at least some features of the second dialect, a suggestion echoed in research into the pedagogy of second dialect acquisition.[9] Craig (1966) pointed out that second dialect learners often have no communicative reason to keep using the target variety in the classroom. It may be easy for them to revert to their own variety and still be understood, and this slows the process of acquisition.

3.1.2 Salience

Trudgill (1986) suggested that a feature with high salience will be more likely to be affected by phonological or phonetic change. He defined salience by three criteria: awareness of a variable, perceptible phonetic difference between two variants and phonemic difference. This definition of salience, and Trudgill's apparently contradictory statement that "too much" salience will actually inhibit the acquisition of a feature, has been critiqued in Kerswill (1994) and Auer et al. (1998). Kerswill (1994: 154-155) pointed out the circularity of Trudgill's awareness criterion for salience (speakers acquire salient variables quickly because they are highly aware of these variables, and the fact that they acquire them quickly affirms their salience). Auer et al. (1998) dealt more rigorously with the notion of salience, pointing out that some of the criteria used in the definition of salience are subjective (such as perceptual distance) and that there is probably a difference in the treatment of variables to be acquired versus those to be discarded. They also tested the hypothesis that salient variables will be acquired more quickly,

[9] Standard dialects are sometimes taught in schools where students who speak a stigmatized dialect will be at a disadvantage if they do not learn the standard variety. These stigmatized dialects usually have fairly pronounced syntactic and morphological differences from the standard.

finding that this was only partially true.[10] Some of the most salient variables were also the most resistant to change.

For this dissertation, salience was defined as phonemic difference, a dichotomous structure (as in (Auer et al. 1998)) and speaker awareness of a variable, or some combination of one or more of these three criteria.[11] As Auer et al. (1998) state, speaker awareness is a subjective criterion, but this does not necessarily mean that it is not a valuable criterion. If many speakers show awareness of a variable (by mentioning it or imitating it) then this indicates "speaker-salience", which may be more revealing than objective salience, although it cannot at this point be rigorously defined. I will avoid the circularity of the definition by not assuming that salience will encourage acquisition/loss (in fact, Auer et al. (1998) show that a phonological difference, while objectively salient, impeded acquisition). It will simply be interesting to observe what in fact happens to the more salient variables.

Salience is relevant to SDA because speakers who already speak a standard national variety and move from one geographic region to another are usually aware of some differences, but they often cannot describe exactly what the differences are between their dialect and the foreign dialect, except perhaps for a few phonological differences and lexical items. Note this example from Major (2001: 53):

> That adults are often deaf to certain perceptual differences is evident when they move from one dialect region to another. Whereas certain dialect differences are readily noticeable (e.g., most Americans from the Midwest or West notice New Yorkers will often drop their r's), others go unnoticed. I am often struck that many natives of the Midwest and East, who have the */ɔ/- /a/* distinction and who now live in the West, have failed to notice even after decades of living in the West that for most westerners *ball* and *doll* actually rhyme. They find it difficult to believe these two words rhyme, even when confronted with evidence to the contrary. Typical responses are, "I don't believe it," "That's not the right way to say it," or "I never noticed they did that."

This is similar to the perception of speakers of non-standard dialects, who are also often not aware of the fact that they do not actually speak the standard (Fischer 1992). They can produce some aspects of the standard and often have been led to believe that they speak "slang" or "street-talk" or a poor form of the standard. One study showed that

[10] Auer et al. (1998) used the following criteria to define salience for their study of German speakers: phonemicity, continuous versus dichotomous structure and lexicalization (the use of a variable in only some words).

[11] This results in a scale of salience, with the most salient variables having all three criteria and the least having only one criterion. It is difficult to say at this stage which of these criteria would have the greatest impact on the perception of salience, though. The answer to this question will have to be found by other studies of this concept.

standard speakers could distinguish non-standard speakers from standard speakers, but non-standard speakers could not make that distinction (Moosmuller 1988).

3.1.3 Code-switching

At least theoretically, speakers who are able to use two dialects might be able to keep these dialects separate and use only one or the other in different situations. Alternatively, they may not be able or wish to keep them separate and use a kind of mixed-code system. There are many different types of mixed-code systems possible. For example, speakers may use a system where pragmatic function words from the second dialect (heretofore D2) are consistently used for specific purposes in otherwise first dialect (heretofore D1) utterances, or a system where D2 vocabulary and phraseology are interjected at varied and relatively unpredictable points within a predominantly D1 conversation or vice versa. They may also use a system where only some aspects of the D1, such as lexical items or phonology, may be used in conjunction with an otherwise D2 system.

This kind of mixed-code system or alternation between two or more languages or varieties in an utterance has been referred to using a number of different terms including *code-switching, code-mixing, code-shifting, borrowing* and *transference*. A large body of research has investigated these phenomena, and as such many researchers use different terminological systems. It would exceed the scope of this dissertation if I were to investigate and define these terms rigorously, so for the purposes of this dissertation the term *code-switching* will be generally used to refer to "the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences" (Clyne 1987: 740).

While this terminology usually refers to bilingual language behaviour, it has also occasionally been applied to bidialectal language behaviour (e.g. Blom and Gumperz 1972; Beebe 1981; Werlen 1988; Mæhlum 1992; Giacalone Ramat 1995), although, to the best of my knowledge, it has not been applied to contact situations between standard national varieties of pluricentric languages, such as those presented here in this study. In general, code-switching theories have tended to focus on predicting the morphosyntactic sites at which code-switching is likely to occur in the languages or

dialects in question[12] (e.g. Poplack 1979, Clyne 1987; Muysken 1995), rather than the phonetic or phonological aspects of the languages, and so it would be difficult to apply these theories to the study of varieties in contact which differ mainly phonetically. In addition, in situations such as this one, where a very high proportion of vocabulary, syntax, morphology and phonology are shared, much of a speaker's production could easily be classified as belonging to any one of these three varieties. For instance, the statement *Tom's lost his job* would only be distinguishable as an utterance produced by a speaker of AusE rather than CE or American English by some rounding of the [ɑ] in *Tom, lost* and *job* (and this might also occur in CE), perhaps the raising of the vowel in *his,* and some immeasurable differences in voice quality. It would be virtually impossible to ascertain which variety was the "base" or "matrix" variety and which was the "embedded" variety, to use the code-switching terminology put forth by Myers-Scotton (1983; 1993). Thus, speaker behaviour in contact situations between such closely related varieties tends to be viewed as adjustments along a continuum rather than whole-scale alternation between discrete varieties. For these reasons, it would be impractical to attempt to analyze the data collected for this study within a theoretical framework pertaining to code-switching, although some parallels between the behaviour of these speakers and documented examples of code-switching did arise in the course of the analysis (see section 7.11.4).

3.1.4 Orthography

Chambers (1998a) also suggests that orthography has a noticeable influence on SDA. He shows that his CE speaking subjects continued to use non-prevocalic /ɹ/ in non-rhotic South-east England longer than they continued to use [ɾ] rather than unflapped [t] (in words such as *butter, after, matter*). He proposes that the reason may be that devoiced /t/ is orthographically represented, whereas /ɹ/ vocalization is orthographically opaque. While this is a possible factor, it is also relevant that /t/ is sometimes unflapped in CE, especially in formal contexts (De Wolf 1992: 57-69), while

[12] Although sociolinguistic research into code-switching has focused more on the social motivations for code-switching rather than on the linguistic behaviour itself (e.g. Blom and Gumperz 1972; Giles, Mulac et al. 1987; Rampton 1995), the primary focus of the research into the linguistic behaviour of code-switching has been on the sites in the morphosyntax of the languages which are most or least likely to be used as code-switching sites (see Backus (1992: 4 –32) or Muysken (1995) for a review of the literature about the grammatical constraints on code-switching).

/r/ is never vocalized in CE. This could then be interpreted as an extension of a rule already present for CE speakers. Also, as mentioned in section 3.1.1, the realization of /t/ has a strong impact on intelligibility, and so changes in its realization could be heightened by the desire for increased intelligibility.

3.1.5 Phonological Naturalness

Trudgill (1986) suggests that phonological naturalness may accelerate SDA. To return to the example given above, flapping intervocalic /t/ is a natural phonetic change, since it simply involves continuing voicing right through the sequence rather than interrupting it for a voiceless stop. Thus Trudgill states that he acquired this feature of American English fairly quickly during his stay in the United States. So, changes that involve natural phonological processes will probably be more readily adopted by speakers. These types of changes have also been referred to as connected speech processes in Kerswill (1996b).

3.1.6 Phonotactic Constraints

On the other hand, phonotactic constraints can impede acquisition. Speakers who have a certain constraint in their native dialect, such as "do not pronounce /r/ unless it occurs in an initial position or between vowels", would have to discard this constraint in favour of "pronounce /r/ wherever it occurs orthographically" in a rhotic area (Trudgill 1986: 15-16). This, of course, may be a gradual, inconsistently applied process. Phonotactic constraints probably have a greater impact on older learners than they do on younger learners (Chambers 1998a).

3.1.7 Changes in Progress and Stable Phonemes

Bowie (2000) conducted a study of a number of speakers who had moved away from the Waldorf region of Maryland, U.S. to other parts of the United States and compared their speech to that of speakers who had always lived in Waldorf. He found that speakers who moved away from Waldorf (Waldorf exiles, to use his terminology) made changes mainly to vowel sounds which were already in the process of change in the

Waldorf community. Vowels which were stable in the Waldorf community were not subject to change in the speech of people who moved away from Waldorf.

3.1.8 Imitation

The ability to successfully imitate unfamiliar speech sounds "has repeatedly been identified as a significant and independent predictor of degree of L2 foreign accent" (Piske et al. 2001: 202), and thus it may also be relevant to SDA.

Markham's (1997) study investigates whether or not imitative ability significantly impacts upon the degree of a speaker's foreign accent. In his study, speakers were judged for their mimicry of a statement in an L2 and in a D2 (of Swedish). Although it is difficult to generally compare the assessments of the L2 and D2 imitations, it appears that the speakers were actually less successful (and more erratic) in their D2 imitations than they were in their L2 imitations. Judges were also not as consistent in judging the D2 imitations – some native speakers of Swedish were judged as being non-native speakers and vice versa.[13] (As an aside, he also mentions that one of his subjects, resident in an area for 20 years, lacks any of the features of this dialect area in her speech, and that five of the speakers in his test had mixed natural dialects).

In an earlier experiment, Neufeld (1979) investigated learners' abilities to imitate an L2 after first listening without being allowed to repeat these sounds, and many of these imitations were then judged to be native or near-native. There are some methodological problems with Neufeld's work, though, (detailed in Scovel 1988: 154-159), in particular the fact that he informed the judges that the subjects were native speakers when this was not the case.

Sancier and Fowler (1997) found that an adult speaker of Brazilian Portuguese had markedly longer Voice Onset Times (VOTs)[14] after residing in the United States for several months, and shorter VOTs after residing in Brazil for a number of months. Similar findings were reported in Flege (1987), and also for an entire community of Quebec French speakers in Caramazza and Yeni-Komshian (1974). Sancier and Fowler call this phenomenon *gestural drift*, defined as "perceptually-guided changes in speech production". They interpret it as the result of "an underlying disposition of

[13] The subjects in the dialect imitation test were native Swedish speakers, but the experiment included some non-native speakers as foils.

[14] Voice Onset Time means the timing of the onset of voicing in relation to the release of a voiceless stop consonant (Matthews 1997: 398). VOT in English is longer than in Portuguese because initial voiceless stops in English are aspirated, thus resulting in a lag before voicing (during the following vowel) can begin.

listeners/speakers to imitate the speech they hear; that is, gestural drift may indicate a tendency to imitate the ambient language" (Sancier and Fowler 1997: 422). This data would appear to indicate that adults may gradually make changes to phones in their speech which are similar to those of the ambient language/dialect. (This, of course, is very similar to what Markham (1997) called the linguistic ambience effect).

Sancier and Fowler also suggest that this imitative ability is more supportive of the direct realist view of speech perception (e.g. Best 1995) than of models which make a distinction between phonetic and phonological levels (e.g. Flege 1995). They claim that phonological categories can be characterized as "the clumping together of attractors" (Sancier and Fowler 1997: 434) with L1 phones being called "attractors" (or models which the speaker is prone to imitate/produce). However, there are two problems with this interpretation of the data: the studies mentioned have only examined VOT, gestural drift for vowels or for other phonetic aspects of consonants has not been examined so it remains to be seen if this phenomenon will repeat itself for other aspects of speech; and, more importantly, these experiments did not require speakers to create new phonological categories or to learn new patterns of distribution for phonemes. Other work by Flege and his colleagues (see section 3.3.1) into the adult acquisition of L2 phones has indicated that there is a behavioural difference between acquisition of a similar phone and the creation of a new phonological category.

3.2 Koineization Processes

Much of the information about about how and what speakers acquire when they migrate to a new dialect area, and at what age they are capable of acquiring it, may be gleaned from the literature about koine formation (koines are "the stabilized result of mixing of linguistic subsystems such as regional or literary dialects" (Siegel 1985: 363) as quoted in Kerswill and Williams (2000: 66)). Briefly, koineization involves several processes: levelling, simplification and reallocation. *Levelling* is "the loss of marked or minority variants" (Trudgill 1986: 126). *Simplification* is "an increase in regularity" (Mühlhäusler 1977 as quoted in Trudgill 1986: 103), specifically the regularity of morphophonemic and morphological structures. Finally, *reallocation* can be defined as the process by which "variants originally from different regional dialect may in the new dialect become *social-class dialect variants, stylistic variants, areal variants*, or, in the case of phonology, *allophonic variants*" (Trudgill 1986: 126) (his italics). Trudgill (1986: 98 – 161) presents copious historical evidence of koineization processes in colonial

Englishes. There is also evidence of such processes from research into Fenland English (Britain 1997a; 1997b) and from research into dialect formation in the new town of Milton Keynes (Kerswill 1996a). Britain (1997b) also gives evidence of phonetically intermediate interdialect forms, which may be interpreted as another koineization process.

The process of simplification is unlikely to be relevant to this dissertation, since it has to do with morphological and morphophonemic regularity, and the varieties of English in question in this dissertation do not differ greatly in terms of morphological structures (see section 4.7). However, speakers may show signs of levelling or reallocation of variants.

3.3 The Age Factor

The theory that language acquisition is affected by the age at which the speaker begins to learn the language has often been called the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) (Lenneberg 1967). Initially, the theory proposed that human beings could only acquire native-like competence in a language if they began learning it before a certain age or critical period (the cut-off point often given was the onset of puberty).

There is some question as to how to define the term *critical period*. In the biological sciences, it has traditionally referred to a set period during which an organism must acquire a certain skill, ability, etc. or said organism will not be able to acquire it later in life. In the case of language, linguists have hypothesized that neural plasticity is lost as one ages, resulting in the loss of the ability to fully acquire an L2. Such critical periods are not uncommon. For example, baby birds must form an attachment to their mothers during a certain period of time. If no attachment is formed during this time period, then the bird will not be able to bond with its mother. This kind of a critical period only refers to the first learning period (such as an L1) before a certain age. Based on these kinds of critical periods, a strong version of the CPH would then be that human beings are only able to learn language, or certain aspects of language, within a set critical period. A softer version of the CPH (sometimes called the sensitive period hypothesis) would be that human beings are able to learn language, or some aspects of it, at any age, but with increasing difficulty. The focus here will be on a possible critical period for phonetic and phonological acquisition, since they are most relevant to this dissertation.

The CPH also calls into question the problematic notion of competence. In order to answer the question of whether or not adults can achieve native-like competence in a

foreign (or, in rare cases, a first) language, one must be able to define native-like competence. This is especially problematic for discussions of foreign accent, or phonetic competence, since judgements of foreign accent tend to be extremely subjective. Foreign accent is difficult to measure, since it includes such things as pronunciation, prosody, syllable stress, timing and articulatory setting (see section 2.3 for further discussion of foreign accent). Major (2001: 39-40) suggests that there is an over-emphasis on native-like acquisition since it is difficult to say when a sound has actually been acquired. Is a sound acquired when it is pronounced accurately 10% of the time, 40% of the time, or 100% of the time? For phonetics and phonology in particular, I would suggest that there is a certain amount of variability inherent even in native speakers' speech and that it would be difficult to differentiate between this kind of variability and inaccurate pronunciation of a target sound by a learner, but almost all studies of foreign accent use at least some subjective judgements by native speakers of nativeness and judge only 100% accuracy by non-native speakers as an achievement of the nativeness goal (see Piske et al. (2001: 194-195) for a description of rating scales used in a number of studies of foreign accent).

Researchers have also tended to focus on monolingual communities, but globally, bilingualism and multilingualism are more common than is monolingualism, and this may result in different standards of competence. In other words, the problem may lie with the listener's standards rather than the speaker's performance (Hill 1970). Even if the community is monolingual, the problem might lie with the speaker having a different pronunciation model in mind than the listener has; i.e. the speaker could be emulating an unexpected regional or social dialect. Markham (1997: 22) suggests that listeners may also have different standards for different aspects of language; i.e. syntax and pronunciation.

In addition, studies have shown that "even very young L2 beginners diverge at the level of fine linguistic detail from native speakers" (Singleton 2001: 81; Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson 2000; Flege 1999: 106), and some studies have indicated that even speakers who have begun learning languages at very young ages can still have foreign accents (Flege et al. 1995b). Thus, it may simply be that bilingual and multilingual speakers of any age process language differently from monolingual speakers; in this case the only true test of the CPH would be to see if an adult could learn a first language. Some older children have been found who did not speak any language (see Scovel 1988: 124-139) but these children have tended to have serious developmental

and cognitive problems, in addition to histories of abuse, which make it impossible to ascertain whether or not their problems with language are due to the existence of a critical period or because of other factors. Some deaf children may not have access to sign language until late childhood or even adulthood, thus they would probably be the best test of the CPH (Cochran et al. 1999), but obviously not for pronunciation.

One of the most common explanations for a critical period is a biological one focusing on brain lateralization. Penfield (1965) suggested that the ability of young children to recover language function after damage to the left hemisphere was due to the plasticity of a young child's brain and its ability to transfer language function to other areas of the brain. However, there is some evidence to suggest that lateralization may begin even before birth and that lateralization does not necessarily increase with age (Archibald and Libben 1995: 291; Molfese et al. 1975; Segalowitz 1983). Tasks may also be processed in different hemispheres depending on how they are presented (Archibald and Libben 1995: 291). In addition, many researchers have pointed out that a definitive link between lateralization and language learning ability has not been found to date and the possibility remains that they could be unrelated; even if a person's brain is lateralized, it does not necessarily follow that that person will have more trouble acquiring an L2 or D2. Much of the research in the 1980's and 1990's investigated possible neurological causes for a critical period (e.g. Scovel 1988),[15] but "the notion that L2 age effects are exclusively neurologically based, that they are associated with absolute, well-defined chronological limits, and that they are particular to language looks less and less plausible" (Singleton 2001: 85).

The extent to which age affects or limits acquisition or why it may do so has not been generally agreed upon. There is, however, a general consensus that "in the initial stages of learning, in terms of long-term outcomes, generally speaking, the earlier the exposure to the target language begins the better" (Singleton 1995: 2) and "the earlier in life one learns an L2, the better it will be pronounced" (Piske et al. 2001: 196). Of course, these statements are not directly indicative of a critical period, as defined above, but suggest a general decline in language learning ability. There is also empirical support for the idea

[15] Scovel (1988) claims that the phonetic aspects of language are the only aspects of language which have a critical period of acquisition, basing this claim on the notion that only the phonetic aspects of language have a neuromuscular (or physiological) basis. While this is true, all other aspects of language also have a neurological (and thus also a physical) basis, at least, and it seems plausible that they could thus be vulnerable to the same age effects, if in fact there are any.

that in the short-term, adolescent and adult learners outpace younger learners, but eventually younger learners catch up and surpass the older learners (Krashen et al. 1982b). This may be the case because older children and adults are better at processing large amounts of information and tend to memorize sequences of data, whereas children can only memorize small pieces of data, and are therefore better able to re-arrange these pieces later (Cochran et al. 1999). There also seems to be limited agreement on the idea that acquisition before the age of five or six will produce native-like language, acquisition between the ages of 5 or 6 and the onset of adolescence will have variable results, while acquisition during or after adolescence rarely results in native-like language (Singleton 1995: 3-5).

The reasons for these trends have not been agreed upon, and as such some researchers believe that the causes of adult difficulties with language learning may be affective, social or otherwise mutable. Several studies have indicated that motivation (i.e. a desire for pronunciation accuracy) has an influence on a speaker's degree of foreign accent (Suter 1976; Purcell and Suter 1980; Flege et al. 1995a; Bongaerts et al. 1997; Moyer 1999), but this may only be seen where the motivation is particularly strong, as for university professors or L2 teachers (Piske et al. 2001: 211). There is also evidence (though it is still only suggestive) of a link between ego-permeability/identity and phonetic or phonological acquisition (see Markham 1997: 25-27 for a summary of research into this concept). Segalowitz and Gatbonton (1977) show a correlation between ethnic identity and the use of phonetic variants representative of that ethnic group for L2 learners. Guiora and his associates (1972; 1980) performed some experiments involving alcohol and Valium to see if this would affect the ego-permeability of subjects, but it is unclear if the alcohol and Valium affected the subjects' ego-permeability or their muscular control.

Many researchers have suggested that phonological and phonetic acquisition is particularly affected by age (Scovel 1988; Markham 1997: 21). Flege (1999) suggests that it is an interesting puzzle that while our ability to use small and gross motor skills generally improves as we get older, our ability to reproduce sounds using motor skills seems to degenerate. Presumably, Flege is discussing the improvement in motor skills throughout childhood and adolescence. However, after childhood, Bialystok and Hakuta (1999) argue that progressive deterioration takes place for many cognitive mechanisms, and that language use displays the same general pattern found for other cognitive

functions such as memory. Such progressive deterioration also takes place for many physical functions including motor skills.

There is some experimental evidence for the particular tenacity of foreign accent (Flege et al.1995a), but

> No study has as yet provided convincing evidence for the claim that L2 speech will automatically be accent-free if it is learned before the age of about 6 years and that it will definitely be foreign-accented if learned after puberty. It thus appears that factors other than AOL [age of learning] also have an influence on degree of L2 foreign accent.
> (Piske et al. 2001: 197)

Foreign accent is often confounded with other variables in experiments studying L2 acquisition (Flege 1998; Moyer 1999: 85); for example, studies have often had subjects with different L1's (first languages), and the amount they use the L2 (second language) can be inextricably confounded with their age of arrival. Flege et al. (1999) designed an experiment which controlled for these variables and found that a high level of L2 use significant and independent effect on the degree of foreign accent (high use lessened foreign accent). Age was still an important factor, but the study did not show a sharp decline in successful pronunciation in learners who began acquisition at adolescence. Flege et al. (1997) and Piske et al. (2001) conducted similar experiments and found that frequent L1 use resulted in stronger foreign accents for both early and late bilinguals.

Flege (1999) suggests that inaccurate production of the phones of an L2 (or another acquired language variety) is due to the incorrect perception of these phones; i.e. perception precedes production. Thus Flege (1992; 1996; 1999; Walley and Flege 1999) developed the category definition hypothesis and the category expansion hypothesis in order to explain why adults and adolescents tend to perceive and produce the phonemes of their L2 inaccurately. In the category definition hypothesis, "the core acoustic properties or exemplars of each phonetic category, and the weighting of these properties, becomes better defined with age" (Walley and Flege 1999: 311), and in the category expansion hypothesis, "the range of phones that may be identified as instances of a given L1 category increases [with age]" (Walley and Flege 1999: 311). Support has been found for the category definition hypothesis but not for the category expansion hypothesis (Walley and Flege 1999: 327). Another study of children aged 6 to 12 indicated that "phoneme boundary sharpening occurs well into the second decade of life" (Hazan and Barrett 2000: 377), suggesting the opposite of Flege's category expansion hypothesis. Hazan and Barrett's findings also suggest that if perception does play an important role in pronunciation accuracy, then the fine-tuning of perceptual accuracy continues after what has traditionally been thought of as the close of the critical period.

Consequently, the findings on phonetic and phonological acquisition as it relates to the critical period appear to be inconclusive. It may not be as strongly affected by age as was once thought.

3.3.1 Age of Arrival and the Type of Feature Acquired

Different types of speech and dialect features (e.g. lexical, phonological, distributional, mergers versus splits etc.) are probably acquired differently, and with lesser or greater ease at particular ages. In this case the focus will be on different types of phonetic and phonological features which may be acquired, as well as lexical acquisition, as that is most relevant to this study.

Based on research into koineization processes, Kerswill (1996b) proposes the following difficulty hierarchy of acquisition according to age (see Table 1):

Table 1: Difficulty Hierarchy for the Acquisition of Second Dialect Features

Rank	Feature		Age Acquired
1 (most difficult)	i.	lexically unpredictable phonological rules, which may reflect lexical diffusion nearing completion and which are not socio-linguistically salient	by 3 (?)
	ii.	new phonological oppositions	by 3 –13
	iii.	grammatical change: parameters	by 8 (?)
2	iv.	prosodic systems	by 12-15
3	v.	grammatical change: new morphological classes (in creoles, may be tied to lexical acquisition)	peak in adolescent years? lifespan?
4	vi.	morphologically conditioned changes	not before 4-7; then lifespan
5	vii.	reassignment of words or lexical sets to other morphological classes	lifespan
6	viii.	mergers	lifespan
7	ix.	Neogrammarian changes (exceptionless shifts, easier if they are connected speech processes)	lifespan
8	x.	lexical diffusion of phonological changes, especially those which involve an existing opposition and are salient	lifespan
	xi.	borrowing: new lexical forms of old words; new phonetic forms of existing morphological categories	
9	xii.	borrowing: vocabulary	lifespan

(Kerswill 1996b: 200)

Kerswill (1996b) also suggests that while only young children will acquire the difficult features (ranked number 1), adolescents may be more instrumental in consolidating and conveying the changes because their peer group affiliations "allow them to have wider contacts than younger children, and their desire for a distinct social identity means that they are willing to modify their speech" (Kerswill 1996b: 198).

Evidence from research into SDA confirms some of Kerswill's (1996b) propositions about age and phonetic acquisition. Munro et al. (1999) and Bowie (2000) found that adult D2 learners were able to change the way they pronounced phones when the phonetic categories in the D1 and D2 were equivalent,[16] or neogrammarian changes in Kerswill's terminology (the subjects in these studies had moved from one area in North America to another), something which may be similar to the "gestural drift" described in Sancier and Fowler (1997) (see section 3.1.8). These speakers were able to alter their phonemic boundaries to match their D2.

However, where learners must create new phonological distinctions, the evidence is somewhat less consistent. There is a reasonable amount of L2 acquisition evidence which suggests that adult learners can be successful when the new phonetic category is sufficiently distinct from the L1 category and if the subjects have enough time and practice (Flege 1987; Flege 1996; Flege and Bohn 1996; Flege et al. 1999). To a certain extent, these findings for second language acquisition contradict findings from studies of SDA. For instance, Kerswill (1996: 200) states that new phonological oppositions in a D2 must be learnt by the ages of 3 –13 years, and this proposition seems to be generally agreed upon in most of the SDA literature (e.g. Wells 1973; Chambers 1998a; Bowie

[16] By equivalent phonetic categories, I mean that the same phoneme is used in the same lexical set/s in the D1 and D2 and has the same or a very similar incidence and distribution but a different phonetic realization.

2000). It may be that the phonetic categories of dialects are too similar for adult speakers to differentiate between them as they are sometimes able to do with two languages.

Regarding the most difficult case mentioned by Kerswill (1996b) in Table 1 (the acquisition of lexically unpredictable phonological rules), there is some evidence from research into SDA that in order for these rules to be acquired, learners must grow up in the area from birth and *have parents who speak that dialect* (Trudgill 1986: 34-37; Payne 1976; 1980). Apparently being born in an area or moving there at a very young age is not enough to guarantee successful acquisition of some particularly complex features.

It appears that lexical variants are acquired fairly easily by speakers of any age (Kerswill 1994; Chambers 1998a). Based on his study of SDA, Chambers (1998a) suggests that lexical items are acquired quickly at first and then this process slows. He also states that lexical items do not replace the native dialect lexemes, they co-exist with them. Like Kerswill, Chambers (1998a) proposes that age affects phonological acquisition more strongly than it affects lexical and phonetic acquisitions.

3.4 Sociolinguistic Factors

A factor which might impede the acquisition of a second dialect or accent is the sociolinguistic significance of a variable in one's native dialect. A speaker may be less likely to acquire a variant which is a sociolinguistic marker of social class in one's native dialect (Trudgill 1986: 18-19). Trudgill (1986) states that he had difficulty acquiring the unrounded [ɑ] of American English since it was stigmatized in his native dialect. (This is what Trudgill defines as "too much" salience).

Studies have shown that second dialect acquirers may treat a stigmatized variant of the second dialect like a prestige variant, probably because it indicates group membership (Poplack 1977: 100; Kerswill 1994: 147-153). Stigmatized variants tend to be more regionally specific, and feature more prominently in colloquial speech, thus it is plausible that D2 speakers interpret them as markers of group membership. Consequently, the prestige value of the variant can be reversed for the second dialect acquirers and they may actually use more of an informal variant in formal situations. This is similar to findings from studies of stylistic variation for L2 learners. Adamson and Regan (1991) studied Cambodian immigrants' use of the *–ing* morpheme in English and

found that the males used more of the *–in* variant in formal styles, suggesting that for them it was a male marker and a prestige marker, although for native speakers it is of course a low-prestige variant.

Social pressures to change one's way of speaking, particularly at the workplace or at school, may be felt when one speaks a stigmatized dialect or accent. This can lead to more changes in one's speech, as shown in Kerswill (1994).

A person's network of social contacts may also have an impact on the acquisition of a second variety. An extensive network of contacts who speak the person's native dialect or accent may naturally be thought to reduce the need to acquire the second dialect. On the other hand, an extensive network of contacts who speak the second dialect might increase the need or desire to acquire the second dialect. This factor was used as a variable in Kerswill (1994) and was found to be important.

3.5 Identity and Markedness

A sphere of research which investigates identity issues in particular is ethnolinguistic research on dialect groups in conflict. This area of research has placed more attention specifically on identity and sociolinguistic prestige issues rather than the acquisition process, and has received considerably more attention than those which have focused on linguistic acquisition. Research into ethnolinguistic identity shows that members of groups use aspects of language – be it distinct languages, accents, dialects or slang – to mark group membership (e.g. Fishman, 1972; Giles, 1977; Gudykunst 1988) and this contributes to maintenance of an ethnic identity. Le Page's Acts of Identity theory would emphasize the individual's perspective in this: individuals can identify with a group that they want to belong to, or avoid identification with a group they belong to but want to leave (Underwood 1988: 409). Kerswill (1996b: 180) also ponders the question of why adults acquire similar sound changes easily in one situation, but avoid the same type of change in another situation:

> Given the evident ease with which these changes can be made, the question arises, "Why are they not *always* present?" Is there after all a stage in a person's development when vowel shifting and other phonetic adjustments become difficult, or do they become, perhaps for social-psychological reasons tied in with identity, simply an unattractive option?

With regards to dialect, Deser (1989) gives an interpretation of SDA using both the SAT framework and incorporating notions of identity and group allegiance (based on a study of African Americans moving from the Southern United States to Detroit).

Research into standard dialect acquisition in an educational context has shown that educators sometimes attempt to get students to learn a standard dialect by appealing to the social mobility of the students ("you need to speak and write this way if you want to get a good job"), but often student concerns in this regard are overwhelmed by identity issues. The non-standard dialect is usually a very important marker of group membership, and the speaker may fear being ostracized if s/he begins to use the standard (Edwards 1997; Fordham 1999), even if this is only in a limited context such as school. This issue is addressed in Ovington (1992), where Australian Aboriginal students were encouraged to use role-play and imitate Anglo-Australians and their dialect. The teacher used this method to both demonstrate differences between Anglo and Aboriginal culture and dialects, and to give the students an opportunity to practice the standard without "losing face"[17] or compromising their identity.

Dialect and accent may also be used to represent divergent value systems when groups are not divided ethnically, but are divided by socio-economic class alone. An example of this situation is found in Labov (1964: 98), who describes a community of lower working class whites who "show overt hostility to middle class values". This is demonstrated in their speech patterns, which follow a trend opposite to that of middle class speakers.

Because ethnicity is obviously related to identity, studies of dialect and language in relation to ethnicity usually take identity into account. However, while the connection is less obvious here, there exists the possibility that identity (perhaps national or social identity) is also an important factor in SDA for middle class, ethnically undifferentiated mobile populations (Foreman 2000b), even though they do not seem to face stigma or overwhelming disadvantage due to their origins.

In relation to this lack of disadvantage or stigma, it appears that (standard) American and Canadian speech is less marked than would be a non-standard dialect, but still marked in that it is not indicative of Australian group membership. Unlike socially stigmatized situations (e.g. Edwards 1997; Fordham 1999), Western American English and CE do not threaten the norms of AusE culture; they do not present a radically divergent set of values, as opposed to situations involving ethnic conflict (Ovington 1992;

[17] *Face* is a manifold concept. One use of the word *face* is to mean the degree to which your self-perception accords with others' perceptions of you. In the example given above, the Aboriginal Australian youths wish to be perceived as members of the Aboriginal community and worry that the use of the Anglo-Australian dialect might be perceived as an expression of a desire to be a part of the Anglo-Australian world.

Fordham 1999; Labov 1964). Consequently, American English and CE may be marked as an out-group variety, but are not sufficiently marked to be face-threatening for speakers; as such they are a marginally marked norm for speakers' whose origins are North American. It may be that more marked speech varieties would be more face-threatening and would pressure speakers towards acquisition of the unmarked norm for the interaction, whereas less marked varieties would be less likely to inspire renegotiation of the unmarked norm.[18]

3.6 Summary

In sum, there appear to be a large number of linguistic and social factors which have an impact upon SDA. In terms of situational factors, a lack of mutual intelligibility and a stigmatized D1 will likely encourage SDA, unless identity factors outweigh the D1 stigma. At an individual level, an aptitude for imitation and a low age of arrival will facilitate SDA. In terms of the D1 and D2 features themselves, orthography, salience, phonological naturalness, phonotactic constraints and changes in progress in the D1 are all relevant to whether or not a particular feature is acquired or not acquired.

In addition, it is useful to examine all the evidence about different types of SDA, as has been done here. There appear to be a number of somewhat artificial divisions within the field of dialect acquisition research which have depended on the status of the varieties being learnt, the need to learn a variety and the amount of conflict between groups of dialect speakers. For groups with the least degree of conflict, the lowest need to learn a variety and high or equal status for the varieties involved, CAT has been the theoretical framework of choice. SDA as it is envisioned within the CAT framework is a natural and effortless process, even though it is possible that many learners never fully or even partially acquire the second dialect. Where there has been a higher degree of conflict, the highest need to learn the second variety and a pronounced imbalance in the status of language varieties, then a pedagogical or an ethnclinguistic model has been used where the focus is on ethnic identity issues. These are artificial divisions because there is no reason for researchers to neglect the role of identity for some types of SDA, or to assume that only non-standard speakers will need help to learn the standard.

[18] Brown and Levinson (1978: 110-111) argue that use of in-group language or dialect is a positive politeness strategy.

Consequently, I propose a model of the acquisition of a speech feature in SDA that takes into account the most salient aspects of SDA presented by these theoretical approaches and by the experimental evidence to date (see Figure 1). The model presents the acquisition or loss of a single speech feature since they seem to be acquired and lost individually rather than "en masse".

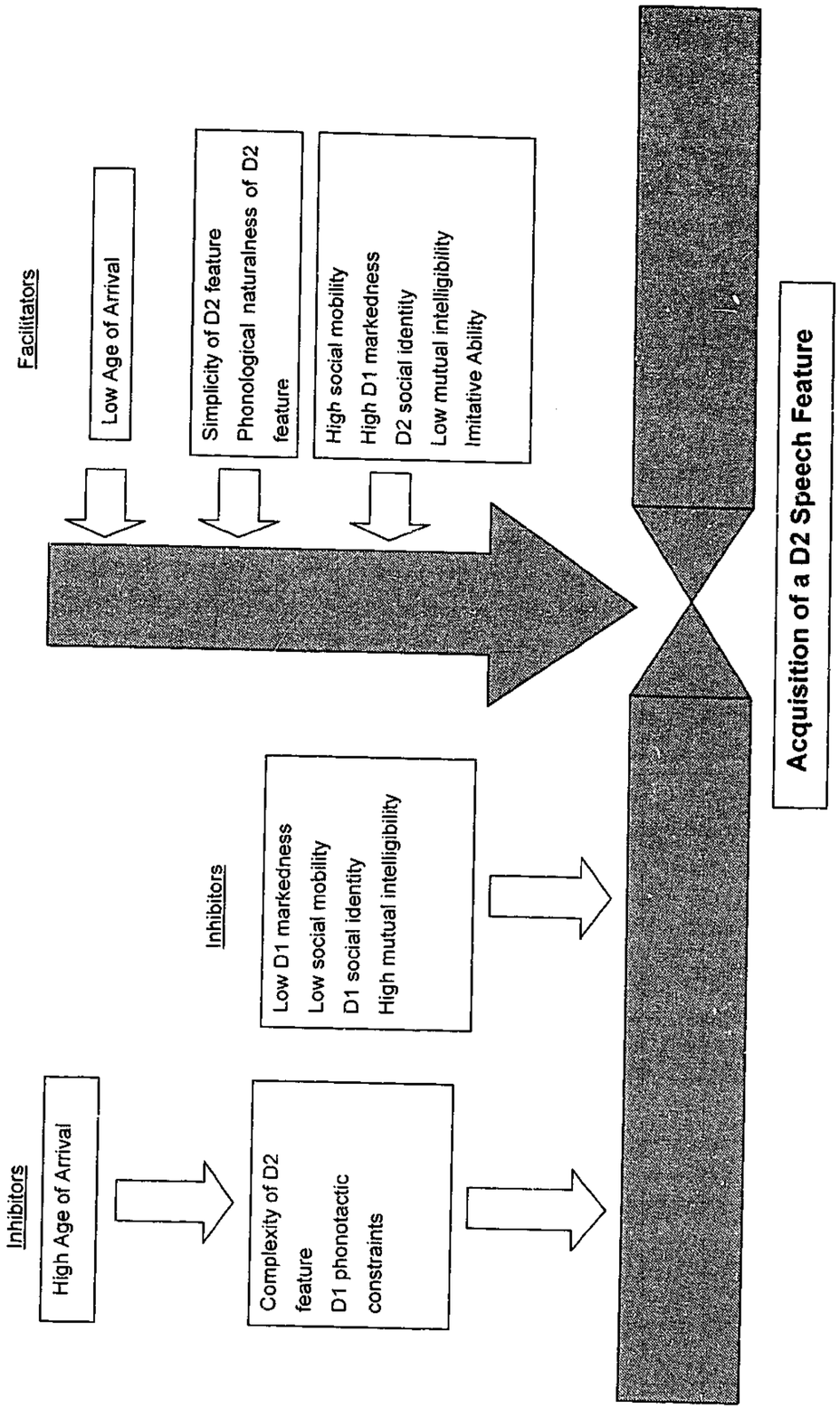


Figure 1: A Model of Speech Feature Acquisition during SDA

Complexity and simplicity refer to the complexity of the rules governing a speech feature. D1 and D2 stand for first/native dialect and second dialect, respectively. The diagram shows the possible impact of age of arrival on other variables which in turn influence dialect acquisition. It may have an impact on how well learners can cope with the complexity of a speech feature and how likely they are to be influenced by phonotactic constraints. These are conceptualized as relating to each specific speech feature. Other variables, related to the individual factors and relationship between the two dialects, are the social mobility of the individual and markedness of the native dialect.

The diagram is an attempt to demonstrate the intricacies of SDA and how the various individual, social and linguistic factors inter-relate and impact upon the process of acquisition or loss. The model addresses the loss or acquisition of a single speech feature because acquisition and loss appears to be a variable and individual process. Any given inhibitor may be important enough for a speaker to halt the process of acquisition/loss, or there may be so many facilitators that the speaker succumbs to their pressure. This, of course, depends on the individual speaker, their values, the degree to which the facilitators or inhibitors are present in any given situation, etc. Some factors, such as saliency, may have differing effects on acquisition versus loss, but since their effect on SDA has not yet been ascertained, they were not included in the diagram. They may nonetheless have a noticeable impact on SDA.

4 Australian English, Western American English and Canadian English Compared

The following chapter will describe the phonetic, phonological, lexical, morphological and syntactic features that distinguish each of the varieties of English typical of the Western United States, Canada and Australia, so as to give an overview of what dialect features a Canadian or American immigrant to Australia would have to acquire or lose. Comprehensive definitions of each variety will also be given.

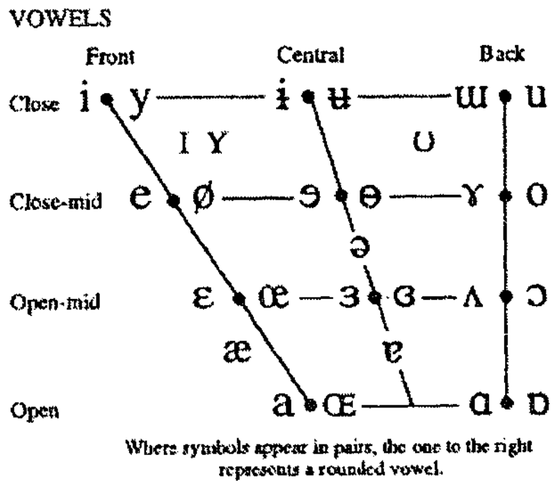
4.1 Transcription Conventions for the Dialect Descriptions

The transcription system used by Wells (1982a; 1982b; 1982c) will be used to describe the varieties of English in question here. This transcription system refers to common words that are part of lexical sets characterized by the use of these vowels. This avoids the common problem of linguists using different versions of the International Phonetic Alphabet (the IPA) and the confusion that may thus arise where, for example, /ʌ/ may be interpreted as a back vowel by one linguist and a central vowel by another.

Where closer phonetic transcription is necessary, the 1996 IPA, as it appears in *The Handbook of the International Phonetic Association* (1999) will be used (to avoid confusion over vowel symbol placement, the IPA 1996 vowel chart is provided in Figure 2).

In line with the IPA 1996, I will be using the following diacritics: [˔] to mean raised,[˕] to mean lowered, and [˖] to mean fronted (advanced).

Figure 2: IPA 1996 Vowels



4.2 Standard Varieties of English

This dissertation will address the acquisition of standard Australian English by speakers of standard varieties of Canadian and Western American English. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will agree with Chambers (1998b) who defines standard CE as the dialect spoken by urban, Anglophone, second-generation Canadians, in all provinces with the exception of the easternmost province of Newfoundland, which has a distinct dialect of its own. This view is supported by studies which show cross-Canada homogeneity (Warkentyne 1971; Avis 1973; De Wolf 1992). Most of the subjects in this study are middle-class and come from urban areas of Canada; consequently, this study will deal exclusively with standard CE.

Standard Western American English (AmE) will be defined as including the standard varieties of English spoken in the states of Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, California, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico. These areas have been chosen for inclusion in this study because of the similarity of the dialect spoken in the Western United States to CE and the large degree of homogeneity throughout this region. The differences between the regions will be detailed here, and those features which are specific to one region only will not be used as variables in the

study. It was deemed necessary to use this particular region of the United States, as opposed to the more populous Atlantic provinces, because of the fact that I speak CE, and in order to maintain in-group identification with the study participants, it was necessary that they speak the same or a very similar dialect to that of one of the interviewers.

There are ethnic dialects of English spoken in the Western United States, including Chicano English and African American Vernacular English, as well as substantially non-standard rural varieties of English. Due to the limits of time and space, this description does not attempt to include these dialects. No speakers of these dialects have been included in the study.

Most studies of AusE have shown very little regional variation. This dissertation will describe standard Anglo-AusE and not ethnic varieties.

4.3 A Historical View of the Development of English in the Colonies

Migration patterns in the Western United States, Australia and Canada were quite similar. Settlers moved frequently, bringing with them their native dialects. During the 19th century in the American West, there was a continual push westward, and individuals and families often moved west three or more times during their lives (Milner et al. 1994: 324-329). Likewise, due to the mobility of the society, the AusE dialect spread rapidly over all of Australia. Even in the early stages of Australia's history as a British colony, the farm workers were constantly travelling. "There have been large population movements [in Australian history] following land development, gold discovery, depression and the petering out of the goldfields. After the failure of the goldfields, their mixed, temporary and unsettled population became a very large mobile work force in constant and extensive movement" (Mitchell 1970: 10). In Canada, Chambers (1998b: 256-257) argues that the government pushed Anglo-Saxon Protestant Ontarians westward by giving them generous land grants in Western Canada. There were also over one million Americans who emigrated northward to the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, since in the United States at that time the demand for land exceeded its availability (Orkin 1971; Avis 1973). Consequently, the variety of English spoken by Ontarians and Americans spread to the western provinces, and CE became fairly homogeneous, outside of Newfoundland (which was isolated from the rest of Canada until recently) (Chambers 1998b). Thus, the rapid movement of families in Canada, the United States and Australia brought dialects quickly from one community to another, and

probably created a constant situation of dialect contact and a levelling process as in most other colonial situations (as described in Trudgill 1986: 127-161).[19]

The first theories of the history of AusE centre on the notion that it was a preserved form of some working class South-eastern English variety, such as Cockney, as mentioned by Baker (1945: 279-280), Mitchell and Delbridge (1965a: 7-8) and Blair (1989: 172). This theory is still supported by a few linguists (Hammarström 1985), but most linguists working in AusE now consider it an incomplete explanation of how AusE actually evolved. Many of the first immigrants to Australia were Londoners, but many others came from all over South-east England and a large number migrated from Ireland as well (there are no records showing the exact numbers). At any rate, Cockney is a relatively recent sociolect and so it is unlikely that these first immigrants, even the ones from London, spoke it.

After the British first claimed part of Australia as their territory in the late 18th century, the infamous decision was made to use the land as a penal colony, thereby ridding the United Kingdom of some of its convicts. The First Fleet, as it is called, then settled at Sydney Cove in 1788. Land was granted to wealthy men and convicts were used as labourers (Connell and Irving 1980: 51). The dialects of the prisoners came into contact with those of their overseers and eventually with the languages of the Aboriginal people. The contact was mainly between males (and male varieties of English), as there was only a small proportion of females in the early colony, which might be partly responsible for the division between male and female speech in AusE (Horvath 1985: 37-38) (see section 4.4.2.6 for a discussion of gender stratification in AusE).

Unfortunately, there is little linguistic history of the early days of settlement of Australia, and the linguistic comments are often contradictory (Delbridge 1970). One of the first systematic observers of AusE, Samuel MacBurney, found many notable features of AusE already established in the variety in the 1880s. He observed a non-rhotic variety with linking [r], and thought AusE resembled Cockney. He also observed the following vowel qualities, among others:

> In Australia and New Zealand... the first part of a diphthong is often so short that it is difficult to fix it. The ordinary English *ow* begins with the *a* of *sofa*, *u* of *nut* or *a* of *father*, tapering off to *oo* of *woo* (ʊu, ɔu, ɑu). The Australian begins with the *a* of *cat*, or *e* of *get*, prolonged (æːu, ɛːu)

[19] A study of the development of a new town koine in progress (Kerswill and Williams 2000) has confirmed some aspects of Trudgill's (1986) theories of dialect formation.

> There is a strange development in the *oo* in *food*, *school*, *room*, to be found in Australia, the true sound being introduced by something like the French *eu*, forming a diphthong [əu]
> Reprinted in: (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965a: 26)

AusE does appear to be more sociolinguistically stratified than either CE or AmE. Horvath (1985: 33-35) suggests that there were "very sharp divisions [in early Australian society] – divisions supported not only by socioeconomic relations but also by religious, ethnic, and educational differences." These divisions also extended along gender lines (Pauwels 1991: 322). Horvath (1985) further proposes that the ruling class were highly aware of their status and tried to maintain a division in the society, and that they looked to England as home. The convicts and their children were unable to escape the stigma of their low social class, while the free immigrants formed a sort of lower middle class of tradesmen and labourers. There was also hostility between the classes due to this convict/land-owner division and hostility in Irish and English relations at the time. As such, Horvath (1985: 37) proposes that it is implausible to think that there was only one variety of AusE in the early colony, it is more likely that there was more than one sociolect in Australia from the colony's inception; one with overt prestige (which resembled standard South-eastern British English) and one with covert prestige (which probably resembled Broad Australian English (see section 4.4.2.1)).

By contrast, in Canada, the settlement pattern was much more multicultural. Newfoundland was settled by Europeans, mainly from England and Ireland, in the 16th century. Beginning in 1604, the French began arriving to settle the other Maritime provinces, which were called Acadia at the time. By 1627, they had also begun settling in what is now known as the province of Quebec. By the time France's claim on the colony was lost in 1713 to Great Britain in the Peace of Utrecht, about 10,000 French settlers had arrived on the shores of Acadia and Quebec. British, American, Dutch and German settlers slowly moved into the area, and the Francophone Acadians, who occupied the best land, were expelled in 1755. Subsequently, the American War of Independence sent thousands more Anglophone loyalists fleeing the new republic into the still-loyal British colony of Canada. Orkin (1971) gives Scottish as the next largest population of immigrants to the Maritimes. The large population of Americans probably resulted in a dialect levelling process which produced a variety of English which was remarkably similar, although not identical to, General American English.

The fact that Canada remained a British colony meant that it continued to be subject to considerable British influence, while the United States was not. Some visiting Britons in the 19th century, like Susanna Moodie, were appalled at the "Yankified" CE (Kinloch

and Avis 1989: 403) and a few Briticisms were introduced into Canadian schools, such as the pronunciation of the name of the last letter of the alphabet as *zed* rather than *zee*. To a certain extent, these pronunciations have remained the prestige pronunciations of CE (see sections 4.4.1.3 and 4.6).

The Western United States was also a multilingual region. The first European settlers to California came from Spain in 1769. California did not actually begin its history as an American, English-speaking colony until 1846. It was the establishment of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869 and the discovery of gold in California in 1849 which ended the isolation of the Far West and caused a dramatic rise in the English-speaking, Caucasian population. San Francisco was at the heart of the gold rush and became an influential cultural and linguistic centre, but it was later overshadowed by the dominance of Los Angeles. The influence of Los Angeles English spread north into the Pacific Northwest (which includes Oregon and Washington states) and east into Idaho, Nevada and Arizona (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 112). Many of the settlers to California and the South-western United States came from the Eastern states, including New York, Ohio, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Missouri, and most of the settlers who first came to Oregon were from the Ohio valley states (Carver 1987: 235, 242).

The Pacific Northwest was first settled by the British, who established a colony in Puget Sound in Washington State in 1828, and who were followed by New Englanders. Wolfram and Schilling Estes (1998: 112) explain, "following the establishment of a successful American settlement in North-western Oregon in 1843, English-speaking settlers began arriving in the Northwest in large numbers, at first from the Ohio Valley states and Tennessee, and later from Missouri, Illinois and Iowa".

In summary, AusE, AmE and CE share similar migration patterns which resulted in widespread dialectal homogeneity. Probably because of its historical development, AusE is more sociolinguistically and gender stratified than either CE or AmE. The prestige variety in AusE has historically been a variety of English which resembled standard South-eastern British English, and to a much lesser extent this has also been true in Canada. Both Canada and the Western United States have had a more multicultural and multilingual history in their early years than did Australia.

4.4 A Phonetic Description of the Three Varieties

4.4.1 Consonants

All three varieties; AusE, AmE and CE use the following set of consonants: /p b t d k g m n ŋ f v ð θ s z r l j w h ʃ ʒ/.

4.4.1.1 Non-prevocalic /r/

In AusE /r/ is vocalized or deleted in most non-prevocalic environments. AusE does have linking [r], which occurs in intervocalic environments, but only where there exists an orthographic */r/*. So, for example, *higher on* would be [hɒɪəʳ ɒn]. AusE also has intrusive [r], or [r] which is "inserted" intervocalically in words such as *drawing*, often realized in AusE as [dɹɔɹɪŋ]. Intrusive [r] can also be inserted between words, in environments such as *the idea of* [ði aɪdiəʳəv]. Intrusive [r] is probably not highly stigmatized in AusE, since most AusE speakers are unaware of it. Ingram (1989) shows similar levels of intrusive [r] for working class and middle class informants.

Horvath and Harrison (1985) argue that the term "non-rhotic", used to refer to varieties of English where non-prevocalic /r/ is deleted or vocalized, is a misnomer since "the position vacated by /r/ contains phonetic material which continues to 'mark its place'"(1985: 373). Horvath and Harrison include vowel elongation as one of the phonetic traces of /r/. In an investigation of non-prevocalic /r/ phonetic "traces" in AusE, Horvath and Harrison find that syllabic [ə] was mostly likely to occur (in place of non-prevocalic /r/) when there is phrase final stress, preceded by a high vowel and followed by a pause or boundary marker. An elongated vowel or zero variant was most likely to occur in the opposite environment: in an unstressed position, preceded by a low, non-front vowel, after a consonant and unaccompanied by a boundary marker. An off-glide was possible in any environment, but not strongly favoured in any one environment. (This has some implications for the discussion of AusE vowels, as well as in the acquisition of a non-rhotic dialect for rhotic dialect speakers).

In CE and AmE, /r/ is pronounced wherever it occurs orthographically, and linking [r] and intrusive [r] are non-existent (Reed 1971a). Kinloch and Avis (1989: 408) describe CE /r/ as more retroflex in CE than in British varieties of English (or AusE). They also

state that it may become fricative in the post-consonantal position or extremely retroflexed in the intervocalic position. Bauer et al. (1980: 84-85) also describe American /ɹ/ as retroflexed compared to British English, but, in contrast to CE, they state that intervocalic retroflexion of /r/ is minimal.

CE does not have a stigmatized non-rhotic dialect as in the United States, where some non-rhotic dialects of the Southern United States are stigmatized, as well as African American Vernacular English and some New York City dialects. CE also differs from AmE in the realization of the pre-rhotic vowel [o] in words like *sorry, borrow, tomorrow*, etc. This pre-rhotic [o] is normally realized as [ɑ] in American varieties of English but CE retains [o] (Hendricks et al. 2001).

AmE resembled the variety of English spoken in the Inland North (the Great Lakes area of the United States) in the early 1970's in that it was rhotic and diphthongs retained their first element (as opposed to the Southern United States, where the PRICE diphthong tends to be monophthongized). This can perhaps best be explained by the observations of De Camp (1971: 566), who states that at the time of his study there existed "a San Franciscan prejudice against all Southern and South Midland characteristics. So-called 'r-dropping' is particularly a shibboleth, commonly stigmatized as an 'Okie habit'...these [r-dropping] speakers are ashamed of their 'southernisms'." Consequently, although there are dialects of New York and New England which are also non-rhotic, San Franciscans apparently identified this feature as a Southern speech feature and stigmatized it accordingly. It can be inferred that a rhotic, Northern dialect was adopted as the norm for sociolinguistic reasons.

4.4.1.2 Alveolar Stops

/t/ is usually aspirated in syllable initial position in AusE, except when following a sibilant. In other environments, /t/ has several possible realizations in AusE, including voiced taps or flaps [ɾ], glottal stops or glottalized variants of /t/, and fricated [t^s]. A recent study of AusE as spoken in Melbourne has shown that AusE speakers tend not to use glottalized variants of /t/ in intervocalic medial environments, but that they do occur in pre-consonantal, pre-pausal, intervocalic final contexts (and before syllabic nasals as in most varieties of English) (Tollfree 2001). Voiceless alveolars tend to be flapped in intervocalic medial and intervocalic final contexts (non-foot initial positions), though this variable appears to be highly stylistically sensitive in AusE. The high use of flapped alveolar variants is similar to most varieties of North American English, but because of

differing stress patterns and the vocalization of non-prevocalic /r/ in AusE, [ɾ] can occur in different words in AusE than those in which it occurs in AmE or CE. *Fourteen* and *thirteen*, for example, are normally pronounced as [fɔɹtin] and [θɜɹtin] in CE and AmE, but as [fɔɾin] and [θɜɾin] in AusE. Fricated variants occur to a limited extent in pre-pausal final and in intervocalic medial contexts, mainly for middle-class informants. Flapped variants are much more likely to occur in this intervocalic context (Tollfree 2001). These findings for Melbourne English concur with findings from Brisbane, where "data indicate that it is uncommon not to flap in a flapping environment" (Ingram 1989: 38), and from Sydney, where Horvath (1985: 102) also finds increasing /t/ flapping amongst males and adolescents. Bradley (1981) suggests that flapped variants of /d/ are much more common in Sydney than in Melbourne (where mainly voiceless alveolars are flapped).

CE and AmE use the alveolar flap [ɾ] as an allophone for /t/ in intervocalic positions, as well as in other positions where it precedes a less prominent or unstressed syllable. De Wolf (1992: 57-69) finds that the use of intervocalic [ɾ] is increasing progressively among the young in both Ottawa and Vancouver, despite a certain amount of (overt) prestige associated with the more formal intervocalic [t] usage. Likewise, Woods (1991: 136-137) shows similar levels of stylistic variation and social stratification for the variable in the Ottawa area. Similarly, despite widespread assertions in the literature that intervocalic /t/ flapping is categorical in AmE, Johnson (1978) shows intervocalic /t/ flapping at rates varying between 67% and 82% depending on the social class of informants in the Los Angeles area. Also, younger informants flapped intervocalic /t/ more often than older informants (86% voiced for those aged 15-29, 73% voiced for informants aged 30-44, and only 51% voiced for informants aged 45-60).

In CE and AmE, /t/ can sometimes be deleted following /n/ and before a vowel (as in *twenty, plenty*, etc.). Woods (1991: 137) observes that in CE, "females speakers use the [nt] variant more frequently than male speakers in all speech styles, and ...age does not appear to be a significant factor affecting variation" (for the Ottawa area).

In AmE, Johnson (1978) affirms that "voiced /t/ has now gone beyond the intervocalic context to post-voiceless obstruent contexts, such that *actor* is sometimes pronounced [ækɾɚ], *piston* pronounced [pɪsɾn̩], *captain* [kæpɾn̩] and *after* [æfɾɚ]" (1978: 380). Bauer et al. (1980: 38) also mention that "a flap-like sound occurs under similar stress conditions

when the /t/ is followed by syllabic /l/: *subtle, bottle, startle.*" Percentages of /t/ flapping in this context are slightly lower than those for intervocalic environments.

4.4.1.3 The Post-alveolar Palatal Glide

Horvath (1985: 112-117) suggests that palatalization is common in post-alveolar environments (both for stops and fricatives) in AusE resulting in such forms as [tʃun] for *tune* and [əʃum] for *assume*.

AmE exhibits post-alveolar palatal glide deletion in words such as *tune, due, new, suit* etc. Bauer et al. (1980: 89) state, "/j/ can be found after such consonants only in the unstressed medial position before an unstressed vowel; or if the /j/ does not belong to the same syllable as the preceding consonant: *unusual, misuse.*" Johnson (1975: 44) states that in 1953 Los Angeles, 25 of 37 informants used the palatal glide after alveolars, but by 1973 only 2 out of 37 used the glide. He calls it a marker of "Southern [American] speech."

CE has also been described by some linguists as retaining some phonological features of British English, such as the post-alveolar palatal glide in words such as *tune, new* and *duke*. Clarke (1993b: 86) reports that "palatal glide retention in postcoronal environment has been noted (e.g. Woods 1979: 35) as a feature that distinguishes CE from American English and is stereotyped as such by many Canadians."

However, I completed an e-mail survey of 17 native-speakers of CE in 1999 which suggested that the palatal glide is not stereotyped as Canadian by many Canadians, at least not Western Canadians.[20] These speakers were asked how they pronounced *new, tune* and *dyook*. 15 stated that they said *tune* and *new* without the glide, one stated that she thought she used a pronunciation somewhere between [tjun] and [tun] (because this survey was taken via e-mail I could not ascertain what she meant by this), and two informants stated that they said *duke* with the glide.

Although this survey asked informants to report on their own behaviour, which can be problematic for some studies, in this case it did not pose a problem because the survey was intended to focus on CE speakers' *awareness* of typical CE pronunciations and prestige pronunciations in CE (see Appendix A for survey questions). The survey also

[20] All of the subjects were from Western Canada, and most were living in the Edmonton, Alberta area. Most of the subjects were in their twenties or early thirties, however four informants were in their fifties.

asked participants which pronunciations they thought were "correct", thereby probing their feelings about prestige pronunciations, and which pronunciations they thought were American. Thus, assuming a Labovian framework, the subjects' answers as to what they thought were "correct" pronunciations should show which pronunciations they thought were prestigious, and should also influence the subjects' self-evaluation of what pronunciations they normally use (in favour of the prestige pronunciation), depending on the degree of linguistic insecurity they felt. However, only two identified the glide retention as sounding more proper, (but not as more Canadian). Only one Canadian stated that she sometimes used a glide for all three words and two said they pronounced *duke* with the glide. 12 subjects stated that they thought the glide-less pronunciation was the more Canadian pronunciation, and some added that the palatal glide sounded "more Southern" or "more American". Consequently, although this study was quite small, it nevertheless suggests that Canadians may no longer think of the palatal glide as a distinctively Canadian speech feature.

It may be that post-alveolar palatal glide retention has historically had some prestige in Canadian society, but this survey seems to suggest that the pronunciation is losing prestige in Canada today, since so few respondents rated the glide pronunciation as good pronunciation or as representative of their Canadian identity. This might explain why such studies as (Clarke 1993b; De Wolf 1992: 99-104; Woods 1991) have shown a decline in the use of the post-alveolar palatal glide.

4.4.1.4 Interdental Fricatives

While Horvath (1985: 102) finds limited incidence of the use of the [f] variant for /θ/ in Sydney or Melbourne English (a frequency of only about 4.4%), there is limited evidence of its use in Melbourne English (Martino 1982). Martino (1982) finds that working-class male children are nearly categorical users of the [f] and [v] variants of /ð/ and /θ/, while middle-class male children are nearly categorical users of [ð] and [θ]. This may indicate an age-graded feature, since Horvath examined adult speech.

/ð/ and /θ/ are not prone to replacement by [f, v, t, d] variants in AmE or CE.

Eight informants were female and nine were male. They were of varied socio-economic class (based on occupation and education). None had taken any linguistics classes.

4.4.1.5 Laterals

In AmE, /l/ is generally "dark" or velar in most contexts (in varying degrees), but before /j/, /l/ is apical (Ladefoged 1999). I could find no description of CE /l/, but auditory impressions indicate that it is quite similar to the AmE /l/.

In AusE /l/ is normally dark in all positions (Tollfree 1996: 165). An /l/ following a vowel can also lose its consonantal properties and become vocalized. Borowsky and Horvath (1997: 102) find that /l/ vocalization occurred most frequently "as a syllable nucleus, e.g. in *noodle* or *needle*. It vocalizes less frequently in a syllable coda when it follows a long vowel...Least frequent is vocalization in the coda of a closed syllable where it is followed by another consonant, *milk*." Borowsky (2001) later contradicts this finding, stating that the 2001 findings indicate that /l/ vocalization is most common in the codas of closed syllables, particularly when followed or preceded by dorsal consonants or vowels. Borowsky and Horvath (1997: 101) comment that "l-vocalization is a sound change in progress that is more advanced in Adelaide than it is in Sydney," giving a percentage of 43.6% vocalization for Adelaide, versus 25% vocalization for Sydney. Most of the speakers interviewed in Adelaide were working-class, which could have an impact on the interpretation of these figures, but this conclusion was supported by Tollfree (1996), who finds higher incidence of /l/ vocalization in South Australia than in Melbourne, Sydney or Canberra. Tollfree (1996: 166) also states that "no vocalization in word-final pre-vocalic contexts was attested in the Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra dialects." As noted in Tollfree (1996), these findings on /l/ vocalization contradict earlier reports by Trudgill (1986: 131), Gorlach (1991: 152) and Wells (1982c: 594) that /l/ vocalization does not occur in AusE. This could be because it is a recent sound change which is still in progress.

4.4.1.6 /h/ Deletion

/h/ deletion has not been commented upon as a feature of AmE or CE, except as a connected speech process.

In AusE, /h/ deletion does not appear to be overtly stigmatized (in contrast to some varieties of South-eastern British English). Nonetheless, research indicates that /h/ deletion may be an indicator of broader varieties of AusE. Horvath (1985: 102) associates /h/ deletion in initial position with working class males in Sydney. Findings from Brisbane indicate that /h/ deletion rates are significantly higher in working class schools than in middle class ones (Ingram 1989: 41-45), which is mitigated by his

concurrent finding that "third person pronoun forms are by far the most common targets of /h/ deletion" (this is a connected speech process found in many varieties of English). Other research has found that "in AusE (Melbourne, Adelaide, Canberra, and Sydney) /h/ loss is variable...it occurs most frequently in unstressed auxiliary and pronominal items, and appears to be entirely blocked utterance-initially for younger speakers" (Tollfree 1996: 115).

4.4.1.7 Final [ɪŋ]

In most varieties of English, the final velar consonant in word-final /ɪŋ/ may be substituted with an alveolar [n] in informal situations. AusE speakers may substitute [ɪn], [əŋ] or [ən] for [ɪŋ] (Lee 1989: 59). [ɪn] appears to be a male variant, at least in the Sydney area (Horvath 1985: 103). [ɪŋk] is also a possible variant of /ɪŋ/, but only for words ending in *thing*, such as *something, nothing*, etc. This feature may be "characteristic primarily of upper working-class Anglo adults" (Horvath 1985: 103).

In CE, /ɪŋ/ has three possible realizations: [ɪŋ], [ɪn] and [ən]. [ɪn] is considered to be the more typically Canadian realization (De Wolf 1992: 73-83), as opposed to [ən], which is more typical of American pronunciation. A study of Ottawa residents showed "percentage frequencies for all speakers for the [ɪn] variant are 72, 61 and 61 in Picture, Reading and Free Speech styles, respectively" (Woods 1991: 139).

4.4.2 Vowels

4.4.2.1 The Diagnostic Vowels of AusE

Most academic research on AusE in the past few decades has used the pioneering work of Mitchell and Delbridge (1965b) as a starting point for research into the vowels of AusE. Mitchell and Delbridge analyzed "more than seven thousand recorded conversations between high school students (aged sixteen to eighteen years) and their teachers" (Delbridge 1970: 18), which was the most comprehensive study of AusE at that time. They suggest that while AusE did not differ regionally to any substantial degree, there were three major sociolects of AusE: Broad, General and Cultivated. Cultivated was the variety closest in pronunciation to Received Pronunciation (RP, the prestige accent of Great Britain), while Broad was the variety most divergent from RP.

They find that 34 percent of AusE speakers speak Broad Australian, 55 percent speak General Australian and 11 per cent speak Cultivated Australian. This tripartite division has been the basis of many studies of AusE. Each variety was roughly correlated with social class (judged by the occupation of the children's fathers), with Cultivated speakers generally belonging to the higher social classes, and Broad speakers to the lowest social classes. The varieties were also correlated with the type of school attended – non-Catholic independent schools had the highest proportion of Cultivated speakers, and state schools had the highest proportion of Broad speakers. In addition, there was evidence of different speech behaviour for each gender – girls tended to be either General or Cultivated speakers, while boys tended to be either Broad or General. Five percent or fewer of the boys at any of the schools were Cultivated speakers.

The study has been criticized for the use of this tripartite division. Horvath (1985: 12) and Hammarström (1980) point out that there is no clear division, but in fact a continuum, the boundaries of which have, at any rate, probably changed since 1965. Mitchell and Delbridge were obviously aware of this themselves, however, judging from the comment, "The diaphonic distinctiveness of Cultivated Australian is pretty well established, but for General and Broad, although speakers at the centre of each category are clearly separable in auditory judgement, there is a substantial borderline which makes the investigator acutely aware of the arbitrariness of his decision. *He is cutting a continuum*, and finds that his sensitivity to difference is greatest at the point where he tries to make the cut." (my italics) (Delbridge 1970: 20). It seems that the tripartite division was simply a convenient way to conceptualize AusE.

Apart from criticism of the tripartite division, there remain some methodological shortcomings of the Mitchell and Delbridge study. Namely, the fact that the students were speaking to their teachers can reasonably be thought to have induced a more formal style of speaking (Prof. Michael Clyne, personal correspondence). It may be inferred that the Mitchell and Delbridge study inadvertently became a study of how quickly and effectively the students could style-shift up the sociolectal continuum, but unfortunately it does not provide a record of how they spoke in other more casual situations. Nonetheless, the study provides one of the best available records of the speech of Australians in the 1960's.

Mitchell and Delbridge focused on the vowels and diphthongs /i, u, ɛɪ, ou, aɪ, au/ as the best diagnostic features of the sociolects of AusE. (This choice, too, has been highly

influential in subsequent research on AusE). The possible variants of these vowels for each variety (Cultivated, General or Broad) are as follows:

Table 2: A Summary of Mitchell and Delbridge's Description of the Diagnostic AusE vowels

Vowel	Cultivated variant	General variant	Broad variants
/i/	[ɪi], [i]	[əɪ]	[ə̟ɪ]
/u/	[ʊu], [u], [uW]	[əʊ], [əɯ]	[ə̟ʊ], [ə̟ɯ]
/ɛɪ/	[ɛɪ], [ɛɪ]	[ʌɪ]	[ʌːɪ] [ʌ̟ɪ]
/ou/	[oʊ][ɒʊ][ɛɣ],[ɛʊ]	[ʌʊ]	[ʌːʊ] [ʌ̟ʊ] [ʌ̟ʉ̟]
/aɪ/	[aɪ]	[ɒɪ]	[ɒːɪ]
/au/	[aʊ] [a̟ʊ]	[æʊ]	[æʊ] [æ̟ʊ]

Source: (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965b) (phonetic transcriptions have been updated to 1996 IPA codes)

Some of these AusE diphthongs (GOAT, FACE, PRICE and MOUTH) give an auditory impression of being more clearly diphthongal than their AmE/CE counterparts. This could be due to the greater distance between the first and second targets of these diphthongs in the AusE vowel space. GOAT and FACE in particular in AmE and CE tend to have very short off-glides which can be deleted altogether in running speech (Ladefoged (1999: 43) describes them as "slightly diphthongized" in AmE speech).

4.4.2.1.1 Acoustic Studies of the Diagnostic Vowels of AusE

Since the Mitchell and Delbridge (1965b) study, there has been a great deal of attention paid towards the characteristic AusE vowels. Bernard (1970) did an acoustic study of these vowels, as produced by 171 male speakers. Cox (1998) provided a re-analysis of data from Bernard (1970), investigating possible sound changes in progress in 1970. In her acoustic analysis, a Broad accent is associated with the following characteristics relative to General and Cultivated: "marked onglide in /i/; retraction and openness of the first element of /aɪ/; fronting and closing of the first element of /aʊ/; a lowered first element and a lowered as well as fronted second element for /oʊ/; a

retraction of the first element of /ɔɪ/; a diminished offglide for /ɪə/ and /ɛə/; fronting of /a/ and /ə/; lowering of /u/" (Cox 1998: 48). However, the Bernard data was limited to analysis of citation forms by male speakers, and this therefore limits the possible conclusions based upon these results.

A more recent acoustic study of these vowels in AusE suggests "the first target of /ɔɪ/ is close to /æ/; the first target of /əʊ/ is close to /æ/ and intermediate between /æ/ and /ɛ/ in Broader talkers; and the first target of /aɪ/ is more retracted than /a/" for speakers of General AusE (Harrington et al. 1997: 179). They also find the AusE speakers used a target approximating [ɐ] for the nucleus of GOAT and an offglide between [ʊ] and [u]. This suggests a fronter target for the nucleus of the FACE and GOAT diphthongs, where Mitchell and Delbridge give [ʌ]. There may be closer agreement here than is apparent, however, since it is uncertain what sound Mitchell and Delbridge were referring to with [ʌ] – this symbol refers to a more back vowel in some varieties of English than it does in AusE (see section 4.4.2.11). Harrington et al. (1997: 169-170) also indicate that the GOOSE vowel is fronter than in the Mitchell and Delbridge description (Mitchell and Delbridge give [əʊ] or [əɯ], both with back nuclei). However, they point out that interpretations of the F2 and F3 may be confounded by the acoustic effects of lip-rounding.

Cox and Palethorpe (2001) present synchronic and diachronic evidence for vowel changes that have occurred since the Bernard (1970) study, at least for Sydney speakers, and included female speakers in their synchronic analysis. In particular, there is evidence for "lowered /æ/, lowered /ɔɪ/ Target 1 and fronted /ou/ Target 2" (Cox and Palethorpe 2001: 40) There is also synchronic evidence for a retracted Target 1 in /ou/, and they hypothesize that this may indicate "a reorientation of the trajectory" of this diphthong (Cox and Palethorpe 2001: 41). As they point out, though, the Australian National Database of Spoken Language, which was completed in 1994, does show regional effects and so these results for Sydney speakers may be extrapolated for Melbourne speakers only with caution.

4.4.2.2 Acoustic Comparisons of CE, AmE and AusE Vowels

Acoustic analyses are useful tools to corroborate the auditory impressions of the various researchers who have studied AusE, AmE and CE. Spectrographic analyses show some differences between AusE vowels and CE and AmE vowel formants. The DRESS vowel has a lower F1 and higher F2 in AusE, particularly for female speakers, indicating that it is higher and fronter in AusE. The AusE KIT vowel has a higher F2 than the American or Canadian KIT vowels. The AusE KIT vowel is also closer to the FLEECE vowel in the AusE vowel space. The AusE GOOSE vowel has a somewhat higher F2 than the AmE or CE GOOSE vowel. The LOT vowel appears higher in AusE, but this is in fact a comparison of a rounded variant in AusE versus unrounded variants in AmE and CE. (The AusE variant may be fronter in comparison with the AmE and CE variants than it appears in this chart, since lip-rounding would lower the F2). The STRUT vowel is lowest in AusE. There are also some differences between CE and AmE vowels. CE vowels tend to be lower and backer than American English vowels (see Figures 3 - 8). These acoustic findings generally agree with auditory impressions reported in other sections in this chapter.

Figures 3 and 4 are average values for CE based on data from Clarke et al. (1995); Cummins (1979); James (1979). The data for Figures 5 and 6 for AmE is based on IPA (1999b); Ladefoged (2001). The data for AmE is based on single speakers only, making it less reliable than the data for AusE and CE, but just for the purposes of comparison here it will suffice (the "wav" files on which the AmE figures are based can be found on the CD accompanying this thesis, in the folder marked American-English inside the Englishes-audio samples folder). Figures 7 and 8 are average values for AusE based on data from Harrington et al. (1997). These comparisons focus on monophthongs, although first targets are given for the GOAT diphthong and the FACE diphthong for AmE and CE, and the second target for FLEECE is given for AusE. The AmE data is based on citation forms ending in alveolars, while the Harrington et al. (1997) data is based on open syllable citation forms. The citation forms ending in alveolars may have a raised F2 for the back vowels and lowered F2 for the front vowels, relative to their formants in open syllable positions for these speakers.

Figure 3: CE vowel space – Male, under 40

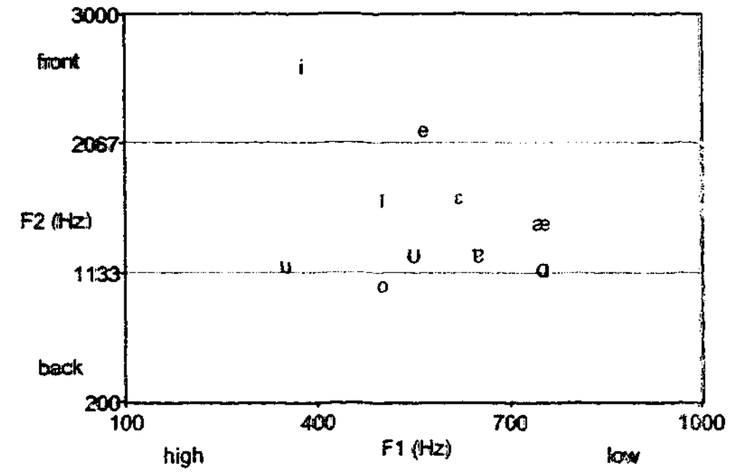


Figure 4: CE vowel space – Female, under 40

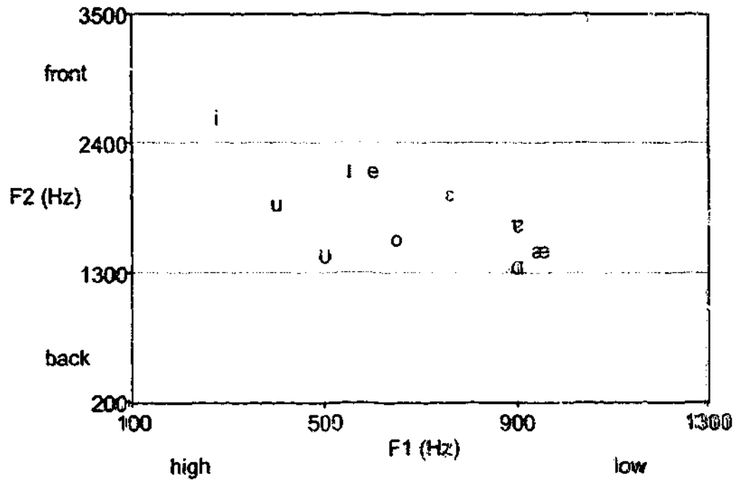


Figure 5: AmE Vowel Space, Male – under 40

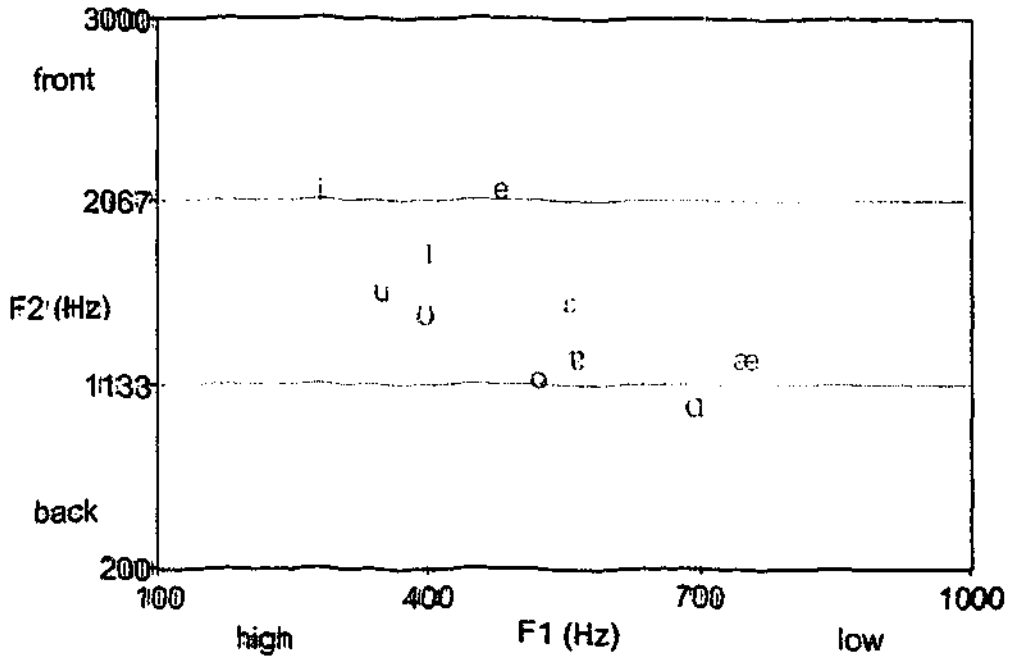


Figure 6: AmE Vowel Space, Female – under 40

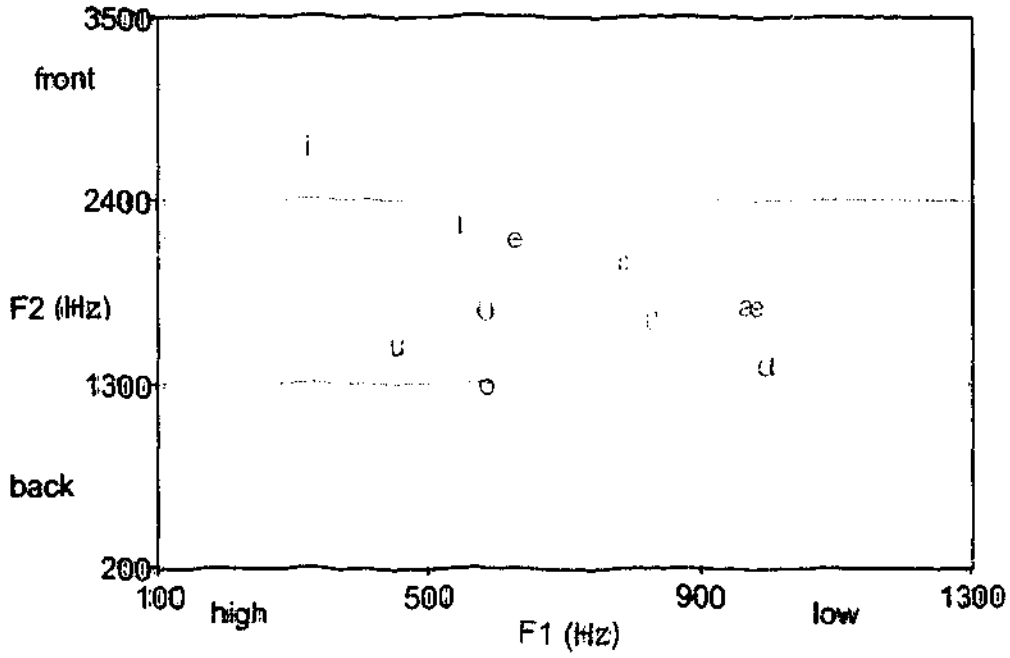


Figure 7: AusE Vowel Space – Male

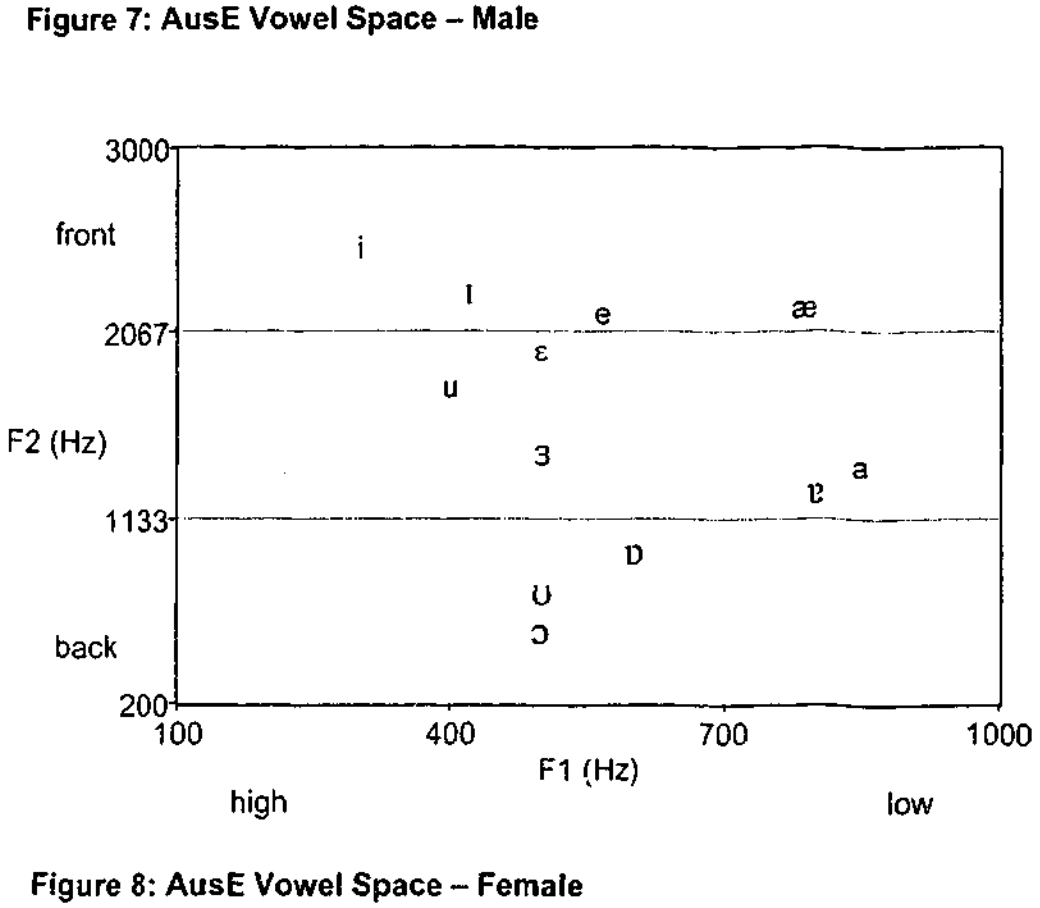
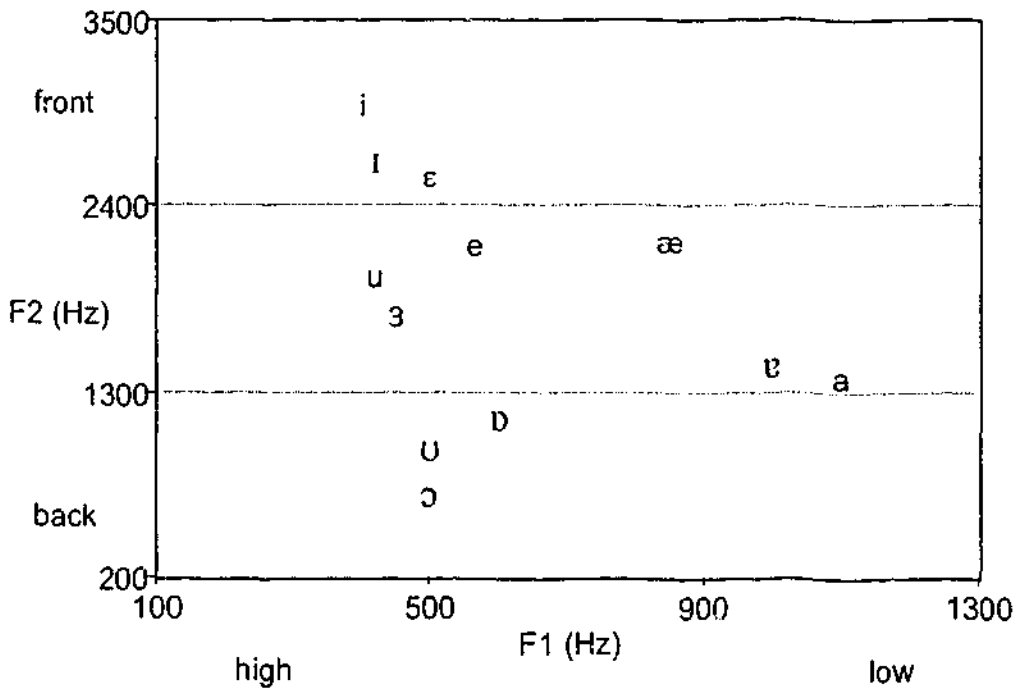


Figure 8: AusE Vowel Space – Female



4.4.2.3 *Canadian Raising*

One of the most salient characteristics of CE vowels is Canadian Raising (Joos 1942). A simplified explanation of Canadian Raising is that it consists of raising the first target of the MOUTH diphthong to [ə] (or somewhere more generally in the mid-central vowel space) before voiceless consonants, and of similarly raising the first target of the PRICE diphthong to [ə] before voiceless consonants (Chambers 1973). It has resulted in the stereotyped characterization that Canadians say *oot and aboot* instead of *out and about*. This phenomenon is not unique to Canada, having been found in parts of New England and the Midwestern United States. Similar "raising" phenomena have also been found in numerous Englishes of former British colonies (Trudgill 1986: 153-161).

Canadian Raising shows indications of being in the process of change. Wood's 1979 (as reported in De Wolf 1992: 85) auditory survey showed decreasing usage of the [əu] variant for women under forty in the Ottawa area indicating a possible trend against the Canadian diphthong in this area. De Wolf's (1992: 88) data showed "preservation of the standard value, i.e. the Canadian diphthong, much more in Vancouver than in Ottawa, more in men than in women, and those over the age of forty rather than the young," thus confirming the trend in Ottawa that Woods pointed out in 1979. The PRICE diphthong appears stable, however. In phonological contexts other than pre-voiceless, the CE diphthongs PRICE and MOUTH resemble their standard English counterparts, with PRICE being a diphthong beginning as a low central vowel and ending in the high front area, and MOUTH being a diphthong beginning as a low central vowel ending in the high back area.

The e-mail survey described in section 4.4.1.3 indicated that lay Western Canadians are not aware of stereotypical Canadian speech behaviour such as Canadian raising. Only seven people could distinguish a difference in their pronunciation of *house* versus *houses* or *knife* versus *knives*. Although they all thought that the CE pronunciation was different from the American in some ways, no one knew quite how. No one thought that the *oot and aboot* stereotype of Canadian Raising applied to the way they spoke, only to the way "people out east" must speak. (The only Canadian-American distinction that the subjects were aware of was the [sɛmi] versus [sɛmai] and [ænti] versus [æntai] distinction (the [ai] endings are prevalent in AmE). 12 out of the 17 Canadians identified the [i] ending as a Canadian pronunciation).

4.4.2.4 *The FLEECE vowel*

A study of contemporary Brisbane speech shows some possible changes in progress (at least for that region) for FLEECE. Auditory analysis of the data showed a loss of the [ə] onglide in the [əɪ] realization of the FLEECE vowel for all social classes, indicating that this variable may no longer be sociostylistically salient in this region (Lee 1989: 66). This could be inconsistent with acoustic analysis from Harrington et al. (1997: 167), who show "clear evidence of an onglide in */i/* from a more central vowel at the acoustic onset",[21] but unfortunately the informants in that study were not regionally identified, although speakers of each variety (Broad, General and Cultivated) were included in the study. Harrington et al. (1997: 168) also note that young Cultivated speakers have the least onglide for the FLEECE vowel.

The FLEECE vowel is usually realized as a monophthongal [i] in CE and AmE.

4.4.2.5 *The GOOSE vowel*

Similarly, but to a lesser degree, auditory analysis of the GOOSE vowel shows a majority of fronted variants for all styles and social classes in Brisbane (Lee 1989: 66-67). Auditory analysis by Oasa (1989) indicates that for Sydney speakers, GOOSE starts fronter and then glides back or is subject to lip-rounding, whereas in Melbourne, GOOSE tends to glide fronter, not back. Oasa (1989) also suggests a tendency for Melbourne speakers to use a back realization of GOOSE pre-laterally. Bradley (1981) comments that fronting these vowels seems to be a prestige form (for Melbourne), since it tends to be associated with high social class and formal styles.

Cox (1998) hypothesizes that the fronting of GOOSE is a recent development in AusE, based on acoustic re-analysis of data from Bernard (1970), and Cox and Palethorpe (2001) give acoustic evidence of a fronted GOOSE vowel. However, the database in that case was limited to male speakers, and it is possible that fronted realizations occurred for female speakers in 1970. Also, the comments from Samuel MacBurney in the 1880's about GOOSE fronting in AusE would suggest that this has been a feature of AusE for some time (see section 4.3).

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[21] In this case, there should be little conflict between acoustic and auditory analysis of FLEECE. Both should be able to clearly detect an onglide, auditorily as an initial [ɔ] leading to an offglide around [i] and acoustically as a raised F1 and a lowered F2 relative to the offglide.

A possible characteristic of CE as spoken in Alberta and British Columbia is the pronunciation of GOOSE as fronted and diphthongized (Hendricks et al. 2001). Ladefoged (1999: 42) states that in AmE "[u] is considerably fronted after [t,d,n,l], all of which are followed by a mid-high front glide when preceding [u], as in 'two, new', which are pronounced [tʲʉ, nʲʉ]." There is little difference between this and the AusE variant of GOOSE, which Harrington et al. (1997: 169) describe as having an onglide, although the fronted AusE variant is probably less dependent on phonetic context.

4.4.2.6 Social Stratification

Esling (1991) shows social stratification for CE vowels (as opposed to consonants such as intervocalic /t/). The study shows that middle class Vancouver speakers use more palatalized vowel realizations and more nasality overall, while working class speakers tend towards velarized realizations. Using long term average spectral (LTAS) analysis, Esling demonstrates consistent but subtle shifts in voice setting that mark social class. In addition, he shows that social status is best indicated by different sets of vowels for males than for females. For males, the vowels that best show social status in descending order are: the DRESS, KIT, STRUT, PALM, TRAP, GOOSE, FOOT, FACE, GOAT and FLEECE vowels, while for females, the vowels that best indicate social status are: the FOOT, FACE, DRESS, STRUT, FLEECE, GOAT, TRAP, GOOSE, KIT and PALM vowels.

As indicated by the early work in AusE (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965b), AusE is a noticeably socially stratified variety of English, although the Cultivated sociolect seems to be disappearing from modern AusE and the General variety is becoming more prevalent (Harrington et al. 1997: 156-160). AusE gender stratification is related to this; women tend to use more of the standard vowel variants than men do (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965b; Horvath 1985; Pauwels 1991: 320). AusE speaking women also use less of the non-standard consonantal variants than men, such as [f] for /θ/, flapped variants of /t/ and /h/ deletion (Horvath 1985: 102-103). AusE speaking women use more of an aspirated variant of /t/, which is probably a Cultivated variant (Horvath 1985: 103; Tollfree 2001). AusE also displays gender differences in syntax, intonation (specifically the use of High Rising Terminal intonation patterns), lexical usage (especially slang) and hypocoristic forms of names (Pauwels 1991).

As in most varieties of English, female CE and AmE speakers also use more of the standard variants than men do. However, this linguistic gender stratification is either not as severe in AmE and CE as it is in AusE, or it has not been reported as extensively.

4.4.2.7 The Front Lax vowels

For front vowels, Lee (1989: 67-68) also analyzes the DRESS vowel in Brisbane speech, for which there was an absence of either raised or lowered variants. Only a few of the male subjects show a slight tendency to use raised variants of DRESS. This is remarkably different from the situation in Melbourne, as suggested by Bradley (1981: 83). He states, "Melbourne has some apparently innovative characteristics, though perhaps not as many as Sydney. For example, the front lax vowels /ɪ/ /ɛ/ /æ/ have a very strong tendency to be raised, in lower sociostylistic contexts especially." This would seem to indicate some incipient regionalization (as indicated by Bradley), as well as the raised variants of the front lax vowels being more basilectal in Melbourne. Cox and Palethorpe (2001: 25) show data from Sydney where speakers also use raised variants of /ɪ/.

4.4.2.8 The SQUARE diphthong

Bradley and Bradley (1980) examine the SQUARE diphthong in Melbourne speech. They remark (1980: 73-74), "the /ɛə/ is greatly over-reported: speakers suggest that they have an offglide, when in fact a large proportion of them produced a long monophthong in the recorded wordlist. Similar over-report of presence of an offglide in /ɪə/ and /ʊə/ is much less prevalent; and in fact because of the phonological constraint of height, which favours the offglide more strongly, these variables most often have an offglide in their realizations." While there is a strong tendency for monophthongization of the centering diphthongs in Sydney, there is also more of a tendency to over-report the use of the off-glide, thus suggesting that this is a socially significant marker in AusE speech. This theory is supported by acoustic analysis in Cox (1998: 48), who mentions, "a diminished offglide for /ɪə/ and /ɛə/" for Broad speakers, and also by acoustic analysis in Harrington et al. (1997: 175), who note a definite preference for falling diphthongs for citation form words produced in isolation. The formality of that situation would suggest a preference for the most formal stylistic variant.

4.4.2.9 *The TRAP and BATH lexical sets*

Bradley (1981: 83) suggests that the TRAP vowel tends to be raised in Melbourne.[22] Bradley (1991) describes the incidence of the TRAP and BATH vowels in AusE. In most varieties of AusE, [æ] is used in some words in the BATH lexical set where the [ɑ] vowel (or a fronted [a] version of it) is used in RP and other varieties of South-eastern British English. AusE tends to use the TRAP vowel in pre-nasal positions in words in the BATH lexical set such as *dance* and *demand*. However, in pre-fricative position, [a] is more frequently used than [æ] in words in the BATH lexical set in AusE. Some regions such as South Australia appear to show a higher degree of BATH usage. The use of the BATH vowel in such words is associated with higher social class in South-eastern Australia, and there appears to be a more marked social differentiation in the use of the BATH variant in Melbourne than in Sydney or Brisbane (Bradley 1991: 230). Bradley (1991: 229) shows middle class Melbournians using TRAP in 27% of possible instances, and working class Melbournians using TRAP in 60% of possible instances. This is compared to middle class Brisbane subjects who used TRAP in 45% of possible instances, and working class Brisbane subjects who used TRAP in 48% of possible instances.

The TRAP vowel is realized as a low front vowel in CE, similar to other North American varieties (but see section 4.4.2.13 for changes in the TRAP vowel). Kinloch and Avis (1989: 411) report that the TRAP vowel is used in CE for *bad, bag, cap, cat, mat, match*, etc., and also in *chaff, half, laugh, bath, aunt, branch, dance* etc. (the BATH lexical set) and in the PALM lexical set of *calf, half, balm* and *palm* etc. This is partially inaccurate as the CE vowel in *balm, calm* and *palm* is [ɑ] (the PALM vowel, as in (Wells 1982)), not the TRAP vowel.

As with CE, AmE uses the TRAP ([æ]) vowel exclusively in the BATH lexical set of *chaff, laugh, aunt, dance, bath, half, glass, grass*, etc., where South-eastern British varieties of English (and AusE to a lesser extent) favour the back [ɑ] vowel. Use of the [ɑ] or [æ] vowel is variable for the set of *calf, half* etc. in AmE (Bauer et al. 1980: 114-115).

[22] Acoustic analysis by Cox and Palethorpe (2001) shows that TRAP is more open and retracted in Sydney than it was in 1970, but this may not be the case for Melbourne.

4.4.2.10 *Unstressed Vowels*

AusE diverges from British forms of English in its realization of unstressed vowels. Turner (1984: 294) observes, "the most striking differences in the lexical distribution of phonemes in RP and AusE are found in unstressed or weakly stressed syllables." This is also detailed in Wells (1982c: 601-603). In general, one could say that in unstressed syllables where RP uses KIT, AusE tends to use commA, but this is not invariable and seems to be related to stress. Turner uses the example *trinity*, which has three instances of KIT in RP (though this may be an outdated description of RP), where AusE has three different vowels; namely KIT, commA, and FLEECE, in that order. In this regard, AusE is similar to most varieties of North American English.

4.4.2.11 *The STRUT vowel*

A certain amount of controversy exists over transcription of the phoneme /ʌ/, the STRUT vowel, in AusE. Auditory impressions tend to equate the vowels in STRUT and HEART, with the distinction dependent upon length. One of the first comments to relate to the fronting of STRUT is "in Broad Australian the lengthening and opening of /ʌ/ tends to blur the distinction between /ʌ/ and /a/, so that pairs like *cut-cart* and *much-march* may depend for contrast on redundancy in the context" (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965b: 82). Other linguists have commented, "although these two vowels can have quite different qualities in other varieties of English, in Australian English, the only really salient difference between them is length" (Durie and Hajek 1994: 94). Based on acoustic analysis of AusE and New Zealand English, Watson et al. (1998: 203) state that, "HUD differs from NZE [New Zealand English] (or AE [Australian English]) HARD only in length." Durie and Hajek (1994) consequently propose a revised transcription of AusE that reflects both the position of STRUT and the length distinction between the vowels of, for example, *hut* and *heart*. *Hut* and *heart* would be transcribed with /a/ and /a:/ in the revised system. While this may be a better system for the purposes of teaching phonetics (which is Durie and Hajek's intended goal), it may not be the most phonetically accurate transcription of the sounds for General Australian speakers (as mentioned by Durie and Hajek). For General Australian speakers, the STRUT vowel usually seems to be more like /ʊ/, an unrounded mid-low central vowel, than it is like the low front vowel /a/. Since this dissertation is more concerned with phonetic accuracy than with pedagogy, the symbol [ʊ] will be used for the vowel sound in STRUT ([ɐ] may

be thought of as a variant of /ʌ/). The START vowel does not seem to always be identical to STRUT for all speakers, so it may be phonetically transcribed as [ɐː] or as [aː], which better represents this sound for some speakers.

In relation to this, it should also be noted that AusE has phonemic length for vowels. This also applies not only to STRUT and START, but also to other vowels when followed by /r/ orthographically; for example, the DRESS and the SQUARE vowel are differentiated through length. Both AmE and CE lack phonemic length.

The same confusion over transcription of the STRUT vowel has occurred in AmE and CE. On the IPA vowel chart, the STRUT vowel is an unrounded open-mid back vowel, but Ladefoged described and charted the style of speech of a 21 year old Californian woman, and he places the STRUT vowel in approximately the position of [ɐ] on the IPA chart, a mid-low central vowel (Ladefoged 1999: 41). So [ɐ] is probably the most phonetically accurate transcription for the STRUT vowel in AmE and CE as well, which is important to avoid confusion when comparing varieties of a language or languages.[23]

4.4.2.12 The THOUGHT/ LOT Merger

An important feature of CE is that it generally makes no distinction between the vowel in the LOT lexical set, normally represented by the symbol /ɑ/ (or the rounded variant [ɒ], though many American and Canadian linguists use the symbol /a/)[24] and the vowel in the THOUGHT lexical set, normally represented by the symbol /ɔ/ (which will be referred to as the THOUGHT-LOT distinction or merger as an abbreviation). Consequently, words such as *awful* versus *offal*, *daughter* versus *dotter* or *yawn* versus *yon* are homophonous in standard CE, but distinct in many other dialects of English, including AusE. Recent data from the Ottawa area shows a wide range of stylistic variation for lip rounding of the LOT variable (Woods 1991: 142). The word list style elicited very high rates of lip rounding (between eighty and one hundred percent for all social classes), while fast speech showed higher rates of the unrounded variant. This occurred for

[23] The conventional symbol for STRUT is /ʌ/, which is a back vowel on the IPA chart. Much of the confusion over the transcription of this vowel in English results from the fact that STRUT is a very back vowel in some varieties of British English, as opposed to American varieties of English where it has become centralized.

[24] In this section of the dissertation most of the authors quoted used the symbol /a/ to represent the LOT vowel although in the IPA 1996 this symbol represents a low front vowel. These authors are using this symbol to refer to a low back vowel, which would normally be represented by /ɑ/ in this dissertation.

speakers from all social classes, but young females tended to use more of the rounded variant.

The THOUGHT-LOT merger is probably not entirely complete in AmE. In his description of English in the Pacific Northwest, Reed (1971a: 116-117) asserts that "a low-back rounded vowel is widely represented in *chocolate, moth, coffee, office, frost, sausage, costs, daughter, caught, low*...[etc.] wherever an opposition such as cot ≠ caught, [a] ≠ [ɔ], is maintained, another vowel phoneme must be posited." In the same year, De Camp (1971: 555) writes of English in the city of San Francisco "the phoneme /ɔ/ has a wider phonetic range than any other phoneme...clearly the coalescence of /a/ and /ɔ/ is a phonemic change which is now moving into the Pacific Northwest. It is possible that the peculiar use of fronted allophones of /ɔ/ is an indication that this coalescence is beginning in San Francisco." De Camp attributes the beginnings of this merger to Utah and parts of the Upper-Midwestern United States.

He appears to have been correct in his intuition that the wide variation in the THOUGHT vowel was a sign of an incipient merger, since linguists have recorded evidence of it since then (Johnson 1975; Moonwomon 1987; Labov et al. 1996). Moonwomon (1987: 333) states, "careful speech realizations of /ɔ/ are lower than more casual speech realizations; some careful speech tokens of /ɔ/ approach the vowel position of interview style tokens of /a/". The Phonological Atlas of North America (PANA) (Labov et al. 1996) shows that the merger of LOT and THOUGHT now covers half the geographic area of the United States up to Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Oklahoma, the panhandle of Texas, southern Arizona and New Mexico. Even so, it appears that the merger is not complete since PANA also shows evidence that the merger is more advanced before nasals than before /t/.

4.4.2.13 Vowel Shifts in Progress

According to a preliminary study, the THOUGHT-LOT merger has triggered a vowel shift in CE. Clarke et al. (1995: 212) comment, "the Canadian Shift is characterized by the lowering of the front mid and high lax vowels. Thus /ɪ/ lowers to /ɛ/, and /ɛ/ lowers to the slot occupied by /æ/ in more conservative dialects.../ʌ/ occupies anywhere from a mid to low central to low back position...and CE /æ/ retracts and lowers still further in the

direction of central open /a/." One aspect of this shift, the lowering of /æ/ to /a/[25], was previously commented upon in Esling and Warkentyne (1993), and mention of it dates as far back as 1979 (Cummins 1979).[26] Clarke et al. (1995: 212) continue, "such retraction is made possible by the fact that the vowel of such lexical sets as *cot* and *caught* – which for most Canadian speakers has undergone merger – has remained in the low back [ɑ] area in CE, where it is variably rounded." Clarke et al. show that some back vowels, particularly the GOOSE vowel and to a lesser extent GOAT[27] are also being fronted. (See Figure 9 showing the shift in the vowel space).

The Canadian shift mirrors a vowel shift currently occurring in California (see Figure 10). A dialect project undertaken in 1986 investigated California speakers' pronunciation of the KIT, DRESS, TRAP, THOUGHT, GOAT, FOOT, and GOOSE vowels and found "something suspiciously like a chain shift underway among the lax front vowels, which are lowering in certain environments" (Luthin 1987: 313), in addition to fronting behaviour for GOOSE, GOAT and THOUGHT.

[25] In this case, Clarke et al. appear to be using the current IPA standard transcription and /a/ refers to low front or central vowel.

[26] However, Clarke et al. (1995) and Esling and Warkentyne (1993) found that /æ/ lowering was more common among younger speakers (under 40 years of age).

[27] Clarke et al. (1995) and Luthin (1987) appear to be referring to fronting of the first target in the GOAT diphthong.

Figure 9: The Canadian Shift (Clarke 1995: 212)

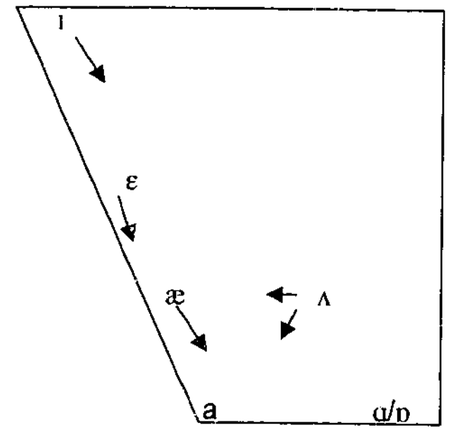
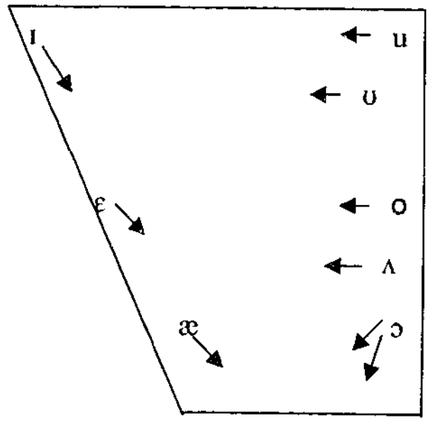


Figure 10: California Vowel Space, showing direction certain salient vowel nuclei are shifting (Luthin 1987: 313)



Luthin (1987) reports inhibition of GOAT and GOOSE fronting in pre-lateral, pre-nasal and pre-alveolar environments. Nonetheless, GOAT seems to be fronted in California considerably more than in the Canadian data given by Clarke et al. (1995). (The Canadian subjects fronted the GOOSE vowel much more than GOAT). As in Canada, Luthin describes most of the subjects who exhibited fronting as being white or Asian, middle-class, high-school or college-age speakers and from urban or suburban backgrounds.[28] Clarke et al. comment only on sex and age, to the effect that the change is most evident among young females.

The shifts appear to differ for the STRUT vowel, which may be lowered and fronted in the CE shift and or mainly fronted in the AmE shift, although the interpretation of this is confused by the lack of consistency in the placement of this vowel on the vowel chart.

Other vowels which appear to be unaffected by this shift are the diphthongs and the FLEECE vowel.

4.5 Phonetic Comparison

4.5.1.1 Vowels: Summary Table

To summarize, a comparison of the vowel systems of CE, AmE and AusE is shown here. Since this study will be focusing on the speakers living in Melbourne, Table 3 will give a summary of Melbourne's vowel system based on the available literature taking into account the findings since Mitchell and Delbridge (1965b) (close phonetic transcriptions are given in square brackets, with Broad AusE realizations on the left, General realizations in the middle, and more Cultivated realizations on the right). The CE vowel system is shown with vowels as they would be for speakers taking part in the vowel shift on the right and with traditional descriptions on the left. Sociostylistic variants are listed on the right. Allophonic variants are marked by asterisks (*). The vowel system of speakers taking part in the AmE vowel shift is shown below on the right with traditional descriptions on the left.

[28] Due to the existence of ethnic dialects in California and the continuing trend for large numbers of people to migrate to California from the other states, it is entirely plausible that the merger of THOUGHT and LOT will not reach the extent it has in Canada. Luthin points out that the African American subjects in his study did not adopt the chain shift as part of their speech. The existence of the THOUGHT-LOT distinction for some California speakers will probably lead to its existence as part of a sociolinguistic repertoire for most, if not all, other Californians.

Table 3: Comparison of CE, AmE and AusE vowel systems

Lexical Set	CE	AmE		AusE		AusE	
	Traditional	Vowel Shift	Traditional	Broad	General	Cultivated
FLEECE	[i]	[i]	[i]	[ɔi]	[ɔi], [ɨi]	[i]
NEAR	[iɹ]	[iɹ]	[iɹ]	[i:]	[i:] [ɪɔ]	[ɪə]
KIT	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]	[ɪ]
FACE	[eɪ]	[eɪ]	[eɪ]	[æɪ] [æɪ]	[æe] [ɐɪ]	[eɪ]
DRESS	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ] [ɛ]	[ɛ] [ɛ]
SQUARE	[eɹ]	[eɹ]	[eɹ]	[ɛ:]	[ɛ:] [ɛɔ]	[ɛɔ]
TRAP	[æ]	[æ]	[æ]	[æ] [æ]	[æ] [æ]	[æ] [æ]
START	[ɑɹ]	[ɑɹ]	[ɑɹ]	[a:]	[a:] [a:]	[a:] [a:]
NURSE	[ɝ]	[ɝ]	[ɝ]	[ɜ]	[ɜ]	[ɜ]
STRUT	[ʌ]	[ʌ]	[ʌ]	[ɐ]	[ɐ]	[ɐ]
GOOSE	[u]	[u] [ʉ]	[u] [ʉ]	[ʉ] [ɨ]	[ʉ] [ɨ]	[ʉ] [ɨ]
CURE	[uɹ]	[uɹ]	[uɹ]	[ɔ] [ɵɔ]	[ɔ] [ɵɔ]	[ʊɔ]
FOOT	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]	[ʊ]
GOAT	[oʊ]	[oʊ]	[oʊ]	[ɐʊ] [ɑʊ]	[ɐʊ] [ɑʊ][ɒʊ]	[ɜʊ] [ɒʊ]
NORTH	[ɔɹ]	[ɔɹ]	[ɔɹ]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]
THOUGHT	[ɒ] [ɑ]	[ɒ] [ɑ]	[ɒ] [ɑ]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]
LOT	[ɒ] [ɑ]	[ɒ] [ɑ]	[ɒ] [ɑ]	[ɒ]	[ɒ]	[ɒ]
PRICE	[aɪ] [ɔɪ]*	[aɪ] [ɔɪ]*	[aɪ] [ɔɪ]*	[ɑɪ] [ɒɪ]	[ɑɪ] [ɒɪ]	[aɪ]
MOUTH	[aʊ] [ɔʊ]*	[aʊ] [ɔʊ]*	[aʊ] [ɔʊ]*	[æɔ] [æʊ]	[æʊ] [æʊ]	[aʊ]
CHOICE	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ɔɪ]

Sources: Mitchell and Delbridge 1965b; Avis 1973; Chambers 1973; Bauer et al. 1980; Bradley 1981; Allen and Linn 1986; Luthin 1987; Collins and Blair 1989; Kinloch and Avis 1989; De Wolf 1992; Clarke et al. 1995; Durie and Hajek 1994; Labov et al. 1996; Harrington et al. 1997; Ladefoged 1999; Cox and Palethorpe 2001

Several major differences between the vowel systems are evident. AusE clearly has more of a range of realizations than do either AmE or CE, and these variants relate to socio-linguistic factors (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965b). This wider range of variation surfaces especially for diphthongs. AusE uses the THOUGHT vowel, which is no longer used in CE and is being lost in AmE (Avis 1973; Labov et al. 1996). The lax front vowels are being lowered in CE and AmE as a result of a vowel shift (Luthin 1987; Clarke et al. 1995), while they are relatively high in AusE (Harrington et al. 1997). The GOOSE vowel may be fronted in all three varieties, perhaps to a more noticeable extent in AusE (Bradley 1981; Luthin 1987; Clarke et al. 1995; Ladefoged 1999; Hendricks et al. 2001). The STRUT vowel may be in approximately the same position in all three varieties, though there is a suggestion of changes in the position of STRUT in AmE and CE (Luthin 1987; Clarke et al. 1995; Durie and Hajek 1994). The FOOT vowel is rounder in AusE than in CE or AmE. The variant of the PRICE diphthong used in Canadian Raising ([ɔɪ]) is also found in Broad AusE, but in the case of CE it can only appear before voiceless consonants. Also, AmE and CE are rhotic while AusE is not, which influences the domain of /ɔ/ in AusE (in the CURE lexical set for some speakers) and also creates a range of "centering diphthongs" (such as SQUARE etc.) which may have various realizations in AusE. The range of realizations for the centering diphthongs in AusE may correspond to certain sociostylistic linguistic effects (Horvath and Harrison 1985). The use of the TRAP vowel in the BATH lexical set also differs between AusE and AmE/CE (the latter two varieties use only the TRAP vowel in the BATH lexical set).

With regards to consonants, not only the domain but also the realization of /r/ is different in CE and AmE versus AusE. CE (and probably AmE) /r/ is more retroflex than AusE /r/ (Kinloch and Avis 1989: 408). AusE has linking /r/ and intrusive /r/, which do not occur in AmE or CE. /l/ is velar or dark in all positions (except before /j/ in AmE) in all three varieties. There is some evidence of /l/ vocalization in AusE (Borowsky and Horvath 1997; Tollfree 1996), but not for AmE or CE.

/t/ tends to be flapped in the majority of possible (non-foot initial onset) instances in all three varieties, especially for informal situations (Johnson 1978; De Wolf 1992; Tollfree 2001). This suggests that the flap has similar sociostylistic value for all three varieties. AusE has a fricative /t/ which does not occur in AmE or CE (Horvath 1985: 103; Tollfree 2001: 56). /t/ tends to be glottalized in intervocalic final positions in AusE (Tollfree 2001: 57), but /t/ glottalization in CE and AmE has not been investigated.

4.6 Notes on Some Relevant Lexical Differences

Lexical variation may be related to phonological and phonetic variation because informants may show a preference for the use of AusE phonetic and phonological variants in D2 lexical items. That is to say, if an informant learns the phrase *rubbish bin* in AusE, will he or she then be more likely to pronounce that phrase with an Australian accent or their native accent? In addition, there exists the possibility that some lexical variants are social class markers in CE or AmE, but are not related to social class in another variety of English such as AusE, which may influence their adoption into a CE or AmE speaker's vocabulary.

Standard CE is considered a variety of American English with some lexical and pronunciation differences from standard General American. Many of these variants are from British English, especially in the case of lexical variants. Many of them have already passed out of common usage. Hamilton (1958: 73) reports majority usage of the terms *biscuit* rather than *cracker*, and *tin* rather than *can*, which would be uncommon in CE today. Some lexical items of British origin, such as *serviette*, *blinds* and *tap* have maintained their popularity.

Although CE has more in common with American Englishes than with British Englishes, RP has traditionally been the prestige variety in Canada, at least up until recently. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's *Handbook for Announcers* suggests a considerable number of RP type pronunciations for things such as word stress in words such as *ally*. The *Handbook for Announcers* also recommends RP pronunciations for words with variable vowels, such as recommending *progress* be pronounced as [progres] rather than the American pronunciation of [pragres], *leisure* as [leʒər] not [liʒər], and *tomato* as [təmeɪto] not [təmeɪro] etc. (Orkin 1971: 121-125). The American pronunciations are used by considerably more CE speakers, other than news announcers, than the RP pronunciations.

Zeller (1993) finds that Canadian English speakers may have more than one lexical variant in their repertoire, such as both *face-cloth* and *wash-cloth*, while the Americans in her sample use *wash-cloth* almost exclusively. In fact, most of the lexical variants tested by Zeller show variable usage in Canada compared to categorical or nearly categorical

usage south of the border. This finding was echoed in Orkin (1971: 71) who suggests that equivalent British and American terms such as *clothes pegs* and *clothes pins*, *parcel* and *package*, *braces* and *suspenders*, *pack* and *deck* of cards are all in use in CE (or were in 1971, at least). Chambers (1994) also found similar types of variation in the Golden Horseshoe (an area of the United States and Canada near the Niagara river). It could be that CE has not, as of yet, settled on one set of words, or that these words have a slightly different referential scope in CE.

Dialectological research focusing on the lexicon has also found more variation in the Western United States than in the East (Reed 1971b; Carver 1987). There is a limited amount of regional variation in the AusE lexicon, described by Bryant (1997), who found a pattern of regional distribution of some AusE words based on a corpus of 67 regionalisms.

AmE, CE and AusE were transplanted varieties of English, imported from Great Britain to the "new world" via immigration, and thus they have all been influenced by the conditions and new surroundings of the immigrants. On the whole, this effect is not as pronounced as one might expect. The immigrants seem to have resisted large-scale influence from the languages of the indigenous people in these areas. Most of the influence is restricted to lexical borrowings for place names, food and sometimes items of clothing. Similar lexical influence has been felt from new immigrant groups or large ethnic minorities like the French Canadians and Hispanic and Chicano Americans. Some of these words have been transferred into other varieties of English as well. The words borrowed tend to denote places (such as *Saskatchewan*, a province, and *Inuktitut*, a northern village), animals (such as *caribou*, a North American reindeer, and *sockeye*, a species of salmon) and foods (for example *pemmican*, a mixture of meat and berries, and *tortière*, a type of meat pie). Names were borrowed for items of clothing that were necessary for new environments like the harsh Canadian winter and were not found in Europe, such as *anorak* (a waterproof coat) and *mukluk* (waterproof sealskin boots) (Orkin 1971: 61-106). California, New Mexico and many of the other Western states have borrowed vocabulary from Spanish, including words such as *corral, enchiladas, chaparajos* or *chaps*, "a kind of covering worn over trousers to protect one's legs while riding a horse" etc. (Carver 1987: 223). A few words other than the Spanish loan-words, were probably born in the West and then made their way into other forms of American English. These include *jerky* "strips of dried meat" and *sourdough* "a type of bread" (Carver 1987: 211). As in North America, in Australia the lexical influence from

indigenous culture has been mainly for place, plant and animal names, and words for food. Among the better-known words are *kangaroo, koala, dingo* "a wild dog" and *boomerang*. Place names may include *Wagga Wagga, Gundagai* and *Wodonga* (Turner 1994: 305-306).

AusE shares much of its vocabulary with varieties of South-eastern British English, probably due to the early immigration patterns which favoured British immigration (for some regions of Australia). The jargon of the convicts transported to Australia in the early years of settlement had some influence on AusE, bringing a number of characteristically Australian words into the language, including *new chum* "a novice", *old hand* "an experienced person", *swag* "rolled-up belongings", and *swagman* "tramp". Many others have also become part of general English (Turner 1994: 309-310). The absence of certain words in the vocabularies of the convicts has also led to some unique features of AusE. For instance, the urban background of many of the convicts meant that they possessed a paucity of terms to refer to the countryside, thus resulting in the many-faceted term *bush*, which could be used to refer to most aspects of country life, including *bushfire, bushman, bush lawyer, bush carpenter, to bushwhack, to bushwalk, bushwalker, bush tucker* etc. (Baker 1945: 74-75). Taylor (1989; 2001) also argues for continuing South-eastern British English lexical influence on AusE, stemming from British television programs airing in Australia.

So-called Cockney rhymes have also been a fashion in AusE, particularly during the World Wars (Baker 1945: 269-272), resulting in such terms as *dead horse* "tomato sauce" and *mince pies* "eyes". However, some rhymes do not appear to be current in modern AusE.

Both CE and AusE have been influenced by American English, particularly for vocabulary (Clarke 1993a; Sussex 1989). CE has probably been more heavily influenced than AusE, but recent investigations (Peters and Fee 1989; Sussex 2000) appear to indicate that AusE may be catching up to CE's level of Americanization, at least in terms of word-choice and spelling habits. Little linguistic study has been performed regarding the question of whether or not AmE has been influenced by other varieties of English including AusE or CE.

The influence of American English on AusE is well-documented, first mentioned (and rejected) by Baker (1945: 280-288), and as studied more recently by Sussex (1985), Peters and Fee (1989), Sussex (1989), Gorlach (1991: 155-157), Burridge and Mulder (1998), among others. Australians did not have much contact with Americans until WW

II, when American soldiers were stationed in Australia to defend against a Pacific threat, thus resulting in dialect contact (Leitner 2000) (see section 5.1.1).

From the 1970's onward, much of the linguistic influence of American English has stemmed from the media, including Hollywood movies, television programs and printed material such as magazines and newspapers. This influence has predominantly been lexical rather than phonological (Sussex 1989). It is often difficult to ascertain what comes from an American source versus what has been transported via American influence (for example, a German word being adopted via American English) (Leitner 2000). In addition, some words may be adapted from American English with a different semantic scope or the adoption of an American English pattern that is then extended beyond its American English scope. An example of this is found in (Sussex 1985), who describes what is probably the only phonological feature of the Americanization of AusE – the placement of word stress. Sussex states, "On the whole, American English stresses far more words on the first syllable than British English does, or Australian English did" (Sussex 1985: 396). He then goes on to list some words which now have stress on the first syllable for some AusE speakers, including *excess, express, informer,* and *exporter*. However, these words are not actually stressed on the first syllable in American English (according to Webster's II New Riverside University Dictionary 1984), so the stress on the first syllable in AusE might be due to an over-generalization of the American pattern. Sussex notes this possibility when he describes the way some AusE speakers' pronunciation of *Illinois* is marked by first syllable stress (unlike the American English pronunciation), but he appears to be unaware of the extent of this pattern in AusE.

Later work by Sussex (2000) indicates that American English is causing another kind of stress shift for words like *secretary* and *laboratory*. In American English these tend to have a primary and secondary stress, but in British English only one stress, so that *secretary* is realized as ['sɛkɹəˌtɛɹi] in American English, but as ['sɛkɹətɹi] in British English. This would appear to indicate that AusE is not merely developing a generalized shift of word stress towards the word-initial syllable position, but rather that it is indeed mimicking the word stress patterns of American English varieties.

However, even if it can be inferred that AusE is attempting to imitate American English, this does not necessarily mean that this imitation is always successful. In terms of word stress patterns, AusE may over-generalize or under-use the pattern, as demonstrated above. Words may be borrowed without their sociolinguistic ramifications:

for example, Sussex (2000) reports that Australians have begun using the vocative *bro* rather than *mate*. While this appears to be acceptable and fairly neutral in Australian society, in American society this is a heavily ethnically loaded term indicating African American solidarity, and not many Anglo-Americans would use the term themselves.

Consequently, unless the definition of Americanization includes the ways in which the receiving culture has interpreted the adoptions, it appears to be difficult to definitively conclude what patterns or words are a result of Americanization. Since the receiving culture (Australia) has re-interpreted the American offerings, it would seem logical to say that they are no longer entirely American; they have in fact become part of the character of AusE. This may not apply to all American imports, but it is likely that most are changed in some way (semantically or otherwise) in the process of importation. Nonetheless, there is still evidence that American English has had a wide-ranging impact on AusE.

4.7 Notes on Some Morphological and Syntactic Differences

Standard varieties of English do not diverge dramatically in syntax and morphology, but a mention will be made here of some differences between these varieties of English in case this might also be related to lexical and pronunciation patterns.

Morphologically, there have been some differences between British and American uses of the past participle in words like *dove* (American) versus *dived* (British), *proved* versus *proven* and *snuck* versus *sneaked*, etc. CE follows AmE in this regard, while AusE has tended to follow the British model. 15 out of the 17 people in the e-mail survey of CE (described in section 5.4.2) gave *dove* as the correct past tense form of *dive*, as opposed to *dived*. One informant thought it must be a trick question since the obvious answer was *dove* and another stated that she thought both forms were correct, but she preferred *dived* (this latter respondent was also one of the best-educated, upper-middle class informants).

American English in general is renowned for a propensity for conversion, or the use of words from one word-class in another word class without any morphological changes. For example, *source, impact, premiere* and *trial* may be used as either nouns or verbs in AmE in this form (Leitner 2000). This trend appears to be particularly popular in business and government (Sussex 2000), and has spread to AusE and CE.

AusE has a penchant for hypocoristic[29] forms, detailed in (Baker 1945: 265-267; Simpson 2001). This includes word forms ending in the GOAT vowel, such as *Salvo* "a member of the Salvation Army", *prego* "pregnant", *ambo* for "paramedic who works in an ambulance", *rego* for "car registration", *kero* "kerosene" etc. and word forms ending in the FLEECE vowel, such as *littlie* "child", *bickie* "biscuit", *brickie* "brick-layer" etc. Words adopted from American English are also liable to fall victim to this productive process of AusE (for example, *doco* for "documentary"). AusE has a tendency to shorten words more than AmE or CE, resulting in such forms as *uni* for "university", and a large number of abbreviated place names such as *Mullum* for Mullumbimby, *Lincoln* for Port Lincoln, *the loo* for Wooiloomooloo, etc. (Simpson 2001: 91).

Syntactically, CE and AmE have a preference for using *at* or *about* rather than *on* as a favoured particle in a two-word verb or as a preposition. South-eastern British varieties and AusE seem to prefer *on*. For example, a CE or an AmE speaker would say *call me at* [phone number], while an AusE speaker would say either *ring me on* [phone number] or *call me*, and CE uses *comments about* rather than *comments on*.

Newbrook (2001) gives several examples of where AusE may diverge syntactically from other standard varieties of English; namely in its use of the form *usedn't to*, in the proportional use of the prepositions *to, than* and *from* with the adjective *different*, and it allows for the use of *same* following a possessive pronoun (e.g. *Can I keep my same phone number?)*. AusE also allows for variable concord (plural or singular) with sports team names, while AmE prefers plural concord and British English prefers singular concord. Newbrook (2001) notes that AusE speakers also seem to prefer the unshifted verb form following a past tense from of *say*, e.g. *Kim said she has a bad cold.*

[29] *Hypocoristic* is the most general term available to describe alternative word forms such as clippings, abbreviations, truncations, etc.

5 A Brief Socio-cultural Background

From a sociolinguistic perspective, American, Canadian and Australian cultures are fairly similar. They are predominantly Anglo-Celtic or Anglo-Saxon cultures, all sharing a British heritage. Most of the sociolinguistic norms of interaction are the same in all three cultures. The norms concerning eye-contact, distance between speakers, smiling, posing requests, etc. are all similar enough to avoid misunderstanding. Nevertheless, there may still be some subtle cultural differences which cause problems for American and Canadian immigrants to Australia. In this chapter, a brief comparison of some aspects of American, Canadian and Australian culture will be made in order to deduce how Americans and Canadians typically adjust to life in Australia, and how this may subsequently have an impact on their acquisition or non-acquisition of AusE.

5.1 Australian Attitudes towards Americans – The Septic Tank Yank

Australians have had contact with Americans ever since the earliest days of British colonial rule, though this was initially limited to American sailors, sealers and whalers. Contact increased during the gold rushes of the 1850's, when 9000 Americans immigrated to Australia (the total Australian population at the time was about 500, 000) (Leitner 2000). There was also continual business contact, as Australia needed engineers from the United States and Canada. Attitudes towards Americans and American English from this time period are unclear (Leitner 2000). They do not appear to have been sufficiently fervent to warrant much mention.

This changed dramatically once American soldiers were stationed in Australia during World War II. During the war, there was extensive contact between Australian and American soldiers, and between American soldiers and the Australian public. These close-quarters produced equivocal feelings in Australians. Seal (1999: 19-20) comments,

> Officially, Americans are our allies, trading partners and cultural cousins; unofficially they are yanks, with whom we keep up an ongoing love-hate relationship. In Australia people admire the Americans for being how we like to see ourselves – as a frontier, independent society, a breakaway from the apron-strings of the Empire. At the same time we Australians are frequently appalled by the seemingly cloying patriotism, affluence, brashness and apparent insensitivity to small friends displayed by Americans in various guises such as politicians, trading partners, and tourists.

Despite the military alliance, American soldiers were not always welcome in Australia. Many Australians resented them because "they were better fed, better dressed, [and] better paid... In the famous phrase of the time, they were 'oversexed, overpaid and over here'" (Seal 1999: 21). This and other popular songs and rhymes quoted by Seal (1999: 20-23) reflect this uneasiness. Americans were sometimes called *seppos* or *septic tanks*, as rhyming slang on *yanks*.

The attitudes of Americans towards Australians and Australia have been positive during the 20th century (Albinski 1994; Siracusa 1994), though not without tension. Americans living in Australia found that Australians had a distinctly different attitude toward technology; whereas American culture glorified technology, Australian culture appreciated ingenuity and the ability to simply make do with little (Saunders and Finch 1994: 181). Americans were also surprised by Australian labour practices, finding both the government and the public considerably more supportive of trade unions than the American government or public, and by the generally relaxed Australian attitude towards work (Saunders and Finch 1994: 184, Edwards 1994: 175).

The Vietnam War further complicated the ambivalent relationship between Australia and the United States, when Australians joined Americans in the American government's crusade against communism. In some instances in the popular media in Australia, this relationship was inverted and the Americans were portrayed as the enemy of the Australian soldiers. Narratives depicted a vision of "mateship" and solidarity amongst Australians who were the "under-dogs" compared to the American soldiers, in films such as *The Odd Angry Shot* (1979) and *Vietnam, the Mini Series* (1987) (Bell and Bell 1996). This is quite different from the vision of Vietnam produced by Hollywood in such films as *Good Morning Vietnam* (1987) or *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989) which make no mention of Australians at all. If Australians saw Americans as their enemy, Americans hardly saw Australians at all, which probably was and still is a major point of frustration in Australian-American relations.

The awkwardness of this relationship may have been exacerbated by the Australian phenomenon of "cultural cringe" (Phillips 1950), meaning a feeling of inferiority about Australia as compared to other nations. When the expression was first coined, cultural cringe referred to feelings about Australia compared to Britain; that Australia lacked the high arts and culture of Britain. However, Britain is no longer revered as the home of all things civilized, and Australia has in recent years begun to see itself as a part of Asia rather than as a part of the British Empire, at least to a certain degree. The psychological

mechanism that created cultural cringe is not necessarily extinguished, though, and it is possible that the United States may take or have taken the place of Britain in the Australian psyche (Sussex 2000).

In contrast, Americans seem always to have had a relatively clear idea of what it means to be American, which may be attributed to the American War of Independence and the fact that the United States was founded on a set of ideals, which are still highly valued by many Americans (Ash 1999: 197-199). American culture is very patriotic, especially compared to Australian culture (Seal 1999: 19) or Canadian culture. Icons of American popular culture are readily identifiable, ranging from baseball and apple pie to Daniel Boone. In contrast, the Australian national identity does not yet appear to be fully refined (Eddy 1991: 17), and there is a growing feeling in Australia that many aspects of Australian popular culture are derivative of American culture (Bell and Bell 1996; Elteren 1996).

Another more recent contentious factor in the Australian/American relationship has been the increasing American dominance of the Australian economy. Financial deregulation has allowed American companies to buy many Australian companies and products considered to be quintessentially Australian, such as Vegemite and Arnott's biscuits. In 1977, Americans controlled about 17.1% of Australia's Northern Territory and held long term leases on about 60 to 70% of it (Cuddy 1977: 78). This amount of foreign ownership, combined with an at times aggressive American foreign policy, appears imperialistic in the eyes of some Australians.

American economic dominance and political imperialism may cause some ambivalence towards the United States as a country, but this is not necessarily reflected in individual dealings between Americans and Australians, as was pointed out by some participants in this study. Resentment of the American government does not appear to be so strong as to cause resentment of individual Americans (except perhaps in openly competitive situations, such as sporting events).

5.1.1 Language Attitudes

Feelings with regard to language use exhibit similar ambivalence. In newspaper editorials, Australians have outwardly denounced American English as ugly and degenerate English, yet many much-derided American English terms have easily taken up residence in the AusE lexicon (Sussex 1985; Peters and Fee 1989; Sussex 1989; Leitner 2000; Sussex 2000; Butler 2001). This may be because American English

varieties have had an increasing presence in Australia since the 1970's due to the media; namely, television, the Internet, cinema, radio and printed news media. Some varieties of spoken American English (such as AmE, which is commonly presented in the media) may have gained some prestige in Australia, particularly among young people, as they can be associated with media images of a successful, attractive and youthful lifestyle.

5.2 Australian Attitudes towards those Harmless Canadians

I have found no academic research which investigates the relationship between Australians and Canadians, and the media likewise pays little attention to the matter. There does not appear to be sufficient knowledge, admiration or dislike of Canada or Canadians to merit much mention in Australia. Australians may see Canada as a fellow "under-dog", ignored by the powerful United States. Canadians seem to face less of the ambivalence that an American might be confronted with in Australia.

English Canada and Australia have a great deal in common. The system of government and the legal system of both countries are nearly identical, at least at a federal level, with a house of parliament with elected members, and a prime minister who is the head of the party with the most seats. Canada and Australia both have a governor-general, who acts as the representative of the English monarch. Australia and Canada are also similar in that they never had revolutions to break away from the government of Britain. Other than their treatment of the native populations, both countries have had mainly peaceful histories.

However, there are differences. Canada has always had a less homogeneous culture than has Australia. Since European settlement, Canada has had a large French population, and Canada adopted a policy of multiculturalism in the early 1970's while Australia had a "Whites-Only" immigration policy in the 1950's, 60's and 70's, some aspects of which survived up until the early 1980's (Cuddy 1977: 4-13).

5.3 Differences Below the Surface: Equally Unequal

A major ideological difference between Australia, the United States and Canada is their respective views of equality. Each culture values equality, but has interpreted the idea differently.

In the United States, equality is generally taken to mean "equality of opportunity". Theoretically, this is supposed to mean that each American has the same opportunity to

succeed, so each American is entitled to the same rights of access to education and everything that he or she needs to succeed (Ash 1999: 204-205). In practice, this has not always been the case, since racial and sexual discrimination have also created a barrier for qualified people who wish to succeed economically.

The notion of equality of opportunity subsumes some other very important ideas in the American psyche. Every American is supposed to have equal opportunity to "climb the social ladder" (a frequent American analogy). This metaphor assumes a hierarchy of social classes. Hence, American culture does not actually contest or have any ideological problem with the existence of social strata or class, but rather this implies that those who are at the bottom of the ladder may have not worked hard enough, been sufficiently motivated, etc.[30] The main criterion by which social climbers are judged is the amount of money they make, and in this respect it is egalitarian, because anyone who makes a fortune can be considered successful (Ash 1999: 205-206).

In Australia, the "tall-poppy syndrome" means that successful people (with the exception of successful athletes) are seen to be arrogant, and not worthy of more respect than others (Cuddy 1977: 87-90). Rather than equality of opportunity, in Australia equality is interpreted as a duty to not look down on other people; or even a duty to not try to be more successful than one's peers, though this has been no less subject to limitations of race or gender than has the American egalitarian ideal. This Australian conception of equality is grounded in a working class ethos, as opposed to the more middle class American viewpoint.[31] Success in Australia is seen in less materialistic terms than in the United States. To an Australian who holds this ideal of egalitarianism, success could mean doing as well but not any better than one's mates, or one's grandiose lifestyle would brand that person as a "tall poppy". The egalitarian

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[30] This is not to say that the American working class are indifferent to their predicament as a result of this ideology. It has been a long-standing myth that the American working class lacked class consciousness and that this prevented significant socialist uprisings or union movements in the U.S. This myth has been repudiated by the investigations in Vanneman and Cannon (1987), who found that the working class had class consciousness but that the business class was too strong and cohesive for any working class movement to succeed. Indeed, many working class uprisings in the United States were soundly defeated when the business class used the force of the police or army to quash the revolts. This is in contrast to the Australian situation, where the business class was small and weak at the beginning of the century, thus allowing for the rise of a successful union movement (Higley and Deacon 1985).

[31] Concerning findings of a survey of Australian class affinities, Graetz and McAllister (1988: 246) state, "there is still a considerable amount of attachment to the working class and a working-class ethos, even amongst those who do not identify with the working-class themselves. This ethos is reminiscent of the mateship and fraternalism that has long been deemed to epitomise relations among working people in popular Australian culture."

Australian would need other non-financial criteria for success and happiness. To an American with an American ideal of egalitarianism, this may be seen as a lack of ambition. [32] Thus the American might think that the Australian is lazy and the Australian might think that the American is arrogant – and these are in fact exactly the types of reactions that were reported for Australian/American contact during World War II (Edwards 1994; Saunders and Finch 1994).

The Australian attitude towards equality also appears to be reflected in AusE. Peters (2001) gives evidence of differing norms in the usage of contractions between American English, AusE and British English, and concludes that AusE speakers generally prefer less formal forms of the language. She states, "Australians' accommodation of contractions and other informal devices within standard prose correlates with their often negative orientation to formality, which is devalued in favour of styles of behaviour which are obviously egalitarian and inclusive" (Peters 2001: 175). Peters also finds that for AusE speakers the words *elite/elitism/elitist* have more decidedly negative associations than for speakers of other varieties of English. She states,

> The negative semantic development of *elitism/elitist* is not restricted to AusE, yet it is certainly less established in other varieties...Most significantly the negative meaning has yet to be recognised in British (or American) dictionaries, whereas it has been built into the most recent edition of the *Macquarie Dictionary* (1997). In Australia it is the key to an important stylistic value.
> (Peters 2001: 176)

This perspective is reiterated in Delbridge (2001: 309-310), who gives corpus evidence of derogatory associations with word forms of *elite*, and he relates these derogatory associations to "tall-poppy syndrome".

Canadian culture may be the most elitist and least egalitarian of the three cultures, if one accepts Lipset's (1968) hypothesis. Lipset compares Canadian culture to American culture, stating that Canadian culture has been a counterrevolutionary culture which has been less egalitarian and more collective-oriented than American culture. He argues this by contrasting some aspects of Canadian and American society, including education and crime. While some of Lipset's examples from Canadian culture (e.g. Latin lessons for secondary school students) may not be equally applicable in this decade, his argument indicates the possibility of a more elitist and collectivist heritage in Canada than that of American culture.

[32] The head of the United States legation to Canberra from 1941 to 1945 was Nelson Trusler Johnson, who is quoted as saying, "the average Australian desires a high standard of living but he expects the State to give it to him, while by contrast the American desires a high standard of living but expects to work for it" (Edwards 1994: 175).

There could be many other subtle cultural differences that might have an impact on how well Americans and Canadian migrants adjust to living in Australia, but the issue of equality seems to be the most salient one. There is insufficient time and space to explore each possibility.

5.4 Summary

National rivalry and incompatible notions of equality are some issues that might arise for American and Canadian migrants to Australia. These subtle differences may actually cause more conflict than one would expect because the cultures appear to be very similar. Immigrants might not realize for quite some time that there is an ideological difference and not simply a general character trait (such as laziness or arrogance), as shown in some of the commentaries by study participants in Cuddy (1977: 122-160) and in historical descriptions of Australian/American relations (Edwards 1994; Saunders and Finch 1994). Likewise, the receiving culture may have difficulty understanding the perspective of the new immigrant. For instance, many of the traits mentioned above by Seal (1999: 19-20) ("we Australians are frequently appalled by the seemingly cloying patriotism, affluence, brashness and apparent insensitivity to small friends displayed by Americans in various guises such as politicians, trading partners, and tourists") can be explained by these different conceptions of equality and success. Without this understanding, the immigrants might be unsure if they want to accept the receiving culture and its dialect and this could then present barriers for successful SDA.

At the same time, though, it is also evident that these three countries have much in common and that there is no clear-cut relationship of stigmatization or prejudice between them. There is no history of extreme animosity or domination, despite some ambivalence in Australian attitudes towards the more powerful United States. Consequently, it appears that Canadian and American immigrants to Australia will not have to overcome tremendous social barriers. It would be difficult to argue that they would have either a clear social advantage or disadvantage as immigrants, or that they had a definite position in the class hierarchy of the culture.

6 Methodology

6.1 The Pilot Study

When I began the pilot study, I had intended to examine the question of the degree to which mutual-intelligibility influences second dialect acquisition, as a specific motivation or causal factor for second dialect acquisition. For this type of study a noticeable lack of mutual-intelligibility would have been necessary in order to gauge its effects on speaker behaviour. The pilot study showed that the situation of Canadians or Americans living in Australia was not ideal for this kind of investigation of intelligibility, so subsequently in the main study the goal was a broader investigation of the factors involved in SDA.

In the pilot study, the question of intelligibility was examined through interviews with Canadian and American informants who were asked to describe a wordless picture book. These interviews were audio-taped. There were two researchers, one AusE speaker and one CE speaker (myself), who conducted two separate sub-interviews. As the subject spoke, the interviewer who was present at that time pretended not to have understood a few words, and prompted the subjects for clarification. This methodology was designed to test the hypothesis that, when asked for clarification, the subjects would repeat the word using more AmE/CE phonetic/phonological variants when speaking to the Canadian interviewer, and would repeat it using more AusE phonetic/phonological variants when speaking to the Australian interviewer.

The interviewers prompted eight target words by feigning misunderstanding and asking the subject to repeat them. The subjects were not asked for clarification until several minutes into the interview, so as to allow them to become comfortable with the story and the situation. (See section 6.1.6 for a discussion of the problems encountered with this methodology). I asked the subjects to repeat the following words: *accordion, motorcycle, snow, kiss/es/ed, steal.* The Australian interviewer asked the subjects to repeat the following words: *church, boat, fix, feel.* Words that the subjects were highly likely to use in the description – i.e. words integral to the story line – were chosen as the words to be used for clarification.

The interviews were structured as follows: I began the interviews and spoke with the informants for a few minutes, and introduced the book.[33] The AusE speaking interviewer would then finish the book with the subject and speak with him or her individually for a few minutes. The conversation was usually about feelings of national identity, work and/or language use. The subjects were also asked to fill out a questionnaire to determine their age of arrival in Australia and other social variables (see Appendix B for the text of the questionnaire).

Two female, AusE-speaking research assistants were recruited to help with the interviews. Females were chosen to control for gender, and she was approximately the same age as myself. Both research assistants were native speakers of AusE as spoken in Melbourne and its suburbs.

Subjects were recorded using a Sony portable digital minidisc recorder, model MZ-R37, and standard microphone. The recorder provides very high sound quality without being large and obtrusive during the interviews, which may make it easier for the subjects to forget that they are being recorded and to speak more naturally. The first four interviews took place in a quiet room, with only the interviewers and the subject present. Thereafter, four interviews took place in a café (for reasons described in section 6.1.6), and two took place in the participant's workplaces at their request.

6.1.1 Linguistic Variables

The variables for the pilot study were non-prevocalic /r/ in *accordion*, *church* and *motorcycle*, the GOAT diphthong in *snow* and *boat*, the KIT vowel in *kiss(es/ed)* and *fix*, and the FLEECE vowel in *steal* and *feel*. There is a certain amount of variation in the realization of these phonemes in each of these varieties of English, which is detailed in section 4.4. A token of the GOAT diphthong was classed as AusE if it began with an unrounded nucleus in the area of [ɐ], [a] or [ɒ], or as AmE if it began with a rounded nucleus in the area of [o]. Tokens of the KIT vowel were classed as AusE if they were raised towards [ɪ̝]. KIT vowels often tend to be reduced to [ə], in which case the token was not counted as either AusE or AmE/CE. Tokens of the FLEECE vowel were classed as AusE if they had a central onglide. If there was any confusion (i.e. if a token of *boat*, for example, had a nucleus that seemed to be equi-distant from [o] and [ɐ], then the token would be classed as AusE since there was evidently some change from the CE or AmE norm).

[33] Subjects were asked to describe the story *A Small Miracle*, a wordless picture book (see Appendix B for a description of the book).

These variables were chosen on the basis of saliency (one salient and two relatively non-salient variables), a perceptible difference between realizations in AusE and AmE/CE, significance for intelligibility and that there were enough tokens within a half hour period for analysis. The variables also had to have the same, or nearly the same, realizations in AmE and CE to prevent confusion during the analysis. For this dissertation, salience was defined as phonemic difference, a dichotomous structure (as in (Auer et al. 1998)) and speaker awareness of a variable, or some combination of one or more of these three criteria, as noted in section 3.1.2.[34] Auer et al.'s (1998) criterion of lexicalization was not used since there are few differences of this nature between the varieties.

/r/ vocalization is a very speaker-salient feature of AusE for speakers of the rhotic AmE and CE dialects. This is in keeping with the general pattern of rhotics, which are important sociolinguistic variables in many languages (Van Hout and Van de Velde 2001: 1). Speakers mentioned this as one feature of AusE that they were aware of. In addition, in my experience, few North Americans seem to be able to distinguish between different non-rhotic varieties unless they have lived in a non-rhotic dialect area. The vocalization of /r/ seems to overshadow other phonological and phonetic features of the varieties. The vowels chosen are characteristic of AusE, and show a marked difference in realization between the American varieties of English and AusE (see section 4.4.2.1), although they are probably not very speaker-salient, allowing for a comparison between speakers' treatment of salient vs. non-salient variables. These variables are also likely to produce a sufficient number of tokens for analysis (from the speech segments before and after the prompts), as they are high frequency in English.

6.1.2 Social Variables

Social variables taken into account for the pilot study were the length of stay in Australia (Length of Stay), the age of arrival (AOA), the dialect(s) spoken by the subject's spouse and children (if applicable) (HOME DIALECT), the dialect(s) spoken by co-workers or fellow students (WORK DIALECT), gender and social network (SOCNET) with fellow Canadians or Americans.

[34] As noted in section 3.1.2, this results in a scale of salience, with the most salient variables having all three criteria and the least having only one criterion. In this study the most salient variable is non-prevocalic /r/, which fits all three criteria.

The variable of social class or social status is quite often used in sociolinguistic studies, but an attempt was made to control for this variable in this study. The reasons for this were that it was assumed that most of the American or Canadian immigrants or long-term visitors to Australia were middle-class, since it would be the middle and upper classes who have the economic resources to travel. This was confirmed in an early study of American immigration to Australia (Cuddy 1977: 37-38). Secondly, the varieties described in Chapter 4 were all standard national varieties, which showed a large degree of homogeneity and were spoken by the middle-classes. To include dialects spoken by the working-classes would have meant that more descriptions of linguistic varieties would be needed, and also might have meant that there would be too much phonetic variation to include speakers from more than one small area. This would have reduced the number of available subjects drastically. The upper-classes were excluded since there would be very few of them, they would be relatively inaccessible, and their inclusion would necessitate the inclusion of lengthy descriptions of upper-class varieties.

Social class is a very complex phenomenon consisting of many aspects such as ethnicity, education level, occupation, income, property ownership, etc. It would not be possible to fully address the idea of social class within the bounds of this dissertation. Many sociologists primarily judge social class on the basis of occupation, which in itself reveals information about education, income level and background (since social class tends to be inherited) (Graetz and McAllister 1988: 208). Social class was judged on the basis of two factors: occupation (or parents'/spouse's occupation, if a student) and educational level. Educational level was included as a mitigating factor in the event that the subject was temporarily unemployed, underemployed, at home with children, etc. More factors might give a more accurate judgement of social class, but in this case the judgement was only meant as a criterion for inclusion or exclusion in the study, and a very detailed commentary on social class was not necessary.

Social class was calculated in the following way, based a social class scale from Daniel (1983). Unskilled, manual labour was given a rating of 1, semi-skilled manual labour was given a rating of 2, skilled manual labour was given a rating of 3, sales or clerical work was given a rating of 4, semi-professional or managerial work was given a rating of 5 and professional work was rated 6. Some occupations, such as housework, are very difficult to rate. In these cases, the spouse's or parent's occupation may be rated instead of the main subject's occupation. An educational level of less than secondary school graduation was given a rating of 1, graduation from secondary school

was rated 2, graduation from technical college was given a rating of 3, some university education was rated 4 and university graduation was rated 5. The two ratings were added together for the subject's total score. A subject had to have a rating of 5 or more to qualify as middle-class.

Information about a subject's social class was usually obtained before or during the interview, as quite often the subjects would talk about their work, home life, etc. This method was less intrusive than asking subjects to answer a question about their occupation, income or other personal details on paper, which many people find disconcerting.

Gender has been shown to be a significant factor in many sociolinguistic studies, e.g. (Trudgill 1974; Milroy and Milroy 1998) and there is also some indication that it may be important for phonetic and phonological acquisition as well (Piske et al. 2001: 199-200). For these reasons it will be included in this study.

The variable of Length of Stay was chosen because this might reveal whether dialect shift is an on-going, gradual process that occurs over years of stay, a more abrupt phenomenon, or something more individual. Previous research has suggested that only the first few years are crucial for SDA (Kerswill 1994: 64); however, this evidence does not appear to be conclusive. Some research into foreign accent has indicated that Length of Stay can have a significant effect on phonetic and phonological acquisition, provided that a wide range of length of stay values is investigated (Piske et al. 2001: 197-199).

The variable of AOA was chosen because of the critical period hypothesis (see section 3.3) which suggests an optimal period of language acquisition before adolescence. Research into this hypothesis with regards to SDA has produced mixed results (e.g. Kerswill 1994: 63). This phenomenon may have an impact on SDA – that is, younger speakers may be more likely to acquire another dialect, or some aspects of it.

The dialect used by the subject's family and friends was taken into account because the subject would have relatively constant exposure to AusE if it was the dialect spoken at home, in the workplace and in daily activities, and this could have an impact on SDA. (Ash and Myhill (1983) show that African American speakers who socialize mainly with Anglo-Americans use speech patterns somewhere between the Anglo and the African American community norms, and likewise that Anglo-Americans who socialize mainly with African Americans use speech patterns which are neither typically Anglo-American nor typically African American). Conversely, exposure to AmE or CE through

socialization with Americans or Canadians might have a similar effect on D1 maintenance (the SOCNET variable).

The SOCNET variable was calculated according to the following index: a score of zero was used for subjects with no American/Canadian social contacts in Australia (other than family), a score of 1 was used for subjects with one or two American/Canadian casual acquaintances (seen less than once a month), a score of 2 was used for subjects with two or more American/Canadian casual acquaintances, a score of 3 was used for subjects with one or two close American/Canadian friends and a score of 4 was used for subjects with more than two close American/Canadian friends.[35] Subjects with high SOCNET scores were also asked if they saw these American/Canadian friends at work/school as well, to investigate the density of the network.

The idea of density of the social network is borrowed from Milroy (1987: 45-52), who defines a network as dense if most of the people in it have connections to each other, meaning not only that person A knows B and C, but that B and C also know each other. Milroy (1987) also uses the term multiplexity/uniplexity to refer to the number of capacities in which people are connected to each other, such as through work, socially and through family. Dense multiplex networks tend to be associated with rural, close-knit communities or the urban working class, while sparse uniplex networks tend to be associated with the urban middle class.

The dialect in use in the home was called HOME DIALECT. This was treated as a categorical variable, since for most subjects their families' language use in the home tended to be either AusE or AmE/CE. If a subject was unmarried or had no partner, with no children, and did not have a network of AmE or CE speaking friends, then their HOME DIALECT was classed as AusE speaking since they mainly had contact with the AusE speaking community. If there were speakers of other languages or dialects in the household, or if both parents spoke one dialect but the children spoke another, then the HOME DIALECT was classified as mixed.

The WORK DIALECT was classified like the HOME DIALECT, as either AusE, AmE/CE or mixed.

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[35] *Close friends* were defined as friends the subject visited once or more a month. *Casual acquaintances* were visited less than once a month.

6.1.3 Recruitment of Subjects

Subjects were recruited for the study using an e-mail advertisement. The advertisement asked for any Canadians or Americans who would be interested in participating in an interview for a linguistics study. The restrictions used in the main study for subject selection (see section 6.3.6) were put aside for the pilot study so as to avoid a shortage of subjects for the main study. Most of the participants in the pilot study came from areas outside of the dialect area selected for the main study while they still had most of the key phonetic features in their speech that would be examined later in the main study. Several subjects from the right dialect area were used in the pilot study because they had lived in England or Scotland previous to arrival in Australia, and thus their speech might already have been influenced by some dialect other than American/Canadian.

E-mail advertisement was a very quick, effective method of recruiting subjects, but it may have influenced the findings to a limited extent since the subjects had to be interested enough to respond. Immigrants who no longer self-identified as American or Canadian may not have responded to a request for Americans or Canadians, and other people who had little interest in involvement in American or Canadian matters may also have not responded. Thus the sample may have been more interested in national ties or more nationalistic than the real norm for Americans and Canadians living in Australia. This was probably not the case, however, since there were two subjects who no longer self-identified according to their country of origin and who responded out of a willingness to assist in academic research.

6.1.4 Description of the Pilot Study Subjects

Nine subjects participated in the pilot study, three females and six males (see Table 4). Two females were from California, and one was from the mid-Western United States. The males were from Ohio, California, Long Island, Rhode Island, New York City and South Carolina. One male had lived in England prior to moving to Australia, one had lived in Scotland, and one of the females had also lived in England prior to moving to Australia.

The subjects of the pilot study were all students or staff at Monash university (because the global e-mail was sent around the university), except for one who was the spouse of another subject. They had all either completed or were in the process of

completing tertiary education, and had middle-class jobs or backgrounds. All the subjects came from an Anglo-Celtic or Anglo-Saxon background, except one who was Asian.

Table 4: Description of the Pilot Study Subjects

	Pseudonym	Gender	AOA	HOME DIALECT	WORK DIALECT	SOCNET	LENGTH OF STAY
1	Marcia	Female	20	AmE	AusE	2	0.6 years
2	Terry	Female	21	AusE	AusE	0	2 years
3	Eleanor	Female	30	Ohio	AusE	1	6 years
4	Jared	Male	20	AmE	AusE	4	0.08 years
5	Paul	Male	21	AmE	Mixed	4	1 year
6	John	Male	31	Ohio	Mixed	1	6 years
7	Patrick	Male	28	AusE	AusE	2	6 years
8	Philip	Male	35	AmE	AusE	4	7 years
9	Zach	Male	40	AusE	AusE	-	15 years

6.1.5 Findings of the Pilot Study

6.1.5.1 Analysis of Lexical Changes

With the exception of one male, almost all the informants self-reported a change in their choice of lexical items. This change was also evident in their actual speech behaviour, although their speech behaviour in this respect was probably monitored, since they often pointed out the AmE/CE word versus the AusE word. The only person who claimed not to have changed his choice of words was Patrick, who had been in Australia for 6 years and used AusE both at work and home. He spoke a stigmatized non-rhotic dialect of New York English and stated that he felt more comfortable with the non-rhotic dialect of Australia than with the speech presented in the mainstream American media. During the interview, he showed that he did change his use of some words – he did; for example, sometimes use *bin* instead of *garbage can*, and *boot* and *bonnet* instead of *hood* and *trunk*. He stated that he made a point of using words that he felt were particularly American, such as *ketchup* and *sidewalk* and that he preferred not to change his choice of words unless there might be a communication problem.

Terry reported changes in her choices of lexical items, but was sometimes unable to remember which words or morphemes were Australian and which were American (such as the prefixes /æntaɪ/ and /ænti/).

6.1.5.2 Analysis of Phonetic and Phonological Changes

Terry also showed some vowel changes, such as lowering and backing the LOT vowel in words such as *all*, a sound which is probably not native to her Californian dialect (see section 4.4.2.12). Interestingly, she stated that she did not change her pronunciation of vowels and was unaware of any changes in them, but rather she mentioned that she thought she had increased her use of non-foot-initial unflapped [t] rather than flaps in words such as *little*. However, a review of the audiotape showed that during the interview she did not use unflapped [t] in a non-foot initial position even once (other than when commenting upon it), although it was a fairly formal situation (and she stated that she thought the pronunciation of words like *photo, butter, phonetic* as [fotoʊ], [bʊtɚ] and [fənɛtɪk] was a better, more proper pronunciation than [forʊ], [bʊɾɚ] and [fənɛrɪk], indicating that the unflapped alveolars held some prestige for her).

Terry and John showed some noticeable vowel changes in their dialects, though they were still immediately identifiable as North American English speakers. This mainly consisted of more rounded variants of LOT, but changes were not observed for the variables in question, which were non-prevocalic /r/, KIT, GOAT and FLEECE. In terms of the parameters of this pilot study, none of the subjects noticeably changed their realizations of the vowels in question away from an American or Canadian model at any point during the interviews. The clarification prompts which were used did not appear to have had a strong effect (which will be discussed further in section 6.1.6), except possibly for John, who did alter his pronunciation of one word after prompting. Because this was only one instance out of a possible eighty one instances, it may have been due to chance.

John pronounced *Melbourne* as [mɛlbən], and mocked the way that other Americans pronounce it (as [mɛlbɔɹn]). He pronounced non-prevocalic /r/ in all other instances.

What appears to remarkable for this pilot study is not the way in which subjects altered their accents or any points at which they did, but rather the fact that they did not, overall, alter their accents to any noticeable degree.

6.1.5.3 Analysis of Social Factors

Initially a question regarding feelings of national/social identity was included as a part of the conversation. Whether or not this factor affects phonological and phonetic phenomena as well was not clear since there were so few phonological or phonetic changes in the speech of the subjects, but it did appear to be quite an interesting aspect of immigration. This question was further investigated during the main study.

Four out of the nine pilot study subjects had partners or spouses who were speakers of a variety of American English (no children), two had no partner or spouse, and three had Australian partners or spouses and children. All the subjects had either AusE work environments or mixed dialect/language work environments. It was difficult to assess the impact of these factors because the pilot study subjects did not make many phonetic changes to their speech.

Seven out of the ten subjects had close social contacts who spoke a variety of American English (a SOCNET score of 1-4). This high percentage of subjects with a social network of Americans or Canadians may be correlated with the lack of phonological and phonetic change found in the study.

The significance of AOA could not be adequately assessed because all the subjects in the pilot study arrived as adults.

Gender was potentially important since the two subjects who did show some changes, albeit minor changes, were both female.

6.1.6 Difficulties with the Pilot Study Methodology

During the pilot study, the Australian interviewer remained in the room during the portion of the interview conducted by the Canadian interviewer because it seemed too distracting to get up and call her into the room midway through the interview. However, this arrangement was methodologically problematic, since it probably compounded the formality of the situation for the subjects by giving them a feeling that not only one but two people were listening and "looking over their shoulder" (Tollfree, personal correspondence). The feeling of a high level of formality made it difficult to ask for clarifications naturally, since the room was quiet, only one person was talking at one time and they obviously had each other's full attention. Consequently, for the main study, there was only one interviewer present at a time.

The major problem encountered in the pilot study was the fact that the subjects did not repeat the words that the interviewers had intended to prompt for. The communication strategies they used to clarify these words were not phonetic, they were lexical. Subjects repeated a whole phrase in almost every instance, and often paraphrased what they had said. There was also a considerable amount of speaker variation in lexical choice. While this was an interesting strategy, the focus of the study was on dialect and pronunciation change and it did not seem that this aspect of the methodology would be very enlightening for these kinds of changes, except perhaps in an indirect way.

The first few interviews were conducted in a quiet room and this exacerbated the feeling that a real lack of mutual-intelligibility was implausible. As a result, the last five interviews of the pilot study were conducted in public places with some ambient noise, but even this did not seem to make the idea of a lack of mutual-intelligibility sufficiently plausible, and also this was not always possible. The subjects probably were not used to these kinds of intelligibility problems since they did not report many communication breakdowns in Australia due to their dialects – because of mass media, Australians have had so much exposure to American English varieties that very few communication difficulties arise on the part of Australian listeners, and also because of the large number of similarities between standard varieties of English.

Four recordings were accidentally deleted because of difficulties with the recording equipment. For the main study, I was more familiar with the recording equipment and avoided this problem.

6.2 The Main Study

In the main study, a methodology similar to that of the pilot study was used, but the clarification prompts were not used since it was not the goal of the main study to examine the effects of the loss of intelligibility. The subjects participated in a two-part interview. Subjects were informed that the interviews were in two parts, and that each interview was a one-on-one situation, and this seemed to prepare the subjects mentally and ease the transition from one interviewer to the other. For approximately half of the interviews, I began by explaining the interview process and giving the subjects the ethics forms pertaining to the study (the Australian research assistant began the other half of

the interviews).[36] The subjects were then asked a few questions about their national identity, how often they visited North America, and what it was like for them to move to Australia. After about fifteen minutes, the second interviewer would come in, the first interviewer would leave, and the second interviewer would ask the subjects a few more questions. The questions were not scripted, and conversations might sometimes take a different direction. The subjects were also asked to fill out a short questionnaire about their social contacts, in order to determine their age of arrival, SOCNET score, their HOME DIALECT and their WORK DIALECT (see Appendix B for the text of the questionnaire).[37]

I aimed to have a relaxed and informal interview in order to assure that the subject was not spending the whole interview monitoring his or her speech. Of course, a completely casual style was not possible, because the interview was recorded and there was an organized structure to the interview. The conversations were also used to elicit information regarding the subject's background which was then used to evaluate the subject's social status. Unfortunately, many of the subjects' most interesting comments were made once the minidisc recorder had been turned off and they felt the interview was over and they could relax. Given the present-day ethical restrictions on research, there was no way to circumvent this (it would not have been ethically permissible to continue taping the subjects without their knowledge or consent). These comments were simply written down and may be referred to in the body of the dissertation.

The research assistant and I found that the most effective method of encouraging the subjects to speak freely during the interview was actually to volunteer some personal information or an anecdote. While the temptation was to only ask the questions and listen to the subject answer them in order to get more of the subjects' speech recorded, this style of interview felt more like an interrogation than a conversation and was actually less effective in encouraging the subjects to speak, so it was subsequently relaxed.

The wordless picture book *A Small Miracle,* which was used in the pilot study, was also used for the longitudinal study subjects.[38] The use of the book for the longitudinal study subjects provided consistency with the methodology which was used by Prof.

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[36] There were two research assistants during the main study, both were in their early twenties, female, from the state of Victoria and native AusE speakers.
[37] While completing the study, I discovered that the design of the questionnaire was not ideal because the subjects would often answer only one part of the question instead of the whole question. In future, I would simplify the questions.
[38] The 1999 interviews with Lucy and Betty used this book, but it was not used for the 2001 interviews.

Michael Clyne when he first interviewed them in 1988. For the other subjects in the main study, the book was used when the interviewer needed more material to distract the subject, time to allow the subject to relax and get used to the interview situation, or just to encourage the subject to speak.[39]

One aspect of the research is to examine whether or not there is a contrast in the behaviour of the subjects when speaking to a native speaker of (approximately) their own dialect and when speaking to an AusE speaker. I was probably still present in the minds of the subjects as an auditor or overhearer,[40] due to the presence of the recorder and my role in organizing the interview (Bell 1998). This may have had some impact on the subject's interaction with the AusE speaker, but it would be very difficult to completely control for this factor. Fewer subjects would be willing to participate if there were two interviews involved, and more of their time and energy had to be committed to this unpaid project. In fact, even if there were two interviews, I would still be present as an overhearer, unless the Australian research assistant organized a separate interview and the subjects were not made aware of the connection between the two interviews. So, separating the interview into two speech acts as much as possible was the best solution to the methodological issue without the risk of a diminished number of willing subjects.

There might be a lag of a few minutes before a subject responds to the dialect of a new interviewer, so if one interviewer had begun every interview this might have had an impact on the results. This was controlled for by having the Australian research assistant begin half of the interviews. Nonetheless, the impact of the first interviewer is unlikely within the scope of accommodation theory, where accommodation usually takes place within the first few turns of an interaction (e.g. Coupland 1984). It would be worthwhile investigating empirically whether there actually is a "lag-time" in this kind of situation.

This methodology is different from the methodologies used in other studies of SDA (e.g. Shockey 1984; Kerswill 1994; Chambers 1998a), where there was only one interviewer. It is, in fact, more similar to the typical methodologies of SAT and CAT studies. Many of these studies used CAT and Trudgill's (1986) concept of long-term

[39] If the book was used with a subject, this was called the "formal portion of the interview." The subjects who did narrate the book did this with both the Australian and Canadian interviewer. The subjects who had a formal portion of their interview were: Harriet (2000), Sharon, Margaret, Peg, Betty (1999), Lucy (1999), Karla, Olivia, Nora, Gwen, Renee, Walt, Matthew, Lee, Ralph, Sam, David, Jim, Tim and Harry.

accommodation as their theoretical framework, and this study is an investigation of whether or not accommodation occurs as a result of interaction with speakers of the subject's D1 and D2. This has been studied indirectly (Prince 1988), but not directly while controlling for other variables, as in this methodology.

During five interviews (with Karla, Nora, Gwen, Walt and Matthew), the methodology was compromised (for situational reasons, both interviewers were present for most of the interview), and these will be excluded from the statistical analysis of the impact of the interviewer.

6.3 Linguistic Variables

6.3.1 Phonetic and Phonological Variables

Although subjects may exhibit changes for many vowels or consonants, the scope of the study had to be limited to a manageable size. In order to do this, the audiotaped interviews were transcribed, and I completed an auditory analysis of the interviews. The auditory analysis involved counting the AusE and AmE/CE variants for the KIT vowel, the GOAT diphthong and non-prevocalic /r/. Proportions were calculated out of the total number of identifiable tokens.

These variables were chosen for the reasons mentioned in the pilot study (except significance for intelligibility), namely salience (one salient and two non-salient variables), that there were audibly different variant/s of the phoneme in AusE from CE/AmE (or phonological differences) and that there were a sufficient number of tokens in the data. As the analysis progressed, however, it became evident that some subjects, while they might not have made any changes to their pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ or to the KIT or GOAT diphthongs, had in fact acquired some AusE sounds other than these three variables. Consequently, three more variables were included: the FLEECE vowel, the FACE diphthong and the PRICE diphthong. Variation for other phones, such as the lax front vowels, the GOOSE vowel and the FOOT vowel was also noted in order to get a general idea of the distribution of the subjects' vowel space. Distinctions between the THOUGHT and LOT vowels, the incidence of the TRAP and BATH vowels, and post-alveolar palatal glide deletion was also be noted, but not statistically analyzed,

[40] An auditor is a member of the group, while speakers who are known to be there but are not members of the group are overhearers. The perception of the researcher as either auditor or overhearer during the second part of the interview probably varied from subject to subject.

since there are usually only a few tokens of these variables during a half hour to an hour of speech. A consistency check of the auditory analysis was performed six months after the first analysis and the analysis was consistent to within 7%.

As in the pilot study, in the auditory analysis of the main study, a token of the GOAT diphthong was classed as AusE if it began with an unrounded nucleus in the area of [ɐ], [a] or [ɒ], or as AmE if it began with a rounded nucleus in the area of [o]. The offglide might be in the region of [ʉ] or [u] if it was an AusE realization, but it was generally easier to classify it based on the nucleus than the off-glide. Tokens of the KIT vowel were classified as AusE if they were raised towards [ɪ̞]. Tokens of the FLEECE vowel were classed as AusE if they had a central onglide rising up towards [ɪ] or [i]. Tokens of the FACE diphthong were classed as AusE if they had a nucleus of [æ] or [ɐ] rising up towards [ɪ] or [e]. Tokens of the PRICE diphthong were classed as AusE if the nucleus of the diphthong were in the low back region of [ɑ] rising to a central or high front offglide of [ə] or [ɪ]. Most of the vowels counted as either AmE/CE or AusE were stressed because vowels in unstressed positions tend to be reduced (stress was less important for the non-prevocalic /r/ variable). KIT vowels often tend to be reduced to [ə], in which case the tokens were not counted as either AusE or AmE/CE. Diphthongs in unstressed positions tend to be monophthongized, in which case they were not counted either. Incidences of non-prevocalic /r/ in what could be a linking /r/ environment (preceding a vowel where an orthographic /r/ exists) were not counted. Incidences of intrusive /r/ would have been counted as AusE, but none occurred in the data. If the subject produced a word or sentence which was presented as an imitation or mimicry of an AusE accent, no phones in this imitation were counted as either AusE or AmE/CE variants.

In the pilot study analysis, tokens which were equi-distant from both the AusE target and the AmE/CE targets were classified as AusE since they seemed to show some change towards AusE, e.g. if a token of the GOAT diphthong had a nucleus that seemed to be equi-distant from [o] or [ɐ], then the token would be classified as AusE since there was evidently some change from the CE or AmE norm. This way of classifying the tokens was sufficient for the pilot study, where few subjects made phonetic changes, but it did not work perfectly for the main study. It became apparent that some of the main

study subjects had made changes in their speech which seemed to be related to their exposure to AusE (based on either longitudinal evidence or similar behaviour in another subject), but they had "missed the target" and were producing a phone which resembled neither AmE/CE nor AusE, for example, they might produce [ɵ] as a variant of the GOAT diphthong. They might also sometimes produce realizations of the linguistic variables that were idiosyncratic pronunciations and unrelated to their stay in Australia, and it was sometimes difficult to tell the difference between idiosyncratic realizations and changes made due to exposure to AusE. Using the pilot study methodology, this would have meant that these instances of missed targets or idiosyncratic realizations would be classified as AusE since there was evidently some change. In the main study, a more cautious approach was taken and they were either classified and noted separately, or if the token was too unclear it was excluded from the auditory analysis.

This is not to say, however, that all tokens which were classified as AusE sounded like archetypal AusE pronunciations to a native AusE speaker's ear. Many of the subjects who made changes in their speech towards AusE did not quite hit the target phone; rather they often produced a phone part way between AmE/CE and AusE, or they sometimes over-shot the target and produced a slightly exaggerated version (or Broad AusE variant) of the AusE form. If the phone could be considered as aiming at an AusE target, that is, if, for example, a subject produced a raised KIT vowel, but it was not as raised as it would be for the average native AusE speaker, it would still be classified as AusE since it was in that region of the vowel space. This contrasts with the example given above, where a fronted monophthong was produced as a variant of GOAT, which is normally a diphthong in AusE with either a low-mid nucleus and back offglide or two back targets. In this latter example, the target could not be clearly identified and may not have been AusE.

Some subjects also seemed to have different AusE targets: some may have had a Broader model, while others had a more Cultivated model they were emulating. This could have been the cause of some individual differences in the realization of some phones.

For vowels like the KIT vowel, which do not have a clear sociostylistic value in AusE, there are no data which show how often AusE speakers use the raised variant of the vowel (see section 4.4.2). Impressionistically, they do not appear to use raised variants in 100% of all possible instances. For the more sociostylically sensitive vowels, AusE speakers tend to shift towards the Cultivated variants in formal situations. In the case of

FLEECE, FACE, GOAT and PRICE, the Cultivated variants are similar to the CE and AmE standard norms. Non-prevocalic /r/ deletion and vocalization appear to be categorical.

6.3.1.1 Acoustic Analysis

Tokens produced by subjects which clearly showed an acquisition of an AusE sound were compared acoustically with tokens which were clearly AmE or CE in pronunciation in order to compare and confirm differences in formant structure.[41] This was done for each of the five vowel variables. These acoustic analyses were then also compared with data from acoustic analyses of native-speaking, resident speakers of all three varieties. These comparisons were focused on vowel height and backness/frontness.[42]

Tokens were analyzed acoustically using Praat software. Spectrograms were used to find the mid-point of the vowels, and formant reports (based on linear predictive coding or LPC) were generated for these points. Where possible, acoustic analysis was performed on vowels in very similar or identical environments. Comparisons of acoustic analyses were made only on vowels produced by speakers of the same sex to avoid normalization issues. Analysis was mainly performed on vowels which were not nasalized (to avoid nasal formants) and which did not follow or precede a lateral consonant to avoid strong co-articulatory effects.

The acoustic and auditory analysis is also supplemented by the inclusion of audio files on a CD version of Chapter 7 of this dissertation. These audio files are "wav" files of some examples of the subjects' pronunciations of the linguistic variables and other pronunciations which are relevant to the analysis. This allows the reader to decide for him or herself if the analysis is sound.

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[41] Some of the tokens which resembled AusE pronunciations were compared with AmE/CE pronunciations from other subjects. It was also considered useful to have some point of comparison which had no chance of any D2 influence. So, these AusE tokens were also compared with "wav" files of tokens produced by native-speaking, resident Australians, Canadians and Americans taken from the following electronic sources: (The IPA 1999b) for American English; (Callbase Databases Ltd. 2000) for AusE; (Roberts 2000) for CE. The websites for these sources are listed in the references section. Permission to use the "wav" files was obtained from Peter Ladefoged.

[42] While a clear relationship between auditory and acoustic parameters is not always apparent, the relationship between F1 and vowel height and F2 and vowel backness/frontness is generally accepted by most phoneticians (Stevens 1997).

6.3.2 The Interviewer's Speech

Most of the interviews were completed early in my stay in Australia, but a few were completed after I had been living in Australia for over two years. The possibility exists that I might have come to acquire some phonetic or phonological features of AusE, and that the use of these in the interviews might influence the findings. However, a careful auditory analysis of the interviews showed only two possible instances of AusE influence on my speech (i.e. two tokens, one of *there* and one of *go*), so the impact of this would probably not have been very great. I did inadvertently use some AusE lexical items and hypocoristic forms, but I normally tried to avoid AusE lexical items.

6.3.3 Lexical Variables

The data was transcribed in the Systematic Analysis of Language Transcripts software from the University of Wisconsin. This program helped to calculate the number of AusE and AmE/CE tokens and the words in which they were used. The phonological and phonetic variables were also analyzed in correlation with lexical items. I tabulated the words in which subjects used an AusE (or an approximated AusE) variant in order to evaluate whether the subjects favour certain words or phonetic environments for sound change. I also looked for correlations with classes of lexical items.

Finally, I examined the data for correlations between phonological and phonetic alterations and topic. Topics such as home and national affiliation are the particular focus in this case. Bourhis (1979: 121) gives a summary of the results of several studies which showed that topic can influence choice of accent, dialect or language.

6.3.4 Social Variables

The social variables used in the main study were the same as those used in the pilot study (see section 6.1.2 for definitions of the social variables), with the addition of the factors of social identity and social club. Subjects were asked during the interview about their sense of national and/or personal identity. If there was more than one meeting, I also noted if there was a difference between their attitudes while being recorded and when not recorded, or if they replied to the question differently if asked by a different interviewer. Social club was included since some of the main study subjects belonged to social clubs which were made up of American or Canadian migrants who met for social events associated with North America (e.g. Thanksgiving dinners, Halloween parties for

children, etc.). The social variables in question are then social identity, age of arrival (AOA), dialect in use in the working environment (WORK DIALECT), dialect in use at home (HOME DIALECT), length of stay in Australia (Length of Stay), gender, social club and social network (SOCNET).

6.3.5 Longitudinal Study

Six of the subjects interviewed for the main study had previously been interviewed in 1988 (their pseudonyms are Betty, Lucy, Margaret, Peg, Tim and Jim). They were interviewed by Prof. Michael Clyne, as a pilot study of American English in Australia (Clyne 1992a). The data from 1988 was compared with that of 1999 for these subjects and this formed a longitudinal study as a sub-set of the main study. Two of these subjects (Betty and Lucy) were interviewed again in 2001, and also had audiotaped letters of their speech in 1974 (just after their arrival in Australia) and 1981, which they allowed me to copy. Thus, for these two subjects, there is a fairly detailed record of their speech spanning nearly 30 years since their arrival in Australia.

The style of the 1988 interviews is somewhat different from the 1999 and 2001 interviews because of personal interview style differences. In addition, there was obviously no way to control for the interviewers' gender and age in the 1988 and 1999 interviews. This may have had an impact on the speech style used by the subjects during the interviews.

6.3.6 Recruitment of Subjects

During the initial stages of the project, some subjects were recruited by e-mail advertisement, as in the pilot project. Global e-mails could only be sent out at my home institution, so in addition some subjects were recruited by the friend-of-a-friend method (Milroy 1987: 53-54), where subjects introduce the researcher to other subjects. This method was somewhat successful if the subject had American or Canadian relatives in Australia, but most of the subjects did not have extensive networks of other North American friends. Consequently, a third method was also used, which was to mention the dissertation topic to a number of (Australian) acquaintances at social gatherings, parties, etc. Many people found the topic of this thesis very interesting and were quite happy to talk about it. After a few minutes of discussion they often remembered an acquaintance of theirs who was American or Canadian and offered contact details.

I also found a few subjects when they identified themselves as Americans or Canadians or used a speech feature of AmE or CE. This might be construed as influencing the sample because these were people who still had features of AmE or CE in their speech rather than those who had acquired AusE so fully as to be unrecognizably American or Canadian. This probably did not have a major effect, though, since only four of the subjects were recruited this way and two of these were subjects who had altered their speech in the direction of AusE.

Subjects were required to fit the following criteria: their first language had to be English; they must have lived in Canada or the western United States, preferably to have been born there and lived there until they came to Australia; they had to be free of any speech impediment; and they had to have limited knowledge of linguistics. Initially, I required that the subjects have lived only in Canada or the western United States and not in any other English-speaking region before arriving in Australia, but it was found that this was too restrictive and too few people fit this criterion. As a result, this criterion was relaxed and I permitted subjects who had lived in other regions of North America and those who had visited the United Kingdom or New Zealand provided that it had not been for more than two years.

Some subjects were found through a social club for Canadians living in Australia called *The Canada Club*. It was supposed that the members of this club might have networks of Canadian friends, but most of the members who were interviewed did not report attending the meetings very regularly or having formed very close friendships as a result of their involvement in the club. A similar American club was also contacted, but none of their members came from the Western American dialect area and so no one from that club was interviewed. The *American Women's Auxiliary*, a volunteer organization for American women living in Australia, was also contacted, but only one member was interested in being interviewed. An advertisement was put up at a shop which sells American foodstuffs, and one person replied to this advertisement and was interviewed.

6.3.7 Description of the Subjects

Table 5: Main Study Subjects, Social Variables

(Identity will be described qualitatively in section 9.5.1. It was too complex to include it in this table.)

Pseudonym	Gender	AOA	HOME DIALECT	WORK DIALECT	SOCIAL CLUB	SOCNET	LENGTH OF STAY
Carrie	F	10	AusE	AusE	no	2	15 years
Harriet	F	27	AusE	AusE	yes	0	15 years
Sharon[1]	F	30	AusE	AusE	no	1	6 years
Margaret	F	25	AusE	AusE	no	0	27 years
Peg	F	27	Mixed	AusE	no	1	25 years
Betty	F	29	AusE	AusE	no	1	25 years
Lucy	F	7	AusE	AusE	no	0	25 years
Ann	F	28	AusE	AusE	yes	3	5 years
Daisy	F	25	AusE	N/A	yes	3	32 years
Karla	F	40	AmE	AusE	no	0	10 years
Wanda	F	22	CE	N/A	no	3	0.6 years
Olivia	F	31	Mixed	AusE	no	0	1.5 years
Felicia	F	26	AusE	N/A	no	1	25 years
Jackie	F	22	AusE	AusE	no	0	5 years
Emma	F	28	AusE	AusE	no	0	15 years
Nora	F	35	AusE	AusE	yes	3	5 years
Gwen	F	27	CE	AusE	no	1	1.5 years
Vera[1]	F	15	AusE	Mixed	no	0	28 years
Ingrid	F	46	AmE	N/A	no	0	4 years
Renee	F	15	Mixed	AusE	yes	2	5 years
Walt	M	19	Mixed	AusE	no	4	0.6 years
Matthew	M	35	AusE	AusE	no	0	2 years
Lee	M	34	Mixed	AusE	no	3	7 years
Ralph	M	30	AusE	AusE	no	0	15 years
Sam	M	20	AusE	AusE	no	0	0.8 years
David	M	36	CE	Mixed	no	4	6 years
Jim	M	28	AmE	N/A	no	0	25 years
Tim	M	32	Mixed	N/A	no	0	25 years
Xavier	M	27	AusE	AusE	yes	4	15 years
Harry	M	35	CE	AusE	no	0	3 years
Benjamin	M	30	CE	AusE	no	1	10 years
Edward	M	38	AusE	AusE	no	0	2 years
Keith	M	30	AusE	AusE	no	1	3 years
Gary[1]	M	35	AmE	AusE	no	2	10 years

[1] The research assistant could not be present to perform the second part of these interviews due to illness, and so two separate interviews on different days were conducted.

A number of interviews were conducted with subjects who turned out to be from different dialect areas of North America or who had lived for extended periods of time in English speaking countries outside North America and Australia. The information about their native dialect area or history of having lived elsewhere overseas was usually discovered just before or during the course of the interview, and rather than ending the interview abruptly and making the person feel that their time was being wasted, the interviews were completed. Although the audiotapes of the interviews with them were not analyzed in detail for changes in the phonetic variables, the information they provided is nonetheless interesting both in terms of their meta-linguistic comments and as a kind of point of reference in comparison and contrast with the main study data. Comments from these subjects will be used where appropriate as a comparison with the other subjects' behaviour. Two children of the main study subjects Peg and Tim were also interviewed briefly (Loraine and Ted). These subjects will be referred to as the non-study participants (NSP), and their pseudonyms will be followed by (NSP) when mentioned in the body of the thesis.

Table 6: Non-Study Participants, Social Variables

Pseudonym	Gender	AOA	HOME DIALECT	WORK DIALECT	SOCIAL CLUB	SOCNET	LENGTH OF STAY
Jeff	M	14*	Mixed	AusE	No	1	25 years
Frank	M	25	AusE	AusE	No	0	30 years
Peter	M	33	AusE	Mixed	No	1	23 years
Andrew	M	35	Mixed	AusE	No	0	3 years
Una	F	6	AusE	AusE	No	1	25 years

*arrived at age 14 in New Zealand, arrived age 21 in Australia

7 Analysis of the Linguistic Variables

A summary of the subjects' linguistic behaviour is given in Table 7 (below). The proportion of the tokens that were pronounced in AusE form are given as percentages. Total numbers of tokens are given in Appendix C.

Table 7: Summary of the Usage of the AusE forms of the Linguistic Variables

Subject	Propn AusE /r/	Propn AusE KIT	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn AusE FLEECE	Propn AusE FACE	Propn AusE PRICE
Sharon	1.43%	46.42%	16.96%	14.06%	42.92%	10.06%
Carrie	20.21%	16.85%	27.05%	8.47%	47.03%	49.09%
Vera	5.85%	45.82%	30.12%	8.91%	55.72%	24.07%
Felicia	5.59%	28.33%	36.32%	10.48%	35.02%	30.69%
Harriet	0%	26.62%	4.07%	23.84%	22.71%	13.02%
Betty	0%	0%	10.92%	2.83%	0%	0%
Lucy	22.62%	24.83%	38.89%	2.39%	25.31%	8.23%
Jackie	0.22%	14.86%	27.63%	0%	3.82%	29.06%
Margaret	7.17%	33.02%	28.45%	7.26%	12.90%	45.16%
Peg	0%	0%	4.66%	6.62%	25.19%	0%
Daisy	0%	0.80%	1.10%	4.69%	15.25%	5.05%
Emma	0%	0%	0%	3.03%	6.30%	20.29%
Nora	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Gwen	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Ann	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Karla	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Wanda	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Olivia	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Ingrid	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Renee	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Matthew	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Ralph	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sam	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
David	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Jim	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Tim	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Xavier	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Subject	Propn AusE /r/	Propn AusE KIT	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn AusE FLEECE	Propn AusE FACE	Propn AusE PRICE
Harry	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Benjamin	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Edward	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Gary	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Walt	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Lee	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Keith	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

7.1 Audio links

The text version of this dissertation is accompanied by a CD. First, copy the file marked "Thesis" on the CD onto your C: drive (the reader must do this so that the hyperlinks to the audiofiles will work properly). The reader may then open the "pdf" document entitled "Chapter 7" on this CD. There are three other folders that contain "wav" files linked to this chapter. To open this document, the reader will need a copy of Adobe Acrobat Reader, which can be downloaded free from their website (http://www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readstep2.html). In order to ensure that the fonts can be read correctly, the reader will need to have an updated version of the Acrobat Reader.

When the document on the CD is opened, one will find that there are hyperlinks in it and the reader may listen to excerpts from the recorded data by simply clicking on the hyperlinks, provided that one's computer has a sound card.[43] A warning message may appear on the screen, asking if the user is sure s/he really wants to open the file. Just click yes.

eg. 1) F: occasionally for some food [fʉd] and things

link to audiofile of Frank-food

Most of these hyperlinks connect to audiofiles in "wav" format, sampled at 44, 100 kHz. These audiofiles can be played on Winamp software (which can be freely downloaded from http://www.winamp.com) and most other sound players. Two of the hyperlinks connect to AU format sound files.

[43] I am indebted to Stephen Morey who devised this method of presenting data and gave instructions on how to use it at a seminar at Monash University on October 11, 2002.

The audiofiles are recordings of the subjects saying certain words, with pronunciations of particular interest here, normally within the context of a phrase in order to increase the intelligibility of the utterance. Audiofiles are only provided when is useful to hear how the speaker pronounces a word; they are not provided where the crucial information can be gleaned from reading the excerpt. This is because they are not strictly necessary in the latter case, and a lot of long excerpts make the subjects more identifiable. The subjects were promised relative anonymity at the time of the study due to Monash University ethics board regulations.

The audiolinks are preceded by transcriptions of the utterance with the word in question underlined and transcribed phonetically (these transcriptions generally follow the conventions outlined in Appendix D, except for the very brief excerpts, where comments from the interviewer are placed in parentheses rather than on a separate line).

7.2 Non-prevocalic /r/

None of the subjects deleted or vocalized a very high proportion of non-prevocalic /r/. There might be some mitigating circumstances which explain why the subjects who arrived at a young age behave this way; Lucy was corrected by her mother and Carrie and Vera returned to the United States for a length of time. (However, it should be kept in mind that Renee arrived as a teenager and has not acquired any AusE sounds at all). Even so, the deletion or vocalization of non-prevocalic /r/ is not as simple as it appears. It may have been challenging for these subjects to do so because the pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ is reinforced orthographically, and it also requires the acquisition of phonemic length and centering diphthongs, which do not exist in AmE or CE. It may be quite difficult for an AmE or CE speaker to deduce how AusE speakers distinguish between words like *hut* and *heart,* for example, and how they would make a differentiation in their own speech. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that so many of the subjects acquired *none* of this feature at all; one might have expected them to use it in a few lexical items or phonetic environments rather than avoiding it altogether. For instance, in unstressed positions as in the word *butter*, the subjects could delete the /r/ without having to acquire phonemic length.

7.2.1 Salience and Non-prevocalic /r/

Thus, the low rate of non-prevocalic /r/ deletion/vocalization could be related to salience since non-prevocalic /r/ is very salient but phonemic length is not; this requires speakers to drop a salient feature and acquire a non-salient one. Another possible reason why so few of the subjects have deleted or vocalized a high proportion of non-prevocalic /r/ could be that they may not know which /r/'s to vocalize. Subjects were aware of a difference in pronunciation of /r/ but some thought that AusE speakers simply do not pronounce any /r/'s at all, such as Lucy and Lee. For instance, Lucy commented:

> L: and she's but um I was talking to my partner {baby coughs} yesterday cause I knew I was gonna have this and I said is there anything that, georgia says that's american and he said his name's eric and she says his name with the r if she says it slowly she says eric {elongated /r/} or somethi* I can't do it the way she d* I'm just making that up but she actually pronounces his name and she says certain r words because of my mother and I.
> CIMS: <oh yeah>.
> L: <um> but mainly she's a totally australian little girl.

Of course, the name *Eric* would be pronounced with the /r/ by both AusE and AmE/CE speakers.

The AmE and CE speakers would probably also notice AusE linking /r/ and intrusive /r/, which many AusE speakers are not aware of, and this would also be confusing.

7.2.2 Literacy

Una (NSP) also stated that her acquisition of AusE was reinforced by learning to read in an Australian school from Australian teachers:

> CI: so do you remember um your accent when your accent changed or if it was it a long slow kind of process or.
> U: I think it might've been quite fast because it the only reason I think that is that I learnt to read in australia.
> CI: mmhmm.
> U: um, and so in that sense it was a time when I was coming to be more engaged with words.
> CI: yeah.
> U: in a big way.
> CI: oh uhuh.
> U: you know so and I was taught to read you know every single word that was pronounced to me when I was how to pronounce it was you know in an australian way.
> CI: <oh okay>.
> U: <to be able to> read aloud.
> CI: yup.
> U: as I learnt that I only ever learnt that in an australian way so.
> CI: oh that's really interesting hmm.
> U: I came home with th* I think I told you this story but I came home with this book our very first reading book and it was called digger [dɪgɐ].
> CI: yup.
> U: d i double g e r and mum was just amazed you know that I called it digger [dɪgə].

7.2.3 Phonetic Environment

Carrie followed a specific pattern of non-prevocalic /r/ deletion/vocalization. She did not vocalize or delete non-prevocalic /r/, except when it followed /a/, as in the words *cart, far, hard, heart, part, start, target, party,* and in some unstressed syllables, particularly the final syllables of words such as *better, solicitor, brother, sister, weather,* etc., with few exceptions.

1) C: um people that you think would really know better [bɛɾə]
   link to audiofile of Carrie-better
2) C: yeah he's got two brothers [bɹɐðəz], I've got a brother and a sister [sɪstɐ]
   link to audiofile of Carrie-brothers, sister
3) C: it used to sorta really break my heart [haːt] but
   link to audiofile of Carrie-heart
4) C: I came back cause mum had cancer [kænsɐ]
   link to audiofile of Carrie-cancer
5) C: it's very hard [haːd] too
   link to audiofile of Carrie-hard
6) C: and I suppose part [paːt] of it too cause I was moved heaps as a child
   link to audiofile of Carrie-part
7) C: he was a minister that started [staːɾəd] up new churches [tʃəːtʃəz]
   link to audiofile of Carrie-started

Example 7) shows her pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ when it occurs in the NURSE lexical set. The general pattern of /r/ vocalization can be seen in the following longer excerpt of Carrie's speech:

8) C: um, a lot of bigoted people a lot of anti american people um you get some that are [əː] great but I mean I've had more [mɔɹ] maybe it's just the outspokenness of them is different um people that you think would really know better [bɛɾə] like you know solicitors [səlɪsərəz] at work [wəːk] and stuff and um as I said they they want to use you as a forum to canvas all their [ðɛɹ] complaints {HRT} an I feel like saying well, even if I agreed with your [jɔɹ] perspective [pəspɛktɪv] it's not like I'm the one that did it y'know

{laughter} I haven't been y'know living there [ðɛɹ] in many years [jiɹz] either [iðəɹ] but um it's just really ignorant views too like alex's um one of his friends at school the father's [fɑðəɹz] actually uh, swiss um at least his mother's [mɛðəɹz] swiss uh I don't know whether [wɛðəɹ] he was born [bɔɹn] here [hiɹ] or [ɔɹ] not an he's an ex-federal cop and um well it's a bit of a crack up of a family cause they have a child every fifteen months because neither [niðəɹ] one of em wanna use contraception {HRT} so he stopped working [wəɹkɪŋ] cause they can live off the government [gɛvəɹmənt] cheaper [tʃipəɹ]?
CI00: oh wow.
C: an so he has all these really opinionated things and he sends them through these children and he just um he told his son to tell alex that he should hide the fact he's american y'know be ashamed of it an blah blah blah blah an cause it's this he's a bigger [bɪgəɹ] noisier [nɔɪziəɹ] kid alex y'know came home really upset about it an I just I basically said the guy's an idiot {laughter} y'know don't worry about it but yeah just um y'know like solicitors [səlɪsɔɹəz] at work [wəɹk] an stuff an they just kinda mean about it um I used to take it a lot an with this one gal at work [wəɹk] I just eventually she'd just start [staɹt] up and I'd go he he he kinda smile at her [əɹ] an just ignore [ɪgnɔɹ] her [əɹ].
CI00: mmhmm.
C: and um like I said this new girl's [gəɹlz] come in that's travelled in the states an she loves the states so I just let them go for [fɔɹ] it an I just sit back and watch you know um but it's like, if I were [wəɹ] to go up to say like altona north's [nɔɹθs] a heavy arabic area cause many years [jiɹz] ago they s* settled refugees in there [ðɛɹ], there's [ðɛɹz] just arabs everywhere [ɛvriwɛɹ] if I went up to an arabic person [pəɹsən] an I got on their [ðɛɹ] handle like that about oh arabic this this this.
CI00: yeah.
C: oh you're [jɔɹ] discriminating blah blah blah but because I come from an english speaking um I suppose y'know, financially stable blah blah blah blah blah y'know politically stable environment I'm supposed to be a target [tɑːgɔt] for [fəɹ] everything?
link to audiofile of Carrie-americans excerpt

In this excerpt, Carrie pronounced non-prevocalic /r/ when it occurs after /ɔ/ and after /ə/ or /ɛ/ and /e/, but deleted it in "target", "start", "better" and "solicitor", showing this pattern of /r/ deletion after /a/ and in unstressed syllables.[44]

It is interesting that the /a/ vowel had such a significant impact on non-prevocalic /r/ vocalization/deletion. This could be because, unlike the FLEECE vowel or the FACE diphthong, for example, /a/ does not usually have an off-glide in AusE (i.e. it does not form a centering diphthong). Thus the environment following /a/ would be one of the simplest environments for the deletion of non-prevocalic /r/ for AmE or CE speakers.

Sharon tended to use the low front [a] before /r/ in words like *car, start, heart* etc. rather than the CE [ɑ]. This is also an interesting strategy since the [a] more closely resembles the AusE pronunciation of, for example, [kaː] or [kɐː] (*car*), although Sharon

still consistently used non-prevocalic /r/. Lucy also tended to use a front [a] before /r/, rather than the typical AmE [ɑ]. Vera also used a front [a] before /r/ sometimes.

9) S: I'm from a generation that was taught to put a seatbelt on every time I get in a car [kaɹ] from the very first time I got in a car [kaɹ]
link to audiofile of Sharon-car
10) S: it's very hard [haɹd] to introduce it once you've
link to audiofile of Sharon-hard
11) S: because it turns out you have to start [staɹt] around you know
link to audiofile of Sharon-start
12) L: it was very hard [haɹd]
link to audiofile of Lucy-hard
13) L: they all started [staɹəd]
link to audiofile Lucy-started
14) L: um there's a car [kaɹ] there there's tires um
link to audiofile of Lucy-car
15) V: what they're doing where they are [aɹ]
link to audiofile of Vera-are

Compare this with Wanda's production of "car":

16) W: when you say car [kɑɹ]
link to audiofile of Wanda-car

An acoustic comparison of the formant structure of the /a/ in Wanda's production of "car" (example 16)[45] versus Sharon's production of "car" (example 9, second instance) and Lucy's production of "car" (example 14) shows that Sharon's and Lucy's /a/

[44] The subject matter of this quote (anti-american sentiments) will be discussed in section 9.7.3.1.
[45] Wanda had been in Australia for only 8 months at the time of the study and had not acquired any AusE speech sounds.

realizations are fronter and slightly higher than Wanda's realization of /a/.[46] The F1 in "car" as spoken by Wanda is 834 Hz and the F2 is 1104 Hz, whereas Sharon has a remarkably higher F2 of 1445 Hz and an F1 of 781 Hz. Lucy's /a/ is even more fronted, with an F1 of 740 Hz and an F2 of 1705 Hz.

Lucy, the only speaker other than Carrie who deleted or vocalized a relatively high proportion of non-prevocalic /r/ in her speech, did not follow the same pattern of /r/ vocalization and deletion as Carrie. Lucy's pattern of /r/ vocalization and deletion was much more erratic and unpredictable. She deleted and vocalized /r/ in a number of phonetic environments:

17) L: it's just a normal [nɔməl] petrol station

link to audiofile of Lucy-normal

18) L: when we went four [fɔ] years [jiz] ago they said listen

link to audiofile of Lucy-four years

19) L: and there's [ðɛs] gum trees

link to audiofile of Lucy-there's

7.3 The Front Lax Vowels

As detailed in Chapter 4, CE and AmE speakers who move to Australia may acquire the AusE realizations of the front lax vowels, which differ from their CE and AmE counterparts in a number of ways: they may be lowered relative to their standard English values in CE and AmE and raised in AusE (see Table 8).

Table 8: Comparison of the Front Lax Vowels in CE, AmE and AusE

	CE	AmE	AusE
KIT	[ɪ] [ɪ̞]	[ɪ] [ɪ̞]	[ɪ̝]
DRESS	[ɛ] [ɛ̞]	[ɛ] [ɛ̞]	[ɛ̝]
TRAP	[æ] [æ̞]	[æ] [æ̞]	[æ̝] [æ]

[46] All formant measurements were taken from the mid-points of the vowels, as far away as possible from any formant transitions. See section 6.3.1.1 for a more detailed description of the acoustic analysis procedures.

The acquisition of the AusE front vowels appears to be fairly straightforward. All of the front lax vowels are simply raised, making them relatively simple to acquire. Eight out of the twelve subjects who acquired some AusE speech sounds used raised front vowels, including the KIT vowel. Margaret, Lucy, Harriet, Jackie, Carrie, Vera, Felicia and Sharon used a raised form of the KIT vowel at least some of the time, though Jackie did not raise any other front vowels. However, Peg, Betty, Emma and Daisy did not raise any of their front lax vowels. DRESS was raised much more often than TRAP. It could be that Emma, Daisy, Betty and Peg did not raise their front vowels because the raised KIT vowel could impinge on the vowel space for FLEECE unless FLEECE gains an onglide, but Emma, Daisy, Betty and Peg had all used at least a small proportion of the AusE form of FLEECE. In any case, since the KIT vowel is mainly distinguished from FLEECE by its length, this was probably not the major problem for these speakers.

A pre-nasal environment seemed to promote the use of a raised AusE variant of the front lax vowels. This is to be expected as front lax vowels are already raised pre-nasally in some varieties of American English (e.g. raising of /æ/ before nasals in the Northern Cities Shift (Labov et al. 1996)). In his description of AmE, Ladefoged (1999: 43) also states:

> vowels are raised before [ŋ] in the same syllable, so that the vowel in 'sing' is nearer to that in 'see' than that in 'sin', the vowel in 'sang' is close to that in 'sane', and the vowel in 'length' is intermediate between that in 'sing' and 'sang'.

Thus it could probably be considered a natural phonetic change for these speakers to generalize this rule to other pre-nasal environments.

Examples of raised KIT vowels:

1) M: it looks like it's christmas [kɹɪ̝smɘs]

link to audiofile of Margaret-Christmas

2) L: and I think [θɪ̝ŋk]

link to audiofile of Lucy-think

3) H: but I don't miss [mɪ̝s] it

link to audiofile of Harriet-miss

4) S: just layer like when you impact [ɪ̝mpækt] it

link to audiofile of Sharon-impact

5) V: so that was really <u>difficult</u> [dɪ̟fəkəlt]

<u>link to audiofile of Vera-difficult</u>

6) J: I probably wouldn't <u>live</u> [lɪ̟v] in the same state or city as they as my mum does anyway so

<u>link to audiofile of Jackie-live</u>

7) F: or somebody's <u>sick</u> [sɪ̟k] that's kinda hard

<u>link to audiofile of Felicia-sick</u>

Compare these with Wanda's production of "difference" and native English speaking resident Californian's pronunciation of "bid":

8) W: there is a difference [dɪfɪɛns]

<u>link to audiofile of Wanda-difference</u>

9) <u>bid</u> [bɪd]

<u>link to audiofile of bid</u>

Source: (IPA 1999b)

An acoustic comparison was made of the formant structure of Wanda's production of KIT in "difference" (example 8) and Vera's production of KIT in "difficult" (example 5) because of the similar phonetic environment. Wanda's KIT vowel in "difference" has an F1 of 507 Hz and an F2 of 1772 Hz, within the expected range for a CE KIT vowel. Vera's production of "difficult" has an F1 of 385 Hz and an F2 of 2200 Hz, which is much higher and fronter than Wanda's KIT vowel, and within the expected range for a female production of an AusE KIT vowel. The AmE speaker's production of "bid" in example 9) has an F1 of 600 Hz and an F2 of 2178 Hz.

Examples of raised DRESS and TRAP vowels:

10) H: even had one of those <u>nets</u> [nɛ̝ts]

<u>link to audiofile of Harriet-nets</u>

11) C: going back to <u>renting</u> [ɹɛ̝ntɪŋ]

<u>link to audiofile of Carrie-renting</u>

12) L: when I <u>left</u> [lɛ̝ft]

<u>link to audiofile of Lucy-left</u>

13) S: better go back and <u>check</u> [tʃɛ̝k] that

<u>link to audiofile of Sharon-check</u>

14) V: the <u>best question</u> [bɛ̝s kwɛ̝stʃən] I ever had the first year I was here

<u>link to audiofile of Vera-bestquestion</u>

15) S: canada's probably pretty close behind <u>that</u> [ðæ̝t]

<u>link to audiofile of Sharon-that</u>

16) M: <u>yes</u> [jɛ̝s]

<u>link to audiofile of Margaret-yes</u>

17) F: you have to lift the <u>handle</u> [hæ̝ndl̩]

<u>link to audiofile of Felicia-handle</u>

18) F: <u>next</u> [nɛ̝ks] year'll be better

<u>link to audiofile of Felicia-next</u>

These raised tokens resemble a native AusE speaker's production of DRESS:

19) <u>yes</u> [jɛ̝s]

<u>link to audiofile of yes</u>

Source: (Callbase Databases Ltd. 2000)

There is a clear contrast between these examples and that of a native English speaking Californian's production of the DRESS vowel:

20) <u>bed</u> [bɛd]

<u>link to audiofile of bed</u>

Source: (IPA 1999b)

Acoustic analyses of examples 13), 14) and 16) also show lower F1's than would be normal for CE or AmE speakers. For Vera's production of "best question", the /ɛ/ in "best" has an F1 of 446Hz and the F1 of the /ɛ/ in "question" has an F1 of 450 Hz.

Sharon's production of /ɛ/ in "check" has an F1 of 531 Hz. Margaret's production of /ɛ/ in "yes" has an F1 of 381 Hz. A female CE speaker not participating in the CE vowel shift should have an F1 of between 600 and 800 Hz for the DRESS vowel. A female participating in the vowel shift should have an F1 of between 650 and 850 Hz (Clarke et al. 1995; also see section 4.4.2.2). The native English speaking Californian's production of /ɛ/ in "bed" in example 20) has an F1 of 786 Hz. The Australian English speaker's production of /ɛ/ in "yes" in example 19) has an F1 of 502 Hz. (The remaining examples were not analyzed acoustically because of nasalization or because of the proximity of a lateral consonant).[47]

7.4 The FACE and PRICE Diphthongs and the FLEECE Vowel

As detailed in Chapter 4, the FACE and PRICE diphthongs and the FLEECE vowel have different phonetic variants in AusE than in CE or AmE (see Table 9). Cultivated AusE variants of the vowels and diphthongs are given on the right hand side of the AusE column, General variants are given in the middle, and Broader variants are placed to the left.

Table 9: Comparison of FLEECE, FACE and PRICE in CE, AmE and AusE

	CE	AmE	AusE
FACE	[eɪ]	[eɪ]	[æɪ] [æe] [ɐɪ] [eɪ]
PRICE	[aɪ] [əɪ]*	[aɪ]	[ɑə] [ɒɪ] [aɪ]
FLEECE	[i]	[i]	[əɪ] [ɪi] [i]

* allophonic variant occurring before voiceless stops (Canadian Raising).

Daisy and Emma shared a similar pattern of acquisition: a relatively low usage of the AusE forms of the FACE diphthong, the PRICE diphthong and the FLEECE vowel; although, proportionately, their usage of the AusE forms differs. Peg also used a low percentage of the AusE variants of FACE and FLEECE although she did not use any of the AusE variant of PRICE. It is interesting that they – and some of the other subjects –

[47] Nasalized vowels are more difficult to analyze acoustically because nasalization widens the F1 bandwidth, flattens the F1 spectrum and may produce a nasal resonance between 800-1100 Hz (Stevens 1997: 484-488).

have acquired the AusE forms of these particular variables since the AmE/CE form of the FACE diphthong ([eɪ]), the FLEECE vowel ([i]) and the PRICE diphthong ([aɪ]) are actually the prestige forms in AusE (except for the Canadian Raising form of PRICE).

7.4.1 The FACE diphthong

Examples of AusE realizations of the FACE diphthong:

1) H: and I didn't hate [hæɪt] it when I lived in it
   link to audiofile of Harriet-hate
2) M: people when I first came [kæem] but I don't now
   link to audiofile of Margaret-came
3) S: well you know it'll be great for your sales [sælz] because everyone's gonna have to buy
   link to audiofile of Sharon-sales
4) L: you like to think you're safe [sæɪf] here
   link to audiofile of Lucy-safe
5) V: you'd have a paper [pæɪpɐ˞] and you'd have different things that sort of built up your grade
   link to audiofile of Vera-paper
6) P: places [plæɪsəs]
   link to audiofile of Peg-places
7) F: they went more to the american way [wæe]
   link to audiofile of Felicia-way
8) D: it was I had to pay [pæe] for it it wasn't like it is today
   link to audiofile of Daisy-pay

Compare these with Betty's and Gary's productions of FACE:

9) B: I think melbourne's a great place [gɹeɐ˞ ples] to live
   link to audiofile of Betty-great place

10) G: there's a lot of open space [speɪs] for them lots of

link to audiofile of Gary-space

Betty's production of "great" in this instance is basically monophthongal. The FACE vowel in "great" has an F1 of 514 Hz and an F2 of 1800 Hz, which is a bit lower than the expected AmE vowel in this word. This could be the result of some AusE influence or just the result of a rapid speech rate. Compared with Harriet's production of "hate" (example 1), which has a nucleus with an F1 of 959 Hz and an F2 of 1662 Hz, Betty's FACE vowel is much higher. Harriet's production of the nucleus of FACE is around [æ], the nucleus of the General AusE FACE diphthong.[48]

This in turn can be compared to the citation form pronunciation of a native English speaking, resident Californian:

11) bayed [beɪd]

link to audiofile of bayed

Source: (IPA 1999b)

The nucleus of the diphthong in the production of "bayed" in example 11) has an F1 of 452 Hz and an F2 of 2500 Hz.

Another useful point of comparison involves the citation form pronunciations of the FACE diphthong of native English speaking, resident Australians:

12) eight [æɪt]

link to audiofile of eight

Source: (Callbase Databases Ltd. 2000)

13) midday [mədæɪ]

link to audiofile of midday

Source: (Callbase Databases Ltd. 2000)

[48] It was easier and more reliable to measure the formants of the nucleus of this diphthong rather than the offglide because the offglide tends to be very short. Also, most of the differences between the variants of the FACE diphthong in the three varieties are differences between targets for the nuclei.

Examples 1) to 8) clearly resemble the AusE tokens in 12) and 13) more closely than they do the AmE pronunciation in example 11), whereas the tokens produced by Betty and Gary in examples 9) and 10) are much closer to the AmE pronunciation. Acoustic analysis shows that, in example 12), the nucleus of the FACE diphthong has an F1 of 861 Hz and an F2 of 1300 Hz. In example 13), the nucleus of the FACE diphthong has an F1 of 721 Hz and an F2 of 1469 Hz. Example 12) in particular is closer to Harriet's FACE nucleus in example 1) than it is to Betty's FACE vowel in example 9).

7.4.2 The PRICE diphthong

Examples of AusE realizations of the PRICE diphthong:

1) C: their heritage on my [mɑɪ] side's [sɑɪdz] very different

link to audiofile of Carrie-my side

2) M: that wasn't nice [nɑɪs] my mother passed away

link to audiofile of Margaret-nice

3) V: said take them to the recycle [risɑɪkəl] bin

link to audiofile of Vera-recycle

4) E: oh right [ɹɑɪt]

link to audiofile of Emma-right

5) M: yeah w* what a pleasant life [lɑɪf] that was then i* in the nineteen twenties

link to audiofile of Margaret-life

6) D: (yeah) been to ayer's rock a couple times [tɒɛmz]

link to audiofile of Daisy-times

These can be compared with the realizations of PRICE produced by a resident AusE speaker (example 7, below) and a resident AmE speaker (example 8, below):

7) the thirty first of july [dʒəlɑɪ] two thousand and three (AusE)

link to audiofile of july

Source: (Callbase Databases Ltd. 2000)

8) buy [baɪ] (AmE)

link to audiofile of buy

Source: (IPA 1999b)

The first target of the diphthong is much further back for the AusE speaker than for the AmE speaker. The nucleus of the AmE speaker's PRICE diphthong in "buy" in example 8) has an F1 of 1009 Hz and an F2 of 1595 Hz, while the nucleus of the AusE speaker's PRICE diphthong in "july" in example 7) has an F1 of 760 Hz and an F2 of 1120 Hz. Vera's production of PRICE in "recycle" in example 3) has an F1 of 739 Hz and an F2 of 1258 Hz, which is much more similar to the AusE speaker's realization of PRICE than it is to the AmE speaker's realization. Margaret's realization of PRICE in "nice" in example 2) has an F1 of 750 Hz and and F2 of 1023 Hz, also similar to the AusE speaker's realization of PRICE.

7.4.3 The FLEECE Vowel

The use of the AusE form of the FLEECE vowel is especially unusual compared to the other linguistic variables. The subjects who have made the most changes to their speech, like Lucy and Felicia, tended to use it in only a very small proportion of possible instances. This could be because the speakers who have acquired AusE to the greatest extent are more sensitive to the sociostylistic meanings of linguistic forms, and using an onglide with the FLEECE vowel tends to be associated with Broad forms of AusE or informal situations. Thus it might be avoided by proficient D2 speakers in a relatively formal interview situation.

Examples of AusE realizations of the FLEECE vowel:

1) H: you know they've been here as long as me [məɪ] but they feel british

   link to audiofile of Harriet-me

2) M: there's someone sound asleep [əsləɪp]

   link to audiofile of Margaret-asleep

3) S: well they only strip new trees [tɹəɪz] of it

   link to audiofile of Sharon-trees

4) V: because of I think of the teaching [təɪtʃɪŋ] methods and the way of testing things

   link to audiofile of Vera-teaching

5) P: to teach [təɪtʃ]

   link to audiofile of Peg-teach

6) C: I was moved heaps [həɪps] as a child and we've moved heaps [həɪps] since we've been married

   link to audiofile of Carrie-heaps

7) D: because I had sore feet [fəɪt]

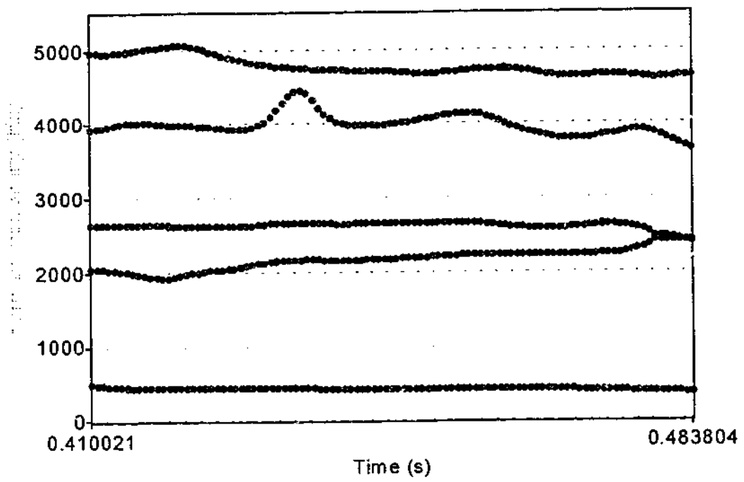
   link to audiofile of Daisy-feet

8) E: I guess I think it was one christmas eve [əɪv]

   link to audiofile of Emma-eve

A spectrogram of Peg's production of "teach" (example 5) shows a gradually rising F2 and decreasing F1, demonstrating the onglide (see Figure 11). This resembles the formant trajectories for FLEECE shown in Harrison et al. (1997: 166).

Figure 11: Formant Trajectories for AusE onglide in FLEECE

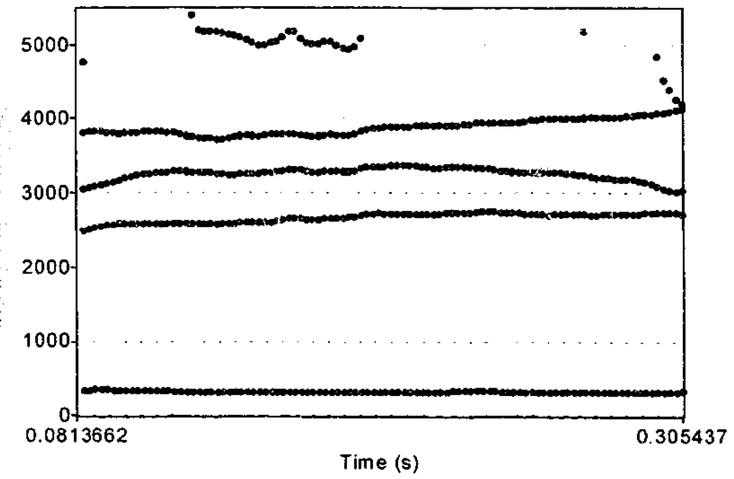


Examples 1 to 8 show an onglide in the production of FLEECE. The CE and AmE pronunciations of FLEECE lack an onglide. A typical CE production of FLEECE is given in example 9, and an AmE English speaker's production of FLEECE is given in example 10:

9) R: she [ʃiː]
   link to audiofile of Renee-she
10) bead [bid]
   link to audiofile of bead
   Source: (IPA 1999b)

The formant trajectories for example 10) ("bead") are shown in Figure 12. They are relatively stable compared to those in Figure 11.

Figure 12: Formant Trajectories for AmE FLEECE



7.5 The Back Vowels

The acquisition of the AusE back vowels is much more complicated than the acquisition of the AusE front vowels. It requires splitting a merger (THOUGHT/LOT) and deducing which words belong to the TRAP lexical set and which belong to the BATH lexical set. Fronting the GOOSE vowel and rounding the FOOT vowel slightly appear to be relatively easy to acquire.

7.5.1 The GOAT Diphthong

There are several available models for the AusE realization of the GOAT diphthong (see Table 10). Cultivated AusE variants of the vowels and diphthongs are given on the right hand side of the AusE column, General variants in the middle, and Broader variants to the left.

Table 10: Comparison of the GOAT diphthong in CE, AmE and AusE

	CE	AmE	AusE
GOAT	[oʊ] [o̞ʊ]	[oʊ] [o̞ʊ]	[ɐo] [ɐʊ] [aʊ] [ɒo] [ɜʊ] [oʊ]

The nucleus of the AusE variants may be a low back [ɒ] nucleus, a more central [ɐ] or even [ɜ] in more cultivated realizations. For some subjects the off-glide was usually [ʉ] or a fronted [u]:

1) L: but it was frightening to know [nɐʊ̟] or to think
   link to audiofile of Lucy-know
2) V: I dunno [dɐnɐʊ]
   link to audiofile of Vera-dunno
3) V: no [nɐʊ̟]
   link to audiofile of Vera-no

These realizations are similar to two native AusE speakers' productions of this diphthong:

4) R: oh coke [kɐʊk] was
   link to audiofile of Robyn-coke (research assistant)
5) no [nɐu]
   link to audiofile of no
   Source: (Callbase Databases Ltd. 2000)

There is an obvious contrast between these realizations and a resident native English speaking Californian's production of this diphthong with its high rounded nucleus:

6) bode [bʊʊd]
   link to audiofile of bode
   Source: (IPA 1999b)

The nucleus of the GOAT diphthong in example 6) has an F1 of 585 Hz and an F2 of 1305 Hz. This can be compared to the expected nucleus for AusE GOAT diphthong: Harrington et al. (1997: 167) give an F1 of approximately 800 Hz and an F2 of approximately 1500 Hz. The Californian's production of GOAT has a higher and more rounded nucleus. It may also be further back in the vocal tract, but the lower F2 could be the result of lip-rounding.

Most of the tokens of AusE realizations of the GOAT diphthong resembled the Broad or General AusE forms of middle aged AusE speakers as in examples 7) and 8)[49]:

7) C: it's one of my big goals [gɑʊls]
   link to audiofile of Carrie-goals
8) C: but I suppose wherever my family is is home [hɑʊm]
   link to audiofile of Carrie-home
9) H: anyway I said to them will you go [gɑu] and they said yeah
   link to audiofile of Harriet-go
10) M: I often answer reference questions on the phone [fɑʊn] um
    link to audiofile of Margaret-phone
11) F: it's just too expensive to go [gɑu] and support
    link to audiofile of Felicia-go

Because this diphthong had a number of possible realizations, it was desirable to confirm the auditory impression of this diphthong acoustically. However, the clearest exemplars of the central nuclei in the corpus were produced either preceding or following a nasal which made acoustic analysis problematic. With this in mind, a spectrographic analysis of the nucleus and glide of this diphthong was made of a token of Lucy's production of "so" (example 12).

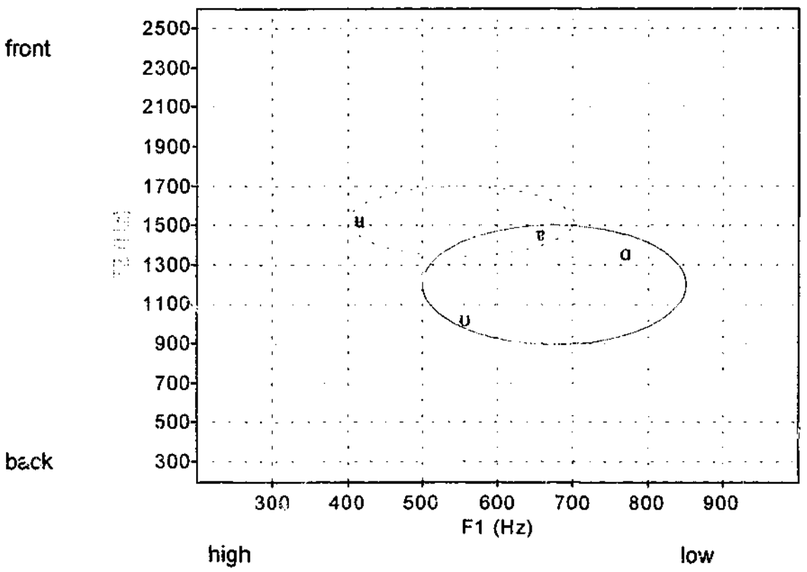
[49] Acoustic analysis showed that the nucleus of this diphthong was actually between the vowel spaces of /a/, /æ/ and /ɑ/ for female AusE speakers (based on Harrington et al. 1997), but was closest to /ɑ/.

12) L: so [sʉu]

link to audiofile of Lucy-so

The spectrographic analysis of Harriet's production of "go" (example 9) can be contrasted with the previous analyses of Lucy's production of "so" (example 12) (see Figure 13) .

Figure 13: Comparison of Goat Diphthongs for Lucy and Harriet



Solid line ellipse: Harriet's production of 'go'

Dotted line ellipse: Lucy's production of 'so'

A comparison of the spectrographic analyses of Harriet's production of "go" and Lucy's production of "so" shows that Lucy produced a nucleus and glide which is

probably fronter than that used by Harriet.[50] The second target of Lucy's GOAT diphthong is also higher than Harriet's. The formants of the nucleus in Lucy's production of GOAT is closer to the Cultivated variant and Harriet's production is closer to the General AusE nucleus (Harrington et al. 1997: 171). However, Lucy's second target is fronter than would be anticipated for AusE speakers. Harrington et al. (1997: 172) state that the acoustic correlates of the second target of GOAT for most AusE speakers are mid-way between GOOSE and FOOT.[51]

Betty sometimes used a fronted monophthong as a variant of the GOAT diphthong, or occasionally used a diphthong with a fronted and centralized nucleus, neither of which resemble any AusE pronunciations of GOAT very closely (none of these tokens were counted as either AusE or AmE/CE). This may be her idiosyncratic approximation of the AusE GOAT vowel, but there were a few other subjects (Sharon, Carrie, Felicia, Lucy and Vera) who also used fronted variants of the GOAT diphthong occasionally.[52] Lucy used it in between 3% and 6% of possible instances. (See Chapter 8 for a quantitative analysis of this feature of Betty's speech).

13) B: so I know [nɐ] actually I know I haven't answered yet

link to audiofile of Betty-know

14) B: uh so [sɐ] do you know it was

link to audiofile of Betty-so

The token of "so" in example 14) was tested acoustically. The F1 was measured at 522 Hz and the F2 was 1489 Hz, making it quite fronted and centralized. These formant measurements may be somewhat confused by the effects of lip rounding (the vowel may be more fronted than this F2 would suggest).

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[50] The off-glide of GOAT may also be rounded: this would lower the F2. Both speakers used rounded off-glides, but it is possible that Harriet used a more rounded variant than Lucy.

[51] Harrington et al. (1997: 172) suggest that previous interpretations of the second target of GOAT as closer to GOOSE may have been due to the phonetic context (pre-alveolar) which raised the F2 of the vowel. However, the tokens of GOAT compared here were produced in open syllables, so the fronting was probably not due to co-articulation. These subjects may be over-shooting the AusE targets, or there may be differences between the realizations obtained from citation forms in Harrington et al. (1997) versus the conversational forms examined here. In my experience, it is not unusual to hear AusE speakers use very fronted off-glides for GOAT and there is generally a wide range of variation in this vowel in AusE.

[52] For subjects other than Betty and Lucy, use of the fronted variant of GOAT was generally limited to less than 2% of the total GOAT tokens, and so it was not included in statistical analyses.

Fronted variants of GOAT are also features of the CE and AmE vowel shifts (see section 4.4.2.13), so this behaviour could be due to participation in one of those vowel shifts, but this seems unlikely since neither Betty nor most of the other subjects fit the demographic profile of speakers participating in those shifts because of their age and the time at which they left North America. More likely this is an interdialect feature, where speakers use a phonetically intermediate form of the D1 and D2 variants. Similar contact phenomena were reported in Britain (1997b: 155-159), where speakers from a region of the United Kingdom called the English Fens used a phonetically intermediate form of [ɤ] for /ʌ/ (where other nearby regional varieties use [ʊ] or [ʌ]). The phonetically intermediate form appeared when speakers were faced with a wide range of variants for a phoneme. Mæhlum (1992: 127-128) also reports on the use of a mixed intonation system by Norwegian children growing up in a region of Norway with no indigenous dialect.

A large percentage of some of the subjects' AusE realizations of the GOAT diphthong are made up the word *so*, particularly when it is used as an utterance modifier (see section 7.11.4).

7.5.2 The THOUGHT/LOT Merger

As described in Chapter 4, the THOUGHT and LOT vowels are merged in CE and nearly merged or totally merged in AmE, but distinct in AusE (see Table 11).

Table 11: Comparison of THOUGHT and LOT in CE, AmE and AusE

	CE	AmE	AusE
THOUGHT	[ɒ] [ɑ]	[ɔ] [ɑ]	[ɔ]
LOT	[ɒ] [ɑ]	[ɑ]	[ɒ]

An unrounded AmE LOT vowel sounds like this:

1) pod [pɑd]
   link to audiofile of pod
   Source: (IPA 1999b)

The CE equivalent is slightly different. This is how Wanda, a Canadian from British Columbia, produced the LOT vowel:

2) W: an she took a box [bɑks] out and it's, empty
   link to audiofile of Wanda - box

In example 1), the speaker's production of "pod" had an F1 of 997 Hz and an F2 of 1466 Hz. Wanda's production of "box" had an F1 of 912 Hz and an F2 of 1151 Hz, indicating that it is further back in the vocal tract than the AmE speaker's production of "pod". This is what would be expected from a speaker of CE (see section 4.4.2.2).

In order for the subjects to acquire /ɔ/ (which only occurs before /r/ in CE and AmE), they must split the THOUGHT/LOT merger into two lexical sets which are not orthographically transparent. The strategy adopted by Sharon and Vera relative to the THOUGHT/LOT merger is quite interesting, since they appeared to be attempting to split the merger but did not actually acquired the THOUGHT vowel. Instead they rearranged their existing vocalic inventory, using one realization of LOT in one lexical set and another realization of LOT in the other lexical set. They employed unrounded [ɑ] in the THOUGHT lexical set, and used the rounded [ɒ] vowel in LOT lexical set. (They did utilize /ɔ/ before /r/ in words such as *sore, four, floor*, etc., as do other CE and AmE speakers).

Examples of Vera and Sharon's treatment of LOT and THOUGHT:

3) S: you know it's a lot more fraught [frɑt] with um challenges
   link to audiofile of Sharon-fraught
4) S: it's a by-product of logging [lɒgɪŋ]
   link to audiofile of Sharon-logging
5) S: I think that possibly [pɒsəbli] the results of this study
   link to audiofile of Sharon-possibly
6) V: and the kids at highschool just thought [θɑt] I would know all the movie stars
   link to audiofile of Vera-thought

7) V: um yeah so I had a variety of jobs [dʒɒbs]

link to audiofile of Vera-jobs

This is probably not a strategy based on the closest phonetic resemblance, since presumably the rounded [ɒ] resembles the rounded /ɔ/ more than the unrounded [ɑ] does. This behaviour could be a result of the LOT vowel's extreme stylistic sensitivity to rounding (this was documented for CE only, but could occur in AmE as well) (Woods 1991: 142). This could be a case of reallocation, where what were originally stylistic variants in the D1 have now become allophonic variants in the D2.

Felicia appeared to be acquiring the THOUGHT vowel, which she used mainly before laterals, but less so in other words in this lexical set like *thought*.

8) F: so we had all [ɔl] the departments

link to audiofile of Felicia-all

9) F: yeah it's called [kɔld] forest science

link to audiofile of Felicia-called

10) F: you know the noise, of dandenong road was awful [ɔfəl]

link to audiofile of Felicia-awful

11) F: my youngest is in albury [ɔlbəri]

link to audiofile of Felicia-albury

12) F: being able to walk [wɒk] to work and

link to audiofile of Felicia-walk

13) F: I wouldn't have thought [θɑt] that, there would have been ages or

link to audiofile of Felicia-thought

The distinction between THOUGHT and LOT is something which should be quite difficult for her to acquire as an adult. (Felicia arrived in Australia at age 26). It could be that the following lateral in *all* has made it easier for Felicia to back the vowel in this particular word (as in Moonwomon (1987)). Felicia's realization of THOUGHT in "awful" (example 10) has an F1 of 557 Hz and an F2 of 1105 Hz. Her production of THOUGHT

in "walk" (example 12) has an F1 of 523 Hz and an F2 of 843 Hz.[53] The F2 in the vowel of "awful" is higher than would be expected for a female AusE speaker's production of THOUGHT (usually between 500 and 850 Hz), but it is still much lower than would be expected for a female CE speaker's realization of LOT.

Margaret also backed and rounded the THOUGHT vowel before laterals:

14) M: that's called [kɔld] i* now called [kɔld] the annex

link to audiofile of Margaret-called

15) M: not a lot that I can recall [rɪkɔl]

link to audiofile of Margaret-recall

In Margaret's case, it is probably not wholly remarkable that she was able to distinguish between the THOUGHT and LOT vowels since they were not fully merged in her D1 when she left the area and moved to Australia (Reed 1971a). For Felicia, however, who is a Canadian, the THOUGHT/LOT merger was indeed complete in her D1 when she left Canada, so it is interesting that Felicia was able to make this distinction.

Harriet sometimes backed and rounded both the THOUGHT and LOT vowels. She treated THOUGHT and LOT as members of one phonological class, variably subject to rounding.

16) H: we'd go for walks [wɒks] in the evening

link to audiofile of Harriet-walks

17) H: here I am they got slaughtered [slɑɾəd]

link to audiofile of Harriet-slaughtered

Lucy, who arrived at age 7, made a distinction between the THOUGHT vowel and the LOT vowel only occasionally and inconsistently.

[53] Acoustic analysis of these tokens of the THOUGHT vowel were done using the Kaylab Computerized Speech Lab hardware and software system rather than Praat. Praat had a tendency to conflate the F1 and F2 in these tokens since the formants were so similar.

18) L: all [ɑl] of my relatives are over there

link to audiofile of Lucy-all

19) L: and a cup and saucer [sɔsɚ] and plates

link to audiofile of Lucy-saucer

Carrie, who arrived at age 10, used a clearly backed and rounded THOUGHT vowel in most of the possible instances.

20) C: the thought [θɔt] of you know

link to audiofile of Carrie-thought

21) C: and a love of law [lɔ]

link to audiofile of Carrie-law

In example 21), Carrie's vowel in "law" has an F1 of 539 Hz and an F2 of 784 Hz, within the expected range for a female AusE production of THOUGHT, indicating that Carrie is reaching the D2 target. Her realization of the vowel in "thought" has an F1 of 465 Hz and an F2 of 884 Hz, also hitting the D2 target.

The low rate of acquisition for this variable partially correlates with findings from Chambers (1998a), who hypothesized that it was the complexity of splitting the vowel merger, when combined with a late age of arrival, which made this variable difficult to acquire. Age of arrival was not as significant a factor in this data.

7.5.3 The GOOSE Vowel

Fronting the GOOSE vowel was fairly common among those subjects who were acquiring AusE. Like the raised front lax vowels, this is a relatively simple change for the speakers to make and appears to be unrelated to the acquisition of the other back vowels (see Table 12). Cultivated AusE variants of the vowels and diphthongs are given on the right hand side of the AusE column, General variants in the middle, and Broader variants to the left.

Table 12: Comparison of GOOSE in CE, AmE and AusE

	CE	AmE	AusE
GOOSE	[u] [ᵗʉ] [ʉ̟]*	[u] [ᵗʉ] [ʉ̟]*	[əʉ̟] [ʉ] [ʉ̟]

*Fronted GOOSE vowels may be produced by speakers participating in the CE and AmE vowel shifts.

Examples of fronted GOOSE vowels:

1) L: moving [mʉvɪŋ] to (yeah) another suburb where

link to audiofile of Lucy-moving

2) V: you know the fast foods [fæst fʉds] and stuff the macdonalds

link to audiofile of Vera-fast foods

3) C: um I don't see them moving [mʉvɪŋ]

link to audiofile of Carrie-moving

A spectrographic analysis of Vera's production of GOOSE in "foods" shows that it is indeed very fronted, with an F1 of 400 Hz and an F2 of 2379 Hz (the GOOSE vowel in "foods" is also very rounded).

This can be compared with a resident AmE speaker's production of GOOSE:

4) booed [bʉd]

link to audiofile of booed

Source: (IPA 1999b)

The token of an AmE speaker's pronunciation of "booed" in example 4) has an F1 of 455 Hz and an F2 of 1556 Hz, much less fronted than Vera's production of "foods".

The acquisition of the GOOSE vowel was not studied in detail since GOOSE fronting is also part of the on-going CE and AmE vowel shifts (see sections 4.4.2.2 and 4.4.2.5) and it would be difficult to distinguish between acquisition of the AusE variant and participation in the vowel shifts.

7.6 The MOUTH diphthong

Some of the subjects also used an AusE realization of the MOUTH diphthong (see Table 13 for a comparison of this diphthong in the three varieties). Cultivated AusE variants of the vowels and diphthongs are given on the right hand side of the AusE column, General variants in the middle, and Broader variants to the left.

Table 13: Comparison of MOUTH in CE, AmE and AusE

	CE	AmE	AusE
MOUTH	[aʊ] [əʊ]*	[aʊ]	[æɔ] [æ̟ʊ] [æʊ] [aʊ]

* allophonic variant occurring before voiceless stops (Canadian Raising)

Examples of AusE variants of the MOUTH diphthong:

1) M: oh I see she's getting down [dæ̟ʊn] right
   link to audiofile of Margaret-down
2) F: oh I don't know I'm so used to it here now [næ̟ʊ̟]
   link to audiofile of Felicia-now

These samples can be compared to a resident AmE speakers' production of the MOUTH diphthong:

3) bough [bau]
   link to audiofile of bough

It is evident that example 3) has a more central first target.

This was also a simple change, involving mainly fronting the nucleus of the diphthong from [a] to [æ] or [æ̟].

The Canadian subjects seemed to have an interesting tendency to continue to use Canadian raising even after several years of residence in Australia. For instance:

4) E: um yeah so it was the little things that you couldn't make assumptions about [əbəʊt] that uh yeah
   link to audiofile of Emma-about (Canadian raising)
5) R: but I miss walking out [əʊt] on those cold mornings when you just
   link to audiofile of Renee-cut

For the purposes of comparison, here is an example of Canadian raising as produced by a native English speaking Canadian resident:

6) lout, loud [ləʊt laud]
   link to audiofile of lout, loud
   Source: (Roberts 2000)

This is a regional variant particular to Canada which one might expect would be one of the first things to disappear in the immigrants' speech. It is a a working class variant of CE, so it is surprising that the CE speakers retained it. Evidence from studies of koineization indicates that regionally marked features should disappear quickly as a result of levelling (eg. Britain 1997b: 146).

7.7 The TRAP and BATH Lexical Sets

Most of the subjects continued to use the TRAP vowel in the BATH lexical set, which might be because whether or not a word belongs to one lexical set or the other is not strictly rule-based. Carrie is the only participant who used the back [ɑ] vowel for at least some of the words in the BATH lexical set.

Carrie mainly used the [ɑ] vowel in the BATH lexical set, especially before fricatives, except for a couple of exceptions (in the words *can't* and *half*).

1) C: when I was there the last [las] time you know I had my b*
   link to audiofile of Carrie-last
2) C: and actually none of em really came out here until about the last [las] two years
   link to audiofile of Carrie-last2

3) C: so we laughed [laft] in his face
link to audiofile of Carrie-laughed

4) C: you know everybody says I can't [kæn?] believe your parents left ya
link to audiofile of Carrie-can't

5) C: for a year and a half [hæf] at altona north
link to audiofile of Carrie-half

This is worth noting since *can't* and *half* are probably the words with the highest frequency in the BATH lexical set. It could be that Carrie's AmE pronunciation was most tenacious for high frequency words, or that when she returned to the United States as an adult for a period of time in the 1980's, she re-acquired the AmE pronunciation of these high frequency words. (This would mean that Carrie failed to revert to the AusE pronunciation during the past ten years since her return to Australia, however). Remarkably, Lucy did not use the [ɑ] vowel in the BATH lexical set, except for the word *auntie,* although she arrived at a young age (some of the following tokens occurred during conversation with the Australian interviewer during the main study).

6) L: I have a a half [hæf] brother and sister
link to audiofile of Lucy-half

7) L: and I've been to western australia a little over half [hæf] of western australia (yep)
link to audiofile of Lucy-half2

8) L: and I can't [kæn?] see myself living anywhere else but here
link to audiofile of Lucy-can't

The low rate of acquisition for this variable correlates with findings from Chambers (1998a), who hypothesized that it was the complexity of the rule governing the classification of words in either the TRAP or the BATH lexical sets which made this variable difficult to acquire. However, as with the THOUGHT-LOT merger, age of arrival was not as significant for this data as it was for Chambers (1998a).

7.8 The Post-Alveolar Palatal Glide

Most of the subjects did not start using the post-alveolar palatal glide, which is often deleted in AmE and CE. It tends to be palatalized in AusE, resulting in forms like [tʃun] for *tune* (Horvath 1985: 109-117), but none of the subjects used palatalized forms of the post-alveolar palatal glide either.

Carrie sometimes used the post-alveolar palatal glide in words such as *opportunity, stupid, attitude*, etc. but not always in *new* and *newspaper.* Lucy used it once in *stupid* but deleted it in *newspaper.*

1) C: but I suppose it depends on opportunity [ɑpɐtjunəri] too
link to audiofile of Carrie-opportunity

2) C: well it's like for starters I have no idea what you're talking about cause I don't have time to listen to the news [nuz] I'm not a single girl like you
link to audiofile of Carrie-news

3) L: he's an american does something stupid [stjupɪd] or
link to audiofile of Lucy-stupid

4) L: oh I don't know anyway it's the same that I've seen on like television or or in newspapers [nuzpepɐs] and
link to audiofile of Lucy-newspaper

This could be related to the sociostylistic meaning of the use of the post-alveolar palatal glide in Canadian and American culture (see section 4.4.1.3 and section 9.5.6).

7.9 /l/ Vocalization

Carrie, Harriet, Sharon and Betty occasionally vocalized */l/*, but this was usually restricted to their pronunciation of *australia/n/s* (see section 7.11.1 for further discussion of */l/* vocalization in this context). Carrie also vocalized */l/* in *children* and *child.*

1) H: so I've lived here sixteen years I thought maybe I'd become an australian [ɑstɹejən]
link to audiofile of Harriet-australian

2) C: probably since I've been married and had children [tʃɪˠɹən] I feel more australian [ɑstɹejən], than american but
   link to audiofile of Carrie-australian
3) S: a new australian [ɑstɹejən] and new zealand standard
   link to audiofile of Sharon-australian
4) B: I think I'll go to australia [əstɹejə]
   link to audiofile of Betty-australia

7.10 Is there such a thing as a pattern here?

Trudgill (1986: 10-27) argues that adult long-term accommodation between dialects follows a fixed pattern, at least for some linguistic variables, based on data from his own experience, and also based on Nordenstam (1979), who studied Swedes living in Norway, and Shockey (1984), who studied Americans living in the United Kingdom He argues that this there is probably a fixed pattern of acquisition for phonological variables (he groups both phonological and phonetic variables under the term *phonological*), but perhaps not for lexical or morphological variables. He also limits this hypothesis to adult acquisition, because of his analysis of the speech of two British children acquiring AusE in Rogers (1981).

There does not appear to be a very clear pattern of acquisition in the present study. This could be because the most of the phonetic differences between AmE/CE and AusE are fairly subtle, as opposed to phonological, lexical, syntactic or morphological differences. It may be that the evidence presented in Trudgill (1986) from Shockey (1984) and others examined too small a number of subjects and linguistic variables to reveal anomalies in the patterning. It could also be that the subjects in the present study are atypical cases; some of them returned to the United States or Canada for periods of time which may have influenced their speech behaviour. Also, the fact that the subjects are speakers of a standard variety of English and are acquiring another standard variety of English is quite unusual: most situations would have more stigma and/or social ramifications involved in the process of acquisition.

It is quite plausible, however, that these subjects are not at all unusual. In fact, it is difficult to find a study of dialect acquisition which does *not* have at least one or two subjects who behave in a remarkably different way from the others. For example, there

are the case-studies presented by Markham (1997: 83-84) (see section 2.1.4); anomalies in Newbrook (1982); a high degree of variation and a particularly interesting outlier in Pederson (1994); sufficient variation in Kerswill (1994: 115-120) for him to create 10 groupings for only 39 informants; no clearly evident pattern of acquisition in Chambers (1998a); and there is even variation in the Nordenstam (1979) and Rogers (1981) data presented in Trudgill (1986). So, it seems likely that patterning in SDA is often quite weak, and open to individual strategies.

Nonetheless, to a limited extent, the subjects can be grouped along the lines of a few general patterns of acquisition. Emma, Daisy, Betty and Peg seem to form a group of "weak acquirers" who acquired only a few sounds to a minimal extent and are still easily identifiable as North American speakers. Harriet and Sharon both made proportionately stronger changes to front vowels than to back vowels, although Harriet differs from Sharon in her treatment of the THOUGHT/LOT merger. Vera, Carrie and Felicia showed fairly similar patterns of acquisition, especially for diphthongs and their use of AusE realizations in discourse markers. However, Carrie differed from Felicia and Vera in her treatment of words belonging to the BATH lexical set and the THOUGHT/LOT merger. There could also be some sub-groups – for example, Vera and Sharon used the same strategy to deal with splitting the THOUGHT/LOT merger – but no two subjects behaved in the same way or in a very similar way for all the phonemes in question. There are still obvious differences between the speech behaviour of subjects within these groupings, and the groupings do not appear to be associated with any obvious social variable, such as age of arrival.

7.11 Lexical Analysis

7.11.1 Topic

Topic did not play the role it was expected to play in the subjects' speech behaviour. One might have hypothesized that the subjects would use more AmE or CE variants when speaking about North America, and use more AusE variants when speaking about Australia, but in fact this was often not the case. This contrasts with other findings about the influence of topic on accent, dialect and language choice (Bourhis 1979: 121). The methodology chosen to examine topic in this case was to observe the realizations of the linguistic variables in words pertaining to nationality or location. These words mainly

occurred during the discussion of these places (ie. the home country or Australia) and were usually of key importance in terms of topic in the conversation.

Lucy used the AusE variant of the FACE diphthong in the word the [United] *States* three times, and used the AmE variant of FACE in the word *Australia* seven times and in *Australian/s* 21 times (in data from 1988, 1999 and 2001), and employed the AusE variant of the GOAT diphthong in *North Dakota* (she also deleted the */t/* in *North Dakota*). In addition, she used an AusE variant of FACE in *Las Vegas* and in *L.A.*

1) L: even though most of my relatives are living in the states [stæɛts]
   link to audiofile of Lucy-States
2) L: came over to australia [ɑstɹɛljə]
   link to audiofile of Lucy-Australia
3) L: been to north dakota [nəθ dəkɜrə]
   link to audiofile of Lucy-North Dakota
4) L: las vegas [lɑs vɛɪgəs]
   link to audiofile of Lucy-Las Vegas
5) L: where we started in l a [əl æɪ]
   link to audiofile of Lucy-L.A.

Harriet used the AusE variant of the FACE diphthong in the word *Canadian/s* 13 times in both the 2000 and 2001 interviews, (but she did also use the CE variant 21 times in this word). She also used the AusE variant of FACE in the name of the town where she grew up (*Lake of the Woods*) and the city where she went to university in Canada (*Thunder Bay*).

6) H: he always barracked for, for whoever was gonna beat the canadians [kənæɪdiəns] and he always
   link to audiofile of Harriet-Canadians
7) H: cause the australians say I can be an australian no no no no you're a canadian [kənæɪdiən]
   link to audiofile of Harriet-Canadian

8) H: on lake [læɛk] of the woods
   link to audiofile of Harriet-Lake of the Woods
9) H: and then we moved to thunderbay [θɛndəbæɪ] on lake superior
   link to audiofile of Harriet-Thunderbay
10) H: and then went back to thunderbay [θɛndəbæɪ] and came from there
    link to audiofile of Harriet-Thunderbay2

Interestingly, Harriet also utilized an AusE variant of FACE even when she was proclaiming her Canadian identity:

11) H: I just that's what I am I'm very proud to be a canadian [kənɛɪdʲən] when I hear canadians [kənɛɪdʲəns] do something bad I feel very badly and very angry that they disgraced the country so to speak
    link to audiofile of Harriet-Canadian2

Felicia also employed the AusE variant of FACE in the word *Canadian* four times and used the CE variant in *Canadian* four times.

12) F: and the canadian [kənɛɪdiən] student who comes in exchange pays canadian [kənɛɪdiən] fees so they just it's a straight s* swap with
    link to audiofile of Felicia-Canadians

Vera used the AusE variant of FACE in the word [United] *States* twice, and used the AusE variant of GOAT in *Arizona* four times, in *Oklahoma* three times and in *Chicago* twice, all places in the United States where she has lived. She used the AmE variant of FACE in *Australia/n* and in *Tasmania*.

13) V: I lived in arizona [aɹɪzɛʊnə] for six years
    link to audiofile of Vera-Arizona
14) V: because coming from oklahoma [oklə̆haʊmə] I mean we didn't really have
    link to audiofile of Vera-Oklahoma

15) V: the first place I went was chicago [ʃɪkɑgɛu]

link to audiofile of Vera-Chicago

16) V: she lives in tasmania [tæsmɛniə]

link to audiofile of Vera-tasmania

17) V: then I came to australia [ɑstreljə]

link to audiofile of Vera-australia

On the other hand, as mentioned in section 7.9, Carrie, Harriet, Vera, Jackie, Sharon and Betty tended to vocalize /l/ specifically in the words *Australia/n/s*.

Jackie used the AmE variant of the FACE diphthong in *Australian* as well, combined with the AusE element of /l/ vocalization:

18) J: I have all the same rights as australians [ɑstɹejənz] but I don't have to vote

link to audiofile of Jackie-Australians

Margaret sometimes employed the AmE variant of FACE in the word *Australian*.

19) M: more like an australian [ɑstɹeljən] now

link to audiofile of Margaret-australian

Most of the subjects also reduced the first vowel in *australia* to [ə] or [ɐ] and shifted the stress in the word to the second syllable as in [ɑs'tɹeljə] or [əs'tɹeljə], in keeping with the usual AusE pronunciation of the name, rather than using the typical AmE/CE pronunciation of ['ɑstɹeljə]. This behaviour was nearly universal, although, as pointed out above, the use of the AusE FACE diphthong [æɪ] was avoided. The utilization of Broad AusE variants of FACE in the words *Australia/n/s* is typical of the caricatured "strine" (Broad AusE) pronunciation and might be avoided as such.

Furthermore, some speakers who did not normally vocalize or delete any non-prevocalic /r/ did so in some Australian place names, or at least they weakened the /r/ in

names such as *Melboume* (John (pilot study), Margaret, Peg in 1988 and Vera) and *Caims* (Jackie).

20) M: came to melbourne [mɛlbən] and married my

link to audiofile of Margaret-Melbourne

21) M: it looks like it could be melbourne [mɛlbən]

link to audiofile of Margaret-Melbourne

22) V: and she knew somebody that lived in melbourne [mɛlbən] and so we ended up in melbourne [mɛlbən]

link to audiofile of Vera-Melbourne

23) V: oh I worked six years at melbourne [mɛlbən] uni

link to audiofile of Vera-Melbourne uni

24) J: we went up to cairns [kẹ:nz]

link to audiofile of Jackie-Cairns

This may indicate a difference in the treatment of vowels versus consonants or it could indicate that some variables are more significant "identity markers" (as in Segalowitz and Gatbonton 1977) than others, and the vocalization of the consonants does seem to be a more salient feature of the pronunciation of these words in AusE than is the pronunciation of the diphthongs.

Instead of utilizing AusE variants in words which specifically related to Australia, though, some subjects used more of the AusE variants in words which were particularly relevant to their personal Australian context (ie. most often this meant work-related words). For instance, Harriet, who is a neo-natal nurse, used an AusE variant of the FACE diphthong in the word *babies* in reference to her work.

25) H: and I work in a neonatal unit with babies [bæɪbis]

link to audiofile of Harriet-babies

Margaret pronounced *library* as ['laɪbri], a stress pattern which resembles the South-eastern British English pronunciation and is not current in AusE now, but probably was

part of common usage when she was studying librarianship in Australia twenty years ago.

26) M: just moved into this library ['laɪbri] I was in the biomedical library ['laɪbri] before

link to audiofile of Margaret-library

7.11.2 Lexical Changes

Most of the subjects stated that they had substituted some AusE words for AmE or CE words. These claims were rather difficult to test since more and more AmE words are entering into AusE usage, and many Australians now say, for example, *elevator* instead of *lift*. These subjects were usually quite conscious of which words they were using, and might make a choice of an AmE word over an AusE word or vice versa for some particular reason. Betty gave the following examples of AusE words that she used:

CI99: have you adjusted the, the words that you use vocabulary do you X say like lift instead of elevator and things like that?
Betty I do I say lift and I also say petrol which and I even once in awhile say boot of the car {laughter} but.
CI99: is that mostly conscious?
B: yeah.
CI99: or unconscious?
B: it would be conscious to this day that I would think gas and say petrol.

In some cases, subjects were defiant about their choice of words:

AI88: right and uh can you be more specific,{HRT} where it is that is.
L: oh it's on the sidewalk.
AI88: right is that the word you normally use?
L: yep that's the word I normally use everybody laughs at it when I say it but no I don't say footpath I say sidewalk.

Xavier, on the other hand, stated off-tape that he preferred CE words in general but would use an AusE word if he felt it was a more sensible choice. He gave the example of *petrol*, which he thought was less ambiguous than the CE word *gas*, since *gas* could also refer to other types of fuel like propane or natural gas.

Subjects did not always respond to the dialect spoken by the interviewer in their choices of lexical items. In the following exchange, Frank (NSP) used the AusE word *worry* soon after the Canadian interviewer had employed an AmE/CE term *bother*[54]:

CI: so does that ever bother you that you um that people pick up right away that you're not n* natively that you weren't born and raised in australia?
F: mmm no no no it doesn't worry me no {breath}, no I don't seem to get any prejudice against me because of that if anything probably in my occupation people sort of turn on a bit more to me because I'm american an I might have something to say that would be good to hear or useful to them somehow so it's a little bit of a help in terms of my work as a minister.

This exchange followed some discussion of Frank's Australian-versus-American identity and may have been motivated by his wish to identify himself as an Australian. In a similar exchange, Peter (NSP) utilized an (over-generalized) AusE syntactic form in response to the Canadian interviewer's question about his identity:

P: uh when I naturalized I lost american citizenship at that stage so.
CI: hmm.
P: it was a big step took it, so if that I just you have to factor that in I think <so>.
CI: <oh yeah> <of course>.
P: <yeah yeah>.
CI: for sure that's very significant so you don't really feel like an american anymore then.
P: no.
CI: no.
P: no I grew up there but I don't feel an american.

This use of a noun form directly following the verb *feel* without *like* acting as a preposition would be strongly dispreferred in AmE, and might even be considered ungrammatical by some speakers.[55]

Furthermore, Sharon used the AusE lexical item *drink driving* when speaking to the Canadian interviewer, instead of the CE term *drunk driving*:

S: well it's a shift in philosophy I mean it used to be um you know um geeky to, to be a designated driver uh n not <drink n drive>.
CIMS: <yeah yeah>.
S: yeah but now we know uh even in the space of five or ten years there's been a total shift in that n now it's really frowned upon to get in a car drunk amongst peers um younger peers you know um younger peers now in high school don't won't tolerate drink driving and you see a lot of the drink driving offenders tend to be more of our generation an older.
CIMS: mmhmm.

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[54] *Worry* is of course used in AmE and CE, but normally only in the form "I'm worried about public speaking", where the subject is doing the worrying; as opposed to where the subject is a cause of worry for the object as in the statement "public speaking worries me". This type of construction would be dispreferred.

[55] Peter appears to have actually over-generalized this rule in AusE. The use of this construction in AusE is normally limited to more adjectival arguments, such as "I feel a real heel" (meaning "I feel bad as a result of my behaviour") (Dr. Heather Bowe, personal correspondence). In American Englishes, this would usually be expressed as "I feel *like* a real heel". The use of "like" in the sentence "I feel a real heel" would actually be ungrammatical in AusE; but native AusE speakers would not say "feel an American". This particular sentence would be expressed in both dialects as "I feel like an American".

Many of the subjects employed some of the less salient AusE words, AusE preferred words or word forms (such as hypocoristic forms), for example *uni* for *university*, *footy* for *football*, *gum tree* for *eucalyptus*, even with the Canadian researcher, especially if they had lived in Australia for a long period of time and were habituated to using those words. In general, new lexical items, words which referred to a particularly Australian experience, slang terms and words with a limited amount of AmE/CE usage were more readily acquired than words with a South-eastern British origin such as *petrol, biscuit, bonnet* (of a car).

Daisy's speech behaviour was unusual because she used the word *root*, as in *root for a team*, a General American expression which is normally completely avoided in AusE because *root* is a slang AusE term for sexual intercourse. American and Canadian immigrants to Australia usually learn early in their stay that this expression is inappropriate in Australia and avoid it (the AusE term is *to barrack for a team*). For instance, Carrie used the phrase *go for* in reference to team support, and Harriet stated the she *barracked for* a team. So it is interesting that Daisy, who has lived in Australia for 35 years, spontaneously used it with the Canadian interviewer in the following statement:

> D: yeah yeah comprehend me maybe I've gone around in circles there but, I don't I think canadians and australians do s* do stick together and the young people stick together when it comes to sport especially say the olympics one way or the other is.
> :
> D: I know my daughter over in austra* over in canada said sure I'm rooting for the canadians I'm also want the australians to beat the americans so I mean so it's just sorta one of those things {laughter} it's a it's a rivalry that's that's there.

The use of the word *root* in this excerpt may have been facilitated by the fact that this is Daisy's indirect reporting of her daughter's statement. Her daughter is an Australian who now lives in Canada, so the daughter may have learned to use the Canadian idiomatic expression. Daisy then went on to state that she herself *cheers* for Australia and Canada at the Commonwealth and Olympic games.

7.11.3 Types of Words Prone to Pronunciation in AusE Form

High-frequency words with low semantic content (other than utterance modifiers like discourse markers, hedges, sentence particles, etc.), such as pronouns, prepositions and other function words, tended to be pronounced in AmE or CE form. The proportions of adjectives, adverbs, nouns, pronouns, prepositions, utterance modifiers, verbs and qualifiers with some AusE variants of the six linguistic variables were calculated for the

entire corpus (other than the interviews with the NSP's), including the early interviews with Lucy, Betty, Carrie and Harriet and the 1988 interviews (see Table 14). [56]

Table 14: Grammatical Categories of Words Realized in AusE Form in the Corpus

adjective	adverb	noun	pronoun	preposition	u.m.	verb	qualifier
11.46%	2.10%	30.37%	7.35%	3.13%	19.93%	24.49%	1.18%

u.m. stands for utterance modifier.

Words with important semantic content like nouns and verbs were favoured for pronunciation in AusE form, as were utterance modifiers (see section 7.11.4 for a discussion of utterance modifiers). This distribution may have been influenced by age of arrival, since subjects who arrived at a young age seemed to have a greater tendency to use AusE forms in pronouns in particular, as well as function words. When Lucy and Carrie were excluded from the corpus, the proportion of nouns in AusE form increased to 32.02% and the proportion of pronouns decreased to 6% (see Appendix C for the total count of each grammatical category for each subject).

A comparison was also made between the grammatical categories in which the subjects' used AusE realizations when speaking to the CE speaking researcher versus when speaking to the AusE speaking interviewers (see Table 15). Subjects did not appear to use AusE forms in different grammatical categories depending on their audience; differences are generally less than one percent, except for pronouns and verbs, and for these two grammatical categories the differences are still only around three percent.

[56] The word did not have to be pronounced in entirely AusE form in order for it to be counted in this tabulation. If, for instance, the subject pronounced *partner* with the first /r/ vocalized but retained the second instance of the non-prevocalic /r/, then this would still be counted as a modified AusE form. (If words which were only partially in AusE form had been excluded, the number of tokens would have been too small for the purposes of making inferences about speech patterns). In addition, only words containing at least one of the six linguistic variables (non-prevocalic /r/, KIT, GOAT, FACE, FLEECE, PRICE) in AusE form or a vocalized /l/ were included in this tabulation.

Table 15: Grammatical Categories of Words Realized in AusE Form, depending on dialect spoken by interviewer

Interviewer	adjective	adverb	noun	pronoun	preposition	u.m.	verb	qualifier
CI	11.11%	2.24%	30.46%	6.04%	3.12%	20.81%	25.29%	.93%
AI	11.63%	2.09%	29.09%	9.19%	3.43%	20.42%	22.45%	1.69%

If one grammatical form of word was pronounced in AusE, then related grammatical forms often were as well. For example, if the subject pronounced *different* with a raised KIT vowel, then it was likely that s/he would also pronounce *difference* and *differ* with a raised KIT vowel. An AusE pronunciation sometimes also spread amongst words with similar phonetic forms, eg. *suppose, oppose; different, difficult.* This also appeared to happen sometimes even if the words were completed unrelated semantically or morphologically, eg. *home, homer* (name), or *thing, think.* This could also happen if a word was used either by itself or in a compound noun, eg. *high, highschool.*

Monosyllabic words, particularly those words ending in an open syllable such as *say, way, day, so, no* and *go* had a greater tendency to be realized in AusE form.[57]

Subjects were more likely to use AusE realizations of vowels and diphthongs in stressed syllables and in words in stressed positions in the utterance. (This concurs with findings presented in Shockey (1984), who also found that subjects were less likely to make changes toward the D2 in an unstressed and highly redundant position. She proposes that the most likely reason for this is that changes toward the D2 promote greater intelligibility, and these changes are less necessary for segments in unstressed, redundant positions.) However, in the case of non-prevocalic /r/ deletion and vocalization, the opposite was true. Subjects were more likely to delete or vocalize non-prevocalic /r/ in unstressed syllables and words in unstressed positions in the utterance. This was particularly true for utterance modifiers (see section 7.11.4). Three of the subjects often deleted the /r/ in the utterance modifier *sort of,* but no stressed tokens of this phrase could be found in the corpus.

[57] Because some of these monosyllabic, open syllable words are utterance modifiers (eg. *so, no*), the distribution of which will be discussed in section 7.11.4, total numbers and proportions of monosyllabic, open syllable words were not calculated here. Some other common monosyllabic, open syllable words are pronouns, which were less frequently realized in AusE form.

7.11.4 Utterance Modifiers

The use of pragmatic particles from one language (such as discourse markers, hedges, tags and boosters) for use in conversation in a second language is a well-known feature of bilingual conversation, often referred to as emblematic code-switching[58] (e.g. Poplack 1979; Kinder 1987; Matras 1994; Salmons 1990; Matras 1998; Goss and Salmons 2000; Maschler 2000; Fuller 2001). The subjects in this study exhibited a similar type of behaviour: they tended to favour the use of AusE pronunciations for pragmatic particles, including in utterances which were otherwise predominantly AmE/CE in their pronunciation.

There are many different systems for the classification of pragmatic particles; for example, *you know* has been classified by some researchers as a discourse marker (Schiffrin 1987) and by others as a kind of hedge or booster (Holmes 1990). These particles may also be used for different conversational purposes depending on conversational context and intonation (Holmes 1990). For the purposes of this dissertation, I will refer to all types of pragmatic particles commonly vulnerable to use in code-switching as *utterance modifiers*, as in Matras (1998), a lexical class which includes adversative and coordinating conjunctions, sentence particles (such as *well),* fillers, tags and interjections and focus particles (such as *still, anyway*) (this definition was also used in section 7.11.3). Matras (1998: 295) describes the function of utterance modifiers as follows:

> "utterance modifiers" participate in a regularized, closed set of structures on which speakers draw in order to direct hearer-sided processing of the propositional content of utterances and ensure the acceptance of propositional and interactional coherence in discourse. With interactional coherence I mean the harmonious continuation of negotiated speaker-hearer roles in a particular position in the discourse. Utterance modifiers thus contribute to a component of grammar that the speaker uses to DIRECT the hearer's reactions.

Several of the subjects tend to use AusE realizations of the linguistic variables in utterance modifiers in particular. Carrie's vocalization of non-prevocalic /r/ in the utterance modifier *sort of*[59] accounts for 46.66% of her total non-prevocalic /r/ deletion and vocalization rate (or 56 out of 120 AusE tokens[60]).

[58] *Emblematic code-switching* refers to switches involving extra-sentential elements such as utterance modifiers, contrasting with *intimate code-switching* which is intra-sentential and thus involves the grammar of both languages (Salmons 1990: 464-465).

[59] It was difficult to decide whether or not to include tokens of *sort of* in the analysis because this utterance modifier usually occurs in unstressed positions and because of this the /r/ may be weakened even in rhotic dialects. It was included because there should be some audible difference between a weakened non-

1) C: and I found from then on I really sort of [sɒrəv]
link to audiofile of Carrie-sort of

The same utterance modifier accounts for 47.22% of Vera's non-prevocalic /r/ deletion and vocalization (17 out of 36 AusE tokens).

2) V: and I sort of [sɒrəv] had to weigh up
link to audiofile of Vera-sort of

Sort of also accounts for 53.13% of Felicia's non-prevocalic /r/ deletion and vocalization (17 out of 32 AusE tokens).

3) F: you could sort of [sɔrəv] think of all the things that
link to audiofile of Felicia-sort of

The utterance modifier *so* accounts for 44.57% of Jackie's production of the AusE variant of the GOAT diphthong (41 out of 92 AusE tokens).

4) J: people in my age group like employed there so [sau]
link to audiofile of Jackie-so

So also makes up 39.62% of Betty's production of the AusE variant of the GOAT diphthong (21 out of 53 AusE tokens).

5) B: so [sɐu]
link to audiofile of Betty-so

---

prevocalic /r/ and one that is entirely deleted. Weakened /r/'s were counted as AmE or CE tokens. More typical AmE/CE realizations have a clear rhotic sound - link to audiofile of CE sort of [sɔɹɾ ɔv].

[60] Data for Carrie and the other subjects in this sections was compiled from the entire corpus, including early interviews with the subject if there were any (with the exception of the 1974 and 1981 tapes from Betty and Lucy).

Tags such as *I guess* and *I think* also tended to be pronounced in AusE form by some of the informants. Although these tags were not as frequent as some of the other utterance modifiers – and so did not usually make up a large proportion of the subject's overall production of an AusE variant – the subjects in question often produced a higher proportion of the AusE variant than the AmE/CE variant in all occurrences of the tag. Lucy produced *I guess* with a raised DRESS vowel 24 times. Harriet also used the raised DRESS vowel in *I guess*, but to a lesser extent than Lucy. Vera and Sharon tended to employ the raised AusE KIT vowel in *I think*. Vera utilized the raised AusE variant in *I think* 18 times versus using the AmE/CE variant 10 times. Sharon used the AusE variant of KIT in *I think* 10 times and used the AmE/CE variant only 4 times.

6) V: at labrous hill when we used to go down there I think [ə θɪŋk] there was like the golden fleece service station
link to audiofile of Vera-I think

7) L: and I think [aɪ θɪŋk]
link to audiofile of Lucy-I think

8) L: I guess [ɐɪ gɛs]
link to audiofile of Lucy-I guess

9) S: and I'm saying oh I think [ə θɪŋk] it's about almost
link to audiofile of Sharon-I think

Emma's use of *right* was interesting, since she usually used the AusE variant of the PRICE vowel in *right* when signalling her understanding or agreement especially in the phrase *oh right* or in isolation repeated as *right, right*. *Right* is a word which would normally be subject to Canadian Raising since it ends in a voiceless stop (Emma is Canadian), and Emma used Canadian Raising in other words (see section 7.6), but she seemed to exempt *right* from this rule when she used it as an utterance modifier (in particular when back-channelling).

10) E: oh right [ɾɑɪt] oh
link to audiofile of Emma-right

11) E: that's right [ɹaɪt]

link to audiofile of Emma-right2

Betty occasionally employed the utterance modifier *I suppose*. In the 1988, 1999 and 2001 interviews with her, she used a fronted variant of the GOAT vowel in this particular phrase, with only one exception (out of a total of 14 tokens) (see section 7.5.1 for further discussion of this variant of the GOAT vowel in Betty's speech).[61] She also tended to utilize this particular variant of GOAT in other utterance modifiers, including *so*.

12) B: so [sɵ]

link to audiofile of Betty-so

13) B: I suppose [səpɵz] what I see is um

link to audiofile of Betty-I suppose

There were some modest indications that the use of an AusE variant in an utterance modifier might be related to its position or communicative function in the utterance for some speakers. Jackie favoured the use of the AusE form of *so* in utterance-final position and seemed to be using it to manage turn-exchange, while she tended to use the AmE/CE form of *so* turn-medially to indicate that there was more information forthcoming.[62] She used the AmE/CE form of *so* turn-medially 26 times and used the AusE form of *so* turn-medially only 14 times, while she employed the AmE/CE form of *so* turn-finally 18 times and utilized the AusE form of *so* turn-finally 22 times. Lucy and Felicia also tended to use the AusE form of *so* as an utterance modifier turn-finally, and Lucy also preferred it turn-initially. Betty tended to use the AusE form of *so* utterance initially and favoured the use of the AmE/CE form of *so* turn-medially and turn-finally, but this strategy could also be interpreted as a way of managing turn exchange.

[61] An acoustic analysis of Betty's production of "suppose" in example 2 showed that the vowel has an F1 of 614 Hz and an F2 of 1649 Hz, which is much fronter than the usual first target for GOAT in AmE.

[62] This analysis of Jackie's use of *so* as an utterance modifier (and also Lucy's, Betty's and Felicia's utilization of *so*) excludes the use of *so* as a qualifier, as in this example: "I'm so tired." Incidences of *so* were classified as turn-initial if *so* was the first or second word of the utterance or if it was part of or followed another utterance modifier (eg. *I think so* or *um, so*). Incidences were classified as turn-medial if they occurred within the body of the utterance and were classified as turn-final if *so* was the final word of the utterance or part of an utterance modifier which formed the final clause of the utterance. Tokens of *so* which occurred in isolation (ie. if they formed the entire body of the turn) were counted separately.

In addition, although *so* was excluded when used as a qualifier from the analysis of *so* the utterance modifier, it is interesting to note that Betty and Jackie produced *so* exclusively in AmE/CE form when employed as a qualifier.

14) J: and because we were so [sɔ] remote it was like you know it was not like you were gonna go out searching for anyone else in particular so [sɐu] (yeah)

link to audiofile of Jackie-so

Lucy also used the AmE/CE form for the qualifier *so* 10 times versus only 2 in AusE form, and Felicia used the AmE/CE form for the qualifier 5 times and the AusE form only 3 times. This may be related to stress, since the qualifiers are less likely to be stressed or to carry prosodic prominence. The use of the utterance modifiers, like so many other aspects of SDA, is probably also open to individual strategies. Nonetheless, this is an interesting trend given suggestions of similar behaviour in the literature on bilingual discourse markers (or utterance modifiers to use the terminology employed in this dissertation). Fuller (2001: 354) states that discourse markers "develop distinct pragmatic functions that are not the same as the functions of the discourse markers in their languages of origin" in bilingual mixed systems. In a bidialectal system similar developments might occur.

Some other utterance modifiers which appeared in the corpus in AusE form include *okay, yes, anyway, maybe, though, kind of, I know, don't know* or *"dunno", no, you mean* and *oh*.

15) L: yes [jɛs]

link to audiofile of Lucy-yes

16) L: pretty much so [pɹɛri mɐtʃ sɐu]

link to audiofile of Lucy-pretty much so

17) V: no [nɐu̯]

link to audiofile of Vera-no

18) V: I dunno [dɐnɐu]

link to audiofile of Vera-dunno

19) V: expensive though [θau]

link to audiofile of Vera-though

20) M: oh [ʊu] I see

link to audiofile of Margaret-oh

21) J: okay [ɵkæɪ]

link to audiofile of Jackie-okay

Not all utterance modifiers were treated in the same way. *You know* was rarely produced with an AusE variant of the GOAT vowel in the corpus, in contrast with *so*, which occurred much more often in AusE form. For example, Betty produced *you know* with the AusE variant of GOAT only twice in the 2001 interview, but produced it in AmE/CE form 36 times. This is the opposite of her treatment of *so*. Likewise, Carrie produced *you know* 73 times in AmE/CE form but only 17 times in AusE form (data compiled from all interviews). None of the informants used a high proportion of AusE GOAT variants in *you know*. In addition, *I mean* and *like* were rarely produced in AusE form.

There was probably some interaction between the proportionate use of an AusE speech feature and the use of it in an utterance modifier. Some speech features simply were not acquired by many speakers and so utterance modifiers with these particular features rarely occur in AusE form in the corpus. The utterance modifier *I mean* probably seldom occurred with an AusE realization of FLEECE because few of the subjects used a high proportion of the AusE form of the FLEECE vowel (the PRICE diphthong would tend to be unstressed and reduced in this phrase anyway). However, the speaker who used the highest proportion of the AusE form of FLEECE was Harriet, and she employed the AusE form of *I mean* only once in the following utterance (though she did also use the AusE FLEECE vowel in *believe me* and *you see* once each):

H: yes so anyway I said to them will you go and they said yeah I said but, united states isn't a very good place to be they said who's gonna who's gonna bomb wesleco like it's you know on the mexican border nobody cares about that end of the world at all they said you know it's a.
CIMS: <yeah I dunno>.
H: <I said but you've gotta drive> straight through you know just straight south all through the states to get there nah.
CIMS: you wouldn't of thought that anybody would've sent a letter to some guy in nevada either though <so>.
H: <no> that's right.
CIMS: yeah.
H: and I guess they're fatalists they figure if something's gonna happen something's gonna happen and they live on the canadian american border anyway so.

CIMS: yeah it's kinda your luck whether or not you're in the <wrong place at the wrong time>.
H: <yeah that's right> they said they're going so that's fine.
CIMS: yeah.
H: and I said but you're not that far from houston oh yeah we are they're a couple hundred miles south I guess I said well houston's a pretty big center as far as oil production and you know, all of that goes ah you know they still weren't in the least bit worried so, <I just>.
CIMS: <I suppose> edmonton or calgary's got just as much of a chance of getting.
H: yeah that's right I suppose [ə səpouz] you know [junou] they're better off in wesleco or on lake of the woods than they are in one of these major centres I mean [əmin] wesleco's this tiny little retirement place on you know [jənɒ] the mexican border.
CIMS: yeah.
H: and rainy river's in the middle of the bush I mean [ə mɑɪn] who's gonna bomb it.
CIMS: yeah that's pretty unlikely.
H: pretty unlikely <so[sou] I guess[ə gɛs]>.
link to audiofile of Harriet-I mean excerpt

This excerpt is taken from a discussion of Harriet's parents planned visit to the United States and the fear of terrorism. Here, the second instance of *I mean* in AusE form is part of a statement which sarcastically expresses the possibility of terrorist interest in the small towns of Wesleco or Rainy River/Lake of the Woods. Harriet seems to have used the marked AusE form to highlight the absurdity of the idea that anyone would bomb the small town of Rainy River.

On the other hand, Sharon utilized the AusE form of FLEECE considerably less often than Harriet (although she is still the second highest user), and she produced the AusE form of FLEECE in *I mean* four times (and the AmE/CE form six times).

More subjects acquired the AusE form of PRICE than FLEECE and those who did usually used higher proportions of it in their speech than they did the AusE FLEECE vowel. However, few used an AusE variant of PRICE in the utterance modifier *like*. This could be because *like*, as an utterance modifier, often occurs in unstressed positions and so the positions of the nucleus and offglide of the diphthong become centralized.[63] Carrie used a high proportion of AusE PRICE but seldom in the utterance modifier *like*. She used the AusE form of *like* as an utterance modifier in the following instance:

C: well an y'know [jənou] roseanne's a bit of funny sort but I never knew til I got heavy what fat people went through there is no other group of people I can think of that caught more jokes and more criticism I've been sitting there on the train one day I was sitting there on the train going, was it home from work or to work musta been coming home an I had my lunch, a sandwich from my lunch, I hadn't had time at work to eat it so I was eating it on the way home and here's these two very young women who I was just as every bit as skinny as them when I was that age too.
CIOO: mmhmm.

[63] Tokens with centralized nuclei and offglides were not classified as either AmE/CE or AusE in the analysis.

C: they're yacking on about um oh y'know how could fat people eat an all this like I'm not supposed to X an they were so [sɐʊ] loud and I felt like saying I might be fat but I'm not deaf and I do have feelings but it's just like well because it's something visual they have a right to comment on it like [lɑɪk] if I was bulemic and I was going to throwing up and hiding it <y'know> [jənɐʊ].
Cl00: <hmm>.
C: it's like [lɑɪk] it's a hidden thing an I dunno people are funny their perspectives.
link to audiofile of Carrie-fat excerpt

In this passage, Carrie recounted an upsetting incident regarding her weight and there are two incidences of utterance modifiers not often in AusE form in the corpus found in AusE form here (*you know* and *like*). These utterance modifiers occurred in stressed form and seem to emphasize the emotion of the speaker. As with the excerpt from Harriet, these marked utterance modifiers seem to be utilized to draw the listener's attention to marked speech acts.

Jackie used AusE PRICE occasionally in *like* as an utterance modifier, although she much preferred the AmE/CE form (she used the AusE form five times and the AmE/CE form 34 times). She also produced AusE PRICE in *kind of* and the tag *type thing*.

22) J: for seven dollar type [tɑ·p] things they don't have anything like that so
link to audiofile of Jackie-type thing

23) J: yeah kind [kɒɪnd] of when I got out of university I
link to audiofile of Jackie-kind of

However, both Carrie and Jackie employed AusE PRICE in *like* when used as a verb (as in "I like my job"). Jackie used AusE PRICE four times in *like* as a verb, versus once in AmE/CE. Carrie produced AusE PRICE three times in *like* as a verb and used AmE/CE PRICE in *like* as a verb an equal number of times, but she much preferred the AmE/CE form of *like* for utterance modifiers, using it 29 times and the AusE form only twice.

24) J: that's actually one of the things I like [lɑɪk] about um only being a permanent resident (verb) (AusE)
link to audiofile of Jackie-like

25) J: she would um send me ballots when there were like [lɑɪk] school referendums coming around (utterance modifier) (AmE)
link to audiofile of Jackie-like

Some of the English utterance modifiers which are usually most vulnerable to emblematic code-switching in bilingual discourse have very similar realizations in AmE/CE and AusE, and it would be impossible to reliably distinguish between them. For instance, the sentence particle *well* is usually adopted by code-switchers when English is one of the languages in the discourse (eg. Fuller 2001), but the only difference between the AusE pronunciation of the phones in *well* and the AmE/CE pronunciation of the phones in *well* would be the raised DRESS vowel, and of course the final lateral would inhibit raising the vowel. Some other utterance modifiers, such as *but*, are virtually identical in all three varieties. Some, like *and*, are most often produced in unstressed positions (*and* is often produced as a syllabic nasal) and thus vocalic differences are nullified. In effect, this excluded most of the coordinative conjunctions mentioned by Matras (1998).

However, this still does not explain the special treatment of *you know*, which rarely occurred in AusE form in the corpus. *So* received quite a different treatment, despite the fact that both these utterance modifiers share the same linguistic variable in common (the GOAT diphthong). Matras (1998: 309) argues that some utterance modifiers are more likely to be used in code-switching than others, classifying them along a semantic scale, a category sensitive scale and a pragmatic scale (see Figure 14).

Figure 14: Matras Scale of the Likelihood of Contact-Related Change in Utterance Modifiers

Semantic scale: contrast, restriction, change > addition, elaboration, continuation
Category sensitive scale: less lexical or deictic > more lexical or deictic
Pragmatic Scale: more turn-related > more content-related

According to this scale, AusE *you know* is less likely to be used in the discourse than AusE *so*, since *you know* is related more to addition, elaboration and continuation; *you know* is more lexical than *so* and it is more content-related than *so*. Nonetheless, *I guess* and *I think* are also lexical and content-related and both of these utterance modifiers

often occurred in AusE form in the corpus. The difference in this case could be that *I guess* and *I think* often function as hedges in the conversation that partially negate or soften the force of the utterance (which would be restrictive in Matras' hierarchy), while *you know* maintains the speaker's handling of the information (Schiffrin 1987: 294 defines *you know* as marking the transition to meta-knowledge). Thus, Matras' semantic, category and pragmatic scales could partly explain the use of *like* in AmE/CE form, since it relates to elaboration and continuation where most of the other utterance modifiers pronounced in AusE form by the subjects were concerned more with contrast, restriction and change (ie. hedges like *I guess, I think, sort of*). In the case of *so*, an AusE variant was utilized by some subjects to negotiate turn-exchange, while *you know* was not employed in this manner.

None of the subjects used an AusE form *only* in an utterance modifier. The production of the AusE form of an utterance modifier also seemed to be related to whether or not the subject was already using the AusE phones that marked that particular word or phrase as different from AmE/CE. So, if the subject did not use the AusE form of the GOAT diphthong elsewhere in the interview, he or she would not be a likely candidate to use it in the sentence particle *so*. Or, if the subject sometimes used the AusE variant of the KIT vowel but not the AusE variant of the PRICE diphthong, then the utterance modifier *I think* might sometimes be pronounced as [aɪ θɨŋk] but not as [ɑɪ θɨŋk]. It could be the case that some speakers first acquire the AusE variant for use in the utterance modifier and then it disseminates to other words. The AusE form of GOAT first appeared in Betty's speech in *so* in 1981, and from there spread to other words in her vocabulary in 1988, but she did not appear to proportionally increase her usage of the AusE variant of GOAT very much over the thirteen years between 1988 and 2001. The AusE form of GOAT also appeared only in *so* in Peg's speech in 1988, but was used in a few more words in 1999.

7.11.5 Discussion of the Utterance Modifiers

There is some argument for a mixed-dialect system for some of these subjects, based on their preference for using AusE variants in certain utterance modifiers. Their use of an AmE/CE pronunciation for one homonym and the utilization of an AusE pronunciation for the other homonym (Carrie and Jackie's use of AusE *like*, Jackie, Betty, Lucy and

Felicia's use of *so*) is suggestive of a pattern normally associated with acquisition rather than accommodation.

Several different reasons have been proposed for this kind of emblematic code-switching in bilingual discourse. One explanation is that these utterance modifiers "provide sociolinguistically-based conversational inferences which are considered socially relevant for maintaining in-group cohesion" (Papademetre 1994: 355). Another possibility is that they frame different types of verbal activity at the discourse level (Maschler 1994), or that they are evidence of the convergence or fusion of two discourse marking systems (Salmons 1990; Matras 1998). Matras (1998) argues for a cognitive motivation for emblematic code-switching (or *fusion* in his theoretical framework), hypothesizing that bilinguals attempt to reduce their cognitive load by adopting the utterance modification system of the pragmatically dominant language. Such a cognitive motivation does not seem likely for these subjects since there are very few structural incongruities between the varieties of English in question. The behaviour of these subjects could be motivated by communicative or social needs, in line with the theories of Poplack (1982) and Papademetre (1994). Alternatively, AusE utterance modifiers could be used because of their pragmatic salience within a predominantly AmE/CE utterance, facilitating their function in framing the discourse (De Rooij 2000).

It seems unlikely that utterance modifiers would fill a uniquely social need in the discourse, since any other grammatical category could do just as well in indicating membership in the social group. Utterance modifiers must be chosen for some particular reason by so many different groups of bilingual speakers. While there has been some discussion of the "sociolinguistically based conversational inferences" (Papademetre 1994: 355) which are provided by utterance modifiers, in this case, the sociolinguistically based conversational inferences suggested by utterance modifiers pronounced in either AmE/CE or AusE are likely to be very similar if not identical. Also, there is most likely some linguistic or cognitive reason why the subjects systematically favoured the use of AusE variants in some utterance modifiers but not in others. It would be difficult to argue for a social motivation for this type of behaviour. On the other hand, it is also unlikely that bilingual discourse modifiers are chosen, as Maschler (1994) suggests, for their role in framing the discourse, since all discourse markers (a subset of utterance modifiers) frame the discourse anyway (Papademetre 1994: 354-355). The possibility which best suits this data is that of De Rooij (2000), who suggests that the L2 (or D2) utterance

modifiers are most salient within the L1 or D1 discourse and therefore can better perform their function of directing the conversation.

There are also some interesting parallels between the behaviour of these subjects and that of bilingual speakers – although of course the speech of these subjects differs from that of bilinguals in that there appears to be an interaction between several different aspects of speech which influences the subjects' use of AusE or AmE/CE pronunciation in different grammatical classes and individual words. This includes the semantic content of the word, the discourse function of the word, identity, intelligibility, word stress and sentence stress, the length of the word and the presence or absence of a coda on the final syllable, and probably also the subjects' general ability to use AusE phones. Pragmatic detachability as proposed by Matras (1998) also appeared to have an impact of the behaviour of these subjects, which is analogous to bilingual behaviour.

7.12 The Impact of Intelligibility

Most of the subjects found that, when they first moved to Australia, they had more trouble understanding Australians than Australians had understanding them (see section 6.1.6 for a discussion of the problems with examining intelligibility in this context). It seems likely that not being understood would be more of a motivation to change one's way of speaking than would not understanding others, since in the case of not understanding the D2, subjects would probably be motivated to listen closely, rather than try to speak differently themselves. Some of the comprehension problems were because of lexical differences, and this did appear to prompt the subjects to adopt AusE vocabulary. Many of them reported that this was a conscious choice in order to make themselves better understood.

A few adults also reported some intelligibility problems that occurred soon after they emigrated to Australia. As in Kerswill (1994), subjects who had occupations which depended on communication reported some communication difficulties early in their stay in Australia, but unlike Kerswill (1994), these problems usually disappeared quickly and did not appear to remain a strong motivation for these speakers to change the way they spoke, other than some lexical changes. For instance, Frank (NSP) recounted some short-lived communication problems:

> CI: when you when you first um came here to australia did you find that uh, did you ever have trouble understanding people when you first got here or did they have trouble understanding you?

> F: I think a little bit yes I, uh I think initially my congregation that I was preaching to really had to strain to.
> CI: yeah.
> F: to hear some things that I said some things they w* were easy with but I think initially they probably had a little trouble, I occasionally would have to say to somebody wha* ju* just run that past me again I'm not sure I got that, but not very frequently mostly it was pretty easy, communication both ways.

Betty had similar memories of her first few months in Australia:

> AI99: so um when you came out here when you first came out here did you have communication problems with australian accent?
> B: yes, I did um I found it most difficult to go into uh corner shops to buy a s* soft drink or something of that sort and I can remember um y'know getting s* not what I necessarily wanted and then I remember also buying vegetables from a person whose first language was obviously not english {laughter} and him correcting my pronunciation of [təmarou], which I found amusing [təmarou] [təmerou] {laughter} and um there were a few things like that but my most difficult was that I, almost the second or third day I was here, was um I had to start teaching at melbourne state college students at the back of the room I had trouble understanding an I can remember much to their amusement saying to them can you understand me {HRT} and they would I mean they were a lovely bunch but they would be incredibly amused as I could see where where the humor came but I couldn't always understand them.

Jackie also recounted similar memories, although she does not work in a highly-communicatively oriented field:

> CIMS: so when you first came over here did you have any trouble um understanding australian <accents>?
> J: <yeah> I was saying I spent the first two to four months thinking I was going deaf cause I c* I was just it wasn't yeah it was a little bit the accent but mainly just all the different vocabulary like all the different slang that was being used regularly that I didn't know and s* people would be speaking and I'd be like pardon what can you say that again it was just it made you feel like you were deaf because you were say* I was saying it so often that it was just like oh and but once I started learning the words a little better and you know like slang words for everything you know like you couldn't get dressed without you know people saying you're not wearing a sweater you're that's a jumper stuff like that just.

Carrie was affected by intelligibility problems as a result of her return visit to the United States as a young adult and made the following remarks about how she thought intelligibility problems had affected her:

> C: -...when I came through in eighty nine ninety uh one of my jobs in a small law office in southern california was to ring around courts and book things an I found it very difficult because they just didn't understand the accent and I found from then on I really sort of I dunno I mean this is your field I sort of really changed my palette so I could speak.
> CI00: <yeah>.
> C: <very american>.
> CI00: oh that's interesting.
> C: and most people noticed when I came back this last time that I really had a very strong american accent and I never really got rid of it.
> CI00: hmm.
> C: and.
> CI00: do the people here ever have a hard time understanding you or do they pick it up pretty well?

C: I think they pick it up pretty well and it's funny cause sometimes on the phone they don't hear it at all which I find weird um, they don't really have trouble, understanding but they always pick up on it oh where's your accent from you know sort of thing um whereas for the first sort of segment, um say between college and going on my holiday um I think I was still very much australian {HRT} in in the way I spoke.
CI00: uhuh.

Carrie's comments suggest that intelligibility played a fairly important role in her pronunciation, since the lack of intelligibility problems in Australia appear to have meant that there was a lack of motivation to once again change the way that she spoke. This is self-report, but this is a likely possibility since she was likely to have acquired AusE as a child, but her speech is now identifiably American, although she retains many AusE speech features.

There were also some dramatic incidents where a failure to understand AusE had unfortunate consequences. Lucy told the following story regarding her arrival in Australia as a child:

AI99: [dʒa] have like communication breakdowns with all the other kids did they have trouble understanding you or vice versa?
L: um I had trouble understanding some of them {sniff}.
AI99: <yeah>
L: <and> I'm sure they probably did too um but I guess at seven you just sort of cope and and stuff and um.
AI99: they would've thought you were cool though <being having an american>.
L: <well at least> you know and I guess the other thing was that um I came I remember this so well it was just being australia being what it was even back then.
AIMS: hmm.
L: before you were born {laughter} there was just greeks and italians and you know english and everything and of course where I came from it wasn't like that at all so that was a bit of a novelty and having to hear all them and the different um, accents I guess that they get from their parents yeah and stuff and and I actually remember this really quite well that um we were having a a spelling test and I had this teacher that was english and of course she wanted me we were having some word to spell I don't know and I couldn't understand it so I looked over at the little boy next to me and he said she's cheating she's cheating and I said no I can't understand I remember this {laughter} I couldn't understand it and she took me and she h* made me hold out my hand and she got out a ruler.
AI99: ah {expression of surprise}.
L: and she hit my hand really hard once or twice and it hurt like anything.
AI99: all because you couldn't understand.
L: well I told her I couldn't understand but she thought I was cheating.
AI99: yeah yeah yeah.
L: so um I went home and told my mum that day and of course you just don't do that.
AI99: yeah.
L: where we came from and my mum went and complained and the lady said well that's what we do to.
AI99: naughty children.
L: yes {laughter}.
AI99: <XXX {laughter}>.
L: <but I> remember that was a great big culture shock because one I was caught cheating when I couldn't understand what she was saying and two I got my hand hit with a ruler {laughter} which was you know unbelievable.
AI99: so was that soon after you arrived?
L: yeah.
AI99: so it was like when you were seven or eight.

L: yeah it was maybe within like a month or something of arrival so.

In fact, most of the intelligibility problems were experienced by children. Gary stated that on a trip to the United States, his younger son had communication difficulties:

G: but um I noticed when we were home this last time with the little one talking to his grandparents um they were having a hard time understanding him at certain <times>.
AIMS: <oh really>?
G: yeah cause of the way he was saying certain things.
AIMS: the um was the accent.
G: yeah and then some of the references too you know boots and bonnets and things like that we don't we don't have reference to in cars that kind of stuff you know that he wouldn't that uh that was making it difficult sometimes for them to understand.

Vera also reported communication difficulties when she arrived at the age of fifteen, although Renee did not, and Renee also arrived at fifteen. Renee did, however, arrive in the 1990's, twenty years later than Vera's arrival in the early 1970's, by which point Australians were much more familiar with AmE due to the media. The idea of a connection between intelligibility and age of arrival correlates with findings regarding a pre-schooler acquiring AusE reported earlier (Foreman 2000a). This suggests that age of arrival could be linked not only with neurolinguistic or neurological constraints on D2 acquisition, but also with a range of other factors which affect acquisition.

7.13 Imitation

While most of the subjects did not report any attempts to sound Australian, a few did try to imitate it. Sharon was one of the few subjects who stated that she endeavoured to change the way she spoke in order to sound "more Australian". She stated that she watched Australian soap operas on television and tried to imitate the actors, and she did not appear to share the sentiment that to change one's accent was a pretentious sort of behaviour.

Jackie also stated that she decided to change the way she spoke:

J: everything but I I made a I made an effort to switch to australian language moreso when I came over I figured there's no reason if I wanted to come and stay to, to try and promote the fact that I'm different I guess I just I mean in terms of speaking and stuff I tried to assimilate.
CIMS: so you mean you tried to assimilate the words that you used?
J: <yeah>.
CIMS: <or did> you try to assimilate the way that you sounded as well?
J: a little bit of <both>.
CIMS: <right>.

From this statement, it appears that Jackie does not think of D2 acquisition as a kind of pretentiousness or false identity; instead, she appears to think that D1 maintenance would be a way of emphasizing differences between herself and her present community:

> J: yeah yeah switching words over like from mom to mum that was kinda funny I I was really reluctant to do that actually because when I moved from calgary to the u s I um, I was teased for a very long time for a having a mum not a mom and um and I was and I'm actually fairly certain my mum will never be my mom again now because it took me so long to switch mum to mom that now that I've switched it from mom to mum again I don't think I'm ever going to be able to go back to mom it's just too too difficult so {laughter} um.
> CIMS: oh so um, even though I mean that's kind of interesting cause your mum wasn't here.
> J: right.

Thus, she even changed words which bear no immediate relevance to her present community.

Gary stated that he would view imitation as a form of mockery, and associated it with criticism of Americans. He stated that he disliked it intensely when Australians imitated his accent and would never imitate theirs.

Making an effort to imitate AusE was not a guarantee of success, however. Ralph stated:

> AIMS: so you never had to change your accent to, sort of.
> R: I I've tried you know I've.
> AIMS: yeah?
> R: because I feel I.
> :
> R: particularly in my area I I teach in, tax law I I I'm a professor of tax law and so I'm often, called to go in the media and a b c s* you know f* seven thirty report things like that and and I I know if I make a comment that the people be critical and they'll say oh he doesn't really understand because he's a foreigner s* so that you know who's he commenting on whether we should tax capital gains or not or something like that so I've tried to soften it because I I'd be desperate t* to sound aw* <aussie>.
> AIMS: <yeah>.
> R: so that people'll take I* s* so I can at least blunt that criticism and I just I just can't I just can't change my accent at all.

Imitative skill was also not necessarily something which the speaker could manipulate consciously either. Margaret stated that she cannot imitate people intentionally:

> AIMS: do you think you could imitate my accent?
> M: no I'm not good at imitate* {laughter} I mean not not intentionally anyway I'm not very good at that I might pick things up but I can't do it intentionally.

Some of the subjects were willing to imitate a word in isolation, but did not want to attempt any kind of imitation on a larger scale. For instance, Vera provided a relatively successful imitation of the word *beer*, and Andrew was able to imitate an AusE pronunciation of the tag *as they say* following an AusE expression *a Friday night beer and a chinwag, (as they say)*. The speakers' attempts at imitations generally seemed to

be constrained by the wish to avoid sounding affected, pretentious or fake, as detailed in section 9.6.

7.14 Phonetic Memory – What did you say again?

A few of the subjects who acquired some AusE speech sounds reported either a temporary or permanent inability to distinguish between varieties of English. Jackie reported that, at one point after moving to Australia, she lost the ability to distinguish between AmE and AusE. She stated:

> CIMS: -...did you uh before you came over could you tell the difference between australian and british accents?
> J: no, I don't think I could uh I'm not really sure I didn't really know any australians at the time so.
> CIMS: yeah.
> J: um I know that I went through a big long period once I got here where I couldn't tell any english accent from another like I couldn't I could tell I could hear australian suddenly I couldn't I couldn't pick an american to save me couldn't pick a canadian couldn't pick that from a british person like just went through this big period where I was completely deaf as to who was what n {laughter} um yeah it was but yeah and my friends thought it was very funny after after I'd been kind of exposed to australian society for a while they'd be watching television and they're like oh that's so american the person sounds so american I'm like he's american?
> CIMS: oh yeah.
> J: oh I didn't know I couldn't tell for a very long time I was just um maybe in the last two years that's something I've started to pick up but I still make mistakes all the time I can't I still have a little bit of a difficulty picking up an american accent.

This is similar to what was reported by Terry during the pilot study. Betty and Harriet also reported difficulties distinguishing between different varieties of English, but they had never found it easy to distinguish between different varieties of English. Betty actually failed to recognize that the Canadian interviewer was not Australian:

> B: that's right and so I I was inspired enough one time to actually sign a petition when the um, hardware store owner frank, paulo* I've forgotten his last name something was jailed for keeping his hardware store open on saturday afternoon <you're too young>.
> CIMS: <was it against the>.
> B: you don't remember all of this {laughter}.
> CIMS: no I only came here two years ago or three years ago so.
> B: oh right yeah it was against the law.

She also failed to recognize that the Australian interviewer was Australian in 1999.

> AI99: can you imitate my accent can you imitate australian english?
> B: {laughter} um.
> AI99: or would you not give it a go?
> B: I I look I'll tell you what I couldn't even have told you what your background was by listening to you.
> AI99: really?
> B: I think I'm slightly deaf on accents.

Harriet said that she knew she has changed the way she speaks in some way, but was not sure how. She insisted on keeping the CE pronunciations that she is aware of:

> H: I've never made a conscious effort to change my accent um the girls will correct me if I say something that they don't feel is australian, {laughter} but I still don't consciously try to say it the way they tell me to say it I just say that's the way I say it I'm canadian and that's how I say it.

She said that she cannot tell one variety of English from another and would be unable to determine if someone was Canadian, British or Australian. This is interesting since it may be the case that her lack of "phonetic memory", as it were, is over-riding her desire to continue to sound like a Canadian.

It could be that either a permanent lack of phonetic memory, or the temporary loss of the ability to distinguish between different accents, might enable the onset of changes in the phonetic inventory of the speaker (i.e. the re-arrangement of the phonemic boundaries may be facilitated by forgetting where those boundaries were initially).

8 The Longitudinal Study

As described in section 6.3.5, this study is able to draw on longitudinal data for six subjects, who were first interviewed by Prof. Michael Clyne in 1988[64], and were re-interviewed for the main study (the data for four of these subjects is displayed in Table 16). Two of these subjects were interviewed in both 1999 and 2001 and provided me with audio-recordings of their speech from 1974 and 1981 which have also been analyzed (see Table 17).

The proportions of the AusE tokens for the six linguistic variables in the 1988 study and in the main study (using the pooled data) were compared using a paired two sample t-test for means in Excel 97. The proportions of the AusE tokens in the 1988 study were also compared with the proportions of AusE tokens produced during the portion of the interview with the Australian interviewer, since in 1988 they were only interviewed by an Australian. None of these tests revealed any statistically significant differences, but this could be because the longitudinal study used only a small number of informants, which reduces the accuracy of statistical tests. Nonetheless, a visual examination of the figures also indicates that there is not a wide range of variation for most of the speakers, with the exception of Lucy.

Table 16: Summary of the Usage of the AusE Forms of the Linguistic Variables in the Longitudinal Study[65]

Year	Subject	Propn AusE /r/	Propn AusE KIT	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn AusE FLEECE	Propn AusE FACE	Propn AusE PRICE
1988	Margaret	12.16%	25.71%	25.64%	2.63%	6.00%	30.77%
1999	Margaret	8.74%	31.25%	28.81%	7.25%	14.71%	41.55%
1988	Peg	0%	0%	4.17%	14.71%	24.29%	0%
1999	Peg	0%	0%	4.66%	6.62%	25.19%	0%
1988	Tim	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1999	Tim	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

[64] Some findings from these 1988 interviews were published as (Clyne 1992a), however, these findings were not used in the present discussion.

[65] Percentages and total numbers of tokens (listed in Appendix C) for the KIT vowel, GOAT diphthong and non-prevocalic /r/ differ from those given in a preliminary analysis of this data (Foreman 2000b). This resulted from additional data being added to that which was analyzed in 2000, and also some changes in the auditory analysis methodology (see section 6.3), since the pilot study methodology for the linguistic analysis was used in Foreman (2000b).

Year	Subject	Propn AusE /r/	Propn AusE KIT	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn AusE FLEECE	Propn AusE FACE	Propn AusE PRICE
1988	Jim	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1999	Jim	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Percentages in this table represent the proportion of the total tokens which were produced in AusE form for each linguistic variable. The percentages for 1999 are taken from the Pooled Main Study Data set.

Table 17: Longitudinal Study, Lucy and Betty

Year	Subject	Propn AusE /r/	Propn AusE KIT	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn AusE FLEECE	Propn AusE FACE	Propn AusE PRICE
1974	Betty	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1981	Betty	0%	0%	4.35%	0%	0%	0%
1988	Betty	0%	0%	10.34%	0%	0%	0%
1999	Betty	0%	0%	13.91%	0%	0%	0%
2001	Betty	0%	0%	10.92%	2.83%	0%	0%
1974	Lucy	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1981	Lucy	22.22%	66.67%	27.27%	2.22%	44.12%	36.67%
1988	Lucy	43.86%	32.69%	44.62%	1.96%	37.50%	18.57%
1999	Lucy	25.83%	33.00%	45.09%	0.87%	45.57%	12.50%
2001	Lucy	22.75%	25.08%	38.89%	2.39%	25.93%	8.23%

Percentages in this table represent the proportion of the total tokens which were produced in AusE form for each linguistic variable. The percentages for 2001 are taken from the Pooled Main Study Data set. The percentages from 1999 are cited from data pooled from both interviewers.

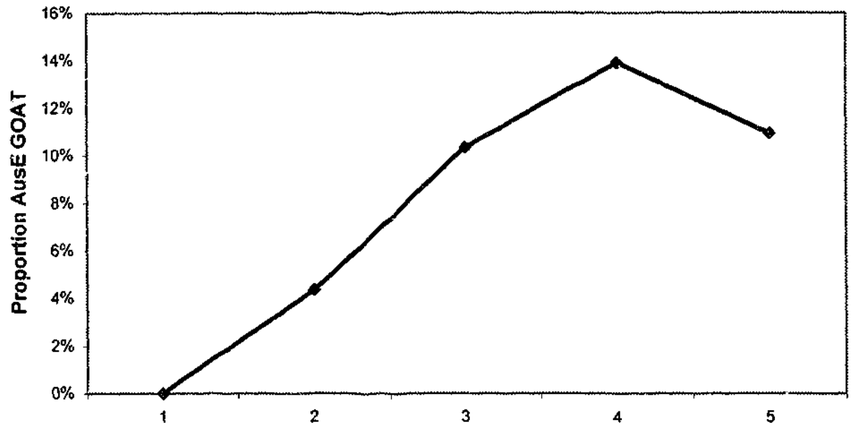
The most interesting data in the longitudinal study came from Lucy and Betty, who were interviewed in 1988, 1999 and then were interviewed again in 2001.[66] This meant that, including the 1974 and 1981 tapes, there were 5 records of their speech spanning 27 years and starting approximately six months after their arrival. This provided a relatively detailed and long-term picture of their speech behaviour.

Betty, who arrived in Australia at the age of 29, uses the AusE form of the GOAT diphthong in up to 13.91% of all possible instances of GOAT (see Figure 15), and in the 2001 interview she also used AusE realizations of the FLEECE vowel in 2.83% of all possible instances. Her acquisition pattern for the GOAT diphthong seems to have reached a plateau at about 1988. Betty's case is interesting because the changes in her

[66] The interviews of Lucy and Betty completed in 1999 were problematic because of recording problems due to a faulty microphone. Accordingly it was thought that it would be very useful to do another set of interviews, which were completed in 2001. The 2001 interviews were used for the Main Study data sets. A

phonetic inventory are quite subtle, and might have been missed had she not taken part in the longitudinal study. The 1974 and 1981 recordings of Betty provided confirmation that there were in fact changes and not just sporadic and idiosyncratic realizations of the GOAT diphthong – something which is difficult to be sure of in this type of study unless there is longitudinal data available, and something which should be kept in mind when examining the data from other speakers who have no apparent changes.

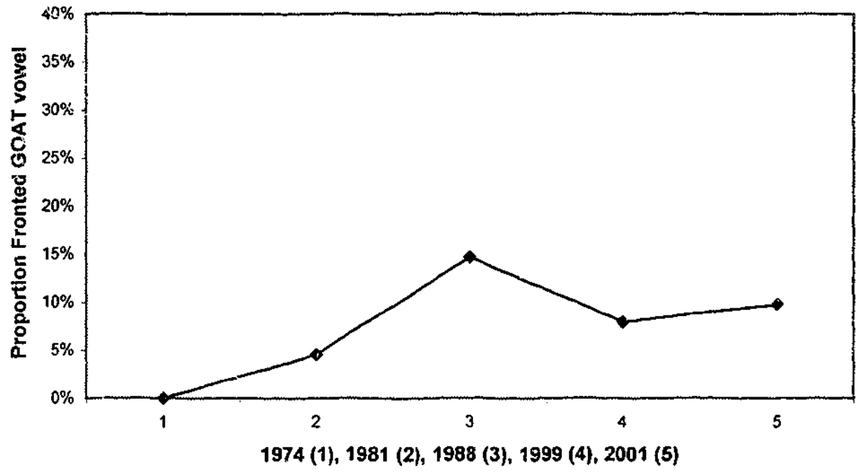
Figure 15: Betty - GOAT diphthong



Betty also used a fronted variant of the GOAT vowel, which was counted separately (see Figure 16) (see section 7.5.1 for further discussion of this variant of GOAT). This fronted variant seemed to be more lexically specific (see section 7.11), and was mainly used in the utterance modifiers *so* and *I suppose*. This variant does not appear to resemble the actual AusE pronunciation of the GOAT vowel very closely, but it did appear in Betty's speech only after she had lived in Australia for a few years. This variant appears to peak slightly in Betty's speech in 1988.

preliminary analysis of this longitudinal study used the 1999 interviews with Lucy and Betty (Foreman 2000b).

Figure 16: Betty - Fronted GOAT vowel



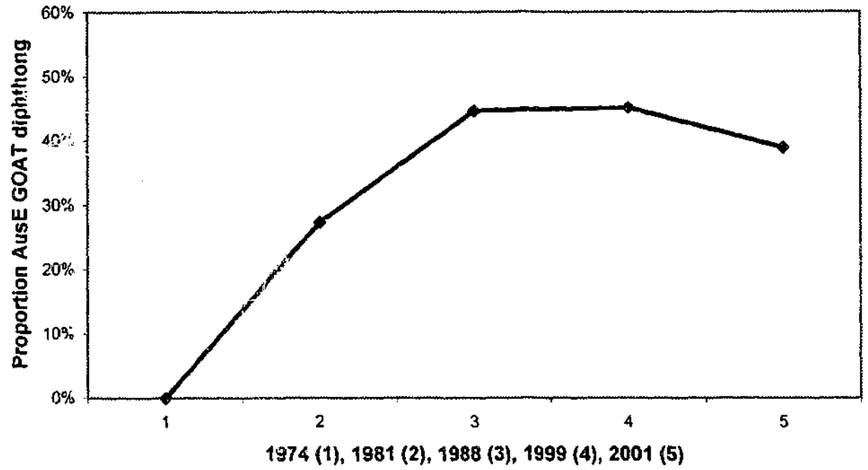
The proportion of the AusE form of the GOAT diphthong in Lucy's speech also appears to level off at around 1988 (see Figure 17). The proportion of the AusE variant is somewhat lower in 2001, which may be due to the relative informality of the 2001 interview – no books or pictures were used in 2001 and Lucy was more familiar with the interviewers and the interview process. A higher proportion of D2 variants in formal speech would be consistent with the behaviour of informants in other SDA studies (see section 3.4). A comparison of Lucy's speech while narrating a wordless picture book in 1999 versus her conversational speech in 1999 shows that she used a higher proportion of the AusE variants of all the linguistic variables while narrating the book than in conversational speech, with the exception of the KIT vowel (see Table 18). This table is based on data pooled from both interviewers.

Table 18: Proportion of AusE variants in Lucy's Speech During Conversation and Narration

	Non-prevocalic /r/	KIT	GOAT	FLEECE	FACE	PRICE
Conversation	24.54%	42.55%	36.55%	0%	40.74%	10.52%
Narration	26.71%	25.92%	59.46%	1.25%	50.00%	15.00%

The other subjects who narrated the book also showed some stylistic response to the situation.[67] (A picture description task was included in the 1988 and 1999 interviews).

Figure 17: Lucy – GOAT Diphthong



[67] For the conversational portion of the interview with both the Australian interviewer and the Canadian interviewer, Margaret used 8.73% of the AusE variant of non-prevocalic /r/, 13.04% of AusE variant of FACE, 22.22% of the AusE variant of GOAT, 39.53% of the AusE variant of PRICE, 14.00% of the AusE variant of FLEECE, and 18.50% of the AusE variant of KIT, out of all possible instances of an AusE or AmE/CE variant. During the narration of the book (which both interviewers participated in successively), she produced 8.54% of the AusE variant of non-prevocalic /r/, 19.04% of the AusE variant of FACE, 35.48% of the AusE variant of GOAT, 44.64% of the AusE variant of PRICE, 3.45% of the AusE variant of FLEECE and 31.92% of the AusE variant of KIT, out of all possible instances of an AusE or AmE/CE variant. So, except for non-prevocalic /r/ and FLEECE, Margaret used more of the AusE variants during the narration task. Peg also used less of the AusE variants during the conversational style. During the narrative portion of the interview, she used 7.76% of the AusE variants of FLEECE, 31.25% of the AusE variant of FACE, 7.25% of the AusE variant of GOAT, and during the conversational portion of the interview Peg used 6.14% of the AusE variant of FLEECE, 23.20% of the AusE variant of FACE, and 3.59% of the AusE variant of GOAT, out of all possible instances of an AusE or AmE/CE variant. In Betty's case, there is only one variable which is relevant and she used 10% more of the fronted GOAT variant during the conversational portions of the interview and used 20% more of the AusE variant of GOAT during the narrative portions of the interview. For Tim and Jim, there was no change between interview situations since they did not use any AusE variants.

8.1 Non-Prevocalic /r/ in the Speech of Lucy

An examination of Lucy's non-prevocalic /r/ vocalization and deletion patterns reveals a peak for the 1988 interview (see Figure 18).

The 1988 interview is different from other interviews and audio-taped letters in several ways: for the other interviews, the interviewers were young females, and in 1988 the interviewer was an older Australian male; also, the tapes and interviews from years other than 1988 could be said to be directed, at least partly, at some speakers of some variety of American English, since one of the interviewers in both 1999 and 2001 was a Canadian female, and the audio-taped letters were made by Lucy with her mother, Betty, for her American grandparents who lived in the United States. This meant that the intended audience in 1988 was different in that the interviewer was an Australian, but there were also Australian interviewers in both 1999 and 2001. Perhaps more important than nationality, however, was the age, status and gender of the interviewer in 1988, since he was a professor and an authority figure. Lucy's use of non-prevocalic /r/ when speaking to the Australian interviewers in 1988, 1999 and 2001 is compared in Figure 19.

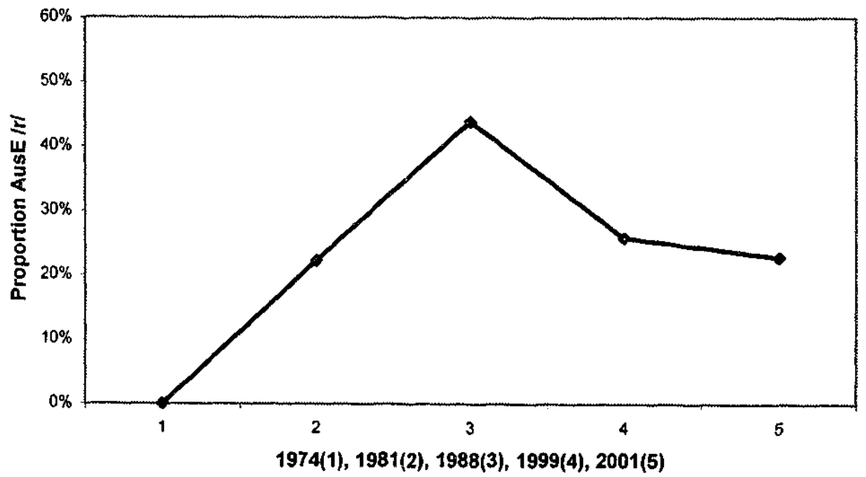
Given Lucy and Betty's complicated feelings with regards to non-prevocalic /r/ vocalization and deletion (see section 9.5.6), it is likely that non-prevocalic /r/ was a particularly loaded sociostylistic marker for Lucy. It seems plausible that Lucy made sociostylistic adjustments for this feature of her speech, and that she accommodated for this particular feature towards the 1988 interviewer.[68] In this case, Lucy seems to have accommodated in what *for her* is an important sociolinguistic variable, and she accommodated towards someone she probably perceived as having higher status than she did – an authority figure.

The nationality of the interviewer did not appear to be the key factor that was affecting variation in Lucy's use of the AusE variants. In fact, when interviews with Lucy from

[68] Another possible explanation of Lucy's behaviour which was presented in an earlier analysis of this data (Foreman 2000b), is that Lucy was in the process of negotiating her dual identity as both an American and an Australian, and that she used dialectal forms to subtly express membership in one group while overtly expressing membership in the other group (this would be consistent with her 1999 speech behaviour). Identity probably plays a key role in Lucy's speech, but since she did not behave in the same way for each of the linguistic variables, her strong feelings about non-prevocalic /r/ deletion are probably also quite important. The sociolinguistic value of the variable and identity are probably not totally independent things for Lucy.

1981, 1988, 1999 and 2001 are compared, there is an average of 21.78% variation.[69] Remarkably, when the main study interviews with the Australian interviewer and Canadian interviewer are compared, there is relatively little average variation for Lucy (4.38%), but there is an average variation of 13.65% in Lucy's speech behaviour with Australian interviewers when comparing 1988, 1999 and 2001. Thus it is unlikely that the main factor influencing this variation was the dialect spoken by the interviewers,[70] there must have been other factors at play, such as age, status, situation, etc.

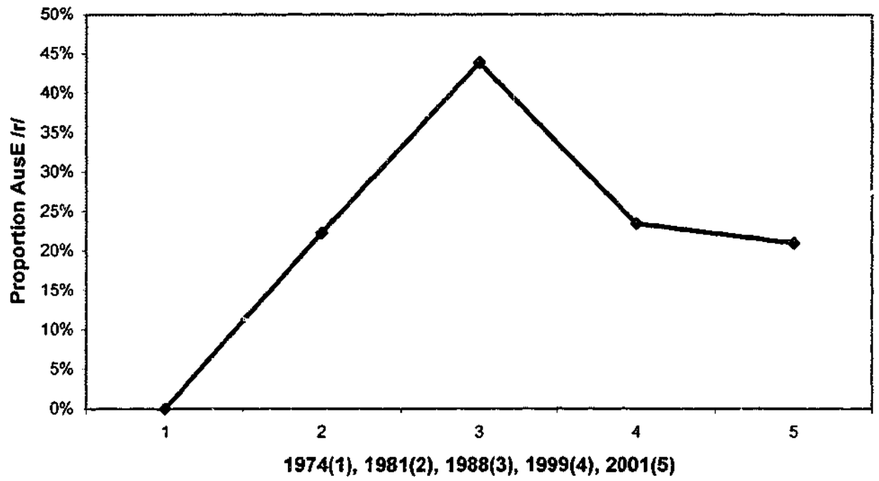
Figure 18: Lucy - Non-prevocalic /r/, Pooled Data



[69] Some of this variation may be because Lucy was still acquiring some aspects of AusE in 1981. When figures from 1981 are excluded from the calculations, there is an average variation of 11.12% between 1988, 1999 and 2001.

[70] None of the subjects who acquired any AusE as adults average more than 8% variation (and most average less than this, although there is admittedly less data for most of them). Betty and Peg show only a small range of difference (at most 8%) between 1988 and 1999 (and 2001 in Betty's case). Variation in Margaret's speech between 1988 and 1999 is 6.04% on average, and less than 9% for all the variables except for the PRICE diphthong. These four speakers all arrived in Australia as adults.

Figure 19: Lucy – Non-prevocalic /r/, Australian Interviewers Only

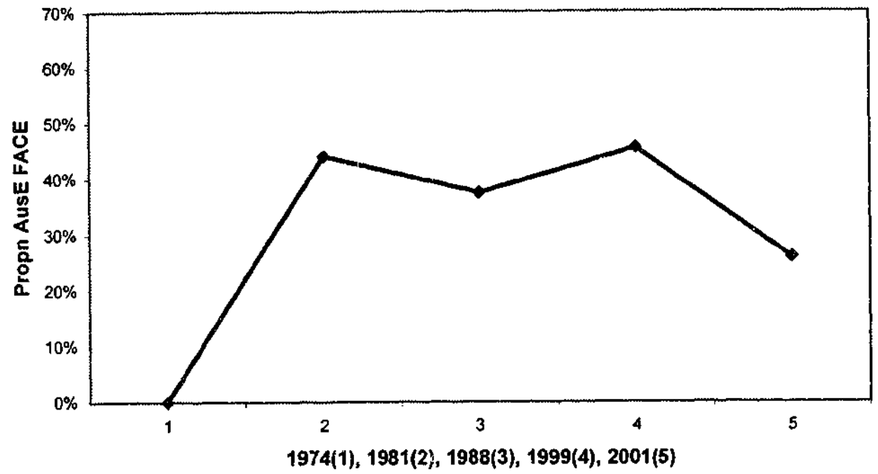


8.2 FACE in the Speech of Lucy

In contrast, Lucy's use of the AusE form of the FACE diphthong is much lower in 2001 than in 1981, 1988 or 1999 (see Figure 20).

This may also be due to formality, since the proportion of AusE realizations of FACE in Lucy's speech dropped off by over 10% during the conversational portion of the interview versus the narrative portion of the 1999 interview, so she may have been using more of the AusE variant of FACE during the 1988 and 1999 interviews because of the formal picture description task. It is unclear why the proportion of AusE realizations is relatively high in 1981 relative to 2001. Her proportionate use of the AusE form of KIT and PRICE is also relatively high in 1981. It may not be unusual that there is a degree of inconsistency and variation in Lucy's speech; though I know of no other longitudinal studies of adult SDA, studies of speakers living in regions undergoing koineization show that they may retain a number of variants for one phoneme in their speech (Britain 1997b: 159; Kerswill and Williams 2000: 87-89).

Figure 20: Lucy - FACE diphthong



8.3 KIT and PRICE in the Speech of Lucy

Lucy's proportionate use of the AusE form of the KIT vowel and the AusE form of PRICE show a peak in 1981 (see Figure 21 and Figure 22). This could be a chance occurrence due to the small amount of data that was available for 1981 (only 24 tokens of KIT and 30 tokens of PRICE); or it could be that AusE speech features were more prevalent in Lucy's speech when she was an adolescent and young adult (perhaps because of peer group pressures) than when she was an older adult.

Figure 21: Lucy – KIT vowel

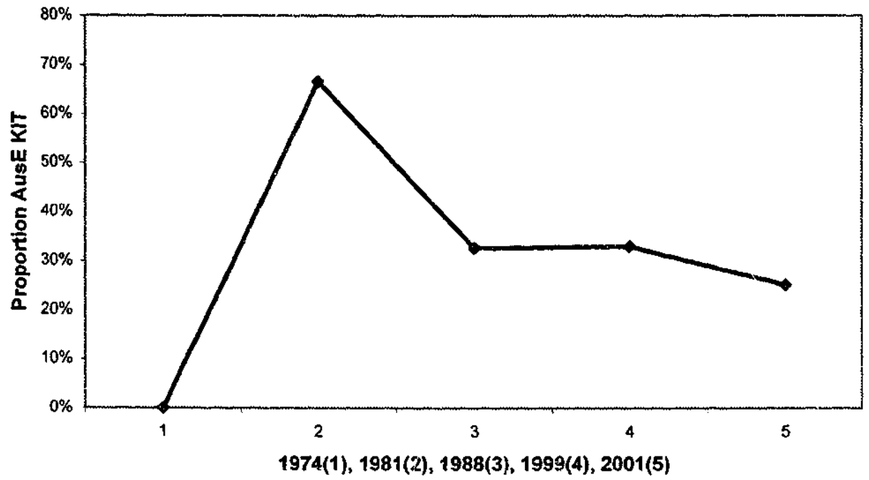
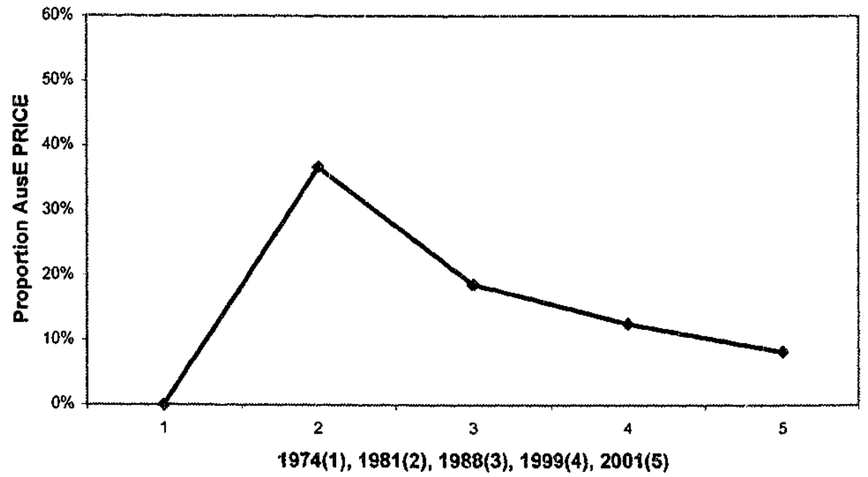
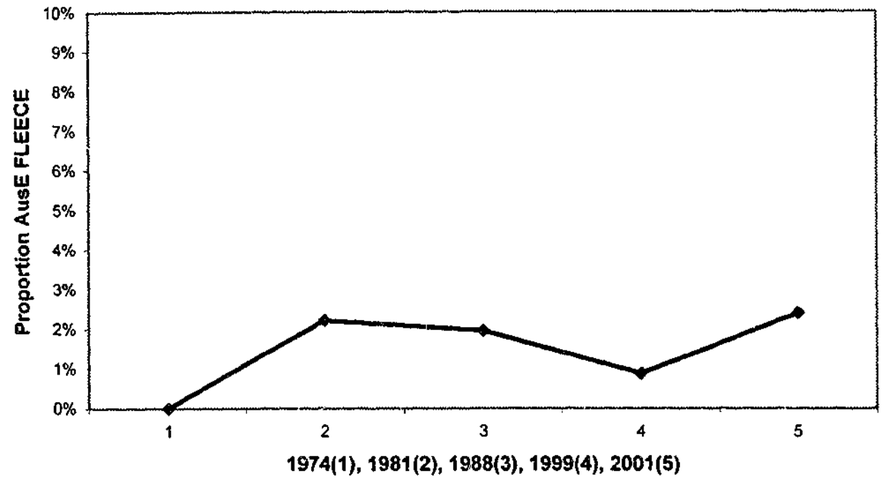


Figure 22: Lucy - PRICE diphthong



For the FLEECE vowel, Lucy tends to use the AusE onglide in only a small proportion of possible instances. She does not show much variation in her use of the AusE variant, but this generally seems to be a dispreferred variant in Lucy's speech. Her usage of the onglide is less than 3% in all interviews.

Figure 23: Lucy - FLEECE vowel



8.4 Longitudinal Data for Harriet and Carrie

Harriet and Carrie were also interviewed on two separate occasions. The data shows much more variation in the speech of Carrie than in the speech of Harriet (see Table 19). The range of variation for Harriet between 2000 and 2001 is 3.11% on average. For Carrie, who arrived in Australia at the age of ten, there is as much as 20.21% difference in one variable (PRICE) between 2000 and 2001, and she averages 9.86% difference between interview conditions in 2000 and 2001 (although, like Lucy, the difference between her speech behaviour with the Australian interviewer and Canadian interviewer is less than this: only 7.58% on average).

Table 19: Longitudinal Data for Harriet and Carrie

Year	Subject	AusE r	AusE KIT	AusE GOAT	AusE FLEECE	AusE FACE	AusE PRICE
2000	Carrie	11.49%	25.84%	39.75%	9.76%	37.09%	26.42%
2001	Carrie	19.39%	16.55%	27.35%	8.57%	45.31%	46.63%
2000	Harriet	0.00%	31.23%	3.16%	18.57%	23.79%	6.03%
2001	Harriet	0.00%	26.62%	4.07%	23.84%	22.96%	13.08%

8.5 Discussion

The results of this longitudinal study suggest that speakers who do not acquire any D2 phones within the first few years of residence in the D2 dialect region will not acquire any phones even after many years of residence in the D2 dialect region – as with Tim and Jim. However, the results also indicate that speakers who do acquire some phones within the first few years of residence in the D2 area may continue to acquire other phones. Betty had not plateaued in her acquisition of the AusE form of the GOAT diphthong in 1981, which was seven years after her arrival in Australia, and she did not use any AusE variants of the FLEECE vowel until the 2001 interview.[71] The evidence from Betty also suggests that the speaker may not acquire any D2 features until they have been resident in the D2 area for a number of years – in this case it took seven years before any D2 features began to appear in Betty's speech. These findings also indicate that it may take many years before a speaker actually plateaus in his or her acquisition of D2 phone. This evidence, taking into the results of the statistical analysis of the social variables (see section 9.4), suggests that Length of Stay can be a significant variable for some speakers, particularly for the vowel variables.

This data also suggests that speakers who acquire a dialect at a young age will possess a wider range of variation in that dialect than speakers who have acquired it at an older age; or that speakers who have acquired some phonetic features of a dialect as adults will tend to use those phonetic features in a similar way in a range of situations.

Although it is perilous to extrapolate a great deal from the speech of only one person, since Lucy's speech behaviour is so well-documented, it is worth noting her response to the 1988 interviewer for non-prevocalic /r/. When the commentary about non-prevocalic

[71] In Foreman (2000b), the data also indicated a large increase in Margaret's usage of the AusE form of the KIT vowel. However, when additional data was added to the analysis and a revised, more cautious approach to the auditory analysis was taken, this increase was reduced.

/r/ from Lucy and her mother Betty is taken into consideration, it does seem highly likely that non-prevocalic /r/ is a crucial sociolinguistic, rather than a regional, marker for her, and it is quite interesting that she adjusted this variable for a higher status speaker and not for equal-status speakers of the regional dialects in question. This lends support to the idea that accommodation is a process which is dependent on status and power. This evidence is then partially supportive of Trudgill's (1986) theory of accommodation between regional dialects, *provided that there exists a hierarchical or status-related difference between the speakers, and that the speakers treat certain variables as socially significant*, which would be more likely to occur where speakers speak, for example, a stigmatized rural dialect, rather than the present situation. This study, with its unusual focus on speakers of one standard variety acquiring another standard variety, allows for the isolation of hierarchy, power and status as key variables in accommodation behaviour.

9 Analysis of the Social Variables

9.1 Statistical Analysis of the Social Variables

The statistical analysis of the social variables was based on the auditory analysis of the data (see section 6.3 for a description of the auditory linguistic analysis). The total numbers of the AusE tokens of the linguistic variables and the total numbers of the possible occurrences of the AusE or AmE/CE forms of the variables were then entered into SPSS 11.0.

Correlations between the social variables and the acquisition of each linguistic variable (non-prevocalic /r/, the KIT vowel, the GOAT diphthong, the PRICE diphthong, the FACE diphthong and the FLEECE vowel) were assessed statistically using backward conditional binary logistic regression in SPSS 11.0 (see Appendix C for tables of figures in the binary logistic regressions). This type of regression analysis takes into account only whether or not there has been any change – the amount of change is not weighted. It was chosen because so few of the subjects made changes to their speech, and so it was impossible to accurately model the relationship between social variables and the degree of change using this data. Thus the statistical tests were helpful mainly for assessing the correlation between the social variables and the likelihood of any change occurring in a linguistic variable, and assessments of probable relationships between the social variables and the degree of change in the linguistic variables must be added in the qualitative analysis (see Chapter 7 and section 9.5).

The data is organized into three data sets: the Methodology data set, the Longitudinal data set and the Main Study Pooled data set (heretofore the Pooled MS data set). The Methodology data set includes only those subjects who participated in a two-part interview with both the AusE speaking and CE speaking interviewers and the Interviewer variable is assessed in this data set. The Longitudinal data set also includes early interviews with Carrie, Harriet, Tim, Jim, Lucy, Betty, Peg and Margaret to better assess the impact of the Interviewer variable. The Pooled MS data set includes interviews with all the subjects to give an over-all view of speaker behaviour (Interviewer is not a variable in this data set).

Separate regressions were performed for each linguistic variable as the dependent variables and with the social variables as co-variates. One regression was performed initially using all the social variables as co-variates, and a second regression was performed excluding WORK DIALECT, SOCIAL CLUB and gender from the co-variates set (see section 9.1 for explanations of the exclusion of these social variables). This left HOME DIALECT, SOCNET, Length of Stay, Age of Arrival (AOA) and Interviewer in the co-variates set for the Methodology and Longitudinal Data Sets, and HOME DIALECT, SOCNET, Length of Stay and AOA in the co-variates set for the Pooled MS data set. A third regression was performed which excluded AOA from the co-variates as well in order to avoid the confounding effects that AOA and Length of Stay had on each other (see section 9.1.3). Finally, a fourth regression was performed excluding Length of Stay from the co-variates set and restoring AOA to the co-variates in order to better judge the effects of AOA.

9.1.1 The Methodology Data Set

The first categorization of the data was called the Methodology data set. In this data set, data from the Canadian and the Australian interviewers was compared separately, and analyzed for the impact of each variable, including Interviewer. (Scatterplot graphs from the Methodology and Longitudinal data sets (see section 9.3) are confusing since they show one dot for the part of the interview with the Canadian interviewer and one dot for the part of the interview with the Australian interviewer, plus dots from earlier interviews for the longitudinal data set. Consequently, graphs are included with the Pooled MS data set (see section 9.4) as that is less confusing than seeing the subject's speech behaviour divided into two or more parts).

9.1.2 Gender

It is difficult to accurately assess the importance of gender for speaker behaviour during SDA from this study since all of the subjects in this study who acquired some AusE phones were female. While this could be suggestive of a particularly female aptitude for SDA, it is likely that this was at least partly due to chance, since several of the male NSP's seemed to have acquired some AusE phones. Also, all of the subjects who arrived at a young age were female, which makes it difficult to separate the influence of a young AOA and the influence of gender.

Gender was included in the first regression for each of the linguistic variables, and change towards AusE was most positively correlated with female gender for the GOAT diphthong in the Methodology data set. Gender was not statistically significant to a p-value of .025 for any of the regressions in the Methodology data set, and was excluded

from second or third tests since it was likely to have an obfuscatory effect on the interpretation of the significance of the other social variables.

9.1.3 Age of Arrival

A low AOA was the most important correlate of the acquisition of the AusE form of two of the linguistic variables (KIT and non-prevocalic /r/) for the Methodology data set.

AOA was significant to a p-value of .013 for non-prevocalic /r/ when gender, WORK DIALECT and Social Club were removed from the co-variates in the Methodology data set. It was significant to a p-value of .025 for the KIT vowel in the second regression (when gender, Social Club and WORK DIALECT were removed from the co-variates).

AOA was probably confounded with Length of Stay since the subjects were all interviewed as adults, and so those people who had arrived at a young age would naturally have spent longer in the country. Consequently, regressions were performed with Length of Stay excluded from the co-variates set. This did not have any impact on the significance of AOA for non-prevocalic /r/ or for KIT in the Methodology set, but it did have an impact on the significance of AOA for the other linguistic variables. Once Length of Stay was removed from the co-variates set, AOA became the most important correlate of the adoption of the AusE variants of GOAT, FLEECE, FACE and PRICE, with a p-value of .023 for FACE.

The correlation between a relatively early AOA and the acquisition of AusE speech sounds did not show a clear division between adult and child learners except for non-prevocalic /r/ (see Figures 28 – 33).

9.1.4 Length of Stay

A long Length of Stay was positively correlated with the acquisition of the AusE variants of the linguistic variables (see Figures 34 – 39). Length of Stay was significant for GOAT, FLEECE and FACE in the Methodology data set, with p-values of .005, .001, and .008 respectively in the second regression where gender, WORK DIALECT and SOCIAL CLUB were removed from the co-variates. When AOA was removed from the co-variates set (in the third regression), Length of Stay was the most significant social variable for all the linguistic variables, with a p-value of .001 for the GOAT diphthong and .002 for the FACE diphthong. It was significant to a p-value of .006 for the PRICE diphthong once gender, WORK DIALECT, Social Club and AOA were removed from the co-variates.

9.1.5 HOME DIALECT

Although HOME DIALECT was not statistically significant for any of the variables in the Methodology data set, it was the second strongest influence, following Length of stay or AOA for most of the linguistic variables in this data set. An AusE HOME DIALECT was positively correlated with the acquisition of AusE, while an AmE or CE HOME DIALECT was negatively correlated with the acquisition of AusE (see Figures 40 – 45).

9.1.6 WORK DIALECT

WORK DIALECT did not show any strong or significant effects in the Methodology set. This was probably because nearly all of the subjects worked in AusE speaking environments if they were employed, and so this variable did not show any interesting variation and could not reveal any interesting information about speaker behaviour. Consequently, it was removed from the second, third and fourth regressions.

9.1.7 Social Network

Social network was an important influence on speaker behaviour for GOAT, FLEECE, FACE and PRICE in the Methodology set, although not to a statistically significant degree (see Figures 24 – 27). A low SOCNET score (which meant that subject had few or no AmE/CE speaking social contacts) was positively correlated with acquisition. It was not as significant as it has been in other studies (Bortoni-Ricardo 1985), probably because most of the subjects did not maintain strong network ties with other North Americans. (See section 6.1.2 for a description of the scoring system used to calculate the SOCNET score).

9.1.8 Social Club

Social club was not found to be a statistically significant influence on speaker behaviour; perhaps because most of the subjects did not belong to a social club and most of the members did not attend very often (less than once a year). Social club was excluded from second, third and fourth regressions because of this reason.

9.1.9 Interviewer

Interviewer was not found to be a statistically significant influence on speaker behaviour for any of the linguistic variables in the Methodology data set. Binary logistic regression is not the ideal technique for examining interviewer effect, however, since subjects might simply change the proportion of a particular variant used in their speech rather than categoricaliy excluding it from their speech when speaking to a different audience. Hence, as it was inferred that there may have been a significant interviewer effect for subjects who were acquiring AusE, but not for other subjects who did not acquire AusE, a paired two sample t-test for means was run in Microsoft Excel 97 to test for differences between data collected by the different interviewers only for those subjects who made changes to their speech (see Table 20 for a comparison of these subjects' use of the AusE variants in both interviewer situations). The t-tests did not show any significant differences for speakers who made changes either, but this may have been because of insufficient data (since there were only twelve subjects who were acquiring AusE in the Methodology data set).

Table 20: Comparison of Speaker Behaviour with CIMS versus AIMS

Interviewer	Subject	Propn AusE /r/	Propn AusE KIT	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn AusE FLEECE	Propn AusE FACE	Propn AusE PRICE
CIMS	Sharon	0.55%	43.69%	14.29%	15.83%	43.78%	14.29%
AIMS	Sharon	4.13%	53.75%	21.21%	7.58%	35.85%	6.35%
CIMS	Carrie	14.36%	19.17%	24.55%	7.87%	39.56%	39.53%
AIMS	Carrie	24.02%	14.56%	29.63%	9.32%	50.50%	53.26%
CIMS	Vera	5.46%	48.68%	28.86%	10.14%	52.90%	29.90%
AIMS	Vera	6.60%	40.91%	32.91%	7.22%	63.64%	19.33%
CIMS	Felicia	4.95%	31.72%	34.67%	7.69%	32.54%	30.16%
AIMS	Felicia	6.73%	23.66%	39.24%	14.94%	42.03%	31.25%
CIMS	Harriet	0%	28.16%	3.73%	23.08%	24.16%	14.55%
AIMS	Harriet	0%	25.63%	4.37%	24.29%	21.89%	11.54%
CIMS	Betty	0%	0%	12.31%	4.88%	0%	0%
AIMS	Betty	0%	0%	10.09%	1.54%	0%	0%
CIMS	Lucy	24.79%	21.43%	42.21%	1.79%	29.23%	8.80%
AIMS	Lucy	20.97%	27.75%	35.20%	2.88%	22.12%	7.85%
CIMS	Jackie	0.37%	11.01%	20.00%	0%	4.49%	23.84%
AIMS	Jackie	0%	20.90%	34.08%	0%	2.74%	32.67%
CIMS	Margaret	11.40%	35.71%	29.07%	2.53%	14.29%	38.14%
AIMS	Margaret	4.35%	23.81%	28.13%	13.56%	15.79%	48.89%
CIMS	Peg	0%	0%	7.41%	6.59%	24.72%	0%
AIMS	Peg	0%	0%	2.34%	6.64%	25.44%	0%

Interviewer	Subject	Propn AusE /r/	Propn AusE KIT	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn AusE FLEECE	Propn AusE FACE	Propn AusE PRICE
CIMS	Daisy	0%	0%	0%	0%	16.92%	3.70%
AIMS	Daisy	0%	1.19%	1.85%	11.11%	13.21%	6.67%
CIMS	Emma	0%	0%	0%	3.53%	6.90%	25.81%
AIMS	Emma	0%	0%	0%	2.13%	5.80%	15.79%

The Subject & Interviewer Columns give the pseudonyms of the subjects and the interviewer: CIMS stands for Canadian Interviewer, Main Study; AIMS stands for Australian Interviewer, Main Study. *Propn* stands for the proportion of the total number of tokens which were produced as AusE variants. */r/* stands for vocalized/deleted non-prevocalic */r/*.

A visual examination of the figures that show the extent to which each subject used the AusE variants with each interviewer does show a certain amount of variation, though most of the variation is limited to less than 10%. Variation over 10% occurs in ten instances; Sharon's production of KIT, Carrie's production of PRICE and FACE, Vera's production of FACE and PRICE, Felicia's production of FACE, Margaret's production of FLEECE and PRICE, Emma's production of PRICE and Jackie's production of GOAT. However, this variation does not appear to follow a consistent direction. For example, Margaret increases the proportion of AusE variants of PRICE in her speech from 38.14% to 48.89% when speaking to the Australian interviewer, but she decreases the proportion of the AusE variants of KIT from 35.71% to 23.81% when speaking to the Australian interviewer. None of the subjects increased their use of the AusE variants of *all* the linguistic variables when speaking to the Australian interviewer.

9.2 The Longitudinal Data Set

To further assess the impact of the Interviewer on the subjects' speech, 1988 data from the longitudinal study and early interviews with Carrie, Harriet, Betty and Lucy were added in the Longitudinal data set.

The SOCNET graphs are given in this section because SOCNET showed the strongest influence on the Methodology and Longitudinal data sets.

9.2.1 Gender

Gender was not a significant social variable for any of the linguistic variables in the Longitudinal data set.

9.2.2 Age of Arrival

A low AOA was the most important correlate of the acquisition of the AusE form of two of the linguistic variables in the Longitudinal data set (KIT and non-prevocalic /r/).

AOA was a fairly significant factor in the first regression which included all the social variables as co-variates for non-prevocalic /r/ for the Longitudinal data set, with a p-value of .076. When gender, WORK DIALECT and Social Club were excluded from the co-variates, AOA had a p-value of .004 in the Longitudinal data set. For the KIT vowel in the Longitudinal data set, AOA had a p-value of .013 once gender, WORK DIALECT and Social Club had been excluded from the co-variates set. For the FACE diphthong in the Longitudinal data set, AOA had a p-value of .021 with gender, WORK DIALECT and Social Club excluded from the co-variates set. It was also important for PRICE with a p-value of .047 when gender, WORK DIALECT and Social Club were removed from the co-variates.

As a result of the correlation between Length of Stay and AOA (see section 9.1.3), regressions were performed with Length of Stay excluded from the co-variates set. This did result in an increased importance of AOA for every linguistic variable except non-prevocalic /r/ and KIT. When Length of Stay (as well as gender, WORK DIALECT and social club) was excluded, AOA was significant to a p-value of .02 for PRICE, a p-value of .011 for the FLEECE vowel, to a p-value of .021 for the GOAT diphthong and to a p-value of .005 for the FACE diphthong.

9.2.3 Length of Stay

Length of Stay was significant to a p-value of .007 for the GOAT diphthong in the first regression with all the variables included, and to a p-value of .002 when gender, WORK DIALECT and social club were removed from the co-variates in the second regression. It was significant to a p-value of .001 for FLEECE in the first regression with all social variables included in the co-variates set. For FACE, it was significant to a p-value of .013 when gender, WORK DIALECT and social club were removed from the co-variates set.

When AOA was removed from the co-variates set (along with gender, WORK DIALECT and social club in the third regression), Length of Stay was significant to a p-value of .012 for KIT, .002 for FACE and .007 for PRICE. See Figures 35 – 39 for graphs of Length of Stay and its relation to the linguistic variables.

9.2.4 HOME DIALECT

As in the Methodology data set, although HOME DIALECT was not statistically significant for any of the variables in the Longitudinal data set, it was the second strongest influence following AOA for non-prevocalic /r/ and for GOAT. An AusE HOME

DIALECT was positively correlated with the acquisition of AusE for all the linguistic variables, while an AmE or CE HOME DIALECT was negatively correlated with the acquisition of AusE (see Figures 40 – 45).

9.2.5 WORK DIALECT

WORK DIALECT was not statistically significant for any of the linguistic variables in the Longitudinal set, probably for the reasons explained in section 9.1.6.

9.2.6 Social Network

Social network was not a statistically significant variable for any of the linguistic variables in the Longitudinal set, but it was close to significant for FLEECE (a p-value of .037 in the first regression) and FACE (a p-value of .026 in the first regression). As in the Methodology data set, a low social network score was positively correlated with the acquisition of D2 variants. It showed the second strongest correlation with speaker behaviour for GOAT (in the first regression), FLEECE (in all regressions), PRICE (when AOA, WORK DIALECT, gender and social club were removed from the co-variates) and FACE (in all regressions) (see Figures 24 – 27). (Graphs for the Social Network Score are based on the Longitudinal data set. They give the mean percentage of the tokens of a particular linguistic variable realized in AusE form for all subjects with that Social Network score).

Figure 24: SOCNET and the GOAT diphthong

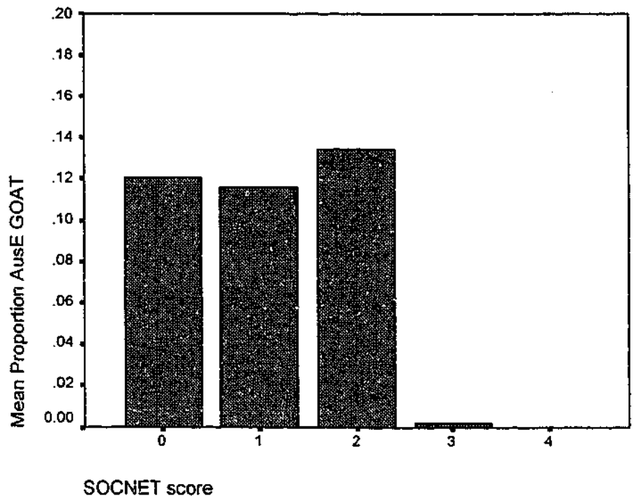


Figure 25: SOCNET and the FLEECE vowel

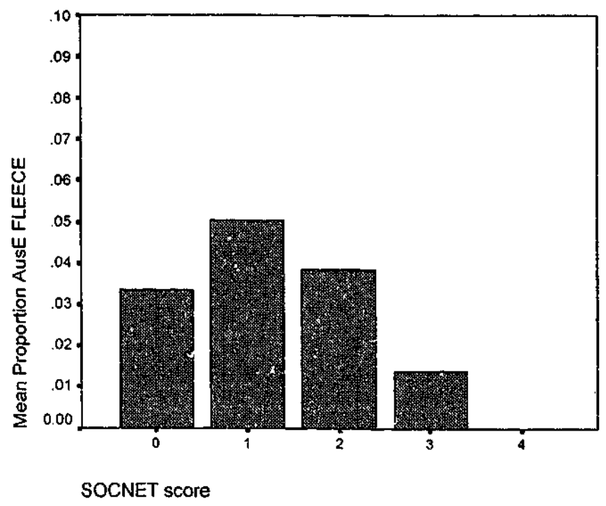


Figure 26: SOCNET and the PRICE diphthong

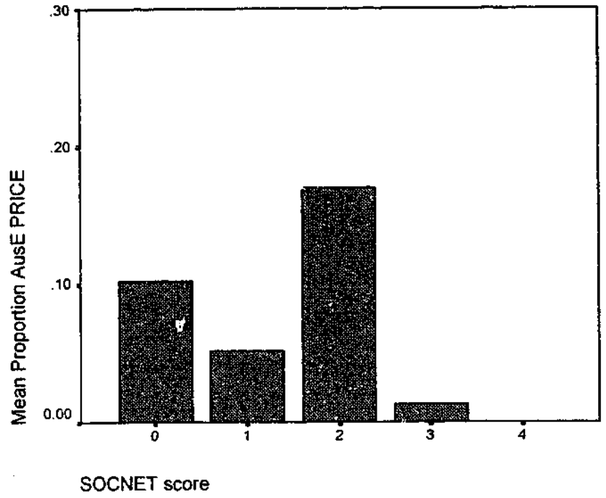
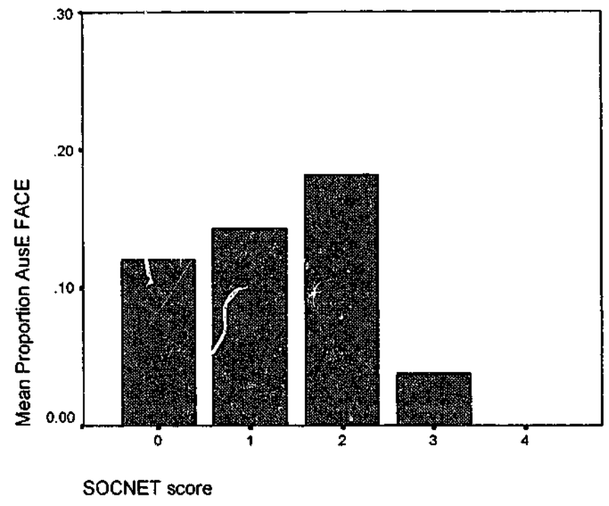


Figure 27: SOCNET and the FACE diphthong



9.2.7 Social Club

Social club was not statistically significant for any of the linguistic variables in the Longitudinal set, probably for the reasons given in section 9.1.8.

9.3 Pooled Main Study Data Set

The data from each interviewer for the main study subjects (plus the five excluded from the Methodology data set) were pooled together in the pooled main study data set in order to give an over-all view of speaker behaviour.

Graphs show the linguistic variable on the Y-axis and the social variable on the X-axis. The Y-axis gives the proportion of the total tokens for that linguistic variable which resembled AusE phones.

9.3.1 Gender

As in the Methodology data set, the importance of gender was unclear because of an over-representation of women in the subjects who were acquiring AusE, and also because all the subjects who had a very young AOA were women. Gender was excluded from the second, third and fourth regressions for pooled MS data. It was not statistically significant in any of the first regressions.

9.3.2 Age of Arrival

A low AOA was positively correlated with the acquisition of AusE in the pooled MS data in all regressions, but it was not statistically significant to a p-value of .025 for any of the linguistic variables in this data set. Nonetheless, it was the most important variable for non-prevocalic /r/, PRICE and KIT, with p-values of .06, .074 and .071 respectively in the second regression where gender, WORK DIALECT and social club were removed from the co-variates. When Length of Stay was removed from the co-variates as well as gender, WORK DIALECT and social club, AOA was the most important social variable for all the linguistic variables (see Figures 28 – 33). (Graphs of AOA and the linguistic variables are based on the Pooled MS data set. They give the proportion of the tokens of the linguistic variable which were realized in AusE form on the Y-axis and the AOA of the subjects on the X axis. AusE non-prevocalic /r/ stands for deleted or vocalized non-prevocalic /r/.)

Figure 28: AOA and Non-prevocalic /r/

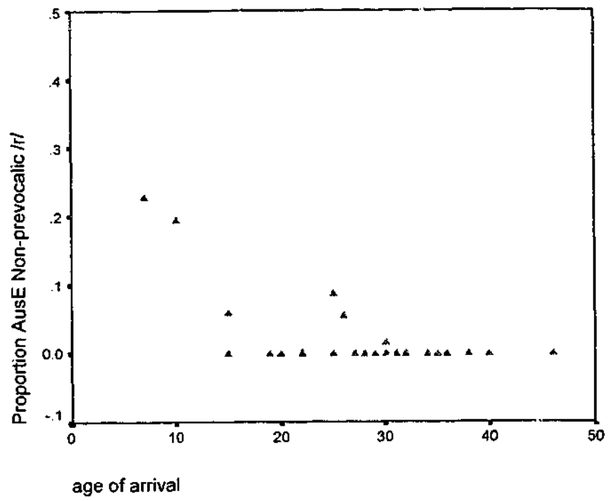


Figure 29: AOA and the KIT vowel

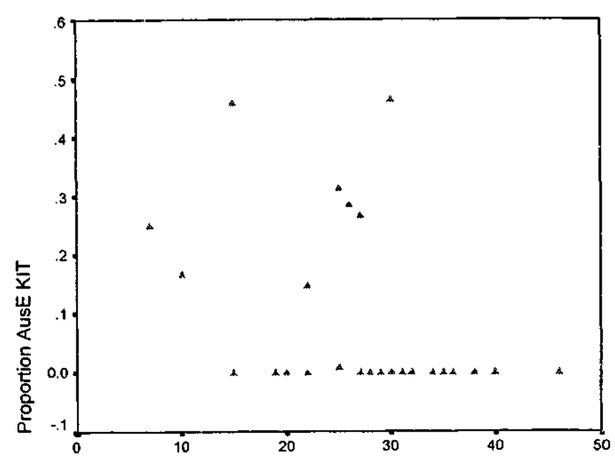


Figure 30: AOA and the GOAT diphthong

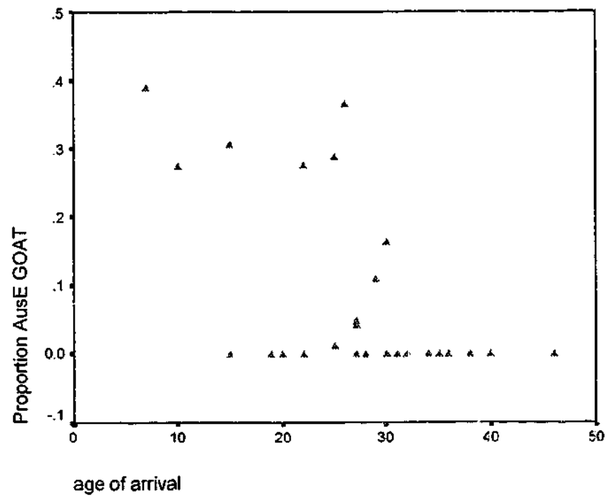


Figure 31: AOA and the FLEECE vowel

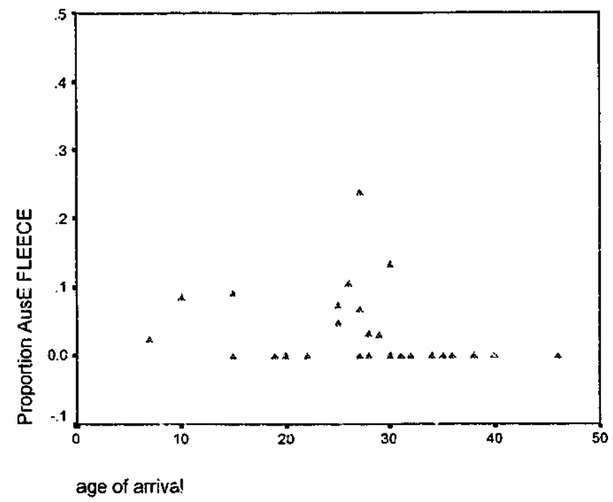


Figure 32: AOA and the FACE diphthong

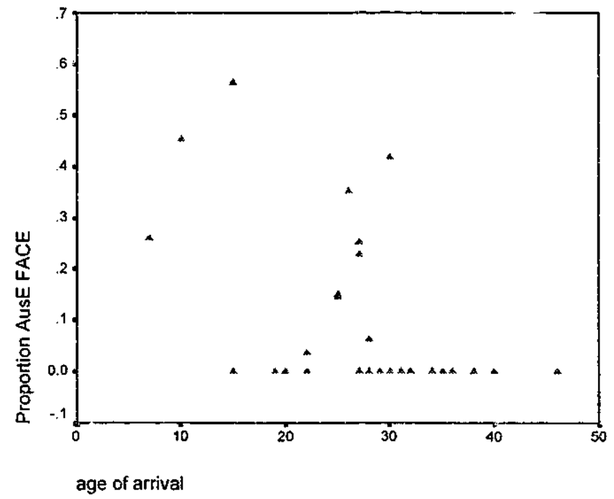
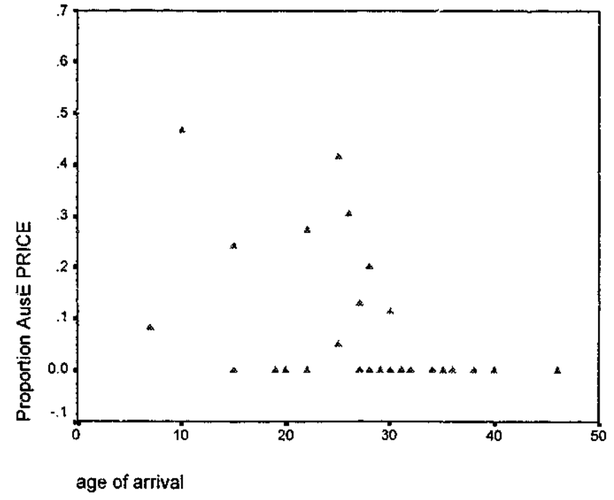


Figure 33: AOA and the PRICE diphthong



9.3.3 Length of Stay

A long Length of Stay was positively correlated with the acquisition of AusE in the pooled MS data. It was the most important variable for GOAT, with a p-value of .017 in the first regression with all social variables included as co-variates. It was also statistically significant for FLEECE in the second regression where WORK DIALECT, gender and social club were removed from the co-variates with a p-value of .016. It was the most important variable for FACE. When AOA was removed from the co-variates in the third regression for FACE, Length of Stay had a p-value of .014. When AOA was removed from the co-variates in the third regression, Length of Stay was the social variable which was most highly correlated with all the linguistic variables (see Figures 34 – 39). (Graphs of Length of Stay and the linguistic variables are based on the Pooled MS data set. They give the proportion of the tokens of the linguistic variable which were realized in AusE form on the Y-axis and the Length of Stay of the subjects on the X axis. AusE non-prevocalic /r/ stands for deleted or vocalized non-prevocalic /r/.)

Figure 34: Length of Stay and Non-prevocalic /r/

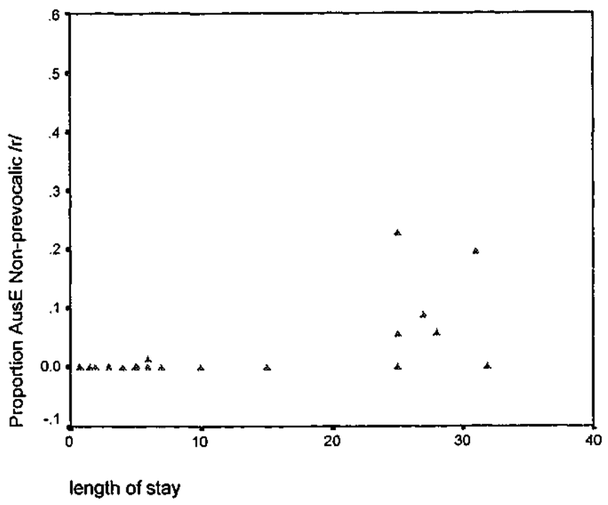


Figure 35: Length of Stay and the KIT vowel

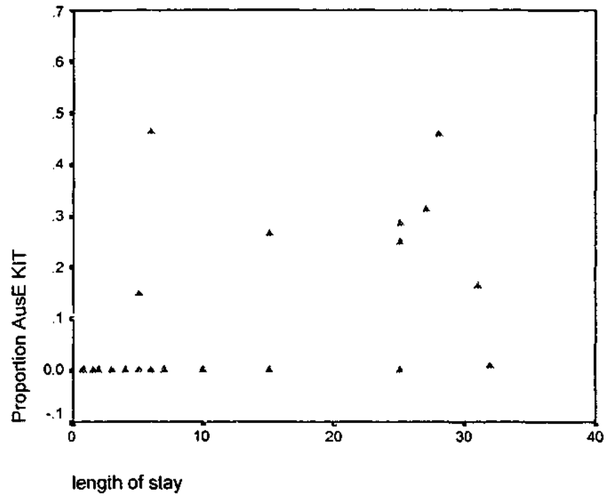


Figure 36: Length of Stay and the GOAT diphthong

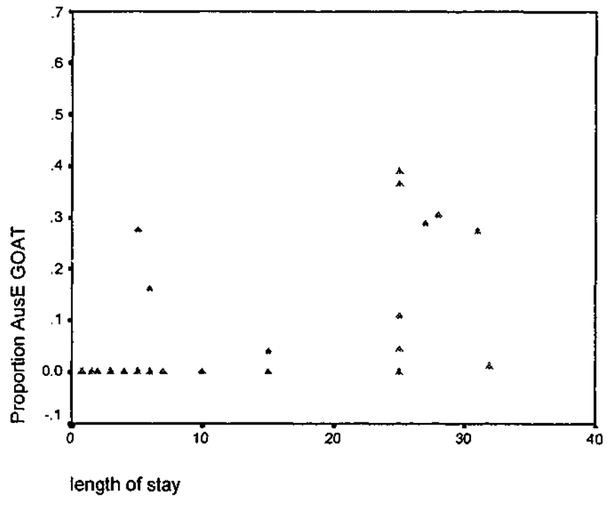


Figure 37: Length of Stay and the FLEECE vowel

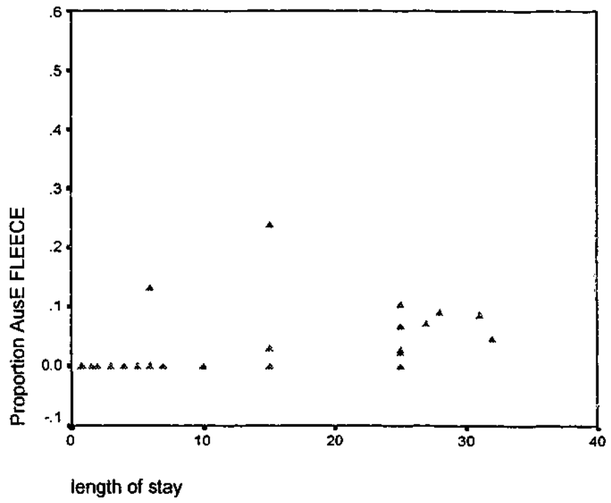


Figure 38: Length of Stay and the FACE diphthong

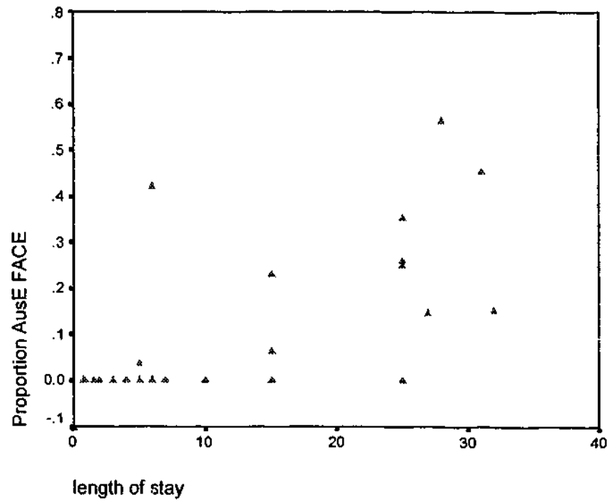
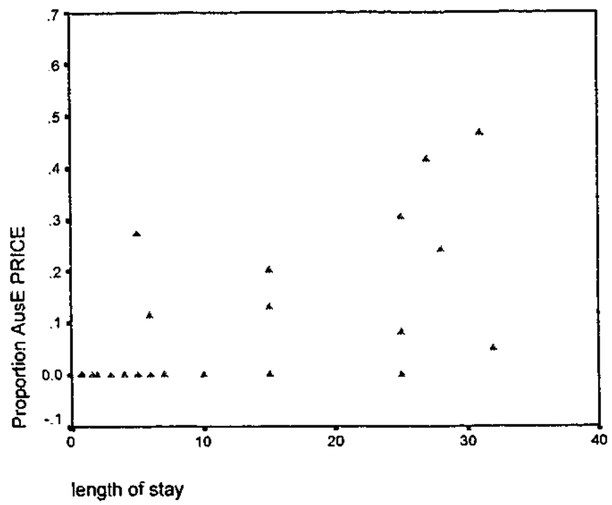


Figure 39: Length of Stay and the PRICE diphthong



9.3.4 HOME DIALECT

As in the Methodology data set, an AusE HOME DIALECT was positively correlated with the acquisition of AusE speech sounds and an AmE or CE HOME DIALECT was negatively correlated with the acquisition of AusE. HOME DIALECT was the most important social variable, other than Length of Stay, in the pooled MS data for non-prevocalic /r/, the KIT vowel, the GOAT diphthong, the FLEECE vowel, the FACE diphthong, and the PRICE diphthong (see Figures 40 – 45).

(NaE stands for a variety of North American English in the HOME DIALECT graphs, meaning either CE or AmE. Graphs of HOME DIALECT and the linguistic variables are based on the Pooled MS data set. Each subject has one column. The graphs give the proportion of the tokens of the linguistic variables which were realized in AusE form on the Y-axis and the HOME DIALECT on the X axis. AusE non-prevocalic /r/ stands for deleted or vocalized non-prevocalic /r/.)

Figure 40: HOME DIALECT and Non-prevocalic /r/

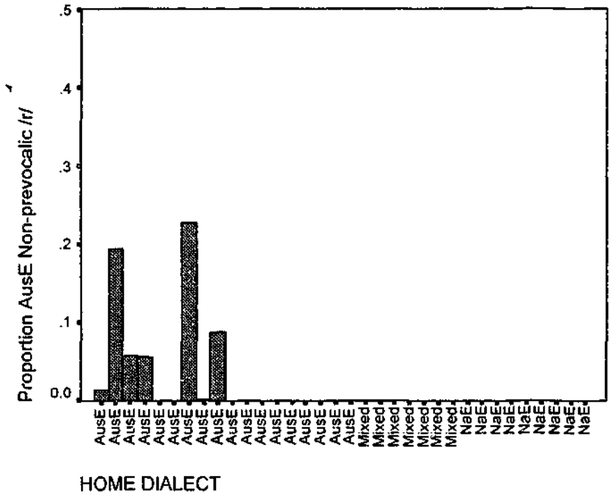


Figure 41: HOME DIALECT and the KIT vowel

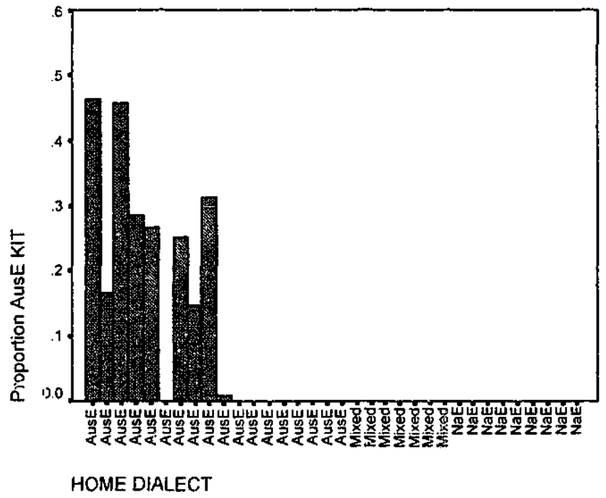


Figure 42: HOME DIALECT and AusE GOAT diphthong

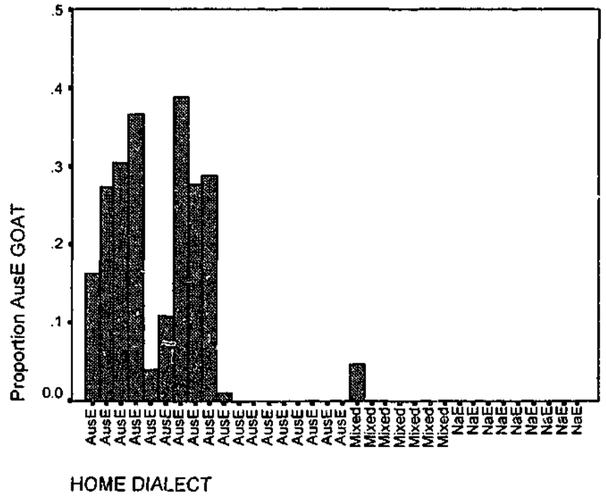


Figure 43: HOME DIALECT and the FLEECE vowel

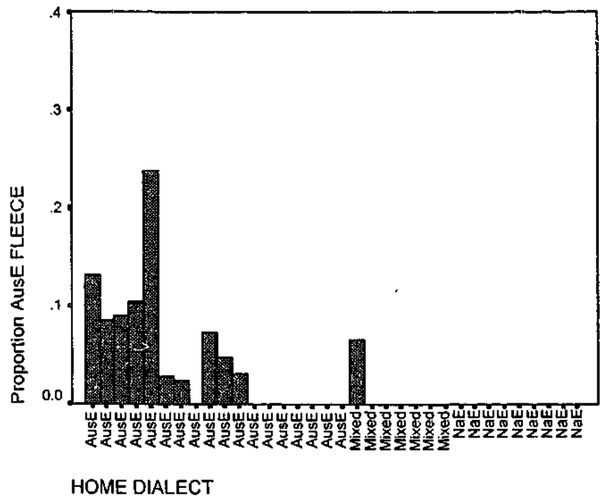


Figure 44: HOME DIALECT and the FACE diphthong

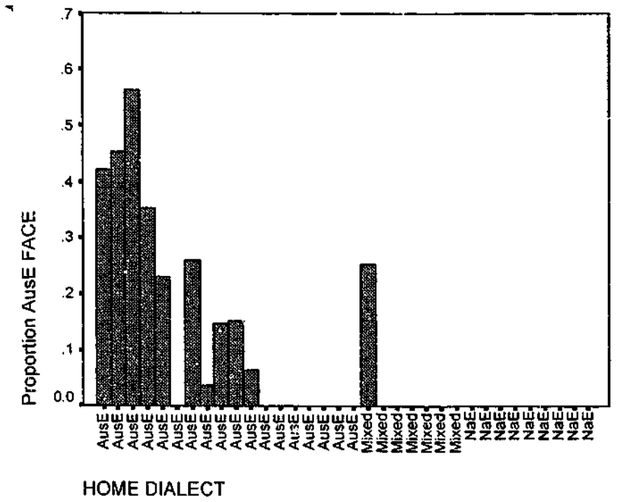
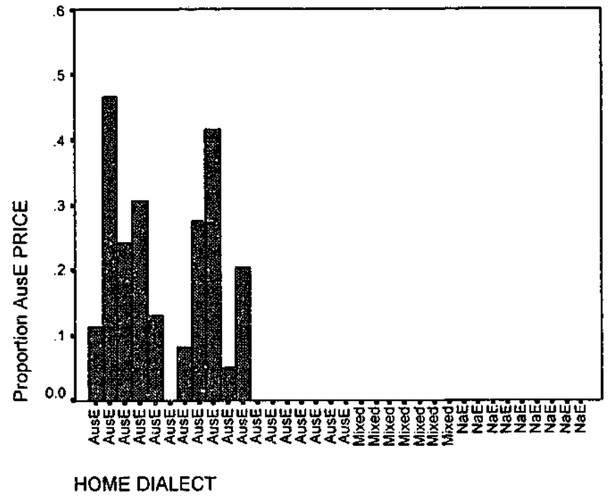


Figure 45: HOME DIALECT and the PRICE diphthong



9.3.5 WORK DIALECT

WORK DIALECT was not positively or negatively correlated with any of the linguistic variables to a statistically significant degree, probably for reasons given in 9.1.6.

9.3.6 Social Network

A low Social Network score was positively correlated with the acquisition of the AusE form of the linguistic variables, particularly in the Interviewer set, although not to a statistically significant degree. (See Figures 24 – 27 for graphs of the relationship between Social Network and GOAT, KIT, FACE and PRICE).

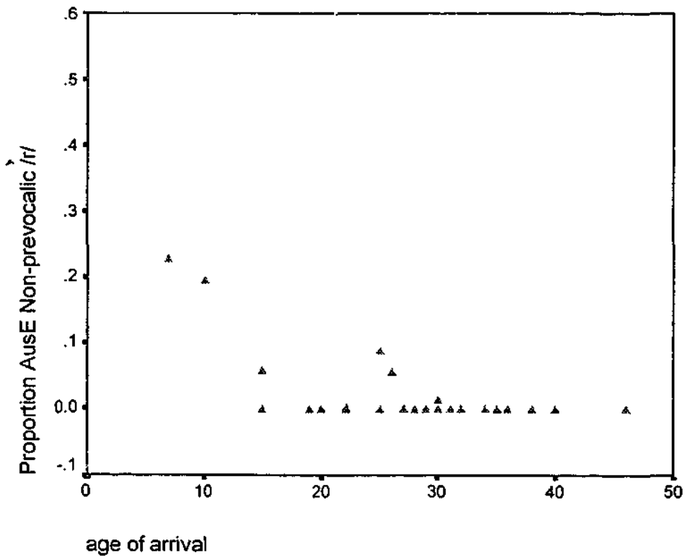
9.3.7 Social Club

Social Club was not significantly correlated with any of the linguistic variables, probably for reasons discussed in section 9.1.8, and it was usually excluded from second and third tests.

9.4 Discussion

This analysis has produced very different results from other studies of dialect acquisition, particularly with regard to the variable Length of Stay, which has not been a significant factor in other studies (see Kerswill 1994: 64). This could be, as mentioned above, partly because it is confounded with AOA, but it could also be because of the nature of these linguistic variables (since most of them are phonetic rather than phonological changes) and because of the nature of the social milieu in which these subjects reside. Both the linguistic variables and the social milieu are remarkably different from their counterparts in other studies – most studies have investigated phonological variables in situations involving the economic and social polarization of two groups.

Figure 46: AOA and Non-prevocalic /r/ (MS Pooled Data)



It may also be that Length of Stay has a stronger effect on phonetic variables than on phonological ones. This hypothesis was tentatively supported by the analysis of non-prevocalic /r/, which showed a stronger effect for AOA than the vowel variables did (see Figure 46). Figure 47 shows that the vast majority of speakers who arrived after the age

of approximately 15 failed to acquire the AusE form of non-prevocalic /r/. Although there are a few speakers who arrived as adults and who do vocalize or delete some non-prevocalic /r/, they only vocalize or delete a very small proportion of non-prevocalic /r/.

A review of the data also showed that all of the speakers who had acquired some AusE features had resided in Australia for a minimum of 5 years.

Furthermore, the speakers who arrived at the youngest ages (Lucy, Carrie, Vera, Renee) are not always the speakers with the highest proportions of the AusE realizations of the vowel variables. Particularly for the KIT, FLEECE and PRICE diphthongs, the speakers with the youngest AOA's fall in the middle range of the use of the AusE variants. Figure 47 (below) contrasts the low non-prevocalic /r/ vocalization and deletion rates versus the lack of a similar effect on the KIT variable for subjects who had an AOA of 15 or more. (The other vowel variables pattern similarly to KIT).

Figure 47: Comparison of the Effects of AOA on Non-prevocalic /r/ versus KIT (MS Pooled Data)

Another factor which may have had an impact on Length of Stay was the inability of some subjects, namely Jackie, Betty and Harriet, to auditorily differentiate between

different accents of English. This inability could be indicative of a weak memory for speech sounds; this in turn might result in the gradual erosion of the former phonetic boundaries as they are forgotten and replaced by the new and constant input of AusE speech sounds (see section 7.14 for further discussion of this phenomenon).

AOA was significant for most of the linguistic variables once Length of Stay and gender had been removed from the co-variates set. This appears to support the CPH, but many of the subjects who acquired some AusE speech sounds did so as adults, since most of them arrived in their mid or late twenties. As such, this data does not offer definitive support for the CPH; instead it suggests that learning new speech sounds becomes progressively harder as one ages, while no particular age is the cut-off point for successful acquisition.

HOME DIALECT was an interesting variable, since there was a consistently strong positive correlation between AusE HOME DIALECT and the acquisition of the AusE forms of the linguistic variables, and an equally consistently strong negative correlation between an AmE or CE HOME DIALECT and the acquisition of the AusE forms of the linguistic variables. In fact, of all the social variables, HOME DIALECT showed the most consistent correlations with nearly all the linguistic variables as the strongest factor other than Length of Stay or AOA in all the data sets. This suggests a connection between the level of exposure to the D2 and the acquisition of it, which corresponds with findings by Flege et al. (1999), who found that a high level of L2 use was correlated with less foreign accent. There is a connection between gender and HOME DIALECT, since twelve of the female subjects were married to Australians, while only three of the male subjects (and two male NSP's) were married to Australians. There is probably also a relationship between AOA and HOME DIALECT, since there is not a particularly strong national community of Americans or Canadians in Australia, nor are there any cultural barriers preventing their marriage to Australians, and so Americans or Canadians who grew up in Australia would be likely to marry Australians and not seek out other North Americans as marriage partners.

SOCNET was also an interesting variable and low SOCNET scores were also correlated with acquisition. The differences between the main and pilot studies and the higher number of subjects in the main study who acquired some AusE variants of the linguistic variables may be due to the fact that the pilot study subjects had higher SOCNET scores overall than the main study subjects. This probably also suggests a link

between the levels of D1 and D2 exposure and D2 acquisition – as with HOME DIALECT.

WORK DIALECT and Social Club were not very important factors in this study, contrasting with the results of other work that has been done in this field. This outcome is probably because of the North Americans' failure to seek each other out in Australia and to form a cohesive social group. None of them worked with a group of other North Americans. Few had extended family in Australia. Those who did join American or Canadian social clubs rarely attended club meetings. Although a few had one or two North American co-workers, few of them had extensive networks of American or Canadian friends.

9.4.1 The Interviewer Variable

Finally, the Interviewer variable was not found to be statistically significant, or even a strong influence, for any of the linguistic variables in the Methodology data set.

These statistical findings should be compared with findings from the longitudinal study (see Chapter 8), especially the speech behaviour of Lucy, who did appear to accommodate to her audience at least some of the time for a linguistic variable which was sociolinguistically salient to her. She adjusted her use of the AusE variant of this variable if she was speaking to someone with a higher status than herself.

Obviously, those subjects who had not acquired any of the AusE forms were not sensitive to the Interviewer's dialect. If these subjects – many of whom had lived in Australia for over ten, twenty, or even thirty years – had not acquired any AusE speech sounds to date, then this can be interpreted as evidence that they had not been accommodating to their AusE speaking environment during that period of time, and would be unlikely to suddenly do so during an interview. The most interesting aspect of this data, however, is the fact that the subjects who had acquired some AusE speech sounds did not follow patterns typical of accommodative behaviour either. This may be suggestive of one or more of the following:

- Trudgill's (1986) hypothesis that regional dialect acquisition is a process of accommodation is incomplete or incorrect;
- accommodation is a tool used by speakers mainly when they are faced with a discrepancy between their status and that of their listener, and speakers adjust the forms of their speech which are indicative of status (i.e. in this case, AmE and CE have little to do with status);

- accommodation may then be a process of adjustment within a speaker's stylistic repertoire and may not be an acquisition process;
- it may indicate that the process of accommodation involved in regional dialect acquisition is different from that involved in sociolectal accommodation;
- the subjects may not have accommodated to the interviewers for these variables, but they may have accommodated towards other aspects of AusE or AmE/CE which were not quantified in this study;
- the subjects may accommodate for the first few years after they enter the new linguistic environment and then "fossilize" and lose the ability to adjust back and forth along a continuum between their old dialect and the new one;
- or, the subjects may have needed longer interviews in order to "switch" into using the forms the interviewers used.

Further research involving longer interviews would be useful for investigating whether or not there is some form of long-term accommodation which is slower in response to the interviewer than short-term accommodation. However, since the Australian interviewer began half of the interviews and I began the other half, this should have negated the effects of any accommodatory lag-time; i.e. the subjects did not use more AusE variants when the AusE-speaking interviewer began the interview than when the CE-speaking interviewer did.[72]

The fact that a relatively small percentage of the subjects acquired any AusE speech sounds at all suggests that the socio-economic disadvantage of a minority group which is normally found in most studies of dialect acquisition – but which is absent from this study – is a powerful motivating factor.

[72] Furthermore, as mentioned previously, the interviews with Sharon, Vera and Gary were conducted on two separate days. Due to the research assistant's illness, they were first interviewed by me and were subsequently interviewed by the AusE-speaking research assistant several weeks later. Sharon, Vera and Gary did not behave in a markedly different fashion from the other study subjects.

Also, Lucy and Betty were interviewed twice by me and a Australian research assistant, once in 1999 and once in 2001. I began the 1999 interviews and the AusE-speaker began the 2001interviews – the reversal in the order of the interviewers did not appear to have a big impact on either Lucy or Betty's use of the AusE variants.

9.5 Qualitative Analysis of Some Social Aspects of SDA

9.5.1 Identity: "If Canada went to war with Australia I'd fight with the Canadians is what my accent is saying"

The subjects' identity in relation to their country of origin and their residence in Australia proved to be a fascinating issue.[73] This variable will be addressed in case study format since there was considerable individual variation in responses and it is not a variable which is easily quantifiable. Identity appears to be of crucial importance in the study of migrants:

> Questions of social, cultural and linguistic identity and integration take on even greater importance in a framework that includes the linguistic and social life histories of mobile individuals in a demographically, economically and socially changing society. The choice of a linguistic form (alternating varieties or individual symbolically loaded variants) that a speaker makes cannot be fully explained without reference to a more complex set of conditioning factors and inducements: individual, personal and ideological factors, cultural values and life modes, special occupational requirements, perceptions of self and of social reality and of one's own position in the latter.
> (Nordberg 1994: 4)

Many people had very mixed, elaborated feelings concerning their own national identity and their feelings about "home". Accent was often of central importance in terms of these feelings because many of the subjects' felt unable or unwilling to change the way they spoke, and it was the way they spoke which was the main thing that constantly identified them as outsiders.[74] Keeping the accent and language identity of the native country was less problematic than trying to approximate a language identity that they might never be able to fully appropriate as their own. A kind of accent which is neither Australian nor American/Canadian could mean getting caught in the middle between two identities. In fact, language was so important to these subjects' feelings of identity that a

[73] Further discussion of the relationship between identity, personality, accent and age of arrival based on this data is included in the paper "Identity, Personality and the Critical Period Hypothesis" (Foreman, forthcoming).

[74] In this section the focus will be on *accent* rather than *dialect* since it was phonetic forms which seemed to be the key issue – lexical and morphological changes (such as the adoption of hypocoristic forms) were made by the subjects without the aversion associated with phonetic changes. (It would be difficult to determine what the reaction would be to syntactic changes since there are so few syntactic differences between the varieties.)

question about identity might spontaneously result in a comment about language or accent from the subject, as in the following instance with Benjamin:

AIMS: so you do feel to be australian like or?
B: we feel we we <are>.
AIMS: <yeah>.
B: australians don't feel we <are because we talk differently>.
AIMS: <{laughter}>.
B: and and that sort of thing so you know but we feel we are because we've lived here for ten years and we've lived here long enough.

Giles and other social psychologists have developed an ethnolinguistic identity theory to explain language behaviour surrounding ethnic identity issues (Giles et al. 1977; Giles 1977; Giles 1979; Giles and Byrne 1982; Giles and Johnson 1987). This theory is based on Tajfel's social identity theory (1981), which proposes that individuals need positive group identities and that this affects intergroup behaviour, by causing group members to try to change the way their group is evaluated or to try to join another group if they perceive the group boundaries as permeable. Ethnolinguistic identity theory posits that when there is weak in-group identification, soft or open in-group boundaries, strong identification with other groups, low-perceived in-group vitality and passive interethnic comparisons, then members of the ethnic in-group will be more likely to acquire a second-language. This is an interesting theory to apply to a situation where there are two groups in contact, but in the case of this study, North Americans do not appear to form a distinct group "in exile", as it were.[75] Few of the subjects had networks of American or Canadian friends or even knew very many North Americans. None used a social system of Americans or Canadians for finding employment, for shopping, or for other aspects of survival in Australia. Only one (Nora) wanted to maintain the traditions, religion and culture of America in her family in Australia.[76] So, in this case, there is not so much a situation of intergroup dynamics as there is a question of personal identity. Thus, psychological theories of self and identity would probably be more relevant here.

Marcia's (1987) identity status approach proposes that there are four possible identity statuses for adolescents to adults: *identity diffusion*, which is a lack of commitment to any specific direction in life; *foreclosure*, which is very little identity exploration and childhood-based values; *moratorium*, which is the process of identity

[75] In this case, one could say that the ethnolinguistic vitality (that which makes a group likely to behave as a collective entity (Giles et al. 1977)) is so low that there is virtually no group to speak of.
[76] This is quite different from the behaviour of other migrants to Australia, such as Italians or Greeks, who often do form distinct communities and maintain the cultural and religious traditions of their native countries.

exploration; and *identity achievement*, which is commitment to a certain identity (and the beliefs, values, occupation etc. associated with that). Individuals may progress through several moratoriums and achievements periodically throughout adulthood. Not every adult constructs their own identity or reaches the stage of identity achievement. For adult migrants, migration seems to extend and problematize a period of moratorium, or possibly foreclosure for some. Some migrants are able to self-construct an identity as, for example, "a person of Irish heritage, who grew up in California, who now espouses Australian values, living in Melbourne, which is now his/her home", but many of these subjects were not able to find an identity which comfortably fit their feelings about where they grew up, where their home is and where they live now, especially since many were trying to leave the option open of eventually returning to North America. Many of the subjects were very unsure of their identity or uncomfortable with the topic. Often, subjects such as Lucy and Felicia wove the discussion around passports and citizenship to try to ground their identities in something concrete, or they might mention family in either country, but fewer subjects brought up things like personal values or where they felt they belonged. Some might even adopt an identity by default – Daisy only claimed an Australian identity after returning to her native Montreal in the mid-eighties to discover that it had become considerably more francophone than when she had left. This made her feel so alienated that she decided Australia was now her home. Likewise, Ralph found that his home of Toronto had become so Americanized that he now felt more Australian than Canadian; however, he also stated that he felt quite at home once he was outside Toronto in rural Ontario, and that he appreciated the values of the rural Ontarians as more Canadian than those of Torontonians. This seems to be not so much an assertion of an Australian identity as it is a refusal to adopt an Americanized Canadian identity.

The problem with blurry identity boundaries was exemplified by Vera who moved to Australia with her mother at the age of 15, and who appeared to be unsure of her allegiances. In conversation with the Australian interviewer, she stated that she felt neither American nor Australian:

AIMS: is it something you wanna do like go back to america and <work or any>.
V: <no no no>.
AIMS: <so would> you consider yourself to be american then or australian <or like a>.
V: <well I really>.
AIMS: <a a mix>
V: I guess mixed I mean I have my citizenship now so.
AIMS: yup.
V: I have dual citizenship.
AIMS: yup.

V: um, yeah it's kind of awkward cause I mean I don't really feel either one.
AIMS: yeah.
V: you don't feel australian you don't feel american but everyone thinks cause you're from america you know everything about america {laughter} even though I haven't been there you know since eighty eight.
AIMS: yeah.
V: um yeah so I dunno it's a bit of a funny situation to be in.
AIMS: yeah.
V: cause I've lived more of my life here than there really so.
AIMS: on the whole when you add it all up.
V: <yeah>.
AIMS: <right> yup.
V: so now I like it here I like all the different people and the different foods n different cultures n stuff.

However, in conversation with the Canadian interviewer, she implied that it might have been better to stay in the United States:

V: but I thought I had to make a decision either I have to go back to [australia to] live within th* the next three years or I stay in america.
CIMS: <mmhmm>.
V: <and> I suppose because my mother was here I thought well and at that time she was married and you know I I guess I thought, I should come here so I did zzz* I mean I was about twenty five or something when I made that decision so I don't know that I'd make the same decision today but that that was my uh reasoning at the time.

At the same time, however, Vera also related a more Australian feeling about her national identity to the Canadian interviewer:

CIMS: so do you feel now like you're um like you're more australian than american or?
V: I suppose I'd have to be because I've lived here more of my life than I've lived in america now so, um, yeah so what, nearly thirty, years I've been here so.
CIMS: yeah.
V: yeah it's long I can't I probably I don't think I could consider myself american I mean I look at a lot of american stuff and I just think what just weird {laughter} they're just so crazy and weird {laughter} um.

Carrie's feelings about her national identity also changed depending on the situation. During an interview she stated:

CI00: yeah, so do you feel more like an australian now or more like like you're american?
C: probably since I've been married and had children I feel more australian, than american but, um I find like with the olympic games and things it's very difficult because I don't know who I wanna go for {laughter} so I sort of tend to avoid you know international things like that um and if I only could choose one nationality I would stay american um but I suppose wherever my family is is home so if they moved to the states I suppose you know what I mean?
CI00: you mean your immediate family <like your husband>.
C: <yeah like my children> n my husband wherever they are and whatever they're doing's home.
CI00: yeah.
C: an I suppose part of it is too cause I was moved heaps as a child an we've moved heaps since we've been married, I've learned not to be so geographical in my thinking?
CI00: mmhmm.
C: cause I used to be very much I was very pro queensland and all this sort of thing um which is why I didn't like living in victoria the first time but this time I've taken a whole different view that you know wherever my family is that's home?

Carrie's feelings of being somewhat Australian are mitigated by derogatory comments about Americans which she has heard from Australians, and which she resents. Like Vera, Carrie came to Australia as a child with her parents – in her case at the age of ten. While she holds a more American than Australian value system, she appears to be "stuck" here by virtue of circumstance.

In contrast to Carrie's and Vera's ambiguous feelings about their nationality, Una said that she actually befriended children who were particularly anti-American:

Una: yeah I think as a child um certainly at some times I felt australian and actually oddly I I sought out friends who were most anti-american of all of the kids in school.

This feeling of being Australian was intensified by Una's trips back to the United States:

Una: and it also came up I guess when we went back to america for various trips which we did a lot.
CI: mmhmm.
Una: going back and forth um so like for instance we arrived in seventy six and in seventy eight we all all five of us went back for christmas which was a big trip and then I went back again when I was eleven um and I think especially when I was eleven I remember feeling I was on my own travelling from one family member to the next and I remember writing letters home to my australian friend that were very anti-american.
CI: really {laughter} about the differences between australia.
Una: yeah americans are all this.
CI: yeah {laughter}.
Una: you know that sort of {laughter} I think you know even um thinking you know that my family expected me to you know be one of them and they didn't know anything about australia.
CI: yeah so did you resent that?
Una: I think so yeah.

The contrast between Una and the other subjects who arrived as children or adolescents is remarkable in light of these statements since Una's speech behaviour is much more prototypically AusE than that of the others.[77]

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[77] For the purposes of comparison at this juncture in the thesis, I analyzed Una's speech behaviour according to the approach outlined in the Methodology chapter; the same method that was used for the auditory linguistic analysis of the speech of the main study subjects. Una vocalized or deleted 93.65% of the possible instances of non-prevocalic /r/, she used AusE variants of KIT in 68.26% of possible instances, AusE variants of GOAT in 69.19% of possible instances, AusE variants of FLEECE in 5.51% of possible instances, AusE variants of FACE in 82.08% of possible instances, and AusE variants of PRICE in 28.86% of possible instances. Una had also acquired the AusE usage of TRAP and BATH and used a clear AusE variant of THOUGHT in the appropriate lexical items, as well as using the post-alveolar palatal glide in the words *student* and *stupid*. Thus, Una appears to have acquired the sound system of AusE more fully than the main study subjects; she also gave an auditory impression of being a native Australian English speaker and Australians do not recognize her as a foreigner. The low proportion of the FLEECE variant in her speech can probably be attributed to the fact that she speaks a Cultivated variety of AusE, and that she grew up in Brisbane, where few speakers use an on-glide in FLEECE. (Una arrived in Australia at the age of 6 from New Jersey. None of these linguistic variants would be native to the upper-middle class variety of English that she spoke in New Jersey. She has never lived in an English speaking country other than the

Many of the subjects planned to eventually return to North America, and all except one had kept citizenship in their native country. This left these people in a kind of limbo – unable to claim a fully Australian identity, unable to relinquish their identity as Canadians or Americans but also not really being ready to return to North America at this point. This kind of situation tended to be problematic for those who found themselves in it. The longer they stayed away from North America, the less likely it was that they really would return or would be able to return and feel that it was still home, much like the sentiments expressed in Amit-Talai's (1998) study of Canadian and British expatriates living in the Cayman Islands. In fact, when they did return to visit, they found that what had been their home had changed, and that their relationship to that place had changed so much that it was no longer home, as for Daisy and Ralph. This kind of situation is described by Tim in the following excerpt from the interview with him:

CIMS: {background noise and speech} so do you feel more like an american?
T: pardon me?
CIMS: do you feel like like you're still an american or an australian now that you've <lived here for so long>?
T: <I don't know> um, I don't think you can live here for twenty five years and speak the language and not, change I just I mean I don't think I you know I I'm not like somebody who was born here but I'm certainly not like an american either it's sort of you know you're sort of a hybrid.
CIMS: yeah.
T: and uh and you bring things to the country that you wouldn't get by growing up here but certainly you have an outlook that's different than my you know acquaintances in the u s who've never lived here there's no doubt about that.
CIMS: yeah.
T: so, as far as the way you think I think you know first generation migrants are in a category by themselves they can't go home cause even if you did it's not home anymore.
CIMS: yeah hm.
T: so um.
CIMS: so when you go home is that how you feel like it's not home anymore?
T: no no you don't I mean I mean I I've moved around so much I ai* there was there would be no place I could go back to and think of X as home I mean I've lived here in the greater melbourne area more than I've lived anyplace else in my life.
CIMS: so does this feel like home then?
T: well as much as I have a you know I I as as much as I have a place that's my place yeah.

Hence, many of the subjects felt somewhat homeless, and felt that they lacked a strong connection to any particular place. Nonetheless, many of them still sounded linguistically as though they were American or Canadian, which seemed like it might pose a possible contradiction for them. Instead, many expressed feelings that if they

U.S. and Australia. She returned to the U.S. for one year of university in California in her early twenties, as did Carrie. Thus, the contrast between Una, Carrie and Lucy is quite remarkable because, other than the possible influence of Lucy's mother's attitude towards non-prevocalic /r/ on Lucy's speech, the main difference between Una and the other two young acquirers is this self-identification as an Australian).

attempted to adopt an Australian accent this would be fraudulent and inauthentic. This sentiment was expressed by Andrew (NSP):

A: um in that it was ve* ar* y'kn* you try to pick up the slogans y'know y'know g'day mate [gdæɪ mæɪt] y'know whatever you know um n then you try em on n you know people just sorta laugh at you and and and I fe* I feel phony and my approach when I first was here was like look I'm just gonna be myself I'll be the exotic one I'll be y'know the one who's different y'know in the crowd um, but I've um or should I say bud um I've found that um I'm not as understood um and I'm not listened to as much as I I am if I try to put a little aussie into it.
CI: you mean um that people aren't as open to your opinion or they're just not really?
A: well that's what it feels like.
CI: yup.
A: I mean they'll just I'll say something in a you know I I have quite a few uh aussie friends and we get together on a regular um quite a regular basis um friday nights is a regular gathering over at my house um it was traditionally um {name}'s house and we've rented that and people still come around and {name} still comes around to have a bit of a friday night uh you know beer and chi* chinwag as they say um and then I play cricket on tuesday nights and we uh have a games on the weekends and every wednesday night is is uh guitar night over at trevor's house and um um in these groups, you know during discussions I'll come up with you know my opinion or my thought or whatever and more often than not I mean I I just get sorta you know looked at you know oh he's speaking and I have to be very careful of the words I choose and now that I've since I've come back I've given myself permission to change my my intonations a bit.
CI: yeah.
A: so it's a bit more aussie.
CI: <yeah>.
A: <and when I do> people acknowledge me more they listen to what I say, otherwise they just sorta look at me and before I'm through they look away they don't wanna hear it.

Another informant, Jeff (NSP), who spoke about his own efforts to change his accent in this excerpt, echoed this type of sentiment with regards to authenticity and to truthfulness:

J: It feels I suppose the reason that I put in a tiny bit of effort occasionally to change the accent is a kind of honesty um it's it's as though my accent is giving a message that just isn't true.
CI: hmmm.
J: it's as though it my accent is saying I'm a canadian and I'm from canada and I sort of know what's going on in canada {laughter} <an I y'know>.
CI: <yeah that's an interesting> observation.
J: hmm if canada went to war with australia I'd fight with the canadians is what my accent is saying {laughter}.

Peg also indirectly suggested some values of authenticity or a dislike of pretense associated with accent change:

P: our daughter sounds very australian but our son has a very mixed accent and most people find it difficult to know where he comes from.
AIMS: yeah?
P: and I have no idea why because they've been raised in the <same family>.
AIMS: <in australia>?
P: they've been raised in australia I d* and neither one of them are people that are pretentious about wanting to sound one way or the other they just.
AIMS: <yeah>.
P: <they just> sound the way they sound.

At another point in the interview, Peg also stressed the idea that she does not consciously try to change her accent:

P: -...and I find when I go out into rural australia sometimes I'll begin um not I don't do it on purpose I don't go out on you know on accounts to do it but I find I'll start picking up some of the more um the the more the the ways they're talking in that in that area.

These feelings were reiterated by Benjamin:

B: I don't believe I wouldn't try to change my accent I don't on on the other hand I don't try to keep the canadian accent to the extent that I'm I'm consciously trying to keep it but I'm not consciously trying to change it either.
CIMS: yeah.
B: because that's who you are you can't sort of change those things uh I mean you can change them but I mean you know you gotta do it for the right reasons not just because.

Jim also expressed similar sentiments:

CIMS: okay, um, do you ever um adjust your speech to sound more australian that you're aware of?
J: only when I'm making a joke.
CIMS: yeah.
J: and putting on a fake accent which everyone knows is fake.
CIMS: mmhmm.
J: but aside from that I, I don't even attempt it cause I know I'll be immediately detected.
CIMS: yeah.
J: um.
CIMS: hmm.
J: I don't know many people who can put on an australian accent that's totally convincing and and that and that includes famous actors as well as ordinary people.
CIMS: yeah that's true.
J: um.
CIMS: can you put on a british accent?
:
J: well I can sort of put on a british accent uh, but I guess I have less concern that it would be immediately seen to be fake so a* again I do that only for a joke.

Xavier also stated that he feels comfortable sounding quite different from Australians:

CIMS: so does it ever bother you that people still notice all the time that you're um that you're not australian?
X: no not one bit.
CIMS: mmhmm you like it?
X: yeah yup I don't want to lose my identity so so I have no problem with that whatsoever.

Ralph, following a statement where he mentioned that it would be useful to him in his profession to be able to speak with an Australian accent, offered the following comments about his efforts to change his accent (here he is talking about his efforts to imitate his son's AusE accent):

R: {background noise} and and and and so that I suppose based on that experience of listening to him the one thing I've started doing sometimes when I remember is is my [ɛɪ]'s I'm turning into what I would call an I [aɪ].
AIMS: <yeah>.
R: <uh where> the context where I where I thought I could get away with that without sounding really pretentious and that people would would be pointing out that's just too obvious you're trying too hard.

Lucy, on the other hand, stated that she was both pressured by her mother to sound more American and pressured to sound more Australian by Australians because of the age at which she arrived:

CIMS: did you ever wish that you could just be totally australian think about it?
L: lots of times I wished that I didn't have this accent and it's not a real strong accent but sometimes people say to me oh what's that accent you've got cause it a lot of people ask if I'm canadian because of the half australian and half american accent that comes out in certain words I say.
CIMS: yeah.
L: um so lots of times you know I think oh I wish I could just stop this r coming out or something {laughter} {baby cooing}.
CIMS: yeah.
L: hi {to baby}.
CIMS: did you ever try to get rid of it?
L: not r* not intentionally I've never tried to and plus when I was growing up mum would say, um I'd say I'm going to wash the car [kaɹ] car [kaː] or something and she'd say to me you're going to do what {HRT} And I'd say I'm going to wash the car [kaɹ] and she'd say okay you know and she'd be standing right next to me and could hear you know but she was trying to always make me pronounce my letters you know.
CIMS: yeah.
L: and that I guess that annoyed me because that's not the way, my friends spoke I guess you know <the>.
CIMS: <mmhmm>.
L: that I guess.
CIMS: but that kind of stuck?
L: yeah definitely and now I say things that um I say words and people say you've been here long enough {laughter} you shouldn't say you know.
CIMS: it's your duty {laughter}.
L: yeah yes whatever it is I can't imagine and I'll say oh well.

Andrew (NSP), Jeff (NSP), Sharon, Ralph and Jackie also reported that they consciously tried to change the way that they spoke. Andrew (NSP), Benjamin and Ralph referred to their own speech using phrases such as "I feel phony" and "gave myself permission" which suggest a conscious awareness of their speech and an awareness of their personal relationships to the way that they speak as an expression of themselves. Harry also expressed (off-tape) a strong aversion to the idea of modifying his accent towards Australian English, stating that he had spoken to a Canadian woman who had modified her accent to sound more Australian and that he found this very fake: he did not like it at all and as result did not like this woman much either. Words like *fake, pretentious, phony,* and *fraud* have a very strong affective connotation; there is a feeling among these people that to modify one's accent is indicative of some kind of inauthenticity and a lack of loyalty. The sentiment seems to be that changing one's accent is an attempt to belong somewhere one does not really belong or to be someone (an Australian) that one is truly not; thus it is fake.

It may be the case that these speakers simply feel a desire to preserve their own integrity and to be "linguistically honest" (as with Jeff) about who they are and where their loyalties lie. On the other hand, they may fear that others will negatively interpret their acquisition of a D2 and label them "fakes". There is some evidence for this latter possibility in the work of Markham (1997), who asked a panel of judges to rate the naturalness and accuracy of some native Swedish speakers' imitations of several regional Swedish dialects. Comments for one poorly performed imitation included, "makes a stuck-up and insufferable impression", "ingratiating intonation", "cocky at its worst, hope this isn't natural" and "repulsive" (Markham 1997: 236). Words like "cocky" and "stuck-up" bring to mind these subjects' fears about "sounding pretentious". In addition, evidence from Giles and Smith (1979) showed that British English speakers did not positively evaluate a CE speakers' imitation of British English pronunciation, although they positively evaluated his speech when he converged for content and speech rate (see section 2.1.1).

The use of AusE by Americans or Canadians also appears to be interpreted by these subjects as a kind of crossing behaviour (Rampton 1998), since these subjects do not feel like valid users or possessors of the dialect in question.

> The term 'language crossing' (or 'code-crossing') refers to the use of a language which isn't generally thought to 'belong' to the speaker. Language crossing involves a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries, and it raises issues of legitimacy that participants need to reckon with in the course of their encounter.
> (Rampton 1998: 291)

Crossing behaviour is not necessarily avoided as such; Rampton (1995; 1998) describes interactions between Indian, Pakistani, African-Caribbean and Anglo adolescents in England who use features (e.g. lexical items, stylised dialectal forms) from ethnic groups to which they do not belong in order to create "a transracial and transethnic common ground" (Auer 1998: 287). The speakers in this study, however, may have been unsure of how the community would interpret it if they did begin to use some features of the D2 (crossing), especially since most of these speakers do not have contact with other Americans or Canadians, and so they cannot observe the linguistic behaviour of others and its interpretation by the community. Some of the subjects appeared to be guessing that the associated meaning would be the fraudulent assumption of an Australian identity (e.g. Ralph, Jim). The subjects may be less likely to experiment with AusE pronunciation when they are not sure of the probable meanings that would be associated with its use, and when it might result in an unintended negative meaning.

On the other hand, if the person felt that he or she were truly Australian, for whatever reasons, the conflict was removed, or at least mitigated, as in the case of Felicia, Jackie, Margaret and Lucy. As Jeff (NSP) pointed out more explicitly, a particular regional accent implies loyalty to a certain community and the allegiances that go along with that in terms of war, group membership, etc. At this juncture, one might ask why people who no longer feel as though they belong to a particular locale feel a need to show loyalty towards that place. While it might be perfectly logical for those subjects who have stayed for only a short time in Australia and who plan to return to North America to display this kind of language loyalty, why would someone like Tim, who displayed this loyalty but who has no plans to return and no longer feels particularly American?

It may be that the "will I go or will I stay?" moratorium induced by migration can be at least partially compensated for with accent maintenance. Maintaining the accent of one's native community "keeps the door open" in a sense for a return to that place and a reclamation of that identity, whereas letting go of that accent and giving one's self permission to change, in the words of Andrew, may mean compromising that identity or letting it go permanently. This could leave the person with even less options for claiming a home and a national identity, unless the person is willing to cut the ties to the native country and definitively claim Australia as home permanently. Not many of these subjects were willing to do that. It would also be problematic in terms of accent to claim an Australian identity since, even if one gave one's self permission to change one's accent, there is no guarantee that one would be able to eventually sound authentically Australian. Many of the subjects did not feel that they could successfully adopt Australian English. One might end up in a kind of language limbo; *sounding* like a foreigner everywhere – which would compound the problem of *feeling* like a foreigner everywhere. This sort of feeling on the part of Swedish-speaking Finnish immigrants to Sweden was mirrored in Ivars (1994: 221):

> For many Finland Swedes in Sweden, ethnic identity is a more complex question than local identity. Many Finland Swedes come to Sweden completely resolved to become Swedes, to assimilate. What they are often unable to predict is the identity crisis in which they find themselves shortly after their arrival in Sweden, a crisis which for most of them leads to increased consciousness of their own special characteristics rather than to assimilation. They discover quite quickly that they are not immediately accepted as Swedes: time after time they are forced to explain to Swedish friends, neighbors and colleagues how it is that they speak Swedish so well, even though they are from Finland. They begin to see that they have another background, another upbringing, an education with a different content and a different manner of thinking than the Swedes in Sweden have.

Accepting an Australian identity did not guarantee a fully Australian accent for the subjects in this study, nor did the maintenance of a North American identity necessarily guarantee the maintenance of that accent, but out of the twelve subjects who did acquire some AusE phones, eight had at least a partly Australian identity, two claimed no national identity (Sharon and Peg) and only two claimed an American/Canadian identity (Betty and Harriet). On the other hand, a majority of subjects who did not acquire any AusE phones did keep an American/Canadian identity, including Nora, Gwen, Karla, Wanda, Olivia, Ingrid, Walt, David, Xavier, Mary and Edward (although, of course, there are other factors involved in these subjects' failure to acquire AusE phones). While age of arrival also certainly appeared to be an important determining factor in whether or not subjects acquired some AusE phones according to the statistical analysis in Chapter 0, it must be pointed out that arriving in a country at a young age and growing up there almost certainly has an influence on one's identity. The comments by Lucy, who arrived at a young age, show that she feels more of an obligation to sound Australian rather than to sound American or Canadian – the opposite of the feelings of the speakers who arrived at older ages.

Some of the subjects, such as Emma and Lee, appeared to resolve the identity moratorium and reach achievement. They did this by making a distinction between home and childhood identity or national identity. As Lee stated:

> CIMS: so do you still feel like an american or you feel kind of australian now?
> L: um, I guess for the most part I feel like an american but um, I I feel like this is home if you can understand there's a little bit of a contradiction there maybe.
> CIMS: yeah.
> L: I sort of feel like an American living abroad.

Their approach uses a kind of *localism*, "a sense of identification with or by area of residence" (Wallman 1998: 183), or *betterment*, "as a measure of whether 'this place' is safer, richer, more home-like, 'more me' in relation to the last place I was in and to my expectations of this one" (Wallman 1998: 183). These subjects were prepared to compromise their identities to a certain extent; saying, in a way, that while they are Canadian/American, they have been touched by this experience of living in Australia for so long, and that this place, this home, is now a part of them.

The statements presented here by these subjects indicate a possible difference between speakers' treatments of "language" versus "dialect". There do not appear to be similar sorts of reactions to bilingualism reported in the literature on bilingualism; that is to say, if someone learns to speak Spanish, their friends and family will probably not accuse them of "trying to be/appear/pretend to be Spanish", or of being pretentious or

fake; but if an American woman returns home from a holiday in Australia with an AusE accent, she may be accused of "pretending to be Australian". I suspect that Trudgill (1986: 18-19) was probably hinting at these kinds of affective aspects of SDA when he referred to speakers' desires to avoid stereotypes and "too much salience" during dialectal accommodation.

9.5.2 Personality and the Critical Period Hypothesis

The comments of the subjects given above suggest that this aversion to altering one's dialect appears to be an affective construct related to personal identity. That it may also be related to the personality and experiences of the individual is shown below in the different responses to supra-linguistic comments about dialects. Of particular interest here is Renee, who arrived in Australia at the age of 15, but five years later still had not noticeably adopted any features of AusE. This may be related to her feelings about her accent:

> CIMS: when you were in uh in secondary school did did you feel like um pressure from the other kids to fit in and sound like an australian <XX>?
> R: <totally> the opposite.
> CIMS: oh really?
> R: yeah yeah the very first day um everyone just gathered round and said talk keep talking and um I love attention so {laughter} so it was just fantastic for the first year I would walk down the hallway and people I didn't even know but knew of me would stop me and say just say the word orange and I'd go orange and they'd go ah ha ha {laughter}.
> CIMS: so it never bothered you?
> R: no no I liked it I knew when I came here that it was gonna probably be a bit like that.
> CIMS: right.
> R: so um yeah I enjoyed it and I still like it sometimes I mean I can use my accent to my advantage so many times I mean when I was um when I had just turned eighteen and I only had a passport for i d I was out with some friends one night and we decided to go to a night club and my passport for some reason had been taken out of my bag um the night before or whatever I don't know I was looking at it and um so we walked into the night club and everybody had i d except me and they checked all of us of course and um they got to me and I said I'm sorry I left my passport um in the house and they're like oh was that your american passport and I went no canadian I'm so offended and they went oh so sorry come on in {laughter}.

Also, David made similar comments:

> CIMS: so do you ever does it ever bother you that um, every time you open your mouth you're identifiable as a foreigner?
> D: no in fact I revel in it {laughter} cause I love it when I hear people with accents.
> CIMS: yeah.
> D: I think it's just great so no no I think it's, I really like the, mixture of different people that you find from around the world, cause that's just another expression of different people different things.

Keith and many of the other subjects, on the other hand, found the kind of supra-linguistic observations that Renee and David enjoyed quite irritating. Renee's reaction

also contrasted with Vera's, who arrived at the same age as Renee but had a much more traumatic transition to life in Australia and who has acquired many of the AusE phones. She described her feelings about her accent as follows:

CIMS: so do people so people here find that you have an accent or they still notice it?
V: yeah lots of people ask me where I'm from I still <hate>.
CIMS: <X>.
V: being asked I don't know why but.

And also:

V: uh so it's been interesting yeah some embarrassing moments at high school and stuff but.
CIMS: <yeah>.
V: <like> if the boy next to you asks to borrow your rubber {laughter} and it's you're and you're going oh my god what do I say y'know n you're like fifteen n you're turning bright red but he just wants to borrow that eraser on the desk <there>.
CIMS: <yes>.
V: you're going I don't have one n he goes uh yes you do it's right there n you just things like that and my sh* first job was in the milk bar and someone came in one day and asked me for a dummy.
CIMS: oh.
V: a dummy is a baby pacifier.
CIMS: oh n you thought it was a mannequin.
V: like a stupid person or a mannequin {laughter} I'm thinking well we don't really have any of those {laughter} n it just took ages to work it out and the man I worked for was polish so it was just it was really good all around {laughter}.
CIMS: yeah it's those little misunderstandings which can last a long time.
V: that's right.
CIMS: say I I root for the bears <or whatever that's a bad one>.
V: <that's it you don't say that> an n my mum had a bad experience at work she did um secretarial work an she said something about her fanny at work one day which she meant her, her bottom from sitting down.
CIMS: oh <yes>.
V: <but> a fanny's like, at the front not.
CIMS: yes.
V: so they were all shocked n horrified cause this was the seventies after all.
CIMS: yeah yeah {laughter}.
V: so that was really embarrassing for her but um.

These kind of affective and personality-related factors seem to have played a large part in how these women have related to their own accents and whether or not they felt it was worthwhile to change the way they spoke.

9.5.3 Discussion

As noted in section 9.4, most of the changes that these subjects made to their speech were within category changes; i.e. subjects made changes in their realization of phonemes, rather than creating new phonological categories. This research generally agrees with findings from other studies (e.g. Sancier and Fowler 1997; Munro et al. 1999; Bowie 2000) that adults can make subtle phonetic changes within phonetic categories and that this may be influenced by the length of time they spend in a given

community of speakers. This study has indicated that there appear to be affective and identity issues which may impede phonetic acquisition during SDA and which are related to age of arrival, but not neurologically or linguistically linked to it.

The hypothesis that there is a link between ethnic or social identity and accent has also been suggested in many other studies. In L2 acquisition research, a connection between ego-permeability/identity and phonetic or phonological acquisition has been suggested (Guiora 1972; 1980; Markham 1997: 25-27). In sociolinguistics, perhaps the most well-known study in this area is Labov (1963), which was a study of vowel centralization and its relationship to identity for speakers living in Martha's Vineyard in the United States Labov (1963) found that speakers who had strong positive feelings towards Martha's Vineyard and were likely to stay on the island used a higher proportion of centralized vowels (for the nuclei of the PRICE and MOUTH diphthongs) than speakers who were likely to leave the island and did not have a positive orientation towards it. (This vowel centralization was a key feature which distinguished island speech from mainland speech). Underwood (1988) also found that speakers who identified themselves most strongly as Texans used more of the typically Texan pronunciation of the variable PRICE than did speakers who did not strongly identify themselves as Texans. Also, Segalowitz and Gatbonton (1977) found a correlation between Francophone Quebecois' political feelings and their pronunciation of the phoneme /ð/ in their L2, English. Trudgill (1983) and Simpson (1999) also refer to the relationship between identity and accent in their analyses of pop songs. Mæhlum (1992) studied children growing up in Longyearbyen in Norway, an area with no basic indigenous dialect, and found that the children appeared to aim at a regionally unidentifiable and inconsistent norm. Mæhlum suggests that this is part of their negotiation of their mixed regional identities, since most identify partly with Longyearbyen and partly with their region of origin. (See sections 2.2 and 3.5 for further discussion of the relationship between identity and language).

The SAT/CAT hypothesis of identity and divergence (i.e. that speakers will diverge or maintain their speech characteristics when their identity is at issue) could be a reasonable explanation for the behaviour of these speakers. It appears though, that identity in spoken language is *constantly* at issue for these speakers, and that whatever they say unavoidably expresses their identity – whether they wish it to do so or not. Convergence would express something about their identities just as much as divergence

would. The evidence, then, seems to be supportive of the AI theory: their speech is an on-going negotiation of identity.

This research has further reinforced the idea that cognitive and affective factors play a crucial role in adult phonetic acquisition, perhaps even a stronger role than they may play in other types of acquisition. Lexical acquisition, for example, did not seem to evoke the same kinds of emotions. These subjects demonstrated an awareness of their own language use, their own conscious ability to have some impact on it, and their feelings about it surrounding notions of loyalty and authenticity versus deception. These affective factors seem to be particularly important with regards to D2 (rather than L2) acquisition.

9.5.4 Caregiver Speech

An unexpected feature of Carrie's speech behaviour became apparent during the second interview. During this interview, Carrie's and my children were present and interrupted the interview a few times. When speaking to them, Carrie's speech was consistent with the rest of the interview for the most part, except on two occasions when she changed her intonation pattern and pitch to a register consistent with caregiver speech. Her caregiver speech used more of the AusE variants than her other speech (in particular, she dropped non-prevocalic */r/* in the word *gorgeous*, which was a marked exception since she did not drop it after [ɔ] at any other stressed words during the interviews), and impressionistically sounded more AusE, possibly due to a change in her voice quality. Furthermore, when Carrie used a sarcastic tone to relate an anecdote, her voice quality and use of variants became noticeably more AmE. At another point in the interview, when telling a joke, her voice quality and choice of variants became more AusE. The jokes and sarcasm did not involve mimicry or role-play. This is quite interesting in connection to the ideas presented in section 2.2 regarding the use of a particular variety of speech for a particular purpose or register (rather than accommodating to each audience) and Le Page's AI theory.

9.5.5 Acculturation and SDA

9.5.5.1 Negative Affect

As discussed in Chapter 5, Americans and Canadians who immigrate to Australia may find some unexpected cultural differences which may in turn have an impact on their adjustment to life in Australia and their adoption or non-adoption of AusE speaking patterns. Peg, Tim, Lucy, Betty, Frank (NSP) and Vera (all Americans) all arrived around

the time of the Vietnam War, which was a tumultuous time in Australian-American relations (see section 5.1), and this had a definite impact on their early experiences of Australia.

Peg commented on some of the negative feelings towards Americans that were prevalent in Australia at that time:

AIMS: so what do you think of australian american australian images of americans?
P: I think they're pretty good at the moment.
AIMS: <oh>?
P: <yeah> when we first came here they were terrible because of the vietnam <right at the end>.
AIMS: <oh yeah>.
P: of the vietnam war and in fact I remember some very funny funny things happening because to me to my mother who migrated here with us she was very offended by it and felt not offended but she was hurt by it because you know she's a nice lady and she was nice to other people and then the amer* a ra ra americans and all the bad things they did here and there she'd she'd take it personally.
AIMS: yeah.
P: um we didn't particularly take it personally cause a lot of the things they were saying were quite okay and we d* we agreed with them {laughter} but a number of people who had american accents people would say naughty things to them which wasn't very nice and we never we never had that experience <really>.
AIMS: <yeah>.
P: and um we were in a a um oh having tea at the museum where my husband got his first job and where he still is and um and one day they were talking about something and they were getting stuck into the yanks about something and I actually didn't agree with them on this issue and I said hey wait a minute I said I'm a yank and they said no no no no you're an honorary australian {laughter} and I think that's the way nobody actually even though we had this really weird accent.
AIMS: yeah.
P: they didn't we were a* australians from almost the moment we came here in their eyes in the muse* in the in the community that my husband worked in and we thought that was quite funny we had all had a good giggle about that oh no no no you're a* honorary australians <you're not yanks yeah we are yanks>.

Vera found that period of time fairly traumatic. She stated:

V: ...and <americans>.
CIMS: <oh>
V: were not very popular here in the early seventies because of the vietnam war was still o* just ending.
CIMS: <so did you get teased>?
V: <and there was a lot of bad feeling about> oh yeah people didn't like you yeah.
CIMS: oh.
V: just because of who you were and you couldn't really hide it because you'd just open your mouth n {laughter}.
CIMS: oh so you must've wanted to go home pretty <badly>?
V: <oh> I hated it because well you can imagine in high school when you've got all your friends.
CIMS: yeah.

Gary, who arrived in Australia in the 1990's, stated that he was sensitive to criticisms of the United States when he first arrived (particularly, in fact, criticisms of the way he spoke), but gradually became less sensitive to them and even began to agree with some of them. Karla and Carrie, who also arrived in the post-Vietnam era, expressed feelings

of anger and resentment at some of the anti-American attitudes that they were subjected to in social situations or via the media. The strongest example of these attitudes is exemplified in this quote from Carrie:

> C: um, a lot of bigoted people a lot of anti american people um you get some that are great but I mean I've had more maybe it's just the outspokenness of them is different um people that you think would really know better like <you know solicitors>.
> CIMS: hmm.
> C: at work and stuff and um as I said they they want to use you as a forum to canvas all their complaints {HRT} an I feel like saying well, even if I agreed with your perspective it's not like I'm the one that did it y'know {laughter} I haven't been y'know living there in many years either but um it's just really ignorant views too like {name}'s um one of his friends at school the father's actually uh, swiss um at least his mother's swiss uh I don't know whether he was born here or not an he's an ex-federal cop and um well it's a bit of a crack up of a family cause they have a child every fifteen months because neither one of em wanna use contraception {HRT} so he stopped working cause they can live off the government cheaper?
> CI00: oh wow.
> C: an so he has all these really opinionated things and he sends them through these children and he just um he told his son to tell {name} that he should hide the fact he's american y'know be ashamed of it an blah blah blah blah an cause it's this he's a bigger noisier kid {name} y'know came home really upset about it an I just I basically said the guy's an idiot {laughter} y'know don't worry about it but yeah just um y'know like solicitors at work an stuff an they're just kinda mean about it um I used to take it a lot an with this one gal at work I just eventually she'd just start up and I'd go he he he kinda smile at her an just ignore her and um like I said this new girl's come in that's travelled in the states an she loves the states so I just let them go for it an I just sit back and watch you know um but it's like, if I were to go up to say like altona north's a heavy arabic area cause many years ago they s* settled refugees in there, there's just arabs everywhere if I went up to an arabic person an I got on their handle like that about oh arabic this this this.
> CI00: yeah.
> C: oh you're discriminating blah blah blah but because I come from an english speaking um I suppose y'know financially stable blah blah blah blah blah y'know politically stable environment I'm supposed to be a target for everything?

The Canadians who took part in the study did not report any strong negative attitudes towards themselves or Canada in general. Many appeared to share the opinion of Harry, who stated:

> AIMS: what do you think of australian images of americans?
> H: uh you mean uh s* s* what australians think of americans <uh>?
> AIMS: <yeah> or canadians yeah.
> H: well it's different that's the thing it's very different I think once they know you're canadian at least in my experience th* there's a very different approach than they would to what australians thought of as americans bef* or you know I think I think australians it's like they I think australians I think they have a very similar relationship with americans as they do with the british it's a love hate thing cause I think they love things about america it's dynamism and it's you know new york and the the whole a lot of that commerce and wealth creation about americans but they hate some the qualities of americans especially the ones that you get from the tourists.
> AIMS: yeah.
> H: the brash am* know it all, um insular americans who don't know much about any other country other than their own.

As Markham (1997: 24) points out, studies of the relationship between affect and language learning have not consistently shown a positive correlation; however, these

studies have all examined the effect of *positive* affect, and the role of negative affect remains to be seen. The data from this study may shed some light on the role of negative affect in D2 acquisition, since there might be some contrast between the behaviour of Americans who felt negatively targeted versus Canadians who did not feel this way.

The Canadians were not more likely to acquire AusE than the Americans, but not all Americans felt unwelcome or socially targeted in Australia. Some did not really notice much of an issue; at least at present, or, in cases such as Frank's (NSP) and Peg's, they actually agreed with the criticism of the United States and so were not bothered by it. While the Americans as a whole were not less likely to acquire AusE, the feeling of being offended by the images of Americans prevalent in Australia may have affected the acquisition of AusE for those Americans (Gary, Karla, Lucy, Carrie, Betty) who were sensitive to that. Unfortunately, the impact of negative affect is unclear in this study, since two of the subjects who were sensitive to it were women and arrived at a young age. Hence, the impact of negative affect is difficult to separate from the effect of age of arrival and gender. It may be that this kind of negative affect has a mixed effect on acquisition: the speakers become defensive of their identity as Americans and, at the same time, may prefer not to be constantly identifiable as members of this other group. This on-going internal conflict might have the effect of producing a kind of dialect which is neither AusE nor AmE. For instance, Carrie and Lucy, who both arrived in Australia as children, might be expected to have fully acquired most features of AusE but they both still had a high use of some features of AmE in their speech, particularly non-prevocalic /r/. Gary and Karla, who did not make any apparent adjustments in their speech towards AusE, felt that many of the criticisms of Americans were directed at the way that they spoke, and this may have caused them to be particularly defensive of their dialects, whereas the others felt the criticisms directed at their American identities.

These considerations relate to the discussion of markedness presented in section 3.5. At that point I suggested that AmE and CE have a relative lack of disadvantage or stigma compared to most other dialect contact situations (e.g. Cockney versus Standard South-eastern British English; African American Vernacular English versus AmE, Southern American English versus AmE, Belfast English versus Limerick English), and stated "it appears that (standard) American and Canadian speech is less marked than would be a non-standard dialect, but still marked in that it is not indicative of Australian group membership...Western American English and CE do not threaten the norms of

AusE culture... American English and CE may be marked as an out-group variety, but are not sufficiently marked to be face-threatening for speakers; as such they are a marginally marked norm for speakers whose origins are North American." The evidence provided by the data appears to suggest that AmE is more face-threatening than CE, if the audience is able to discern between the two varieties or are made aware of the origins of the speaker. I also stated that, "It may be that more marked speech varieties would be more face-threatening and would pressure speakers towards acquisition of the unmarked norm for the interaction, whereas less marked varieties would be less likely to inspire renegotiation of the unmarked norm." This statement has been partially borne out by the data: most of the subjects who felt that their variety was highly marked or marked them as a member of an undesirable group did acquire some AusE variants (although this correlation is confounded with age of arrival). However, there may be a kind of "patriotic defensiveness" which has a mitigating impact.

9.5.5.2 Cultural Contrasts

Subje is reported some of the cultural misunderstandings predicted in Chapter 9, but there was a wide range of opinion concerning the degree of cultural difference between Canada, the United States and Australia. Harriet, Lucy, Betty, Sam, Emma, Gary, Benjamin, Wanda and Felicia said that they did not really perceive any major cultural differences between North America and Australia, or that they had been away so long that they were no longer sure what life was like in North America. Frank (NSP), Una (NSP), Xavier and Edward, on the other hand, gave very in-depth, detailed observations about the differences they observed. Edward, in fact, commented at length on what he perceived as Australian laziness in relation to tall poppy syndrome (this comment came after some discussion of social problems in England):

E: ...-on the other hand I think the australians are phenomenally lazy, I would say looking at law the law schools I've worked at {names} the single biggest problem is the students will not put into put the input in they require there is not a work ethic but it comes from a completely opposite perspective.
CIMS: <hmm>.
E: <whereas> the english disincentive to work comes from aristocratic disdain.
CIMS: yeah.
E: here it comes from uh what I would call irish cynicism which is is that the whole notion of a work culture is something that the uh tall poppies have invented to foist off on the underlings to basically cheat em out of their labour.
CIMS: yeah.
E: so e* you know it almost becomes a kind of a a passive peasant resistance.
CIMS: mmhmm.
E: not having to work.

In addition, Carrie mentioned that when she had asked her son what he would like to do when he grew up he had stated that he would like to go "on the dole" (social assistance). Carrie was quite understandably disappointed by this reply and commented that she did not think he would have gained that type of attitude living in the United States, and remarked that she did not consider Australians to be particularly hard-working people (this conversation took place off-tape). Vera, who completed her tertiary education in the United States and began her working life there, also commented as follows:

V: like especially work ethic is very.
CIMS: in australia?
V: in australia to me it's very lax but that's only, maybe the way I was trained cause I first worked in america so, I think I got my work values from there n I think people here aren't necessarily as conscientious.
CIMS: yeah.
V: or as concerned about their work {HRT} a lot of them seem to think that they're just owed a job and you're lucky that they show up n I'm not saying everyone but I have had this experience like I* it you know being as a supervisor i* in different sort of work n things.
CIMS: mmhmm.
V: yeah it's kind of like they have this well you're lucky I'm here attitude and not not w* not that they're there that they have a job and they should have pride in their work and things like that?
CIMS: yeah yeah.
V: they don't seem to have a lot of pride in their work?

In general, there was a tendency for those people who had lived in Australia for longer periods of time (over 5 years) to have stronger opinions about the differences between their native culture and Australian culture, but it also had to do with how strongly the person identified with their native country (strong identification seemed to correlate with stronger opinions of differences) and basic personality traits. For instance, a philosophy professor or a historian could be expected to have a very detailed opinion about this subject. Most of the comments concerning culture revolved around superficial things, such as the way meals are served in restaurants (Felicia), the grandeur of twenty-first birthday parties in Australia (Harriet), Australian holidays (Harriet), shopping in Australia (Lucy and Betty), how much Australians travel (Benjamin) – and different people might have completely contradictory opinions. Benjamin, for example, stated that he found Australians more insular and less well-travelled than North Americans, where Harriet and Vera found the opposite. Xavier expressed frustration at the slow pace of life and inefficiency that he faced in Australia, especially when he first arrived fifteen years ago. The differences that were noticed were most often perceived as negative, but not always; Frank (NSP) commented on positive differences that led him to identify with Australia:

F: ...- it's partly because of the values of the people here that I think are better than the values of, america in some ways so I like being with people who have those values.
AI: for example?
F: honesty and integrity I find aussies say what they mean and what they think and americans often gild the lily and um I don't appreciate that, when I go home my friends say oh {name} it's wonderful to see you I'm really pleased let's go out and have lunch together an I say that'd be good I'd be really pleased to do it here's my phone number give me a call an they never give me a call.
AI: hmm.
F: an I think an aussie wouldn't say let's go to lunch unless they meant it the yank doesn't need to say that, {laughter} uh he can say whatever he wants to say, but he doesn't need to pretend {cough} um that there's more there than there is for him or her and so I I and that's just one example of many but.
AI: hmm.
F: I prefer the straightforwardness of aussies.

In this excerpt, Frank even went so far as to refer to Americans as *yanks*, a somewhat derogatory term for Americans. By using this term, he appeared to be distancing himself from Americans and establishing his identity as an Australian. He also used a particularly AusE expression *to gild the lily*, (to create a pretense of positive feelings).

Most of the subjects did not report that they had had severe culture shock when they came to Australia. This was perhaps partly because many of them had come to Australia to marry Australians that they had either met in North America or on previous trips to Australia. Some, like Betty and Harriet, found it difficult to adjust to life in a big city when they had been used to living in smaller cities or towns, but they also noted that they could have had that same problem in North America. Ingrid, Vera and, to a lesser extent, Xavier, all found the transition to life in Australia a shock. Ingrid was very homesick and still had not fully adjusted to Australia even after 4 years, but her experience seemed to be quite rare. Ingrid commented extensively on her desire to return to the United States:

CIMS: so are you pretty homesick then?
I: so I really am and I've been homesick for a long time.
CIMS: yeah.
I: and it dawned on me one day that I got busy and cleaned up my house but until I did that it dawned on me that I wasn't cleaning my house cause I was waiting to pack {laughter} and I cleaned my my house when I was gonna pack and I finally said to myself you know that's not real cause you're probably staying here for the whole rest of the year so you better clean your house {laughter}.
CIMS: but you're planning to go back to the states.
I: I I am probably going to go home.
CIMS: yeah.
I: now {name} may live here for the rest of his life but I'm going home.
CIMS: mmhmm
I: you know and I feel really sad I have a real good perspective now for the people who came here like at the end of the second world war.
CIMS: yeah.
I: and they knew they could not go back to <europe>.
CIMS: <that's pretty hard yeah>.

I: <because> they didn't have any home it it wasn't there it'd been all bombed away and they didn't have a place anymore and there wasn't any work and they just had to come here and forget greece forget italy forget czechoslovakia forget yugoslavia forget russia, forget poland.
CIMS: mmhmm.
I: any place and just make a new start, giving up the your home country has got to be the ultimate.
CIMS: yup.
I: you know it's gotta be really hard.

(Even Ingrid did not comment on major cultural differences between the United States and Australia; she stated that it was the small differences, such as restaurant service and which way the light switches flipped, that really bothered her).

For Edward, Xavier and Ingrid, the contrast between North America and Australia, as well as the initial shock of moving to Australia, was clearly articulated and they felt themselves to be foreigners living in Australia. It is worthwhile noting that none of them had made noticeable changes to their speech, and Ingrid expressed strong antipathy even to the idea of using Australian vocabulary – something most of the other subjects started doing soon after moving to Australia.

9.5.6 Social Stigma

Lucy's relationship with her mother probably had a considerable effect on Lucy's pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/. In the first 1988 interview, Lucy's mother (Betty) stated:

AI88: what about your daughter does she talk differently to you to what she talks to other people?
B: well I think she does because I can't stand the way she says care with no r care and dare and are" you know those kind of things and because I think that's just bad english, I mean I just don't think that's australian I think it's just bad pronunciation so I probably pick her up on a few words sometimes that I that I that offend my ear and then so I think she sometimes is more careful about those particular words and then says whatever she wants to in other areas um.

Later in the 1988 interview, she added:

AI88: do you like australian english?
B: um oh most of it some some things like I said, some of those words offend me that my daughter says I really don't want her to speak that way and other expressions that people used to say used to sort of grate on my ear a bit but I probably say them all myself now.

In 1999, her memory of this was less critical of AusE:

B: I worked very hard when we first got here at not having her uh soften her r's uh because all the time I kept thinking I might go back and I I just would say when she would say, well X she said hard um and she I I would say to her what about y'know saying and then of course that only lasted a short time and y" you wear out you can't keep on {laughter} on the accent

And in 1988, Lucy agreed with her mother's assessment of non-prevocalic /r/ deletion (although it is interesting to note that she dropped the /r/ in *or* and *normally* in this statement):

AI88: do you talk differently when you talk to your mother?
L: I don't think so.
AI88: right.
L: um sometimes I say things like, I don't pronounce my r's or something just because I'm being s* lazy or something but um normally I just talk the same way I talk now.

In the 1999 interview, Lucy continued to voice agreement with her mother's opinion about non-prevocalic /r/ deletion or vocalization:

L: -...with my little girl I can hear her she'll say things and because you'll get that australian a at the end of you know you say car [ka:] or and when I because my mum taught me I wanna say, no it's car [kaɪ] know this {laughter} so um, I dunno I guess in a way I do like it [Australian English] but if I can you know certain things I wanna say no no no that's not the way you say it {laughter}.
CI99: so do you actually correct her or you just think it?
L: at the moment, because she's too young well she's two going on three but we thought we'd try and and get her vocab up as much as possible and then we'd sort of say, um you know this is the way you say it you know like she's having trouble saying binoculars and hospital or something you know and so we thought well we'll get all that cut first and then we'll we'll go back and correct it so.

But in 2001 (as noted in section 9.5.1), she expressed some resentment about this issue:

L: um so lots of times you know I think oh I wish I could just stop this r coming out or something {laughter} {baby cooing} hi.
CIMS: did you ever try to get rid of it?
L: not r* not intentionally I never tried to plus when I was growing up mum would say, um I'd say I'm going to wash the car [kaɪ] car [ka:] or something and she'd say to me you're going to do what {HRT} And I'd say I'm going to wash the car [kaɪ] and she'd say okay you know and she'd be standing right next to me and could hear you know but she was trying to always make me pronounce my letters you know.
CIMS: yeah.
L: and that I guess that annoyed me because that's not the way, my friends spoke I guess you know.

In 2001, Lucy also stated that her daughter's pronunciation is completely Australian and she makes no mention of trying to "correct" it or to get her to pronounce non-prevocalic /r/.

Betty's 1988 negative opinion of non-prevocalic /r/ deletion could be because of the stigma associated with non-rhotic dialects in the United States, such as Southern American dialects and African American Vernacular English. Few of the other parents expressed any desire to have their children speak some variety of American English or to avoid acquiring American English, except Gary, who stated:

G: it's interesting with my sons my one son was born in germany spent time in the u s and now lives here he's twelve he's lived here roughly half of his life.

AIMS: yup.
G: and he can turn it on and off at will he'll speak to his friends and he'll have a very very strong australian accent at least to my ear so that he's not teased by his friends <for his accent>.
AIMS: <yup>.
G: for his accent and yet when he comes home and talks to us he sounds like sounds like I do.
AIMS: really?
G: now the little one who was born here who is six I mean he sounds like he's he's you know been here all his life.
AIMS: yeah.
G: and with australian parents I mean he's very very much a melbourne accent very clearly melbourne accent.
AIMS: hmm.
G: so so it's interesting for us but that the um the way he's able the way the older one's able to change from one to another and and I know enough about the language to know that when I hear his accent I know it's not put on?
AIMS: yup.
G: you know what I mean?
AIMS: yup.
G: you know how you have well australians always <try to put on american accents>.
AIMS: <try to put yeah>.
G: and an american can tell it a mile away you know that it's not right and vice versa too.
AIMS: yeah.
G: I can try to do an australian you'd know a mile away that it wasn't right when I hear him saying it it sounds right you know you don't it <doesn't sound>.
AIMS: <X>.
G: like it's being put on it sounds very natural the way he the way he's speaking.
AIMS: is it a conscious thing?
G: no question about it <absolutely>.
AIMS: <it is>.
G: absolutely.
AIMS: it's not just what sounds right <XX>.
G: <no no> it's very it's very much a conscious sort of thing and I mean to a certain extent at first I was a little bit, I don't know maybe um n* not as understanding about it as I could've been I think I think I I didn't want him to lose that accent and he really hasn't he can click into it very easily.

So it is interesting to note that, in Gary's opinion at least, his eldest son is able to switch between AusE and AmE, and this may be related to Gary's wish that he retain his American accent (and perhaps also his American identity).

Betty also displayed a certain amount of linguistic insecurity, which was especially pronounced during the 1988 interviews, less so during the 1999 interviews and least of all in 2001. For example, in 1988, Betty stated:

AI88: do you um are there lots of words that you use that are different to words that are used by other people in australia?
B: every so often I said the most unprofessional thing to somebody a few years ago a person came into the library and I had to take em somewhere and I didn't even know I said it til everybody was laughing when I got back to the library I said look we'll just mosey on down the hall and I'll find the you know where you need to go or something they all were killing themselves, the other day we went to buy a kettle and I said I don't want one of those kettles that you can't see in, because you get crud in the bottom and I wanna be able to get that out and the young fellow who I think was interested in my daughter as much as the kettle I mean was they were having a wonderful exchange about this word I'd used so I suppose that just once in awhile I say I don't know do you say crud {HRT} I'm sure it's such a low class word I'm sure nobody else says it but that's all I could think of was crud in the bottom of the kettle

so I do say some I I realize once in a while I say words like that but that I don't even know I've said but these others that I've pointed out to you when we were looking at these pictures I consciously can think about those and sort of say those.

The high degree of linguistic insecurity in 1988 may have been because the interviewer in that case was an older, male professor of linguistics, and therefore an authority figure in this regard. Betty and Lucy might have been fairly concerned during the 1988 interviews with speaking "correctly", and having knowledge of proper speech, including such things as non-prevocalic /r/ deletion or vocalization (although the interviewer was Australian and completely non-rhotic!). Having young, female interviewers in 1999 and 2001 would probably be less disconcerting, and Betty and Lucy might have been more relaxed than they were in 1988. It is possible that in 1988, they were giving what they thought was "the right answer" or the answer they thought Prof. Clyne wanted to hear. It is also possible that by 1999/2001, Betty felt embarrassed about her former opinions of Australian English and her attempts to correct her daughter's pronunciation (if Betty actually remembered having mentioned this).

Whatever the reasons for it, Betty's corrections of Lucy's pronunciation probably had an effect on Lucy's speech, at least in terms of Lucy's pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/. However, Betty stated that she has trouble picking up accents and noticing differences in pronunciation and that the pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ is the main feature of AusE that she was able to perceive, and it is the only AusE feature that either Lucy or Betty mentioned in any of the interviews. Consequently, Betty's behaviour was clearly not the only important factor affecting Lucy, since Lucy's speech resembles AmE in other respects, most notably her use of the TRAP vowel in the BATH lexical set, her strong preference for the AmE variant of the FLEECE vowel and the lack of a clear split between the THOUGHT and LOT vowels in her speech. This tendency towards AmE phonological variants may be related to affective factors (see section 9.5.1; Foreman 2000b).

Some of the subjects may have avoided the use of the [ɑ] or [a] vowel in the BATH lexical set since it seems to carry a stylistic meaning in AmE and CE. It can be perceived as being indicative of an upper class social status, and thus many listeners perceive its use as "snobbish" or pretentious. Turner (1994: 293) reports similar aversion to the use of [a] and [ɑ] in the BATH lexical set by Sydneysiders who have moved to Adelaide (where [a] use is more prevalent than in Sydney) and by Chicago residents. Peter (NSP) and Gwen reported aversion to its use for this reason.

In addition, the use of the post-alveolar palatal glide tends to be stigmatized in North America. It is usually associated with Southern American varieties of English, which are often perceived as low status varieties (see section 4.4.1.3). It is possible that very few subjects acquired the palatal glide because of this reason.

9.5.7 Children of Migrants

Harriet has a Canadian identity, although she has no intention to return to Canada, and would like to acquire dual Australian/Canadian citizenship. Her children were born in Australia and strongly wish to avoid a Canadian identity. She told the following anecdote about her children:

H: but if you ask them if they're canadian they're not.
AIMS: yup.
H: we're australian.
AIMS yup.
H: um, I {elongated}, a few years ago sat down and finally got the papers to say that they were canadian.
AIMS okay.
H: because they can have dual citizenship.
AIMS mmhmm.
H: and when the papers arrived in the mail they went hysterical because how dare I do that?
AIMS oh.
H: that they were not canadian they were australian?

However, the children were also vehemently opposed to their mother getting Australian citizenship:

H: and then I got the papers because I've lived here sixteen years I thought maybe I'd become an australian because I can have dual citizenship.
AIMS mmhmm.
H: and uh they were quite hysterical about that too you're not an australian you're a canadian.
AIMS oh really?
H: mmm.

This is similar to the childhood behaviour of Peg and Tim's children. I spoke with Peg's children, who are both young adults and both of whom describe themselves as Australian. Prof. Clyne also interviewed them in 1988, and at that time they both spoke AusE. The older sibling, Loraine, stated that she tried to rid herself of any American influences on her speech as a child.

The negotiation of identities that takes place between parents and children, and the negotiation of dialect through which some of this is enacted, would be an interesting topic of further research.

9.5.8 Return Visits to North America and Visits to other Dialect Areas

Several of the subjects returned to Canada or the United States for extended visits or for tertiary education. Vera lived in the United States (Arizona) for a few years as a young adult while she completed her tertiary education, which may have affected her speech to date, although she has not returned to the United States for the past twelve years. Likewise, Carrie returned to the United States (California) for her tertiary education. She stated that at the time she had wanted to stay there to live, but because of family issues, she had to return. Carrie also went back to the United States as a young adult a second time on a working holiday but again returned to Australia. In section 7.12, Carrie describes the intelligibility problems that she faced living in California which she felt caused her to make changes to her speech. Although this is self-report, it is quite possible that these two periods spent in the United States as a young adult had a considerable impact on Carrie's phonetic inventory to date. It would be remarkable, however, if these periods in the United States as an adult had had such a noticeable effect on Carrie's speech, but all the subsequent years of living in Australia did not.

It was difficult to tell if there were genuine changes or merely idiosyncratic pronunciations of AmE phones in Peg's speech, and the data from 1988 is not remarkably different from that of 1999, except perhaps for her production of the FLEECE vowel. Impressionistically, Peg *sounded* very American. In fact, rather than sounding like a Californian, which she is, she sounded like a speaker from the Southern United States dialect region. She did live in Texas for a short period as an adult, and also mentioned having some relatives in the Southern United States whom she visited as a teenager. If her pronunciation pattern actually resulted from her exposure to Texas English or the variety spoken by her relatives, then it is indeed very interesting that Peg would have acquired this variety as an adult, and that she would maintain this manner of speaking for over twenty years. That is to say, it would be bizarre if she acquired one variety of English in a short period of time and maintained it all this time, but even after over twenty years of exposure to AusE, she still did not acquire it. Intuitively this seems rather unlikely, and yet this is similar to what has happened to Keith. He lived in Boston and then California before immigrating to Australia. His phonological inventory is entirely Californian, and even after living in Australia for the same amount of time that he spent in California, he has not acquired any AusE speech sounds. This is unlikely to be due to

his age of arrival, since he moved to Boston, California and Australia as an adult. So, although it seems unlikely, it is possible that Peg's phonetic inventory retains influences from her stay in Texas rather than from her life in Australia.

If this is the case, this sort of speech behaviour could be a confirmation of the idea that, for the purposes of acquisition, speakers are more likely to acquire varieties which only require that they make small changes within phonetic categories than they are to acquire varieties which require them to create new phonetic categories.

10 Conclusions

10.1 A Comparison of this Study with Other Studies of SDA

In order to facilitate a comparison of the findings of this study with those of other studies in this area, a table with the relevant details is provided here (see Table 21 below):

Table 21: Acquisition of Phonetic and Phonological Aspects of D2s Across Studies (excluding case and historical studies)*

Study	Age of Arrival	D1	D2	Findings[1]	Key causal factor(s) as identified by researcher
This Study (Foreman 2003)	7-46	CE or AmE	AusE	12 out of 34 subjects acquired at least one of six AusE phonetic/phonological variants examined in the study.	To be discussed below.
Chambers (1998a)	9-17	CE	South-eastern British English	Group scores: 24.9% phonological variants acquired, 26.67% phonetic variants acquired	Complexity of rules governing acquisition, age of arrival, whether or not phonological rules must be acquired or eliminated, orthography
Deser (1989)	birth	Southern American English	Detroit English	Younger children had a Detroit accent, older children had a southern accent even though they were all born and raised in Detroit.	Identity
Munro et al. (1999)	20-46	CE	Alabaman English	7 out of 10 speakers received a majority of ratings that they sounded somewhat Alabaman or definitely Alabaman.	Not identified
Bowie (2000)	17-25	Waldorf dialect of English (Maryland, U.S.)	Other dialects of mainland U.S.	Speakers were able to un-merge mergers in perception, but not production. After individuals had lived away from Waldorf for more than 7-10 years, phonetic changes began to occur in their speech.	Phones that are part of an on-going change in the dialect are more likely to change when the speaker is exposed to a D2 than are phones that are not part of a change. Length of stay also appeared to have an influence.
Wells (1973)	adolescents and adults	Jamaican Creole	Jamaican English	Speakers progressed more quickly with the deletion of palatal glide followed velars, and more slowly with the unmerging of vowels.	It was easier for the speakers to make simple exceptionless phonetic changes than it was to create new phonological categories, if they arrived as adolescents or adults.
Kerswill (1994)	12-52	Stril dialects (Norwegian)	Bergen dialect (Norwegian)	Subjects seemed to equate the Bergen and Stril phonological systems. Complex rules were more difficult to acquire for older speakers, but a simple change (apical to uvular /r/) was not acquired by a majority and one complex change was.	Age of arrival combined with the complexity of the rule involved in the sound change to be acquired. Salience was also seen to be a major factor for the simple changes that were not acquired. Kerswill also cites some features identified as being important in dialectal accommodation in Trudgill (1986).
Bortoni-Ricardo (1985)	15-74	Caipira dialect of Portuguese	Brazilian standard Portuguese	Most subjects acquired standard Brazilian /l/ pronunciation (avoiding /l/ vocalization), but only speakers who had arrived at a young age were successful in acquiring a diphthong reduction rule.	Network contacts, salience of linguistic feature, urban versus rural values and identity, gender of speaker, age
Payne (1976)	children and their parents	New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Cleveland, Kansas	Philadelphia English	Most children fully or partially acquired 4 out of 5 phonetic variables, but few successfully acquired the pattern of the TRAP vowel in Philadelphia English. A few parents made some changes to their speech.	Complexity of the rules governing the use of the phonetic/phonological variable, age of arrival, whether or not the parents spoke the Philadelphia dialect
Shockey (1984)	not given (adult)	AmE or Midwestern American	South-eastern British English	All subjects reduced their rates of flapping non-foot initial /t/ and /d/.	Intelligibility

*Studies of speakers acquiring a second regional variety were preferred for inclusion in this table (studies of dialect speakers acquiring a standard dialect were not, unless they were particularly large-scale or innovative) in order to most closely match the situation presented in this dissertation.

[1] Findings presented in this table relate to phonological and phonetic aspects of D2 acquisition because of their relevance to this dissertation. Researchers may have made other important findings with regards to syntax, morphology or general linguistic theory, but these are not presented in this table.

The most interesting comparisons to be made are between this study and those of Payne (1976), Munro et al. (1999) and Bowie (2000), all of which studied adult migrant subjects who had moved from one area of North America to another (Payne's focus was on children, but she included their parents in her study). In Munro et al. (1999) and in Bowie (2000), the majority of the subjects acquired some phonetic or phonological aspects of the D2, as opposed to this study, where the majority of the subjects did not acquire any phonetic or phonological aspects of AusE to an auditorily noticeable extent. Labov (1994: 107-109) uses Payne's (1976) study as an example of the stability of adult phonological patterns. In terms of *phonological* changes, it is true to say that Payne's adult subjects did not alter their phonological inventories, and Payne's emphasis was on acquisition at the phonological level. However, an examination of Payne's data on her adult subjects (1976: 124-138) shows that 6 out of the 7 adult parents presented in her analysis did exhibit some *phonetic* adjustments (i.e. changes in the realizations of existing phonetic categories) towards the Philadelphia norm. Thus we can say that, in contrast to the present study, in these three studies (Payne 1976; Munro et al. 1999; Bowie 2000) the majority of the adult migrant subjects acquired some phonetic features of the D2.

So, one is left with some interesting questions, among them: Why would adult speakers sometimes be able to create a new phonogical contrast in an L2 but not in a D2? What are the differences between adult speakers who move from one area of North America to another, and adult speakers who move from North America to Australia, that facilitate or impede acquisition in one situation but not in the other? Are there some commonalities between situations where length of stay is important? To these are added the initial questions with which this study was introduced: Which factors make speakers more likely to acquire a second dialect? Which phonological and phonetic features are more readily acquired, and which are more difficult to acquire? Is speakers' use of phonological or phonetic features belonging to a particular dialect sensitive to or dependent on the dialect in use by the audience? These questions will be answered in the form of several hypotheses about adult SDA.

10.2 The Critical Period Hypothesis – Some Final Words

As this study has shown, age of arrival is often a complicated variable which can be confounded with the level of use of the D2 (at least in the home), intelligibility, identity, D2 speaking social contacts and Length of Stay. While it was clearly an important factor, this study agrees with much of the research into the critical period hypothesis that a low age of arrival is not a guarantee of complete acquisition (Piske et al. 2001). It also agrees with related findings that the ability to learn new sounds declines gradually with age, not abruptly at any particular age, since many of the subjects who did acquire some AusE phonetic variants arrived in Australia at an age well past the so-called critical period.

Some of the findings of this study are of interest in relation to the following hypotheses of Flege's SLM of Foreign Accent:

- if learners can discern some differences between the L1 and L2 sounds, a new phonetic category can be established
- the greater the phonetic dissimilarity between the L1 and L2 sounds, the greater the likelihood that differences will be perceived

Research into L2 acquisition indicates that adult and adolescent L2 learners can create new phonological oppositions when the new phonogical categories are sufficiently distinct from the L1 phonological categories (Flege 1987; Flege 1996; Flege and Bohn 1996; Flege et al. 1999), whereas most of the previous research into SDA and koineization thus far has indicated that adults and adolescents do not learn new phonetic categories in a D2 (Wells 1973; Chambers 1998a; Kerswill 1996b), but the behaviour of the subjects in this study with regards to the THOUGHT/LOT merger contradicted this theory. Felicia was beginning to acquire the THOUGHT vowel although she arrived at an age well past the critical period, and Sharon and Vera used an interesting and unexpected strategy for dealing with the THOUGHT/LOT merger. Their pattern of rounding the LOT but not the THOUGHT vowel suggests that these speakers were able to distinguish between the two lexical sets, although they are completely merged in both production and perception in CE and the merger is on its way to completion in AmE. This contradicts recent research by Bowie (2000), who found that adult subjects were able to split perceptual mergers (but not mergers in production).

There is more evidence of speakers learning new phonetic categories in L2's rather than in D2's, and the most obvious explanation for this is that phonological contrasts in the D2 are less salient and distinct for speakers – speakers cannot discern any differences between the D1 and D2 sounds because they are too phonetically similar. This may be the case for the THOUGHT/LOT merger, for which there is some anecdotal evidence that it is not salient to American English speakers (Major 2001: 53). However,

probably the most salient feature of AusE for North Americans is that it is a non-rhotic variety, yet few of the adult speakers acquired this feature of AusE to any extent although they were very aware of it. As mentioned in section 7.2, this feature is not as simple to acquire as it seems, but on the other hand, it is remarkable that, despite an awareness of this feature of AusE, so few subjects acquired it to any extent. If awareness of the feature was all that was necessary to acquire it, a more reasonable prediction might have been that they would use it in a limited number of lexical items or phonetic environments. Another feature of AusE of which most North Americans are aware consciously and can auditorily distinguish is the incidence of TRAP and BATH; but few of the speakers acquired this feature to any extent either. The subjects in this study provided a considerable amount of evidence that they were very aware of some differences between the way they spoke and the way Australians spoke: some could mimic a word accurately in isolation (such as *beer* [bɪə] or *dance* [dans]), yet this clearly was not always enough for them to want to or to try to (or to inadvertently) acquire any AusE speech sounds. Consequently, the ability to discern differences between sounds cannot be the only factor which influences the adult acquisition of new phonological categories. The data from this study suggest that even if adults are aware of salient differences between dialects, their ability to acquire new sounds may be over-ridden by affective constraints to do with identity and/or personality.

10.3 Hypothesis 1: Salience

Trudgill (1986) first suggested that salience might be a facilitative factor in SDA. This was not confirmed in this study (nor was it in Auer et al. (1998)), although it has shown up as a variable which encourages SDA in other studies such as Bortoni-Ricardo (1985). Kerswill (1994) also suggested that salience was an important factor for his subjects in their loss of a Stril dialect form [ɐ] in one lexical set. In the case of the Bortoni-Ricardo and Kerswill studies, salience encouraged SDA only when it involved the loss of a stigmatized D1 variable. Salience may not actually work in the favour of SDA in other situations, particularly in terms of acquisition rather than loss of features, and this may bear some relation to the speakers' wishes to avoid "sounding pretentious" (or sounding as though they had obviously made some effort to acquire the D2). The fact that some speakers who had difficulty distinguishing between different accents of English (either temporarily or for most of their lives) seemed to be particularly susceptible to making

(often involuntary) changes in their pronunciation also indicates that salience may inhibit change (i.e. their lack of awareness of what was different between the two varieties seemed to make it easier for them to make changes to their speech in the direction of the D2). The speakers in this study who acquired some AusE phones seemed to acquire the least salient ones.

- **Hypothesis 1:** Salience[78] will inhibit the acquisition of D2 phones.

Salience may have a more facilitative effect on the loss of D1 phones, especially when the D1 phones are stigmatized by the D2 society.

10.4 Hypothesis 2: Affective Factors

In relation to salience and its connection to these affective factors, a more general statement can be made about SDA. This dissertation cannot fully answer the question, "which factors make speakers more likely to acquire the phonetic and phonological aspects of a second dialect?", but as a starting point for further research, this study has indicated:

- **Hypothesis 2**: Speakers who have an identity associated with the D2 community will feel more at ease acquiring the D2 because of this, and may be more successful than their counterparts with a D1 identity. Speakers with a D1 identity will find it difficult to acquire phonetic and phonological aspects of a D2 because of affective aspects of SDA including concerns about how D2 speech would be perceived by both the D1 and D2 communities in terms of authenticity and identity. This can apply to both adults and children.

Although this dissertation began with the premise that there was not a clear distinction between dialects and closely related languages, it has become apparent that some affective issues are more relevant for the study of very closely related language varieties than they are for the study of typologically distant language varieties. In addition, the

[78] For this dissertation, salience was defined as phonemic difference, a dichotomous structure (as in (Auer, Barden et al. 1998)) and/or speaker awareness of a variable, or some combination of one or more of these three criteria.

SLM hypothesis that a speakers' ability to discern differences between phones is important for the acquisition of new phonemes may be more important for the acquisition of more typologically distant language varieties.

10.5 Hypothesis 3: A Phonological Match

In answer to both the question of "which factors are important in SDA?" and the question of "what are the differences between adult speakers who move from one area of North America to another and adult speakers who move from North America to Australia that cause acquisition in one situation but not in the other?," the most likely reason appears to be:

- **Hypothesis 3**: Adult speakers will be more likely to make changes towards a D2 which is a "phonological match" for their D1. If there are discrepancies between the two phonological systems they will be more likely to keep the D1 system.

Adult speakers may make changes in their phonetic realizations of phonemes towards the D2 realizations, even if the D1 and D2 systems are not a phonological match, but this will be less likely to happen than if the D1 and D2 are a phonological match.[79] This may also be related to the affective concerns of the speakers in that they are less aware of subtle phonetic changes towards a D2 which is very similar to their D1.

10.6 Hypothesis 4: Length of Stay

The idea of matching phonological systems is related to the answer to the question, "when is Length of Stay important?" The difference between the studies where Length of Stay was unimportant versus those where it was significant seems to be the type of change involved – i.e. whether or not it was phonological (by this I mean the acquisition of a new phonetic category, the un-merging of a merged phoneme, etc.) or phonetic (a change in the realization of a phoneme). Length of stay appears to be more important for subtle phonetic changes rather than for phonological acquisition. This correlates with

[79] In related research, Boberg (2000) reports that the dialect spoken in Windsor (a Canadian city) should be overwhelmed by the diffusion of phonetic features from the nearby more populous American city of Detroit, according to the predictions of Trudgill's geolinguistic model of sound change, but the Windsor dialect remains relatively unaffected at a phonological and phonetic level. Boberg (2000) proposes that the spread of phonetic features across the border to Windsor is inhibited by the mismatch between the phonological systems of CE and Detroit English.

findings from other studies where speakers were acquiring very similar varieties, such as Bowie (2000), who found that Length of Stay had some impact on whether or not a subject made phonetic changes to their speech.

- **Hypothesis 4**: Adult speakers can alter their realizations of phonemes in keeping with some or even all of the D2 realizations, something which will be more likely to occur after a long Length of Stay in the D2 area (at least five years). The creation of new phonological oppositions will be less affected by Length of Stay.

When altering phonetic boundaries, it does not appear to be the case that speakers must discern a difference between the D1 and the D2 realizations; on the contrary, these alterations seem to operate below the level of awareness, and changes of this nature are more gradual and more dependent on Length of Stay. This finding correlates with investigations of gestural drift (Sancier and Fowler 1997) and long-term convergences between sub-phonemic aspects of languages or varieties (Caramazza and Yeni-Komshian 1974). These findings are also supportive of SLM's distinction between phonemic and phonetic levels, and of the relationship between perception and production in SLM (the necessity for a speaker to perceive a difference between L1 and L2 sounds), which is lacking Best's PAM model (1995).

10.7 Hypothesis 5: Accommodation

Based on the main study data and the longitudinal data in this study, the answer to the question "is speakers' use of phonological or phonetic features belonging to a particular dialect sensitive to or dependent on the dialect in use by the audience?" is that these subjects did not appear to accommodate linguistically to speakers of other regional dialects, but this answer requires further elaboration:

- **Hypothesis 5:** Speakers will be more likely to accommodate linguistically towards their interlocutor when a variable is sociolinguistically significant for them and when they perceive their interlocutor as having a different social status from their own; accommodation appears to be closely associated with prestige, status and power related issues.

Accommodation, in this case, refers specifically to linguistic accommodation, in terms of changes in the realizations of phonemes, lexical usage, morphosyntax, etc. This hypothesis does not address paralinguistic forms of accommodation.

10.8 Hypothesis 6: Lexical Classes

It also appears that speakers do not treat all lexical classes as equal, and that they may use some words for particular purposes regardless of their interlocutor.

- **Hypothesis 6:** Speakers will be more likely to use D2 phonetic forms in utterance modifiers than in other lexical classes.

The reader may wish to interpret the gestural drift described in section 10.2 as a type of "long-term accommodation", in the sense of Trudgill (1986), but I reject this terminology on the following grounds: it is confusing since the term *accommodation* encompasses numerous types of phenomena (see section 2.1). *Accommodation* is not sufficiently precise in linguistic terms to explain the speech behaviour of these subjects. Accommodation could encompass all sorts of linguistic behaviour, including the formation of new phonological categories, as well as within category changes in realization. It is important in this case to specify that (most of) the changes subjects exhibited were within category gestural drift towards new phonetic targets (and it may be suggested that in other similar situations some speakers would also exhibit this type of gestural drift). Thus the term *gestural drift* is specific, predictive and falsifiable where *accommodation* is vague and unfalsifiable.

Moreover, the term *gestural drift* more clearly indicates that this a phonetic process (a perceptually guided change in speech production; or, in other words, a gradual drift towards a new phonetic target). *Accommodation*, based on the evidence from this study and other studies of sociolectal accommodation, may be viewed as a process of stylistic adjustment, probably within an existing repertoire, rather than towards a new target. In addition, accommodation is a process which normally occurs during the first few turns of a spoken interaction; gestural drift, on the other hand, is a term which has been used to denote a more gradual, time-consuming process.

Although it appears to operate below the level of awareness, gestural drift may be impeded by affective constraints (such as a D1 identity, and the wish to avoid sounding "fake").

10.9 Other Important Influences on SDA

Statistical findings from this study have also indicated that a D2 HOME DIALECT and a low SOCNET score (a low number of D1 speaking contacts) are factors that favourably influence D2 acquisition. A long Length of Stay was also positively correlated with the acquisition of AusE variants, as was a low age of arrival.

This study has also agreed with findings from other studies of SDA: that a lack of mutual-intelligibility is probably an important impetus for SDA (which was generally lacking in the situation studied here, at least for adult acquirers), and was an important factor for speakers who arrived as children.

Findings from this study have also correlated with findings in Chambers (1998a): that speakers will find it easier to acquire a feature that is orthographically transparent. There was also some indication that the act of learning to read and write in the D2 facilitated the acquisition of the D2.

Phonological naturalness might have played some part in the vowel changes for these speakers. Subjects who used raised variants of the front lax vowels tended to do so before nasals, which could be interpreted as a natural phonological change since it already occurs in many varieties of American English. On the other hand, one may argue that /r/ vocalization or deletion and /l/ vocalization are natural phonological processes which occur in several varieties of English, but most of the subjects avoided /r/ vocalization and deletion and /l/ vocalization was restricted only to certain words.

No comment can be made about phonotactic constraints since the speakers were not required to break any D1 phonotactic constraints to learn the D2.

With regards to hypotheses presented by Bowie (2000) – that speakers will make changes to sounds which are participating in sound changes in their D1 environment already – there appears to be partial confirmation of this concept in this data. Subjects who did make changes were likely to acquire an AusE variant of GOAT, the front lax vowels, GOOSE, and FOOT, all of which are participating in the AmE and CE vowel shifts in progress. It is interesting, though, that these subjects were not as likely to acquire the AusE form of TRAP, which is the crux of the vowel shifts in CE and AmE, than they were to acquire the AusE variant of DRESS. Some speakers acquired AusE variants of PRICE, which is stable in AmE but undergoing change in CE (moving away from Canadian Raising). STRUT is also participating in the vowel shift in CE and AmE but is so similar in AusE that no judgements can be made about it. However, some of

the speakers also acquired AusE variants of FACE even though it is stable in CE and AmE. Moreover, many of the subjects who did acquire some AusE phonetic forms had left North America in the early 1970's – long before there is any record of a vowel shift occurring in either CE or AmE. Thus this data is not an unmitigated confirmation of hypotheses presented in Bowie (2000). It may be that Bowie's hypothesis only applies, or that it is more relevant, when there is a phonological match between the D1 and the D2.

Sociolinguistic stigma was another interesting issue in this study. There was some indication, particularly in the interviews with Lucy and Betty, that some speakers will avoid using features which are stigmatized in their D1, which confirms ideas presented in Trudgill (1986: 18-19).

The findings for some of the vowel variables, in particular the FLEECE vowel, indicate that subjects who are less proficient in the D2 may use more of a relatively stigmatized variant of a variable than more proficient D2 speakers, especially in formal situations.

10.10 Areas of Further Study

One of the most interesting findings of this study has been with relation to CAT and Trudgill's (1986) hypothesis that speakers accommodate to other regional dialects. This study has not confirmed this hypothesis, and instead has suggested that linguistic accommodation occurs when there is a disparity between the social status of speakers, and/or when speakers view a linguistic feature as socially significant. A comparative study of two migrant groups, one group speaking stigmatized D1 and another group whose D1 is not stigmatized, with interviewers from the D1 and D2 areas, if possible separated by a few hours or days, would be very worthwhile to see whether accommodation occurs to greater extent in the situation involving stigma.

In order to more precisely observe patterns in D2 phonetic/phonological feature acquisition, a study of a larger number of subjects may prove worthwhile.

11 Appendices

11.1 Appendix A: E-mail survey of Canadian English

1. Do you normally pronounce *new* as "noo" or "nyoo", *tune* as "toon" or "tyoon", *duke* as "dook" or "dyook"? Do you think that one pronunciation is more correct or better than the other, or are they equal to you? Do you think that one pronunciation is more Canadian (versus American) than the other?

2. Do you normally pronounce *anti* and *semi* (as in anti-constitutional and semi-annual) with an "ee" sound at then end (as in bee) or an "ai" sound (as in my)? If you prefer one pronunciation to the other, which do you think is better? Do you think one pronunciation is more Canadian than the other?

3. Which is correct, "he dived into the water" or "he dove into the water"?

4. Do you normally pronounce *butter* with "t" sound or a "d" sound? Do you think that one pronunciation is better English than the other?

5. If you say *knife* and *knives* aloud to yourself, do you perceive any differences between the two vowels or do they sound the same? What about *house* versus *houses*? Do you think there's a difference between the way Canadians say these words and the way Americans say these words?

11.2 Appendix B: Materials from Main and Pilot Studies

Questionnaire

1. What area of Canada or the United States are you from? (name state or province)

2. How long did you live in this area?

3. How old were you when you arrived in Australia?

4. If you are married, or have a partner, with which of the following accents does s/he speak English: (tick one)
(The Western Canadian accent is meant to include Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and B.C., and the West-Coast American accent is meant to include Washington, Oregon, and California. If you're not sure, just make a guess)
N/A___ West-Coast American___ Western Canadian___
Australian (from the state of Victoria)___ Other_____ (please name nationality or area)

5. If you have children, with which of the following accents do your children speak English:
N/A___ West-Coast American___ Western Canadian___
Australian (from the state of Victoria)___ Other_____ (please name nationality or area)

6. a. If you have extended contact or conversations with work colleagues or classmates, with which of the following accents do the colleagues or classmates speak English:
N/A___ West-Coast American ___ Western Canadian___
Australian (from the state of Victoria)___ Other_____ (please name nationality or area

b. Do you work/study part-time or full-time?

c. How many hours per week if part-time?

7. a. Do you socialize with other Americans or Canadians?

b. If so, how many and how often, and which part of the country are they from?

8. Do you have any family in Australia? With which of the following accents do they speak English?
N/A___ West-Coast American___ Western Canadian___
Australian (from the state of Victoria)___ Other_____(please name nationality or area)

Illustrations from the book *A Small Miracle* (Collington 1997) were used during the picture narration and description portion of the interviews, if the subjects took part in this. Due to copyright law, they could not be reproduced here. A brief description of the illustrations will be used instead.

Using only illustrations, the book tells the story of an old gypsy woman who has run out of money and food. She walks from her caravan to a town where she plays her accordion on a street corner in an attempt to earn some money, but no passers-by offer her anything. In desperation, she pawns her accordion at a nearby antique shop. As she is leaving the shop, a man on a motorcycle passes by and steals her money. The woman cannot buy anything to eat now, so she begins to walk back home. On the way to her home, she passes a church, and sees the same man on a motorcycle leaving the church after having stolen the donations that have been left for the needy. The woman wrenches the bucket out of his hand, runs into the church and locks the door. She then sees that the man has wrecked the alter and nativity scene and she puts everything back into its place. She then leaves the church and continues to walk home. However, she is so weak from lack of food that she falls down into the snow and cannot get up again. At this point she is rescued by the nativity figures from the church, who take her back to her home, buy her some food and mend her home. They then leave before she wakes up.

The subjects were told the book had some religious content, and if they were uncomfortable with this, then they described only the pictures which did not involve any of the church or nativity scenes. I was somewhat unsure about using the book because of this religious content initially, but the story was fairly interesting for adults. It is difficult to find wordless picture books, especially ones that are interesting for adults. In the end, the religious content did not pose a major problem. Only two people were uncomfortable with it, but there was no problem with them describing only part of the book.

11.3 Appendix C: Data Tables

These tables give the total number of tokens produced with either an AmE/CE or an AusE realization by the subjects who acquired some AusE speech sounds. Totals are given for each of the linguistic variables as well as proportions of the total in which the subject used the AusE realization for the Main Study Pooled Data set, the Methodology Data set and the Longitudinal Data.

Table 22: Main Study Pooled Data

Subject	Total /r/	Total KIT	Total GOAT	Total FLEECE	Total FACE	Total PRICE	Propn AusE /r/	Propn AusE KIT	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn AusE FLEECE	Propn AusE FACE	Propn AusE PRICE
Sharon	486	302	234	205	238	175	0.014403	0.463576	0.162393	0.131707	0.420168	0.114286
Carrie	392	278	245	245	192	178	0.193878	0.165468	0.273469	0.085714	0.453125	0.466292
Vera	615	299	404	245	204	216	0.058537	0.458194	0.304455	0.089796	0.563725	0.240741
Felicia	572	238	383	230	238	190	0.055944	0.285714	0.365535	0.104348	0.352941	0.305263
Harriet	*	263	344	281	318	214	0	0.26616	0.040698	0.238434	0.22956	0.130841
Betty	*	*	174	106	*	*	0	0	0.109195	0.028302	0	0
Lucy	501	299	378	251	243	316	0.227545	0.250836	0.388889	0.023904	0.259259	0.082278
Jackie	464	176	334	*	162	252	0.002155	0.147727	0.275449	0	0.037037	0.27381
Margaret	183	112	118	138	68	142	0.087432	0.3125	0.288136	0.072464	0.147059	0.415493
Peg	*	*	236	393	258	*	0	0	0.04661	0.066158	0.251938	0
Daisy	*	125	181	64	118	99	0	0.008	0.01105	0.046875	0.152542	0.050505
Emma	*	*	*	132	127	138	0	0	0	0.030303	0.062992	0.202899

*Where the subject did not use any AusE forms of the linguistic variable in question, it was unnecessary to calculate the total number of tokens in the data, since the proportion of AusE variants would nonetheless be zero. Thus the totals for the subjects who made no changes are not listed here. Based on the length of time the subjects spoke during the interviews, it can be estimated that the total number of tokens for those subjects who made no changes would be similar to the totals given here for the other subjects.

Table 23: Main Study Methodology Data

CIMS refers to the Canadian interviewer in the main study, *AIMS* refers to the Australian interviewer.

Interviewer	Subject	Total /r/	Total KIT	Total GOAT	Total FLEECE	Total FACE	Total PRICE	Propn AusE /r/	Propn AusE KIT	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn AusE FLEECE	Propn AusE FACE	Propn AusE PRICE
CIMS	Sharon	365	222	168	139	185	112	0.005479	0.436937	0.142857	0.158273	0.437838	0.142857
CIMS	Carrie	188	120	110	127	91	86	0.143617	0.191667	0.245455	0.07874	0.395604	0.395349
CIMS	Vera	403	189	246	148	138	97	0.054591	0.486772	0.288618	0.101351	0.528986	0.298969
CIMS	Felicia	364	145	225	143	169	126	0.049451	0.317241	0.346667	0.076923	0.325444	0.301587
CIMS	Harriet	*	103	161	104	149	110	0	0.281553	0.037267	0.230769	0.241611	0.145455
CIMS	Betty	*	*	65	41	*	*	0	0	0.123077	0.04878	0	0
CIMS	Lucy	234	126	199	112	130	125	0.247863	0.214286	0.422111	0.017857	0.292308	0.008
CIMS	Jackie	270	109	155	*	89	151	0.003704	0.110092	0.2	0	0.044944	0.238411
CIMS	Margaret	114	70	86	79	49	97	0.114035	0.357143	0.290698	0.025316	0.142857	0.381443
CIMS	Peg	*	*	108	182	89	*	0	0	0.074074	0.065934	0.247191	0
CIMS	Daisy	*	*	73	37	65	54	0	0	0	0	0.169231	0.037037
CIMS	Emma	*	*	*	85	58	62	0	0	0	0.035294	0.068966	0.258065
AIMS	Sharon	121	80	66	66	53	63	0.041322	0.5375	0.212121	0.075758	0.358491	0.063492
AIMS	Carrie	204	158	135	118	101	92	0.240196	0.14557	0.296296	0.09322	0.50495	0.532609
AIMS	Vera	212	110	158	97	66	119	0.066038	0.409091	0.329114	0.072165	0.636364	0.193277
AIMS	Felicia	208	93	158	87	69	64	0.067308	0.236559	0.392405	0.149425	0.42029	0.3125
AIMS	Harriet	*	160	183	177	169	104	0	0.25625	0.043716	0.242938	0.218935	0.115385
AIMS	Betty	*	*	109	65	*	*	0	0	0.100917	0.015385	0	0
AIMS	Lucy	267	173	179	139	113	191	0.209738	0.277457	0.351955	0.028777	0.221239	0.078534
AIMS	Jackie	194	67	179	*	73	101	0	0.208955	0.340782	0	0.027397	0.326733
AIMS	Margaret	69	42	32	59	19	45	0.043478	0.238095	0.28125	0.135593	0.157895	0.488889
AIMS	Peg	*	*	128	211	169	*	0	0	0.023438	0.066351	0.254438	0
AIMS	Daisy	*	84	108	27	53	45	0	0.011905	0.018519	0.111111	0.132075	0.066667
AIMS	Emma	*	*	*	47	69	76	0	0	0	0.021277	0.057971	0.157895

Table 24: Longitudinal Data

Year	Subject	Total /r/	Total KIT	Total GOAT	Total FLEECE	Total FACE	Total PRICE	Propn AusE /r/	Propn AusE KIT	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn AusE FLEECE	Propn AusE FACE	Propn AusE PRICE
1974	Betty	*	*	43	*	*	*	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974	Lucy	9	9	10	13	8	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
1981	Betty	*	*	22	*	*	*	0	0	0	0	0	0
1981	Lucy	36	24	33	45	34	30	0.222222	0.666667	0.272727	0.022222	0.441176	0.366667
1988	Betty	*	*	116	*	*	*	0	0	0.103448	0	0	0
1988	Lucy	114	52	65	51	72	70	0.438596	0.326923	0.446154	0.019608	0.375	0.185714
1988	Margaret	74	35	39	38	50	52	0.121622	0.257143	0.25641	0.026316	0.06	0.307692
1988	Peg	*	*	48	102	70	*	1	0	0.041667	0.147059	0.242857	0
1988	Tim	*	*	*	*	*	*	0	0	0	0	0	0
1988	Jim	*	*	*	*	*	*	0	0	0	0	0	0
1999	Betty	*	*	151	*	*	*	0	0	0.139073	0	0	0
1999	Lucy	240	100	173	229	158	136	0.258333	0.33	0.450867	0.008734	0.455696	0.125
2000	Carrie	383	209	239	164	151	159	0.114883	0.258373	0.39749	0.097561	0.370861	0.264151
2000	Harriet	*	269	285	280	290	232	0	0.312268	0.031579	0.185714	0.237931	0.060345

Table 25: Lucy and Betty, Data with both Interviewers for 1999

Interviewer	Subject	Total /r/	Total KIT	Total GOAT	Total FLEECE	Total FACE	Total PRICE	Propn AusE /r/	Propn AusE KIT	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn AusE FLEECE	Propn AusE FACE	Propn AusE PRICE
CI99	Betty	*	*	92	*	*	*	0	0	0.119565	0	0	0
CI99	Lucy	99	40	86	57	75	66	0.292929	0.475	0.488372	0.017544	0.386667	0.090909
AI99	Betty	*	*	59	*	*	*	0	0	0.169492	0	0	0
AI99	Lucy	141	60	87	172	83	70	0.234043	0.233333	0.413793	0.005814	0.518072	0.157143

Table 26: Betty - Fronted GOAT Vowel

Year	Interviewer	Subject	Propn AusE GOAT	Propn Fronted GOAT	Total GOAT
1974	n/a	Betty	0	0	43
1981	n/a	Betty	0	0.045455	22
1988	AI88	Betty	0.103448	0.146552	116
1999	CI99	Betty	0.119565	0.086957	92
1999	AI99	Betty	0.169492	0.067797	59
1999	Pooled	Betty	0.139073	0.07947	151
2001	CIMS	Betty	0.123077	0.076923	65
2001	AIMS	Betty	0.100917	0.110092	109
2001	Pooled	Betty	0.109195	0.097701	174

Table 27: Grammatical Categories of Words Realized in AusE Form in the Corpus

Year	Interviewer*	Subject	adjective	adverb	noun	pronoun	prep*	u.m.*	verb	qualifier
2001	CIMS	Carrie	16	5	42	12	6	34	40	0
2001	AIMS	Carrie	27	8	75	21	9	41	45	5
2001	CIMS	Jackie	6	4	24	1	0	34	15	2
2001	AIMS	Jackie	4	2	17	2	7	56	21	3
2001	CIMS	Daisy	6	0	5	0	0	0	2	0
2001	AIMS	Daisy	3	1	3	0	0	3	5	0
2001	CIMS	Emma	4	0	10	0	0	6	3	0
2001	AIMS	Emma	2	0	4	2	0	3	3	0
2001	CIMS	Betty	0	0	3	1	1	9	2	0
2001	AIMS	Betty	0	0	5	1	1	14	5	3
2001	CIMS	Harriet	11	2	49	3	2	13	31	0
2001	AIMS	Harriet	22	0	72	9	2	10	31	1
2001	CIMS	Lucy	29	6	44	26	15	49	54	2
2001	AIMS	Lucy	25	0	39	20	8	54	60	3
1999	CIMS	Margaret	14	4	28	2	8	22	29	1
1999	AIMS	Margaret	7	5	19	6	2	3	11	2
2001	CIMS	Vera	33	8	109	16	1	51	85	3
2001	AIMS	Vera	34	5	68	5	3	31	32	6
2001	CIMS	Felicia	39	3	62	20	6	64	53	5
2001	AIMS	Felicia	19	3	36	11	5	47	36	3
1999	CIMS	Peg	1	0	14	2	3	7	15	0
1999	AIMS	Peg	2	0	15	16	2	2	22	0
2000	CIMS	Sharon	14	2	35	6	1	10	16	1
2000	AIMS	Sharon	26	3	104	17	12	24	56	0
2000	CI/AI00	Harriet	30	2	89	12	2	19	74	0
2000	CI00	Carrie	27	8	99	14	8	68	93	4
1999	CI99	Betty	4	2	1	0	0	11	4	0
1999	AI99	Betty	3	0	4	1	0	11	3	0
1999	CI99	Lucy	12	1	31	10	2	35	37	1

Year	Interviewer*	Subject	adjective	adverb	noun	pronoun	prep*	u.m.*	verb	qualifier
1999	AI99	Lucy	15	0	36	28	12	12	42	1
1988	AI88	Betty	4	1	1	3	0	12	9	0
1988	AI88	Lucy	11	8	41	14	7	35	22	1
1988	AI88	Peg	1	0	6	10	0	4	13	0
1988	AI88	Margaret	7	1	24	3	0	3	10	0
TOTALS			458	84	1214	294	125	95	797	48
			11.46%	2.10%	30.37%	7.35%	3.13%	2.39%	19.93%	1.18%

CIMS stands for the Canadian Interviewer in the main study, AIMS stands for the Australian Interviewer in the 2000 interview, CI/AI00 stands for the Canadian and Australian interviewers in the 2000 interview (joint interview), CI99 stands for the Canadian interviewer in the 1999 interview, AI99 stands for the Australian interviewer in the 1999 interview. AI88 stands for the Australian interviewer in the 1988 interview. U.m. stands for utterance modifier, prep stands for preposition.

11.3.1 Statistical Tables for Binary Logistic Regression

The following tables give the figures for the binary logistic regressions performed for each variable in each data set. The statistical significance of each social variable according to this test can be found in the column labelled *Sig.* The social variables are entered into the test as co-variates and then the process of regression eliminates social variables which are not highly correlated with the dependent variable (in this case, one of the linguistic variables). Backward elimination is defined by SPSS 11.0 as, "a variable selection procedure in which all variables are entered into the equation and then sequentially removed. The variable with the smallest partial correlation with the dependent variable is considered first for removal. If it meets the criterion for elimination, it is removed. After the first variable is removed, the variable remaining in the equation with the smallest partial correlation is considered next. The procedure stops when there are no variables in the equation that satisfy the removal criteria."

Each linguistic variable in each data set was subjected to four tests. In Test 1, all social variables were included as co-variates for the regression. In Test 2, WORK DIALECT, social club and gender were removed from the set of co-variates (leaving HOME DIALECT, Length of Stay, SOCNET, AOA and Interviewer in the co-variates set). In Test 3, AOA was removed from the co-variates set to avoid any confounding effects it might have on LOR. In Test 4, AOA was restored to the co-variates set and LOR was removed in order to have a clearer view of the effects of AOA alone.

HOME DIALECT: HD stands for HOME DIALECT. AusE is coded as 1, Mixed as 2 and NaE (some variety of North American English) as 0.
WORK DIALECT: WD stands for WORK DIALECT. AusE is coded as 1, Mixed as 2 and Not Applicable (subject unemployed) as 0. INTERVIEWER: For the Methodology Data Set, CIMS is coded as 1, AIMS is coded as 0.
For the Longitudinal data set, CIMS is coded as 1, AIMS is coded as 2, CI99 is coded as 3, AI99 as 4 and AI88 as 0.
SOCIAL CLUB: SC stands for social club. Non-members are coded as 1, Members as 2.
GENDER: Female is coded as 1, male as 2.
LENGTH OF STAY: LOS stands for Length of Stay.
INT: INT stands for INTERVIEWER
df: stands for DfBeta, which measures the influence of cases on predicted values.
exp(B): stands for estimated odds ratio. This is the value by the which the odds of the event change when the independent variable increases by one unit.
B: stands for the coefficient of backward elimination. This is the estimate of the change in the dependent variable that can be attributed to a change in one unit in the independent variable. Positive numbers in this column indicate a positive correlation and negative numbers in this column indicate a negative correlation.
Wald: stands for the Wald statistic.
S.E.: stands for standard error of B.

11.3.1.1 Non-prevocalic /r/, Methodology Data Set

Test 1 (all social variables):
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.021	2	.989	
	HD(1)	25.137	186.758	.018	1	.893	82579176247.378
	HD(2)	12.931	282.492	.002	1	.963	412984.855
	AOA	-.272	.251	1.182	1	.277	.762
	SOCNET	1.204	1.729	.485	1	.486	3.334

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	LOS	-.022	.073	.095	1	.758	.978
	INT(1)	.871	1.344	.420	1	.517	2.390
	GENDER(1)	12.076	115.466	.011	1	.917	175547.238
	WORK_DIA			.007	2	.997	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-9.717	126.509	.006	1	.939	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	1.913	398.181	.000	1	.996	6.776
	SC(1)	23.932	204.314	.014	1	.907	24758974074.954
	Constant	-44.679	272.047	.027	1	.870	.000
Step 2	HD			.020	2	.990	
	HD(1)	24.795	192.676	.017	1	.898	58687644442.993
	HD(2)	12.524	281.133	.002	1	.964	274721.052
	AOA	-.277	.269	1.061	1	.303	.758
	SOCNET	1.242	1.803	.475	1	.491	3.464
	INT(1)	.859	1.334	.415	1	.519	2.361
	GENDER(1)	11.863	121.662	.010	1	.922	141907.812
	WORK_DIA			.006	2	.997	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-9.484	126.106	.006	1	.940	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	2.058	426.229	.000	1	.996	7.829
	SC(1)	24.111	201.093	.014	1	.905	29588231847.759
	Constant	-44.785	276.643	.026	1	.871	.000
Step 3	HD			.019	2	.990	
	HD(1)	24.536	194.104	.016	1	.899	45293350351.764
	HD(2)	12.342	283.612	.002	1	.965	229216.817
	AOA	-.268	.260	1.063	1	.303	.765
	SOCNET	1.204	1.754	.471	1	.492	3.335
	GENDER(1)	11.759	122.864	.009	1	.924	127850.160
	WORK_DIA			.006	2	.997	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-9.439	127.039	.006	1	.941	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	2.013	422.937	.000	1	.996	7.483
	SC(1)	23.879	202.728	.014	1	.906	23479309845.308
	Constant	-44.019	278.942	.025	1	.875	.000
Step 4	HD			.021	2	.990	
	HD(1)	18.266	144.720	.016	1	.900	85662606.940
	HD(2)	5.926	224.746	.001	1	.979	374.521
	AOA	-.410	.283	2.102	1	.147	.664
	SOCNET	2.122	1.711	1.539	1	.215	8.350
	GENDER(1)	12.198	110.486	.017	1	.912	198304.399
	SC(1)	17.579	166.964	.011	1	.916	43107673.143
	Constant	-37.763	247.025	.023	1	.879	.000
Step 5	HD			.011	2	.995	
	HD(1)	12.215	150.293	.007	1	.935	201759.965
	HD(2)	.422	236.761	.000	1	.999	1.525
	AOA	-.230	.156	2.168	1	.141	.794
	GENDER(1)	12.282	116.864	.011	1	.916	215697.739
	SC(1)	12.724	187.496	.005	1	.946	335806.112
	Constant	-30.662	267.219	.013	1	.909	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, AOA, SOCNET, LOS, INT, GENDER, WORK_DIA, SC.

Test 2 (WORK DIALECT, gender and Social Club excluded):
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.040	2	.980	
	HD(1)	9.264	63.469	.021	1	.884	10553.029
	HD(2)	-.728	96.518	.000	1	.994	.483
	AOA	-.184	.097	3.629	1	.057	.832
	SOCNET	-.597	.488	1.496	1	.221	.550
	LOS	.078	.052	2.239	1	.135	1.081
	INT(1)	.429	.931	.212	1	.645	1.535
	Constant	-6.263	63.535	.010	1	.921	.002
Step 2	HD			.040	2	.980	
	HD(1)	9.253	63.652	.021	1	.884	10435.579
	HD(2)	-.728	96.783	.000	1	.994	.483
	AOA	-.183	.096	3.610	1	.057	.833
	SOCNET	-.593	.486	1.487	1	.223	.553
	LOS	.077	.052	2.229	1	.135	1.080
	Constant	-6.061	63.716	.009	1	.924	.002
Step 3	HD			.041	2	.980	
	HD(1)	9.274	66.351	.020	1	.889	10662.329
	HD(2)	-1.150	97.327	.000	1	.991	.317
	AOA	-.200	.097	4.239	1	.040	.819
	LOS	.052	.044	1.436	1	.231	1.054
	Constant	-5.718	66.403	.007	1	.931	.003
Step 4	HD			.046	2	.977	
	HD(1)	9.660	66.085	.021	1	.884	15679.650
	HD(2)	-1.271	96.197	.000	1	.989	.281
	AOA	-.211	.085	6.125	1	.013	.810
	Constant	-4.933	66.119	.006	1	.941	.007

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, AOA, SOCNET, LOS, INT.

Test 3 (WORK DIALECT, gender, AOA and Social Club excluded):
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.049	2	.976	
	HD(1)	10.287	64.482	.025	1	.873	29351.153
	HD(2)	-.404	95.434	.000	1	.997	.667
	SOCNET	-.691	.441	2.451	1	.117	.501
	INT(1)	.349	.839	.173	1	.677	1.418
	LOS	.116	.048	5.754	1	.016	1.123
	Constant	-12.389	64.490	.037	1	.848	.000
Step 2	HD			.048	2	.976	
	HD(1)	10.274	64.618	.025	1	.874	28970.436
	HD(2)	-.403	95.628	.000	1	.997	.668
	SOCNET	-.687	.440	2.441	1	.118	.503
	LOS	.115	.048	5.740	1	.017	1.122
	Constant	-12.190	64.623	.036	1	.850	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS.

Test 4 (WORK DIALECT, gender, LOR and Social Club excluded):
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.042	2	.979	
	HD(1)	9.396	66.658	.020	1	.888	12034.845

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	HD(2)	-1.242	97.466	.000	1	.990	.289
	SOCNET	-.343	.375	.839	1	.360	.710
	INT(1)	.398	.898	.197	1	.657	1.489
	AOA	-.203	.082	6.143	1	.013	.816
	Constant	-4.764	66.695	.005	1	.943	.009
Step 2	HD			.042	2	.979	
	HD(1)	9.390	66.818	.020	1	.888	11969.316
	HD(2)	-1.230	97.711	.000	1	.990	.292
	SOCNET	-.340	.373	.831	1	.362	.711
	AOA	-.202	.081	6.128	1	.013	.817
	Constant	-4.595	66.853	.005	1	.945	.010
Step 3	HD			.046	2	.977	
	HD(1)	9.660	66.085	.021	1	.884	15679.650
	HD(2)	-1.271	96.197	.000	1	.989	.281
	AOA	-.211	.085	6.125	1	.013	.810
	Constant	-4.933	66.119	.006	1	.941	.007

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA.

11.3.1.2 KIT, Methodology Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.049	2	.976	
	HD(1)	21.298	123.365	.030	1	.863	1775861297.053
	HD(2)	-1.289	203.385	.000	1	.995	.276
	AOA	-.902	1.133	.634	1	.426	.406
	SOCNET	-1.675	1.053	2.530	1	.112	.187
	LOS	-.246	.271	.822	1	.365	.782
	INT(1)	-.870	1.353	.414	1	.520	.419
	GENDER(1)	21.958	101.456	.047	1	.829	3438921279.865
	WD			1.408	2	.495	
	WD(1)	-5.746	4.843	1.408	1	.235	.003
	WD(2)	25.057	549.054	.002	1	.964	76217377399.650
	SC(1)	.454	2.349	.037	1	.847	1.574
	Constant	-7.346	159.141	.002	1	.963	.001
Step 2	HD			.042	2	.979	
	HD(1)	19.783	124.675	.025	1	.874	390680358.424
	HD(2)	-1.309	203.953	.000	1	.995	.270
	AOA	-.783	.806	.942	1	.332	.457
	SOCNET	-1.733	.985	3.096	1	.078	.177
	LOS	-.222	.206	1.163	1	.281	.801
	INT(1)	-.872	1.355	.415	1	.520	.418
	GENDER(1)	20.619	100.468	.042	1	.837	901277962.035
	WD			1.709	2	.425	
	WD(1)	-5.472	4.187	1.708	1	.191	.004
	WD(2)	22.618	548.056	.002	1	.967	6648648342.606
	Constant	-8.042	159.957	.003	1	.960	.000
Step 3	HD			.040	2	.980	
	HD(1)	19.488	125.646	.024	1	.877	290720889.246
	HD(2)	-1.289	205.635	.000	1	.995	.276
	AOA	-.763	.795	.921	1	.337	.466
	SOCNET	-1.680	.961	3.053	1	.081	.186
	LOS	-.217	.204	1.132	1	.287	.805
	GENDER(1)	20.269	101.189	.040	1	.841	635000947.241

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	WD			1.675	2	.433	
	WD(1)	-5.326	4.117	1.674	1	.196	.005
	WD(2)	22.186	551.513	.002	1	.968	4316678721.172
	Constant	-8.643	161.169	.003	1	.957	.000
Step 4	HD			.035	2	.983	
	HD(1)	14.762	130.192	.013	1	.910	2576989.753
	HD(2)	-6.195	192.367	.001	1	.974	.002
	AOA	-.790	.534	2.190	1	.139	.454
	SOCNET	-.805	.519	2.408	1	.121	.447
	LOS	-.073	.090	.656	1	.418	.930
	GENDER(1)	18.214	99.641	.033	1	.855	81355748.898
	Constant	-8.789	163.957	.003	1	.957	.000
Step 5	HD			.045	2	.978	
	HD(1)	11.178	85.754	.017	1	.896	71534.808
	HD(2)	-4.542	126.804	.001	1	.971	.011
	AOA	-.512	.323	2.510	1	.113	.599
	SOCNET	-.779	.515	2.282	1	.131	.459
	GENDER(1)	14.003	65.414	.046	1	.830	1205971.543
	Constant	-9.991	107.928	.009	1	.926	.000
Step 6	HD			.046	2	.977	
	HD(1)	12.475	90.373	.019	1	.890	261706.191
	HD(2)	-3.416	132.722	.001	1	.979	.033
	AOA	-.467	.278	2.811	1	.094	.627
	GENDER(1)	12.831	66.180	.038	1	.846	373630.640
	Constant	-12.266	112.066	.012	1	.913	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, AOA, SOCNET, LOS, INT, GENDER, WD, SC.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.047	2	.977	
	HD(1)	10.032	63.546	.025	1	.875	22750.790
	HD(2)	-.807	96.474	.000	1	.993	.446
	AOA	-.199	.110	3.268	1	.071	.820
	SOCNET	-.583	.416	1.962	1	.161	.558
	LOS	.076	.050	2.303	1	.129	1.079
	INT(1)	-.402	.901	.199	1	.656	.669
	Constant	-5.405	63.625	.007	1	.932	.004
Step 2	HD			.047	2	.977	
	HD(1)	10.016	63.708	.025	1	.875	22379.463
	HD(2)	-.807	96.710	.000	1	.993	.446
	AOA	-.197	.109	3.258	1	.071	.821
	SOCNET	-.579	.415	1.948	1	.163	.561
	LOS	.075	.050	2.291	1	.130	1.078
	Constant	-5.620	63.785	.008	1	.930	.004
Step 3	HD			.048	2	.976	
	HD(1)	9.997	66.236	.023	1	.880	21961.654
	HD(2)	-1.233	96.828	.000	1	.990	.291
	AOA	-.213	.110	3.749	1	.053	.808
	LOS	.054	.044	1.505	1	.220	1.056
	Constant	-5.381	66.300	.007	1	.935	.005
Step 4	HD			.053	2	.974	
	HD(1)	10.375	65.993	.025	1	.875	32062.214

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	HD(2)	-1.346	95.879	.000	1	.989	.260
	AOA	-.221	.099	5.038	1	.025	.801
	Constant	-4.671	66.039	.005	1	.944	.009

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, AOA, SOCNET, LOS, INT.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.054	2	.974	
	HD(1)	10.949	65.212	.028	1	.867	56892.010
	HD(2)	-.378	96.406	.000	1	.997	.685
	SOCNET	-.651	.391	2.777	1	.096	.522
	INT(1)	-.339	.827	.168	1	.682	.712
	LOS	.104	.043	5.893	1	.015	1.110
	Constant	-11.841	65.215	.033	1	.856	.000
Step 2	HD			.053	2	.974	
	HD(1)	10.933	65.340	.028	1	.867	56017.580
	HD(2)	-.376	96.592	.000	1	.997	.686
	SOCNET	-.647	.389	2.765	1	.096	.523
	LOS	.104	.043	5.881	1	.015	1.109
	Constant	-11.989	65.343	.034	1	.854	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.049	2	.976	
	HD(1)	10.100	66.443	.023	1	.879	24346.987
	HD(2)	-1.337	96.975	.000	1	.989	.263
	AOA	-.217	.097	5.023	1	.025	.805
	SOCNET	-.399	.336	1.412	1	.235	.671
	INT(1)	-.371	.865	.184	1	.668	.690
	Constant	-3.918	66.497	.003	1	.953	.020
Step 2	HD			.049	2	.976	
	HD(1)	10.091	66.582	.023	1	.880	24115.389
	HD(2)	-1.327	97.189	.000	1	.989	.265
	AOA	-.215	.096	5.005	1	.025	.806
	SOCNET	-.396	.335	1.402	1	.236	.673
	Constant	-4.131	66.633	.004	1	.951	.016
Step 3	HD			.053	2	.974	
	HD(1)	10.375	65.993	.025	1	.875	32062.214
	HD(2)	-1.346	95.879	.000	1	.989	.260
	AOA	-.221	.099	5.038	1	.025	.801
	Constant	-4.671	66.039	.005	1	.944	.009

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, AOA, SOCNET, INT.

11.3.1.3 GOAT, Methodology Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			1.763	2	.414	
	HD(1)	8.015	98.350	.007	1	.935	3025.124
	HD(2)	6.032	98.363	.004	1	.951	416.451

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	AOA	-.107	.161	.441	1	.507	.899
	SOCNET	-.528	.736	.514	1	.473	.590
	LOS	.141	.079	3.186	1	.074	1.151
	INT(1)	-.650	1.160	.315	1	.575	.522
	GENDER(1)	12.644	87.317	.021	1	.885	309954.987
	WORK_DIA			.320	2	.852	
	WORK_DIA(1)	1.345	2.389	.317	1	.574	3.836
	WORK_DIA(2)	5.949	87.415	.005	1	.946	383.526
	SC(1)	1.558	1.479	1.109	1	.292	4.747
	Constant	-20.077	131.569	.023	1	.879	.000
Step 2	HD			1.757	2	.415	
	HD(1)	9.026	96.600	.009	1	.926	8320.146
	HD(2)	7.275	96.602	.006	1	.940	1443.461
	AOA	-.109	.149	.538	1	.463	.897
	SOCNET	-.730	.672	1.180	1	.277	.482
	LOS	.117	.061	3.652	1	.056	1.125
	INT(1)	-.642	1.151	.311	1	.577	.526
	GENDER(1)	12.127	76.150	.025	1	.873	184742.460
	SC(1)	1.551	1.446	1.151	1	.283	4.715
	Constant	-18.919	123.051	.024	1	.878	.000
Step 3	HD			1.733	2	.420	
	HD(1)	9.009	97.104	.009	1	.926	8174.049
	HD(2)	7.288	97.105	.006	1	.940	1462.070
	AOA	-.108	.147	.533	1	.465	.898
	SOCNET	-.718	.665	1.166	1	.280	.488
	LOS	.115	.061	3.628	1	.057	1.122
	GENDER(1)	12.062	76.568	.025	1	.875	173094.092
	SC(1)	1.529	1.429	1.144	1	.285	4.612
	Constant	-19.182	123.704	.024	1	.877	.000
Step 4	HD			1.744	2	.418	
	HD(1)	9.560	95.062	.010	1	.920	14192.639
	HD(2)	7.770	95.069	.007	1	.935	2368.934
	SOCNET	-.717	.659	1.186	1	.276	.488
	LOS	.126	.060	4.414	1	.036	1.134
	GENDER(1)	12.382	77.549	.025	1	.873	238460.002
	SC(1)	1.440	1.425	1.021	1	.312	4.219
	Constant	-22.967	122.666	.035	1	.851	.000
Step 5	HD			1.559	2	.459	
	HD(1)	10.503	91.412	.013	1	.909	36414.017
	HD(2)	8.942	91.415	.010	1	.922	7645.208
	SOCNET	-1.054	.590	3.189	1	.074	.349
	LOS	.129	.055	5.461	1	.019	1.137
	GENDER(1)	12.246	74.583	.027	1	.870	208215.973
	Constant	-22.512	117.971	.036	1	.849	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, AOA, SOCNET, LOS, INT, GENDER, WORK_DIA, SC.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			2.933	2	.231	
	HD(1)	9.928	37.020	.072	1	.789	20493.903
	HD(2)	8.186	37.025	.049	1	.825	3590.064
	AOA	-.154	.097	2.535	1	.111	.857
	SOCNET	-.655	.405	2.615	1	.106	.519

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	LOS	.137	.049	7.768	1	.005	1.147
	INT(1)	-.358	.850	.178	1	.673	.699
	Constant	-6.948	37.106	.035	1	.851	.001
Step 2	HD			2.922	2	.232	
	HD(1)	9.906	37.091	.071	1	.789	20058.851
	HD(2)	8.175	37.096	.049	1	.826	3551.360
	AOA	-.154	.097	2.527	1	.112	.858
	SOCNET	-.652	.404	2.602	1	.107	.521
	LOS	.136	.049	7.758	1	.005	1.146
	Constant	-7.117	37.175	.037	1	.848	.001

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, AOA, SOCNET, LOS, INT.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			3.914	2	.141	
	HD(1)	10.387	38.456	.073	1	.787	32444.726
	HD(2)	8.278	38.462	.046	1	.830	3935.088
	SOCNET	-.587	.368	2.544	1	.111	.556
	LOS	.140	.044	10.317	1	.001	1.150
	INT(1)	-.331	.817	.164	1	.685	.718
	Constant	-11.536	38.463	.090	1	.764	.000
Step 2	HD			3.906	2	.142	
	HD(1)	10.369	38.523	.072	1	.788	31852.369
	HD(2)	8.269	38.529	.046	1	.830	3902.519
	SOCNET	-.584	.367	2.533	1	.112	.558
	LOS	.139	.043	10.321	1	.001	1.149
	Constant	-11.676	38.529	.092	1	.762	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, LOS, INT.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			3.738	2	.154	
	HD(1)	9.609	41.490	.054	1	.817	14900.544
	HD(2)	7.852	41.496	.036	1	.850	2569.890
	SOCNET	-.421	.300	1.965	1	.161	.656
	INT(1)	-.264	.728	.131	1	.717	.768
	AOA	-.140	.062	5.144	1	.023	.870
	Constant	-5.154	41.531	.015	1	.901	.006
Step 2	HD			3.728	2	.155	
	HD(1)	9.603	41.539	.053	1	.817	14815.853
	HD(2)	7.852	41.545	.036	1	.850	2570.408
	SOCNET	-.420	.300	1.959	1	.162	.657
	AOA	-.139	.061	5.133	1	.023	.870
	Constant	-5.295	41.579	.016	1	.899	.005
Step 3	HD			3.895	2	.143	
	HD(1)	9.810	41.782	.055	1	.814	18218.451
	HD(2)	8.002	41.788	.037	1	.848	2988.126
	AOA	-.130	.059	4.897	1	.027	.878
	Constant	-6.176	41.811	.022	1	.883	.002

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA.

11.3.1.4 FLEECE, Methodology Data Set

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.000	2	1.000	
	HD(1)	-25.391	10204.187	.000	1	.998	.000
	HD(2)	-67.952	14412.358	.000	1	.996	.000
	SOCNET	-10.155	2335.083	.000	1	.997	.000
	INT(1)	-31.029	3308.178	.000	1	.993	.000
	LOS	9.297	746.998	.000	1	.990	10907.995
	GENDER(1)	159.175	13138.094	.000	1	.990	1.345107372230285
	WORK_DIA			.000	2	1.000	
	WORK_DIA(1)	144.035	12912.266	.000	1	.991	3.579484592459424
	WORK_DIA(2)	191.731	30777.019	.000	1	.995	1.851429462614396
	SC(1)	69.066	6908.597	.000	1	.992	9885730583223810000
	AOA	8.098	697.879	.000	1	.991	3287.660
	Constant	-587.733	47518.786	.000	1	.990	.000
Step 2	HD			.000	2	1.000	
	HD(1)	-3.626	11313.535	.000	1	1.000	.027
	HD(2)	-59.569	15504.539	.000	1	.997	.000
	INT(1)	-30.564	2969.208	.000	1	.992	.000
	LOS	10.820	763.301	.000	1	.989	49993.451
	GENDER(1)	191.533	14859.359	.000	1	.990	1.519578794174126
	WORK_DIA			.000	2	1.000	
	WORK_DIA(1)	194.620	13851.698	.000	1	.989	3.331259382912224
	WORK_DIA(2)	225.350	29489.123	.000	1	.994	7.386863213476920
	SC(1)	96.429	7000.063	.000	1	.989	7.561901916652100
	AOA	10.167	758.813	.000	1	.989	26021.214
	Constant	-772.835	53897.582	.000	1	.989	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS, GENDER, WORK_DIA, SC, AOA.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			3.357	2	.187	
	HD(1)	10.540	36.506	.083	1	.773	37816.410
	HD(2)	8.305	36.509	.052	1	.820	4043.485
	SOCNET	-.716	.446	2.583	1	.108	.489
	INT(1)	-.413	.915	.204	1	.651	.661
	LOS	.179	.055	10.519	1	.001	1.197
	AOA	-.062	.094	.430	1	.512	.940
	Constant	-10.519	36.620	.083	1	.774	.000
Step 2	HD			3.349	2	.187	
	HD(1)	10.507	36.594	.082	1	.774	36559.331
	HD(2)	8.288	36.597	.051	1	.821	3973.907
	SOCNET	-.711	.444	2.566	1	.109	.491
	LOS	.178	.055	10.544	1	.001	1.195
	AOA	-.062	.094	.430	1	.512	.940
	Constant	-10.685	36.706	.085	1	.771	.000
Step 3	HD			4.248	2	.120	

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	HD(1)	10.721	36.846	.085	1	.771	45313.491
	HD(2)	8.249	36.850	.050	1	.823	3825.692
	SOCNET	-.698	.433	2.596	1	.107	.497
	LOS	.185	.054	11.887	1	.001	1.204
	Constant	-12.622	36.858	.117	1	.732	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS, AOA.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			4.255	2	.119	
	HD(1)	10.755	36.755	.086	1	.770	46885.113
	HD(2)	8.266	36.759	.051	1	.822	3889.219
	SOCNET	-.704	.435	2.614	1	.106	.495
	INT(1)	-.412	.913	.203	1	.652	.663
	LOS	.187	.054	11.845	1	.001	1.205
	Constant	-12.465	36.768	.115	1	.735	.000
Step 2	HD			4.248	2	.120	
	HD(1)	10.721	36.846	.085	1	.771	45313.491
	HD(2)	8.249	36.850	.050	1	.823	3825.692
	SOCNET	-.698	.433	2.596	1	.107	.497
	LOS	.185	.054	11.887	1	.001	1.204
	Constant	-12.622	36.858	.117	1	.732	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			3.908	2	.142	
	HD(1)	9.781	42.253	.054	1	.817	17694.265
	HD(2)	8.040	42.259	.036	1	.849	3103.756
	SOCNET	-.390	.288	1.829	1	.176	.677
	INT(1)	-.246	.703	.123	1	.726	.782
	AOA	-.100	.054	3.372	1	.066	.905
	Constant	-6.408	42.286	.023	1	.880	.002
Step 2	HD			3.899	2	.142	
	HD(1)	9.776	42.298	.053	1	.817	17605.551
	HD(2)	8.041	42.304	.036	1	.849	3104.755
	SOCNET	-.388	.288	1.823	1	.177	.678
	AOA	-.099	.054	3.364	1	.067	.905
	Constant	-6.536	42.330	.024	1	.877	.001
Step 3	HD			4.139	2	.126	
	HD(1)	9.948	42.659	.054	1	.816	20902.691
	HD(2)	8.155	42.665	.037	1	.848	3480.222
	AOA	-.093	.052	3.219	1	.073	.911
	Constant	-7.251	42.683	.029	1	.865	.001

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA.

11.3.1.5 FACE, Methodology Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			1.920	2	.383	
	HD(1)	20.966	165.140	.016	1	.899	1274269307.129
	HD(2)	19.085	165.139	.013	1	.908	194314857.857
	SOCNET	-2.025	1.357	2.226	1	.136	.132
	INT(1)	.000	1.254	.000	1	1.000	1.000
	AOA	-.256	.246	1.086	1	.297	.774
	GENDER(1)	22.917	127.557	.032	1	.857	8968360534.170
	WORK_DIA			.022	2	.989	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-12.525	84.518	.022	1	.882	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	-.352	441.151	.000	1	.999	.703
	SC(1)	1.514	2.266	.446	1	.504	4.545
	LOS	.055	.068	.643	1	.423	1.056
	Constant	-23.579	190.857	.015	1	.902	.000
Step 2	HD			1.920	2	.383	
	HD(1)	20.966	165.140	.016	1	.899	1274269307.094
	HD(2)	19.085	165.139	.013	1	.908	194314857.852
	SOCNET	-2.025	1.357	2.226	1	.136	.132
	AOA	-.256	.246	1.086	1	.297	.774
	GENDER(1)	22.917	127.557	.032	1	.857	8968360534.040
	WORK_DIA			.022	2	.989	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-12.525	84.518	.022	1	.882	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	-.352	441.151	.000	1	.999	.703
	[illegible]1)	1.514	2.266	.446	1	.504	4.545
	[illegible]3	055	.068	.643	1	.423	1.056
	Constant	-23.579	190.856	.015	1	.902	.000
Step 3	HD			1.941	2	.379	
	HD(1)	20.630	166.937	.015	1	.902	911109432.247
	HD(2)	18.842	166.942	.013	1	.910	152425855.102
	SOCNET	-1.989	1.165	2.913	1	.088	.137
	AOA	-.178	.145	1.520	1	.218	.837
	GENDER(1)	21.890	128.709	.029	1	.865	3213013415.327
	WORK_DIA			.017	2	.991	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-11.156	85.361	.017	1	.896	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	.079	447.606	.000	1	1.000	1.082
	LOS	.071	.063	1.259	1	.262	1.073
	Constant	-24.735	192.808	.016	1	.898	.000
Step 4	HD			3.151	2	.207	
	HD(1)	22.319	172.110	.017	1	.897	4929826276.832
	HD(2)	20.127	172.115	.014	1	.907	551008172.288
	SOCNET	-1.930	1.023	3.556	1	.059	.145
	AOA	-.195	.125	2.433	1	.119	.823
	GENDER(1)	21.730	130.269	.028	1	.868	2737389889.496
	WORK_DIA			.020	2	.990	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-12.170	86.617	.020	1	.888	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	-1.308	409.634	.000	1	.997	.270
	Constant	-23.740	197.761	.014	1	.904	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA, GENDER, WORK_DIA, SC, LOS.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			3.695	2	.158	
	HD(1)	10.063	36.892	.074	1	.785	23468.279
	HD(2)	8.108	36.897	.048	1	.826	3321.038
	SOCNET	-.632	.389	2.632	1	.105	.532
	INT(1)	.000	.856	.000	1	1.000	1.000
	AOA	-.180	.100	3.215	1	.073	.836
	LOS	.136	.051	7.057	1	.008	1.145
	Constant	-6.365	36.978	.030	1	.863	.002
Step 2	HD			3.695	2	.158	
	HD(1)	10.063	36.892	.074	1	.785	23468.279
	HD(2)	8.108	36.897	.048	1	.826	3321.038
	SOCNET	-.632	.389	2.632	1	.105	.532
	AOA	-.180	.100	3.215	1	.073	.836
	LOS	.136	.051	7.057	1	.008	1.145
	Constant	-6.365	36.976	.030	1	.863	.002

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA, LOS.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			4.534	2	.104	
	HD(1)	10.527	38.779	.074	1	.786	37291.152
	HD(2)	8.267	38.785	.045	1	.831	3891.872
	SOCNET	-.552	.350	2.487	1	.115	.576
	INT(1)	.000	.809	.000	1	1.000	1.000
	LOS	.134	.043	9.758	1	.002	1.143
	Constant	-11.575	38.787	.089	1	.765	.000
Step 2	HD			4.534	2	.104	
	HD(1)	10.527	38.779	.074	1	.786	37291.152
	HD(2)	8.267	38.785	.045	1	.831	3891.872
	SOCNET	-.552	.350	2.487	1	.115	.576
	LOS	.134	.043	9.758	1	.002	1.143
	Constant	-11.575	38.784	.089	1	.765	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			4.384	2	.112	
	HD(1)	9.726	41.284	.055	1	.814	16742.184
	HD(2)	7.785	41.290	.036	1	.850	2404.869
	SOCNET	-.434	.302	2.069	1	.150	.648
	INT(1)	.000	.741	.000	1	1.000	1.000
	AOA	-.154	.066	5.435	1	.020	.857
	Constant	-4.843	41.330	.014	1	.907	.008
Step 2	HD			4.384	2	.112	
	HD(1)	9.726	41.284	.055	1	.814	16742.184
	HD(2)	7.785	41.290	.036	1	.850	2404.869
	SOCNET	-.434	.302	2.069	1	.150	.648
	AOA	-.154	.066	5.435	1	.020	.857
	Constant	-4.843	41.329	.014	1	.907	.008
Step 3	HD			4.471	2	.107	

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	HD(1)	9.935	41.520	.057	1	.811	20644.879
	HD(2)	7.959	41.527	.037	1	.848	2860.208
	AOA	-.141	.062	5.162	1	.023	.868
	Constant	-5.847	41.552	.020	1	.888	.003

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA.

11.3.1.6 PRICE, Methodology Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.000	2	1.000	
	HD(1)	107.195	18356.774	.000	1	.995	3.581075795832261E+46
	HD(2)	37.991	28978.081	.000	1	.999	31567894662304360
	SOCNET	-23.012	3625.503	.000	1	.995	.000
	INT(1)	.000	2813.586	.000	1	1.000	1.000
	AOA	-3.594	370.385	.000	1	.992	.027
	GENDER(1)	103.359	9773.131	.000	1	.992	7.734701395954510E+4
	WORK_DIA			.000	2	1.000	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-79.421	14834.285	.000	1	.996	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	51.616	38099.504	.000	1	.999	26089160176524740000
	SC(1)	-.857	13345.464	.000	1	1.000	.425
	LOS	-1.931	219.774	.000	1	.993	.145
	Constant	28.850	22267.139	.000	1	.999	3382224977280.921
Step 2	HD			.000	2	1.000	
	HD(1)	107.195	18356.774	.000	1	.995	3.581075795827274E+46
	HD(2)	37.991	28978.081	.000	1	.999	31567894662243570
	SOCNET	-23.012	3625.503	.000	1	.995	.000
	AOA	-3.594	370.385	.000	1	.992	.027
	GENDER(1)	103.359	9773.131	.000	1	.992	7.734701395951760E+4
	WORK_DIA			.000	2	1.000	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-79.421	14834.285	.000	1	.996	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	51.616	38099.504	.000	1	.999	26089160176564040000
	SC(1)	-.857	13345.464	.000	1	1.000	.425
	LOS	-1.931	219.774	.000	1	.993	.145
	Constant	28.850	22222.655	.000	1	.999	3382224977283.456
Step 3	HD			.000	2	1.000	
	HD(1)	108.066	12843.499	.000	1	.993	8.561691739251190
	HD(2)	39.670	14034.218	.000	1	.998	169275193276237400
	SOCNET	-22.868	3183.923	.000	1	.994	.000
	AOA	-3.588	359.847	.000	1	.992	.028
	GENDER(1)	103.142	9478.482	.000	1	.991	6.220652759024450
	WORK_DIA			.000	2	1.000	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-79.964	11308.455	.000	1	.994	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	49.999	29605.807	.000	1	.999	5180377908511370000
	LOS	-1.930	218.945	.000	1	.993	.145
	Constant	27.556	12213.732	.000	1	.998	927723687255.841

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA, GENDER, WORK_DIA, SC, LOS.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.056	2	.972	
	HD(1)	10.870	61.953	.031	1	.861	52554.599
	HD(2)	-.595	95.057	.000	1	.995	.552
	SOCNET	-.619	.404	2.348	1	.125	.539
	INT(1)	.000	.950	.000	1	1.000	1.000
	AOA	-.176	.115	2.324	1	.127	.839
	LOS	.110	.053	4.262	1	.039	1.116
	Constant	-6.917	62.042	.012	1	.911	.001
Step 2	HD			.056	2	.972	
	HD(1)	10.870	61.953	.031	1	.861	52554.599
	HD(2)	-.595	95.057	.000	1	.995	.552
	SOCNET	-.619	.404	2.348	1	.125	.539
	AOA	-.176	.115	2.324	1	.127	.839
	LOS	.110	.053	4.262	1	.039	1.116
	Constant	-6.917	62.040	.012	1	.911	.001

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA, LOS.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.063	2	.969	
	HD(1)	11.559	63.650	.033	1	.856	104674.893
	HD(2)	-.438	94.158	.000	1	.996	.645
	SOCNET	-.663	.390	2.889	1	.089	.515
	INT(1)	.000	.899	.000	1	1.000	1.000
	LOS	.129	.047	7.610	1	.006	1.137
	Constant	-12.442	63.656	.038	1	.845	.000
Step 2	HD			.063	2	.969	
	HD(1)	11.559	63.650	.033	1	.856	104674.893
	HD(2)	-.438	94.158	.000	1	.996	.645
	SOCNET	-.663	.390	2.889	1	.089	.515
	LOS	.129	.047	7.610	1	.006	1.137
	Constant	-12.442	63.654	.038	1	.845	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.053	2	.974	
	HD(1)	10.649	66.955	.025	1	.874	42142.209
	HD(2)	-1.280	97.702	.000	1	.990	.278
	SOCNET	-.405	.317	1.629	1	.202	.667
	INT(1)	.000	.857	.000	1	1.000	1.000
	AOA	-.210	.102	4.291	1	.038	.810
	Constant	-4.266	67.015	.004	1	.949	.014
Step 2	HD			.053	2	.974	
	HD(1)	10.649	66.955	.025	1	.874	42142.209
	HD(2)	-1.280	97.702	.000	1	.990	.278
	SOCNET	-.405	.317	1.629	1	.202	.667
	AOA	-.210	.102	4.291	1	.038	.810
	Constant	-4.266	67.014	.004	1	.949	.014
Step 3	HD			.056	2	.972	

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	HD(1)	10.893	66.700	.027	1	.870	53806.565
	HD(2)	-1.224	96.959	.000	1	.990	.294
	AOA	-.206	.099	4.306	1	.038	.814
	Constant	-5.085	66.747	.006	1	.939	.006

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA.

11.3.1.7 Non-prevocalic /r/, Longitudinal Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.023	2	.989	
	HD(1)	24.484	179.600	.019	1	.892	43001282742.370
	HD(2)	12.443	258.087	.002	1	.962	253583.343
	WORK_DIA			.007	2	.997	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-9.839	125.253	.006	1	.937	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	2.355	493.356	.000	1	.996	10.540
	SC(1)	23.063	195.673	.014	1	.906	10376051617.283
	AOA	-.369	.232	2.535	1	.111	.691
	SOCNET	.773	1.573	.241	1	.623	2.166
	LOS	-.020	.077	.068	1	.795	.980
	INT			1.065	4	.900	
	INT(1)	.318	1.874	.029	1	.865	1.375
	INT(2)	-.625	1.904	.108	1	.743	.535
	INT(3)	-3.061	4.864	.396	1	.529	.047
	INT(4)	-3.342	5.201	.413	1	.520	.035
	GENDER(1)	12.703	106.165	.014	1	.905	328576.575
	Constant	-40.314	257.240	.025	1	.875	.000
Step 2	HD			.022	2	.989	
	HD(1)	24.163	183.892	.017	1	.895	31189839033.353
	HD(2)	12.066	259.108	.002	1	.963	173777.983
	WORK_DIA			.007	2	.997	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-9.625	123.857	.006	1	.938	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	2.587	506.510	.000	1	.996	13.290
	SC(1)	23.207	192.147	.015	1	.904	11985741306.318
	AOA	-.371	.235	2.495	1	.114	.690
	SOCNET	.810	1.596	.257	1	.612	2.247
	INT			1.105	4	.894	
	INT(1)	.505	1.738	.084	1	.771	1.657
	INT(2)	-.432	1.746	.061	1	.805	.650
	INT(3)	-3.095	4.925	.395	1	.530	.045
	INT(4)	-3.338	5.213	.410	1	.522	.036
	GENDER(1)	12.483	111.457	.013	1	.911	263929.578
	Constant	-40.624	260.522	.024	1	.876	.000
Step 3	HD			.018	2	.991	
	HD(1)	22.193	187.215	.014	1	.906	4346795526.724
	HD(2)	10.561	267.049	.002	1	.968	38608.617
	WORK_DIA			.007	2	.996	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-10.287	124.812	.007	1	.934	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	1.669	473.095	.000	1	.997	5.308
	SC(1)	21.496	197.083	.012	1	.913	2166658394.926
	AOA	-.291	.194	2.246	1	.134	.747
	SOCNET	.049	1.274	.001	1	.969	1.050
	GENDER(1)	12.046	115.954	.011	1	.917	170344.666

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	Constant	-37.846	268.502	.020	1	.888	.000
Step 4	HD			.017	2	.991	
	HD(1)	22.097	187.920	.014	1	.906	3951677005.882
	HD(2)	10.456	268.804	.002	1	.969	34768.832
	WORK_DIA			.007	2	.996	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-10.327	125.535	.007	1	.934	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	1.674	471.649	.000	1	.997	5.336
	SC(1)	21.454	200.353	.011	1	.915	2077250641.761
	AOA	-.288	.167	2.982	1	.084	.750
	GENDER(1)	12.050	116.060	.011	1	.917	171097.570
	Constant	-37.744	271.153	.019	1	.889	.000
Step 5	HD			.028	2	.986	
	HD(1)	11.304	85.321	.018	1	.895	81105.329
	HD(2)	.742	133.273	.000	1	.996	2.100
	SC(1)	11.545	108.818	.011	1	.916	103228.242
	AOA	-.335	.188	3.154	1	.076	.716
	GENDER(1)	11.501	66.157	.030	1	.862	98786.019
	Constant	-25.268	153.307	.027	1	.869	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, WORK_DIA, SC, AOA, SOCNET, LOS, INT, GENDER.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.048	2	.976	
	HD(1)	9.362	58.888	.025	1	.874	11638.382
	HD(2)	-.724	88.764	.000	1	.993	.485
	AOA	-.247	.099	6.246	1	.012	.781
	SOCNET	-.673	.527	1.635	1	.201	.510
	LOS	.089	.056	2.521	1	.112	1.093
	INT			1.116	4	.892	
	INT(1)	.179	1.785	.010	1	.920	1.196
	INT(2)	-.293	1.789	.027	1	.870	.746
	INT(3)	-1.716	2.583	.441	1	.507	.180
	INT(4)	-2.152	3.853	.312	1	.576	.116
	Constant	-4.641	58.979	.006	1	.937	.010
Step 2	HD			.045	2	.978	
	HD(1)	9.195	59.940	.024	1	.878	9845.078
	HD(2)	-.737	89.958	.000	1	.993	.478
	AOA	-.234	.100	5.496	1	.019	.791
	SOCNET	-.646	.516	1.570	1	.210	.524
	LOS	.080	.052	2.378	1	.123	1.083
	Constant	-4.863	60.006	.007	1	.935	.008
Step 3	HD			.048	2	.976	
	HD(1)	9.187	62.755	.021	1	.884	9770.187
	HD(2)	-1.348	90.097	.000	1	.988	.260
	AOA	-.248	.100	6.163	1	.013	.780
	LOS	.054	.043	1.600	1	.206	1.056
	Constant	-4.525	62.809	.005	1	.943	.011
Step 4	HD			.054	2	.973	
	HD(1)	9.618	62.753	.023	1	.878	15025.544
	HD(2)	-1.430	89.240	.000	1	.987	.239
	AOA	-.247	.085	8.431	1	.004	.781
	Constant	-3.993	62.788	.004	1	.949	.018

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, AOA, SOCNET, LOS, INT.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.060	2	.971	
	HD(1)	10.558	60.214	.031	1	.861	38489.112
	HD(2)	-.400	88.059	.000	1	.996	.670
	SOCNET	-.853	.463	3.391	1	.066	.426
	INT			.540	4	.969	
	INT(1)	.485	1.467	.109	1	.741	1.624
	INT(2)	.106	1.450	.005	1	.942	1.112
	INT(3)	-.136	1.643	.007	1	.934	.873
	INT(4)	-.493	1.918	.066	1	.797	.610
	LOS	.139	.053	6.848	1	.009	1.149
	Constant	-13.115	60.238	.047	1	.828	.000
Step 2	HD			.058	2	.971	
	HD(1)	10.466	60.789	.030	1	.863	35111.551
	HD(2)	-.402	88.779	.000	1	.996	.669
	SOCNET	-.799	.440	3.308	1	.069	.450
	LOS	.130	.049	6.995	1	.008	1.138
	Constant	-12.692	60.797	.044	1	.835	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.052	2	.974	
	HD(1)	9.497	62.195	.023	1	.879	13320.826
	HD(2)	-1.389	89.461	.000	1	.988	.249
	AOA	-.253	.084	9.045	1	.003	.777
	SOCNET	-.351	.381	.847	1	.357	.704
	INT			1.096	4	.895	
	INT(1)	-.708	1.632	.188	1	.665	.493
	INT(2)	-1.153	1.651	.488	1	.485	.316
	INT(3)	-2.069	2.381	.755	1	.385	.126
	INT(4)	-2.287	3.660	.390	1	.532	.102
	Constant	-2.485	62.246	.002	1	.968	.083
Step 2	HD			.049	2	.976	
	HD(1)	9.318	63.468	.022	1	.883	11137.775
	HD(2)	-1.347	90.768	.000	1	.988	.260
	AOA	-.237	.081	8.533	1	.003	.789
	SOCNET	-.369	.384	.924	1	.337	.692
	Constant	-3.638	63.504	.003	1	.954	.026
Step 3	HD			.054	2	.973	
	HD(1)	9.618	62.753	.023	1	.878	15025.544
	HD(2)	-1.430	89.240	.000	1	.987	.239
	AOA	-.247	.085	8.431	1	.004	.781
	Constant	-3.993	62.788	.004	1	.949	.018

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, AOA, SOCNET, INT.

11.3.1.8 KIT, Longitudinal Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.098	2	.952	
	HD(1)	26.95	108.541	.062	1	.804	509858117370.947
	HD(2)	-2.353	184.374	.000	1	.990	.095
	SOCNET	-1.937	1.120	2.992	1	.084	.144
	INT			.728	4	.948	
	INT(1)	-2.803	4.976	.317	1	.573	.061
	INT(2)	-1.903	5.005	.145	1	.704	.149
	INT(3)	-.362	6.355	.003	1	.955	.696
	INT(4)	-13.025	2616.426	.000	1	.996	.000
	LOS	-.372	.351	1.126	1	.289	.689
	GENDER(1)	27.732	96.019	.083	1	.773	1106469066045.025
	WORK_DIA			1.495	2	.474	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-7.561	6.185	1.494	1	.222	.001
	WORK_DIA(2)	35.486	561.155	.004	1	.950	2578006534679946
	SC(1)	.932	2.652	.124	1	.725	2.541
	AOA	-1.406	1.378	1.041	1	.308	.245
	Constant	.546	144.111	.000	1	.997	1.726
Step 2	HD			.073	2	.964	
	HD(1)	23.138	109.551	.045	1	.833	11184608154.377
	HD(2)	-2.900	186.975	.000	1	.988	.055
	SOCNET	-1.804	1.006	3.214	1	.073	.165
	LOS	-.289	.263	1.211	1	.271	.749
	GENDER(1)	24.625	96.533	.065	1	.799	49483807375.340
	WORK_DIA			1.557	2	.459	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-5.967	4.783	1.557	1	.212	.003
	WORK_DIA(2)	31.004	562.049	.003	1	.956	29150843748096.2
	SC(1)	.508	2.267	.050	1	.823	1.661
	AOA	-1.163	1.086	1.148	1	.284	.312
	Constant	-3.995	145.400	.001	1	.978	.018
Step 3	HD			.061	2	.970	
	HD(1)	21.474	116.882	.034	1	.854	2119344172.126
	HD(2)	-2.769	186.568	.000	1	.988	.063
	SOCNET	-1.859	.954	3.802	1	.051	.156
	LOS	-.260	.194	1.792	1	.181	.771
	GENDER(1)	23.075	95.854	.058	1	.810	10506933894.477
	WORK_DIA			1.939	2	.379	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-5.606	4.027	1.938	1	.164	.004
	WORK_DIA(2)	28.227	544.754	.003	1	.959	1815049409839.297
	AOA	-1.027	.774	1.762	1	.184	.358
	Constant	-4.927	151.009	.001	1	.974	.007
Step 4	HD			.060	2	.970	
	HD(1)	16.93	119.726	.020	1	.888	22655757.970

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
		6					
	HD(2)	-8.311	173.325	.002	1	.962	.000
	SOCNET	-.927	.514	3.247	1	.072	.396
	LOS	-.121	.084	2.093	1	.148	.886
	GENDER(1)	21.427	92.889	.053	1	.818	2021771458.986
	AOA	-1.116	.505	4.885	1	.027	.327
	Constant	-4.265	151.549	.001	1	.978	.014
Step 5	HD			.068	2	.967	
	HD(1)	11.693	79.746	.021	1	.883	119689.670
	HD(2)	-6.014	114.554	.003	1	.958	.002
	SOCNET	-.911	.532	2.928	1	.087	.402
	GENDER(1)	15.323	60.818	.063	1	.801	4514781.881
	AOA	-.720	.340	4.499	1	.034	.487
	Constant	-6.198	100.375	.004	1	.951	.002

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS, GENDER, WORK_DIA, SC, AOA.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.054	2	.973	
	HD(1)	10.061	60.347	.028	1	.868	23422.484
	HD(2)	-.827	89.982	.000	1	.993	.438
	SOCNET	-.693	.448	2.398	1	.121	.500
	INT			.962	4	.916	
	INT(1)	.498	1.772	.079	1	.779	1.645
	INT(2)	.929	1.785	.271	1	.603	2.531
	INT(3)	.716	2.116	.115	1	.735	2.046
	INT(4)	-2.148	3.858	.310	1	.578	.117
	LOS	.075	.053	1.992	1	.158	1.078
	AOA	-.245	.110	4.953	1	.026	.782
	Constant	-5.024	60.454	.007	1	.934	.007
Step 2	HD			.054	2	.974	
	HD(1)	10.021	60.969	.027	1	.869	22494.357
	HD(2)	-.893	90.583	.000	1	.992	.409
	SOCNET	-.642	.426	2.274	1	.132	.526
	LOS	.062	.049	1.617	1	.204	1.064
	AOA	-.245	.112	4.792	1	.029	.783
	Constant	-4.210	61.050	.005	1	.945	.015
Step 3	HD			.057	2	.972	
	HD(1)	10.091	63.424	.025	1	.874	24134.611
	HD(2)	-1.415	90.575	.000	1	.988	.243
	SOCNET	-.491	.349	1.984	1	.159	.612
	AOA	-.252	.102	6.167	1	.013	.777
	Constant	-3.081	63.483	.002	1	.961	.046
Step 4	HD			.063	2	.969	
	HD(1)	10.424	62.882	.027	1	.868	33667.117
	HD(2)	-1.514	89.094	.000	1	.986	.220
	AOA	-.260	.104	6.230	1	.013	.771
	Constant	-3.697	62.933	.003	1	.953	.025

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS, AOA.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.063	2	.969	
	HD(1)	11.127	61.859	.032	1	.857	67978.837
	HD(2)	-.333	90.151	.000	1	.997	.717
	SOCNET	-.828	.418	3.929	1	.047	.437
	INT			1.164	4	.884	
	INT(1)	.643	1.458	.194	1	.659	1.901
	INT(2)	.997	1.483	.452	1	.501	2.711
	INT(3)	.953	1.732	.303	1	.582	2.594
	INT(4)	-.512	1.914	.071	1	.789	.599
	LOS	.112	.045	6.209	1	.013	1.118
	Constant	-12.991	61.881	.044	1	.834	.000
Step 2	HD			.139	2	.933	
	HD(1)	10.091	37.872	.071	1	.790	24129.774
	HD(2)	-.349	55.151	.000	1	.995	.705
	SOCNET	-.742	.384	3.724	1	.054	.476
	LOS	.099	.040	6.259	1	.012	1.104
	Constant	-11.092	37.878	.086	1	.770	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.058	2	.971	
	HD(1)	10.125	63.134	.026	1	.873	24961.308
	HD(2)	-1.448	90.151	.000	1	.987	.235
	SOCNET	-.488	.351	1.933	1	.164	.614
	INT			.659	4	.956	
	INT(1)	-.246	1.645	.022	1	.881	.782
	INT(2)	.157	1.644	.009	1	.924	1.170
	INT(3)	.294	2.076	.020	1	.887	1.342
	INT(4)	-2.316	3.844	.363	1	.547	.099
	AOA	-.256	.101	6.422	1	.011	.774
	Constant	-2.953	63.206	.002	1	.963	.052
Step 2	HD			.057	2	.972	
	HD(1)	10.091	63.424	.025	1	.874	24134.611
	HD(2)	-1.415	90.575	.000	1	.988	.243
	SOCNET	-.491	.349	1.984	1	.159	.612
	AOA	-.252	.102	6.167	1	.013	.777
	Constant	-3.081	63.483	.002	1	.961	.046
Step 3	HD			.063	2	.969	
	HD(1)	10.424	62.882	.027	1	.868	33667.117
	HD(2)	-1.514	89.094	.000	1	.986	.220
	AOA	-.260	.104	6.230	1	.013	.771
	Constant	-3.697	62.933	.003	1	.953	.025

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA.

11.3.1.9 GOAT, Longitudinal Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			1.759	2	.415	
	HD(1)	8.857	149.616	.004	1	.953	7021.533
	HD(2)	6.874	149.625	.002	1	.963	966.830
	SOCNET	-.528	.736	.514	1	.473	.590
	INT			.322	4	.988	
	INT(1)	-8.777	114.299	.006	1	.939	.000
	INT(2)	-8.126	114.300	.005	1	.943	.000
	INT(3)	2.405	343.833	.000	1	.994	11.073
	INT(4)	.871	486.345	.000	1	.999	2.390
	LOS	.141	.079	3.186	1	.074	1.151
	WORK_DIA			.318	2	.853	
	WORK_DIA(1)	1.344	2.389	.317	1	.574	3.835
	WORK_DIA(2)	8.788	285.376	.001	1	.975	6553.209
	SC(1)	1.557	1.479	1.108	1	.292	4.747
	AOA	-.107	.161	.441	1	.507	.899
	GENDER(1)	17.820	154.722	.013	1	.908	54863759.583
	Constant	-17.970	185.398	.009	1	.923	.000
Step 2	HD			1.754	2	.416	
	HD(1)	9.885	148.300	.004	1	.947	19624.393
	HD(2)	8.133	148.301	.003	1	.956	3404.628
	SOCNET	-.730	.672	1.180	1	.277	.482
	INT			.319	4	.989	
	INT(1)	-8.923	106.033	.007	1	.933	.000
	INT(2)	-8.282	106.034	.006	1	.938	.000
	INT(3)	2.436	344.910	.000	1	.994	11.431
	INT(4)	1.250	484.197	.000	1	.998	3.492
	LOS	.117	.061	3.651	1	.056	1.125
	SC(1)	1.551	1.446	1.151	1	.283	4.715
	AOA	-.109	.149	.538	1	.463	.897
	GENDER(1)	19.045	148.161	.017	1	.898	186625647.201
	Constant	-18.413	180.958	.010	1	.919	.000
Step 3	HD			1.658	2	.437	
	HD(1)	8.577	92.806	.009	1	.926	5310.671
	HD(2)	6.949	92.807	.006	1	.940	1042.210
	SOCNET	-.914	.364	1.898	1	.168	.401
	LOS	.136	.061	5.068	1	.024	1.146
	SC(1)	1.394	1.343	1.078	1	.299	4.030
	AOA	-.100	.145	.479	1	.489	.905
	GENDER(1)	12.446	72.993	.029	1	.865	254131.262
	Constant	-19.178	118.116	.026	1	.871	.000
Step 4	HD			1.721	2	.423	
	HD(1)	9.503	89.227	.011	1	.915	13404.666
	HD(2)	7.787	89.235	.008	1	.930	2408.184
	SOCNET	-.906	.661	1.878	1	.171	.404
	LOS	.147	.060	5.895	1	.015	1.158
	SC(1)	1.331	1.346	.977	1	.323	3.784
	GENDER(1)	12.809	73.132	.031	1	.861	365489.386
	Constant	-23.214	115.348	.041	1	.841	.000
Step 5	HD			1.491	2	.474	
	HD(1)	10.451	86.688	.015	1	.904	34578.766
	HD(2)	8.983	86.690	.011	1	.917	7962.675

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	SOCNET	-1.177	.622	3.579	1	.059	.308
	LOS	.150	.055	7.343	1	.007	1.161
	GENDER(1)	12.707	70.544	.032	1	.857	330090.460
	Constant	-22.941	111.756	.042	1	.837	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS, WORK_DIA, SC, AOA, GENDER.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			3.723	2	.155	
	HD(1)	11.541	57.856	.040	1	.842	102833.290
	HD(2)	9.638	57.855	.028	1	.868	15335.676
	SOCNET	-.599	.394	2.315	1	.128	.549
	INT			.528	4	.971	
	INT(1)	-1.050	1.552	.458	1	.499	.350
	INT(2)	-.684	1.552	.194	1	.659	.504
	INT(3)	8.571	121.592	.005	1	.944	5276.975
	INT(4)	8.301	170.945	.002	1	.961	4029.901
	LOS	.141	.051	7.480	1	.006	1.151
	AOA	-.176	.101	3.035	1	.081	.839
	Constant	-7.372	57.916	.016	1	.899	.001
Step 2	HD			4.521	2	.104	
	HD(1)	10.563	35.151	.090	1	.764	38668.791
	HD(2)	8.600	35.152	.060	1	.807	5428.961
	SOCNET	-.648	.395	2.688	1	.101	.523
	LOS	.157	.051	9.463	1	.002	1.170
	AOA	-.173	.101	2.926	1	.087	.841
	Constant	-7.338	35.236	.043	1	.835	.001

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS, AOA.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			5.066	2	.079	
	HD(1)	10.884	36.437	.089	1	.765	53304.028
	HD(2)	8.599	36.437	.056	1	.813	5423.786
	SOCNET	-.524	.352	2.215	1	.137	.592
	INT			.444	4	.979	
	INT(1)	-.903	1.502	.362	1	.548	.405
	INT(2)	-.571	1.507	.143	1	.705	.565
	INT(3)	7.942	80.381	.010	1	.921	2812.314
	INT(4)	7.582	115.695	.004	1	.948	1963.309
	LOS	.140	.044	10.293	1	.001	1.150
	Constant	-11.480	36.454	.099	1	.753	.000
Step 2	HD			6.187	2	.045	
	HD(1)	10.943	36.292	.091	1	.763	56540.618
	HD(2)	8.562	36.295	.056	1	.814	5228.891
	SOCNET	-.582	.355	2.679	1	.102	.559
	LOS	.155	.043	13.143	1	.0001	1.168
	Constant	-12.272	36.300	.114	1	.735	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			4.500	2	.105	
	HD(1)	10.401	38.048	.075	1	.785	32886.147
	HD(2)	8.492	38.047	.050	1	.823	4876.542
	SOCNET	-.385	.297	1.682	1	.195	.680
	INT			2.569	4	.632	
	INT(1)	-2.384	1.495	2.543	1	.111	.092
	INT(2)	-2.114	1.483	2.032	1	.154	.121
	INT(3)	7.019	75.375	.009	1	.926	1117.625
	INT(4)	7.188	102.968	.005	1	.944	1322.963
	AOA	-.149	.063	5.548	1	.019	.862
	Constant	-3.587	38.087	.009	1	.925	.028
Step 2	HD			4.623	2	.099	
	HD(1)	10.418	38.658	.073	1	.788	33442.698
	HD(2)	8.463	38.659	.048	1	.827	4737.455
	INT			2.975	4	.562	
	INT(1)	-2.589	1.509	2.945	1	.086	.075
	INT(2)	-2.333	1.497	2.430	1	.119	.097
	INT(3)	6.951	75.626	.008	1	.927	1044.247
	INT(4)	7.033	105.416	.004	1	.947	1133.576
	AOA	-.140	.060	5.343	1	.021	.870
	Constant	-4.041	38.697	.011	1	.917	.018

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA.

11.3.1.10 FLEECE, Longitudinal Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.100	2	.951	
	HD(1)	6.359	82.369	.006	1	.938	577.675
	HD(2)	5.890	82.374	.005	1	.943	361.346
	SOCNET	-1.786	.954	3.509	1	.061	.168
	INT			3.623	4	.459	
	INT(1)	3.545	2.941	1.453	1	.228	34.639
	INT(2)	4.479	3.092	2.099	1	.147	88.161
	INT(3)	.319	2.087	.023	1	.879	1.375
	INT(4)	-1.776	2.426	.536	1	.464	.169
	AOA	-.047	.089	.277	1	.599	.954
	GENDER(1)	12.993	70.389	.034	1	.854	439360.530
	WORK_DIA			.853	2	.653	
	WORK_DIA(1)	2.899	3.140	.852	1	.356	18.160
	WORK_DIA(2)	6.903	159.460	.002	1	.965	995.428
	SC(1)	-.569	1.637	.121	1	.728	.566
	LOS	.300	.144	4.381	1	.036	1.350
	Constant	-25.686	108.432	.056	1	.813	.000
Step 2	SOCNET	-1.827	.963	3.601	1	.058	.161
	INT			3.836	4	.429	
	INT(1)	4.023	2.946	1.864	1	.172	55.858
	INT(2)	4.930	3.114	2.506	1	.113	138.412
	INT(3)	.591	1.958	.091	1	.763	1.806
	INT(4)	-1.622	2.367	.470	1	.493	.197
	AOA	-.051	.088	.334	1	.563	.950
	GENDER(1)	12.753	45.700	.078	1	.780	345616.170

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	WORK_DIA			1.085	2	.581	
	WORK_DIA(1)	3.235	3.107	1.084	1	.298	25.402
	WORK_DIA(2)	7.172	147.475	.002	1	.961	1302.318
	SC(1)	-.513	1.641	.098	1	.754	.599
	LOS	.323	.145	4.980	1	.026	1.382
	Constant	-20.107	46.295	.189	1	.664	.000
Step 3	SOCNET	-1.688	.831	4.125	1	.042	.185
	INT			4.178	4	.382	
	INT(1)	3.863	2.731	2.001	1	.157	47.622
	INT(2)	4.756	2.896	2.697	1	.101	116.255
	INT(3)	.764	1.922	.158	1	.691	2.146
	INT(4)	-1.605	2.345	.468	1	.494	.201
	AOA	-.054	.088	.374	1	.541	.947
	GENDER(1)	12.763	45.726	.078	1	.780	348896.703
	WORK_DIA			1.075	2	.584	
	WORK_DIA(1)	2.878	2.778	1.074	1	.300	17.787
	WORK_DIA(2)	6.754	135.541	.002	1	.960	857.743
	LOS	.308	.127	5.864	1	.015	1.361
	Constant	-19.918	46.246	.185	1	.667	.000
Step 4	SOCNET	-1.763	.886	3.958	1	.047	.172
	INT			4.338	4	.362	
	INT(1)	4.417	2.787	2.512	1	.113	82.872
	INT(2)	5.326	2.948	3.264	1	.071	205.648
	INT(3)	.988	1.844	.287	1	.592	2.685
	INT(4)	-1.219	2.007	.369	1	.544	.295
	GENDER(1)	13.094	45.747	.082	1	.775	486060.608
	WORK_DIA			1.737	2	.420	
	WORK_DIA(1)	3.492	2.651	1.735	1	.188	32.840
	WORK_DIA(2)	7.498	146.085	.003	1	.959	1804.434
	LOS	.341	.130	6.849	1	.009	1.406
	Constant	-23.009	46.113	.249	1	.618	.000
Step 5	SOCNET	-1.930	.875	4.858	1	.028	.145
	INT			4.572	4	.334	
	INT(1)	2.454	1.801	1.856	1	.173	11.633
	INT(2)	3.241	1.965	2.720	1	.099	25.548
	INT(3)	.832	1.769	.221	1	.638	2.298
	INT(4)	-1.276	2.035	.393	1	.531	.279
	GENDER(1)	14.084	41.990	.113	1	.737	1308588.481
	LOS	.273	.090	9.210	1	.002	1.314
	Constant	-18.664	42.106	.196	1	.658	.000
Step 6	SOCNET	-1.198	.576	4.328	1	.037	.302
	GENDER(1)	12.412	44.661	.077	1	.781	245851.058
	LOS	.176	.053	11.101	1	.001	1.192
	Constant	-13.862	44.670	.096	1	.756	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA, GENDER, WORK_DIA, SC, LOS.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			2.410	2	.300	
	HD(1)	10.261	34.833	.087	1	.768	28606.990
	HD(2)	8.777	34.836	.063	1	.801	6481.869
	SOCNET	-.811	.449	3.263	1	.071	.444
	INT			2.523	4	.640	

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	INT(1)	.855	1.373	.387	1	.534	2.351
	INT(2)	1.246	1.394	.798	1	.372	3.475
	INT(3)	.140	1.849	.006	1	.940	1.150
	INT(4)	-2.247	2.647	.720	1	.396	.106
	AOA	-.145	.084	2.978	1	.084	.865
	LOS	.168	.052	10.603	1	.001	1.183
	Constant	-9.195	34.935	.069	1	.792	.000
Step 2	HD			2.318	2	.314	
	HD(1)	9.960	35.579	.078	1	.780	21173.135
	HD(2)	8.630	35.582	.059	1	.808	5596.266
	SOCNET	-.715	.419	2.912	1	.088	.489
	AOA	-.134	.084	2.565	1	.109	.874
	LOS	.140	.045	9.781	1	.002	1.150
	Constant	-8.030	35.650	.051	1	.822	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA, LOS.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			3.899	2	.142	
	HD(1)	10.695	35.682	.090	1	.764	44151.337
	HD(2)	8.729	35.686	.060	1	.807	6181.778
	SOCNET	-.778	.420	3.434	1	.064	.459
	INT			2.443	4	.655	
	INT(1)	.864	1.299	.442	1	.506	2.372
	INT(2)	1.252	1.329	.887	1	.346	3.496
	INT(3)	.414	1.667	.062	1	.804	1.513
	INT(4)	-1.151	1.847	.388	1	.533	.316
	LOS	.175	.049	12.900	1	.000	1.192
	Constant	-13.539	35.720	.144	1	.705	.000
Step 2	HD			4.096	2	.129	
	HD(1)	10.431	36.348	.082	1	.774	33889.843
	HD(2)	8.600	36.353	.056	1	.813	5432.580
	SOCNET	-.661	.381	3.015	1	.083	.516
	LOS	.150	.042	12.780	1	.0001	1.162
	Constant	-12.142	36.357	.112	1	.738	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			3.284	2	.194	
	HD(1)	9.762	39.697	.060	1	.806	17359.319
	HD(2)	8.321	39.700	.044	1	.834	4109.158
	SOCNET	-.450	.293	2.348	1	.125	.638
	INT			.994	4	.911	
	INT(1)	-.767	1.238	.384	1	.535	.464
	INT(2)	-.512	1.233	.173	1	.678	.599
	INT(3)	-.494	1.746	.080	1	.777	.610
	INT(4)	-2.142	2.334	.842	1	.359	.117
	AOA	-.134	.052	6.612	1	.010	.875
	Constant	-4.984	39.736	.016	1	.900	.007
Step 2	HD			3.075	2	.215	
	HD(1)	8.661	24.354	.126	1	.722	5774.783

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	HD(2)	7.336	24.361	.091	1	.763	1534.426
	SOCNET	-.456	.290	2.471	1	.116	.634
	AOA	-.129	.051	6.397	1	.011	.879
	Constant	-4.644	24.400	.036	1	.849	.010

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA.

11.3.1.11 FACE, Longitudinal Data

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.787	2	.675	
	HD(1)	20.438	153.961	.018	1	.894	752033828.100
	HD(2)	19.350	153.963	.016	1	.900	253334117.431
	SOCNET	-2.758	1.329	4.308	1	.038	.063
	INT			.815	4	.936	
	INT(1)	.312	1.815	.030	1	.863	1.367
	INT(2)	.312	1.815	.030	1	.863	1.367
	INT(3)	-.974	2.249	.188	1	.665	.378
	INT(4)	-5.139	8.753	.345	1	.557	.006
	AOA	-.319	.198	2.604	1	.107	.727
	GENDER(1)	24.945	118.344	.044	1	.833	68171545966.364
	WORK_DIA			.030	2	.985	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-13.702	78.602	.030	1	.862	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	.504	469.890	.000	1	.999	1.655
	SC(1)	1.060	1.931	.301	1	.583	2.885
	LOS	.066	.069	.891	1	.345	1.068
	Constant	-22.117	177.645	.016	1	.901	.000
Step 2	HD			.386	2	.824	
	HD(1)	21.160	154.962	.019	1	.891	1547183165.572
	HD(2)	20.451	154.961	.017	1	.895	761931044.237
	SOCNET	-2.808	1.287	4.760	1	.029	.060
	AOA	-.334	.199	2.816	1	.093	.716
	GENDER(1)	25.835	118.899	.047	1	.828	165997764557.884
	WORK_DIA			.036	2	.982	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-14.763	78.060	.036	1	.850	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	.347	440.846	.000	1	.999	1.415
	SC(1)	1.275	1.867	.466	1	.495	3.579
	LOS	.045	.063	.507	1	.477	1.046
	Constant	-22.252	179.097	.015	1	.901	.000
Step 3	HD			.903	2	.637	
	HD(1)	22.933	162.020	.020	1	.887	9116296928.280
	HD(2)	21.907	162.022	.018	1	.892	3267817650.715
	SOCNET	-2.670	1.252	4.550	1	.033	.069
	AOA	-.345	.198	3.052	1	.081	.708
	GENDER(1)	25.822	119.705	.047	1	.829	163857302261.015
	WORK_DIA			.037	2	.982	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-15.403	80.218	.037	1	.848	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	-.703	425.493	.000	1	.999	.495
	SC(1)	1.720	1.721	.999	1	.317	5.587
	Constant	-22.651	184.824	.015	1	.902	.000
Step 4	HD			1.161	2	.560	
	HD(1)	22.146	162.771	.019	1	.892	4147264453.797
	HD(2)	21.048	162.775	.017	1	.897	1383473991.322
	SOCNET	-2.340	1.053	4.941	1	.026	.096

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	AOA	-.253	.113	5.025	1	.025	.776
	GENDER(1)	23.831	123.853	.037	1	.847	22370027488.457
	WORK_DIA			.027	2	.987	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-13.499	82.813	.027	1	.871	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	-.753	420.516	.000	1	.999	.471
	Constant	-23.085	187.052	.015	1	.902	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA, GENDER, WORK_DIA, SC, LOS.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			2.961	2	.228	
	HD(1)	10.027	35.233	.081	1	.776	22631.733
	HD(2)	8.511	35.236	.058	1	.809	4970.541
	SOCNET	-.732	.406	3.249	1	.071	.481
	INT			1.716	4	.788	
	INT(1)	.715	1.400	.260	1	.610	2.044
	INT(2)	.715	1.400	.260	1	.610	2.044
	INT(3)	-.154	1.885	.007	1	.935	.858
	INT(4)	-3.065	3.450	.789	1	.374	.047
	AOA	-.221	.092	5.761	1	.016	.801
	LOS	.133	.050	7.087	1	.008	1.142
	Constant	-5.939	35.330	.028	1	.867	.003
Step 2	HD			2.728	2	.256	
	HD(1)	9.798	35.832	.075	1	.785	17993.884
	HD(2)	8.433	35.836	.055	1	.814	4598.455
	SOCNET	-.677	.394	2.951	1	.086	.508
	AOA	-.215	.093	5.292	1	.021	.807
	LOS	.112	.045	6.195	1	.013	1.119
	Constant	-5.130	35.903	.020	1	.886	.006

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA, LOS.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			4.365	2	.113	
	HD(1)	10.557	37.409	.080	1	.778	38435.027
	HD(2)	8.668	37.413	.054	1	.817	5813.560
	SOCNET	-.613	.342	3.214	1	.073	.542
	INT			1.723	4	.786	
	INT(1)	.775	1.265	.376	1	.540	2.171
	INT(2)	.775	1.265	.376	1	.540	2.171
	INT(3)	.294	1.627	.033	1	.857	1.342
	INT(4)	-1.138	1.817	.392	1	.531	.320
	LOS	.128	.040	10.236	1	.001	1.137
	Constant	-12.325	37.435	.108	1	.742	.000
Step 2	HD			4.557	2	.102	
	HD(1)	10.411	37.880	.076	1	.783	33212.594
	HD(2)	8.611	37.885	.052	1	.820	5492.031
	SOCNET	-.539	.321	2.811	1	.094	.583
	LOS	.112	.035	9.937	1	.002	1.118
	Constant	-11.384	37.885	.090	1	.764	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			3.737	2	.154	
	HD(1)	9.787	38.852	.063	1	.801	17806.844
	HD(2)	8.172	38.856	.044	1	.833	3539.135
	SOCNET	-.495	.307	2.608	1	.106	.609
	INT			.968	4	.915	
	INT(1)	-.621	1.293	.231	1	.631	.537
	INT(2)	-.621	1.293	.231	1	.631	.537
	INT(3)	-.745	1.834	.165	1	.685	.475
	INT(4)	-2.747	2.811	.955	1	.329	.064
	AOA	-.185	.064	8.422	1	.004	.831
	Constant	-3.470	38.906	.008	1	.929	.031
Step 2	HD			3.345	2	.188	
	HD(1)	9.650	39.345	.060	1	.806	15528.262
	HD(2)	8.186	39.350	.043	1	.835	3591.690
	SOCNET	-.498	.304	2.672	1	.102	.608
	AOA	-.178	.063	7.917	1	.005	.837
	Constant	-4.156	39.388	.011	1	.916	.016

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA.

11.3.1.12 PRICE, Longitudinal Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.000	2	1.000	
	HD(1)	107.238	20022.137	.000	1	.996	3.74001151186311
	HD(2)	37.109	32885.779	.000	1	.999	1307411229457708
	SOCNET	-23.491	3694.130	.000	1	.995	.000
	INT			.000	4	1.000	
	INT(1)	.519	4803.672	.000	1	1.000	1.680
	INT(2)	.519	4803.672	.000	1	1.000	1.680
	INT(3)	-.304	6336.972	.000	1	1.000	.738
	INT(4)	-26.958	3718653197.548	.000	1	1.000	.000
	LOS	-1.944	217.464	.000	1	.993	.143
	GENDER(1)	104.568	9384.008	.000	1	.991	2.5901223613916
	WORK_DIA			.000	2	1.000	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-80.000	16842.931	.000	1	.996	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	52.950	42919.596	.000	1	.999	990546170331609
	SC(1)	-1.296	15534.983	.000	1	1.000	.274
	AOA	-3.667	344.708	.000	1	.992	.026
	Constant	30.820	22934.037	.000	1	.999	24252103076345.5
Step 2	HD			.000	2	1.000	
	HD(1)	107.730	18859.393	.000	1	.995	6.1168135785596
	HD(2)	36.767	30655.417	.000	1	.999	928624082784169
	SOCNET	-23.697	3405.499	.000	1	.994	.000
	LOS	-1.973	208.830	.000	1	.992	.139
	GENDER(1)	105.267	9342.220	.000	1	.991	5.2099397498055
	WORK_DIA			.000	2	1.000	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-80.452	15748.705	.000	1	.996	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	54.055	40603.419	.000	1	.999	2989803477631301
	SC(1)	-1.789	14267.031	.000	1	1.000	.167
	AOA	-3.699	345.233	.000	1	.991	.025
	Constant	32.427	22011.792	.000	1	.999	121020725659052

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 3	HD			.000	2	1.000	
	HD(1)	109.737	12726.793	.000	1	.993	4.55028363857134
	HD(2)	40.537	13777.115	.000	1	.998	4025679617000885
	SOCNET	-23.533	3124.873	.000	1	.994	.000
	LOS	-1.972	208.195	.000	1	.992	.139
	GENDER(1)	105.047	9126.287	.000	1	.991	4.1817118375191
	WORK_DIA			.000	2	1.000	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-81.984	11358.994	.000	1	.994	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	50.605	30091.199	.000	1	.999	9495045770158950
	AOA	-3.695	342.276	.000	1	.991	.025
	Constant	30.094	12030.749	.000	1	.998	11736350952373.2

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS, GENDER, WORK_DIA, SC, AOA.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.063	2	.969	
	HD(1)	10.812	59.081	.033	1	.855	49588.913
	HD(2)	-.585	89.002	.000	1	.995	.557
	SOCNET	-.726	.430	2.850	1	.091	.484
	INT			2.010	4	.734	
	INT(1)	1.723	1.832	.884	1	.347	5.600
	INT(2)	1.723	1.832	.884	1	.347	5.600
	INT(3)	.890	2.115	.177	1	.674	2.436
	INT(4)	-1.982	3.664	.293	1	.588	.138
	LOS	.107	.056	3.723	1	.054	1.113
	AOA	-.230	.112	4.192	1	.041	.794
	Constant	-7.010	59.201	.014	1	.906	.001
Step 2	HD			.059	2	.971	
	HD(1)	10.576	60.701	.030	1	.862	39197.818
	HD(2)	-.777	90.576	.000	1	.993	.460
	SOCNET	-.607	.391	2.413	1	.120	.545
	LOS	.076	.048	2.521	1	.112	1.079
	AOA	-.235	.118	3.943	1	.047	.791
	Constant	-4.817	60.792	.006	1	.937	.008

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS, AOA.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.073	2	.964	
	HD(1)	11.710	60.668	.037	1	.847	121819.250
	HD(2)	-.360	88.361	.000	1	.997	.697
	SOCNET	-.846	.422	4.030	1	.045	.429
	INT			2.378	4	.667	
	INT(1)	1.628	1.549	1.105	1	.293	5.093
	INT(2)	1.628	1.549	1.105	1	.293	5.093
	INT(3)	1.007	1.738	.336	1	.562	2.739
	INT(4)	-.497	1.917	.067	1	.796	.609
	LOS	.135	.048	7.929	1	.005	1.144
	Constant	-14.160	60.698	.054	1	.816	.000
Step 2	HD			.067	2	.967	
	HD(1)	11.477	62.200	.034	1	.854	96477.483
	HD(2)	-.375	90.517	.000	1	.997	.687

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	:p(B)
	SOCNET	-.686	.367	3.506	1	.061	.503
	LOS	.106	.039	7.270	1	.007	1.112
	Constant	-12.242	62.203	.039	1	.844	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.064	2	.969	
	HD(1)	10.645	63.650	.028	1	.867	41995.902
	HD(2)	-1.479	90.319	.000	1	.987	.228
	SOCNET	-.494	.327	2.284	1	.131	.610
	INT			.738	4	.947	
	INT(1)	.557	1.651	.114	1	.736	1.746
	INT(2)	.557	1.651	.114	1	.736	1.746
	INT(3)	.295	2.078	.020	1	.887	1.343
	INT(4)	-2.322	3.871	.360	1	.549	.098
	AOA	-.257	.107	5.803	1	.016	.773
	Constant	-3.452	63.726	.003	1	.957	.032
Step 2	HD			.062	2	.969	
	HD(1)	10.588	63.743	.028	1	.868	39667.799
	HD(2)	-1.418	90.756	.000	1	.988	.242
	SOCNET	-.470	.324	2.102	1	.147	.625
	AOA	-.253	.110	5.275	1	.022	.777
	Constant	-3.106	63.813	.002	1	.961	.045
Step 3	HD			.067	2	.967	
	HD(1)	10.866	63.389	.029	1	.864	52357.950
	HD(2)	-1.434	89.738	.000	1	.987	.238
	AOA	-.250	.108	5.398	1	.020	.779
	Constant	-3.945	63.444	.004	1	.950	.019

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, INT, AOA.

11.3.1.13 Non-prevocalic /r/, Main Study Pooled Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	GENDER(1)	18.491	228.631	.007	1	.936	107328075.089
	AOA	-.582	.801	.527	1	.468	.559
	HD			.006	2	.997	
	HD(1)	25.854	378.799	.005	1	.946	169103818771.332
	HD(2)	12.762	539.051	.001	1	.981	348735.378
	WORK_DIA			.002	2	.999	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-12.062	262.986	.002	1	.963	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	5.488	1222.178	.000	1	.996	241.690
	SOCNET	-1.302	1.398	.867	1	.352	.272
	LOS	-.155	.228	.462	1	.497	.856
	SOCIAL_C(1)	19.899	458.951	.002	1	.965	438748778.858
	Constant	-32.799	580.727	.003	1	.955	.000
Step 2	GENDER(1)	16.971	134.707	.016	1	.900	23470533.156
	AOA	-.665	.743	.800	1	.371	.515
	HD			.009	2	.995	
	HD(1)	13.846	174.839	.006	1	.937	1030882.738
	HD(2)	2.606	272.197	.000	1	.992	13.543

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	SOCNET	-.831	1.132	.538	1	.463	.436
	LOS	-.074	.158	.218	1	.640	.929
	SOCIAL_C(1)	12.332	217.518	.003	1	.955	226805.232
	Constant	-22.631	309.872	.005	1	.942	.000
Step 3	GENDER(1)	14.398	143.176	.010	1	.920	1791362.690
	AOA	-.501	.516	.942	1	.332	.606
	HD			.007	2	.996	
	HD(1)	12.436	183.428	.005	1	.946	251779.687
	HD(2)	1.015	288.280	.000	1	.997	2.760
	SOCNET	-.557	.991	.316	1	.574	.573
	SOCIAL_C(1)	12.351	241.981	.003	1	.959	231294.830
	Constant	-24.704	335.744	.005	1	.941	.000
Step 4	GENDER(1)	14.423	142.148	.010	1	.919	1835271.386
	AOA	-.581	.496	1.372	1	.242	.559
	HD			.008	2	.996	
	HD(1)	13.801	181.675	.006	1	.939	986086.645
	HD(2)	2.461	286.944	.000	1	.993	11.722
	SOCIAL_C(1)	12.832	239.132	.003	1	.957	373862.427
	Constant	-24.924	332.284	.006	1	.940	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: GENDER, AOA, HD, WORK_DIA, SOCNET, LOS, SOCIAL_C.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	AOA	-.227	.145	2.432	1	.119	.797
	HD			.025	2	.988	
	HD(1)	9.182	80.829	.013	1	.910	9715.990
	HD(2)	-1.020	124.417	.000	1	.993	.361
	SOCNET	-.624	.672	.862	1	.353	.536
	LOS	.057	.071	.656	1	.418	1.059
	Constant	-4.335	80.937	.003	1	.957	.013
Step 2	AOA	-.242	.129	3.504	1	.061	.785
	HD			.027	2	.987	
	HD(1)	9.409	82.316	.013	1	.909	12198.887
	HD(2)	-1.506	123.655	.000	1	.990	.222
	SOCNET	-.443	.548	.654	1	.419	.642
	Constant	-3.343	82.389	.002	1	.968	.035
Step 3	AOA	-.257	.136	3.543	1	.060	.774
	HD			.031	2	.985	
	HD(1)	9.714	80.799	.014	1	.904	16542.733
	HD(2)	-1.841	120.897	.000	1	.988	.159
	Constant	-3.689	80.868	.002	1	.964	.025

Variable(s) entered on step 1: AOA, HD, SOCNET, LOS.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.029	2	.985	
	HD(1)	10.336	82.109	.016	1	.900	30807.733
	HD(2)	-.234	122.330	.000	1	.998	.792
	SOCNET	-.741	.592	1.569	1	.210	.477
	LOS	.107	.060	3.177	1	.075	1.113
	Constant	-11.956	82.113	.021	1	.884	.000
Step 2	HD			.025	2	.988	

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	HD(1)	10.177	87.707	.013	1	.908	26280.437
	HD(2)	-.291	131.060	.000	1	.998	.748
	LOS	.086	.052	2.716	1	.099	1.090
	Constant	-12.050	87.708	.019	1	.891	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	AOA	-.242	.129	3.504	1	.061	.785
	HD			.027	2	.987	
	HD(1)	9.409	82.316	.013	1	.909	12198.887
	HD(2)	-1.506	123.655	.000	1	.990	.222
	SOCNET	-.443	.548	.654	1	.419	.642
	Constant	-3.343	82.389	.002	1	.968	.035
Step 2	AOA	-.257	.136	3.543	1	.060	.774
	HD			.031	2	.985	
	HD(1)	9.714	80.799	.014	1	.904	16542.733
	HD(2)	-1.841	120.897	.000	1	.988	.159
	Constant	-3.689	80.868	.002	1	.964	.025

Variable(s) entered on step 1: AOA, HD, SOCNET.

11.3.1.14 KIT, Main Study Pooled Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.021	2	.989	
	HD(1)	26.387	260.884	.010	1	.919	288302883237.247
	HD(2)	4.365	335.073	.000	1	.990	78.631
	SOCNET	-1.440	1.374	1.098	1	.295	.237
	LOS	-.183	.246	.555	1	.456	.833
	GENDER(1)	18.750	130.289	.021	1	.886	138938532.251
	AOA	-.696	.870	.640	1	.424	.499
	WORK_DIA			.005	2	.998	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-13.062	214.400	.004	1	.951	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	14.458	811.275	.000	1	.986	1901382.487
	SOCIAL_C(1)	-2.480	5.950	.174	1	.677	.084
	Constant	-6.516	197.806	.001	1	.974	.001
Step 2	HD			.023	2	.989	
	HD(1)	29.312	250.973	.014	1	.907	5371640438960.740
	HD(2)	9.016	326.222	.001	1	.978	8234.347
	SOCNET	-1.601	1.427	1.258	1	.262	.202
	LOS	-.205	.282	.529	1	.467	.815
	GENDER(1)	19.693	130.045	.023	1	.880	356796280.527
	AOA	-.742	1.056	.494	1	.482	.476
	WORK_DIA			.008	2	.996	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-15.514	196.466	.006	1	.937	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	11.101	762.206	.000	1	.988	66204.703
	Constant	-8.521	203.075	.002	1	.967	.000
Step 3	HD			.010	2	.995	
	HD(1)	22.390	275.044	.007	1	.935	5294291714.182
	HD(2)	7.636	365.611	.000	1	.983	2072.407
	SOCNET	-.929	1.130	.676	1	.411	.395

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	GENDER(1)	13.778	150.171	.008	1	.927	962854.850
	AOA	-.374	.453	.682	1	.409	.688
	WORK_DIA			.004	2	.998	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-11.818	208.347	.003	1	.955	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	4.514	797.741	.000	1	.995	91.290
	Constant	-13.139	234.151	.003	1	.955	.000
Step 4	HD			.014	2	.993	
	HD(1)	23.868	281.857	.007	1	.933	23214922750.971
	HD(2)	5.694	361.729	.000	1	.987	297.122
	GENDER(1)	14.439	143.410	.010	1	.920	1865356.098
	AOA	-.568	.476	1.424	1	.233	.567
	WORK_DIA			.003	2	.999	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-10.122	216.175	.002	1	.963	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	10.129	942.648	.000	1	.991	25067.153
	Constant	-12.341	230.890	.003	1	.957	.000
Step 5	HD			.017	2	.991	
	HD(1)	15.006	178.966	.007	1	.933	3288799.628
	HD(2)	-5.421	269.135	.000	1	.984	.004
	GENDER(1)	15.882	132.942	.014	1	.905	7897190.560
	AOA	-.745	.528	1.988	1	.159	.475
	Constant	-9.900	223.013	.002	1	.965	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, LOS, GENDER, AOA, WORK_DIA, SOCIAL_C.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.030	2	.985	
	HD(1)	9.971	79.098	.016	1	.900	21397.556
	HD(2)	-1.127	122.070	.000	1	.993	.324
	SOCNET	-.366	.533	.470	1	.493	.694
	LOS	.107	.073	2.135	1	.144	1.113
	AOA	-.248	.180	1.891	1	.169	.780
	Constant	-4.744	79.249	.004	1	.952	.009
Step 2	HD			.031	2	.985	
	HD(1)	9.864	80.516	.015	1	.902	19233.564
	HD(2)	-1.646	121.443	.000	1	.989	.193
	LOS	.097	.071	1.882	1	.170	1.102
	AOA	-.266	.181	2.151	1	.143	.766
	Constant	-4.353	80.655	.003	1	.957	.013
Step 3	HD			.036	2	.982	
	HD(1)	10.450	80.312	.017	1	.896	34549.587
	HD(2)	-1.973	120.087	.000	1	.987	.139
	AOA	-.273	.151	3.263	1	.071	.761
	Constant	-3.260	80.397	.002	1	.968	.038

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, LOS, AOA.

Test 3.
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.034	2	.983	
	HD(1)	10.892	81.403	.018	1	.894	53726.601
	HD(2)	-.404	121.018	.000	1	.997	.667
	SOCNET	-.476	.496	.922	1	.337	.621
	LOS	.136	.061	5.054	1	.025	1.146

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	Constant	-12.548	81.408	.024	1	.877	.000
Step 2	HD			.030	2	.985	
	HD(1)	10.674	84.857	.016	1	.900	43233.421
	HD(2)	-.478	125.991	.000	1	.997	.620
	LOS	.128	.060	4.649	1	.031	1.137
	Constant	-12.648	84.861	.022	1	.882	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.034	2	.983	
	HD(1)	10.298	81.028	.016	1	.899	29679.060
	HD(2)	-1.868	121.158	.000	1	.988	.154
	SOCNET	-.193	.429	.202	1	.653	.825
	AOA	-.269	.152	3.144	1	.076	.764
	Constant	-3.010	81.120	.001	1	.970	.049
Step 2	HD			.036	2	.982	
	HD(1)	10.450	80.312	.017	1	.896	34549.587
	HD(2)	-1.973	120.087	.000	1	.987	.139
	AOA	-.273	.151	3.263	1	.071	.761
	Constant	-3.260	80.397	.002	1	.968	.038

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, AOA.

11.3.1.15 GOAT, Main Study Pooled Data

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.728	2	.695	
	HD(1)	16.759	214.826	.006	1	.938	18977568.532
	HD(2)	14.992	214.847	.005	1	.944	3243563.736
	SOCNET	-.701	.880	.634	1	.426	.496
	AOA	-.103	.197	.273	1	.602	.902
	GENDER(1)	19.050	189.513	.010	1	.920	187610930.828
	WORK_DIA			.004	2	.998	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-7.615	120.327	.004	1	.950	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	1.001	549.477	.000	1	.999	2.720
	LOS	.159	.113	1.979	1	.159	1.172
	SOCIAL_C(1)	.563	2.202	.065	1	.798	1.755
	Constant	-26.228	260.072	.010	1	.920	.000
Step 2	HD			.843	2	.656	
	HD(1)	10.083	123.074	.007	1	.935	23930.964
	HD(2)	8.082	123.096	.004	1	.948	3234.382
	SOCNET	-.608	.839	.526	1	.468	.544
	AOA	-.114	.205	.308	1	.579	.892
	GENDER(1)	11.798	98.449	.014	1	.905	132933.967
	LOS	.181	.104	3.016	1	.082	1.198
	SOCIAL_C(1)	.479	2.184	.048	1	.826	1.614
	Constant	-19.768	157.751	.016	1	.900	.000
Step 3	HD			.876	2	.645	
	HD(1)	10.141	122.699	.007	1	.934	25374.045
	HD(2)	8.130	122.722	.004	1	.947	3396.346
	SOCNET	-.668	.822	.660	1	.416	.513

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	AOA	-.102	.186	.300	1	.584	.903
	GENDER(1)	11.780	97.947	.014	1	.904	130659.604
	LOS	.180	.103	3.039	1	.081	1.198
	Constant	-19.697	157.139	.016	1	.900	.000
Step 4	HD			.735	2	.693	
	HD(1)	11.296	119.595	.009	1	.925	80481.858
	HD(2)	9.494	119.605	.006	1	.937	13284.313
	SOCNET	-.754	.767	.966	1	.326	.471
	GENDER(1)	12.282	96.415	.016	1	.899	215725.895
	LOS	.185	.095	3.763	1	.052	1.203
	Constant	-24.068	153.615	.025	1	.875	.000
Step 5	HD			.602	2	.740	
	HD(1)	10.608	125.575	.007	1	.933	40445.972
	HD(2)	8.880	125.590	.005	1	.944	7184.734
	GENDER(1)	12.012	100.596	.014	1	.905	164658.073
	LOS	.206	.105	3.884	1	.049	1.229
	Constant	-24.215	160.896	.023	1	.880	.000
Step 6	GENDER(1)	12.319	61.556	.040	1	.841	223899.046
	LOS	.237	.099	5.746	1	.017	1.267
	Constant	-14.987	61.580	.059	1	.808	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, AOA, GENDER, WORK_DIA, LOS, SOCIAL_C.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			2.101	2	.350	
	HD(1)	11.259	74.419	.023	1	.880	77543.051
	HD(2)	8.865	74.419	.014	1	.905	7081.387
	SOCNET	-.441	.516	.731	1	.393	.644
	AOA	-.220	.172	1.632	1	.201	.802
	LOS	.199	.097	4.224	1	.040	1.220
	Constant	-7.478	74.514	.010	1	.920	.001
Step 2	HD			2.309	2	.315	
	HD(1)	10.981	76.341	.021	1	.885	58767.815
	HD(2)	8.541	76.343	.013	1	.911	5120.187
	AOA	-.208	.164	1.621	1	.203	.812
	LOS	.198	.093	4.513	1	.034	1.219
	Constant	-7.882	76.428	.011	1	.918	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, AOA, LOS.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			2.279	2	.320	
	HD(1)	10.524	47.513	.049	1	.825	37189.599
	HD(2)	7.982	47.528	.028	1	.867	2926.986
	SOCNET	-.402	.478	.707	1	.400	.669
	LOS	.186	.072	6.602	1	.010	1.205
	Constant	-12.544	47.533	.070	1	.792	.000
Step 2	HD			2.281	2	.320	
	HD(1)	10.261	48.809	.044	1	.833	28604.289
	HD(2)	7.846	48.819	.026	1	.872	2555.742
	LOS	.186	.072	6.621	1	.010	1.205
	Constant	-12.673	48.825	.067	1	.795	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			2.400	2	.301	
	HD(1)	9.599	51.497	.035	1	.852	14751.233
	HD(2)	7.529	51.509	.021	1	.884	1860.480
	SOCNET	-.341	.375	.827	1	.363	.711
	AOA	-.165	.088	3.549	1	.060	.848
	Constant	-4.663	51.558	.008	1	.928	.009
Step 2	HD			2.938	2	.230	
	HD(1)	9.727	51.411	.036	1	.850	16759.023
	HD(2)	7.409	51.424	.021	1	.885	1651.031
	AOA	-.156	.084	3.460	1	.063	.855
	Constant	-5.392	51.460	.011	1	.917	.005

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, AOA.

11.3.1.16 FLEECE, Main Study Pooled Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.000	2	1.000	
	HD(1)	110.126	15059.044	.000	1	.994	6.716404073080330
	HD(2)	82.903	29634.293	.000	1	.998	1009589777425867000
	SOCNET	-9.331	2318.405	.000	1	.997	.000
	LOS	5.137	648.541	.000	1	.994	170.283
	GENDER(1)	89.584	11947.632	.000	1	.994	8048280717738770000
	AOA	4.600	625.884	.000	1	.994	99.440
	WORK_DIA			.000	2	1.000	
	WORK_DIA(1)	35.308	35504.391	.000	1	.999	2158361060238788
	WORK_DIA(2)	125.067	48811.289	.000	1	.998	2.069202488056370
	SOCIAL_C(1)	34.111	13316.567	.000	1	.998	652015787906206.0
	Constant	-412.541	61023.774	.000	1	.995	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, LOS, GENDER, AOA, WORK_DIA, SOCIAL_C.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			2.186	2	.335	
	HD(1)	12.159	73.234	.028	1	.868	190841.340
	HD(2)	8.962	73.226	.015	1	.903	7803.313
	SOCNET	-.458	.546	.704	1	.401	.632
	LOS	.259	.118	4.838	1	.028	1.296
	AOA	-.110	.189	.339	1	.561	.896
	Constant	-12.013	73.414	.027	1	.870	.000
Step 2	HD			2.599	2	.273	
	HD(1)	12.317	73.905	.028	1	.868	223527.315
	HD(2)	8.856	73.900	.014	1	.905	7013.185
	SOCNET	-.452	.537	.707	1	.401	.637
	LOS	.264	.110	5.745	1	.017	1.302
	Constant	-15.248	73.934	.043	1	.837	.000

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 3	HD			2.548	2	.280	
	HD(1)	11.917	75.694	.025	1	.875	149775.041
	HD(2)	8.684	75.692	.013	1	.909	5908.779
	LOS	.263	.109	5.856	1	.016	1.301
	Constant	-15.298	75.724	.041	1	.840	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, LOS, AOA.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			2.599	2	.273	
	HD(1)	12.317	73.905	.028	1	.868	223527.315
	HD(2)	8.856	73.900	.014	1	.905	7013.185
	SOCNET	-.452	.537	.707	1	.401	.637
	LOS	.264	.110	5.745	1	.017	1.302
	Constant	-15.248	73.934	.043	1	.837	.000
Step 2	HD			2.548	2	.280	
	HD(1)	11.917	75.694	.025	1	.875	149775.041
	HD(2)	8.684	75.692	.013	1	.909	5908.779
	LOS	.263	.109	5.856	1	.016	1.301
	Constant	-15.298	75.724	.041	1	.840	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			2.370	2	.306	
	HD(1)	9.697	52.504	.034	1	.853	16267.020
	HD(2)	7.756	52.515	.022	1	.883	2336.410
	SOCNET	-.313	.361	.756	1	.385	.731
	AOA	-.125	.076	2.719	1	.099	.882
	Constant	-5.874	52.552	.012	1	.911	.003
Step 2	HD			2.880	2	.237	
	HD(1)	9.797	52.513	.035	1	.852	17988.070
	HD(2)	7.646	52.524	.021	1	.884	2091.869
	AOA	-.120	.073	2.663	1	.103	.887
	Constant	-6.456	52.551	.015	1	.902	.002

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, AOA.

11.3.1.17 FACE, Main Study Pooled Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.927	2	.629	
	HD(1)	20.318	196.775	.011	1	.918	667077850.143
	HD(2)	18.457	196.772	.009	1	.925	103697297.086
	SOCNET	-2.142	1.810	1.401	1	.237	.117
	AOA	-.266	.358	.552	1	.458	.766
	GENDER(1)	22.873	167.519	.019	1	.891	8584532304.474
	WORK_DIA			.014	2	.993	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-12.494	105.994	.014	1	.906	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	-.394	655.874	.000	1	1.000	.674
	LOS	.057	.095	.358	1	.550	1.059

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	SOCIAL_C(1)	1.509	3.393	.198	1	.656	4.523
	Constant	-22.611	235.811	.009	1	.924	.000
Step 2	HD			.963	2	.618	
	HD(1)	20.099	203.271	.010	1	.921	535882519.246
	HD(2)	18.315	203.278	.008	1	.928	89945726.239
	SOCNET	-2.026	1.598	1.609	1	.205	.132
	AOA	-.182	.200	.825	1	.364	.834
	GENDER(1)	21.704	171.175	.016	1	.899	2665439896.379
	WORK_DIA			.010	2	.995	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-11.014	108.794	.010	1	.919	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	.016	644.745	.000	1	1.000	1.016
	LOS	.071	.089	.641	1	.423	1.074
	Constant	-24.041	242.566	.010	1	.921	.000
Step 3	HD			1.564	2	.457	
	HD(1)	21.843	211.676	.011	1	.918	3065059528.834
	HD(2)	19.649	211.683	.009	1	.926	341673950.451
	SOCNET	-1.985	1.394	2.027	1	.155	.137
	AOA	-.201	.171	1.375	1	.241	.818
	GENDER(1)	21.539	171.024	.016	1	.900	2260004726.139
	WORK_DIA			.012	2	.994	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-12.080	110.797	.012	1	.913	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	-1.370	576.062	.000	1	.998	.254
	Constant	-22.963	248.635	.009	1	.926	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, AOA, GENDER, WORK_DIA, LOS, SOCIAL_C.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			1.883	2	.390	
	HD(1)	9.888	46.131	.046	1	.830	19700.588
	HD(2)	7.905	46.139	.029	1	.864	2710.880
	SOCNET	-.666	.552	1.458	1	.227	.514
	AOA	-.199	.138	2.074	1	.150	.819
	LOS	.146	.071	4.173	1	.041	1.157
	Constant	-5.824	46.260	.016	1	.900	.003
Step 2	HD			2.239	2	.326	
	HD(1)	9.554	48.525	.039	1	.844	14103.498
	HD(2)	7.455	48.534	.024	1	.878	1728.610
	AOA	-.176	.127	1.942	1	.163	.838
	LOS	.141	.069	4.181	1	.041	1.151
	Constant	-6.608	48.631	.018	1	.892	.001

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, AOA, LOS.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			2.119	2	.347	
	HD(1)	10.368	48.425	.046	1	.830	31809.256
	HD(2)	8.130	48.436	.028	1	.867	3395.539
	SOCNET	-.580	.489	1.406	1	.236	.560
	LOS	.149	.060	6.195	1	.013	1.161
	Constant	-11.753	48.433	.059	1	.808	.000
Step 2	HD			2.157	2	.340	
	HD(1)	10.043	50.683	.039	1	.843	23003.674

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
	HD(2)	7.961	50.694	.025	1	.875	2866.023
	LOS	.144	.059	6.040	1	.014	1.155
	Constant	-11.904	50.691	.055	1	.814	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			2.281	2	.320	
	HD(1)	9.555	51.017	.035	1	.851	14116.421
	HD(2)	7.518	51.029	.022	1	.883	1840.861
	SOCNET	-.499	.405	1.517	1	.218	.607
	AOA	-.180	.093	3.758	1	.053	.835
	Constant	-4.039	51.089	.006	1	.937	.018
Step 2	HD			2.949	2	.229	
	HD(1)	9.718	51.193	.036	1	.849	16621.924
	HD(2)	7.362	51.206	.021	1	.886	1575.495
	AOA	-.164	.086	3.585	1	.058	.849
	Constant	-5.186	51.243	.010	1	.919	.006

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, AOA.

11.3.1.18 PRICE, Main Study Pooled Data Set

Test 1:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	GENDER(1)	102.415	12623.224	.000	1	.994	3.009339282015662E+44
	AOA	-3.562	480.522	.000	1	.994	.028
	HD			.000	2	1.000	
	HD(1)	84.729	23139.602	.000	1	.997	626900727722929000000
	HD(2)	-5.793	44323.409	.000	1	1.000	.003
	WORK_DIA			.000	2	1.000	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-56.328	26102.147	.000	1	.998	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	94.881	64125.183	.000	1	.999	1.608649688037931E+41
	SOCNET	-22.578	3902.657	.000	1	.995	.000
	LOS	-1.919	297.669	.000	1	.995	.147
	SOCIAL_C(1)	-22.564	21425.428	.000	1	.999	.000
	Constant	49.406	24032.422	.000	1	.998	286284039361840200000
Step 2	GENDER(1)	102.280	12558.384	.000	1	.994	2.627259882460278E+44
	AOA	-3.547	459.232	.000	1	.994	.029
	HD			.000	2	1.000	
	HD(1)	106.671	15708.356	.000	1	.995	2.120811945801615E+46
	HD(2)	38.947	16973.497	.000	1	.998	82114769572533200.000
	WORK_DIA			.000	2	1.000	
	WORK_DIA(1)	-78.961	13819.812	.000	1	.995	.000
	WORK_DIA(2)	49.392	43101.100	.000	1	.999	282224502409049600000
	SOCNET	-22.647	4121.421	.000	1	.996	.000
	LOS	-1.914	291.861	.000	1	.995	.148
	Constant	27.247	15445.199	.000	1	.999	681442867336.008

Variable(s) entered on step 1: GENDER, AOA, HD, WORK_DIA, SOCNET, LOS, SOCIAL_C.

Test 2:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	AOA	-.204	.161	1.606	1	.205	.815
	HD			.034	2	.983	
	HD(1)	10.649	77.447	.019	1	.891	42147.671
	HD(2)	-.662	121.278	.000	1	.996	.516
	SOCNET	-.629	.579	1.183	1	.277	.533
	LOS	.119	.075	2.472	1	.116	1.126
	Constant	-6.105	77.586	.006	1	.937	.002
Step 2	AOA	-.227	.162	1.957	1	.162	.797
	HD			.032	2	.984	
	HD(1)	10.306	81.297	.016	1	.899	29916.839
	HD(2)	-1.358	123.506	.000	1	.991	.257
	LOS	.099	.071	1.953	1	.162	1.105
	Constant	-5.479	81.417	.005	1	.946	.004
Step 3	AOA	-.256	.144	3.183	1	.074	.774
	HD			.037	2	.982	
	HD(1)	10.769	81.030	.018	1	.894	47532.174
	HD(2)	-1.839	121.177	.000	1	.988	.159
	Constant	-3.697	81.107	.002	1	.964	.025

Variable(s) entered on step 1: AOA, HD, SOCNET, LOS.

Test 3:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	HD			.039	2	.981	
	HD(1)	11.417	79.287	.021	1	.886	90869.685
	HD(2)	-.386	118.045	.000	1	.997	.680
	SOCNET	-.701	.552	1.613	1	.204	.496
	LOS	.147	.065	5.153	1	.023	1.158
	Constant	-12.674	79.293	.0[illegible]	1	.873	.000
Step 2	HD			.032	2	.984	
	HD(1)	11.007	84.696	.017	1	.897	60272.618
	HD(2)	-.489	125.758	.000	1	.997	.613
	LOS	.131	.061	4.573	1	.032	1.140
	Constant	-12.684	84.701	.022	1	.881	.000

Variable(s) entered on step 1: HD, SOCNET, LOS.

Test 4:
Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	AOA	-.259	.149	3.010	1	.083	.772
	HD			.035	2	.983	
	HD(1)	10.553	81.999	.017	1	.898	38301.691
	HD(2)	-1.671	122.596	.000	1	.989	.188
	SOCNET	-.399	.440	.823	1	.364	.671
	Constant	-2.949	82.097	.001	1	.971	.052
Step 2	AOA	-.256	.144	3.183	1	.074	.774
	HD			.037	2	.982	
	HD(1)	10.769	81.030	.018	1	.894	47532.174
	HD(2)	-1.839	121.177	.000	1	.988	.159
	Constant	-3.697	81.107	.002	1	.964	.025

Variable(s) entered on step 1: AOA, HD, SOCNET.

11.4 Appendix D: Transcription Conventions

Transcription conventions for excerpts within the body of the thesis and Appendix D follow those for the Systematic Analysis of Language Transcripts (SALT for Windows Version 5.0, © University of Wisconsin, Language Analysis Lab) program, except where the conventions are useful only for analysis of child language.

Each speaking turn was marked with the speakers' pseudonym or CI for Canadian interviewer and AI for Australian interviewer, and this was followed by a colon, a space and then the utterance. Interviews from the main study were marked with MS immediately following the interviewer's initials, so that CIMS stood for Canadian Interviewer Main Study and AIMS stood for Australian Interviewer Main Study. Early interviews were marked with the last two digits of the year following the interviewer's initials, e.g. CI00 stood for Canadian Interviewer 2000. Each speakers' turn ended with a full stop or question mark. Where line breaks were necessary for pauses, these also ended with a full stop or question mark.

Proper names, place names, etc. were not capitalized, except for the pronoun *I*.

When speakers used acronyms or letters of the alphabet, these were written as individual lower case letters with spaces in between each, e.g. u s a instead of U.S.A.

Apostrophes were used in contractions as they are conventionally.

The * symbol was used where speakers failed to complete a word or made a false start, e.g. nov* november

If part of a quotation was edited out of a transcript (in the body of the thesis), then this was marked with a hyphen and three full stops e.g. -...

Commas were used to indicate a brief pause of one second or less, longer pauses were marked by a line break, a colon on its own line, and resumption of the speech. e.g.

B: that was back in.
:
nineteen seventy four.

Angle brackets (< >) were used to indicate overlapping speech.

Phonetic transcriptions were placed in square brackets.

Laughter, breath sounds, coughing and other noises were noted in braces { }.

Rising intonation (high rising tone) in a statement was marked with {HRT}.

If speech was inaudible or unintelligible, a capital X was used to mark each unintelligible word.

11.5 Appendix E: Excerpts of Main Study Transcripts

Excerpts of the interviews from the main study, excerpts of interviews with the NSP's and excerpts of the early interviews (from 1974, 1981, 1988, 1999 and 2000) are provided in this appendix. These excerpts were taken from different points within the interviews; some from the beginning, middle and end. Half were taken from the portion of the interview conducted by the Canadian interviewer and half from the portion conducted by the Australian interviewers. Section 11.5 of this appendix contains excerpts of interviews from the main study, section 11.6 contains excerpts of interviews with the NSP's, section 11.7 contains excerpts of transcripts of some early interviews from 1999 and 2000, section 11.8 contains excerpts of transcripts of some of the 1988 interviews conducted by Prof. Michael Clyne[80] and section 11.9 contains excerpts of the 1974 and 1981 tapes.

11.5.1 Transcript of Harriet

CIMS: but you have two little girls right <so>.
H: <three>.
CIMS: <three>.
H: <three twelve year olds>.
CIMS: <oh> really oh.
H: yeah and uh when it comes to the girls they you know they have to have everything as far as daddy's concerned, <and I think that>.
CIMS: <that's a father daughter thing though isn't it>.
H: <yeah yeah>.
CIMS: maybe if you had a boy <it'd be different>.
H: <yeah a bit different> I dunno dunno but uh yeah makes it hard.
CIMS: yuh.
H: hmmm and if you wanna stay and they don't but they'll g* home you see and they'll b* they'll see everybody and they'll have a good time {laughter} and that's not gonna help them make the decision you want is it?
CIMS: I dunno cause I, last year I went home I was I went to a conference and I took emma with me?
H: yeah.
CIMS: and we stayed um after that for another three weeks.
H: yeah.
CIMS: and visited and it was fun I had a good time.
H: yeah.
CIMS: but it didn't make me wanna move back {laughter}.
H: no.
CIMS: oh I can't imagine like I don't, I don't honestly really wanna go to canada in the middle of winter anyway.
H: no somebody asked me that the other day do you wanna move back to canada I said if I could move my family here I'd be right, cause I have no interest in living in the snow again, if I never saw snow again for the rest of m* life I would not care.
CIMS: yeah.
H: and I didn't hate it when I lived in it when I was growing up in it but I, don't like it I just didn't realize I just {laughter} you know I don't miss it you know I didn't hate it but I don't miss it.
CIMS: no.
H: and we weren't we wouldn't be going back anyway cause m* husband's an aussie and he's here and my kids are aussies and you know.

[80] The 1988 interviews were transcribed, for the most part, by research assistants working for Prof. Clyne.

CIMS: yeah.
H: we've made that decision so but yeah if we go back, to visit, I'd love to go in the summer that was I went I've been home twice once in the summer and once in the winter can do without the snow.
CIMS: I found the summers were also a bit miserable though because um we have horrible mosquitoes in edmonton?
H: oh yeah well we had the mosquitoes when I was home.
CIMS: <did you>.
H: <we'd go out for a> well my parents live on the lake on lake of the woods {noise}.
CIMS: okay.
H: and um, we um, oh help yourself.
CIMS: thanks.
H: and we um, we'd go for walks in the evening and all my family came to visit and I'd put the fly dope on and the mosquitoe stuff and a hat on and a long shirt and, <they>.
CIMS: that didn't bother you?
H: they ate me alive and they didn't bother the rest of them.

11.5.2 Transcript of Emma

AIMS: I'll just take a seat here.
E: sorry it's not very comfortable.
AIMS: oh no that's okay I'm used to it, it's uni.
E: yeah {laughter}.
AIMS: what was your name again I'm sorry.
E: {name}.
AIMS: right n how long have you been in australia?
E: seventeen years.
AIMS: oh really long time.
E: yeah.
AIMS: seems long time or?
E: ah no I'm amazed it's gone so quickly it seems like about five years or something else {laughter} but I have a twelve year old daughter who was born here so it must be be y'know awhile.
AIMS: whereabouts are you from originally?
E: ah new brunswick in canada.
AIMS: oh yeah how do find the change how did you find it initially I guess the change in the change when you came over?
E: oh I loved it but there are so many similar* big similarities but little differences like I didn't know where to get things and oh I didn't know where the drugstore was because it wasn't a drugstore {laughter} it was a a chemist n um yeah so it was the little things that you couldn't make assumptions about that well I enjoyed that yeah.
AIMS: yeah was it it wasn't a big learning curve?
E: no no not really um like I said the cultures are very similar the histories and backgrounds are very similar so the big things are, are similar but um an also I was from a smaller town so melbourne was a bit overwhelming but.
AIMS: oh really.
E: yeah.
AIMS: how many were in the town you came from?
E: well I grew up in a town of twelve thousand we called it a city but {laughter} yeah but it was definitely a town compared to to australian cities yeah.
AIMS: yeah well how did you find that in terms of the people and I guess the size of the town did that have a big impact I mean were you in melbourne from the beginning or?
E: yes yeah I m I came to stay with a couple who knew my father and uh married their son {laughter} so yeah so I um and he lived in he melbourne born and raised so I um we lived in

carnegie then and I found the difference also well I've lived all over canada but um, I'm used to hillier places where you have visual, landmarks?
AIMS: yup.
E: and uh so getting around was a bit hard first I would {name} would drive me everywhere my husband and I would think where are we {laughter} where are we in relation to other places so the melways's very important to me it always has been {laughter} and uh uh so I found that different and the size and um but um I don't know really it's home it's been home since just about when I moved here.
AIMS: yep.
E: yeah.
AIMS: so do you consider yourself to be australian?
E: australian yeah yeah I know that because when I watch sporting events I tend to barrack for the australians {laughter} although if the commonwealth games come I'll have two players.
AIMS: alright yeah divided loyalty.
E: yes yeah.
AIMS: you can't go wrong they're both winning so.
E: yeah right that's right.
AIMS: yeah oh so what brought you over here originally you came as a couple or?
E: no I just I uh got a round the world ticket and uh that was when I finished uni in canada and um since I was coming to australia as I said my actually my dad and {name}'s dad were in the same p o w camp in germany.
AIMS: oh.
E: during the war and they kept in touch and um my dad had died some years before so I wanted to talk to jack about cause I was wondering if I might have a few yarns about the wartime cause my dad never talked about it so I came to stay with them and um that's when I met {name}.

11.5.3 Transcript of Sharon

CIMS: okay, so I'll return in a few minutes then.
S: no worries.
AIMS: sorry?
S: no worries.
AIMS: um just for the purposes of the tape, can you just tell me your history about where you've lived and everything.
S: okay, I was born in montreal, quebec, canada.
AIMS: wow.
S: um lived there for twenny nine years, lived in new york for about one year um an came to australia when I was thirty in nineteen ninety four december ninety four and I've been here ever since.
AIMS: okay and are you here permanently.
S: yes, I've migrated now I have dual citizenship now canadian and australian.
AIMS: So what's growing up in montreal like cause I'm really intrigued by like that part of canada.
S: what's it like, it's a lot different than australia in some ways in some ways I think canada is a lot like similar to australia but montreal's very different from the rest of canada quebec is very different.
AIMS: how?
S: having french and english culture an language um m* first language is english but I grew up with bilingual education so I speak both.
AIMS: so are you fluent.
S: I'm losing my french all the time cause I've been here for six years so I find that without practicing it I'm losing it.
AIMS: so do you consider yourself australian like or canadian or*>
S: it depends who I'm talking to I suppose um when I speak to my family they think I sound really ocker cause of my accent which is funny an when I'm here um most australians think I'm

american because of my accent they can't tell the difference between canadian and an american accents.
AIMS: really.
S: so I y'know here I'll quite proudly say I'm canadian really just to differentiate myself from americans.
AIMS: yeah.
S: but you know I'm dual, I'm I'm y'know have that flexibility of being from two places an a lot of australians I've met here especially being at monash and being an international student um there's a lot of people like me coming from other places n y'know readir.g newspapers in another city n thinking about the weather an what time it is here an there.
AIMS: an so is your family over is all of your family over in canada?
S: uh a bit spread out I've got a large family, there's five children so um I'm here I've got a sister who's married to a nepalese man an they spend six months of year in kathmandu and six months in montreal a sister in toronto, parents moved to vancouver um over ten years ago um and I had a brother in california an he's since moved back to montreal because of because of the french and nationalism and the political situation in quebec it's um not easy to find work n the economy's very stagnant an a lot of people a lot of anglos like my family are leaving so um my parents were the first to leave an then the kids have left one by one an what I miss most about montreal is my family and my friends but they've all really left, quite quite spread out around uh across canada.
AIMS: so um is montreal quebec your favourite part of canada or cause you grew up there or.
S: um yeah I mean you know you have a nostalgia for the place you grew up in I spent um most of my life there so um but I get sad every time I go back because my memories of the place are very different from the reality today.
AIMS: yeah.
S: um so if I I'm starting to break away I think from those you know um those feelings of nostalgia and seeing I see myself as you know it's cliché but a citizen of the world so wherever I go I can make myself at home and um there are parts of canada that are spectacularly beautiful the west coast and b c an it's beautiful I love the maritimes very fond memories of travels through prince edward island and, isle de la madeleine so, it's a small island in the gulf of the st laurence, nova scotia, newfoundland and all of that it's just.
AIMS: but you consider home here in melbourne now?
S: that's a hard question um depends on the day you ask me um really it does some some days I think of home as here an other days I think of home as montreal and it just really depends what side of the bed I wake up on.
AIMS: torn between two cities.

11.5.4 Transcript of Daisy

D: my children they all went overseas actually my youngest did end up going over to toronto to study cause she has dual nationality.
AIMS: oh right.
D: and she went over there to she did some study here at m I c and then couldn't get into william anglis so she went over .
AIMS: ah.
D: she went away and she says because overseas qualifications are more recognized.
AIMS: yeah.
D: back in Australia.
AIMS: oh.
D: so that's what she did but she never came back to australia {laughter} she stayed over there and got married {laughter}.
AIMS: oh so you've been in australia for a long time.
D: I've been here for thirty oh.

AIMS: thirty years.
D: oh more than thirty years but thirty five thirty two years now.
AIMS: very established then yes {laughter}.
D: I don't consider oh I am canadian by birth and born but I I'm also a naturalized australian too so.
AIMS: it's like home.
D: so this is home to me.
AIMS: yeah yeah were you in melbourne the whole time or.
D: yes I've lived in this general area the whole time most of the time yes.
AIMS: yeah oh nice.
D: an I got my I mean I have travelled around australia.
AIMS: you've done more than me then {laughter}.
D: I've seen a fair I've been to the west I've been up to the pilbara I've been up to kakadu I've been up to ayer's rock a couple of times I've been to the center I've been up to the barrier reef so I have I have seen a lot.
AIMS: yeah.
D: there's a lot of australia for the young people to see.
AIMS: yeah I just gotta get the money {laughter}.
D: that's true it is it is very expensive and our dollar is at present the dollar is very low so really you're better off not to spend your money over seas.
AIMS: yeah.
D: cause you just get it's really expensive.
AIMS: yeah ah yeah so.
D: there's a lot to see in australia that young people can see.
AIMS: yeah.
D: no problems at all.
AIMS: just gotta get into melbourne to start {laughter}.
D: oh well that's correct if you've come from colac {laughter} you know you didn't go to geelong you came to this side of the city instead.
AIMS: oh yeah a lot of people go to geelong actually but I thought I'd like something a bit bigger.
D: that's alright so you're d* is this you're first year are you just standing.
AIMS: no actually it's my third year in melbourne.
D: oh well that's okay.
AIMS: yeah I love it.
D: so what are you specializing in in secondary teaching any specific subjects.
AIMS: um english and history actually yeah so humanities humanities areas yeah.
D: that should be alright are are what is are there any problems in getting a job afterwards.
AIMS: I don't think so no there's pretty much a shortage.
D: there is a shortage of secondary teachers as well.
AIMS: yeah so yeah did you come over with your job initially or was it.
D: no I didn't I was well no my I'd married an australian in canada.
AIMS: oh did you oh there you go.
D: an he didn't he didn't like the weather over there so he came back here {laughter} and uh but I was a trade nurse and what I did after oh yes my son was eighteen he was doing his v c e and I went back and did a refresher course.
AIMS: oh yeah.

11.5.5 Transcript of Betty

CIMS: {noise} um, so what's the place where you grew up like?
B: nebraska {HRT} hmm uh um very much uh weather is very hot very cold and um uh the uh it was very much small communities lot of life center around church activities.
CIMS: mmhmm.

B: and uh everybody I knew went to church at least once a week and usually youth groups it also centered very much around the schools in the uh um small towns so that the basketball game on friday night was something that everybody went to and if it was an away game parents would drive everybody it was very much a small town america, scene.
CIMS: so you lived in a small town did you?
B: mmm yeah, and yeah that was nebraska {laughter}.
CIMS: so did you find uh australia it was less um, christian like less church oriented.
B: yeah definitely maybe it's only my friends {laughter} but uh um, certainly if uh I I had ask uh I me* certainly, the largest percent of my friends in the u s were involved in going to church here the largest percent um in fact I probably only have a couple of friends that go to church you know yeah which doesn't say religious or not religious but the church activity's certainly different in the midwest.
CIMS: mmhmm so did you miss that when you came over?
B: yeah I did.
CIMS: yeah do you, did you go to church or do you go to church?
B: I don't at the moment but I have at various times depending on where I lived I would you know.
CIMS: yeah yeah oh I guess melbourne's a big city too so was it was it a big city when you moved here?
B: it was uh um the thing is that um, I wasn't used to, trams public transportation I wasn't used to packed streets you know at the nine o'clock crush {laughter} I'd get off the tram and walk the last part to lincoln institute or to uh melbourne state college where I worked and um, uh of course the crowds thinned as you got further up swanston street but I was always amazed down in the town with all the numbers yeah it it the other thing is though I was just mentioning before uh um things like saturday shopping you know it wasn't here so even though it was the big city uh saturday afternoon <the shops weren't open>.
CIMS: <oh that's right they used to> close early.
B: that's right and so I I was inspired enough one time to actually sign a petition when the um, hardware store owner frank, paulo* I've forgotten his last name something was jailed for keeping his hardware store open on saturday afternoon <you're too young>.
CIMS: <was it against the>.
B: you don't remember all of this {laughter}.
CIMS: no I only came here two years ago or three years ago so.
B: oh right yeah it was against the law.
CIMS: yeah why's that?
B: well I don't know and they couldn't sell meat after lunch time on saturdays either and then in the supermarkets they had to cover up the meat with a cover so you wouldn't buy it {laughter} it went through a stage where you couldn't buy it at all or everything was shut it was amazing that in a city this size that there was still these kind of shopping restrictions I mean I being a shopper you know {laughter}.
CIMS: was that just victoria or was it all over australia?
B: I think it was all over australia but I could be wrong <I just know> it was certainly melbourne.
CIMS: <yeah> I thought it was just cause the um the wages that people, got paid on weekends were too high.
B: coulda been but uh I know that the supermarkets not being allowed to sell meat was to help protect small businesses and in fact the people that objected to uh like the hardware store opening you know the thin edge of opening up this shopping said that it was to protect the small business people because they couldn't be expected to work seven days a week.
CIMS: <oh>.

11.5.6 Transcript of Lucy

AIMS: okay I'll just get some composure {laughter} no so how old were you you were quite young when you moved to australia is that right?
L: uh I was seven yeah.
AIMS: and how did you find it like was it something that you were against coming over or?

L: um not really {noise} not really um I guess I found that you know being a little kid you find that a great big you know adventure going somewhere else.
AIMS: yeah.
L: but it was just totally different than where I'd been and.
AIMS: yeah.
L: different culture different traditions you know things so.
AIMS: so so did you find it um at the age of seven did you go straight into the schooling system and things?
L: yeah we arrived I think on february fourteenth or something or early february and I was straight in.
AIMS: and how did you find that?
L: um it was very hard because I was actually in grade one when I left which finishes in um ju* may june and then they put me straight in with grade two.
AIMS: which was half way through.
L: yeah and which was the start and and I had a english teacher and I couldn't understand what shhh {child saying bup bup bup} shhh I couldn't understand um what some of you know her accent and stuff like this so i*it was I found it hard to actually get established.
AIMS: yeah and did you find that um with the kids how did you get along do you remember I don't know if you remember that far back but?
L: um I don't think there was a problem I think the kids got on really well I think it was just understanding the different, accents and I remember when I first, came then like I the teacher was english but there was um, some greeks or italians that I was.
:
L: um sitting next to and you know in america in middle america you don't actually have, um <you know greeks or italians>.
AIMS: XXX.
L: it's quite a bit of a wasp sort of collection of kids so.
AIMS: well that would be good though with difference maybe maybe?
L: yeah no totally different yes.
AIMS: um with like, although you were young and probably wouldn't have a huge effect but with the vietnam war did you find that there was a preconceived idea about?
L: I don't remember much about it but I remember there was a few things like spray painted van* you know vandalism n stuff and I remember asking mum stuff like what does that say and it said stuff like go home yanks or something you know but that that but I w* was too young to to.
AIMS: <to know>.
L: <to understand>.
AIMS: yeah um what was uh what did did you have a preconception of australia or was it just going eyes wide open?
L: um mum got one of those national geographic magazines at the time and I think you know they show different countries and stuff I think at the time there was um a section on that and it showed kangaroos, and I think the anima* I don't remember much about it so I I was expecting to go and actually see kangaroos in the backyard you know I mean know all that kinda <of silly stuff>.
AIMS: <as you do> some people still believe that and they're a lot older.
L: yeah well exactly.
AIMS: um what do you find like do you want to go back to america at all or do you find australia is home for you?

11.5.7 Transcript of Margaret

CIMS: do you feel more like um an australian or an american?
M: well more like an australian now.
CIMS: uhuh how long have you been here?
M: about twenny five twenny six years.
CIMS: mmhmm.
M: twenny twenny seven years.
CIMS: yeah, so at what point did you you start feeling more australian?

M: well I think probably after I came to melbourne an married my husband.
CIMS: do you like the australian lifestyle?
M: yes I do.
CIMS: um do you have any plans to return to the u s?
M: not to live I periodically make trips back to visit friends and family I certainly don't plan to go back to live.
CIMS: so do you still go back for some visits?
M: yes yes.
CIMS: about how often?
M: well {sigh} I try to go um every few years in fact I went in february but that wasn't nice my mother passed away so that was unplanned.
CIMS: oh and all your family's in oregon?
M: uh they're sort of all over the place.
CIMS: um do you like australian english the sound of it?
M: some of it it depends on the accent some of it I don't like but I've found through the years that it's um I think it's modified a bit since I first came here.
CIMS: yeah.
M: certainly some of the slang has changed and I had a great deal of difficulty understanding some people when I first came but I don't now.
CIMS: mmhmm, yeah so do you think that's cause you're more used to it or cause it's changed?
M: both I think a little bit of both.
CIMS: do you have more awareness of american accents now if you hear one?
M: yes yes definitely.
CIMS: so do you like the american accent?
M: there again it's some it depends.
CIMS: okay good thanks okay um I just have a wordless picture book that I'll get you I'll ask you just to describe.
M: this isn't some psychological test is it?
CIMS: oh no no it's just so that because if you're reading then you pronounce the words in a certain way because you see them written down on the page you know tends to influence the way you say things that's why it's wordless but I'll just preface this by saying that there's a bit of christian imagery in the middle {HRT} um but if you're uncomfortable with that we can just leave it out.
M: I am a bit.
CIMS: okay it was just chosen because it's hard to find a wordless picture book {HRT} it's not part of the uh experiment but that's fine we can leave it out.
M: s* you want me to describe it do you?
CIMS: mmhmm just describe what you see in the pictures {noise}.
M: well at the top there's someone sound asleep someone waking up and then it looks like someone levitating {laughter}.
CIMS: oh.
M: or jumping.

11.5.8 Transcript of Jackie

AIMS: ah so four years an how've you found it so far.
J: I really like it I um got my permanent residency about eighteen months ago s' that I could stay.
AIMS: yeah.
J: um so yeah I really enjoy it over here.
AIMS: oh cool have you been in melbourne the whole time.
J: no I*.
AIMS: travelling around.
J: no I's living in um a place called cambowdele in western australia it's a very small mining town for two years <so>.
AIMS: <yuh> you like that?

J: ye*es it's not too bad you get used to it and.
AIMS: yeah not too hot?
J: oh took some getting used to but.
AIMS: {laughter} yeah so mm um what are you studying at the moment?
J: um I'm doing my master's in environmental geo science.
AIMS: oh yeah.
J: essentially.
AIMS: yuh.
J: with the geology department so.
AIMS: how do you find um monash compared to uh you obviously did a degree.
J: yeah um it's a lot different um I reckon um it's, well for one like I'm doing my thesis it's all um independent study and programs like that don't really exist in the u s they're all with course work and stuff like that so.
AIMS: yup.
J: um yeah and just the whole it's a little bit more laid back here I find I don't.
AIMS: yeah have you did you find it initially when you came over a very hard move like in terms of support networks n family n?
J: um.
AIMS: things?
J: no it wasn't too bad the town that I moved to had a lot of um people in m* age group like employed there {HRT} so there was just kind of a network of people to become friends with kind of instantly and because we were so remote it was like it's not like you were gonna go out searching for anyone else in particular so.
AIMS: yup.
J: yeah.
AIMS: oh good so it wasn't big cultural difference or I mean.
J: no no I mean, hmm spent a couple months thinking I was going deaf cause I had a hard time understanding people when I first got here and I was always going what pardon {laughter} stuff like that but um no it was fairly.
AIMS: no.
J: fairly easy 'ransition really didn't can't think of any real problems that I had with it or anything.
AIMS: yuh and what brought you to melbourne eventually like?
J: um schoo* going back to do some more study so.
AIMS: yuh and bigger town is that?
J: no.
AIMS: is that a good thing bad thing.
J: it's a bad thing at the moment m* boyfriend's over in western australia still so it was kind of more of a no work I need to do something um.
AIMS: yeah.
J: type situation so.
AIMS: yeah mm.
J: so I'd wanted to go back to school anyway so I just decided to do it over here and.
AIMS: yup do you see him often?
J: uh three or four times a year.
AIMS: ooh hard.
J: yeah.
AIMS: do you um go back to america at all?
J: um we've been back a couple times um I went back for a conference this summer and visited home for two days n then.

11.5.9 Transcript of Vera

V: okay.
CIMS: okay thanks so your parents live in australia in tasmania.
V: my mum lives in launceston yeah my father's not living so it's not really relative.
CIMS: oh is she australian.
V: no she's american.
CIMS: oh yeah and so how did you um or when you'd written down on that little piece of paper for me that you'd uh lived here when you were a child for awhile.
V: oh fifteen yeah we we migrated here when I was fifteen.
CIMS: oh yeah so your parents wanted to move out here.
V: just my mum.
CIMS: or your mum yeah.
V: yeah don't ask me wh* I think she just wanted to get as far away as possible to a completely new place so there's not much further you can get {laughter}.
CIMS: so it was adventure then mostly or.
V: oh well I suppose just wanted to start a new life I suppose yeah so and she knew somebody that lived in melbourne and so we ended up in melbourne somebody's brother lived in prahran yeah.
CIMS: so was that a shock to come here when you were fifteen.
V: absolutely {laughter} it was, {sniffle} um yeah it was like coming to another planet really.
CIMS: yeah.
V: well because.
CIMS: <did you>.
V: <yeah I mean> like we didn't have a t v we didn't have a car we didn't have a phone.
CIMS: really.
V: we didn't have air conditioning we didn't have {laughter} there was like there were like you went to the butcher shop to buy your meat you went to the other shop to buy your bread there were not very many big supermarkets or things like that and if you did go to like a little supermarket you had to take a your own bag to take your stuff home in like string bags were big um yeah it was just unusual and things like y'know like the bread wasn't wrapped up y'know you'd go in the milk bar and it was just all stacked in the window on the shelves and they'd just hand it to you put a little bit of paper around the middle.
CIMS: oh yeah.
V: so things like that were funny yeah and having to wear a school uniform and the way of learning in school was completely different.
CIMS: hmm.
V: so that was really difficult y'know I went from being a a very good student to being a very poor student probably partly of the, the, upheaval of my life but pro* also because I think of the teaching methods and the way of testing things I found it really <difficult>.
CIMS: <were they> a lot more traditional here or british or something.
V: (sigh) oh well y* yeah sitting exams like I wasn't used to doing that y'know we used to have like nine week semesters four semesters a year you'd have tests at the end of each week or the end of each semester or something n you'd have a paper n you'd have different things that sort of built up your grade whereas you sort of went along for three or six months n you had an exam over everything that you had done.
CIMS: oh yeah.
V: yeah {laughter} so you sort of didn't know what they were going to cover so you had to know everything whereas I think I was more used to concentrating on bits at a time.
CIMS: mmhmm.
V: yeah and a lot of the teachers would just sit and read you the textbook I mean it was just dreadful {laughter} it was dreadful hopefully it's not like that now but I just found it really difficult and I had to do courses like politics you know and I didn't, I knew nothing about australian politics and americans were not very popular here in the early seventies because of the vietnam war was still o* just ending.

11.5.10 Transcript of Felicia

AIMS: <so> you're from canada is it originally how how long've you been in australia for.
F: twenty eight years.
AIMS: twenty eight years long time.
F: yeah yeah yeah I married an australian so.
AIMS: oh did you.
F: yeah.
AIMS: right.
F: yeah.
AIMS: so did you meet him ov* over in canada?
F: no m* sister n I came out here.
AIMS: oh for a holiday was it or.
F: w* went to new zealand for about six or eight months or something n then we came here for about just over a year.
AIMS: oh yup.
F: n I met him here n then he came back n got married over there so yeah.
AIMS: so that was the main reason you moved over yeah.
F: yeah.
AIMS: yeah.
F: s* n I loved it too I really enjoyed it so it wasn't any.
AIMS: wasn't.
F: I mean other than leaving family it's y'know it's a nice lifestyle and everything so.
AIMS: yeah did you find it similar just <the lifestyle>.
F: <pardon>?
AIMS: did you find the lifestyle similar.
F: yeah it's very similar.
AIMS: yeah.
F: an there's a lot of things that you forget and I've just had a friend over from canada oh six weeks ago.
AIMS: yuh.
F: n different things that she'd noticed an I'd forgot completely y'know you just sort of so used to things like and so little things that you just think oh.
AIMS: XXX yeah yeah so you've you've enjoyed it.
F: yeah.
AIMS: haven't missed it too much.
F: no no I just miss family but that's all I've got a sister here thank goodness or else I'd <be really>.
AIMS: <oh do you>.
F: yeah.
AIMS: did she come over.
F: she come over after.
AIMS: after you.
F: after I did yeah yeah s* {noise}.
AIMS: made things good is she in melbourne as well or.
F: she's in sunbury which is.
AIMS: not too far yeah.
F: yeah so yeah that's alright.
AIMS: yup an many things at all that you found hard to adjust to at the start.
F: driving on the other side of the road {laughter}.
AIMS: yeah <I would've thought that>.
F: <yeah my host would> scream at me move over move over n instead of saying move to the left he'd just say move over move over n I said I am what you're cross about n I'm going the wrong way y'know s' other than that no not a not a lot really.

11.5.11 Transcript of Peg

P: okay so you ask me what you need to ask.
CIMS: okay um so do you feel more like an american or an australian now?
P: uh I don't know what I feel like I just I feel like a human being my husband and I not only work here but we work in china in japan in patagonia in south africa we just we're a very international family and we have people coming through our house that come from all of these different places so we really we're here we're australian citizens and we're also u s citizens so we feel committed to particularly to the australian political scene and we take we partake in it we d* don't still vote in the united states so we really aren't part of that political scene and we feel committed to the country but we feel like human beings that's basically what we are we're human beings.
CIMS: do you go back and visit to the states?
P: we get back there occasionally my parents are still there um but {name}'s parents have both died so he he will go back and visit his relatives when we can but but monetary reasons keep us from going back and forth it's just too expensive to go so we will go if we have a if we have business there but we really don't have enough family finances to be financing trips back and forth my parents more often come here and visit us it's easier there's four of us and there's two of them and they're financially more uh able to do that than we are yeah so we don't go back very often unless it's it has to be work related really.
CIMS: do you have any plans to ever move back there?
P: I don't know where we'll end up we've been thinking a lot about that there's no great pull back to the u s we're thinking what we ideally I think would like to do is to live in tasmania about three months of the year and live in north queensland about three months of the year and live in patagonia for another six months {laughter} because we unless we're infirm we can still continue doing our geological fieldwork and so we want to be in places where we can do that.
CIMS: hmm.
P: so there's no great there's no great pull to go back to the u s because the u s is not what I left the u s has changed a lot since I lived there um but I I honestly don't know where we'll end up we're rootless {laughter}.
CIMS: yeah I'm starting to feel that way too actually.
P: yeah I like the u s a lot I love I love the people and I like the I like the magnificent scenery in north america which is not I don't think matched here in australia there's places that are really very magnificent such as the great barrier reef and cradle mountain but there's nothing like southwest there's nothing like the canadian rockies there just isn't anything like that here and I do miss the magnificence of that a lot like that's what I have my friends there and they're important to me but I really do miss the magnificence of that country and in patagonia we found that uh the andes are fantastic and there's not many people there we're really hermits we don't like to live in cities and we also don't although we use a lot of technology we like to get away from it as much as we can {laughter} so I like I mean it's we're sort of spoiled in a sense you like to come back and use your computers and that sort of thing but I like to get away from them and you become a very different person when you're away from your computer and you're away from phones and you're away from even cars because we do in patagonia we do a lot of work on our feet and it is just so wonderful to just have a back pack on your back and be out in this country where you feel relatively safe because in patagonia there are places in the united states I think I would feel very unsafe in being in isolated country just because there's a bunch of nuts sometimes running around out there but in patagonia it hasn't gotten to the nutcase bit {laughter}.
CIMS: what language do they speak there?
P: spanish yeah we know enough to get along but we're taking an intensive spanish course beginning in january {cough} and because all of us need to speak our my daughter after our first visit we had there decided she had to learn to speak spanish so she's been spent a year and half doing spanish at melbourne uni and she speaks fluent spanish and french and english and some chinese she speaks a number of languages um but I we're slower learners and our son doesn't like languages so he's gonna be forced to {laughter} and it's not so much forced he nee* he knows that he needs to learn to speak spanish because when he's there he wants to speak to

other kids and many times the kids don't speak any english so they end up doing lots of hand signals and playing soccer things like that.

11.5.12 Transcript of Carrie

AIMS: oh gosh, it's all become official now hasn't it {laughter} no um so are you from canada {HRT} or america.
C: u s.
AIMS: the u s whereabouts.
C: uh san jose?
AIMS: yuh and how long ago did you move from there?
C: mmm on a permanent basis thirty {elongated} one years.
AIMS: so in the that'd make it.
C: nineteen seventy we came over.
AIMS: yeah and so you'd been here before {HRT} cause you just said on a permanent basis so had you.
C: yeah I went back to uni for four years.
AIMS: in america?
C: mmhmm early eighties and then I went through a working holiday in europe in the late eighties early nineties.
AIMS: oh yeah.
C: and did a small stint.
AIMS: whereabouts in europe did you?
C: oh everywhere {laughter}.
AIMS: yeah oh I'm so jealous.
C: XXX.
AIMS: I know I just gotta, earn some money first.
C: well once I got married I never um have been anywhere s* there you go {laughter} and in eleven years we haven't been anywhere haven't done anything.
AIMS: {laughter} oh that's a bit sad.
C: it is it is indeed and we're looking at re financing the house and thinking oh we'll get a bit of money out of that and at least take the kids out to dream world or something.
AIMS: yeah.
C: and um then w* sort of calculated everything there was nothing left so oh well.
AIMS: so were you living in brisbane is that what I caught on before.
C: <yeah>.
AIMS: <how long> were you there for?
C: {whistle} seventy four.
:
C: oh seventy four to basically ninety take out four years well.
:
C: ninety eight {whisper}.
:
C: it seemed to me all in I was there about seven or eight years but it doesn't sort of tell you when I'm sitting here working it out {laughter} yeah about that.
AIMS: and you enjoyed it up there?
C: yeah loved it {name}'s a queenslander.
AIMS: oh okay.
C: yeah {cough}.
AIMS: so <work>.
C: <but uh> oh he works for boeing so.
AIMS: oh okay moving around a bit.
C: yeah I mean they've got a lot of admin things in brisbane but the sort of technical side he does you have to do here in melbourne so.
AIMS: so and was that a decision you were happy with?
C: uh {laughter} we'd been here once before.

AIMS: yeah.
C: he worked for the federal government for bout three years I hated it then.
AIMS: really?
C: but I think part of that is is I went from being a single girl that was very active had two kids straight off from the marriage and no money and it was just a really big change.
AIMS: yeah.
C: yeah just it happened that you know I changed environment I was away from m* friends I had these kids I had no money a lot of things cause when we went back to queensland I thought oh yeah gotta get my you know wild lifestyle back and of course it didn't happen you know so this time when we, came down um I just sort of thought well I'll be happy wherever the family is and I mean I must admit days like this they get you down a bit because you're used to sunshine and {child enters the room}.

11.5.13 Transcript of Gary

AIMS: how long've you been here for now?
G: been here nine years.
AIMS: nine years.
G: I came on new years day nineteen ninety two I've been back now three times since for various trips at various times research or family or XXX um yeah so of that nine years it would've been certainly in in australia all but maybe three months of that time.
AIMS: yeah and you like it here or?
G: yeah very much.
AIMS: didn't find the change, to be really big?
G: oh well not.
AIMS: culturally?
G: culturally no in fact I was almost a little disappointed I expected it to be more I have to say that when I I was at another university in california and when I told them that I was applying or that I was um accepted and accepting this job um they were saying at the time oh you're gonna have to get out your powdered wig and your robe because you're gonna be needing it for exams and all this sort of thing {laughter} and of course obviously that's.
AIMS: not true.
G: simply not the case at all so there was a lot of disinformation and misinformation about what it was gonna be like here.
AIMS: yeah.
G: I was expecting it to be more like england where I had spent some time.
AIMS: oh okay.
G: and I found it very much well I'm from california and I mean not even so much melbourne but certainly sydney queensland area are v* very familiar to me.
AIMS: really?
G: it seemed very very familiar.
AIMS: is that do you think the television culture thing or?
G: possibly I mean I would say that f* to the to a certain extent I'm only vastly over generalizing here but to a certain extent the uh the pace and the energy that I feel in sydney feels very much like los angeles to me.
AIMS: okay.
G: if it weren't for the fact that there's that gorgeous harbour right in the middle {laughter} if you couldn't see that from the buildings and the fact that the cars are on the other side of the road I'd swear I was in I a.
AIMS: yeah.
G: cause that's exactly the feeling that you get there very, active very busy little b* quite a bit of noise you know a lot of energy.
AIMS: <yeah>.
G: <even> late at night sort of thing.
AIMS: how do find melbourne compares?

G: melbourne t* again v* very broad strokes and over generalizations very very much like a a an east coast u s city to me.
AIMS: okay.
G: other people have said that too I mean this isn't any any great great uh revelation but places like particularly boston or um or um say philadelphia places like that it's from my experience of course los angeles now is basically one big sprawl I mean you have downtown I a but I defy anybody to tell me where exactly downtown I a ends because it just it's just one suburb and one thing after another and now it goes right down to the to the coast goes down to to mexico and basically out to the desert and it's all kind of one great big sprawl.
AIMS: yeah.

11.5.14 Transcript of Lee

CIMS: so do you still feel like an american or you feel kind of australian now?
L: um, I guess for the most part I feel like an american but um, I I feel like this is home if you can understand there's a little bit of a contradiction there maybe.
CIMS: yeah.
L: I sort of feel like an American living abroad.
CIMS: so what made you want to move back to the states?
L: family being close to my parents they're getting older and I wanted to spend some time with them cause I haven't lived within like a thousand a thousand miles of them since I was seventeen.
CIMS: oh really?
L: yeah.
CIMS: yeah.
L: yeah so it's about time.
CIMS: been back to visit often since you moved here?
L: yeah I get back almost once a year like two times every three years like christmas or weddings and my brother got married a year ago, I tend to get back at christmas quite often.
CIMS: do you still feel at home there when you go back?
L: no no it doesn't.
CIMS: cause it's changed a lot since you were a kid or just cause you don't feel like?
L: no I think it's changed a lot in the last ten years, and I probably've changed too but where my parents live in texas I haven't lived there since highschool and since that time it's grown completely and people's attitudes seem really different probably I've changed as well.
CIMS: oh yeah you hear lots of shoot em up stories from texas.
L: yeah there's a problem there with attitude toward guns especially.
CIMS: yeah yeah.
L: everybody likes to carry a gun in their pick up truck n there was actually quite a big problem with just sort of road rage shootings you know where people don't afterwards they feel really bad about it but in that moment they have a gun available so they get really angry they stop someone and you know end up shootin em.
CIMS: yeah that's pretty nutty well I'm not really sure what the gun control laws are here exactly.
L: they're you have to register your guns here at least it's sort of I find it's pretty crazy in the states how there's such a resistance to even registering guns you know just so you know who has what gun people register their cars you know it's like why can't you register your gun too.
CIMS: yeah that's true I heard this n r a spokesman saying that they didn't want to start registering their guns because they thought it would be the first step to the government taking away the guns that were registered so then there'd only be unregistered guns around would b* which would be in the hands of criminals and so all the good law abiding citizens would have no guns to defend themseives with.
L: yeah that's always the argument you need the guns to defend yourself but.
CIMS: yeah.
L: I'm sure that something like, eighty percent of the shootings are done like within the house within the household by a family member, you know either accidental or in domestic violence it's

a very small percentage that're done by criminals but everyone says you need the gun to defend yourself.
CIMS: well if you make enough dangerous situations you'll eventually have to defend yourself from something.
L: hmm yeah well seems like the best way to make things less dangerous is get rid of the weapons.
CIMS: that's too simple.
L: yup perhaps.

11.5.15 Transcript of Benjamin

AIMS: so you do feel to be australian like or?
B: we feel we we <are>.
AIMS: <yeah>.
B: australians don't feel we <are because we talk differently>.
AIMS: <{laughter}>.
B: and and that sort of thing so you know but we feel we are because we've lived here for ten years and we've lived here long enough that you know we've gone through several political generations you know so we can relate you know people will say something about somebody that was you know ten years ago is most people's span of of of discussion and topics and all that so most things people bring up we can now relate to you know if it was early nineties well we were here so we can now you know from that point of we can't relate to things that happened twenty years ago but most people don't talk about that anymore most people talk about what's happened in the last ten years when you move to a country for the first time one of the biggest cultural differences is the fact that people are talking about things that happened within the last say three to five years you don't know what they're talking about but they'll talk about some incident that happened whether it's economic political or education or whatever you have no idea you can't relate to that so you can't you can't fit in because you can't relate to that all you can sort of say is well we weren't here then and it's different where we came from once you've been somewhere long enough you can you know you can you can relate to discussions that have happened uh things that have happened ten years ago you know cause we were here so if they say oh there was this big drought in victoria eight years ago we can say yeah I remember that we were here and it helps you to sort of fit in.
AIMS: yeah.
B: and uh so we feel that we fit in quite well because we can relate to all of that it's just that the accent creates a a um perception that you you.
AIMS: yeah.
B: won't know what they're talking about and or that you can't understand what they mean when they say things and I think I can now I think I understand the australian culture very well actually.
AIMS: yeah.
B: and I and and all all the things that go with that so I think that we've been here long enough for a lot of the things you know maybe not everything we can actually relate extremely well and we can talk about some of the issues that australians have and where they fit in the world and how they relate to other cultures and all that sort of.
AIMS: yeah.
B: thing and and the positive and negative sides of of of their culture and their attitudes and all that sort of thing and we can I I feel I can I understand I can relate very well but but because of the accent the perception is that you won't understand what they're talking about and you can't possibly understand the issues that australians have and their place in the world and those sort of things because you don't talk like me so therefore how can you understand what I'm going through yet I think if you've been in here ten years and you've lived through all all of what's the you you start to get a pretty good idea I'm not saying in every way because some of it is how you're raised and and relating to that but in a general sense I think we can so I guess what I'm saying is I feel like we're pretty australian we've lived here for ten years uh and we've made a home here and all those sort of things um, but I think australians I don't think they'll ever accept

us as being an australian because we don't talk the same and that's a hard thing to overcome is that you know that uh is that.
AIMS: obvious.
B: the obvious sort of thing.
AIMS: yeah.
B: to overcome how can you relate to what we're what we've gone through when you don't you're not from here even though you've lived here ten years or twenty years or whatever the case may be.

11.5.16 Transcript of Edward

CIMS: do you think that there are um do you think that australians have uh different kind of values from, americans?
E: yeah.
CIMS: how so {laughter} what what do you think the differences are?
E: well what I do you mean like a generic characterization or do you want me to substantive list inclusive non inclusive exhaustive non exhaustive or what {laughter} well I think basically what they are are they're an interesting cross between american and british values they seem to incorporate a lot of what I consider to be the best and worst in both gi* I'll tell you something um I was talking to another staff member here who's an australian and she spent a little while in england and I said the thing that always stuns me about is the fact that their complete collective divorce from uh um anything like a recognizable work ethic.
CIMS: the english?
E: yes I mean you've got this tremendous pseudo aristocratic late enchant regime post eighteenth century society with the greater city home county uh class state system.
CIMS: mmhmm.
E: in a state of radical objective economic decline and yet they seem to be convinced of an inherent cultural superiority because of course of their because of their status you know their birth their accent uh the o e d syndrome XX.
CIMS: mm.
E: um and I said I think it's the only country in the world whereby they've completely severed the necessary connection between performance and output, and status and value you know there's they make nothing nothing succeeds it's failure but they're still inherently superior in some way like for example if the american equivalent of the um minister for state domestic affairs the home office came out and said the united states would not be able to host the olympics because our infrastructure was too run down .
CIMS: mmhmm.
E: our roads and railroads are too decrepit.
CIMS: oh did they tell that?
E: yes they did they told the home secretary did say that there would be a riot and I think there would one in australia too for precisely the same reasons that if we are so far gone then what is wrong with us on the other hand I think the australians are phenomenally lazy, I would say looking at law the law schools I've worked at {names} the single biggest problem is the students will not put into put the input in they require there is not a work ethic but it comes from a completely opposite perspective.
CIMS: <hmm>.
E: <whereas> the english disincentive to work comes from aristocratic disdain.
CIMS: yeah.
E: here it comes from uh what I would call irish cynicism which is is that the whole notion of a work culture is something that the uh tall poppies have invented to foist off on the underlings to basically cheat em out of their labour.
CIMS: yeah.
E: so e* you know it almost becomes a kind of a a passive peasant resistance.
CIMS: mmhmm.

E: not having to work.
CIMS: mmhmm.
E: the resentment to work on the other hand you do have here and po* I am kind of inclined to lean towards a kind of geographical determinism when we were talking about things something like national characteristics you've got the frontier you've got the coastline you've got oodles and oodles of empty space it does tend to foster a kind of an entrepreneurial grass roots innovative approach to problem solving like look look at all the uh medical and scientific innovations that take place in australia the problem is there's no patent regime right so the australians build all this fantastic stuff and then americans or the europeans or the japanese profit is no no native company no no wi* indigenous corporate organization is investing in the uh the copyright laws or patenting process the intellectual property regime here is really decrepit.

11.5.17 Transcript of Renee

AIMS: so just for like the tape recorder and everything can you just tell me like where you've lived all your life and everything.
R: sure okay um I was born in um edmonton alberta {HRT}
AIMS: okay
R: so that's western canada.
AIMS: where annik's from?
R: yeah exactly same same city and um I lived there until I was five then my dad had a job <transfer>.
AIMS: <yeah>.
R: up to the northwest territories so the place we stayed at was called yellow knife.
AIMS: okay.
R: and we lived there for one year and that's {laughter} absolutely insane weather conditions we used to get negative forty negative fifty <windchill>.
AIMS: how did you cope?
R: um I didn't really know much different I was five we once got frozen inside the house {laughter} we had to use the hairdryer to get out {laughter} it was insane it was absolutely insane um but yeah it stuck out in my memory a lot cause it was so different to anywhere else I mean we wouldn't the sun wouldn't set in the summer.
AIMS: oh yeah.
R: and in the winter it wouldn't rise I'd go to school in the dark and come home in the dark so we stayed there one year and then we went back to edmonton and edmonton seemed warm compared <to that>.
AIMS: <yeah> {laughter}
R: and um in nineteen ninety five I moved to melbourne.
AIMS: okay.
R: because my mum's australian {HRT} she she was born in melbourne {HRT} and her whole family is here.
AIMS: yeah.
R: they're they're from different parts of australia mostly from tasmania I don't admit that to most people but {laughter}.
AIMS: least you're in on the joke that's okay.
R: yeah yup and um yeah so I've been living here since then I did year nine to twelve here and now I'm in second year uni.
AIMS: okay so you were about like fifteen when you moved here.
R: I was fifteen yup.
AIMS: wow s*.
R: good guess {laughter}.
AIMS: oh come on you just work backwards.
R: yeah.
AIMS: ah so um, which is your favourite place to live obviously not, the one year that you spent up there but <do you like>.

R: <XXX> um.
AIMS: edmonton better than australia or?
R: I think um I think if I was to leave well I've left one if I was to leave melbourne I'd miss it for different reasons than I miss edmonton?
AIMS: like friends or?
R: yeah exactly I miss I miss canada for the people there and I miss the cold weather it's crazy but I miss that really really chilly air and I miss the snow um but I think if I was to leave melbourne I'd I don't know what I'd do without the beach now cause I love it I just love it.
AIMS: do you?
R: yeah.
AIMS: you'd love queensland then have you been up there?

11.5.18 Transcript of David

CIMS: so what drew you to uh australia?
D: there was a good job opportunity but I think at least as important as that was just kind of to see this part of the world {HRT} always had a hankering to see {cough} uh australia and interested in new zealand but I've only been through the airport a couple of times in auckland and I had grand visions of visiting the islands in the south pacific while we were here but s* too busy and it's expensive so so we don't we haven't been able to do that so just to see this part of the world like I say it was good job opportunity and and in general australia's a geologist's paradise.
CIMS: really?
D: strong representation of mining and economic geology and ore deposits to the australian economy much like canada but even moreso now canada has more industry I think, now than australia does at present.
CIMS: yeah.
D: and in many ways canada or sorry australia reminds me of things I remember in canada twenty years ago.
CIMS: really?
D: so like you see like introduction of cable t v and all that sort of stuff comes along around twenty years after we got it in canada.
CIMS: yeah.
D: so that's just one example but I could probably draw several if I thought about it for a minute or so, so it's interesting.
CIMS: do you have any plans to return to canada?
D: I've given up planning where or when I'm going to be anymore {laughter} uh I I would I can't imagine staying here for the rest of my life.
CIMS: so you still feel like a canadian or?
:
D: definitely, but I miss australia when I go back to canada.
CIMS: hmm.
D: I still miss canada but not as much as I used to, you know it's just the time, factor, so.
CIMS: hmm so what's your background XXX?
D: uh.
:
D: oh I was born and bred in western canada born in calgary uh I lived most of my life in alberta and b c I was my dad was in the forces I was an army brat so I spent time in europe while he was stationed there but that was all when I was very young since I was about four years old I lived in edmonton between the time I was four and ten and I moved to vernon in the interior of b c the okanagan valley which you may or may not <know about>.
CIMS: <oh yeah that's nice>.
D: and yuh pretty nice and then I moved to vancouver when I finished highschool and, wanted to try a bigger place so I went to vancouver lived there for for uh ten years {HRT} maybe a bit more.
CIMS: yeah.
D: then I went down to the east coast of the u s in jersey, so I'm definitely western canadian uh.
CIMS: yeah.

D: so yeah I I actually I'm sure that my accent changes just because I'm talking to you and I know you're canadian.
CIMS: yeah.
D: a lot of people comment other canadians that I know when I see people talking and scots are very good at this too when they talk to their, people from their own country then the accent becomes a lot stronger very quickly and I know when I go to scotland um I'll start trying to talk like a scot and using a scottish accent.
CIMS: oh.
D: just cause I'm there and I don't know why it's not a conscious effort.
CIMS: mmhmm.

11.5.19 Transcript of Xavier

AIMS: so where abouts in canada are you <from>.
X: <uh> well how well do you know your geography?
AIMS: um okay I'm not really specific but.
X: okay you know where the great lakes are?
:
X: the largest most western great lake is lake superior s* I come from a place called thunder bay which is on top of lake superior.
AIMS: mmhmm and have you lived the* had you lived there <your> whole life.
X: <yeah> until I came here yeah <well>.
AIMS: <X>.
X: well I did my I did my masters in the states.
AIMS: you what did you do your masters in?
X: I did my masters in uh geotechnical engineering.
AIMS: and um how long've you been out in australia for?
X: fifteen years.
AIMS: fifteen years and you've lived in ashburton the whole what suburb's this {HRT} ashburton?
X: no it's glen iris now.
AIMS: glen iris, glen iris is getting bigger and bigger suburb.
X: that's right.
AIMS: quite spread out how long've you been out in glen iris for?
X: uh six years but when we when I first came out here I lived in carlton north for seven years.
AIMS: how'd you find that?
X: yup that was good yup.
AIMS: did you have a flat or?
X: yup a terrace we rented a terrace.
AIMS: it's a good area it's close to the city.
X: yup.
AIMS: this is even better this a nice area I reckon.
X: it's great.
AIMS: I went to school at uh corowa.
X: oh really how old are you?
AIMS: um I'm twenty nearly twenty one.
X: do you know a girl named {name}?
AIMS: <I do>.
X: <yeah>.
AIMS: she was a year above me XX.
X: {name} {name}'s on my softball team I've known her for five years <so you>.
AIMS: <yeah yeah>.
X: know {name}?
AIMS: yeah she was um deputy school captain the year above me does she also play <baseball>.
X: <she used to play> she used to play for me.
AIMS: she doesn't play anymore?

X: no no and um {name}?
AIMS: yeah {name}'s very good friends um with a friend of mine a very good friend of mine they're family friends.
X: yeah.
AIMS: and she was um um meant to be I'm just wondering if she was meant to be bridesmaid for my friend's sister I'm not sure but yeah.
X: not the one who's not getting married now.
AIMS: did you hear about that?
X: oh absolutely.
AIMS: yeah {laughter}.
X: {name}'s on my team right so I just saw her five minutes ago.
AIMS: yeah yeah that'd be the one the wedding was meant to be um.

11.5.20 Transcript of Walt

W: ooh that's oh they go buy her a turkey, and bananas, and all kinds of fruits and vegetables with all the extra cash they have left over from the the, uh goid frankincense and myrrh they traded.
:
W: so they.
:
W: buy that and walk off and take em back to her shack while the other while the wise men were doing that the shepherds went and got her some wood to, for her stove I guess set it outside her door and uh, and then they go in and they got her a treat and they're fixing up her place and cooking the food so she'll have something to eat when she wakes up and mary's still comforting her and they put ornaments on the tree, fix the hole in the floor.
:
W: and then, characters start leaving pass the baby down to one of the shepherds mary climbs down from the bed and the old lady wakes up and she's surprised she's got a weird look on her face and she {noise}.
:
W: smiles and says who did all this?
:
W: and uh, uh looks out the door left and right shrugs cause she doesn't know who the heck uh did this for her walked off and made her a cake though they didn't make her plum pudding cause plum pudding's pretty bad {laughter} uh and then she eats and plays her accordion and lives happily ever after, in the shack where she lives in.
CIMS: {laughter} thank you that's good yeah it's a small miracle.
W: small miracle.
AIMS: well I've just got a few questions for you.
W: alright.
AIMS: uh when you first arrived did you have any, communication problems?
W: um yeah sort of uh the the night that I got here ooh I went up to wodonga that was my first area that I was in and we had to take our bikes up and they wouldn't let em on the train so we went hadda go the next day and the next day we went to collect our bikes from the train st* stop train station <and uh>.
CIMS: your bags or your bikes?
W: our bikes.
CIMS: your bikes.
W: our bikes and we went to the to get our bikes and, one of the guys was talking he was he was saying something like well these are really nice bikes you got here but I couldn't understand a word he said, but my uh the guy I was with he had been out for about he'd been here for about twenty months twenty two months and he understood all of it so uh that wasn't any communication t* a* any it was a little bit for me but not for him so, it was alright there, um, after that first day I understood everybody pretty good no worries.
AIMS: what about the other way around, has anyone ever had trouble understanding you?

W: I think so a lot of the times just on uh words that are different um I remember in my first area uh a little kid came up to me and he was like, are you american {HRT}, uh and I go yeah are there bears in america he started asking questions like what do you call nappies {laughter} I'm like oh I don't know and then I asked my companion and it he said diapers and so and like on words like that when I say diapers to other people they're like uh what so I have to so I I got that down before actually before anybody misunderstood me on a few of those hadda learn about those um even some of the.
:
W: um communication problems have always been um cause of the slang mostly, um.
:
W: I don't think anybody really has any, great difficulty misunderstanding me, just if I talk too fast I talk a lot I talk fast a lot but that that would be the only, only time that, people misunderstood me or if I say the wrong words.

11.5.21 Transcript of Ann

AIMS: so is your partner?
A: he's australian.
AIMS: australian.
A: yup.
AIMS: is that why you came, over or?
A: yup.
AIMS: yup.
A: yup.
AIMS: scary move?
A: no.
AIMS: no?
A: no no I don't I did I've done a bit of travelling before.
AIMS: mm.
A: I guess, in university I travelled around, um north america and mexico and then after university I backpacked here for a year n then I backpacked in south-east asia for four months and came back and did it again in south-east asia with a girlfriend for three months I think.
AIMS: yeah.
A: and my husband's a marine engineer so he's done a lot of travelling <in a whole lot more different places>.
AIMS: <hmm>.
A: but um yeah it was more like an adventure.
AIMS: yeah.
A: to to come over and if you think of things short term rather than long term it wasn't you know it's not like when people moved here in, you know nineteen forty or or earlier when they said goodbye to their family and they knew they would never see them again.
AIMS: hmm.
A: you know just like you asked me how many times I've been home or how frequently do I go <home>.
AIMS: <yeah>.
A: we've been home three times in four years so, I think it's a lot easier to do {HRT} it's not such a big deal.
AIMS: sure yeah.
A: yeah yeah it gets harder now that, we've got the kids.
AIMS: yeah.
A: and especially now that they're getting older so they have their own memories um yeah you want them to have a relationship with their grandparents.
AIMS: yeah.
A: but um you know it wasn't it wasn't a hard move.
AIMS: yeah.
A: yeah.

AIMS: did you find any culture shock I mean you'd obviously been here before if you.
A: mm.
AIMS: were backpacking and so you obviously knew what to expect or whatever but.
A: yeah I think so um no I don't no not a culture shock.
AIMS: no.
A: no they're just small things that you start trying to get used to whether it's tea drinking is a big thing here cappucino is a very much bigger thing here um life style is quite nice a lot of you know outdoor living whether it's cafes or um people's houses are a little bit more geared to um using their backyard using their back veranda things like that but nothing that was.
AIMS: major.
A: yeah yeah nothing drastic.
AIMS: yeah.
A: and both the girls have been born here um so wes* we've been through the australian hospital system and that was very sim* fairly similar as well.

11.5.22 Transcript of Jim

CIMS: um do you like australian english?
:
CIMS: do you like the sound of it I mean?
J: not especially {laughter}.
CIMS: do you like a* american english better?
:
J: I suppose slightly yes but it depends on the see there are a range of australian accents some of them are what I would call relatively refined and those I like better than the american <but there is also>.
CIMS: <oh I see>.
J: the very broad, accent that's often delivered with a nasal twang {nasalized}.
CIMS: mmhmm.
J: and that I find very unpleasant, so it depends which australian accent you're talking about I can't make a general statement.
CIMS: okay, um, do you ever um adjust your speech to sound more australian that you're aware of?
J: only when I'm making a joke.
CIMS: yeah.
J: and putting on a fake accent which everyone knows is fake.
CIMS: mmhmm.
J: but aside from that I, I don't even attempt it cause I know I'll be immediately detected.
CIMS: yeah.
J: um.
CIMS: hmm.
J: I don't know many people who can put on an australian accent that's totally convincing and and that includes famous actors as well as ordinary people.
CIMS: yeah that's true.
J: um.
CIMS: can you put on a british accent?
:
J: well I can sort of put on a british accent um, but I guess I have less concern that it would be immediately seen to be fake so a* again I do that only for a joke.
CIMS: mmhmm, can you tell the difference now between accents from the various part* states or uh regions of australia?
J: are you sure that your voice is gonna be picked up?
CIMS: oh it doesn't really matter if my voice is on there or not.
J: oh alright, from different regions of australia no I do not think that I can um, nail down, uh uh a locality corresponding to an accent I don't have any confidence I can do this I'm not henry higgins {laughter}.

CIMS: do you pay much attention to to that sort of thing or it doesn't really interest you?
J: well I'm aware of the variety of accents, here, which I think is almost as great as the variety in england but people don't seem to want to, acknowledge that.
CIMS: yeah.
J: um, quite a number of different ways that people speak starting with news readers who speak in a, quite bland sort of mid pacific accent.
CIMS: uh huh.
J: to your, um, very broad sort of uneducated nasal sounding, um australians and I've even heard, australian actors trying to put on another australian accent and doing it badly doing it unconvincingly.
CIMS: yeah.

11.5.23 Transcript of Matthew

M: wow that's good no I'm just reading this it's it's sort of like the one that I ended up doing at the uh, it was all in indonesian and they, nobody I was afraid that somebody if I put that that that line in there about you know you can um mine was.
:
M: I think I I put the line in there that they may receive if they if they want to receive the audio taped interviews if they give me you know a uh a cassette I have to record them for them and uh I said I don't wanna put that in my the my my supervisor was actually on the ethics committee.
CIMS: oh no.
M: yeah {laughter} well actually she helped I I only did it once and she said you know, this this statement that you've put in, is a red flag to everybody and you're gonna get called on this.
CIMS: uh huh.
M: she said take it out, and pu* and write it this way, and then so I just wrote it once and I handed it in and it was uh, it was it was granted right away it was like you know right away but anyway uh she said you've gotta do that and I said I don't I didn't I remember I didn't want to put that line and she says it's gonna show that {noise}
:
M: I dunno that you're really on the up and up and you're into the the more you you're serving those guys.
CIMS: which line is that?
M: the line about uh the line that I added about cause I I can see where I would've added it I would've added it here about the t* uh should you wish to read any transcripts, yeah I r* I I think I wrote should you r* wish to, I didn't say that cause I wasn't gonna write transcripts there I was gonna write them somewhere else.
CIMS: oh I see.
M: but I said should should you wish to receive a an audiotape of the recording, that we interviewed, on, um, I have to make one if you uh as long you provide with a with a.
CIMS: with a tape?
M: with a tape.
CIMS: oh oh.
M: yeah but then the line after that said and if you decide after reading it that this is what I didn't want to say if you decide after hearing it that you don't want it to be used then I have to throw mine away and you can keep yours I thought <wah>.
CIMS: oh so she said you have to put that in or you should put that <in>?
M: <um> she said that was a good idea <but um>.
CIMS: <oh>.
M: especially given that it was um cause I was in indonesia and there's a lot of them may think that there's a political implication of some of the things that I asked them.
CIMS: oh right.
M: and it was during a really weird political time as well and stuff like that so {noise} so she said that would make them feel a lot better and that would make the uh the university feel better about

me asking indonesians stuff that had to with that I think that's all {noise} I don't have this {noise} um.
CIMS: you can uh you can keep the explanatory statement if you.
M: oh okay {noise}.
CIMS: well with linguistics I don't think um.
M: yeah
CIMS: anybody cares really.
M: yeah yeah no I well I didn't think anybody was gonna care about what I did.
CIMS: yeah.
M: either but when I handed in the kinds of questions that I was gonna ask she said she got worried she said I'm worried about these questions I have a different idea and I said, what I have to hand in questions she said no you don't you you can hand in guidelines for the subject areas that you're going to ask so I handed in I s* I handed in a thing that said I'm going to ask about where they're from uh how they got to where they live um how they got the jobs that they had.

11.5.24 Transcript of Ingrid

AIMS: so you've been here for five.
I: I've been here for five years.
AIMS: five enjoyable years?
:
I: <it's>.
AIMS: <mixed>.
I: it's had it's had its good points.
AIMS: and its bad ones?
I: and its bad points yeah.
AIMS: was it hard initially?
I: it is hard because we came over here, for, a temporary job, and {name} called me up one day while he was working in california and he said how would you like to go to australia, and all of the, kids were up and grown and I said fine, cause I knew he wanted to travel said we'd be there for nine months to a year I said fine, it took us six months to get everything organized, we put everything in storage I gave all my cats away, and um you know took care of all the things we had to take care of and I thought well I'll just be on holiday and I'll travel and do whatever I want to do.
AIMS: mmhmm.
I: which'd be great, so we did, and then we were here a year and a half, and then we were here two years and now all of a sudden we're here, five years this is starting our sixth year, and, that's it's the first question when I see any of the other people that work with {name} n like just yesterday I saw {name} on the train on the sandringham and the first thing she says is well how long are you gonna be here now, now they've been here just about as no they've been here about three years cause they came over after we did and that's that's the whole topic of discussion when a* you see the other ladies {noise} how long've you been here, you know n when are you goin back when are you going home, and, everything is temporary.
AIMS: mmhmm.
I: so imagine if you left your family, and you thought you were just going on holiday to wherever you thought you'd like to go on holiday but, you couldn't go back.
AIMS: hmm.
I: you know and all of your all of your possessions are in storage and you live in somebody else's house and um, our property management people are fairly nice but they have a twice annual inspection and they come by to see that I'm treating the property alright.
AIMS: hmm.
I: okay, which is not something that would happen in your own home.
AIMS: hmm.
I: um I can't put up all the pictures I want, all my all my art is in storage, um I know that I have to be very careful about all the money I spend in terms of buying things cause we can't take stuff back.
AIMS: mm right.

I: all my electrical appliances that I have here I'm gonna have a great garage sale, okay all the furniture that I've bought cause we couldn't bring over any of our furniture.
AIMS: hmm.
I: all of that stuff is gonna have to be sold before we go.
AIMS: mm.
I: so when you think about that it's you know we've been living in limbo.
AIMS: hmm
I: you know.
AIMS: it's very hard on yourself.
I: it's very hard and I gave up a career actually to come over here I will probably not go back to teaching and I was a teacher been a teacher for thirteen years.
AIMS: hmm.
I: and I probably will not go back to teaching now.
AIMS: mm so you haven*.
I: so.

11.5.25 Transcript of Karla

CIMS: so do you enjoy living in melbourne?
K: I do I do it's, it's a gracious city.
CIMS: yeah.
AIMS: have you lived in melbourne all the time you've been out in australia?
K: yes we've in fact we've been well we were in syndal first and then glen waverley.
AIMS: so you like this area around here.
K: I do like the area yeah it's a ve* the suburb is very much like the ones in california.
CIMS: mmhmm.
K: bit more provincial but uh it's good.
CIMS: do you still feel like an american?
K: largely yes I do I do I um my children have assimilated very well and I've tried to but I think that because I was so old when I came over I think that uh probably always have that feeling.
CIMS: mmhmm.
K: I do think of australia as my home and I know that because when I go home to visit um we're anxious to get back here.
CIMS: yeah.
K: so.
CIMS: when you go home to visit do you um do people comment that you sound different?
K: no they don't although I find that interesting because the people who are around me here my friends here feel that my accent has changed since I've been here they feel that it's softened so it must have changed to a degree I know that I use a lot of australianisms in my speech and a lot of the accents on things for example if I'm talking about doing something on the weekend [wik 'end] an american would say the weekend ['wik end] so they would put a different emphasis on the syllable.
CIMS: yeah.
K: so I know that I've change th* that I don't know if my family picks up on that but um so I assume that there have been some very minor changes.
CIMS: would you say that weekend [wik 'end] with your husband as well or just if you're talking to an australian.
K: no what I I would probably just do it if I were talking to an australian.
CIMS: yeah.
K: I I consider myself bilingual {laughter}.
CIMS: so if you write a grocery list do you write it in american or?
:
K: uh actually recently I have been writing it in australian so I'll be using u's where I wouldn't be using u's n I do things in the metric system.
CIMS: <yeah>.

K: <where> I wouldn't at home but see you have to buy it in the metric system so it just <it's just easier>.
CIMS: <XXX>.
K: yeah.
CIMS: hmm.
:
CIMS: do you like australian english?
:
K: for the most part it depends it varies greatly just like american english does I mean um all the various provinces have great differences not only vocabulary but inflection and um some of it is a lot easier to listen to than others I I enjoy the melbournian accent, I find some of the the country accents very difficult to listen to they speak quickly and um I I find it really harsh on the ear.
CIMS: mmhmm.
K: I I majored in english as well as music when I was in school so I have a great love for the english language I think the australian accent i* is beautiful in certain areas but in other areas it's difficult just like the new york accent can be beautiful or horrendous {laughter} texan accent I don't like and there's some southern accents I don't care for too.

11.5.26 Transcript of Keith

AIMS: well how ya going?
K: <doin alright> {laughter}.
AIMS: <don't> don't feel too stressed at all it's alright um just wanna I dunno what annik told you about it but just a few questions about america and why you came over I suppose would be a good start?
K: oh kay um um I came over to do a post doc.
AIMS: yep.
K: in fluid mechanics in the mechanical engineering department and um, I dunno I came over for various reasons uh I dunno one of them was that I wanted to see another country.
AIMS: yup.
K: um and the other one was that the project was really interesting so and uh I also knew the person I'm working with fairly well.
AIMS: yeah.
K: and I really liked him so I came over.
AIMS: yup how long've you been here?
K: uh I've been here for three years and today eight days.
AIMS: oh really?
K: yeah.
AIMS: did you have a big celebration for three years?
K: oh na {laughter}.
AIMS: no ah so do you get home mu* like back to america at all much?
K: um maybe roughly once every six months or so.
AIMS: yeah.
K: yeah.
AIMS: and you enjoy going back and?
K: oh yeah it's okay it's it's alright um, usually the visits are quite short like for maybe a couple weeks or a week at a time so I haven't really I haven't really been back for very long.
AIMS: yeah.
K: since I've come <and>.
AIMS: <is it> something you wanna do like go for?
K: {cough} yeah it'd be nice yeah it would.
AIMS: yeah.
K: yeah um I've been mostly travelling for conferences so I kind of go in visit a few people then take off again and then go somewhere else.
AIMS: yup.
K: so yeah.

AIMS: well that's not too bad though so all the family n tha* are all over there?
K: yeah.
AIMS: <everyone>
K: <yeah> pretty much.
AIMS: so you did it alone?
K: yeah.
AIMS: that's pretty brave.
K: yeah no it's alright.
AIMS: yeah, and how do you find australia?
K: oh I like it.
AIMS: yeah was it a big culture shock at all or?
K: uh yeah at first it was quite a bit.
AIMS: yeah.
K: um, but I dunno things are just um quite a bit differently um it's sort of I mean if you if you if you took somebody probably from europe and you showed 'em this is a picture of australia this is a picture of the states they'd probably say oh they sort of look similar a bit I think really with all the details and the details there's quite a different.
AIMS: yep.

11.5.27 Transcript of Nora

CIMS: so how long have you lived in australia?
N: five years.
CIMS: mmhmm.
AIMS: in east burwood the whole time?
N: no uh but in the area it was box hill first then blackburn and east*.
AIMS: you like this area better?
N: oh yeah I think I do yeah it's, not so far away from the other areas but this is it's still convenient.
AIMS: yeah that's true.
N: to everything yeah.
CIMS: yeah I didn't realize you had a tram out here <that's good>.
N: <yeah> that works out really well I don't use it I don't do public transportation here but my son that's visiting often catches the tram so it's really convenient.
CIMS: so do you have any plans to move back to the states anytime?
N: no not any time soon um {name} talks about maybe we'll retire there but that's a long way off we'll see and we wouldn't necessarily go back to new mexico either.
CIMS: mmhmm.
N: so I don't know it's easy to live here I'm quite happy.
CIMS: yeah.
N: {laughter}.
CIMS: do you go back to visit?
N: once a year?
CIMS: oh that's good.
N: yeah it is good because um I have to see my sons {laughter}.
CIMS: mmhmm.
N: yeah.
CIMS: how old are your sons?
N: um twenty three twenty three twenty one and nineteen s*.
CIMS: hmm so they're all*.
AIMS: you have twins do you?
N: hmm {laughter} and it's one of the twins that is here at the moment.
CIMS: oh yeah, they must like to be able to come out here and hang out at the beach for awhile.
N: well, the only one that's visited well this is {name}'s first trip here and {name} the youngest one's been here four time he'll be back in in june but he's only ever come in winter because he comes during his sprin* his summer breaks {HRT} in the states so.

CIMS: oh yeah {laughter <so he misses out on the beach>.
N: <he's never> he was gonna come at christmas time and decided at the last minute he wasn't going to which I was very disappointed but um.
CIMS: mmhmm.
N: that was his choice so.
{pause, Nora gets up to close a window}.
CIMS: yeah my uh inlaws are coming out in next month already oh god {laughter}.
N: where are they coming out from?
CIMS: um.
N: where are they from?
CIMS: canada.
N: canada.
CIMS: well not what's the word yeah my sister in law and brother in law mmhmm and they're well they're not I guess technically that yet but they're gonna get married here.
N: oh.
CIMS: yeah so <that'll be nice>.
N: <oh> yeah that will be good.
CIMS: hmm so do you feel homesick for the states or?
N: um not as much as I used to I'm more settled now I think it's because I I was can I just.

11.5.28 Transcript of Gwen

CIMS: so what brought you out here?
G: uh we met a melbournian couple in toronto they were on a two year work transfer and uh uh just gave us the idea of going to melbourne um so my husband and I just just got married and uh ten days later we were off to australia {laughter}.
AIMS: is that all it took ten days?
G: well we planned it for a year it took about a year to get everything all organized but yeah so then we just decided to take our honeymoon through the south pacific islands and landed in sydney and drove down to melbourne {name} got transferred with work he works for price waterhouse so <we just>.
CIMS: <oh>.
G: got a qui* easy work visa through them and then I just found a job here.
CIMS: hmm.
G: mmhmm.
CIMS: so you just thought melbourne would be a good place to live?
G: well we heard a lot about, sydney and and melbourne I've always wanted to go to australia and we figured we wanted to go somewhere where the language barrier wasn't there just to make it easier {HRT} and um so just because we knew two people from melbourne and they just talked so much about it as far as you know the great cafes and how sydney is too pretentious and and boring {laughter} and it's beautiful to see but it's not a nice place to live as far a* well melbourne is just a very livable city so yeah we decided to um, choose melbourne and I'm glad we did definitely.
CIMS: yeah the drinking water doesn't have giardia <XX>.
G: <yeah exactly> although when we first arrived we couldn't drink the water in sydney and then we got to melbourne and that was when the gas strike was on.
CIMS: <{laughter}>.
G: <you weren't here for that> I don't think.
CIMS: no I wasn't <no I heard about it>.
G: <{laughter}>.
AIMS: we moved um house the day of the gas strike and we went from all electric house.
G: <oh>.
AIMS: <to>.
G: to all gas so you really felt it.
AIMS: yep {laughter} it was typical.

G: well I'll tell you that was quick to acclimatise because we had spent the last two months um in like thirty degree weather.
CIMS: <mm>.
G: <and then> when when the gas strike went on even though it was you know by canadian standards not cold I was freezing {laughter} at night and stuff like that so.
CIMS: yeah if you can't have a hot shower it makes a difference.
G: {in breath} I didn't have a shower I said forget it {laughter} I can go without a shower for a very long time you know just wore a lot of baseball hats {laughter} yeah.
CIMS: so do you plan to stay for awhile then?
G: yeah we're going to try to actually {child talking} get our permanent residency just because we don't wanna have the visa issues {HRT} and um depending on how long my mother lets me stay {laughter} she she's thinking we're coming back in august our visa expires in august so we have to either get that extended which would be easy enough through {name}'s work or um we just apply for permanent residency and uh so we're hoping til probably two thousand and one or two thousand and two see how it goes XX don't wanna make too many plans for the future {laughter} that would mean I'd have to start growing up.
CIMS: so are you starting to feel a little bit australian?
G: well we're definitely into the australian wine {laughter}.

11.5.29 Transcript of Wanda

W: there's there's quite a few words um aluminiu· would be a good one we say aluminum.
AIMS: yeah no uh aluminium.
W: it's even spelled differently.
AIMS: is it?
W: yeah.
AIMS: ah okay hmmm.
W: that's why we say it differently that actually has a good reason.
AIMS: I just thought you guys were all you know you couldn't read that's why.
W: there's no um <i at the end>.
AIMS: <i at the end>.
W: in ours it's n u m.
AIMS: hmm.
W: which would make sense.
AIMS: isn't ours the proper one cause isn't it like.
W: from England.
AIMS: isn't it an element like a chemistry <element>.
W: yeah I think we spell that one differently too {laughter} I'm not really sure on that one.
AIMS: oh okay.
W: but you know my my mother's aluminum foil package has no i at the end.
AIMS: okay can you think of any other examples?
W: um jumper to sweater um I just actually had dinner with an american last night and we were discussing this.
AIMS: yes recount it all come on {laughter}.
W: um soft drink to pop we say pop.
AIMS: soda? we say soda is that?
W: no we say pop americans say soda.
AIMS: oh okay.
W: it's like one of those it's one of those great word actually it's got like three different sayings for it.
AIMS: okay.
W: where you guys call sprite lemonade, you know that stuff you call traditional lemonade?
AIMS: yeah.
W: we call that lemonade, the um american I was out with he um actually ordered a lemonade expecting traditional lemonade and then got sprite.

AIMS: ah I didn't realize there was a difference no I when we were little my sister and I used to call every fizzy drink lemonade like it was all lemonade and we'd have to say red lemonade or.
W: brown lemonade {laughter}?
AIMS: green or what else is there oh coke was coke.
W: yeah.
AIMS: but like lemonade was the collective term for all of it and then we learnt lemonade was the clear stuff.
W: I had a friend here tell me that when she was little she used to ask her mum if they could have cookies.
AIMS: yeah.
W: and her mum would say but biscuits are the same thing as cookies and she would say but he's the cookie monster not the biscuit monster {laughter}.
AIMS: oh that's true too.
:
AIMS: can you, imitate australian english if you try?
W: I doubt it I've never tried.
AIMS: no time like the present no it's okay.
W: no I don't think I could maybe maybe you guys kinda say {name} instead of {name} when you say my name.
AIMS: yeah that's what yeah <I can understand that>.

11.5.30 Transcript of Harry

CIMS: so you've been here for three years?
H: yeah three and three and a half, three and three quarters almost {noise} march of ninety six.
CIMS: are you planning to stay permanently then?
H: no another year I think.
CIMS: and then you're going back to canada <or new horizons>?
H: <yes>.
CIMS: kay so do you like uh living in australia?
H: yeah yeah a lot it's good, I think uh I could easily stay here it's just some I do* you know there's a number of factors but XX as to why I'm going back but I might end up coming back here anyway I don't know.
CIMS: yeah.
H: hmm.
CIMS: have you you did uh law in canada?
H: yes.
CIMS: hmm I was contemplating doing law before I dec* decided to do this master's instead but.
H: uhuh.
CIMS: what's uh what are australian law schools like?
H: what's that's a loaded question <what are they uh>.
CIMS: <com*> compared to canadian ones?
H: because it's not uh it's not really a graduate degree here I don't think their standard isn't as good.
CIMS: yeah.
H: um they're not not quite as vigorous I suppose, for the students but uh.
CIMS: so canadian lawyers do well here then?
H: yeah there's a yeah think so if if if you wanted to come here specially a as an academic it's a good place to come cause there are s* there are more law schools in australia than in canada so there's a lot more jobs.
CIMS: oh yeah, so you're gonna stay in academia then?
H: yeah I I used to practice but I I never wanted to I always wanted to be an academic so.
CIMS: what kind of law do you do?
H: um well I do I teach a bit of, um what's a* called equity and trusts it's sort of, sort of like contract law.
CIMS: oh yeah.

H: um and I also teach cons* constitutional law australian constitutional law actually.
CIMS: hmm.
H: which I never learned never studied never knew about before I got here so {laughter, noise}.
CIMS: yeah um.
:
H: okay.
CIMS: and I'll just get you to describe these first X pictures {noise}.
{Harry speaks briefly to a colleague who has entered his office}
H: sorry
CIMS: oh that's okay.
H: alright what's happening or what this picture's about it looks like uh hmm either ca* a little country cottage or even a rail car of some sort maybe that somebody is living in um pictures of, can't tell if it's a man or a woman elderly person sleeping.
CIMS: mmhmm.
H: in the berth that's at the a bunk bed at one end, and you can see the kitchen and the desk space and the accordion.
CIMS: mmhmm.
H: in this this house or whatever we call it.
CIMS: yeah.

11.5.31 Transcript of Sam

AIMS: okay so you've been out here for how long?
S: november.
AIMS: november so eight months or so.
S: yeah.
AIMS: and you've been all around australia?
S: yeah just uh I was in sydney for four months the blue mountains and around sydney new south wales and down the coast to canberra.
AIMS: did you like canberra?
S: no.
AIMS: bit boring <hey> {laughter}?
S: <yup>.
AIMS: bit of a hole yes.
S: so took the coast down and then came down to melbourne in march.
AIMS: in march so you've only been here for like three or four months.
S: yeah four months.
AIMS: and you're working or like worked.
S: I'm working here at the keg yeah I was working at a hostel up in sydney.
AIMS: okay um so do you like australia?
S: <love it>.
AIMS: <what you've seen s*>.
S: it's great yeah.
AIMS: yeah would you consider coming out here to live permanently or?
S: uh I don't know cost of living is pretty high so it's XXXX it's a lot like canada as far as culture and way of life you know what I mean? so it's uh the people are great.
AIMS: so is it just the culture and the people that you like about australia or is it?
S: oh like the country like the wild life and just like dunno the weather's great it's a lot better than back home that's for sure {laughter}.
AIMS: you don't like the snow and anything like that?
S: well I do like uh christmas this year I was in sydney and it rained and I didn't have christmas this year because it didn't snow.
AIMS: yeah <oh>.
S: <it was just like> weird.
AIMS: you're used to your white christmases.
S: definitely yeah.

AIMS: so was it hard not being around your family <at christmas>?
S: <uh> this was the first year that I was away from my family for christmas so it was like really hard yeah.
AIMS: yeah but you had friends.
S: uh yeah well there was at the hostel I was staying at there was also a couple other canadians there?
AIMS: okay.
S: and uh there was some english there and just people from all over the world XX hostel and we all got together and, had christmas was pretty cool.
AIMS: so've you made heaps of australian friends?
S: uh yeah.
AIMS: around the place?
S: yeah specially here cause I work with some really cool people.
AIMS: yeah and when are you returning to canada?
S: um probably end of august I'm going through asia first and then.
AIMS: oh okay.
S: yeah.
AIMS: and then are you just gonna return to work over there or are you gonna travel some more?
S: yeah well the reason I'm going home is I'm actually in australia until october but I'm going home early so I can save up because I'm going to england in november?

11.5.32 Transcript of Olivia

{background noise throughout}
CIMS: so yeah my partner's been out in port hedland for a month.
O: mmhmm?
CIMS: and he just got back so it's a bit it's a bit of pain when he's out of town but it's alright XX.
O: does your baby go to daycare like full time or?
CIMS: um yeah more or less full time, do you uh does yours?
O: she's going thursday and friday {HRT} because my husband's a nurse so he works thursday friday saturday sunday on the weekends at the hospital so.
CIMS: oh so he stays with your daughter?
O: yes.
CIMS: oh that's good.
O: yeah so.
:
O: I don't know if maybe I don't qualify cause my field assistant is also from edmonton and she's studying linguistics and so she was teaching me little linguistic things.
CIMS: oh that's okay.
O: she was teaching me how to retroflex.
CIMS: how to retroflex?
O: how to retroflex so I could talk like an indian.
CIMS: oh like retroflexed t and d and stuff.
O: yes.
:
CIMS: I'm really not hungry at the moment.
O: me either I'm just gonna get some toast.
:
CIMS: are you planning to uh stay in australia?
O: no I wanna go home {laughter}.
CIMS: yeah.
O: I wanna go home in a big way.
CIMS: so as soon as you're done you're on the plane?
O: yeah I think so it'll depend on if I get work somewhere if they offered me work here I'd have to take it, can I get an order of raisin toast please?
{waiter takes order}

CIMS: um actually I'll just have one of those the chocolate milkshake.
:
CIMS: so why do you uh wanna go home so bad?
O: cause I miss my family {HRT} and cause my baby's here and she's not surrounded by her family {HRT} like she needs to spend time with her cousins and.
CIMS: oh yeah.
O: just and to take the parenting load off a little bit.
CIMS: yeah.
O: like to spend some time with some other people {laughter}.
CIMS: yeah my in laws just came to visit for six weeks so so that was nice.
O: that was nice?
CIMS: it was um it was also a little stressful though.
O: my in laws are here for five months.
CIMS: five months oh god {laughter}.
O: they've just gone away for two weeks anyway so.
CIMS: I hear you.
O: yeah let's just not talk about that.
CIMS: it's easier when they're not in your own home like instead of.
O: yes.
CIMS: instead of having them in the same city not in like your living room thank you.

11.5.33 Transcript of Tim

CIMS: {background noise and speech} so do you feel more like an american?
T: pardon me?
CIMS: do you feel like like you're still an american or an australian now that you've <lived here for so long>?
T: <I don't know> um, I don't think you can live here for twenty five years and speak the language and not, change I just I mean I don't think I you know I I'm not like somebody who was born here but I'm certainly not like an american either it's sort of you know you're sort of a hybrid.
CIMS: yeah.
T: and uh and you bring things to the country that you wouldn't get by growing up here but certainly you have an outlook that's different than my you know acquaintances in the u s who've never lived here there's no doubt about that.
CIMS: yeah.
T: so, as far as the way you think I think you know first generation migrants are in a category by themselves they can't go home cause even if you did it's not home anymore.
CIMS: yeah hm.
T: so um.
CIMS: so when you go home is that how you feel like it's not home anymore?
T: no no you don't I mean I mean I I've moved around so much I ai* there was there would be no place I could go back to and think of X as home I mean I've lived here in the greater melbourne area more than I've lived anyplace else in my life.
CIMS: so does this feel like home then?
T: well as much as I have a you know I I as as much as I have a place that's my place yeah.
CIMS: hmm, do you go back to the states and visit, <sometimes>?
T: <yeah> sometimes like I went back um in october november to go to some meetings what what {name} and I do we're paleontologists um in order to analyze the fossils we've got here we need to compare them with fossils from other parts of the world because y* you work in area where there isn't a lot of material in australia but there's a lot more material in western north america and eastern asia and a lot of the eastern asia stuff is available in north america.
CIMS: really?
T: you know or what they're working on is well basically dinosaurs and um so there's a lot of reason to go back in order just to get access to material from there and figure out what the heck

they've got you've have to figure X what's available in american museum so that's why we go back there it's XX.
CIMS: mmhmm.
T: cause it gives us uh, access to the actual fossils when you read about them see pictures of em it isn't quite the same as actually picking em up and our fossils fortunately are small enough that we can actually put em in briefcases and take em overseas they're not you know gigantic dinosaurs they have the little ones.
CIMS: oh so you're allowed to take them, with you?
T: yeah, I mean we collect them and um.
:
T: frankly customs is so they really don't know where to pa* pigeon hole these things so because I'm a curator of a museum ag* I can write my own passes for that matter I mean if people got really sticky you know I can write out a piece of paper and I'm authorized to authorize people to take stuff out of the country.
CIMS: okay.
T: I can authorize myself.
:
T: {clap} PJ come on {laughter} you're being obnoxious.
P: you go down to bed come on he'll go down he'll keep my father company he'll go down he likes to sit on the bed come on XXX.

11.5.34 Transcript of Ralph

CIMS: he's got quite a good job actually it worked out really well cause, I mean.
:
CIMS: he got a job like the second day we were here so.
R: wow that's fantastic that makes life a lot easier lousy to actually do things while you're here.
CIMS: yeah.
R: so you gonna see australia while you're here how long how long is the scholarship for two years?
CIMS: two years yeah I'd like to I've toured around victoria a little bit.
R: yeah grampians, phillip island?
CIMS: I haven't been to the grampians we went out to phillip island X um <X>.
R: wilsons promontory?
CIMS: not yet no.
R: oh you still have a lot to do in victoria then the grampians are really good.
CIMS: oh yeah?
R: spectacular.
CIMS: my in laws went up there and they said it was just, dead trees {laughter} weren't very impressed but they went on a bus tour so a* they might not have seen much.
R: that would explain it the grampians if you drive through are are some impressive hills, and the buses take you off and take you to one or two look outs and and sort of herd you back into the bus but the spectacular part of the grampians is is hiking you know just going on all the walks through the mountains it's just completely unlike anything in north america you can you can hike through the rockies the foothills of the rockies or the rockies themselves in banff and jasper you can do all that it's it's a completely different sort of environment it's so completely foreign to to a canadian all these, incredibly high trees like like the same trees you get on the other side of the rockies you know on the west coast side th* y'know vancouver side these incredibly high trees but they don't have any bark they're just like it's so un* strange to walk through these trees without bark waterfalls that are completely unlike canadian ones everything I I really enjoy it.
CIMS: hmm.
R: in fact when I go away and come back it's just such a relief to see, trees without bark again {laughter}.
CIMS: do you <have any family here>?
R: <and wilson's> prom's too is <really sp*>.

CIMS: <yeah I'd like to go there> go camping there.
R: in fact most canadians I know that've stayed in australia have decided to stay in australia after going to wilson's prom hiked across done some camping said that's it we're staying, uh yeah I've got a spouse and two kids.
CIMS: do you have family back in canada?
R: yeah I mean that's the price I pay is, I don't see them.
CIMS: yeah.
R: but that's also the good part.
CIMS: yeah yeah {laughter}.
R: you know there's something to be said you go back and, and there's all these sort of little you know what it's like all these little, interfamily conflicts and everybody's trying to score points or whatever y* you sort of sit around a table for an evening and you think geez there's something to be said for doing this once every coupla years.
CIMS: yeah your relationship or my relationship with my family's improved a lot since I moved.
R: yeah.
CIMS: halfway across the planet.
R: yeah that's what I, yeah funny how that works.
CIMS: yeah, so you just go back every couple years or so?
R: not often increas* i* it's less and less frequent these days cause the kids are now older they're seventeen and twelve and and so they have their own lives and while they have lives with relatives in canada and they're interested in doing that they also have everything else they wanna do.

11.6 Excerpts of Transcripts of Non-Study Participants

11.6.1 Transcript of Peter

P: I guess the other thing is I've lived in melbourne more than twice as long as any place else.
CI: oh really?
P: yeah, so in ter* I mean it's not half my life but it's twice as long as any other place.
CI: right.
P: so, and it's the last twenny years twenny odd years.
CI: you've lived here for the last twenny years?
P: twenny odd years yeah twenny three years.
CI: so no plans to return to the u s then.
P: no I only have australian citizenship.
CI: oh really?
P: yeah, so
:
P: uh when I naturalized I lost american citizenship at that stage so.
CI: hmm.
P: it was a big step took it, so if that I just you have to factor that in I think <so>.
CI: <oh yeah> <of course>.
P: <yeah yeah>.
CI: for sure that's very significant so you don't really feel like an american anymore then.
P: no.
CI: no.
P: no I grew up there but I don't feel an american.
CI: so you still have family there?
P: some, but it's not close.
CI: do you ever go back to visit?
P: um, I have been, um but it's usually work related I don't make a special trip to visit I have let's put it that way so, let's see the last time I was there was last year for about a week after working trip and
:
P: think the previous visit was in ninety four and before that it had been, quite a long time.
CI: yeah what um what made you, interested in coming to australia?
P: um, I had a um was looking for a job an I met someone who had been looking after something for me at a particular place and I saw him at a at a meeting an it turned out he'd gone to australia an so we talked about that he was actually back in the united states looking for for people to hire and so we we talked about that an there was someone else so the three of us had quite a long discussion about it an looked very attractive and so I started to read more about australia an I had um three applications and two job offers an one was really good an I couldn't turn it down, so an then at the time, one could um they paid full fare and full expenses family an everything to go from the united states and then after three years if you weren't happy they paid your full way back.
CI: that's pretty good
P: an so it wasn't but uh with in three years I was more than happy to stay an in those days the conditions were very good, I mean they were much better than anything on offer in the united states I mean even if I'd been at a place like harvard it would've it would've been difficult to compete with the conditions I had at the time.
CI: yeah.
P: so I haven't regretted it, and I'm in the asian studies field and it it's not peripheral here.
CI: right
P: where I think it's peripheral in the larger part of the united states so in that sense there's an advantage as well.

CI: did you meet your wife here?
P: yes I did.
CI: did that prompt you to stay as well then I expect.
P: well I was actually married when I came an then s' that marriage didn't work out so after living here I met my wife here.

11.6.2 Transcript of Frank

AI: um you were saying before that you feel like australia's home because you've been out here for so long and everything is that because you've got your job out here and a network of friends does that help you settle in?
F: yes it's partly that it's, uh {cough} because of the physical characteristics of australia I love the beach and the water and uh the beautiful coastlines um, partly responding to the country it's partly because of the values of the people here that I think are better than the values of, america in some ways so I like being with people who have those values.
AI: for example?
F: honesty and integrity I find aussies say what they mean and what they think and americans often gild the lily and um I don't appreciate that, when I go home my friends say oh {name} it's wonderful to see you I'm really pleased let's go out and have lunch together an I say that'd be good I'd be really pleased to do it here's my phone number give me a call an they never give me a call.
AI: hmm.
F: an I think an aussie wouldn't say let's go to lunch unless they meant it the yank doesn't need to say that, {laughter} uh he can say whatever he wants to say, but he doesn't need to pretend {cough} um that there's more there than there is for him or her and so I I and that's just one example of many but.
AI: hmm.
F: I prefer the straightforwardness of aussies.
AI: so have you travelled much around australia since you've been out here?
F: yeah yeah I've been to uh most of the capital cities on on work assignments um, except darwin I haven't been to an I've travelled in various places for uh, leisure just recently we went up to alice springs had a lovely fortnight up in the desert so that was good.
AI: it's fantastic up there I agree that's the best part of australia.
F: hmm.
AI: we went there for year twelve, camp spent two weeks up in um travelling from uluru to darwin on a bus it was just <fantastic>.
F: <right>.
AI: so untouched and the aboriginal culture up there is just amazing.
F: tis.
AI: don't you think?
F: gorgeous yup.
AI: did you see ayer's rock?
F: yes.
AI: did you climb it?
F: no.
AI: why not?
F: I chickened out.
AI: oh.
F: I got part way up {laughter}.
AI: you got to chicken rock {laughter}.
F: I did yes.
AI: yeah a few of our group chickened out as well and then there were a few that didn't want to um cause it's meant to be sacred?
F: that also influenced me uh we talked t* a number of aboriginal people and they said we we never climb that rock.
AI: hmm.

F: if you want to you can but we don't encourage you to but we wouldn't stop you either.
Al: yeah.
F: so I thought well that's good enough for me.
Al: so if you're having conversation with someone an they said oh which do you consider home aus* mount waverley or back in the u s what would you say?
F: mount waverley

11.6.3 Transcript of Andrew

A: <no that's alright> um well I was just wondering if I should um you know I been my voice has been changing a little bit n my speech pattern's been changing a little bit since I've come back.
Cl: yeah?
A: um o*.
Cl: so you've been trying to do that?
A: I've been a bit more conscious of it.
Cl: mmmhmm.
A: um in that it was ve* ar* y'kn* you try to pick up the slogans y'know y'know g'day mate [gdæɪ mæɪt] y'know whatever you know um n then you try em on n you know people just sorta laugh at you and and and I fe* I feel phony and my approach when I first was here was like look I'm just gonna be myself I'll be the exotic one I'll be y'know the one who's different y'know in the crowd um, but I've um or should I say bud um I've found that um I'm not as understood um and I'm not listened to as much as I I am if I try to put a little aussie into it.
Cl: you mean um that people aren't as open to your opinion or they're just not really?
A: well that's what it feels like.
Cl: yup.
A: I mean they'll just I'll say something in a you know I I have quite a few uh aussie friends and we get together on a regular um quite a regular basis um friday nights is a regular gathering over at my house um it was traditionally um {name}'s house and we've rented that and people still come around and {name} still comes around to have a bit of a friday night uh you know beer and chi* chinwag as they say um and then I play cricket on tuesday nights and we uh have a games on the weekends and every wednesday night is is uh guitar night over at trevor's house and um um in these groups, you know during discussions I'll come up with you know my opinion or my thought or whatever and more often than not I mean I I just get sorta you know looked at you know oh he's speaking and I have to be very careful of the words I choose and now that I've since I've come back I've given myself permission to change my my intonations a bit.
Cl: yeah.
A: so it's a bit more aussie.
Cl: <yeah>.
A: <and when I do> people acknowledge me more they listen to what I say, otherwise they just sorta look at me and before I'm through they look away they don't wanna hear it.
Cl: so why do you think that is?
A: um other than the fact that they really don't like me and I won't go away {laughter}.
Cl: they're trying to send you a secret message there.
A: well this particular group of people um I actually feel quite fortunate to know um they have a long history together and um most of these guys went to um, to school together.
Cl: hmm.
A: and um and they keep in regular contact with each other so they're a fairly tight knit group and I came into the group as a b* someone who was interested in building um the first person I met was sort of an artist artistic builder uh working with some of the more traditional um, building with uh mud bricks and and being very creative and and what not um and because I have a fine arts degree and am a builder as well we just sort of hit it off and I slowly became a part of the group and um I think that you know why that's a good question um.
:
A: there's a cadence, to the conversation.
Cl: mmhmm.

A: there's an enjoyment it's I'd say it's one of the things that, these people like, the most is just to talk with each other.
Cl: mmhmm.
A: you know and uh was they're baggin' each other or um you know ooh because they're always uh you know there's alw* uh you know um footy's always one of the big discussions and everyone's got a different team you know and you know there's because of where these people are from there's no specific team that they're all barracking for and um um and so there's always.

11.6.4 Transcript of Jeff

Cl: do you still feel feel like you're a canadian?
J: no not really um I remember it all but I have been away a long time an I I don't know what's going on in their politics it's not really I don't know who the prime minister is sometimes {laughter} <or what XXX>.
Cl: <I'm not quite sure myself anymore>.
J: {laughter} hmm so I've sort of lost touch it's been, a long time, um and we have friends in canada and I'm still connected with canada but I don't feel I feel um at home here I don't feel canada is home.
A mmhmm do you still have family back there just friends?
J: no they're in new zealand I don't feel new zealand's home either particularly but.
A oh.
J: just as much I did my high school in christchurch, and so and all my brothers are still in christchurch or dunedin I've I've got a lot of nieces and nephews and, family there in christchurch but not much in canada.
Cl: your parents are new zealanders are they?
J: no my mother was english and my father was well he was canadian citizen though he was raised mainly in new york state.
Cl: oh so why did they decide to head to new zealand?
J: well my father um wrote to fidel castro and offered to join the revolution in cuba around the uh 1961 something like that.
Cl: hmm.
J: luckily for me I think, castro wasn't desperate for entomologists at the time {laughter} my father was an entomologist at mcgill university.
Cl: oh yeah.
J: anyway he was he was upset about the, cold war and the rat race went to new zealand to escape I suppose um it was funny because ac* ac* sort of office politics are the same everywhere really he went to escape what he called the rat race in montreal found himself in what he called the mouse race in christchurch {laughter}.
Cl: oh well I guess australia's getting pretty americanized now too.
J: hmm.
Cl: so well that's what some australian friends of ours were saying that um the uh that australia used to be a lot more laid back than it is now.
J: hmm.
Cl: people working harder not taking holidays.
J: that's right that's right change in the quality of life I guess.
Cl: yeah which is too bad america really should've gone followed the australian model {laughter}.
J: yes.
Cl: mm.
J: it was I suppose the nuclear war threat was one of the things that moved my father he was really thought that the, bomb might go off and he might <have a better chance>.
Cl: <oh yeah>.
J: of surviving in new zealand or australia than in north america a few miles away from one of the silos which would be one of the prime targets for a russian attack at that time people really thought it might happen I guess.

CI: hmm, well it still might, but he won't be any safer in new zealand I'm afraid hmm so and then after highschool you left new zealand did you you said you went to england or something?
J: yes okay after I did my highschool in christchurch and then went to vancouver for one year to do a masters so I did a masters at simon fraser university um and then to cambridge england for three years to do a p h d and then back to wellington new zealand for my first job.
CI: mmhmm.
J: um and then to australia after that after I'd been in new zealand for awhile I got a job in australia.

11.6.5 Transcript of Loraine

AI: is this at melbourne?
L: yeah.
AI: which college?
L: ormond, and then I went to trin* like I was in X at trinity for awhile but yeah there was just there was just a lot of people from like geelong grammar and oh oop anyway but anyway like I didn't find them bad or anything it's just that like they're very closed like a lot of closed minded and not so open um kind of to new experiences and stuff like that maybe it's just cause when I'm travelling you always meet travelling kind of people are much more sort of open and and receptive but I just the general like in general people were more sort of friendly and enthusiastic in america than in in just what you normally experience here not that like everyone here's horrible it's just that on the norm when you meet people over there there's a lot more of {noise} sorry that's the breadmaker um um yeah just on average I just found them to be a sort of a more, like, sort of, enthusiastic culture {HRT}?
AI: mmhmm.
L: like I've noticed the same thing with uh like when you meet like people from israel like when you're travelling like they're always like really like fired up and everything a a total aside cause they have nothing to do with what we're talking about but yeah I just found that um in general they're a more sort of open culture maybe {HRT} I don't know.
CI: so do you have some uh I'm just asking this cause a lot of australians I've spoken to have said that um, they noticed that americans were more friendly but they felt like that friendliness wasn't totally genuine do you feel that that's the <X>?
L: <no> no not I mean I do feel australian totally like I don't feel it's not genuine, um like, the unfriendly americans are just unfriendly like they don't make any bones about it I don't know they w* you know {laughter} but um I just I dunno almost a more kind of um confident too {HRT} like I don't know how to describe it like you can't really describe all the people of australia as an unconfident, race but I mean probably cause you know it is a superpower there is a bit s* like I think australians, sort of, um, I dunno um I've noticed this like in myself like in in my friends and stuff like that too, um, I don't know they're just a bit more hesitant australians they don't sort of jump right into things and.
CI: mmhmm.
L: um and sometimes that works in their favour and sometimes it doesn't {HRT}?
CI: XXX?
L: well I think you're always you're a lot more sort of, like they <look to others>.
CI: <XXX>?
L: yeah probably like I think I've retained a bit of that definitely um then I just think you know australia has this I mean you have a culture looking towards like to england to others for approval for things that, maybe they and like whereas america just won't and like can just walk over like and can go the o* the opposite way like into bad but just you know disregarding other things but in the same time it can be very good for the like it just creates a more sort of confident kind of approach to things {HRT} and and maybe y* more productive like you can achieve better things if you're not always looking to someone else but yeah there's both there's positive and negatives to both aspects.
CIMS: yeah.
L: oh I'm crapping on a lot aren't like am I just supposed to just.
CI: no that's great XX.

CI: so would you ever like to move to the states or?
L: I would um the only problem is um I'm doing law here and there's no like I'd have to go to a new school over there and I just {breath} sick of it here {laughter} and um like yeah to practice over there I'd have to do another which maybe whatever I'll just see what happens but I would definitely be very interested to like move back over there for awhile cause I always have such a good time when I'm there they've got really good food {laughter} I just love american food it's great {laughter} but um probably when I set myself up a bit more as a like like a professional now that I think about it and I definitely would like to travel there a bit a bit more.

11.6.6 Transcript of Ted

CI: so what's this game you play?
T: huh X place.
CI: what's it about?
T: it's, just sort of a game you play with other people all over the world.
AI: do you have any mates that pop on at the same time as you?
T: uh nah none of my friends play it.
AI: yeah.
T: so all no not many people play know how to internet.
AI: yeah.
T: and yeah ts*.
AI: who are with I mean?
T: uh mainly um people from america and japan {noise}.
CI: have you been back to visit the states much?
T: um I think I've been five times.
CI: five times.
AI: same as {name} yeah.
T: yeah I went I think once or twice without her and um yeah the other times went with her the last twice t* two times I went with her {noise} we had a sorry I'm kinda absentminded and yeah cause she went as far as X.
AI: yeah.
T: so unfair advantage.
AI: so what was the longest time that you've spent over there?
T: I think it was three or four months but that was when I was really little so I don't remember anything about it.
CI: hmm so do you like it when you go back?
T: um yeah it's pretty cool it's just like having a holiday cause since I wasn't like born there or anything it's just I go there and it's like some great new place compared to melbourne melbourne's just like melbourne it's the home town so it's kind of lame and boring yeah so anywhere practically is better than melbourne.
:
CI: so you like to go back there again then?
T: yeah like kay s* yeah I like to go tons of places s* mainly like tropical places like hawaii and that don't like cold places um, been to tahiti hawaii queensland about a billion times {laughter} um s* about it tropical wise but we go to queensland lots so k* yeah I like warm pl* don't like cold places.
AI: so do you have heaps of relatives that you visit when you go over?
T: lots on my mom's side.
AI: yeah.
T: dad doesn't have that many.

11.6.7 Transcript of Una

CI: sorry now where were we again?
U: um.
:
oh I think I was just saying that um it was presented you know my my being foreign and having been to disneyland as something that that was better than what other people had done <I think>.
CI: <yeah>.
U: and I didn't like that I wanted to disown that.
CI: mmhmm.
U: you know I guess she the teacher she was giving me you know <a step up>.
CI: <giving you a break> {laughter}.
U: but um yeah because um, you know because I didn't sort of take centre stage and say start doing a show and tell about disneyland or anything anyway I think the trip had been quite overwhelming for me in many ways.
CI: yeah.
U: I had um we went through hawaii and we drove through a volcano and I had nightmares about volcanoes for a long time afterwards so.
CI: oh really?
U: {laughter} yeah so I think s* the trip had been kinda scary as well so.
CI: uh huh so was it difficult was it a difficult transition to move?
U: yeah it was I mean you couldn't get too well I suppose you could but it seemed like two incredibly different worlds um, princeton new jersey you know a little street near the university which was perfectly ordered everything you know small houses all one next to each other perfectly trimmed hedges and.
CI: yeah.
U: just {laughter} you know really um, I guess my main impression was sort of really neat where as when we got to australia we moved into this rental house in a suburb in brisbane and the place was like wild um the grass was over my head I guess {laughter} and it tr* it was the tropics and it was summer.
CI: mmhmm.
U: cause they you know it was february or something and and and so uh the world just sings with the sounds of insects and the air is heavy with the heat.
CI: uhuh.
U: and I remember all these exotic creatures like the insects and spiders and, the flying foxes used to fly over every night at sunset you know and we'd.
CI: ah.
U: watch them and frilly lizards and our landlord came over and he would pick up frilly lizards by the tail and scare the kids with them {laughter} and it was just out of this world.
CI: so how long did it take before you, got used to it?
U: I dunno um probably not all that long although I'm talking about like the shock was really big but I don't know how long it went on for I couldn't really say I guess.
CI: mm.
U: um, because, you know then my primary school started to feel quite normal.
CI: yeah.
U: eventually and going off to school with my brother walking me to school was normal and I became normal in all the australian ways you know went swimming every day and all the kind of things you do in brisbane {laughter}.
CI: yup <do you feel australian now>?
U: <but it didn't really> {breath} um.
:
U: now I feel both I think <I feel both>.
CI: <yeah>.
U: um I feel*.

11.7 Excerpts of Transcripts of 1999/2000 Interviews

11.7.1 Transcript of Harriet 2000

H: {noise} they're generally gonna be a bit harder to beat cause generally those private schools are a bit more.
AI00: <well if they're>.
H: <they don't send kids> that don't know how to play, do they?
AI00: mmm if um I knew bialik because they were they've got a terrific debating side {HRT} <and I was in debating at school>.
H: <oh yes yes>.
AI00: and you know if you drew bialik you'd be oh do we have to turn up kind of thing {laughter} because.
H: why bother?
AI00: they always beat us quite convincingly but I got told the other day from a very reliable source that they don't write their speeches anyhow their teachers wrote them all and no one ever knew {noise}.
H: well that's no good.
CI00: their teachers oh geez.
H: that's a bit unfair.
AI00: they write them and get the students to present them so that's why they're so <tough>.
CI00: <the students> are really learning a lot that way aren't they {noise}?
AI00: yeah well no wonder we couldn't win I mean come on we were going up against teachers.
H: now can I get either one of you a donut would you like a cinnamon donut?
CI00: oh um not for me thanks.
H: please go ahead yes.
AI00: yes please.
H: go ahead if you want one that's fine I didn't bake them as you can see {noise} if I don't have something for the girls to eat after school they'll.
CI00: do they go to that school across the street there?
H: yeah just there.
CI00: oh yeah that's good.
H: which is handy close and handy.
AI00: I saw a few familiar faces as I was walking past they stopped and said hello to me and everything.
H: oh really kids?
AI00: yeah a couple of kids I babysit for.
H: well where do you live {name}?
AI00: ah kipax court it's just down off tourim {noise}.
H: oh right yeah so not so far away {noise}.
CI00: thanks.
H: you're welcome.
H: yes I'm tired now {name} always wears me out.
AI00: is it ready {HRT} I can go?
CI00: yeah.
AI00: okay so just for the purpose of the tape, can you tell us how long you've been out in Australia and where you came from and.
H: uh, I've been in australia over fifteen years I came in march of nineteen eighty five ah yeah that's fifteen years fifteen and a bit um I grew up in rainy river in northwestern ontario right on the minnesota border and lived there for nineteen years and then my family moved to thunder bay on lake superior and lived there while I went to university {HRT} and then I went up to saskatchewan to saskatoon for about a year and half and worked out there and then moved back to thunder bay n that's where I came from when I came here.

11.7.2 Transcript of Carrie 2000

CI00: so how long have you lived here then {HRT} since you came back from college?
C: um college was nineteen eighty five, so fifteen years.
CI00: yeah, so do you feel more like an australian now or more like like you're american?
C: probably since I've been married and had children I feel more australian, than american but, um I find like with the olympic games and things it's very difficult because I don't know who I wanna go for {laughter} so I sort of tend to avoid you know international things like that um and if I only could choose one nationality I would stay american um but I suppose wherever my family is is home so if they moved to the states I suppose you know what I mean?
CI00: you mean your immediate family <like your husband>.
C: <yeah like my children> n my husband wherever they are and whatever they're doing's home.
CI00: yeah.
C: an I suppose part of it is too cause I was moved heaps as a child an we've moved heaps since we've been married, I've learned not to be so geographical in my thinking?
CI00: mmhmm.
C: cause I used to be very much I was very pro queensland and all this sort of thing um which is why I didn't like living in victoria the first time but this time I've taken a whole different view that you know wherever my family is that's home?
CI00: so your parents are they from queensland originally?
C: uh no they're americans but they're dual citizens now um when we first came here as a child we lived in new south wales for uh four years an then the rest of the time everybody's always lived in queensland for nineteen seventy four onwards all my family's settled in queensland I'm the only one that's moved interstate and overseas during that time.
CI00: hmmm.
C: an they became dual citizens my brother and sister haven't yet but all their families are australian.
CI00: so what attracted them to australia?
C: dad's work um he was a minister that started up new churches that was his specialty and we actually laughed when he came home one day and he said oh we might be going we're either going to olympia washington or we're going to um australia an of course australia in nineteen seventy wasn't very heard of so we laughed in his face anyway we ended up living there and um I did very much as a young woman want to go back to the states that's why I went to college I wanted to be an f b i agent.
CI00: really?
C: oh yeah just loved it loved it an a love of law so um but also too I suppose I got married at thirty one and thirty one's the cut off point for the entry and uh yeah so I sort of figured I was never gonna to make it anyway so {laughter}.
CI00: yeah.
C: yeah so they're all in queensland now um and I don't see them moving they're all sort of homebodies, I'm the only one that moves around a lot so.
CI00: mm so nobody else went back to the to the uh states for college or anything?
C: no just to visit.
CI00: hmm.
C: just to visit.
CI00: so you still have some family back in california then?
C: yeah we've got some from idaho as well um an actually none of them really came out here until about the last two years um cause mostly they retired an like mum's brother his wife inherited quite a bit of money and so forth so they've all come out here and basically travelled the world um but they've all made it out here my grandma came out when we were just kids um but I've only got one grandma left and she's ninety eight so she's not going anywhere I don't think.
CI00: ninety eight yeah.
C: I got an uncle in california and uh my grandmother died a few years ago that was in california um don't keep in contact with many of my friends um a few of them came out for my wedding and stuff but um, I think it's just too far for people really to keep in touch that much.

11.7.3 Transcript of Lucy 1999

AI99: thanks for that um I've just got a few questions um I've sort of had a quick run down cause I had a look at your questionnaire and here you were seven years old when you came to australia.
L: yes.
AI99: and you've lived in australia ever since?
L: yes.
AI99: so when you came across from nebraska that's in america isn't it?
L: yup.
AI99: sorry <I'm not up with the american>.
L: <that's okay>.
AI99: um when you came across [dʒa] have like communication breakdowns with all the other kids did they have trouble understanding you or vice versa?
L: um I had trouble understanding some of them {sniff}.
AI99: <yeah>
L: <and> I'm sure they probably did too um but I guess at seven you just sort of cope and and stuff and um.
AI99: they would've thought you were cool though <being having an american>.
L: <well at least> you know and I guess the other thing was that um I came I remember this so well it was just being australia being what it was even back then.
AIMS: hmm.
L: before you were born {laughter} there was just greeks and italians and you know english and everything and of course where I came from it wasn't like that at all so that was a bit of a novelty and having to hear all them and the different um, accents I guess that they get from their parents yeah and stuff and and I actually remember this really quite well that um we were having a a spelling test and I had this teacher that was english and of course she wanted me we were having some word to spell I don't know and I couldn't understand it so I looked over at the little boy next to me and he said she's cheating she's cheating and I said no I can't understand I remember this {laughter} I couldn't understand it and she took me and she h* made me hold out my hand and she got out a ruler.
AI99: ah {expression of surprise}.
L: and she hit my hand really hard once or twice and it hurt like anything.
AI99: all because you couldn't understand.
L: well I told her I couldn't understand but she thought I was cheating.
AI99: yeah yeah yeah.
L: so um I went home and told my mum that day and of course you just don't do that.
AI99: yeah.
L: where we came from and my mum went and complained and the lady said well that's what we do to.
AI99: naughty children.
L: yes {laughter}.
AI99: <XXX {laughter}>.
L: <but I> remember that was a great big culture shock because one I was caught cheating when I couldn't understand what she was saying and two I got my hand hit with a ruler {laughter} which was you know unbelievable.
AI99: so was that soon after you arrived?
L: yeah.
AI99: so it was like when you were seven or eight.
L: yeah it was maybe within like a month or something of arrival so.

11.7.4 Transcript of Betty 1999

CI99: okay, {noise} so do you still feel like an american?
B: oh yes definitely.
CI99: do you have any plans to go back to the states?
B: to live?
CI99: yeah.
B: uh did you say thoughts or plans I didn't hear the word you said.
CI99: oh plans.
B: I anticipate that before my life is over that I'll live in the u s for maybe a period of a year or two years um I probably will consider australia as my home base though for the rest of my life hmm.
CI99: hmm but you go back to visit fairly often.
B: um I go back about once a year to visit and I go to conferences as well as visit my family.
CI99: what uh what prompted you to move to australia.
B: I had a job I went um what happened was I said offhand to a friend of mine oh I think I'll go to australia and she phoned me that the university of Iowa newsletter said that at the university of nebraska they were interviewing for teachers to come to australia at the time I was a teacher and this was the planeloads of teachers that came to australia so I applied I phoned them and they said oh no we don't have any time slots because we wanna go to the university of nebraska football game in the afternoon but come along anyway come along anyway {laughter} come along and we'll see if we can fit you in so I went to where I was supposed to be an they fitted me in an I had an interview about the job an I had my daughter with me at the interview because the babysitting arrangements I had hoped to have didn't work out.
CI99: oh.
B: an of course I had thought that they would see that as a negative y'know somebody that was so disorganized that they couldn't get their child babysat but um they in fact um commented on her as well, they were quite happy that she was well behaved and {laughter} so they offered me a job but then by the time I got ready to come melbourne state college needed um uh lecturers and they offered me a lecturer's job there because I had a master's degree and I had a two year contract tax free and air fare as well.
CI99: oh yes I've heard about those deals they used to give people.
B: it was great um in nineteen seventy four or something I think I earned eleven thousand something tax free which was, fine and the australian dollar was worth a dollar twenny five of american money at the time.
CI99: oh was it oh {laughter} how times have changed hey?
B: yes yeah.
CI99: hmm so do you enjoy the australian lifestyle?
B: yes I do but I could be quite happy living in the u s as well I don't see that I've come here to escape a lifestyle or to because I prefer an alternative lifestyle here what has happened the reason I stayed was because I had relatively good jobs an um also then I met um I married an australian an that kept me here for um, quite a while {laughter} so it's been more of a personal thing unlike I think some americans that might've come here as a bit of a protest against a lifestyle or looking for an alternative to what they had um I don't think that's why I continued to stay.

11.8 Excerpts of Transcripts of 1988 Interviews

11.8.1 Transcript of Betty 1988

AI88: {name}, how long have you been in australia for?
B: I think fourteen years in february, with some time out I spent eighteen months back in the states in that fourteen years so.
AI88: when you go back, do you feel it's changed or they've changed?
B: I think uh, yes I feel it's changed to a certain extent, but I think it might be more me, because um I come from a rural farming community and I'd never lived in a city before, I mean a city of the size of melbourne and I think that as much as the australian culture differences that it might in fact just be a living in a city as opposed to living in the country, that kind of thing, which I see, as well.
AI88: yeah um could you describe this one please, just the way you normally talk.
B: my first inclination is to say this is a filling station and then I try to say petrol station or something else when I think about it, um and just describe the picture?
AI88: yes please.
B: a car um, obviously waiting to get uh and again I say petrol when I think and gas I don't filled up with gas or petrol and they obviously have a special on tyres at fifty nine ninety um, suburban, gas station I guess.
AI88: right okay can you see anything there?
B: oh yes, this is my other problem when you, had I had you not pointed it out I wouldn't have thought specially, most of the time I call those rubbish bins now as opposed to say garbage or trash it's a red, red garbage tin.
AI88: and the garbage tin is where?
B: uh on the sidewalk right and I sometimes do remember to say footpath, but all these things I find, one time I had a disagreement about with the service station attendant and um because it put me off a bit actually walked around to the wrong side of the car to get in and I find depending on if I'm off balance a bit I tend to revert back to the things that I'm used to saying or that I learned or getting in the wrong side of the car or.
AI88: do you feel more australian or more american?
B: um, oh I think I'll always be an american, but I I did find I went with my husband's australian and when we went to bali we met australians more than americans I felt much more comfortable when we were running around with australians that we'd met.
AI88: why's that?
B: I don't know possibly because he is australian for one thing and possibly there's that additional link, when I'm travelling I well the other thing, I mean this sounds really odd but um all the australians were there in their shorts and singlets and there were some or some of the americans that were there were really dressed to the hilt and I was finding it just much more comfortable to be wearing my shorts and singlet and and associating possibly it wasn't even again a, a country thing it was more of a, a class thing you know or the relaxed lifestyle that we were hoping to have on our holiday so that's just one instant I can think of where we were definitely happier to find the australians.
AI88: could you describe this one please?
B: well it looks like a very old uh photograph of somewhere like collins street and in melbourne and complete with taxi and women obviously enjoying oh and there's a man there as well obviously enjoying afternoon or morning tea on the sidewalk and uh definitely a dated photograph based on the vintage of the cars and that, I believe that that spectacle makers sign if that's the place where I think it is might still be there, I don't know um, and the season's probably well from the way everybody's dressed uh, summer spring looks like a very nice uh, civilized {laughter} picture.
AI88: thanks what about this one?

B: oh yes if I hadn't even read the the bit under the picture, I would have said oh that's definitely australian looking at the gum trees the sheep the man on a horse uh herding sheep and um there's something very definite about an australian landscape in sometimes when we're in the country because I come from a nebraska and there's we our farm was near the sandhills there are some aspects uh of the australian nebraska scenery that can almost blend together, but it's usually the trees that make the difference, but there's some very uh sort of dry low grass areas you know sandhills and grass.

11.8.2 Transcript of Lucy 1988

AI88: {name}, um could um how long have you been in australia for?
L: fourteen years.
AI88: so you've had all your most of your schooling in australia?
L: yes.
AI88: when what grade were you in when you came to australia?
L: uh well I was in grade one in the states, but then when I came here they put me in grade two so <I had like>.
AI88: <right>.
L: you know four months of grade one or something and it's been like that ever since.
AI88: right and what are you studying?
L: um I'm studying arts um sort of like psychology and sociology in at frankston chism.
AI88: does that mean you're going to be a schoolteacher?
L: no {laughter} no I'm thinking of personnel or something like that.
AI88: right.
L: not a school teacher no.
AI88: right and how do you um well first of all before I ask you anything else perhaps um would you like to, describe a couple of pictures for me {HRT} um first of all what about this one.
L: okay well if I'm american I'll say it's a gas station if I'm australian I'll say it's a petrol station.
AI88: what are you?
L: I'm a bit of both because I've been here for so long I I would normally call it a petrol station um.
AI88: just just talk the way you normally do.
L: Okay, okay um there's a car there tyres um it's ampol um self serve um it's just a normal petrol station.
AI88: right.
L: is that?
AI88: can you see anything there?
L: that's a rubbish bin.
AI88: yes where's the rubbish bin.
L: it's in front of the um I don't know what to call it the petrol where you get the petrol from.
AI88: right.
L: the petrol pump I guess yeah.
AI88: right and uh can you be more specific,{HRT} where it is that is.
L: oh it's on the sidewalk.
AI88: right is that the word you normally use?
L: yep that's the word I normally use everybody laughs at it when I say it but no I don't say footpath I say sidewalk.
AI88: right, um, do you um have you been back to the states often?
L: I went four years ago for about two months and then I hadn't been back for about eight years before then when I was in grade five I went back for a year so and then we came back here.
AI88: right could you describe this one please?
L: okay um, let's see well there's, it looks like a restaurant sort of thing with um tables and umbrellas on the sidewalk and there's um cars and footpaths I mean it's there's cars and it's a cab that's what I'm saying sorry and um there's a sign that says spectacle makers and there's buildings and the trees are on the side of the road and um there's I think that's a light pole I mean a lamp a lamp pole or whatever you call it and a fire hydrant.

AI88: right and do you know where it is?
L: um I think*>
AI88: what city?
L: It's in melbourne but it's in isn't that um collins street?
AI88: yes, what part of the states do you do you come from originally?
L: nebraska.
AI88: do you remember very much about nebraska?
L: uh little bits.

11.8.3 Transcript of Margaret 1988

AI88: um now what I'd like you to do first is to describe the picture, could you tell me what you see on the picture there?
M: a little service station and looks like a car filling up a service service station attendant in the background tyres for sale trees and houses in the background it looks like it could be melbourne in the distance {noise} ahm a rubbish tin ah signs.
AI88: where's the rubbish tin?
M: on the sidewalk, um, what else do you want me to say about it?
AI88: no that's fine thanks um how long have you been in australia for?
M: about twenty years.
AI88: what was australia like when you came has it changed a lot?
M: yes I think it's changed a lot it's hard to you know you don't think about that it it just happens gradually but um I mean I've changed a lot too so it it maybe it's me rather than.
AI88: when when you go back to the states do people sort of see a change in you?
M: well they say oh you got an english accent.
AI88: hmm where did you come from in the states?
M: portland oregon on the west coast.
AI88: could you describe this one please, just the way you normally talk?
M: well ah it's in melbourne um, looks like a summer day people are eating and drinking outside ah lot of cars parked on the road some of the cars look fairly old I think um, and a sign that says spectacle makers um trees are in in leaf um there's somebody looking in a window someone crossing the street a fire hydrant um is that enough?
AI88: thank you very much and could I ask you to describe this one as well please.
M: this one, oh this is a rural one, um herd of sheep, um couple of gum trees, flat land, rider on a horse um no sheep dog in evidence, um, outback australia.
AI88: what's professional life like in australia compared to the united states?
M: well that's a bit hard for me to say because I wasn't um.
AI88: you were.
M: I didn't have my I did my professional qualifications here <so>.
AI88: <right> did you come out with your parents or on your own?
M: no I came out with two friends.
AI88: right.
M: who have gone back.
AI88: hmm.
M: did not stay, and um.
AI88: why did you decide to stay in australia?
M: well, I did marry an australian.
AI88: right right.
M: and that that marriage didn't last and I met I've married another austr* australian since so uh that's the <main reason>.
AI88: <you haven't> got any children?
M: no no.
AI88: do you like australian english?
M: I like some of it I find some of it um a bit harsh but other accents I I think are very pleasing um.
AI88: um do you think it's becoming very americanized?

M: well {sigh} yes to a certain extent but then there is a lot of asian and european continental influences as well I think it probab* it's probably getting away from the english influence to a great extent ahm and I certainly think that australia has it's own flavour so it's not it's not entirely someone else you know the there are all these influences coming in and changing it.
AI88: um could you describe what you do on a typical day?
M: I haven't had a typical day lately {laughter} um well I'm in charge of the circulation system ah which is more or less stock control.
AI88: hmm.

11.8.4 Transcript of Peg 1988

AI88: {name}, could you describe that picture for me please?
P: this pic* <the one of san francisco>.
AI88: <the one on the right> yes.
P: yes oh well it's a picture of one of the streets in san francisco I think looks like it might be but wherever it is it's a street with a big boat at the end of the street and a bay and some trams and lots of cars except that let's see the car's driving on the wrong side of the road so it might be, it might be some place besides australia is it {HRT} is it san francisco?
AI88: it's san francisco yes yes yes how long have you been in australia for?
P: um we first came in seventy one and then were away and came back in seventy three and finally settled here in seventy six.
AI88: right um do you like it here?
P: yes yeah.
AI88: and um do you um are there lots of differences between life in america and life in australia?
P: it's getting so long since we've lived there that it's very difficult when we first came we uh there's a great number of similarities but there are subtle differences we felt um I would find it very difficult I think right now unless i'd lived again in the united states because it has evolved since.
AI88: <yes>.
P: <we were> there in the early seventies really was the last time that we lived there so I would say in answer there are there are differences perhaps overpowered by a lot stronger.
AI88: it took you a number of times to decide to live in australia what sort of moved you?
P: well the reason it did, the first time we came uh we came on an expedition which was not looked upon as a move to australia.
AI88: right.
P: but an expedition to come down and work on material.
AI88: right you're a zoologist are you?
P: I'm a geologist, a geologist s* we came with a group from the american museum of natural history and worked together with the south australian museum.
AI88: oh yes.
P: went back and I had a job in texas at that stage uh and {name} didn't have a job which is one of the problems that professional people have the world around.
AI88: hmm.
P: so then uh we well we came back to australia after that on a fulbright and while we were here {name} was offered a job and so we decided that in this world of reality where we were both trying to be professional people that we'd keep both of em and see which one worked out the best and we ended up I gave away the position in texas and came here to a part time position and then worked it up into a full time position so that we really th* the uh first thought of moving here woulda been in seventy four and then we decided finally in seventy five seventy six that that the best place for us professionally was was here.
AI88: thank you very much could you describe that one for me please?
P: petrol station that's selling tyres for fifty nine dollars and ninety cents, which seems a bit low to me {laughter} uh with petrol pumps and and uh, houses with tile rooves which remind me a lot of melbourne or sydney and a a car sitting in the petrol um driveway waiting probably to I don't know

whether it's self serve or not yes it is it's a self serve place so I guess he's out self serving himself or herself uh.
AI88: and what do you see in the foreground?
P: a street.
AI88: yes what about that?
P: a rubbish bin or a garbage can I would call it a rubbish bin.
AI88: yes.
P: in the united states I'd call it a garbage can.
AI88: where's the uh where's the rubbish tin?
P: it's on the I would still call it a sidewalk rather than a footpath but I mean I would be my mind is constantly trying to think where I am which words do I use.

11.8.5 Transcript of Tim 1988

AI88: how long've you been in australia for?
T: fourteen years.
AI88: you come from california?
T: california yeah my wife comes from a town called bicilia which is the san X valley I come from around los angeles I lived there from the time I was two to the time I was sixteen and I returned when I was eighteen to the university of california was there until I was, twenty six.
AI88: would you tell me what you see on the picture on the right please?
T: I see a picture of san francisco san francisco bay in the background with the cable cars going up the hill and, can't see what's in the background, looks like the east bay in the background berkeley hills that's where I went to university was in that area it's just an ordinary san francisco street scene there's a ship down at fisherman's wharf and I can't identify for sure the land mass just across the water, that's most readily visible it may be marin county I'm not sure I'm not exactly sure I didn't spend that much time in san francisco when I was going to the university of california at berkeley I spent most of my time in the east bay, moving around berkeley I didn't I don't really know san francisco all that well let's see what else can I tell you about that picture.
:
just an ordinary picture of san francisco probably taken looking at the cars ten years ago.
AI88: thank you very much could you tell me something about what you do during the day how do spend a typical day?
T: now here?
AI88: yes.
T: well a day at work we get up about six thirty we leave the house at seven thirty {name} and I and {name} and sometimes timmy drive down to the monash area I get on a train {name} goes to school {name} will go to creche or else he may stay here at the house with the babysitter and I go in to the museum I work there I go home on the train and I get back here around seven thirty I spend about three and a half hours travelling to and fro every day to work.
AI88: that's a very long time do you can you use that time productively?
T: to some extent, if you can get a seat on the train yes you can sit there and read and think if you're sandwiched like sardines as we frequently are coming home at night you don't get much done a lot of times and others there's a lot of waiting in an area in areas where it's not conducive to working if the weather's bad or something like that and you're waiting for a bus it's just not all that useful I'd say I'm lucky if I use half the time productively commuting but it's worthwhile living out here isn't it?
:
I think if we could afford a place closer in that was something that we would be satisfied with we would consider moving in closer to avoid the fact is that we just don't have enough funds to buy a house that would be satisfactory to us we really don't want to live in an old shoe box in a slum so we prefer to pay the price by commuting this distance.
AI88: are working conditions similar in australia to what they were in the united states or?
T: well professionally the museum I work for the musium of victoria it lacks the really the proper infrastructure to the kind of research I like to do most efficiently I mean it provides me with a

reliable salary so that I'm I can keep doing it I don't have to I don't have to live on soft money doing my work I know I'm gonna get paid every month and six months from now things like this on the other hand doesn't provide the resouces the equal and comparitive specimens that I need to do a proper job and this has proven frustrating the government runs the museum like any other, department of the state system and we can come under some incredible regulations which make it very difficult to carry out the work properly I mean I cannot go overseas on duty for example without the blessing of the premier and he doesn't give that very often so that means he in order to do your job properly you not only gotta go out and raise the funds to go travelling overseas you've gotta take leave to do it it's very frustrating.

11.8.6 Transcript of Jim 1988

AI88: you've been in australia for how long?
J: seventeen years.
AI88: all in melbourne was it?
J: just about yeah?
AI88: you grew up in california?
J: correct.
AI88: right.
J: los angeles for the first five years and then berkeley.
AI88: oh right.
{tape stops}
J: ...I didn't realize I had such a thick accent.
AI88: have you?
J: I thought that my american accent had been smoothed out over the years rounded off but when I hear the recording it sounds awfully raw just like any other american would sound.
AI88: could you describe that picture for me please?
J: ah, do you want it in the american lingo or the australian?
AI88: well what would you normally use, do you have family here?
J: no.
AI88: right so do you, what would you normally use?
J: well I'd say there's a petrol bowser there right but no other american would say that they'd say gas pump or something like that in fact I'm not even sure what they would say anymore.
AI88: right.
J: and there's a car and a gas station and tyres.
AI88: is that the word you normally use now gas station?
J: no I would say petrol station.
AI88: right.
J: what would you use?
AI88: petrol station is that would you use the word station?
J: service station right service station ok and there's rubbish bin out in front or we would say garbage can but the americans would say garbage can but I'd still say rubbish bin.
AI88: what if you talk to other californians what do you say?
J: I guess I would try a little bit to get into their style of speaking I would say garbage can and I would say the trunk of the car rather than the boot and fender rather than what mudguard hmm that's all I can think of at the moment.
AI88: thank you very much.
J: is there anything else I can describe in this picture?
AI88: no that's fine thanks.
J: okay.
AI88: perhaps I could ask you to describe the picture on the left.
J: okay well there's a horse and a rider and a herd of sheep and eucalyptus trees and grasslands with trees in the background.
AI88: could you tell me something about a typical day what yould you normally do during the day?
J: well I'd get up in the morning and have breakfast and usually sit around smoking and thinking for awhile and eventually I manage to get up and go to work drive to work then I sit around the

office the rest of the day doing all sorts of things then I go home and watch television and go to bed eating dinner's somewhere in there.
AI88: what does your work differ from what you did in the states?
J: well I was basically just a student in the states and then I came here and became an academic so it's a world of difference I never really earned my living in the states except by incidental jobs.
AI88: what would you say the main difference between living on the west coast of america and living in australia would be is there much difference?
J: that's very hard to characterize I think it's basically simpler living here and s* not necessarily more pleasant but simpler the people are less complicated psychologically so I can cope with them better american are wrapped up in various sorts of complicated interpersonal relationships and they talk about various subtle nuances of feeling in these relationships and it's all sort of been too much for me.

11.8.7 Transcript of Loraine 1988

AI88: {name}, how old are you?
L: ten.
AI88: ten, do you go to school here in emerald?
L: no.
AI88: what school do you go to?
L: wesley.
AI88: that's a long way away how do you get there?
L: by car.
AI88: your parents bring you to school do they, you've lived in america haven't you {HRT} at some stage.
L: we just went there for a trip but we didn't live there for any time we just X for ten weeks we lived in places for about three weeks at a time and then we went to somewhere else.
AI88: whereabouts did you go?
L: we went from about we went to hawaii and south dakota and we sort of went, west from there I think oh we went both ways but.
AI88: do you have lots of relations in america?
L: we don't have any here.
AI88: I see so you've got all your relations in america, could you tell me what you see on that picture there?
L: a petrol station.
AI88: yes.
L: tyres for fifty nine dollars and ninety cents I think that's your car is it?
AI88: it is actually.
L: it's an ampol self serve looks somewhere in melbourne or somewhere like that and there's trees and houses and, smog and there's people and a road, and, a yellow line X and there's litter and glass and.
AI88: what's that in front there, can you see that?
L: the bin.
AI88: yes where's the bin?
L: outside the petrol station.
AI88: whereabouts?
L: sidewalk or the pathway, something like that and.
AI88: do you want to say sidewalk?
L: I don't know, that's about all I can see.
AI88: thank you very much could you tell me something about school what do you do at school?
L: well.
:
L: what do I do at school?
AI88: well can you tell me what happens when you get to school?
L: I get out and I go to my friends.
AI88: and what do you do?

L: I put my bag on the rack and usually I X go into the classroom and then I might go out to the playground.
AI88: do you learn anything special at school apart from the ordinary subjects?
L: cello and we have just normal music and then cello.
AI88: have you been learning the cello for a long time?
L: two years.
AI88: what's your favourite piece?
L: XX learn the easiest always.
:

11.8.8 Transcript of Ted 1988

AI88: {name} hello how old are you?
T: hallo I got something downstairs.
Peg: how old are you what comes after one {name} how old are you? one?
:
Peg: can you say two {name}?
T: two.
AI88: what have you been doing today?
T: daw* dawing.
AI88: drawing?
T: yes.
AI88: what have you been drawing?
T: colouring a paper.
AI88: have you been playing too?
Peg: have you been playing {name}?
T: I wanna hold the card.
Peg: oh no you'll get it all sticky you look at it you look at it.
T: I wanna have it.
Peg: what do you see there?
T: a car.
L: say it a bit louder {name}.
Peg: what's this what's that a what?
T: a bucket.
Peg: say it louder.
T: {shouting} a bucket.
AI88: thank you very much indeed.

11.9 Excerpts of Transcripts of 1981 and 1974 Interviews

11.9.1 Transcript of Lucy and Betty 1974

L: um hi um grandpa and grandma well I think it was in uh august or september well we had oh a children's ball and um well see I'll sing part of it for you it's mi- no it's mickey mouse's birthday party that's the place to be an XXX an mummy laughed at me I don't know why but see {name} wasn't here anyway anyway um I was just I was with this um {name} which he has red hair oooh pooh anyway um and um we had to do we had to go we had to go one two jump one two jump something like that anyway um well after that well I think it was about nine o clock I felt sick and then at ten o clock I felt sick too and I don't think I never want to stay up until ten o clock I said I keep saying to mommy mommy I don't want to go I don't want to go and she keeps saying you have to you have to you have to.
B: I'm sitting in my bean bag I got this for my birthday present and oh it's terribly comfortable you should get some anyway it's red and it's made out of velvet and it doesn't go with the orange table cloth we have but we don't mind it's a lot of colour in here {laughter} anyway we're having a good time I can't remember what all I told you but today we went down to the beach had a little hike and then I got worn out and I had to come home and sleep and those two didn't sleep at all I don't think {Lucy says something in the background} oh well they don't sleep much they get up and see the horse out the window in the mornings he comes by clompetty clopping sometimes he comes at five sometimes he comes more like seven but there's milk but we don't get milk from him but the milk that he delivers comes in a bottle and the top two three inches of it are cream and then the people pour that off and use that for cream for their coffee but you can also buy homogenized milk but you can't buy anything bigger than a quart and you can't buy anything but just whole milk that's all they have so that's the milk story I have to talk about their subjects didn't you say if they did a good job because I don't have anything written down I mean I don't have any notes to talk about I'll tell you about my school that I know a little about that {Lucy says something} well anyway oh I have to {name}'s XX the piano this is really good I was in the music store and I found member those old books called teaching little fingers to play they were john thompson red books on the outside with white writing anyway I found those and so I bought that for {name} and she can now play what she sang for you and uh it's called stepping out.
L: XXX birthday party.
B: anyway back to school um I have only one class left it's on monday for two hours but I also have on monday a committee meeting from twelve to one and then I have um a meeting from three to five and then uh we're planning our courses for next uh year so that takes up several hours of the day also we're trying to get the repairs done to the building and we have to call and uh check in with everybody to come do what we want em to do painting or whatever so we're doing all that kind of junk and just generally organizing um stuff so here I thought I was gonna have a big rest but it's not turning out that way maybe in a couple a weeks I won't have so much to do I hope not I'm not over worked however but I still have work to do and also I have to go in every day cause they uh sort want me to come in for some reason can't understand why just cause they're paying me a salary to be there every day but anyway so I go in sometimes {name}'s gone in with me twice I think and um she went with me to visit one school and we just didn't do anything there because the librarian wasn't there it was just an acting librarian.

11.9.2 Transcript of Lucy and Betty 1981

B: and she can tell you that it's different room so {name} do you want to uh say something kay go ahead.
L: you don't r* realize how cold it is in here.
B: I just told em it was good weather though this week here anyway tell em about your room or whatever you wanna tell em.

L: um well what had happened.
B: that's the mike right there.
L: what had happened was um I wanted to change my bunkbed you know how if you remember I had a bunk bed well I didn't want to crawl up there every night so I asked mum to get rid of the bottom bed an she said ha 've got a great idea why don't we move you into the other room so I had to make a sort of a promise to keep my room clean well it is a bit slacky at the moment but um I do clean it up it's just my school books all over the place anyway I'm in the yellow room the one that goes three down from the hall and um it's really nice um I have my book case and uh my uh bunk bed well not my bunk bed but one of the beds from my bunk bed uh and we moved all my clothes in here and moved everything up anyway so um it was supposed to be just a room change a bedroom change and we changed everything and it took us about one day uh oh honestly about nine hours to finish it and we're not we're still not ready quite w* quite right yet because because uh some book cases I thought we were gonna change around the book cases.
B: oh maybe.
L: anyway maybe we are n maybe we're not an this room's a lot I reckon it's a lot better because um the the windows at the top you get the light in the morning and um I dunno an it's much bigger than the other one that's another thing and uh it's more comfortable in here I suppose um so that's that about my room I played netball yesterday and uh my team won fourteen to five that's really good well it's not exactly good because we weren't playing the best but we must've been playing pretty good to beat them uh we've had three wins n two losses now and uh the team we'll play next week is a bit rough so we might lose that one but um we shouldn't because y'know we're that we're sort of good um I play wing defense and I can go to a certain area um in on the court and it's not a bad position to play because I don't go all over the court but I do run around a bit um sometimes I play uh goalkeeper where you have ta sorta try and get the ball after the goal shooter anyway I haven't played that yet but I probably will next week because the girl who plays that is going on vacation because we have um school holidays next week so I can't wait to do that um that should be fun I don't know what I'm doing yet taffy is okay um I don't know if I've told you but she had to have an operation on her leg she was taffy the short haired one right she had to have an operation on her leg because something had bitten her a cat or a dog something like that and and um she had and her ankle was all pussie so she had to have an operation on that and uh she had stitches put in and she's eaten the stitches away not eaten them but pulled them out a bit and it's all red and gory blah all lovely to look at um we have to give her pills every once every three times a day but we do forget cause I was posed to give it to her in the morning X anyway and I just don't have enough time cause I fly out of here at uh seventeen past seven and I have to be down at the tram stop by twenty past XXX.
B: oh alright you wanna say anything else for awhile?
L: um no not yet um thank you.
B: I'll just talk for awhile again then it's been terribly exciting um week because friday I had a big job interview and uh it's for a big big promotion ha ha ha {laughter} anyway I got the job and um I start my new job in a month now what the job is is at the school nursing library and if you remember I told you my friend {name} again had that job and I'm just gonna see so we can again hear all this stuff we've been saying in here well anyway what the job is is that the school of nursing in charge of that library and uh there's five or six or seven people that work there the number varies a bit at a time uh five is the normal number but the uh nursing library is on this side of the city it takes me about twenty minutes to get there instead of about forty or forty five so that's a real plus in itself uh the money's only about oh a thousand more bit more n that but the big thing is.
L: you'll be able to take me to school.
B: yeah be able actually it's only about five blocks {name}.
L: I don't know about round about two.

11.9.3 Appendix F: Acronyms

SDA: Second Dialect Acquisition

D1: First Dialect

D2: Second Dialect

SLA: Second Language Acquisition

L1: First Language

L2: Second Language

CAT: Communication Accommodation Theory

SAT: Speech Accommodation Theory

CPH: Critical Period Hypothesis

CIMS: Canadian Interviewer Main Study

CI99: Canadian Interviewer 1999

CI00: Canadian Interviewer 2000

AIMS: Australian Interviewer Main Study

AI88: Australian Interviewer 1988

AI99: Australian Interviewer 1999

AI00: Australian Interviewer 2000

AI: Acts of Identity Theory

SLM: Speech Learning Model

AOA: Age of Arrival

LOS: Length of Stay

HD: HOME DIALECT

WD: WORK DIALECT

SOCNET: Social Network Score

AusE: Australian English

CE: Canadian English

AmE: Western American English

Pooled MS data set: Pooled Main Study Data Set

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