THE ROLE OF INPUT STATISTICS IN ACQUISITION: AN INVESTIGATION OF PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN TWINS

LINDSAY BABCOCK







## THE ROLE OF INPUT STATISTICS IN ACQUISITION: AN INVESTIGATION OF PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN TWINS

by

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## ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I address the general question as to whether frequency of the input in the ambient language can determine the order of acquisition in phonological productions. This issue is addressed through an investigation of two corpora of phonological development in twins. I hypothesize that the environment should prevent at least some degree of variation between members of each of the twin pairs and, possibly, eliminate some of the variation typically observed across non-twin learners. To test this hypothesis, I analyse the development of word-initial branching onsets and sC clusters. The results show variation within and across twin pairs. To determine whether frequency influences the orders of acquisition attested, I consider frequency on three levels: individual clusters, cluster types and onset structures. The results show that only at the level of onset structure does frequency correlate with the order of acquisition. This suggests that frequency cannot be taken as a strong predictor for phonological development.

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### **Chapter 1**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

Studies focusing on early phonological development provide robust evidence that variation exists across language learners, both within and across languages. During the period in which a child acquires his/her first 50 words, individual differences emerge (e.g. Leonard, Mesalam and Newhoff 1980). Variation also exists in the order in which the acquisition process unfolds. Despite the variation encountered, acquisitionists of the 1970's and 1980's have devoted efforts toward finding either a universal order of acquisition or universal linguistic operations applicable to particular stages of language development (Leonard et al. 1980).

In this thesis I propose to look at the issue of individual variation between learners in a virtually controlled environment. In order to do so, I will study the acquisition of language in twins. Indeed, the twinning situation comes closest to offering the right context to undertake such a study. As opposed to any other non-twin language learners, twins typically share a quasi-identical linguistic environment throughout early language development.

It is widely observed that language learners acquire the structures of their phonological systems in a given order. Proponents of models based on statistical learning argue that the order of acquisition is driven by statistical tendencies observed in the target language. Specifically, the more frequent a structure, the earlier it is predicted to be acquired. However, variation is well-attested between learners of a single language. Consequently, the sources of the learning paths and of variation observed between learners are not clearly understood. Indeed, as argued by Goad and Ingram (1987), variation between first language learners exists even after performance and environmental factors have been eliminated.

To date, with the exception of Leonard et al. (1980), most studies addressing variation have been comparing data from several children who have *similar* linguistic backgrounds. Similar backgrounds imply that the children are acquiring the same language or language dialect, and come from similar social backgrounds. Under these circumstances, it is assumed that the children have access to equivalent linguistic input. However, to determine whether variation occurs in first language learners who have access to a virtually identical input, a longitudinal study of twins is what comes closest to ideal. This is the model environment since twins are most likely to receive linguistic inputs that are nearly identical. It is from this perspective that I plan to test predictions made by statistical models of child language production such as the one proposed by Levelt, Schiller and Levelt (1999/2000).

Following Levelt et al., I hypothesize that the order of acquisition mirrors the frequency of the input. I address this issue by comparing the frequency of the input to the orders of acquisition attested by the children in both corpora on three levels: individual clusters (e.g. [pl] versus [st]), cluster types (e.g. obstruent+lateral versus [s]+obstruent) and syllable structures (e.g. branching onsets versus sC clusters). Still following Levelt et

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al., in cases where variation emerges, I predict the units showing variable orders of acquisition to display similar frequencies in the input.

As we will see, the results show that the orders of acquisition that emerges for each child varies in comparison to their sibling. When the order of acquisition of individual clusters is compared to the relative frequency of clusters, no correlations suggesting frequency as a source for variation can be made. Likewise, when the same comparisons are made between cluster types and frequency, the hypothesis that acquisition is frequency-driven is again not supported. However, when the order of acquisition of syllable structures are compared to the frequency of the input of these structures, the results suggest that frequency motivates the order of development. Similar results are presented by Lleó and Demuth (1999), Roark and Demuth (2000), Demuth and Johnson (2003), Stites, Demuth and Kirk (2004), and Kirk and Demuth (2005). For example, Demuth and Johnson (2003) argue that the high number of words truncated to CV forms produced by a young learner of French correlate with the high frequency of this syllable type in French. In contrast to this, English learners tend to produce more CVC forms, again in line with relative prominence, that of CVC syllables in English. While these studies focus primarily on variation across learners of different languages, this study strictly considers individual variation in the course of acquisition of a single language, English. I will conclude from the variation observed in the current study that environmental factors such as frequency may play a general predictive role, but that frequency does not seem to be determining precise details of the developmental paths.

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The primary focus of this thesis is on variation in learning paths, with a secondary interest the rate of acquisition.

#### **1.2 Thesis Overview**

This thesis is organized as follows. In Chapter 2, I discuss studies which provide evidence for variation in language development, as well as a survey of the literature on language development in twins. In Chapter 3, I present my methodology and the corpora under investigation. The results of my study are presented and discussed in Chapter 4. The results provide evidence for variation in the order of acquisition of development in all four children. Chapter 5 compares the order of acquisition attested for each child to relative frequencies for individual clusters, cluster types and syllable structures. The results suggest that only the order of acquisition of syllable structures is influenced by the frequency of the input. A summary of the results and general conclusions emerging from these results are presented in Chapter 6. Accompanying these conclusions are suggestions of methods for improving future studies

In the following chapter, I turn to a survey of the background literature discussing current debates on the possible sources for variation in language development.

## **Chapter 2**

#### **BACKGROUND LITERATURE**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I discuss examples of variation found in previous studies on language development. A survey of studies documenting variation is offered in section 2.2. Of the sources that are deemed potentially responsible for the variation observed, environmental factors, especially the linguistic environment within which acquisition generally takes place, are reviewed in section 2.3. I focus mainly on frequency effects in section 2.4, which is also considered a source for variation in the literature. While discussing frequency effects, I pay particular attention to the study conducted by Levelt et al. (1999/2000). In section 2.5, a detailed description of the background literature on twins is provided. (As we will see, most studies of language development in twins have looked at social-discursive development.) Taking the observations discussed throughout this chapter, I formulate research hypotheses and methods of investigation, which I discuss in section 2.6.

#### 2.2 Variation in Language Development

Goad and Ingram (1987) identify three types of individual variation: performance variation, environmental variation and linguistic variation. Performance variation relates to general differences found among children, such as their individual rates of acquisition. Environmental variation is caused by differences found in the linguistic input, for example in the acquisition of frequently- versus rarely-occurring sounds or sound sequences. Finally, still according to Goad and Ingram, linguistic variation arises from the number of different choices that the language acquisition device (i.e. the child's language learning competence O'Grady (1997)), allows for a particular structure. In the following subsection, I provide examples of variation which illustrate additional potential sources of variation.

#### 2.2.1 Examples of Variation in Language Development

The issue of variation between learners in first language acquisition has been widely discussed in the literature. For example, Leonard et al. (1980) describe variation among 10 children acquiring English, focusing on the first 50 words acquired by the children. Their investigation of the word-initial consonant phone classes displayed by the 10 subjects revealed *no* systematic correspondence among subjects. While some crosschild preferences were observed (for example, voiced consonants seemed to have dominance over voiceless consonants), none of the subjects produced the same phone classes<sup>1</sup>. The possibility that the linguistic environment of the children was playing a crucial role in the shaping of their initial productions was tested in the second experiment conducted by Leonard et al. (1980). I come back to this experiment in section 2.3.1.

A second example of variation in early child language is provided by Rose (2003), who discusses variation in the learning paths of two children learning French

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Initial productions of a given word, including variants, are grouped together into the same phone class. For example, if a child's production of *toe* varied from [t<sup>h</sup>ou] to [dou], the variants of this word would be grouped as |t<sup>h</sup>~d| (Leonard et al. 1980). This procedure is from Ferguson and Farewell (1975).

(Clara and Théo) with respect to their acquisition of word-final [ $\varkappa$ ]. Clara acquired word-final [ $\varkappa$ ] later than other word-final consonants, at a stage which coincided with the acquisition of word-medial codas (i.e. branching rhymes). As opposed to this, Théo acquired word-final [ $\varkappa$ ] early, along with all word-final consonants, and well before he acquired branching rhymes. This variation is explained through properties of segmental representations. Rose (2003) proposes that there is a relationship between segmental place of articulation and word-final consonant syllabification: Clara's [ $\varkappa$ ] acts as a placeless consonant, while Théo's [ $\varkappa$ ] behaves as place-specified (Dorsal). The evidence for this variation is derived from analyzing singleton versus branching onsets for both Clara and Théo. Unlike Leonard et al. (1980), Rose (2003) explains the variation from the phonetics of French / $\varkappa$ / and argues that language learners may utilize different types of phonetic evidence to analyze the phonological properties of the target (adult) language.

A third example of variation in language acquisition comes from Levelt et al. (1999/2000), who explain the variation found in their study by considering input frequency as a determining factor. This explanation for variation contradicts the previously-discussed conclusions made by Leonard et al. (1980) and Rose (2003). This study is discussed in greater detail in section 2.4.1.

#### 2.2.2 Section Summary

As can be inferred from the quick survey presented above, the source of variation in early language acquisition has yet to be determined. In the following section, I discuss

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environmental factors more in depth. This discussion leads to the issue of frequency, addressed in section 2.4.

#### **2.3 Environmental Factors**

Previous studies of language development in twins provide evidence that language delays are often encountered in this population of learners, although this issue appears to be controversial. It is important to note in the context of this thesis that some of these studies imply that at least part of the delays observed in language development in twins may originate from their environment. In addition, certain factors must be taken into consideration when studying the language of twins. For example, Costello (1974) and Conway and Lytton (1975) agree that the characteristics of the speech adults direct towards twins must be taken into account when analyzing the period of time during which the twins are delayed. Conway and Lytton observe that parents of twins speak less to each twin, which results in the reduced verbal capacity of the twins themselves.

In contrast to the above, Tremblay-Leveau, LeClerc and Nadel (1999) do not observe any delay. They conclude from a study comparing twins and aged-matched singleton children that by the end of the second year, twins' language production in a triadic interactive context was not delayed at all. In fact, at the 16-month age mark, there were no distinctions between the twins and singletons. Also, they found that 23-monthold twins' language production exceeded singletons' in term of quality and quantity, the twins producing more than twice as many utterances as singletons, both to the adult and to the co-twin, in both declarative and interrogative formulations. In addition, the twins

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learned more quickly than singletons how to use language in dyads within triads to express emotions and desires, and to influence their partner. This is compatible with the observation that a triadic environment is one that twins are most frequently exposed to. The environment in which a child acquires language thus appears to influence production either through enhancing or hindering it.

Note as well that most studies focusing on variation have been comparing data from several children who have *similar* linguistic backgrounds. *Similar* linguistic backgrounds refer to children who have the same target languages and comparable social backgrounds. Therefore, the notion *similar* is, at best, vague. This assumption is directly tested by Leonard et al. (1980), discussed in the following subsection.

#### 2.3.1 Variation Among Twin Pairs

Leonard et al. (1980) investigated the role of the linguistic environment in language acquisition. They conducted tests on a pair of identical twins, in order to control for genetic factors. Their basic assumption was that the twinning context enables what comes closest to a controlled environment, since twins have virtually identical linguistic environments in the period during which language development takes place. Results from these tests were compared with results obtained from the singleton learners in experiment one, previously discussed in section 2.2.1. Transcriptions of word-initial consonants were grouped into phone classes. The results showed that the order and point in time in which shared consonants emerged differed between the twins. Due to the nature and extent of the variability observed in the twins' phone classes, Leonard et al. (1980) concluded that the phone classes of the twins were not much different from those from the singletons under investigations. These results suggest that the linguistic environment does *not* have a significant impact on the children's respective developmental paths.

Evidence to further support this claim comes from Bruggemann (1970). This research documents two sets of identical twins. Comparing twins within twin pairs, Bruggemann (1970) provides evidence that variation is unique to the children, *not* to the environment. Within each twin pair, Bruggemann found that one twin was more linguistically advanced than the other, which implies that they were not at the same stage in the development of their language. This undermines any hypothesis that establishes a correlation between acquisition paths and environmental factors, at least within a single language.

#### 2.3.2 Section Summary

This section presents several hypotheses pertaining to environmental factors as a source for variation in singleton and twinning situations. Costello (1974), Conway and Lytton (1975) and Renznick (1997) suggest that the adult input is an important consideration. In contrast to this, Tremblay-Leveau et al. (1999) find variation within twin pairs and conclude based on this variation that the environment cannot be a source for variation. Leonard et al. (1999/2000), as well as Bruggemann (1970) also find that the environment of the children cannot fully explain the variation found.

In the following section, I focus on frequency effects, which constitute a specific type of environmental factor that may account for variation in early child acquisition.

#### **2.4 Frequency Effects**

With respect to lexical access in speech production, Dell (1990) states words in the mental lexicon either have syntactic representations (lemmas) or phonological representations (lexemes). Discussing the phenomenon of homophony, in which two or more lemmas may share an identical lexeme, Dell (1990) argues that an item's susceptibility to phonological errors is determined not only by its own frequency but by the sum of the frequencies of all of the homophones. This suggests that both lowfrequency targets and their high-frequency homophones in the lexicon are projected onto the same phonological representation even though they have distinct lemma representations.

Challenging this conclusion, Caramazza, Costa, Miozzo and Bi (2001) reported a series of experiments that demonstrate that the ease of producing a word depends only on the frequency of that specific word and not on the frequency of a homophone correspondent (see also Jescheniak, Meyer and Levelt 2003 and Jescheniak and Levelt 2004). Caramazza et al. (2001) conclude from this that homophones have separate word form representations and that the absence of frequency-inheritance<sup>2</sup> effects for homophones prevents full support for the lexical model advocated by Dell (1990).

In sum, Dell (1990), Caramazza et al. (2001), Jescheniak and Levelt (1994) and Jescheniak et al. (2003) all find frequency effects in language production, even if they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The term *frequency-inheritance effect* refers to the observation that the ease of producing a word is affected by the existence of another word with the same phonological form (Jescheniak et al. 2003).

differ in their interpretation of the effects uncovered by their experiments. Levelt et al. (1999/2000) extend this hypothesis by investigating how frequency affects the acquisition of phonology. Their argument is based on the order of acquisition of syllable types in production. Their findings are discussed in the following subsection.

#### 2.4.1 Levelt et al. (1999/2000)

The literature discussed in the previous section generally shows that frequency does have an influence on the speaker's performance. The current section discusses an example of frequency viewed as a predictor of production patterns in language development, as proposed by Levelt et al. (1999/2000). This study is based on data from a longitudinal corpus documenting 12 children acquiring Dutch as their first language. The study concentrates on primary stressed syllables, excluding syllables with /s/-initial clusters. It is thus based on following syllable types: CV, VC, V, CVC, CCVC, CCV, CVCC, VCC, and CCVCC. These syllable types are considered acquired when produced by the child at least twice during the same recording session. The results are aligned on a Guttman scale, to obtain an acquisition order and to determine to what extent an acquisition order is followed. The results show that the children can be divided into two subgroups (A and B). The variation found between these subgroups is illustrated in Figure 2.1 below.

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Figure 2.1 Variation in the acquisition of syllable types in Dutch (Levelt et al. 1999/2000)

Group A acquired coda clusters before onsets clusters, while the children in Group B acquired onsets clusters first, before they acquire coda clusters. Levelt et al. (1999/2000) explain this variation by considering frequencies of syllable types in Dutch. They establish a close correlation between the frequency and the specific developmental order of the syllable types found in the data. High-frequency syllable types are generally acquired before lower-frequency ones. The fact that CCV, CCVC, VCC and CVCC syllables have relatively similar frequencies of occurrence in the language correlates with the variation observed between Groups A and B. Levelt et al. (1999/2000) thus concluded that the frequency information of the input is an important predictor of both development paths and cross-learner variation.

#### 2.4.1.1 Discussion of Levelt et al. (1999/2000)

Kehoe and Lleó (2003), who replicated the Levelt et al. (1999/2000) study based on a population of German, Spanish, and bilingual German-Spanish learners, did not, provide fully supporting evidence for a frequency-only explanation of the acquisition paths observed in these learners. They conclude that frequency information may explain some but not all of the development paths observed. According to Pan and Snyder (2003), while the Guttman scales utilized by Levelt et al. adequately reflect the variation observed in Dutch-learning children, they question whether this ordering reflects the sequence of acquisition. For example, the method employed in the Levelt et al. study prevented detection of a child's production of CVC syllables before the time of the first recording session. In addition, if CVC syllables have a lower frequency than CV syllables in Dutch (and in the child's speech), then the researchers are building frequency effects directly into their results, rather than observing a cognitively-true acquisition order (Pan and Snyder 2003:617). According to these authors, then, the Guttman scales only display the order of the first recorded occurrence of a production.

The fact that Levelt et al. (1999/2000) did not fully account for the first four acquired syllable types was addressed in Pan and Snyder's (2003) reanalysis of Levelt et al.'s (1999/2000) data. They found that the first three syllable types; CVC, V, and VC are acquired together, instead of in a sequence, a conclusion that contradicts Levelt et al. (1999/2000). Pan and Snyder (2003) claim that any variation in the order of acquisition among CVC, V, and VC simply reflects their relative frequency of use, rather than the frequency in the input.

Finally, it is important to notice that only two patterns emerged in the data (illustrated in Figure 2.1), while many more learning paths are possible. Two of the attested patterns are shown as Groups C and D in Figure 2.2.



Figure 2.2 Two additional paths of variation which are predicted but not attested

Any principled approach to development should be able to account for the absence of these unattested developed patterns, all of which are predicted through a frequency-based account.

#### 2.4.2 Section Summary

Variation clearly exists in child language, but the sources of the variation are difficult to determine. Leonard et al. (1980) consider the linguistic environment as a source of variation, but cannot empirically support this hypothesis. Rose (2003) explains the source of variation by considering the types of segmental representations that children can attain from the phonetics of the ambient language. Levelt et al. (1999/2000) consider input frequency as a source for variation. The results discussed in the current section show that the issue of variation in language acquisition must be investigated further, perhaps by investigating each source individually using clear criteria for determining the effect of each potential source of variation. Meanwhile, in the recent literature, one of the leading hypotheses takes input frequency as a crucial factor in early child acquisition

(e.g. Kirk and Demuth 2003 and Demuth and Johnson 2003). This predicts, in line with Levelt et al.'s (1999/2000) hypothesis, that frequent units will be acquired first, while less frequent units will be acquired later. Moreover, units of relatively equal frequency are predicted to be acquired in a variable fashion, but within closely-related acquisition stages.

The remainder of this chapter focuses on language development in twins. These discussions provide background literature on twins, including delays found in twins, and research on their phonological development. The current hypothesis is then formulated in section 2.6, which builds on the leading hypothesis discussed in this chapter.

#### **2.5 Background Literature on Twins**

This section provides a survey of the background literature on language acquisition twins. As we will see, this is a relatively small field of study that calls for further research, especially from the perspective of phonological development.

#### 2.5.1 Overview of Studies of Language Development in Twins

Studies on language development in twins have been conducted since at least the mid 1930's. These studies investigated a variety of topics through investigations of Mean Length of Utterance (MLU) (Day 1932, Davis 1937, McEvoy and Dodd 1992), sentence construction (Day 1932, Davis 1937 and Lübbe 1974), the development of speech parts (Day 1932 and Davis 1937), the development of speech articulation (Day 1932 and Zazzo 1960), the use of socialized speech (Day 1932, Keenan 1975 and Waterman and Shatz

1982), the use of egocentric speech (Day 1932, Davis 1937, Zazzo 1960 and Lübbe 1974), autonomous speech (Lübbe 1974, Luria and Yudovich 1959, McEvoy and Dodd 1992 and Dodd and McEvoy 1994), and unintelligible speech (Matheny and Bruggemann 1972). These topics were discussed in relation to factors such as birth order (Day 1932, Davis 1937 and Mittler 1970), gender (Day 1932, Davis 1937 and Zazzo 1960), genetic factors and zygosity (Mittler 1974, Munsinger and Douglass 1976, Rice 1996, Stromswold 1998, 2004, Dionne, Dale, Boivin and Plomin 2003, McGregor and Capone 2004 and Kovas, Hayiou-Thomas, Bishop, Dale and Plomin 2005) and mental disorders (Levy 1997).

#### 2.5.2 Language Delays in Twins

In most of these studies, the twins are reported to be slightly delayed in their early language development. However, the authors did not agree on issues such as the importance of the delays observed or when the delays were resolved during the process of language acquisition. For example, Day (1932) observed that twins lagged behind singletons. She concluded that a twin child at the age of five is at the same level as a three-year-old singleton. She also suggested that the delays observed increase in importance as the twins grow older. In contrast to this, Mittler (1969) argued that fouryear-old twins are approximately six months behind singletons. Both Day and Mittler correlate these delays to socioeconomic factors. Another example comes from Dionne et al. (2003) who assessed 1,505 same-sex twin pair cohorts at two years of age and another cohort of 1,049 at three years of age. Results showed that when compared to singletons, the two-year-old cohort showed a three-month delay, while the three-year-old cohort showed a three-to-four month delay. Dale, Dionne, Eley and Plomin (2000) also suggest that twins develop language two to three months later than singletons. Similarly, Matheny (1973) found that twins were markedly delayed in the development of articulation when compared to singletons. Results found by Arnold and Landau (1980) show that twins have language delays at 18 months but are comparable to singletons by age three. This provides counter-evidence to the conclusions made by Day (1932), stated above, that language delays increase as the child grows older. Finally, offering a meta-analysis based on a large number of studies of language development in twins, Wilson (1977) argued that 44.5% of the twins in his sample scored at least as high as their non-twin siblings on verbal IQ.

In addition to disagreeing on the incidences of language delays in twins, the authors listed above debate the factors responsible for the delays observed, more specifically whether the delays are innate or acquired. On the one hand, researchers such as Luria (1936) and Zazzo (1960) claim that the twin situation yields a special context, namely one in which two children of the same age share the same environment, which is considered detrimental to language acquisition. On the other hand, many studies also investigate the importance of genetic factors in the development of the speech of twins. For example, Luria (1936) proposed that the relationship between genetic and environmental factors must be considered, even if it cannot be constant over the period when the twins are growing up. In contrast, Munsinger and Douglass (1976:49) put forth a much stronger claim: they assess the hereditary capacity for language at around 80%,

and claim that the total environmental influence cannot exceed 10%. The remaining 10% encompasses the parents' misclassification effects on their children's language skills.

Since the issue of genetic influences lies beyond the scope of my thesis, I focus more specifically, in the next section, on phonological development in twins.

#### 2.5.3 Studies of Phonological Development in Twins

Studies of language acquisition in twins from the perspective of phonological development are virtually non-existant. In one of the rare studies, Levy (1997) states that both healthy and brain-injured twins follow a normal developmental course. The data presented by Levy suggest that the notion of complexity in language acquisition needs to be defined. Instead of viewing young children's difficulties as emanating from formal linguistic systems, the data suggests that it is in the semantic and pragmatic aspects that the most pronounced difficulties seem to reside. This implies that environmental effects may not be very prominent for the acquisition of phonology.

In a previous study by McEvoy and Dodd (1992), 19 sets of twins were studied and the results showed that the twins performed more poorly than singleton controls from both syntactic and phonological perspectives. Semantic and pragmatic abilities were also tested; the results did not suggest a delay in the sets of twins. Additionally, while the twins had shorter MLU than the singletons, they performed within the normal range. Furthermore, within each set, the twins shared an atypical phonological process, which was typically not displayed by normally-developing children. For example, they deleted the initial consonant, producing 'oat' for 'boat' (McEvoy and Dodd 1992:84). In a later

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study, Dodd and McEvoy (1994) focused on the phonological abilities of 19 sets of twins. Their study provided evidence against 'twin language', i.e. against the development of a special language between twins unique to each twin pair, since the phonologies of the siblings were not identical.

Most of the existing twin studies are based on English-speaking twins. One exception to this comes from Zhu and Dodd (2000) who investigate the phonological systems of a set of Mandarin (Putonghua)-speaking twins. Using quantitative and qualitative measures, they discuss whether twins have two lexical representations for some lexical items or if the Mandarin twins would develop phonologically on the same path as singletons. The two general questions addressed by Zhu and Dodd (2000) are, first, whether the phonological systems of the co-twins display the characteristics of delayed or disordered development and, second, whether the co-twins understand both the adult and their sibling's phonological forms. The phonologies of two twin boys were observed as they participated in a picture-naming task and a single word comprehension task, during child-child interaction and during child-adult interaction. The results show that the twins make more speech errors than singletons of the same age. These errors were not typical of chronological age and were rarely produced by normally developing singletons. However, delayed singletons do produce these errors.

#### 2.5.4 Section Summary

Based on the few phonological studies of twins that exist, the overall generalization appears to be that when the phonological systems within twin sets are

investigated, the results show that the twins are not identical. This corresponds with the range of variation that has been observed across the studies discussed throughout this chapter.

As already mentioned, my thesis has as its central focus variation between twins during language acquisition from the perspective of phonological development. The patterns of development and variation observed will be discussed in light of statistical properties of the general linguistic environment.

The following section discusses my hypothesis, which builds on the literature discussed in this chapter, and provides a brief description of how I plan to test my hypothesis.

#### 2.6 Hypothesis

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Leonard et al. (1980) analyse frequency effects in relation to segment development in twins, while Levelt et al. (1999/2000) analyse frequency effects in relation to prosodic development in a non-twin population. In the current thesis, I analyse prosodic development similarly to Levelt et al. (1999/2000) but using the rigorously controlled environment offered by twinning situations, as did Leonard et al. (1980). Building on the findings from the previous literature on language development in twins, I hypothesize that variation is interpersonal. However, if the results show no variation, this will be taken as supporting evidence for the role of frequency in setting developmental paths in early child language acquisition. To test my hypothesis, I analyze the development of both branching onsets and
[s]+consonant (sC) clusters for two corpora documenting phonological development in twins. I discuss these corpora and the method of analysis in the following chapter.

# **Chapter 3**

# **METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

To discuss issues such as the ones outlined in the previous chapter, I use, in this thesis, data collected from two sets of twins. Both corpora originate from previous empirical studies. I will refer to them as the Goad corpus and the Cruttenden corpus. Both corpora are described in the following two sections respectively. These corpora provide data for the development of branching onsets and [s]+consonant (sC) clusters for all four children under investigation. The target clusters are described in Section 3.4. The criteria for data inclusion and exclusion are presented in Section 3.5. Section 3.6 introduces the method used to compile and code the data. This is followed by a discussion of some of the specific goals of the current research.

#### 3.2 The Goad Corpus

The first corpus, collected by Dr. Heather Goad of McGill University, who was, at the time, a student at the University of British Columbia, documents the productions of two monozygotic (identical) twin boys, David and Mark (Goad 1984). At the time of the first recording session the boys were 3;3.21. Each child was recorded individually once a month for four months, with the exception of the second session, during which both children were recorded together, and the fourth session, which was recorded two months following the third session. All sessions are limited to approximately one hundred utterances. Table 3.1 includes the dates of the recording sessions and the age of the child at the time of the session, as well as to the number of utterances recorded from each child in each session.

Session Date	Age	David's Tokens	Mark's Tokens
1983-09-22	3;3.21	101	103
1983-10-27	3;4.26	52	48
1983-11-27	3;5.26	100	100
1984-01-14	3;7.13	100	100

Table 3.1 Breakdown of the Recording Sessions in the Goad Corpus

These utterances were captured using a diary method whereby productions are directly transcribed at the time of recording. I entered the data into *Phon* (Rose, MacWhinney, Byrne, Hedlund, Maddocks, O'Brien and Wareham 2006), a database program designed specifically for the compilation and analysis of child language phonological data. These data have already been used in analyses presented in Goad (1984) and in Ingram and Goad (1988). However, neither of these works discusses the acquisition of branching onsets or sC clusters. My thesis will thus be the first to document this topic using these data.

#### **3.3 The Cruttenden Corpus**

Dr. Alan Cruttenden, from the University of Manchester, collected the second corpus, also following a diary methodology with no audio or video recording. This corpus documents dyzygotic (fraternal) twin girls, Jane and Lucy (Cruttenden 1978). I accessed the corpus through the CHILDES website (http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/). At the time of the first session, the children were at age 1;5.17. The study continued until the twins were 3;7.18. A total of 85 and 86 sessions for Jane and Lucy, respectively, have been documented. Table 3.2 below gives the number of utterances produced by each child in the Cruttenden corpus per session; '---' indicates a session date in which the child does not have utterances recorded.

Session Date	Age	Nun	nber of	Session Date	Age	Numb	er of
		utte	rances			uttera	nces
	e	Jane	Lucy		· .	Jane	Lucy
1968-10-12	1;5.17	7	28	1969-10-19	2;5.24	10	11
1968-10-15	1;5.20	2		1969-10-23	2;5.28	6	5
1968-10-16	1;5.21	·	14	1969-10-24	2;5.29	3	
1968-10-19	1;5.24	3	30	1969-11-02	2;6.8	24	12
1968-10-22	1;5.27		20	1969-11-05	2;6.11		4
1968-10-23	1;5.28	6	10	1969-11-08	2;6.14	20	21
1968-10-24	1;5.29	4	26	1969-11-13	2;6.19	7	18
1968-10-31	1;6.6	13	5	1969-11-14	2;6.20	2	2
1968-11-02	1;6.8	3	1	1969-11-16	2;6.22	5	===
1968-11-07	1;6.13	14	1	1969-11-19	2;6.25	·	78
1968-11-18	1;6.24	15	41	1969-11-25	2;7.0	12	9
1968-11-29	1;7.4	22	22	1969-12-06	2;7.11	45	31
1968-12-06	1;7.11	12	16	1969-12-18	2;7.23	75	61
1968-12-10	1;7.15	2	12	1969-12-31	2;8.6	13	23
1968-12-20	1;7.25	10	7	1970-01-01	2;8.7	34	52
1968-12-27	1;8.2	15	14	1970-01-02	2;8.8	6	10
1969-01-03	1;8.9	10	7	1970-01-11	2;8.17	14	6
1969-01-11	1;8.17	1	1	1970-01-25	2;9.0		5
1969-03-19	1;10.22	10	12	1970-02-01	2;9.7	13	27
1969-03-28	1;11.3	3	2	1970-02-07	2;9.13	1 ·	
1969-04-07	1;11.13	9	33	1970-02-12	2;9.18	58	49
1969-04-10	1;11.16	49	74	1970-02-14	2;9.20	4	114
1969-04-13	1;11.19	58	. 101	1970-02-16	2;9.22	16	7
1969-04-22	1;11.28	27	35	1970-02-17	2;9.23	6	
1969-04-27	2;0.2	5		1970-02-28	2;10.3	4	4
1969-04-29	2;0.4	3	11	1970-03-07	2;10.10	24	26
1969-05-03	2;0.8	2	3	1970-03-15	2;10.18	13	26
1969-05-04	2;0.9	12	23	1970-03-23	2;10.26	39	39
1969-05-05	2;0.10	13	19	1970-04-02	2;11.8	10	9
1969-05-11	2;0.16	2	2	1970-04-10	2;11.16	36	10
1969-05-12	2;0.17	3	2	1970-04-25	3;0.0	7	2
1969-05-13	2;0.18	6	14	1970-05-08	3;0.13		3

Table 3.2 Breakdown of the Recording Sessions in the Cruttenden Corpus

1969-05-24	2;0.29	7	13	1970-05-29	3;1.4	3	1
1969-05-26	2;1.1	18	43	1970-06-16	3;1.22	. 3	5
1969-06-01	2;1.7	21	19	1970-07-05	3;2.10	22	18
1969-06-05	2;1.11	3	3	1970-08-16	3;3.22	20	4
1969-06-16	2;1.22	33	37	1970-09-08	3;4.14	1	1
1969-06-21	2;1.27	7	4	1970-09-13	3;4.19		2
1969-07-02	2;2.7	20	19	1970-09-24	3;4.30	3	8
1969-08-07	2;3.13	34	23	1970-10-10	3;5.15		1
1969-08-20	2;3.26	82	75	1970-10-24	3;5.29		3
1969-08-30	2;4.5	36	27	1970-11-22	3;6.28	. 2	7
1969-09-13	2;4.19	24	9	1970-12-05	3;7.10	3	
1969-09-21	2;4.27	б	30	1970-12-26	3;8.1	3	
1969-10-04	2;5.9	-8	8	1971-01-11	3;8.17	4	
1969-10-07	2;5.12	29	17	1971-02-27	3;10.2		2
1969-10-10	2;5.15	34	31	1971-02-28	3;10.3	2	
1969-10-17	2;5.22	27	18				

I formatted and imported the original transcriptions of the Cruttenden corpus into *Phon. Phon* was used to identify each of the target structures from each of the four children. These target structures are presented in the following section.

# 3.4 Target Structures Under Investigation

The current research focuses on the development of word-initial branching onsets and sC clusters within morphologically simple words. Only underived words have been chosen, in order to avoid any issues that may arise from the acquisition of morphology or from potential morpheme boundary effects. Both of these onset structures are discussed in the following two subsections. Examples from the data are presented for each onset structure.

### **3.4.1 Branching Onsets**

According to Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud (1990), the adult inputs of branching onsets are illustrated as follows.

Figure 3.1 Structure of a branching onset



Branching onsets are onset clusters containing an obstruent followed by a sonorant continuant. The branching onsets under investigation in my thesis include obstruent+lateral and obstruent+rhotic clusters. Examples of these cluster types are provided in Table 3.3.

Cluster	Name	Orthography	IPA Target	IPA Actual
obs+lat	David	that is a <u>bl</u> ack cat	'ðæt'ızə' <u>bl</u> æk'kæt	dætisə <u>bl</u> ækkæt
obs+rho	Mark	he bringing tiger up	hiːˈ <u>bɪ</u> ɪŋɪŋˈtaɪɡəɪ'ʌp	?i, <u>bı</u> ıŋgıŋ'taıgəıʌp

In the following section, I introduce the types of sC clusters that will be the focus of my investigation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Column labels are provided for this data table only; the cluster in question is underlined. This presentation strategy applies in all relevant contexts in subsequent tables.

# 3.4.2 sC Clusters

In this thesis, sC clusters refer to all word-initial clusters that begin with the strident consonant [s] followed by a consonant. The sC clusters analyzed in my thesis include [s]+glide, [s]+lateral, [s]+nasal and [s]+obstruent clusters.<sup>4</sup> Following Levin (1985), I assume that the syllable structure involved in these clusters contain an appendix position followed by a singleton onset. In line with Goad and Rose (2004), I assume that this holds true no matter whether the cluster presents a rising or a falling sonority profile between the two consonants, as presented below in Figure 3.2a and 3.2b.

#### Figure 3.2 Adult inputs of sC clusters

a) Rising sonority	b) Falling sonority	
σ	σ	
On	On	
s n	s t	

Table 3.4 provides examples of these cluster types. Note that there are no [s]+rhotic clusters in the native vocabulary of English (see Rice 1992 and Goad and Rose 2004 for further discussion of onset clusters in this language).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> [s]+glide and [s]+lateral clusters can also be classified as obstruent+liquid clusters, or clusters with branching onset structure. For the purpose of this thesis they will however be analyzed as [s]+glide and [s]+lateral clusters, in order to account for their behavior, which often contrasts with that of other obstruent+liquid clusters (see, e.g. Goad and Rose, 2004 for a survey of the literature on this topic).

[s]+gli	Mark	see it goes on my	'si:'ıt'gouz'an'maı	sirtgozanmar
		<u>sw</u> eater	' <u>sw</u> etə1	swædə1
[s]+lat	Jane	baby to <u>sl</u> eep	'beɪbiː'tuː' <u>sl</u> i:p	beıbi tə <u>sl</u> i:p
[s] + nas	Jane	can <u>sm</u> ack you	'kæn' <u>sm</u> æk'ju:ə'gɛn	kæn [*] <u>sm</u> æk u
		again		əgen
[s]+obs	David	little <u>sp</u> oon	'lıtəl' <u>sp</u> um	līt <u>sp</u> un

Table 3.4 Examples of sC Clusters

Using *Phon*, I extracted all of the branching onsets and sC clusters from both corpora. The results extracted with Phon were then compiled and analyzed. The method of compilation is discussed in section 3.6. Before I address this issue in more detail, I discuss, in Section 3.5, the criteria for inclusion and exclusion of data.

### 3.5 Data Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

As mentioned above, only word-initial consonant clusters are discussed in this thesis. Clusters that appear in other positions, i.e. word-medial and word-final, have been excluded from the analysis, as well as clusters that occur at morphological boundaries. Exclusion of these clusters is based on a number of considerations. First, due to the limited size of the corpora (especially, the Goad corpus), the non-initial clusters we not found in sufficient numbers to enable a systematic assessment of their patterning. Second, elimination of clusters that occur at morphological boundaries also eliminates a series of problematic issues. For example, this enabled us to avoid complications related to how these clusters are syllabified. Also, in the particular case of word-final clusters, because such clusters may be formed through morphological operations, for example in the word *closed*, ['klouzd], it is impossible to determine whether reductions of this cluster, for example through deletion of the final consonant, originates from a phonological problem or from a lack of acquisition of word-final verbal inflection.

Word-initial clusters containing more than two consonants have also been eliminated from the analysis. For example, [skr] in *screws* could in theory be analysed as a combination to an [s]+obstruent cluster ([sk]) and an obstruent+rhotic cluster ([kr]). However, the evidence suggests that the situation is not that simple. Indeed, the subportions of the clusters containing more than two consonants actually do not pattern the same as clusters that have two consonants. Moreover, because of the limited number of attempts at these clusters, there is insufficient evidence to provide a reliable interpretation of the data.

In the following section, I discuss the method of data compilation used for the current study.

#### **3.6 Data Compilation**

Upon completion of searches within *Phon*, the data were compiled on spreadsheets using *NeoOffice* 1.2. Five different codes were used to characterize the data. These are illustrated using the word *blue* in the Table 3.5

Actual Cluster	Code	Description
a) ' <u>bl</u> u:	Target-Like	Target-like production
b) ' <u>pl</u> u:	Target-Like	Modification of the first consonant, Target-like
c) ' <u>bw</u> u:	Target-Like	Modification of the second consonant, Target-like
d) ' <u>l</u> u:	C <sub>1</sub> Deletion	Deletion of the first target consonant
e) ' <u>b</u> u:	C <sub>2</sub> Deletion	Deletion of the second target consonant
f) 'u:	Complete Deletion	Deletion of both target consonants
g) ' <u>v</u> u:	Fusion	Consonant output is not identical to either of the input consonants, but contains elements of both

Table 3.5 Examples of Each Type of Realization for the Word blue ['blu:]

In the table above, (a) through (c) illustrate clusters which are coded as target-like. As can be seen from the examples, the primary constraint is whether a target cluster is produced with both consonants irrespective of whether the consonants undergo modifications in their surface realizations. Example (d) shows a cluster that has undergone  $C_1$  deletion, while example (e) shows  $C_2$  deletion. Of the two remaining examples presented above, example (f) is of a cluster that has both of its consonants deleted. Finally, example (g) illustrates the process of fusion, when the consonant produced retains properties of both of the consonants in the target cluster. An exhaustive list of the data compiled using this method is provided in Appendix A.

The results provided from the searches made using *Phon* are analyzed independently for each child. The children's respective behaviours are subsequently compared within each twin set, from the perspective of the development of each cluster type across time.

Since there is no access to the original audio or video recordings of these data, the transcriptions cannot be verified. I acknowledge that this constitutes a limitation to my study. However, because my investigation focuses primarily on the presence versus absence of segments within onset clusters, the data are well suited for this study. Arguments supporting this claim can be found in studies such as Ingram (1989), Pater (1996, 1997), Rose (2000) and Inkelas and Rose (2006).

The following chapter provides a detailed description of the data compilation for the Goad corpus and the Cruttenden corpus.

**Chapter 4** 

# **DATA COMPILATION**

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed description of the acquisition of word-initial branching onsets and [s]+consonant (sC) clusters for both corpora under investigation. In order to provide a general idea of the relative importance of each onset structure considered in this chapter, I provide in Table 4.1 the total numbers of target forms attempted by all four children.

		Goad C	orpus	Cruttenden Corpus	
Clust	er Type	David	Mark	Jane	Lucy
Branching	obs+lat	16	13	52	72
Onsets	obs+rho	9	14	80	105
sC Clusters	s+gli	0	1	15	14
	s+lat	4	1	6	22
	s+nas	1	1	8	8
	s+obs	5	10	36	39

Table 4.1 Summary of Attempted Forms for Each Child

Given these numbers, which are rather low in some of the categories of clusters, especially in the Goad corpus, conclusive results could be attained only for a subset of the data.

In the following sections, the developmental path for each child is presented separately. For example, in the Goad corpus, the results for David's clusters are presented first, followed by the results found from Mark's. Similarly, in the Cruttenden corpus, the results for Jane are presented first, followed by those for Lucy. Comparisons are then performed within twin pairs. The Goad corpus is discussed in section 4.2, followed by the Cruttenden corpus in section 4.3. Within each corpus, the acquisition of branching onsets and sC clusters are discussed in turn. Whenever relevant, these cluster types are further divided into specific clusters as outlined in Table 4.1 above. In addition to a quantitative analysis, representative forms are provided throughout the chapter, to illustrate the production patterns from a qualitative perspective. Exhaustive lists are also provided in Appendix A, at the end of the thesis. Following the data compilation for each structure, a brief discussion comparing the siblings is presented. Section 4.4 provides a summary of acquisition paths per twin pair accompanied by a timeline that illustrates each child's order of cluster acquisition. In section 4.5, I offer a general discussion, based on a timeline illustrating the children's learning paths.

### 4.2 Goad Corpus Data Compilation

In this section, I present the data found in the Goad corpus. I discuss branching onsets in 4.2.1 and sC clusters in 4.2.2. Each of these subsections is divided into two further subsections focusing on David and Mark's productions, respectively.

#### **4.2.1 Acquisition of Branching Onsets**

The acquisition of branching onsets encompasses both the acquisition of obstruent+lateral clusters and obstruent+rhotic clusters. I address the development of these two types of branching onsets in turn.

### 4.2.1.1 David's Development of Obstruent+Lateral Clusters

David attempts 16 word-initial obstruent+lateral clusters. Of these 16 attempts, the first five recorded productions are produced at 3;3.21. Three of these productions are listed in Table 4.2 below.

Orthography	IPA Target	IPA Actual	Age	
clothes	'klouðz	'goz	3;3.21	
clothes	'klouðz	'kozi	3;3.21	
play	'pler	,bej	3;3.21	

Table 4.2 David's Obstruent+Lateral Cluster Attempts: C<sub>2</sub> Deletion<sup>5</sup>

As shown in Table 4.2, the second consonant in the cluster has been deleted in all attempts. This process will be referred to as  $C_2$  deletion for the remainder of this chapter. This process, observed in David's corpus only at 3;3.21, is representative of Stage 1 in his development of obstruent+lateral onsets.

At 3;4.26, David did not attempt any obstruent+lateral clusters. However, at 3;5.26, target-like productions are found in the majority of the cases documented. Of the seven attempts in this session, only two display  $C_2$  deletion. These reductions come from the words *play* ['pler] and *clock* ['klak], which were produced as [be] and [kak]. The five remaining examples during this stage are produced as target-like. A subset of these productions is exemplified in Table 4.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Column labels are provided for this data table only; the subsequent tables all follow the same data presentation order.

played	'pleid	pled	3;5.26	
play	'pleı	ple	3;5.26	
play	'pleı	ple	3;5.26	

Table 4.3 David's Obstruent+Lateral Cluster Productions: Target-Like

Even though the target-like productions in this session all originate from a single morpheme, *play*, I hypothesize that this situation is due to the limited corpus size and that despite some variation in his productions at age 3;5.26, David has reached the mastery stage for obstruent+lateral clusters. This hypothesis is confirmed by the data in Table 4.4 below, in which David's four attempts at obstruent+lateral clusters are all successful in the session following 3;5.26.

black	'blæk	blæk	3;7.13	
black	'blæk	blæk	3;7.13	
close	'klous	kloz	3;7.13	
black	'blæk	blæk	3;7.13	

Table 4.4 David's Obstruent+Lateral Cluster Productions: Target-Like

In the following section, I discuss the development of obstruent+lateral clusters in Mark's productions.

### 4.2.1.2 Mark's Development of Obstruent+Lateral Clusters

Mark attempts a total of 13 obstruent+lateral clusters between 3;3.21 and 3;7.13.

From 3;3.21 to 3;4.26, Mark is at his first stage of acquisition for these word-initial

clusters. During this stage, similar to David, obstruent+lateral clusters undergo  $C_2$  deletion. Three attempts are made, all of which are listed in Table 4.5.

clothes	'klouðz	k <sup>h</sup> oz	3;3.21
closed	'klouzd	k <sup>h</sup> ozd	3;3.21
closed	'klouzd	kozd	3;4.26

Table 4.5 Mark's Obstruent+Lateral Cluster Attempts: C<sub>2</sub> Deletion

At 3;5.26, Mark's first target-like productions emerge. Six attempts are made in total, four of which undergo  $C_2$  deletion while the remaining two are target-like. These examples are presented in Table 4.6a and b, respectively.

Table 4.6 Mark's Obstruent+Lateral Cluster Attempts

playing	'plenŋ		beŋ	3;5.26	
closed	'klouzd		kozd	3;5.26	
blue	'blu:	· · · · ·	bu	3;5.26	
play	'pleı		be	3;5.26	

b) Target-Like

place	'pleis	ples	3;5.26
place	'pleis	ples	3;5.26

As illustrated above, target-like productions of obstruent+lateral clusters are beginning to surface at 3:5.26. Because both  $C_2$  deletion and target-like productions are found during this session, and because no systematic documentation is available for an initial stage during which all clusters underwent consonant deletion, I posit that the inter-stage

observed here represents a step forward from the initial stage. I thus interpret the data from this session as representative of an inter-stage, during which the child is starting to produce target-like clusters but has yet to gain a better control on these clusters.

By 3;7.13, Mark has unquestionably gained this control and produces only targetlike clusters in four out of the 13 attempts recorded in the corpus. This mastery stage of obstruent+lateral cluster productions is illustrated in Table 4.7.

closed	'klouzd	klozd	3;7.13
closed	'klouzd	klozd	3;7.13
please	'pli:z	pliz	3;7.13
climb	'klaım	klaım	3;7.13

Table 4.7 Mark's Obstruent+Lateral Cluster Productions: Target-Like

In the following subsections, I turn to the acquisition of obstruent+rhotic clusters.

#### 4.2.1.3 David's Development of Obstruent+Rhotic Clusters

David attempts nine obstruent+rhotic clusters. His word-initial clusters undergo  $C_1$  deletion, then  $C_2$  deletion, before target-like productions are produced consistently. At 3;3.21, five attempts are made. First, David attempts *press* ['pies], which undergoes  $C_1$  deletion and is pronounced as [wəs]. I address whether this process is fusion below. Two more attempts are made, both of which undergo  $C_2$  deletion. These cases come from the words *from* ['finm] and *dry* ['diar], which are pronounced as [fnm] and [dar]. The two remaining productions in this session are of *broke* ['block] and *broken* ['blocksn], which

display target-like clusters, [b1Ak] and [bwoken]. Approximately one month later, at 3;4.26, two more attempts are made. Both attempts at *drawing* ['d101ŋ] undergo  $C_2$  deletion and are pronounced as [damg]. At 3;5.26, *present* ['p1ezənt] is produced as [wesənt] as it undergoes  $C_1$  deletion. Based on these observations, I propose that the period between 3;3.21 to 3;5.26 consists of an inter-stage, since cluster productions during this period can undergo  $C_1$  deletion,  $C_2$  deletion or be realized as target-like. In line with the reasoning proposed above for the incomplete attestation of the initial stage when all clusters typically undergo deletion of a consonant, I label this inter-stage Stage 2.

At 3;7.13, one target-like production of *try* ['tıar] is attained. Even though this cannot be verified conclusively, due to a lack of data, I hypothesize that this marks the beginning of the mastery stage; Stage 3 in David's development.

The only two examples that undergo  $C_1$  deletion in the data presented above are of *press* and *present*. These are the only cases in which [pr] has been attempted in David's corpus. These data are thus suggestive of a peculiar production pattern ( $C_1$ deletion as opposed to  $C_2$  deletion) that occurs only with [pr] branching onsets. One could explain such a pattern through the fact that both [p] and [w] (David's surface realization for target [r], as illustrated in Table 4.8) are labial, which triggers some type of segment fusion (coalescence).

broken	'b100kən	bwoken	3;3.21
rain	'ıeın	wen	3;5.26
resting	'ıɛstıŋ	westin	3;5.26

Table 4.8 David's Production of  $[r] \rightarrow [w]$ 

However, a fusion analysis would fail in this context because of the fact that it cannot extend to [br] clusters (cf. first example in Table 4.8 above). This suggests that [p] is in some way weaker than [b] when followed by a labial approximant, which in turn supports the idea that that the [pr] cluster attempts above have in fact undergone  $C_1$  deletion, as opposed to fusion. The issue of the relation between this process and voicing is however left for further research.

In the following section, I discuss the development of Mark's obstruent+rhotic branching onsets.

### 4.2.1.4 Mark's Development of Obstruent+Rhotic Clusters

14 attempts to produce obstruent+rhotic clusters were made by Mark. Of these, 12 are realized as target-like. Representative examples of such productions are presented in Table 4.9. Note that no obstruent+rhotic clusters were attempted at 3;4.26.

broke	'b100k	bink	3;3.21
bringing	'bររព្វរោ	bungin	3;3.21
drawer	rarp,	orp	3;7.13

Table 4.9 Marks's Obstruent+Rhotic Cluster Productions: Target-Like

The remaining two clusters attempts are found in Table 4.10. Both of these display deletion of the second consonant.

Table 4.10 Mark's Obstruent+Rhotic Cluster Attempts: C<sub>2</sub> Deletion

brown	'b.aun	'dayn	3;3.21
drawer	rarp,	top	3;7.13

Because only two clusters out of 15 undergo  $C_2$  deletion, I conclude that by 3;3.21 Mark had already acquired word-initial obstruent+rhotic clusters. This is further supported by the fact that both of these clusters ([br] and [dr]) were in fact successfully produced in other attempts at 3;3.21 (Table 4.9), which suggests that the reduction examples are not representative of the child's grammar at that age.

### **4.2.1.5 Summary of Development of Branching Onsets**

Both David and Mark follow the same order of acquisition for branching onsets. Initially, the clusters undergo C<sub>2</sub> deletion, followed by an inter-stage, which precedes the mastery stage. The first stage in development for obstruent+lateral clusters occurs from 3;3.21 to 3;4.26 for both children. This is followed by an inter-stage at 3;5.26. Both boys are producing target-like obstruent+lateral clusters at 3;7.13. Concerning obstruent+rhotic clusters, Mark produces target-like productions consistently at 3;3.21. On the other hand, David's clusters are not target-like until 3;7.13, almost four months later than Mark's. These data thus suggest that Mark has acquired obstruent+rhotic clusters before David. These data are summarized in Table 4.34. In the following section, I turn the focus to the acquisition of sC clusters.

# 4.2.2. Acquisition of sC Clusters

As mentioned above, the sC clusters under investigation in my thesis include [s]+glide, [s]+lateral, [s]+nasal, and [s]+obstruent clusters. Due to the limited number of attempts made by the children from the Goad corpus, these clusters have been grouped into two categories, rising-sonority sC clusters ([s]+glide, [s]+lateral, [s]+nasal) and falling-sonority sC clusters ([s]+obstruent). Each of these cluster types is discussed in detail throughout the following subsections, beginning with David's productions again here.

# 4.2.2.1 David's Development of Rising-Sonority sC Clusters

David attempts four [s]+lateral clusters and one [s]+nasal cluster. The four [s]+lateral attempts occur at 3;7.13. At this time, two clusters undergo  $C_1$  deletion, both in the word *sleep* ['slip], which is produced as [lip]. Two more attempts are made, for the words *slide* ['slaid] and *slippers* ['slipəiz]. *Slide* undergoes  $C_2$  deletion, producing [said], while *slippers* is realized as target-like, [slipəiz]. From these four attempts made by David, I conclude that by 3;7.13, he is at an inter-stage in development.

The one [s]+nasal attempt made by David, of the word *smiled* ['smald], is realized as [marjud]. This process of  $C_1$  deletion, attested at 3;5.26, is in line with the data on [s]+lateral clusters. In the following section, I discuss the development of Mark's rising-sonority clusters.

#### 4.2.2.2 Mark's Development of Rising-Sonority sC Clusters

Only three attempts at rising-sonority sC clusters are documented for Mark, one for each cluster type ([s]+glide, [s]+lateral and <math>[s]+nasal). At 3;7.13, Mark's [s]+glideproduction of the word *sweater* ['swetəɪ] is target-like, produced as [swædəɪ]. As well, at 3;7.13 his [s]+lateral production of*slippers*['slɪpəɪz] is target-like, [zlɪpəɪ]. This suggeststhat his <math>[s]+glide and [s]+lateral clusters were acquired at that time. The remainingrising-sonority cluster, <math>[s]+nasal, undergoes C<sub>2</sub> deletion at 3;3.21. This example comes from the word *snails* ['sneilz], which is produced as ['zɛ̯oẓ] by Mark. From the results presented in this subsection and in the previous, these data are inconclusive. However, one claim can be made: Mark is ahead of David in the development of his rising-sonority sC clusters. This is further discussed in section 4.5.

In the following section, I present the data on David and Mark's [s]+obstruent clusters.

### 4.2.2.3 David's Development of Falling-Sonority sC Clusters

David's attempts at word-initial [s]+obstruent clusters occur between 3;5.26 and 3;7.15. At 3;5.26, David's first attempt at *scaredy* ['skeIdi:] is produced as [heII], a reduction process thus far unattested in his outputs. In the following session, at 3;7.13,

three further attempts of the word *scaredy* are made. These are illustrated in Table 4.11 below.

scared	'skeid	qi.id	3;7.13
scared	'skeid	kiı	3;7.13
scardy	'skɛɪdi	giı	3;7.13

Table 4.11 David's [s]+Obstruent Cluster Attempts: C<sub>1</sub> Deletion

All examples in the table above undergo  $C_1$  deletion. The two remaining attempts of the [s]+obstruent cluster, *spoon* ['spun] and *special* ['spejel], which occur at 3;5.26 and 3;7.13, respectively, were both target-like ([spun] and [spætrk]). This suggests that David is at the mastery stage at 3;5.26 for [sp], meaning that the syllable structure required to produce [s]+obstruent clusters was acquired by that age.

If the above hypothesis is true, then one needs to explain why [sk] clusters still undergo reduction at that stage. A possible explanation comes from articulatory facts that may affect the production of clusters. From an articulatory perspective, [sk] involves two articulators, which are both reached with a single organ (the tongue). As opposed to this, [sp] also involves two articulators, which however relate to two independent organs, namely the tongue and the lips. According to Inkelas and Rose (2003) and Rose and dos Santos (to appear), contrasts between consonants articulated with the tongue may be difficult to attain, because of factors such as the immature shape of the vocal tract of children (Crelin 1987) and the imperfect motor control that characterizes child speech (Goodell and Studdert-Kennedy 1993). For example, Rose and dos Santos (to appear) introduce data from Marilyn, a child acquiring French, who can only produce coronal and velar consonants independently, but never within the same word. Representative examples of this asymmetry are listed below.

Articulator	Orthography	Target IPA	Actual IPA	Gloss	Age
Coronal	tout	tu	tu	all	1;11.13
Dorsal	corps	кэк	ko:	body	2;00.25
Dorsal+Coronal	gateau	gato	kako	cake	1;11.13
Dorsal+Coronal	cadeau	kado	kako	present	1;11.28

Table 4.12 Marilyn's Coronal and Dorsal Productions (Rose and dos Santos, to appear)

These examples demonstrate the fact that Marilyn can produce both coronal and velar consonants when these are the only lingual consonants in the word. However, when both a coronal and a velar consonant occur within the same word, no articulatory distinction is produced and the form surfaces as velar-harmonized. From this observation, Rose and dos Santos (to appear) propose that an articulatory sequence with multiple lingual articulations is more difficult to produce for a child than a sequence with repeated articulators (see, also, Pater 1996, 1997) or physiologically independent articulators. This hypothesis is supported by the data from David's [sp] versus [sk] clusters. While David has no apparent difficulty producing a cluster involving two independent organs of articulation ([sp]), he cannot perform the same with clusters whose consonants share the same organ.

Taking the above into consideration, I thus conclude that David has mastered [s]+obstruent clusters at age 3;5.26, despite difficulties in phonetically realizing all

occurrences of such clusters, namely those requiring two independent articulations realized by the tongue.

Mark attempts at [s]+obstruent clusters are discussed in the following subsection.

# 4.2.2.4 Mark's Development of Falling-Sonority sC Clusters

Mark attempts 10 word-initial [s]+obstruent clusters, all of which are realized as target-like. No attempts are made during the first session at 3;3.21. A subset of these productions is presented in Table 4.13.

scary	'skei	ske	3;4.26
screws	'sk.u:z	skuz	3;5.26
stop	'stap	stap	3;7.13

Table 4.13 Mark's [s]+Obstruent Cluster Productions: Target-Like

From the data presented in this subsection and in the previous subsection, it appears that for [s]+obstruent clusters, Mark has acquired these clusters at least one month before David.

### 4.2.2.6 Summary of Development of sC Clusters

As discussed in the sections on David and Mark's development of rising-sonority sC clusters, the results are inconclusive. I proposed in section 4.2.2.2, that Mark is ahead of David. This suggestion is speculative, however.

Each child attempts [s]+obstruent clusters more frequently than the risingsonority cluster structures. The data for David suggest that these clusters are acquired at 3;5.26 despite independent issues which, I hypothesized, relate to articulatory factors. On the other hand, Mark has acquired sC clusters by 3;4.26, approximately one month before David, and does not seem to be affected by articulatory considerations.

Overall, based on the limited data for sC clusters, it appears that Mark's acquisition is ahead of David's for both branching onsets and sC clusters. These data are summarized in Table 4.34. In the following section, the results from the Goad corpus are summarized.

### 4.2.3 Goad Corpus Summary

By comparing the attempts made by each child in the Goad corpus, it can be concluded that the acquisition paths for the twins are similar; however the times in which the children pass through the stages do vary. A comparison of the acquisition of branching onsets reveals David is faster than Mark at attaining the mastery stage of obstruent+lateral clusters by two months, while Mark acquired obstruent+rhotic clusters four months prior to David. Similarly, Mark acquired [s]+obstruent clusters one month before David.

### 4.3 Cruttenden Corpus Data Compilation

This section presents the results from the Cruttenden corpus. Similar to section 4.2, this section is subdivided into branching onsets, in section 4.3.1, followed by sC clusters, in section 4.3.2. All subsections include a description of Jane and Lucy's productions separately.

#### 4.3.1 Acquisition of Branching Onsets

As previously discussed, branching onsets include obstruent+lateral clusters and obstruent+rhotic clusters. These are discussed in sections 4.3.1.1 through 4.3.1.4.

#### 4.3.1.1 Jane's Development of Obstruent+Lateral Clusters

Jane attempts a total of 52 obstruent+lateral clusters. From 1;5.29 to 2;7.11, Jane is at Stage 1 of her acquisition of obstruent+lateral clusters. During this stage, Jane attempts 21 such clusters. Out of these, 20 undergo  $C_2$  deletion. Three examples of this type of reduction are provides below in Table 4.14.

please	'pli:z	p <sup>h</sup> 1i	1;8.2
climb	'klaım	kaın	2;0.9
blanket	'blæŋkət	bæŋkıt	2;6.19

Table 4.14 Jane's Obstruent+Lateral Cluster Attempts: C<sub>2</sub> Deletion

The other attempt comes from the word *blowing* ['blouŋ], at 2;10.18, which is produced as [vəun]. In this case only, Jane's cluster has apparently undergone fusion, since the resulting [v] contains the place of articulation of the target [b] and the continuancy of the target [1]. The topic of fusion is discussed in more detail in section 4.3.2.1.

At 2;7.23, Jane's first target-like productions begin to emerge. From 2;7.23 to 2;8.7, five obstruent+lateral clusters are attempted. Three of these productions are target-like and two attempts undergo  $C_2$  deletion. The three target-like productions are *closer* 

 $['klouse_1] \rightarrow [kleuse_2], black ['blæk] \rightarrow [blæk], and glasses ['glæse_2] \rightarrow [blæk].$ 

Meanwhile, Jane pronounces *plaster* ['plæstəɪ] and *cleaner* ['kli:nəɪ] as [pɑ:tə] and [ki:nə], respectively. I propose that the variable results observed during this time frame, represent an inter-stage in Jane's development.

Of the remaining 26 word-initial attempts made by Jane between 2;8.8 and the end of the corpus, all except two productions are target-like. Therefore, 2;8.8 marks the beginning of Stage 3, the mastery of word-initial obstruent+lateral clusters. Examples of Jane's target-like productions are presented in Table 4.15a, while 4.15b provides the two exceptions noted during this stage.

### Table 4.15 Jane's Obstruent+Lateral Cluster Productions

a) Target-Like

blue	'blu:	blu:	2;8.8
play	'pleı	plei	2;11.16
glasses	'glæsəz	gla:sız	3;2.1

b) Exceptions

please	'pli:z	pi:z	2;9.7
blowing	'blouŋ	vəuin	2;10.18

In the next section, I move to Lucy's development of obstruent+lateral clusters.

# 4.3.1.2 Lucy's Development of Obstruent+Lateral Clusters

Lucy attempts 72 obstruent+lateral clusters. The period from 1;5.28 to 2;2.7 can

be characterized as Stage 1.25 attempts at word-initial obstruent+lateral clusters are

made. Apart from one exceptional case, all clusters undergo  $C_2$  deletion. A representative list is presented below in Table 4.16.

flower	'flauə1	ραυə	1;5.28	
blue	'blu:	bu	1;11.16	
clean	'kli:n	ki:n	2;0.29	

Table 4.16 Lucy's Obstruent+Lateral Cluster Attempts: C<sub>2</sub> Deletion

The one exception to this stage mentioned above occurs at 1;11.19, approximately half way through Stage 1. This production is of the word *clip* ['klip], which Jane produces as target-like. However, further target-like productions of this cluster type do not emerge until 2;3.13, which marks the beginning of Lucy's mastery stage. During this stage, the remaining 47 clusters are produced. 44 of these clusters are target-like, while the three remaining examples, all attempts at [fl] clusters, undergo  $C_2$  deletion. A representative list of Lucy's Stage 3 target-like productions are provided in Table 4.17a, followed by the three exceptions, in 4.17b.

Table 4.17 Lucy's Obstruent+Lateral Cluster Productions

a) Target-Like

flies	'flaiz	flaız	2;5.4
glass	'glæs	gla:s	2;9.20
please	'pli:z	pli:z	3;2.1

b) Exceptions

fly	'flai	faı	2;3.26
floor	<sup>1</sup> flp1	fə	2;3.26
floor	'fldi	fo:	2;9.20

Note that other [fl] clusters are consistently produced in a target-like fashion in words such as *floor*, *flewed* and *fly* within the same stage of development. From the evidence presented above, I hypothesize that [fl] clusters are of the last obstruent+lateral clusters to be acquired by the child. Building on the hypothesis in section 4.2.2.3, that articulatory factors may negatively affect some productions of sequences, it is possible here that the combination of two continuants especially in a context where the second consonant involves a lateral articulation, negatively affects the production of this cluster. In addition, [fl] is acoustically problematic. [f] sounds like [4] or [1]. This issue is however left for further research.

In the following two subsections, I discuss Jane and Lucy's development of obstruent+rhotic clusters.

#### 4.3.1.3 Jane's Development of Obstruent+Rhotic Clusters

In word-initial position, Jane attempts 80 obstruent+rhotic clusters. The first 24 attempts, attested between 1;5.7 and 2;3.13, all undergo C<sub>2</sub> deletion. A representative list of examples is provided below in Table 4.18.

brush	'bıa∫	ba	1;5.17	
grapes	'greibs	geıp	1;11.19	
frighten	'f.a.tən	faitin	2;3.13	

Table 4.18 Jane'	s Obstruent+Rhotic	Cluster Attempts:	C <sub>2</sub> Deletion
			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

At 2;3.26, the first target-like productions emerge. From this time until 2;9.22, 36 attempts at obstruent+rhotic cluster are made. 21 attempts have the second consonant in the cluster deleted, and the remaining 15 productions are target-like. This variation clearly suggests that Jane is at an inter-stage during this period. Table 4.19 below provides an exhaustive list of the number of times each cluster is attempted and whether it is reduced or target-like.

Cluster Type	C <sub>2</sub> Deletion	Target-Like
fr	1/2	1/2
θr	3/3	0/3
br	4/8	4/8
tr	1/1	0/1
dr	10/13	3/13
kr	2/4	2/4
gr	0/5	5/5
	21/36	15/36

Table 4.19 Jane's Obstruent+Rhotic Cluster Attempts: Inter-Stage

In addition, this table provides evidence that during this inter-stage [ $\theta$ r, tr, dr,] are not target-like, while [gr] is target-like and the remaining three clusters, [fr, br, kr], are target-like in approximately half of Jane's attempts. Beginning at 2;9.23 until the end of the data collection period, at 3;8.17, 20 productions are made, all of which are target-like with the exception of *draw* ['dm] at 2;10.10 which undergoes C<sub>2</sub> deletion, [do:]. Table 4.20 presents a representative list of the target-like productions made by Jane during Stage 3 of her acquisition.

bread	bread	bred	2;9.23
drink	'd.nyk	drıŋk	3;3.22
crisps	'kusps	krips	3;8.17

Table 4.20 Jane's Obstruent+Rhotic Cluster Productions: Target-Like

In the following subsection, I present Lucy's development of obstruent+rhotic clusters.

#### 4.3.1.4 Lucy's Development of Obstruent+Rhotic Clusters

Lucy attempts 105 obstruent+rhotic clusters. The first 22 attempts, attested between 1;5.17 and 1;11.28, undergo  $C_2$  deletion, with the exception of *tree* ['tui:], at 1;6.24, which is target-like. A representative list of Lucy's attempts at Stage 1 is presented in Table 4.21.

brush	'bıa∫	bës	1;5.17
truck	'tınk	t <sup>h</sup> ^k	1;7.15
grape	'gıcıp	geıp	1;11.19

Table 4.21 Lucy's Obstruent+Rhotic Cluster Attempts: C<sub>2</sub> Deletion

An inter-stage follows Stage 1, which occurs from 2;0.2 to 2;3.13. During this inter-stage, eight clusters undergo  $C_2$  deletion and four clusters are target-like. An exhaustive list of the target-like productions for this inter-stage is provided in Table 4.22. The pattern of  $C_2$  deletion also observed during this time frame is similar to the reductions made at Stage 1.

crust	'kınst	krıst	2;0.2	
drink	'd.nŋk	drıŋk	2;0.9	
bread	bard'	bued	2;1.1	
breads	'bıɛdz	buedz	2;1.1	

Table 4.22 Lucy's Obstruent+Rhotic Cluster Productions: Target-Like

From 2;3.26 until 3;4.30, 71 attempts are made. 60 of the 71 attempts are target-like while the remaining 11 undergo  $C_2$  deletion. Because the clusters that undergo  $C_2$ deletion account for only 15.5% of the data and are unsystematically scattered across the time period, I propose that this period represents the final, mastery stage in her development of obstruent+rhotic clusters. In Table 4.23a, examples of the clusters that are target-like productions are presented, followed by the clusters that undergo  $C_2$ deletion in Table 4.23b.

Table 4.23 Lucy's Obstruent+Rhotic Cluster Attempts

a) Target-Like			
throwing	'θιουιŋ	frəʊɪŋ	2;3.26
drink	'dııŋk	drıŋk	2;5.12
probably	'pıabəbli:	pobəbli	2;8.7
Grandad	'gıæn <sub>ı</sub> dæd	grændæ	3;2.10
throw	υοτθι	ອາຈຸບ	3;4.30

b)  $C_2$  Deletion

briefcase	'b.ii:f,keis	bi:fkeis	2;3.26
fringe	'f.indz	finz	2;6.25
cries	'kıaız	kaiz	2;8.17

Table 4.23b shows that Lucy does not have a systematic problem with any particular word or cluster. This observation further supports my hypothesis that Lucy has mastered word-initial obstruent+rhotic clusters at 2;3.26.

### 4.3.1.5 Summary of Development of Branching Onsets

The evidence presented above suggests that the Cruttenden twins' branching onsets generally undergo  $C_2$  deletion in early productions, followed by an inter-stage characterized by fluctuating patterns before the cluster is acquired. Jane's obstruent+lateral clusters are acquired at 2;8.8, while her obstruent+rhotic clusters are acquired at 2;9.23, which is approximately one month later. In contrast, Lucy's obstruent+lateral and obstruent+rhotic clusters are acquired at 2;4.5 and 2;3.26, respectively. Lucy has thus mastered obstruent+lateral clusters four months before Jane and obstruent+rhotic clusters six months before Jane. These stages are summarized in Table 4.36.

In the following section, I describe Jane and Lucy's paths of acquisition for sC clusters.

#### 4.3.2. Acquisition of sC Clusters

As previously mentioned in section 4.2.2, sC clusters include [s]+glide, [s]+lateral, [s]+nasal, and [s]+obstruent clusters. These cluster types are discussed in turn in the following subsections. I begin this discussion with the development of [s]+glide clusters by Jane, followed by Lucy's [s]+glide cluster development in section 4.3.2.2.

# 4.3.2.1 Jane's Development of [s]+Glide Clusters

Stage 1 of Jane's development ranges from 1;8.2 to 2;4.19. During this stage, eight clusters undergo a process of fusion. A representative list of the attempts that undergo fusion is presented in Table 4.24. Additionally, one attempt undergoes  $C_2$  deletion. Jane produces *swimming* ['swimin] as [simin].

Table 4.24 Jane's [s]+Glide Cluster Attempts: Fusion

swimming	'swimiŋ	p <sup>h</sup> ımın	1;19.11
swan	'swan	fom	2;1.22
sweetie	'swi:ti:	fi:ti	2;4.19

These examples of fusion, characterized by a segment in the output produced by the child that has properties of both consonants forming the attempted cluster, are similar to those from a two-year old child acquiring English child named Gitanjali whose data are introduced by Gnanadesikan (2004). Some of Gitanjali's productions with consonant fusion are presented in Table 4.25.

Orthography	IPA Target	IPA Actual
sweater	'swerð	ferə
smell	'smel	few
drink	'dr <sup>w</sup> ıŋk	bık
tree	<sup>1</sup> tr <sup>w</sup> i:	pi
grape	'gr <sup>w</sup> eıp	bep

Table 4.25 Gitanjali's Cluster Attempts: Fusion

In the first two examples above, Gitanjali's productions have retained the sonority and manner of articulation of  $C_1$  and the labial place of articulation of  $C_2$ . In the remaining three examples, the labial place of articulation that is articulatorily realized with [r] is preserved along with the manner features of the least sonorous consonant.

In contrast to Jane, Gitanjali displays fusion in both sC clusters and branching onsets, as illustrated above where the cluster retains the sonority of  $C_1$  and the place of articulation of target [r], which she realizes as [w] in singleton onsets (e.g. *room* [ru:m]

 $\rightarrow$  [wum]; Gnanadesikan 2004:94).

From 2;7.0 until 3;8.1, Jane produces only target-like clusters. Examples of these six target productions are provided below in Table 4.26.

swimming	'swimiŋ	swimin	2;7.0		
swings	'swiŋz	swıŋz	3;3.22		
switch	'swit∫	swıt∫	3;8.1		
			•		

Table 4.26 Jane's [s]+Glide Cluster Productions: Target-Like

Note that there is a period of three months between Stage 1 and Stage 2. While it is possible that during these three months Jane went through an inter-stage where both  $C_1$  deletion and target-like productions were made, this cannot be verified empirically. In the following subsection, Lucy's development of [s]+glide clusters is presented.
### 4.3.2.2 Lucy's Development of [s]+Glide Clusters

14 attempts at [s]+glide clusters are attested in Lucy's data. The first 10 attempts occur between 1;5.29 and 2;1.11. Four of these clusters undergo C<sub>2</sub> deletion, while the remaining six attempts undergo fusion, which is similar the pattern of reduction presented above for Jane. Recall that Jane also uses fusion for [s]+glide clusters at Stage 1, as exemplified in Table 4.24. A representative list of Lucy's Stage 1 word-initial [s]+glide cluster attempts is presented in Table 4.27.

Table 4.27 Lucy's [s]+Glide Cluster Attempts

a) C <sub>2</sub> Deletion		· · ·	
sweetie	'swi:ti:	şiţi	1;6.24
sweetie	'swi:ti:	sipi	1;8.2
swimming	'swimiŋ	ន្ទរពារព	1;11.19

b) Fusion

swimming	'swimiŋ	fimiŋ	1;11.3
swimming	'swimiŋ	fimm	2;0.18
swimming	'swimiŋ	fimin	2;1.11

During Stage 1, only the words *sweetie* and *swimming* are attempted. From the data presented above, there appears to be progression within the stage. Between 1;6.24 and 1;11.19 the clusters undergo  $C_2$  deletion. Between ages 1;11.3 and 2;1.11, they undergo fusion. Overall, in Stage 1 clusters are reduced to one consonant.

No more attempts are made until 2;4.19, which is when the first target-like production emerges. From 2;4.19 to 2;9.7, a total of four productions are made, all of which are target-like. These target-like productions are *swimming* ['swimin]  $\rightarrow$  [swimin],

swans ['swanz]  $\rightarrow$  [swonz], sweet ['swi:t]  $\rightarrow$  [swi] and sweetie ['swi:ti:]  $\rightarrow$  [swi:ti].

### 4.3.2.3 Jane's Development of [s]+Lateral Clusters

There are only six attempts at [s]+lateral clusters recorded in Jane's corpus. These occur between 2;5.15 and 2;5.22. At Stage 1, *sleep* ['sli:p] undergoes fusion, producing [fi:p], at 2;5.15. At 2;5.22, Jane attempts *sleep* three additional times. One of the attempts undergoes fusion, as previously shown (['sli:p]  $\rightarrow$  [fi:p]). The remaining productions are target-like (['sli:p]  $\rightarrow$  [sli:p]). This suggests that Jane was at an inter-stage during this period (minimally between 2;5.15 and 2;5.22). Two months later, at 2;7.23, *sleepy* ['sli:pi:] undergoes C<sub>2</sub> deletion and surfaces as [si:pi:]. This example is followed by one target-like production at 2;8.6 of the word *slippers* ['slippiz], which minimally suggests the beginning of the mastery stage.

### 4.3.2.4 Lucy's Development of [s]+Lateral Clusters

22 [s]+lateral clusters are attempted by Lucy. The first seven attempts undergo  $C_2$  deletion. These data are grouped together as Stage 1, which occurs from 1;11.3 to 2;1.22. A representative list of these attempts is provided below in Table 4.28.

sleep	'sli:p	şi:p	1;11.3
slip	<sup>i</sup> slıp	sıp	1;11.28
slide	'slard	said	1;11.28

Table 4.28 Lucy's [s]+Lateral Cluster Attempts: C<sub>2</sub> Deletion

One cluster undergoes fusion during this stage. This example comes from the word sleeping ['sli:piŋ] produced as [fi:fiŋ] at 2;1.7. No more clusters undergo  $C_2$  deletion or fusion in the data. Between 2;3.26 and 2;9.20 only target-like productions are made. All 14 of these productions come from attempts at the word *sleep* ['sli:p].

In the following subsections, I discuss Jane and Lucy's development of [s]+nasal clusters.

## 4.3.2.5 Jane's Development of [s]+Nasal Clusters

Jane attempts eight [s]+nasal clusters. At 2;3.26, three attempts are made, all of which undergo fusion. These examples are representative of Stage 1. An exhaustive list of these clusters is presented in Table 4.29 below.

Table 4.29 Jane's	[s]	l+Nasal	Cluster Attempts: Fusion
	~		

Smarties	'sma.ıti:z	fa:tiz	2;3.26
Smarties	'smaıti:z	fa:ti	2;3.26
Smartie	'sma.tti:	fa:ti	2;3.26

Following Stage 1, from 2;8.7 until 2;10.10, cluster productions are either reduced or are realized in a target-like fashion. During this second stage, two of the four attempts have

C<sub>1</sub> deleted. These two cases, *small* and *snow*, are produced as [mo:1] and [nou].<sup>6</sup> The two target-like productions are of the words *smack* ['smæk]  $\rightarrow$  [smæk], at 2;8.7 and *smaller* ['smplo1]  $\rightarrow$  [smp:lo], at 2;9.18. Based on these data, I conclude that Jane is at Stage 2, an inter-stage in her development. Four months later at 3;2.10, Jane produces a target-like production of the word *small* ['smpl]  $\rightarrow$  [smp:1].

### 4.3.2.6 Lucy's Development of [s]+Nasal Clusters

Lucy produces eight [s]+nasal clusters between 2;2.7 and 3;5.29. All eight of these clusters are target-like. A representative list of these productions is presented in Table 4.30.

Table 4.30 Lucy's [s]	+Nasal Cluster Product	ions: Target-Like	
snake	'sneik	sneık	2;2.7
small	'smpl	smo:1	2;9.18
smoke's	'smouks	sməuks	3;5.29

In the next subsections, I turn to Jane and Lucy's development of [s]+obstruent

clusters.

The devoicing of [n] in snow suggests fusion. However, this cannot be verified for the data available. Also, the absence of the devoicing on the [m] of small does not support that fusion, if any, was generalized across all examples.

#### 4.3.2.7 Jane's Development of [s]+Obstruent Clusters

Jane attempts 36 [s]+obstruent clusters. From 1;5.20 to 3;7.10, all but three occurrences of these clusters undergo  $C_1$  deletion. A representative list of these 33 attempts is presented below in Table 4.31.

spoon	'spu:n	pυ	1;5.20	
stuck	'stʌk	tak	2;5.12	
school	'sku:l	ku:1	3;3.22	

Table 4 31	Jane's	[s]+Obstruent	Cluster Attem	ots: C	Deletion
10010 1.01	Juito D	101 . 000000000	CIGOLOI I YCCOLL	$\mathcal{L}$	

These data suggest that fusion only occurs in rising-sonority clusters because, as opposed to what was seen above with rising sonority sC clusters, no [s]+obstruent clusters undergo fusion. The three exceptions to Stage 1 are presented below in Table 4.32, all of which surface as target-like.

school	'sku:l	sku:l	2;7.23	
school	'sku:l	sku:l	2;8.17	
stay	'ster	stei	2;11.16	

Table 4.32 Jane's [s]+Obstruent Cluster Productions: Target-Like

Since these examples account for 8.3% of the data only, I conclude that Jane is at Stage 1 from 1;5.20 to 3;7.10. I conclude from this that Jane's acquisition of [s]+obstruent word-initial clusters took place at a much later time than all other cluster attempts discussed in this corpus.

### 4.3.2.8 Lucy's Development of [s]+Obstruent Clusters

Lucy attempts 39 [s]+obstruent clusters. 10 out of 11 clusters are reduced during Stage 1. These clusters undergo  $C_1$  deletion from 1;5.21 to 2;1.7, with the exception of the word *stop* ['stap] at 2;0.9, which is realized as target-like. A representative list of these attempts is presented in Table 4.33.

spoon	'spu:n	bəum	1;5.28
starlings	'sta.111ŋz	ta:lıŋks	1;11.19
skin	'skin	kın	2;1.7

Table 4.33 Lucy's [s]+Obstruent Cluster Attempts: C<sub>1</sub> Deletion

From 2;3.26 to 3;6.28, 29 of 30 productions are target-like. I propose that this is Stage 2 in Lucy's development of [s]+obstruent clusters, characterized by mastery of these clusters. The remaining attempt made is of an [sk] cluster, which undergoes C<sub>1</sub> deletion. This attempt comes from the word *school* ['sku:l] at 2;9.0, which is produced as [ku:l]. *School* was also produced as target-like during the same session as above. These data suggest that [sk] clusters are among the last of the [s]+obstruent clusters to be acquired. Recall in section 4.2.2.3, David also showed difficulty with this cluster as well. The evidence in this section further supports the hypothesis by Rose and dos Santos (to appear) that contrasts between consonants articulated with the tongue may be difficult to combine within words or clusters.

#### 4.3.2.9 Summary of Development of sC Clusters

Overall, Jane's rising-sonority clusters undergo fusion before they are target-like, while Lucy's clusters undergo  $C_2$  deletion before they are mastered, with few examples of fusion. In all cases of rising-sonority clusters, Lucy attains the mastery stage before Jane. Lucy acquired [s]+glide clusters three months before Jane, [s]+lateral clusters four months before Jane and [s]+nasal clusters one year prior to Jane.

Focusing now on the falling-sonority clusters, both Jane and Lucy's attempted clusters undergo  $C_1$  deletion in early productions. This is different from their rising-sonority clusters. However, their acquisition for rising-sonority clusters is similar to their falling-sonority clusters in that Lucy has mastered these clusters prior to Jane. Lucy's [s]+obstruent clusters are target-like at 2;3.26 while the evidence suggests that Jane is still at the first stage in her development at 3;7.10. This implies that Jane's acquisition of falling-sonority clusters is at least 16 months behind that of Lucy. These data are summarized in Table 4.36.

In the following section I provide a summary of the Cruttenden corpus.

## 4.3.3 Cruttenden Corpus Summary

Overall Jane and Lucy's branching onsets develop in a similar order: however Lucy's clusters are mastered before Jane's in all cases. On the other hand, their acquisition does vary for sC clusters. Beginning with rising-sonority clusters, Jane's most dominant form of reduction is fusion prior to her mastery stage, while Lucy's clusters typically undergo  $C_2$  deletion. Similar to the twins' branching onsets, Lucy's clusters are acquired before Jane's. Concerning their falling-sonority sC clusters, Jane and Lucy both reduce clusters through  $C_1$  deletion and Lucy's masters this cluster before Jane. In general, Lucy is thus the fastest learner of the pair.

In the following section, tables are provided to illustrate each child's order and time of development.

#### 4.4 Discussion

The data presented throughout this chapter suggest that the children in both corpora follow the same path of development for branching onsets. Their clusters undergo  $C_2$  deletion before they are produced as target-like. Although all of the children follow the same developmental path, the time of acquisition varies within twin pairs.

In contrast to branching onsets, the children vary in their respective development of sC clusters. They show variation in their rates of acquisition as well. To clearly illustrate these findings I have devised timelines for each twin pair, which summarize and compare their path of development. Table 4.34 summarizes the stages of development for David and Mark, and Table 4.35 illustrates Jane and Lucy's stages. The legend for these tables is found below each table.

Cluster	Name	3;3.21	3;4.26	3;5.26	3;7.13
			, 		
O+L	D	C. Dektimi		· · · ·	
	M	(C), ID.	IEGROL		
O+R	D				
	M		T	Ľ	
s+G	D				
	M				TL
s+L	D			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	M			_	TL
s+N	D			C. Duliann	
	M	C. Distan			
		•			
s+O	D			<i>•</i>	<b>NL</b>
	M			TL	

Table 4.34 Goad	Corpus Pa	th of Develo	pment for V	Vord-Initial	Consonant	Clusters
-----------------	-----------	--------------	-------------	--------------	-----------	----------

Leg	gend	
	Cluster reduction	
	Inter-stage	ľ
	Target-like	
	Indeterminate	
		-

The above table illustrates that for branching onsets both children reduce clusters through a  $C_2$  deletion strategy before the mastery stage. Variation does emerge in the time of acquisition, however, for obstruent+lateral clusters David's clusters are target-like two months before Mark's. However, Mark acquires obstruent+rhotic clusters almost four months before David. As previously discussed, the results from the Goad corpus for rising-sonority clusters are largely inconclusive. The orders of acquisition of cluster types for both children are summarized in Table 4.35.

# Table 4.35 Order of Acquisition of Cluster Types<sup>7</sup> a) David's Order of Acquisition

obstruent+lateral, [s]+obstruent >> obstruent+rhotic

## b) Mark's Order of Acquisition

obstruent+rhotic >> [s]+obstruent >> obstruent+lateral

In Table 4.36 below, Jane and Lucy's paths of development for word-initial

consonant clusters are illustrated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Comma-separated clusters were acquired during the same time period; clusters separated by '>>' are acquired during distinct time periods.

Cl	Ν	1;5	1;6	1;7	1;8	1;9	1;10	1;11	1;12	2;0	2;1	2;2	2;3	2;4	2;5	2;6	2;7	2;8	2;9	2;10	2;11	2;12	3;0	3;1	3;2
																						}			
O+L	J							C.	Delens	m.							(tredice Steeler Steeler				1	L.			
	L					(C, D	delaba						s . <u>ur santing</u>		a di di di Mana				TL						
		-																W 80 141 10 10 10	07 10 41 MA 100 10 70						
O+R	J		- b			6	b.Dieleir	õn					150 18 18 18 18 18 174 18 18 18 18 18				*******		******			T	L		
	L					<u>юл</u>								) niječita svi Venista					TL						
											and the second second second second														
s+G	J	en de la tanza en		de ha na na an an																	TL				
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s+L	J							<b>81.789</b> .799.799.799.799.799.799.799.799.799.7							180893 180893						1	Ľ			
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Table 4.36 Cruttenden Corpus Path of Development for Word-Initial Consonant Clusters

Lege	end
	Cluster reduction
	Inter-stage
	Target-like
	Indeterminate

The table on the previous page provides evidence that Jane and Lucy show variation in the order of acquisition of cluster types. Jane acquires obstruent+lateral clusters before her obstruent+rhotic clusters, while Lucy acquires obstruent+rhotic clusters at the same time as her obstruent+lateral, [s]+lateral and [s]+nasal clusters. The general order of acquisition for both children in the Cruttenden corpora is presented below in Table 4.37.

## Table 4.37 Order of Acquisition of Cluster Types a) Jane's Order of Acquisition [s]+glide >> obstruent+lateral, [s]+lateral >> obstruent+rhotic >> [s]+nasal >> [s]+obstruent

b) Lucy's Order of Acquisition [s]+nasal >> obstruent+lateral, obstruent+rhotic, [s]+lateral, [s]+obstruent >> [s]+glide

In addition, Lucy consistently acquires her clusters before Jane throughout the data.

The evidence presented in this section, especially that from the Cruttenden corpus, suggests that relatively little variation emerges in the order of acquisition of cluster types within twin pairs. However, the more detailed descriptions in previous sections show that tremendous variation can be found when each individual cluster is considered independently.

In the following chapter, I discuss these acquisition paths from the perspective of input frequency.

## Chapter 5

### **FREQUENCY OF THE INPUT**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to determine whether the frequency of the linguistic input that a child receives from the ambient language reflects the order of acquisition that the child follows. In the previous chapter, variation was characterized in terms of order and time of development as well as in the type of strategy used by the children during the stages when cluster reduction was observed. In this chapter, I address these topics from three perspectives, namely, the relative frequency of (a) individual clusters (e.g. [pl] versus [kl]), (b) cluster types (e.g. obstruent+lateral versus obstruent+rhotic), and (c) onset structures (e.g. branching onset versus sC clusters). The results provide evidence that neither the acquisition of cluster or cluster type is frequency-driven. However, when relative frequencies for branching onsets and sC clusters are compared to order of acquisition, the evidence suggests that there is a correlation between acquisition and frequency of onset structure.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 5.2 describes the frequency information used in my thesis as well as the sources from which it has been derived. In section 5.3, relative frequencies of word-initial consonant clusters, as found by Roberts (1965), are presented and compared to the results derived from the Goad and Cruttenden corpora. Section 5.4 provides a comparison of the relative frequency of cluster types to both corpora. Relative frequencies for each structure are compared to the children's order of acquisition in section 5.5. These three categories offer a continuum on the degree of detail included in the units compared. For example, while [pl] and [kl] are separate units where individual clusters are concerned, they are part of the same category in the *cluster type* and *onset structure* categories, by virtue of both being obstruent+lateral branching onsets. A reference to these three degrees of phonological detail will enable us to determine where correlations between the acquisition paths evidenced in the children's corpora and relative frequency exist. Finally, section 5.6 offers a discussion of the relevant findings.

#### **5.2 Source for Frequency Data**

To determine whether the frequency of the input correlates with order of acquisition, I begin with a presentation of the relative frequencies of word-initial consonant clusters as found by Roberts (1965). Roberts' corpus was built from the recorded speech of a native speaker from Minnesota, United States. This speaker produced, in what was considered normal sentences, words taken from Horn's list (Horn 1926). Horn's list is based on 5,136,816 words found in the vocabulary of American English (written) correspondence (Zettersten 1969). The words produced were phonemically transcribed following the system used in Francis (1958). A total of 15,465,010 tokens were collected.

Note that this study was published in 1965, around the time when the Cruttenden corpus, the basis for most of the comparisons below, was built. I acknowledge that it would have been preferable to use a corpus of child-directed speech, or a corpus of

spontaneous speech. This however was not possible due to time constraints. Another criticism could come from the fact that while the Cruttenden corpus documents the acquisition of British English, Roberts' frequency compilations are based on American English. However, one must keep in mind that the current study does not focus on the fine phonetic details of different dialects of English but rather on phonological properties of its onset structure, the essential aspects of which are shared by both dialects of English. Also, based on the sheer number of words compiled in Roberts's study (over 15 million), all of which were in spontaneously-produced sentences (only one word from each sentence was taken from Horn's list), one can assume that Roberts' compilations do provide a relatively reliable estimate of the distribution and frequency of sounds and clusters in the language. Zettersten (1978) provides a rank list of the 30 most frequent word-initial consonants and consonant cluster graphemes, which are listed in descending order from most frequent: PR, ST, FR, TR, GR, PL, BR, CL, and SP. Despite some variation between Roberts' and Zettersten in a few of the clusters, the overall results are similar. This supports the validity of Roberts' compilations, on which the current analysis is based. In this respect, the method used in this investigation, despite its limits, is deemed sufficient to reveal the main correlations that may exist between input statistics and phonological development.

In the following section, I report on Roberts' (1965) relative frequencies for word-initial consonant clusters. I then compare these frequency data with the order of acquisition in the Goad and Cruttenden corpora.

## 5.3 Relation between Frequency and the Acquisition of Individual Clusters

This section provides a comparison of relative frequencies of consonant clusters.

These data are then compared to the order of acquisition followed by each child.

In Table 5.1 below, I present a summary of the relative frequency of word-initial consonant clusters as found by Roberts (1965).

Rank	Relative Frequency	Rank	Relative Frequency	Rank	Relative Frequency
Order		Order		Order	
pr	1.06144564	br	0.20988619	by	0.03829095
fr	0.94404990	kr	0.20703959	vy	0.02554317
st	0.79809303	sp	0.20441197	my	0.02437216
pl	0.76214410	fy	0.20345993	sn	0.01852665
tr	0.55806534	dr	0.14787998	hy	0.01409968
gr	0.33747825	bl	0.10551432	ky	0.01106268
kl	0.27743325	sm	0.06134930	ру	0.01084371
kw	0.26722740	sl	0.05536098	dw	0.00101868
gl	0.24307421	fl	0.05326650	sf	0.00043794
sk	0.23458204	sw	0.04540267	ſr	0.00032369
θr	0.21795946	tw	0.04148979		

Table 5.1 Relative Frequencies of Word-Initial Consonant Clusters (Roberts 1965:398)

The table above illustrates order of frequency of consonant clusters in descending order. For example, the most frequent cluster is [pr]. It appears 111492 times in the corpus, for a relative frequency of 1.06144564. This number is relative to all other word-initial consonants and consonant clusters attested in Roberts' corpus. The least frequent cluster is [[r], which appears only 34 times in Roberts' entire corpus, for a relative frequency of 0.00032369.

Note however that the information provided by Roberts about the method of calculation was fairly minimal. Relative frequency was calculated based on the following

formula: the number of relevant word tokens from the corpus divided by the frequency of occurrence of a given cluster in this set times 100.

Building on the rank orderings of relative frequencies presented in Table 5.1, the tables below illustrate a comparison of these frequencies with the order of acquisition of the clusters found in the Goad and Cruttenden corpora. Table 5.2 illustrates David and Mark's cluster development orders, while Table 5.3 presents Jane and Lucy's orders. For the sake of simplicity, Roberts' (1965) rank orders are provided only for the relevant consonant clusters. (Appendix B provides the ages of the children when the clusters were acquired.)

David's Order of Acquisition	Rank	Roberts (1965) Frequency Ranks	Rank	Mark's Order of Acquisition
br	1	pr fr	1	br tr
pl	2	st	/ / 2	sk
sp	3	pl	<del>/ 3</del>	pl
bl kl sl tr	4	tr kl sk br sp dr bl sl sw	4	dr fr kl pr sl st sw

Table 5.2 Goad Corpus Order of Acquisition of Word-Initial Clusters<sup>8</sup>

As this table shows, no apparent correlation between frequency and order of acquisition of individual clusters can be found in the Goad corpus. Neither David nor Mark appears to follow any frequency-driven pattern in their acquisition of specific consonant clusters. Indeed, no identical pattern exists between the children, as was discussed in the previous chapter; both children acquire relatively frequent clusters (e.g. [pr]) during fairly late stages, and also acquire infrequent clusters (e.g. [br]) during early stages.

In the following table, I present Jane and Lucy's order of acquisition in comparison to frequency ranks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Clusters that are acquired during the same session have been grouped together, since their rank order is the same. This applies to all subsequent tables.

Jane's Order	Rank	Roberts (1965)	Rank	Lucy's Order of
of Acquisition		Frequency Ranks		Acquisition
gr		pr		kr
br	2	fr	// 2	dr
sl	3	st	3	br
SW	4		4	sn
dr		tr	5	bl
kl	5	gr gr	/	kl
kr		ki ki		pl
bl	6		6	sl
gl	Γ Ι	sk Aff		sp
sm	7		/	st
pl	84	br/v		θr
sk	//	sp	7	fl
fl	9 //	dr	$\chi$ '	tr
fr	10	bl	8	SW
pr	11 //	sm	9	gr
st	12 /		10	fr
tr	13		11	pr
		sv	12	sk
		sn	13	sm
			14	gl

Table 5.3 Cruttenden Corpus Order of Acquisition of Word-Initial Clusters

Similar to what we saw with David and Mark, the evidence presented in Table 3.5 for Jane and Lucy does not provide supportive evidence for the hypothesis that the order of acquisition of individual clusters reflects the frequency of the input. In sum, no correlation between the statistics in Roberts' (1965) rank list and the development paths uncovered in either the Goad or the Cruttenden corpus could be found when specific clusters are considered. I conclude from these results that frequency information cannot provide a reliable prediction for the acquisition of individual clusters. In addition, recall from the previous chapter that there is variation between twins, a fact especially evident from Jane and Lucy's data. This variation alone precludes any relation between the acquisition of specific clusters and environmental factors such as input frequency.

In the next section, I reduce the degree of phonological detail involved in the categories compared. Instead of looking at individual clusters, I address the relationship between order of acquisition and frequency from the perspective of cluster types.

## 5.4 Relation between Frequency and the Acquisition of Cluster Types

Since comparison of input frequency did not mirror the order of cluster development in the previous section, I have chosen to investigate whether a more general approach would yield correlations between frequency and order of acquisition. In this section, relative frequencies of cluster types from Roberts (1965) are compared to the order of acquisition of clusters types as attested in the Goad and Cruttenden corpora.

In the following table, relative frequencies of word-initial cluster types from Roberts (1965) are presented in descending order. These frequencies were calculated through adding, for each cluster type, the frequency of each individual cluster that belongs to this cluster type.

Cluster Type	<b>Relative Frequency</b>	
Obstruent+Rhotic	3.68412804	
Obstruent+Lateral	1.44143238	
[s]+Obstruent	1.23752498	
[s]+Nasal	0.07987595	
[s]+Lateral	0.05536098	
[s]+Glide	0.04540267	

Table 5.4 Relative Frequencies of Word-Initial Clusters Types (Roberts 1965:398)

As illustrated by this table, obstruent+rhotic clusters are the most frequent clusters in the ambient language, with over twice the relative frequency of obstruent+lateral clusters. If frequency can make any prediction in this context, obstruent+rhotic clusters should thus be the first cluster type to be acquired by first language learners of English. As opposed to this, [s]+glide represents the least frequent cluster type and is predicted to be acquired last.

Following the method of data presentation used in the previous section, I present in Table 5.5 the relative frequency of cluster types and compare it to David and Mark's order of acquisition.

David's Order of Acquisition	Rank	Roberts (1965) Cluster Type Frequency Ranks	Rank	Mark's Order of Acquisition
obstruent+lateral [s]+obstruent		obstruent+rhotic obstruent+lateral	- 1	obstruent+rhotic
obstruent+rhotic	2	[s]+obstruent	2	[s]+obstruent
			3	obstruent+lateral

 Table 5.5 Goad Corpus Order of Acquisition of Word-Initial Clusters Types

Based on the evidence discussed in the previous chapter, David acquires obstruent+lateral and [s]+obstruent clusters during the same time period. Note here that these two cluster types have fairly similar frequencies, 1.44143238 and 1.23752498, respectively. These data thus suggest that the order of acquisition attested by David correlates with input frequency. However, David acquires obstruent+rhotic clusters after obstruent+lateral and [s]+obstruent clusters, contrary to the expectation that the former should be acquired first.

As opposed to David, Mark acquires obstruent+rhotic clusters first. This is followed by the acquisition of [s]+obstruent clusters, then obstruent+lateral clusters. While Mark's acquisition path for obstruent+rhotic appears to support a frequency-based approach to phonological development, the results from the other cluster types are contrary to expectation, unless one assumes that the unexpected order for these clusters can be predicted from their similar frequencies.

However, recall that the patterns of acquisition derived for David and Mark are based on a limited set of data. This implies that some of the subtleties that arise from more densely-populated corpora may go unnoticed. This possibility is supported in the next table, which provides a basis for discussion of Jane and Lucy's richer data set.

Jane's Order of Acquisition	Rank	Roberts (1965) Cluster Type Frequency Ranks	Rank	Lucy's Order of Acquisition
[s]+glide		obstruent+rhotic obstruent+lateral		[s]+nasal
			$\left( \right)$	obstruent+lateral
obstruent+lateral [s]+lateral	2	[s]+obstruent [s]+nasal [s]+lateral	2	obstruent+rhotic [s]+lateral
		[s]+ølide 👞		[s]+obstruent
obstruent+rhotic	3	[o] grad	3	[s]+glide
[s]+nasal	4			
[s]+obstruent	5 /			

Table 5.6 Cruttenden Corpus Order of Acquisition of Word-Initial Clusters Types

As opposed to what was suggested from a portion of David and Mark's data, the data for Jane and Lucy do not support a frequency-based approach to acquisition. The richer body of evidence from the Cruttenden corpus clearly suggests that no correlations exist between input frequency and order of acquisition. Recall from Table 5.4 that the most frequent cluster type is obstruent+rhotic clusters, with a relative frequency of 3.68412804, while the next most frequent type is obstruent+lateral clusters, with a relative frequency of 1.44143238. This is a difference of 2.24269566, the largest difference that exists between all categories of cluster types. However, this observation does not manifest itself in any way in the data from the Cruttenden corpus. Recall that none of the children in this corpus acquired obstruent+rhotic clusters first. In fact, neither did David in the Goad corpus. Mark is the only child that provides supporting evidence for the hypothesis that the order of acquisition of cluster types is influenced by their frequencies.

In the following section, I take one additional step in my investigation, by combining all relevant cluster types into only two categories, namely branching onsets and sC clusters, each of which is assumed to have a distinctive onset structure, as previously discussed in Chapter 3.

#### 5.5 Relation between Frequency and the Acquisition of Onset Structure

As opposed to the above two sections, in this section, I provide evidence supporting the hypothesis that input frequency plays a role in phonological development. In table 5.7 below, I introduce the relative frequencies for branching onsets versus sC clusters, which are calculated in a way similar to the frequency data used in the preceding section, through adding the frequency of all relevant clusters documented in Roberts' compilation for each of the two structures under investigation. As we see in the preceding section, the development of certain types of branching onsets may be intertwined with the development of sC clusters. In order to cope with this situation, I determined the acquisition of a given onset structure based on the first occurrence of an acquired cluster type.

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Cluster Type	Relative Frequency	
Branching Onsets	5.12556042	
sC Clusters	1.41816458	

Table 5.7 Relative Frequencies of Word-Initial Structure Types (Roberts 1965:398)

As this table shows, branching onsets are significantly more frequent than sC clusters in English. This order is compared to the order of development of the syllable structures as attested by David and Mark, in Table 5.8, and by Jane and Lucy, in Table 5.9.

David's Order of Acquisition	Rank	Roberts (1965) Cluster Type Frequency Rank List	Rank	Mark's Order of Acquisition
Branching Onsets	1	Branching Onsets	1	Branching Onsets
sC Clusters	2	sC Clusters	2	sC Clusters

Table 5.8 Goad Corpus Order of Acquisition of Word-Initial Structure Types

Table 5.8 suggests that David and Mark's developmental paths were affected by the frequency information for each onset structure in their ambient language. Their order of acquisition mirrors the relative frequencies of branching onsets and sC clusters if one considers the acquisition of the first type of branching onsets relative to the first type of sC clusters. The same results emerge for Jane and Lucy who, as evidenced in Table 5.9, acquired at least one type of branching onsets before sC clusters.

Jane's Order of Acquisition	Rank	Roberts (1965) Structure Type Frequency Rank List	Rank	Lucy's Order of Acquisition
Branching Onsets	1	Branching Onsets	1	Branching Onsets
sC Clusters	2	sC Clusters	2	sC Clusters

Table 5.9 Cruttenden Corpus Order of Acquisition of Word-Initial Structure Types

The results presented in this section suggest that order of acquisition of structure type is in correlation with the frequency of the input. These results are in fact in agreement with those from Levelt et al.'s (1999/2000) study on the acquisition of cluster types in Dutch.

While these results from both corpora, and their similarity with Levelt et al.'s study, could lead to the conclusion that frequency does indeed play a role in phonological development, other observations put these findings in a different light. First, recall from Chapter 3 that branching onsets and sC clusters must be syllabified using different structures. While a branching onset requires two segments to be syllabified under a single constituent, sC clusters require the projection of a left-edge appendix. It is thus possible that the projection of this appendix, which makes the overall structure of the cluster relatively marked, is inherently more complex than the anchoring of two consonants under a single constituent. If this were the case, then the orders of acquisition observed in tables 5.8 and 5.9 above could be predicted independently of any statistical information. Second, recall that Levelt et al. did not in fact consider sC clusters in their analysis. It is thus impossible to claim that the results from their study and the current one can be compared in a straightforward way. Given both of these points, I conclude that while the results presented in this section appear to lend support to frequency-based approaches to

phonological development, this hypothesis cannot be taken as conclusive. Finally, given the finding of lack of correlation between individual clusters and cluster types, in sections 5.3 and 5.4, the data minimally suggest that if frequency does in fact play a role in setting developmental paths, it can only be considered as one of the factors driving acquisition, rather than as a strong predictor.

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSION

#### **6.1 Introduction**

In this thesis, I addressed the general question as to whether input frequency plays a role in determining paths of phonological development in production data. The overall goal was to determine whether the linguistic environment could be considered as a determining source of variation. Based on Levelt et al.'s (1999/2000) conclusions, I hypothesized that the environment should prevent at least some degree of variation between twins and, possibly, eliminate some of the variation typically observed across non-twin learners.

My analysis was conducted on two previously-collected studies, the Goad corpus and the Cruttenden corpus. For each twin pair, I focused on variation between the twins during language acquisition, from the perspective of phonological development. More specifically, the order of acquisition of branching onsets and sC cluster was analysed.

#### **6.2 Summary of Results**

The results show that branching onsets follow the same order of development for all children in both twin pairs. These clusters undergo  $C_2$  deletion before target-like productions emerge. sC clusters were separated into two categories, namely rising- and falling-sonority clusters. The evidence for rising-sonority clusters for the Goad corpus was deemed inconclusive, because of the limited number of attempts made by David and Mark. However, variation emerged in the development paths of the twins in the Cruttenden corpus. Jane's clusters undergo fusion before they are realized as target-like, while Lucy's clusters undergo  $C_2$  deletion before she reaches the mastery stage. Turning now to falling-sonority cluster acquisition, these clusters are the first sC clusters acquired by both David and Mark. This is the same pattern that emerged for Lucy; however falling-sonority clusters are the last clusters to be acquired by Jane. Overall, this evidence implies that variation does emerge in developmental paths within twin pairs. In addition, within each corpus, one child within each pair is more advanced in terms of age at the time of acquisition.

These data support previous findings which found variation between twins (e.g. Bruggemann 1970 and Leonard et al. 1980). Based on the few phonological studies of language acquisition in twins that exist, the overall generalization appears to be that when the phonological systems within twin sets are investigated, the results show that the twins do not follow the same learning path.

Following Levelt et al.'s (1999/2000) hypothesis that the order of acquisition is a reflection of the input the children receive, I hypothesized that cluster frequency plays a role in the order of acquisition of the branching onsets and sC clusters analysed. To test this hypothesis, the order of acquisition of all attempted clusters from the Goad and Cruttenden corpora were compared to the relative frequencies of individual consonant clusters, cluster types and onset structures reported by Roberts (1965).

The results show that frequency of the input from the ambient language does not mirror the order of acquisition of individual clusters. In fact, there is no correlation between the order of acquisition and the frequencies provided by Roberts. Furthermore, there is variation within twin pairs.

Similarly, when the frequencies of cluster types are compared to the acquisition of cluster types, the results do not fully support the hypothesis that acquisition is frequencydriven. Also in line with the results from the first comparison, there is variation within twin pairs.

In a last attempt to test whether frequency influences acquisition, onset structures are investigated. The results suggest that the children's acquisition is influenced by the overall frequency of onset structures. All four children acquire branching onsets before sC clusters. This is predicted by a frequency-based approach since branching onsets are more frequent than sC clusters in the ambient language. However, structure is an alternative explanation.

My results thus suggest that only the frequency of the structures can be correlated with phonological development, but that frequency cannot enable predictions based on more refined units. I conclude from this variation that environmental factors such as frequency may play a role but do not enable us to produce very refined predictions with regard to specific subsets of clusters that can be syllabified within a single structural configuration.

### **6.3 Discussion**

In addition to the limitations mentioned in various portions of the thesis, there exist two main limitations in the current study, both of which in fact affect several similar

studies of phonological development based on production data. The first limitation pertains to the respective orders of acquisition of the different units discussed in this thesis. Recall that the developmental orders observed for each child are based on the ages of the children at the time when their first consistent target-like productions of a given cluster were recorded. As pointed out by Pan and Snyder (2003) in their criticism of the Levelt et al. (1999/2000) study, this method does not directly assess the orders of acquisition but rather the orders in which the units appear in the corpus. Similar methods show similar limitations. For example, the phone trees used by Leonard et al. (1980), as discussed in Chapter 2, suffer from the same limitations. Indeed, Goad & Ingram (1987) deem the information coming from such methodologies to be inconclusive at best.

The second limitation relates to the method used to determine the frequency relations in input that the child is receiving. Many frequency studies are based on combinations of genre types of written language (Kučera and Francis 1967, Carroll, Davies and Richman 1971 and Zettersten 1978), of spoken language (Voelker 1937, Hayden 1950, Roberts 1965 and Higginbottom 1962, *The British National Corpus* (http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/)), and, more recently, of child-directed speech, which can be obtained from the CHILDES database.<sup>9</sup> Each of these types of studies has its own negative aspect. For example, it is plausible that the corpora of written language contain more formal language than everyday spoken language. Frequencies based on spoken language, although slightly more informative for phonological studies, are usually recorded from on a limited number of speakers. Consequently, it is the speakers' idiolects

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Frequencies of child-directed speech are based on corpora of recorded adult speech documented during recording sessions with children.

or regional varieties that are being documented, not actual data on the overall population of speakers. As opposed to these, studies that use child-directed speech as their corpora provide the most accurate accounts for the linguistic input that the child receives. However, while the frequency information gathered from one such study should be relevant to study the phonological development of the child whose caregiver is being recorded, it is not clear to what extent the frequency data can be extended to studies of other children's language development.

The limitations discussed above are, in some ways, inherent to all naturalistic studies of phonological development. To circumvent the first limitation, one would need a new method incorporating an experimental component whereby the child being recorded would be probed for all cluster types in his/her language during every recording session. For example, for every recording session, the children could be asked to identify picture cards containing words in which all of the branching onsets and sC clusters possible in the language are represented, if possible with multiple words for each cluster, in order to avoid, or to be able to minimally detect, lexical effects.

Concerning the second issue discussed above, a method is required to document the speech to which the child under investigation is exposed. Such a study would result in two corpora, one of child language and another of the ambient language, which would include both child-directed speech and some notion of the overall properties of the language spoken in the child's environment (see van de Weijer (1998) for such a study in Dutch). Each of the corpora could then be analysed simultaneously for consonants, consonant clusters, word forms and so on. These results could then reveal more subtle effects than what can be revealed from the methods used in the published literature. A study of this type would provide a better evaluation of the frequency properties in the input that the child is exposed to, which would help answer some of the questions left open by the existing studies on the topic (e.g. Barrett, Harris and Chasin 1991, Hart 1991, Leonard et al. 1980, Levelt et al. 1999/2000 and the current one).

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

This thesis offers a contribution to an area of research in phonological development that relates to on-going debates concerning the sources of the variation observed in child language. It provides insight into how frequency may or may not affect phonological development in production. The results emerging from this research suggest that frequency cannot be taken as a strong predictor for phonological development. However, the relationships between frequency and the development of particular onset structures should not be overlooked. Indeed, frequency and markedness often enter into an inverse relation, namely, high-frequency items tend to be unmarked across languages (e.g. contributions to Paradis and Prunet 1991). This relationship, if it were fully understood, would potentially shed additional light on the nature of the representation and constraints that regulate the acquisition and use of linguistic units.

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# **APPENDIX A** Data Compilation

# Legend

## **Cluster Type**

obs+lat-I	word-initial obstruent+lateral clusters
obs+lat-M	word-medial obstruent+lateral clusters
obs+rho-I	word-initial obstruent+rhotic clusters
obs+rho-M	word-medial obstruent+rhotic clusters
s+gli-I	word-initial strident+glide clusters
s+gli-M	word-medial strident+glide clusters
s+lat-I	word-initial strident+lateral clusters
s+lat-M	word-medial strident+lateral clusters
s+nas-I	word-initial strident+nasal clusters
s+nas-M	word-medial strident+nasal clusters
s+obs-I	word-initial strident+obstruent clusters
s+obs-M	word-medial strident+obstruent clusters
s+obs-F	word-final strident+obstruent clusters

#### Realization

- Target-Like 1
- $C_1$  Deletion 2
- C<sub>2</sub> Deletion 3
- Complete Deletion 4
- Fusion 5

-

Clusters containing more than 2 clusters CHAT code that flags a speech error detected in the child's production [\*]

Date	Orthography	IPATarget
1983-09-22	talk < of > clothes	'tok'av'klouðz
1983-09-22	I talk about clothes	'aı'tokə'baut'klouðz
1983-09-22	clothes	'klouðz
1983-09-22	yea $< I >$ talk about clothes	'jeı'aı'tokə'baut'klouðz
1983-09-22	play at beach	'pleɪ'æt'bi:tʃ
1983-11-27	clock	'klak
1983-11-27	I want play that	'aı'want'pleı'ðæt
1983-11-27	play the rain	'pleīðə'.iem
1983-11-27	play	'pleɪ
1983-11-27	played it on back and for	'pleɪd'ɪt'an'bæk'ænd'fo.
1983-11-27	play	'pleı
1983-11-27	play rain	'pleı'ıeın
1984-01-14	now let close it	'nau'let'klous'ıt
1984-01-14	red and black	'ıɛd'ænd'blæk
1984-01-14	that is a black cat	'ðæt'ızə'blæk'kæt
1984-01-14	red and um black	'.sed'ænd'.nm'blæk
1983-09-22	umbrella	elard, we
1983-09-22	umbrella	elard,me
1983-10-27	why you bought new umbrella?	'waı'ju:'bat'nu:əm'bıɛlə

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# David

IPAActual	ClusterType	Real	Age
¦takə'god	obs+lat-I	3	3;03.21
n,takəbnt'goz	obs + lat-I	3	3;03.21
'kozı	obs+lat-I	3	3;03.21
je?e,dakbʌt'goz	obs+lat-I	3	3;03.21
,bejæt'bit∫	obs+lat-I	3	3;03.21
kak	obs + lat-I	3	3;05.26
əwantbedæt	obs + lat-I	3	3;05.26
pledəren	obs + lat-I	1	3;05.26
ple	obs+lat-I	1	3;05.26
plede?anbækənfo1	obs+lat-I	1	3;05.26
ple	obs+lat-I	1	3;05.26
plewen	obs+lat-I	1	3;05.26
naulətklozıt	obs + lat-I	1	3;07.13
ıɛdənblæk	obs+lat-I	1	3;07.13
dætisəblækkæt	obs+lat-I	1	3;07.13
redənəmblæk	obs+lat-I	1	3;07.13
'aumbelo	obs+rho-M	3	3;03.21
'aumbe,lio	obs+rho-M	3	3;03.21
waryubatnunmbieln	obs+rho-M	1	3;04.26

	1983-10-27	why umbrella	'waıəm'bıɛlə	wainmbiel	obs+rho-M	- 1	3;04.26
	1983-09-22	cause where $<>$ the dots from	'kaz'weiðə'dats'finm'it	knzweiedæbdidntsfnmit	obs+rhoI	3	3;03.21
		it	• · · · · · ·				
	1983-09-22	hanging out dry	'hæŋıŋ'aut'dıaı	henmautdai	obs + rhoI	3.	3;03.21
	1983-09-22	< I press $>$ button down	'aı'pıɛs'bʌtən'daun	AwəsbAtəndau	obs+rhoI	2	3;03.21
	1983-09-22	it $<$ broke off $>$	'ıt'bıouk'of	Itbinknf	obs + rhol	1	3;03.21
	1983-09-22	it got broken	'ıt'gat'bıovkən	rtgatbwoken	obs+rhol	1	3;03.21
· .	1983-10-27	I drawing my fingers	'aı'dınıŋ'maı'fıŋgəız	aıdaıngmaıdıngəız	obs + rhol	3	3;04.26
	1983-10-27	I drawing baby one	'aı'dımıj'beibi:'wʌn	әdaıngbebiwлn	obs+rhol	3	3;04.26
•	1983-11-27	that present for her	'ðæt'pıczənt'fuhəı	dətwesəntvoıhəı	obs + rhol	2	3;05.26
	1984-01-14	let me try them on	'let'mi:'tıaı'ðem'an	letmitwarðeman	obs+rhoI	1	3;07.13
	1984-01-14	< slide > it on kitty cat	'slaid'it'on'kiti:'kæt	saidi?ankidikæt	s+lat-I	3	3;07.13
	1984-01-14	so he can sleep	'sou'hi:'kæn'sli:p	soikænlip	s+lat-I	2	3;07.13
	1984-01-14	so he can sleep at dark time	'sou'hi:'kæn'sli:p'æt'daık'taım	soikænlipætdo.ktarm	s+lat-I	2	3;07.13
	1984-01-14	but they don't work with slippers	s'bʌt'ðeɪ'dant'wʌɪk'wɪð'slɪpə.ız	bʌtðɛdontwəɹkwi0slɪpəɹz	s+lat-I	1	<u>3;</u> 07.13
	1983-11-27	and this $<$ small $>$ one on your	∙'ænd'ðıs'smpl'w∧n'an'jp1'hed	?ændıs?owʌnanyo』hed	s+nas-I	-	3;05.26
		head			•		
	1983-11-27	he smiled	'hi:'smaild	himaıjud	s+nas-I	2	3;05.26
	1983-10-27	when this get lost, you will	'wen'ðıs'get'lost'ju:'wıl'hæv'ðıs	wəndisgetlastyuwəlævdis	s+obs-F	1	3;04.26
		have this					
	1983-11-27	you < put > first	'ju:'put'faist	jupənbəı	s+obs-F	4	3;05.26

## David

1983-11-27	you put that in first	'ju:'put'ðætən'fʌ.ɪst	jubətdætınbəıs	s+obs-F	3	3;05.26
1983-11-27	I just wanted her	'aı'dynst'wontadhaı	aıdzəswantədhəı	s+obs-F	3	3;05.26
1983-11-27	look Scardy cat	'luk'skaıdi:'kæt	ukharikæ	s+obs-I	-	3;05.26
1983-11-27	little spoon	'lıtəl'spu:n	lıtspun	s+obs-I	1	3;05.26
1984-01-14	scared	'skeid	giı	s+obs-I	2	3;07.13
1984-01-14	he got purring so he can't get	'hi:'gat'pʌɪŋ'sov'hi:'kænt'get	igatpowiŋdoikən²gətqi1d	s+obs-I	2	3;07.13
	scared	'skeid		•		
1984-01-14	scared	'skeid	kiı	s+obs-I	2	3;07.13
1984-01-14	why they work with special	'waı'ðeı'w∧ık'wıð'spɛ∫əl'bu:ts	waiðewəikwisspætikbuts	s+obs-I	1	3;07.13
•	boots				:	•
1983-09-22	a basket	əˈbæskət	?mpækɪt	s+obs-M	2	3;03.21
1983-10-27	your extra key	'joɪ'ɛkstɪə'ki:	jəıɛksəıgi	s+obs-M	3	3;04.26
1983-11-27	rested on her back	'ıɛstəd'anhəı'bæk	ıɛstıdanəıbæk	s+obs-M	4	3;05.26
1984-01-14	she resting	'ʃi:'ıɛstıŋ	tjəwestin	s+obs-M	1.	3;07.13

David

Date	Orthography	IPATarget	IPAActual	ClusterType	Real	Age
1983-09-22	oh you clothes	'ou'ju:'klouðz	'?əju,k <sup>h</sup> oz	obs+lat-I	3	3;03.21
1983-09-22	I closed it	'aı'klouzd'ıt	'?aı'k <sup>h</sup> oz,dıt	obs+lat-I	3	3;03.21
1983-10-27	I closed it	'aı'klouzd'ıt	aıkozdıt	obs + lat-I	3	3;04.26
1983-11-27	I closed it only little bit	'aı'klouzd'ıt'ounli:'lıtəl'bıt	aıkozdıtonlilıdibit	obs+lat-I	3	3;05.26
1983-11-27	we're playing baseball	'w11'ple111j'be1sbpl	wə.beŋbesbal	obs + lat-I	3	3;05.26
1983-11-27	I play	'ar'pler	arbe	obs + lat-I	3	3;05.26
1983-11-27	I got this $<$ navy $>$ blue $<$ too	aı'gat'ðıs'nervi:'blu:'tu:	argotdisnivebudu	obs + lat-I	. 3	3;05.26
	>			an an the second se Second second		
1983-11-27	this a good place for them	'ðısə'gud'pleis'for'ðem	dısəgudplesfoıðem	obs + lat-I	1	3;05.26
1983-11-27	here a good place	'h119'gud'ple18	hilogudples	obs + lat-I	1	3;05.26
1984-01-14	I closed it	'ar'klouzd'ıt	əklozdıt	obs + lat-I	1	3;07.13
1984-01-14	do you want it closed ?	'du:'ju:'want'ıt'klouzd	djuwæntītklozd	obs+lat-I	1	3;07.13
1984-01-14	climb up here ?	'klaım'ap'hıı	klaimnpii	obs+lat-I	1	3;07.13
1984-01-14	can we take your cat please	'kæn'wi:'teık'jpı'kæt'pli:z	kenwitekjəıkætpliz	obs+lat-I	1	3;07.13
1983-09-22	bounce down on piglet	'bauns'daun'an'pıglət	ˈbaʊnsˈdaʊ̯:tʃ:²ʌnˈpɪɡət	obs+lat-M	3	3;03.21
1983-10-27	very gently	'ven:'dentli:	veridentli	obs+lat-M	1	3;04.26
1983-09-22	ya brown	'ja'bıaun	'jæ'dayn	obs+rho-l	3	3;03.21
1983-09-22	< three >	'tιθ':	<u>t</u> wi:	obs+rho-I	1	3;03.21
1983-09-22	he bringing tiger up	'hi:'buŋŋ'taɪgəɪ'ʌp	?i,b.ingin'taigə.i.p	obs+rho-I	1	3;03.21
1983-09-22	he bringing tiger down	'hi:'b.mm'targər'davn	hibiingintaigəi'aqun	obs+rho-I	1	3;03.21

Mark

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1983-11-27	ya these are simple screws	'ja'ði:z'aɪ'sɪmpəl'sk.ru:z	jædizəızımplskuz	obs+rho-I	-	3;05.26
1984-01-14	a bottom drawer	ə'batəm'dını	əbadəmdoı	obs+rho-I	3	3;07.13
1984-01-14	three big ones	'θ.ii:'bɪg'wʌnz	θwibigwʌnz	obs+rho-I	1	3;07.13
1984-01-14	because you had to bring me	bı'koz'ju:'hæd'tu:'b.11ŋ'mi:'davn	bikazjuhædəbwıŋmidaunsoaıku	obs+rho-I	1	3;07.13
	down so I could	'sou'aı'kud	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			
1984-01-14	three little money and three big	'θ.ii:'lɪtəl'mʌni:'ænd'θ.ii:'bɪg'wʌnz	θwilıdəlm∧niənθwibıgw∧nz	obs+rho-I	1	3;07.13
	ones					- 
1984-01-14	one two three four five	'wʌn'tuː'θɹiː'fɒ1'faɪv	w∧ntuθwifo.farv	obs+rho-I	1	3;07.13
1984-01-14	three little ones	'θıi:'lıtəl'wʌnz	fwilıtəlwʌnz	obs+rho-I	1	3;07.13
1984-01-14	hey this came from your cat	'heı'ðıs'keım'fınm'joı'kæt	hediskemfwomjoikæt	obs+rho-l	1	3;07.13
1984-01-14	three little money and three big	'θ.i:'lɪtəl'mʌni:'ænd'θ.i:'bɪg'wʌnz	θwilɪdəlmʌniənθwibɪgwʌnz	obs+rho-I	1	3;07.13
	ones					
1984-01-14	if you want, stop you just press	'ıf'ju:'want'stap'ju:'&ʌst'pɪɛs'ðıs	ıfjuwan²stapjudəsbwɛsdısθıŋənj	obs+rho-I	- 1	3;07.13
	this thing and you stop	'θıŋ'ænd'ju:'stap	ustap			
1984-01-14	no , you didn't want your	'ju:'dɪdnฺt'want'jɒɪ'dɹɒɪ'oupən	nojulıdnwænjəıdıo.open	obs+rho-I	1	3;07.13
	drawer open					
1983-09-22	I get up umbrella	'aɪ'gɛt'ʌpəm'bɪɛlə	'?aigernp'beln	obs+rho-M	3	3;03.21
1983-09-22	ya umbrella	'jaəm'bıɛlə	jæ'bela	obs+rho-M	3	3;03.21
1983-10-27	only mommy have umbrella	'ounli:'mami:'hævəm'bıɛlə	onimamijævʌmbɛlʌ	obs+rho-M	3	3;04.26
1983-10-27	we have umbrella	'wiːˈhævəmˈbɪɛlə	wijavambzela	obs+rho-M	1	3;04.26
1983-10-27	umbrella	əm'bıɛlə	vuprelv	obs+rho-M	1	3;04.26
1984-01-14	see it goes on my sweater	'si:'ıt'gouz'an'maı'swetəı	sirtgozanmaıswædəı	s+gli-I	1	3;07.13

## Mark

1984-01-14	sometimes I like take my	səm'taımz'aı'laık'teık'maı'slıpə.z	samtaimsailaiktekmaizlipəiof	s+lat-I	1	3;07.13
· *	slippers off	'bf				
1983-09-22	and snails	'ænd'snerlz	?ən'z <u>e</u> oz	s+nas-I	3	3;03.21
1983-10-27	he just likes be outside	'hi:'&Ast'larks'bi:'aut'sard	hiczəslə1lesbiautsa1d	s+obs-F	3	3;04.26
1983-10-27	he just going to go into our back	'hi:'&^st'goun'tu:'gou,in'tu:'auəi	idzəsgoiŋtəgomuaibækyaid	s+obs-F	. 3	3;04.26
÷	yard	'bæk'jaıd				
1984-01-14	if you want, stop you just press	'ıf'ju:'want'stap'ju:'&ʌst'p.ɛs'ðıs	ıfjuwan²stapjudəsbwɛsdısθıŋənj	s+obs-F	3	3;07.13
	this thing and you stop	'Əŋ'ænd'ju:'stap	ustap	• • •		
1984-01-14	I < must > put it near this	'aı'mʌst'put'ıt'nıı'ðıs	ainsputitnuidis	s+obs-F	3	3;07.13
1984-01-14	< why $>$ you want stop , you	'waı'ju:'want'stap'ju:'&st'puf'õis	waijuwan <sup>2</sup> stapyudəspusdisdin	s+obs-F	3	3;07.13
	just push this thing	' <b>θ</b> ıŋ				
1984-01-14	I just wanted it	'ar'dzʌst'wontəd'ıt	aıdəswæntədıt	s+obs-F	3	3;07.13
1984-01-14	you just push this thing if you	'ju:'&ʌst'pu∫'ðɪs'θɪŋ'ɪf'ju:'wanə	judəspusdısıŋıfjuwanəstap	s+obs-F	3	3;07.13
- · · · ·	wanna stop	'stap				
1984-01-14	it fit on my wrist	'ıt'fıt'an'maı'ııst	ıtfitanmarwıst	s + obs-F	1	3;07.13
1984-01-14	last one	'læst'wAn	læstw∧n	s+obs-F	1	3;07.13
1983-10-27	scary cat	'sken:'kæt	skeıikæt	s+obs-I	1	3;04.26
1983-10-27	I don't wanna scare her	'aı'dant'wanə'skɛıhəı	aidownnaskeo	s+obs-I	1	3;04.26
1983-11-27	ya these are simple screws	'ja'ði:z'aı'sımpəl'skıu:z	jædizə.zmplskuz	s+obs-I	-	3;05.26
1984-01-14	if you want, stop you just press	'ıf'ju:'want'stap'ju:'&^st'pıɛs'ðıs	ıfjuwan <sup>2</sup> stapjudəsbwesdısθıŋənj	s+obs-I	1	3;07.13
	this thing and you stop	'θıŋ'ænd'ju:'stap	ustap			

Mark

1984-01-14	why they have $<$ stamps $>$ on	'waı'ðeı'hæv'stæmps'an'ðem	waideævstæpsonðəm	s+obs-I	1	3;07.13
	them ?					
1984-01-14	you just push this thing if you	'ju:'&∧st'pu∫'ðıs'θıŋ'ıf'ju:'wanə	judəspusdısınıfjuwanəstap	s+obs-I	1	3;07.13
	wanna stop	'stap				
1984-01-14	< why $>$ you want stop , you	'waı'ju:'want'stap'ju:'&st'puf'ðis	s waijuwan <sup>2</sup> stapyudəspusdisdin	s+obs-I	1	3;07.13
	just push this thing	'មិរឭ				
1984-01-14	if you want, stop you just press	'ıf'ju:'want'stap'ju:'&ʌst'pıɛs'ðıs	ıfjuwan <sup>2</sup> stapjudəsbwesdısθıŋənj	s+obs-I	1	3;07.13
•	this thing and you stop	'Əŋ'ænd'ju:'stap	ustap		•	
1984-01-14	scardy	skeidi	skeidi	s+obs-I	1	3;07.13
1984-01-14	these are water skis	'ði:z'aı'wɒtəı'ski:z	ðizarwadərskiz	s+obs-I	1	3;07.13
1983-11-27	baseball	'beisbol	besbal	s+obs-M	1	3;05.26
1983-11-27	ya baseball	'ja'beısbol	jebesbal	s+obs-M	1	3;05.26
1983-11-27	we're playing baseball	'w11'ple1119'be1sbpl	wəibenbesbal	s+obs-M	- <b>1</b>	3;05.26

Mark

Date	Orthography	IPATarget
1968-10-24	plane	'plem
1968-12-27	please	'pli:z
1969-04-07	glasses	'glæsəz
1969-04-13	God bless	'gad'bles
1969-04-13	Daddy's glasses	'dædi:z'glæsəz
1969-04-13	orange clinic	'DIƏNCI'klınık
1969-05-04	more climbing over	'mɒɪˈklaɪmɪŋˈoʊvəɪ
1969-05-04	climb over	'klaım'ouvəı
1969-05-05	another fly	ə'nʌðəı'flaı
1969-05-26	another flower	ə'nʌðəı'flauəı
1969-06-01	on a plate	'anə'pleıt
1969-06-01	blue one	ˈbluːˈwʌn
1969-06-16	go away fly	'gouəw'wei'flai
1969-07-02	play pennies Mummy	'pleı'pɛniːz'mʌmiː
1969-08-20	got one down the floor	'gat'wʌn'daʊnðə'flɒ1
1969-08-30	got a flag	'gatə'flæg
1969-10-07	please have that a little while	'pli:z'hæv'ðætə'lıtəl'waıl
1969-10-07	Mummy like to blow off it	'mʌmiː'laɪk'tu:'bloʊ'ɒf'ɪt
1969-10-19	climb over again	'klaım'ouvə.ıə'gen
1969-11-13	that's paper blanket	'ðæts'peɪpəɪ'blæŋkət

IPAActual	ClusterType	Real	Age
beı	obs + lat-I	3	1;05.29
p <sup>h</sup> ıi	obs+lat-I	3	1;08.02
ga:ga [*]	obs+lat-I	3	1;11.13
go be [*]	obs+lat-I	3	1;11.19
dædi gaga [*]	obs + lat-I	3	1;11.19
aın kıni [*]	obs+lat-I	3	1;11.19
ma: kainvava	obs+lat-I	3	2;00.09
kainəvava	obs+lat-I	3	2;00.09
leləu fai [*]	obs + lat-I	3	2;00.10
leleu fau	obs+lat-I	3	2;01.01
on ə peı [*]	obs+lat-I	3	2;01.07
bu [*] w∧m	obs + lat-I	<b>`3</b>	2;01.07
gəu wei fa	obs+lat-I	3	2;01.22
p <sup>h</sup> eı [*] репіө [*] mлmi	obs+lat-I	3	2;02.07
gpt w∧m daun ə fɔ: [*]	obs+lat-I	3	2;03.26
got ə eæg [*]	obs+lat-I	3	2;04.05
pi:z [*] hæv dæt ə lıtu waıu	obs+lat-I	3	2;05.12
mʌmi laık ə bəu [*] ɒf ıt	obs+lat-I	3	2;05.12
kaım əuvə əgein	obs+lat-I	3	2;05.24
ðæts peipə bæŋkıt [*]	obs+lat-I	3	2;06.19

	1969-12-06	it's on a plate	'rts'anə'pleit	is on a peit [*]	obs+lat-I	3	2;07.11
	1969-12-18	put my closer	'put'maı'klousə1	pu mai [*] kləusə	obs + lat-I	1	2;07.23
	1969-12-31	me got some black ones	'mi:'gat'sʌm'blæk'wʌnz	ma [*] got sʌm blæk wʌnz	obs + lat-I	1	2;08.06
	1970-01-01	I want a bit of plaster	'aı'wontə'bit'Av'plæstə1	aı wont ə bit ə pa:tə [*]	obs+lat-I	3	2;08.07
	1970-01-01	that going to dry cleaner	'ðæt'gouŋ'tu:'dıaı'kli:nə.	dæ [*] gəvın tə daı [*] ki:nə [*]	obs+lat-I	3	2;08.07
	1970-01-01	you nearly knock my glasses	'ju:'n11li:'n0k'mar'glæsəz	u nıəli nok [*] maı gla:sız	obs+lat-l	1	2;08.07
	1970-01-02	my doesn't like a blue one	'maı'dıznt'laikə'blu:'wın	maı [*] dızn [*] laık ə blu: wın	obs+lat-I	1	2;08.08
	1970-01-11	can I play those when I come	'kæn'ar'pler'ðouz'wen'ar'kʌm	kæn ai plei ðəuz [*] wen ai kam	obs+lat-I	1	2;08.17
•		back to Sunday school	'bæk'tu:'sʌnˌdeɪ'sku:l	bæk tə [*] sʌndeı sku:l.		•	
	1970-01-11	plug mine in	'plʌg'mamən	plng main in	obs + lat-I	1	2;08.17
	1970-02-01	can I please have a penny to pay	'kæn'aı'pli:z'hævə'peni:'tu:'pei	kæn aı pi:z [*] hæv ə peni tə pen	obs+lat-I	*3	2;09.07
	1970-02-14	don't put on the floor	'dant'put'anðə'flo1	dəun put on ə flo:	obs + lat-I	1	2;09.20
	1970-02-16	I play with Daddy's briefcase	'aı'pleı'wıð'dædi:z'bıi:f <sub>i</sub> keıs	aı pleı wið dædız bi:fkeis [*]	obs + lat-I	1	2;09.22
	1970-02-16	he want to play with it	'hi:'want'tu:'ple1'w1ð'1t	i: wont [*] tə pleı wıð ıt	obs + lat-I	1	2;09.22
	1970-03-07	I playing London	'aı'plenŋ'lʌndən	aı pleıŋ lʌndən	obs + lat-I	1	2;10.10
	1970-03-15	that blowing	'ðæt'blouŋ	ðæ vəum [*]	obs + lat-I	5	2;10.18
	1970-03-23	I playing jig saws	'aı'plenŋ'&ıg'soz	aı pleın dzıgso:z	obs + lat-I	1	2;10.26
	1970-03-23	there's a blue sky Lulu	'ðɛızə'blu:'skaɪ'lu:ˌlu:	ðɛəz ə blu: kaı [*] lulu	obs + lat-I	1	2;10.26

1970-03-23	the shops are closed on Sunday	ðə'ʃaps'aı'klouzd'an'sʌnˌdeɪ	ə ∫ops ə klə∪z [*] on s∧ndeı	obs+lat-I	1	2;10.26
1970-03-23	I playing jigsaws	ˈaɪˈpleɪŋˈʤɪgˌsɒz	aı pleun əıgsɔ:z [*]	obs+lat-I	1	2;10.26
1970-03-23	I want to play jigsaws	'ar'want'tu:'ple1'&19,502	aı wont tə pleı ðigso:z [*]	obs+lat-I	1	2;10.26
1970-04-10	I very clean	'ar'vɛıi:'kli:n	aı veri kli:n	obs+lat-I	1	2;11.16
1970-04-10	undone these daddy please	ən'dʌn'ðiːz'dædi:'pli:z	٨ndʌn [*] ði:z dædi pli:z	obs+lat-I	1	2;11.16
1970-04-10	we play inside cause it's raining now	'wi:'ple1,m'said'kaz'ıts'ıemıŋ'nau	wi plei insaid kos its reiniŋ nau	obs+lat-I	1	2;11.16
1970-07-05	you've got some big glasses well as small ones	'ju:v'gat'sʌm'bɪg'glæsəz'wɛl'æz 'smol'wʌnz	u:v got sʌm b1g gla:s1z wel æz smo:l wʌnz	obs+lat-I	1	3;02.10
1970-07-05	I did blowed it	'ar'dıd'bloud'ıt	aı dıd bləuwd [*] ıt	obs+lat-I	1 <b>1</b>	3;02.10
1970-07-05	I play play post it	'ar'pler'pler'poust'ıt	aı pleı pleı pəust ıt	obs+lat-I	1	3;02.10
1970-07-05	Nicky playing	'nıki:'plenŋ	nıki pleıŋ	obs + lat-I	1	3;02.10
1970-07-05	I play play post it	'ar'pler'pler'poust'ıt	aı plei plei pəust it	obs + lat-I	.1	3;02.10
1970-08-16	I blowed my kite	'ar'bloud'mar'kart	aı bləuwd [*] maı kaıt	obs + lat-I	1	3;03.22
1970-08-16	you play it with me	'ju:'pleɪ'ɪt'wɪð'mi:	ju pleı ıt wıð mi	obs+lat-I	1	3;03.22
1970-12-05	like that little blob what's on the	'laık'ðæt'lıtəl'blab'wats'anðə	laık ðæt lıtu blob wots [*] on ðə	obs + lat-I	1 .	3;07.10
	plate	'plent	pleit		•	
1970-02-28	those are his wings cause he flies	'ðouz'aı'hız'wıŋz'kaz'hi:'flaız	dəuz ər ız wıŋz kɒz i flaız	obs+lat-l	1	3;10.03
1968-11-29	chocolate	'tĵoklət	käki	obs+lat-M	3	1;07.04
1969-04-10	chocolate biscuit	ˈtʃɒklətˈbɪskət	koki [*] bebe [*]	obs+lat-M	3	1;11.16

1969-04-10	chocolate biscuit	ˈtʃɒklətˈbɪskət	koki bibi	obs+lat-M	3	1;11.16
1969-10-10	that's Chandley's	'ðæts'tfændli:z	dæs ta:ndli:z [*]	obs+lat-M	1	2;05.15
1970-03-07	the tablecloth has nearly comed	ðəˈteɪbəlˌkloθˈhæzˈnɪɪliːˈof	ə teıbuklað [*] əð [*] məli	obs+lat-M	3	2;10.10
	off		kamd [*] of			
1970-03-07	the tablecloth has nearly comed	ðə'teibəl,kloθ'hæz'nııli:'of	ə teıbukloð [*] əð [*] nıəli	obs+lat-M	1	2;10.10
	off		kлmd [*] df			•
1968-10-12	brush	'µvrq,	ba	obs+rho-I	3	1;05.17
1968-10-31	pram	pıæm	pæ	obs+rho-I	3	1;06.06
1968-10-31	brush	'pīv?	ba	obs+rho-I	3	1;06.06
1968-11-02	brush	'bɪʌʃ	ba	obs+rho-l	3	1;06.08
1968-11-18	train	'tıeın	t <sup>h</sup> ein	obs+rho-I	3	1;06.24
1969-01-03	crocodile	'kıakə,dail	kaka	obs+rho-I	3	1;08.09
1969-01-03	tree	'tui:	tıi	obs+rho-I	3	1;08.09
1969-04-10	Jenny's bread	'deni:z'bied	de:ni [*] bɛə	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.16
1969-04-10	Mummy buy grapes	'mʌmi:'baɪ'gɪeɪps	m∧mi bai geı [*]	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.16
1969-04-10	bread	'batd'	່ຍະຈ	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.16
1969-04-13	prune	'pru:n	pu:n [*]	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.19
1969-04-13	tree there	'tii:'ðei	tii deə	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.19
1969-04-13	yes I like grapes	'jɛs'aı'laık'gıeıps	jeç [*] laı geıp	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.19
1969-04-13	Jenny's dressing gown	'deni:z'diesin'gaun	deni [*] degaun [*]	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.19
1969-04-13	grass	'gıæs	ga: [*]	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.19

1969-04-22	Daddy's crying	'dædi:z'kıanıŋ	dædı kain [*]	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.28
1969-05-03	crying	'kıanıı	kaın [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;00.08
1969-05-26	crusts birdies	'kınsts'bridi:z	kл [*] bə:bi	obs+rho-I	3	2;01.01
1969-06-01	birdie crusts	'baidi:'kiasts	bə:bi [*] kʌ [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;01.07
1969-06-01	more bread	parq,ram,	main bed [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;01.07
1969-06-01	more bread	parq,rau,	ma bed [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;01.07
1969-06-16	all broken	'pl'bıoukən	o beibən [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;01.22
1969-06-21	Lulu's crying	'lu:,lu:z'k1anŋ	lulu kaının	obs+rho-I	3	2;01.27
1969-08-07	frighten mine	'fraiton'main	faitin [*] main	obs+rho-I	3	2;03.13
1969-08-20	Jenny don't like that crust	'æni:'dant'laık'ðæt'kınst	deni dəun laık dæ ka [*]	obs+rho-l	.3	2;03.26
1969-08-20	throw that to sparrows	θιου'ðæt'tu:'spειουz	fəu dæt tə pærəuz [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;03.26
1969-08-20	throw that to birdies	'θιου'ðæt'tu:'bʌldi:z	fəu [*] dæt tə bədiz	obs+rho-I	3	2;03.26
1969-08-20	bring it here	'b.m'ıt'hu	bıŋ ıt hıə	obs+rho-I	3	2;03.26
1969-08-20	like grape	'laık'gıcıp	laık greip	obs+rho-I	1	2;03.26
1969-08-30	Jenny don't like some bread	'dzeni:'dant'laık'sım'bıed	deni dəun laık sım bred	obs+rho-I	· 1	2;04.05
1969-10-07	going to make a great big	'gounj'tu:'meikə'gieit'big'wendi:	guin tə meik greip big wendi	obs+rho-I	1	2;05.12
	Wendy house	'haus	haus			
1969-10-07	there's a green hat	'ðɛızə'gɪi:n'hæt	dɛəz ə gri:n hæt	obs+rho-I	1	2;05.12
1969-10-10	like cream on it	'laık'kıı:m'on'ıt	laık ki:m [*] on ıt	obs+rho-I	3	2;05.15
1969-10-19	my like have a drink of milk	'maı'laık'hævə'dınık'av'mılk	maı [*] laık hæv ə dıŋk [*] ə	obs+rho-I	3	2;05.24
			mıuk			

1969-10-23	Daddy got a brand new pen	'dædi:'gatə'bıænd'nu:'pen	dædi got a bæn [*] nu: pen	obs+rho-I	3	2;05.28
1969-11-02	like have that bridge	'laık'hæv'ðæt'b.ucz	laık hæv dæt bridð [*]	obs+rho-I	1.	2;06.08
1969-11-02	my not drawing on the paper	'maı'nat'dırıny'anðə'perpərtə'der	mai [*] not drorin on a peipa	obs+rho-I	1	2;06.08
	today		tədeı			
1969-11-25	cream on the meringues	'kıi:m'anðə'mɛıaŋz	kwi:m [*] on ə wæmz [*]	obs+rho-I	1	2;07.00
1969-12-06	I can draw with that	'aı'kæn'dı¤'wıð'ðæt	ai kæn do [*] wið dæt [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;07.11
1969-12-06	that my new dress	'ðæt'mar'nu:'dres	dæ mai nu des [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;07.11
1969-12-06	me want to draw Daddy	'mi:'want'tu:'dıɒ'dædi:	ma [*] wont tə ðə [*] dædi	obs+rho-I	3	2;07.11
1969-12-06	I want to draw Dad	'ar'want'tu:'dro'dæd	aı wont tu ðo [*] dæd	obs+rho-I	3	2;07.11
1969-12-06	I didn't scribble	'aı'dıdnt'skııbəl	aı dıdı kıbu [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;07.11
 1969-12-06	Daddy going to take it to	'dædi:'govıŋ'tu:'teik'ıt'tu:'gıæmaz	: dædi gum tə terk ıt tə græmmaz	obs+rho-I	1	2;07.11
	Grandma's					·
1969-12-18	have that one to try with	'hæv'ðæt'wʌn'tu:'tıaı'wıð	hæv [*] ðæt wan tə taı [*] wið	obs+rho-I	3	2;07.23
1969-12-18	I didn't throw the book in the	'aı'dıdnt'θιουδο'bukənδə'farəı	aı dıdən fəu [*] ə buk ın ə faıə	obs+rho-I	3	2;07.23
	fire					
1969-12-18	some people's bringing my	'sʌm'piːpəlz'bɹɪŋɪŋ'maı'dædi:	sʌm pi:plz [*] brɪŋɪŋ mai dædi	obs+rho-I	1	2;07.23
	daddy home	'houm	həum	ан 1		
1969-12-18	I want to drive the car	'aı'want'tu:'dıaıvðə'kaı	aı wont tu draıv ə ka:	obs+rho-I	1	2;07.23
1969-12-18	to christmas	'tu:'kɪɪsməs	tə [*] krısməs	obs+rho-I	1	2;07.23
1970-01-01	that's scruff	'ðæts'skinf	ðæ [*] kʌf [*]	obs+rho-I	-	2;08.07
1970-01 <b>-</b> 01	that going to dry cleaner	'ðæt'gouŋ'tu:'dıaı'kli:nəı	dæ [*] gəun tə daı [*] ki:nə [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;08.07

			Jane				
	1970-01-01	dolly must have a drink of milk	'dali:'mʌst'hævə'dʌŋk'ʌv'mɪlk	doli mʌst hæv ə dıŋk [*] ə mıuk	obs+rho-I	3	2;08.07
	1970-01-02	you get it from work	'ju:'get'ıt'fıлm'wnık	u: [*] gıt ıt fom [*] wə:k	obs+rho-I	.3	2;08.08
	1970-01-02	I want a green one	'aı'wantə'gıi:n'w∧n	aı wont ə gri:n wən	obs+rho-I	1	2;08.08
	1970-01-02	Lulu drinking all her tea up	'lu:ˌlu:'dɪŋkɪŋ'ɒlhəɪ'ti:'ʌp	lulu [*] drıŋkıŋ ɔl ə ti: ʌp	obs+rho-I	.1	2;08.08
	1970-02-12	I want to draw	'ar'want'tu:'dro	aı wont tu do: [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;09.18
:	1970-02-12	I want to draw	'aı'want'tu:'dın	aı wont tə do: [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;09.18
	1970-02-12	I doesn't want a spoon to break	'aı'dAznt'wantə'spu:n'tu:'bJe1k'It	a dʌzn [*] wɒnt ə pu:n [*] tə	obs+rho-I	3	2;09.18
		it all up	'ɒl'ʌp	beik [*] it ol Ap.		, • <sup>°</sup>	
	1970-02-12	Auntie Jack will bring my home	'ænti:'æk'wıl'bııŋ'maı'houm	a:nti dæk [*] wil briŋ mai [*]	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.18
	· . •			həum			
	1970-02-12	my want to draw another one	'mar'want'tu:'dıdə'nʌðəı'wʌn	maı [*] wont tə dro: ənxðə wxn	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.18
	1970-02-16	I play with Daddy's briefcase	'ar'pler'wið'dædi:z'bri:f,keis	aı pleı wıð dædız bi:fkeıs [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;09.22
	1970-02-16	Mummy getting some from the order	'mʌmi:'gɛtɪŋ'sʌm'fɪʌmðə'ɒɪdəɪ	mʌmi [*] gɪtɪŋ sʌm frɒm ə ɔ:də	obs+rho-l	1	2;09.22
	1970-02-17	Daddy wants some more bread to go to work tomorrow	Daddy wants some more bread to go to work tomorrow	dædi wonts sam mo: bred tə gəu tə wə:k təmorəu [*]	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.23
	1970-02-28	want a drink of water	'wantə'dınık'ıv'wotər	wont ə driŋk ə wo:tə	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.03
	1970-03-07	I will draw	'aı'wıl'dıp	aı wıu [*] dɔ: [*]	obs + rho-I	3	2;10.10
•	1970-03-07	that one's broken	'ðæt'wʌnz'bɪoʊkən	ðæt wʌnz brəukən	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.10
	1970-03-07	I had that Christmas card	'aı'hæd'ðæt'kıısməs'kaıd	aı hæd ðæt kriməə [*] ka:d	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.10

1970-03-07	these are Christmas cards	'ði:z'aı'kıısməs'kaıdz	ði:ð [*] ə krısməs ka:dz	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.10
1970-03-07	you don't scribble	'ju:'dant'sk.11bəl	u [*] dəvn krıbv [*]	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.10
1970-03-23	can I have some Christmas card	s 'kæn'aı'hæv'sʌm'kusməs'kaıdz	kæn ai hæv snm krisməs ka:dz	obs+rho-I	• 1	2;10.26
1970-03-23	I can draw teddy bear	'aı'kæn'dın'tedi:'beı	aı kæn dro tedi beə	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.26
1970-03-23	this is a pretty for my birthday	'ðıs'ızə'pıti:'foı'maı'bʌı0,deı	ðis iz ə priti fo mai bə:edei	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.26
1970-04-10	you promised me a lolly when	'ju:'p10məst'mi:ə'lali:'wɛn'maı	u promı [*] mi ə loli wem maı	obs+rho-I	1	2;11.16
	my come back from Sunday	ˈkʌmˈbækˈfɪʌmˈsʌnˌdeɪˈsku:l	[*] kAm [*] bæk from sAndei			
an a	school	an a star	ku:l [*]			
1970-04-10	I will cry if you go out	'ar'wıl'kıar'ıf'ju:'gou'aut	aı wıu kraı ıf u gəu aut	obs+rho-I	1	2;11.16
1970-04-10	you promised me a lolly when	'ju:'p10məst'mi:ə'lɑli:'wɛn'maı	u promı [*] mi ə loli wem maı	obs+rho-I	1	2;11.16
· · ·	my come back from Sunday	ˈkʌmˈbækˈfɪʌmˈsʌnˌdeɪˈskuːl	[*] kʌm [*] bæk from sʌndeı		• • •	
	school		ku:l [*]		• •	
1970-04-25	I tried one of Lulu's	'aı'tıaıd'wʌn'ʌv'lu:ˌlu:z	a tra:d wAn DV luluz	obs+rho-I	1	3;00.00
1970-07-05	I going to have a big pram like	'aı'goun'tu:'hævə'bıg'laık'li:səz	aı gəuŋ tə hæv ə bıg præm laık	obs+rho-I	1	3;02.10
	Lisa's pram	'præm	lisəz præm.			
1970-07-05	I going to have a big pram like	'ar'goun'tu:'hævə'bıg'laık'li:səz	aı gəun tə hæv ə bıg præm laık	obs+rho-I	1	3;02.10
	Lisa's pram	'præm	lisəz præm.			
1970-08-16	I going to drink it now	'ar'goun'tu:'dınşk'ıt'nau	aı gəviŋ tə driŋk it nav	obs+rho-l	1	3;03.22
1970-08-16	oo it dropped the lid	u:'ıt'dıaptõə'lid	u: 1t dropt ðə l1d	obs+rho-l	1	3;03.22
1970-09-08	I want Mac to bring me	'aı'want'mæk'tu:'bınŋ'mi:	aı wont mæk tə brıŋ [*] mi	obs+rho-I	1	3;04.14

1:13

1970-12-05	I didn't know what day the	'aı'dıdnt'nou'wʌt'deıðə'st.ııŋ'kem	n ai didn nəv wot dei ðə striŋ	obs+rho-I	-	3;07.10
	string came off didn't you	'of'ju:	keım of dıdnt [*] ju.			
1970-12-26	how many were the crisps	'hau'meni:wə10ə'k11sps	hau meni [*] wə: də krips [*]	obs+rho-I	1	3;08.17
1969-04-13	umbrella	elarq, we	лтэbɛlə	obs+rho-M	3	1;11.19
1969-04-13	umbrella	əm'bıɛlə	່ນຍາວ	obs+rho-M	3	1;11.19
1969-10-10	all across there	'dlə'kıds'ðei	2 krd [*] deə	obs+rho-M	1	2;05.15
1969-10-17	dolly coming Cambridge	'daliː'kʌmɪŋ'keɪmb.ncz	doli kamın keimbið [*]	obs+rho-M	3	2;05.22
1969-10-17	it's a long way to Cambridge	'ntsə'loŋ'weı'tu:'keımbındz	ıts ə loŋ weı tə keımbıð [*]	obs+rho-M	3	2;05.22
1969-10-17	we going to Cambridge	'wi:'gounj'tu:'kemb.ndz	wi guin tə keimbrið [*]	obs+rho-M	. 1	2;05.22
1969-10-17	Barbara's hungry	'baıbəıəz'hʌŋgɪi:	ba:brəz hʌŋgri	obs+rho-M	1	2;05.22
1970-01-01	don't go across it	'dant'govə'k.105'ıt	dəunt gəu kros [*] ıt	obs+rho-M	1	2;08.07
1970-02-12	I doesn't want a pastry	'aı'dıznt'wantə'peistii:	a dazn [*] won ə pe:ti [*]	obs+rho-M	3	2;09.18
1970-02-12	all the children's sick already	'olõə'tfildıənz'sıkol'ıedi:	ol ə tʃıldrənz [*] sık əredi [*]	obs+rho-M	1	2;09.18
1970-08-16	I'll choose them to everybody	'arl'tfu:z'ðem'tu:'ev1i: badi:	aıl tʃu:z ðɛm tu [*] evribodi	obs+rho-M	1	3;03.22
1968-12-27	sweetie	'swi:ti:	p <sup>h</sup> ip <sup>h</sup> i	s+gli-I	5	1;08.02
1969-04-13	swimming	'swimiŋ	sımın [*]	s+gli-I	3	1;11.19
1969-04-13	swimming	'swimiŋ	fimin [*]	s+gli-I	5	1;11.19
1969-04-13	swimming	'swimiŋ	p <sup>h</sup> imin [*]	s+gli-I	5	1;11.19
1969-04-13	sweetie	'swi:ti:	pi:pi: [*]	s+gli-I	5	1;11.19
1969-05-05	sweetie cough	'swi:ti:'kaf	pipi [*] ko	s+gli-I	5	2;00.10
1969-06-16	swan	'swan	fom	s+gli-I	5	2;01.22

Jane

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1969-08-30	going my swimming baths	'gouŋ'mai'swimiŋ'bæθs	guin mai fimin [*] bao [*]	s+gli-I	5	2;04.05
1969-09-13	Lulu wont touch my little sweetie	'lu:ˌlu:'woont'tʌtʃ'maɪ'lɪtəl'swi:ti:	lulu wəon ta [*] maı lıto fi:ti [*]	s+gli-I	5	2;04.19
1969-11-25	policeman going swimming	pə'li:smən'gouŋ'swɪmɪŋ	pli:omæn [*] guin swimin	s+gli-I	1	2;07.00
1969-12-18	can I have a sweetie now	'kæn'ar'hævə'swi:ti:'nau	kæn a hæv ə swi:ti nau	s+gli-I	1.	2;07.23
1969-12-18	me want sweeties	'mi:'want'swi:ti:z	ma [*] wont swi:ti:z	s+gli-I	1	2;07.23
1970-02-01	where's a sweetie	'we1zə'swi:ti:	weəz ə swi:ti	s+gli-I	1	2;09.07
1970-08-16	I like the swings the roundabout and the seesaw	'aı'laıkðə'swıŋzðə'ıaundə baut 'ændðə'si: sn	aı laık öə swıŋz öə raundəbaut n öə sisə	s+gli-I		3;03.22
1970-12-26	tell Daddy not to switch the	'tel'dædi:'nat'tu:'swrtfðə'lændıŋ	tel dædi not tə swit∫ ðə lændın	s+gli-I	1	3;08.01
	landing light off every time he comes up	'laɪt'of'ɛvəɹi:'taɪm'hi:'kʌmz'ʌp	laıt of evə [*] taım hi kʌmz ʌp.		· · · ·	
1969-10-10	going to sleep in a minute	'goʊŋˈtuːˈsliːpənəˈmɪnət	guŋ tə fi:p [*] ın ə mınıt	s+lat-I	5	2;05.15
1969-10-17	teddy going to sleep	'tedi:'gounj'tu:'sli:p	tedi gwin tə fi:p [*]	s+lat-I	5	2;05.22
1969-10-17	baby to sleep	'beɪbiː'tuː'sliːp	beibi tə sli:p	s+lat-I	1	2;05.22
1969-10-17	like to put those shoes to sleep	'laık'tu:'pot'ðouz'ʃu:z'tu:'sli:p	laık ə put dəuz ʃu:z tə sli:p	s+lat-I	1	2;05.22
1969-12-18	Lulu's not sleepy	'lu:,lu:z'nat'sli:pi:	luluz not si:pi: [*]	s+lat-I	3	2;07.23
1969-12-31	my putting my slippers on	'maı'pʌtɪŋ'maɪ'slɪpəɪz'an	maı [*] potıŋ maı slıpəz on	s+lat-I	1	2;08.06
1970-03-23	I thought you was asleep	'aı'θɒt'ju:'wazə'sli:p	aı oot u: wdz [*] əsli:p	s+lat-M	1	2;10.26
1969-08-20	Jenny's got Smarties	'dzeni:z'gat'smaxti:z	deni go fa:tiz [*]	s+nas-I	5	2;03.26
1969-08-20	don't like Smarties	'dant'laık'smaıti:z	dəvn laık fa:ti [*]	s+nas-I	5	2;03.26

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1969-08-20	Lulu's Smartie box in here	'lu:ˌlu:z'smaɪti:'baksən'hu	luluz fa:ti boks ın hıə	s+nas-I	5	2;03.26
1970-01-01	can smack you again	'kæn'smæk'ju:ə'gɛn	kæn [*] smæk u əgɛn	s+nas-I	1	2;08.07
1970-02-12	I want a small one	'ar'wantə'smpl'wʌn	aı wont ə mo:l [*] wAn	s+nas-I	2	2;09.18
1970-02-12	my want one smaller boot	'maı'want'wʌn'smɒləɪ'bu:t	maı [*] wont wAn [*] smo:lə	s+nas-I	1	2;09.18
			bu:t			
1970-03-15	that's snow	'ðæts'snou	ðæ [*] n̥əʊ [*]	s+nas-I	2	2;10.10
1970-07-05	you've got some big glasses	'ju:v'gat'sʌm'bɪg'glæsəz'wɛl'æz	u:v got sam big gla:siz wel æz	s+nas-I	1	3;02.10
	well as small ones	'smpl'wʌnz	smo:l wAnz	· · · ·		
1969-11-25	policeman going swimming	pə'li:smən'gouŋ'swɪmɪŋ	pli:əmæn [*] guın swımın	s+nasM	1	2;07.00
1969-12-18	to christmas	'tu:'kusməs	tə [*] krısməs	s+nasM	1	2;07.23
1970-03-07	I had that Christmas card	'aı'hæd'ðæt'kusməs'kaıd	aı hæd ðæt kriməe [*] ka:d	s+nasM	2	2;10.10
1970-03-07	these are Christmas cards	'ði:z'aı'kıısməs'kaıdz	ði:ð [*] ə krısməs ka:dz	s+nasM	1	2;10.10
1970-03-23	can I have some Christmas card	s 'kæn'aı'hæv'sʌm'kɹɪsməs'kaıdz	kæn ai hæv sam krisməs ka:dz	s+nasM	1	2;10.26
				•.		
1968-12-27	toast	'toust	təu	s+obs-F	4	1;08.02
1969-03-19	birdie toast	bridi:'toust	bə:bi [*] təu	s+obs-F	4	1;10.22
1969-04-27	more toast	'mp.i'toust	ma: təv	s+obs-F	4	2;00.02
1969-05-26	crusts birdies	'kınsts'bnıdi:z	kʌ [*] bə:bi	s+obs-F	4	2;01.01
1969-06-01	toast's gone	'tousts'gon	təutəu gon	s+obs-F	4	2;01.07
1969-07-02	just like that	'&ʌst'laɪk'ðæt	gi lai da	s+obs-F	4	2;02.07
1969-08-20	butter toast now	'bʌtəɪ'toust'nau	bʌtə təu [*] nau	s+obs-F	4	2;03.26

1969-08-20	Jenny don't like that crust	'æni:'dant'laık'ðæt'kınst	deni dəun laık dæ ka [*]	s+obs-F	4	2;03.26
1969-08-20	toast's coming	'tousts'kamıŋ	təutit [*] kʌmin	s+obs-F	2	2;03.26
1969-08-30	Mummy there first	'mʌmi:'ðɛɪ'fʌɪst	тлті деә fә:s	s+obs-F	3	2;04.05
1969-08-30	just a little bit	'&Astə'lıtəl'bıt	dzʌs ə lɪtʊ bɪt	s+obs-F	3	2;04.05
1969-08-30	those are wasps	'ðouz'ai'wasps	dəud [*] ə wopi [*]	s+obs-F	2	2;04.05
1969-10-07	toast burning	'toust'bainin	təus bə:nıŋ	s+obs-F	3	2;05.12
1969-10-07	toast is burning	'toust'ız'bamıŋ	təus 1z bə:nıŋ	s+obs-F	3	2;05.12
1969-10-10	don't go too fast	'dant'gov'tu:'fæst	dəvn gəv tu fa	s+obs-F	4	2;05.15
1969-10-10	Mummy make more toast for	'm∧mi:'meık'moı'toust'foı'mi:	mʌmi meık mɔ təus fɔ mi	s+obs-F	3	2;05.15
	me					
1969-10-10	no finished my toast	'nou'fınıʃt'maı'toust	nəu finis mai təus	s+obs-F	3	2;05.15
1969-12-18	my doesn't finish my toast	'maı'dıznt'finij'mai'toust	maı [*] <dazn finis=""> [*] mai</dazn>	s+obs-F	3	2;07.23
			təus			
1969-12-18	can I post the letter dad	'kæn'aı'poustðə'letə1'dæd	kæn ai pout [*] o leto dæd	s+obs-F	2	2;07.23
1970-01-01	dolly must have a drink of milk	'dali:'mʌst'hævə'dɪŋk'ʌv'mɪlk	dɒli mʌst hæv ə dıŋk [*] ə mıuk	s+obs-F	1	2;08.07
1970-01-02	next week my have it	'nekst'wi:k'mar'hæv'ıt	ne [*] wi:k maı [*] hæv ıt	s+obs-F	4	2;08.08
1970-02-12	Mummy must buy some	'mʌmi:'mʌst'baɪ'sʌmbə'nænəz	mʌmi mʌs baı sʌm nɑ:nəz [*]	s+obs-F	3	2;09.18
	bananas					
1970-04-10	you went out last time	'ju:'went'aut'læst'taım	u [*] went aut lað [*] taim	s+obs-F	3	2;11.16
1970-07-05	I play play post it	'ai'plei'plei'poust'it	aı pleı pleı pəust ıt	s+obs-F	1	3;02.10
1970-12-26	how many were the crisps	'hau'meni:wəıðə'kıısps	hau meni [*] wə: də krıps [*]	s+obs-F	2	3;08.01

	1968-10-15	spoon	'spu:n	pu	s+obs-I	2	1;05.20
	1968-11-29	spoon	'spu:n	bu:	s+obs-I	2	1;07.04
	1968-11-29	spoon	'spu:n	່ຽນ	s+obs-I	2	1;07.04
	1968-12-20	story	'stori:	də:wi	s+obs-I	2	1;07.25
	1968-12-20	spoon	'spu:n	bu:n	s+obs-I	2	1;07.25
•	1969-05-04	spider	'spaidəi	p <sup>h</sup> aıp <sup>h</sup> ə [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;00.09
	1969-05-05	spoon	'spu:n	bu:n [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;00.10
	1969-05-26	starling	'starlıŋ	ta:lın [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;01.01
	1969-08-20	going to school	'gouŋ'tu:'sku:l	gu:11) tə ku:l [*]	s+obs-l	2	2;03.26
	1969-08-20	Lulu's not going to school	'lu:ˌlu:z'nat'govɪŋ'tu:'sku:l	luluz no gu:wıŋ tə ku:l [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;03.26
	1969-08-20	throw that to sparrows	'0100'ðæt'tu:'spe1002	fəu dæt tə pærəuz [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;03.26
	1969-08-30	Daddy's going to Stockport	'dædi:z'govnj'tu:'stakpo.t	dædi guwin tokpo:t	s+obs-I	2	2;04.05
	1969-09-13	got a story book	'gatə'sto1i:'buk	got ə təri [*] buk	s+obs-I	2	2;04.19
	1969-10-07	stuck again	'stʌkə'gɛn	tʌk [*] əgɛın	s+obs-I	2	2;05.12
	1969-11-25	Lulu fall on the stairs	'lu:,lu:'fal'anðə'steız	lulu fəl on ə teə [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;07.00
	1969-12-06	I didn't scribble	'aı'dıdnt'skııbəl	aı dıdı kıbu [*]	s+obs-I	-	2;07.11
	1969-12-18	on the stool	'anðə'stu:l	on ə tu:l [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;07.23
	1969-12-18	mummy take me to Sunday	'mʌmiː'teɪk'miː'tuː'sʌn,deɪ'sku:l	mnmi teik mai [*] tə snndei	s+obs-I	1	2;07.23
		school		sku:l			
	1970-01-01	that's scruff	'ðæts'skinf	ðæ [*] kʌf [*]	s+obs-I	-	2;08.07
	1970-01-01	that's scruff	'ðæts'sk1^f	ðæ [*] kaf [*]	s+obs-I	-	2;08.07

1970-01-11	we going to Sunday school now	'wi:'goum'tu:'sʌn,deɪ'sku:l'nau	wi gəʊın tə ∫ʌndeı ku:l [*] naʊ	s+obs-I	2	2;08.17
1970-01-11	can I play those when I come back to Sunday school	'kæn'aɪ'pleɪ'ðoʊz'wɛn'aɪ'kʌm 'bæk'tu:'sʌnˌdeɪ'sku:l	kæn aı pleı ðəuz [*] wen aı kʌm bæk tə [*] sʌndeı sku:l.	s+obs-I	1	2;08.17
1970-02-12	Mummy won't go to night school	'mʌmiː'wount'gou'tuː'naɪt'sku:l	m∧mi wə∪n gə∪ tə naıt ku:l [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;09.18
1970-02-12	we going to Sunday school	'wi:'gouŋ'tu:'sʌnˌdeɪ'sku:l	wi [*] gouin to sandei ku:l [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;09.18
1970-02-12	I doesn't want a spoon to break it all up	'ar'd^znt'wantə'spu:n'tu:'bıcık'ıt 'pl'^p	a dʌzn [*] wont ə pu:n [*] tə beık [*] ıt ɔl ʌp.	s+obs-I	2	2;09.18
1970-02-12	you go to night school today	'ju:'gou'tu:'naɪt'sku:ltə'deɪ	u: gəu tə naıt ku:l [*] tədei	s+obs-I	2	2;09.18
1970-02-16	take a one story upstairs	'teikə'wʌn'stdii:əp'steiz	teık ə wʌn tɔ:ri [*] ʌptɛəz [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;09.22
1970-03-07	you don't scribble	'ju:'dant'skɪɪbəl	u [*] dəvn kribv [*]	s+obs-I	-	2;10.10
1970-03-07	it is skipping	'ıt'ız'skıpıŋ	ıt ız kıpın [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;10.10
1970-03-07	we will have shoes on to go Sunday school	'wi:'w1l'hæv'ʃu:z'an'tu:'gou'sʌn ˌdeɪˈsku:l	wi wıu [*] hæv ðu:z [*] on tə gəu sandeı ku:l [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;10.10
1970-03-15	I want a pony tail to Sunday school	'aı'wantə'pouni:'teɪl'tu:'sʌnˌdeɪ 'sku:l	a wont ə pəuni teil tə [*] sʌndei ku:l [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;10.18
1970-03-23	I learning to skip	ʻarʻlannıj'tu:'skip	aı lə:nıŋ tə kıp [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;10.26
1970-03-23	there's a blue sky Lulu	'ðɛɹzə'blu:'skaɪ'lu:ˌlu:	ðɛəz ə blu: kaı [*] lulu	s+obs-I	2	2;10.26
1970-03-23	this is the sky	'ðıs'ızðə'skaı	ðis iz ðə kai [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;10.26
1970-03-23	stay on the pavement Steven	'ster'anðə'pervmənt'sti:vən	teı [*] on ə peıvmənt ti:vi [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;10.26
1970-03-23	stay on the pavement Steven	'steı'anðə'peıvmənt'sti:vən	teı [*] on ə peıvmənt ti:vi [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;10.26

 1970-04-02	tomorrow's Sunday school today	/ təˈmaˌɪoʊzˈsʌnˌdeɪˈsku:ltəˈdeɪ	təmprəuz sʌndeı ku:l [*] tədeı	s+obs-I	2	2;11.08
1970-04-10	you promised me a lolly when my come back from Sunday	'ju:'pɪɑməst'mi:ə'lɑli:'wɛn'maı 'kʌm'bæk'fɪʌm'sʌnˌdeɪ'sku:l	u promı [*] mi ə loli wem maı [*] kʌm [*] bæk from sʌndeı	s+obs-I	2	2;11.16
	school		ku:1 [*]			
1970-04-10	it will stay in my bib now	'n'wil'steion'mai'bib'nau	it wiu stei im mai bib nau	s+obs-I	1	2;11.16
1970-08-16	I got a school bag	'aı'gatə'sku:1'bæg	aı got ə ku:l [*] bæg	s+obs-I	2	3;03.22
1970-12-05	I didn't know what day the	'aı'dıdnt'nou'wAt'deiðə'stiiŋ'keim	aı dıdn nəu wot dei öə striŋ	s+obs-I	-	3;07.10
	string came off didn't you	'of'ju:	keım of dıdnt [*] ju.			
 1969-04-10	biscuit like	'bıskət'laık	biskit laik	s+obs-M	1	1;11.16
1969-05-05	upstairs	əp'stɛız	ba deə	s+obs-M	2	2;00.10
 1969-08-07	supper time downstairs	'sʌpəɪ'taɪm,daun'stɛız	pApə [*] taım daunteəz	s+obs-M	2	2;03.13
1969-08-07	squirrel's downstairs too	'skwaləlz,daun'stelz'tu:	kıru daundeə [*] tu:	s+obs-M	2	2;03.13
 1969-08-30	to Manchester	'tu:'mæn,tjestə1	tə mæncıtə [*]	s+obs-M	2	2;04.05
1969-08-30	mine's got a rosebud	'maınz'gatə'100zbəd	maınz got ə rəuzbəd	s+obs-M	1	2;04.05
1969-09-13	Mummy gone upstairs	'mʌmi:'gɒnəp'stɛız	mʌmi gɒn ʌptɛəz [*]	s+obs-M	2	2;04.19
1969-10-19	take my basket	'teık'maı'bæskət	teik mai ba:kit [*]	s+obs-M	2	2;05.24
1969-11-02	elastic	ə'læstık	lætık [*]	s+obs-M	2	2;06.08
1969-11-08	don't go upstairs	'dant'govəp'sterz	dəun gəu Apteəz [*]	s+obs-M	2	2;06.14
1969-12-06	my go upstairs another day	'mai'gouəp'stɛızə'nʌðəı'deı	maı [*] gəv npteə [*] nndə dei	s+obs-M	2	2;07.11
1969-12-18	that can go in the basket	'ðæt'kæn'gouənðə'bæskət	dæ mukau kæn gəu ın ə ba:skıt	s+obs-M	1	2;07.23

vant a bit of plaster	'aı'wantə'bıt'Av'plæstə1	aı wont ə bit ə pa:tə [*]	s+obs-M	2	2;08.07
wnstairs	,daun'steiz	daunteað [*]	s+obs-M	2	2;08.17
loesn't want a pastry	'aı'dıznt'wantə'peistii:	a dazn [*] won ə pe:ti [*]	s+obs-M	2	2;09.18
ke a one story upstairs	'teikə'wʌn'stdii:əp'steiz	teık ə wan tə:ri [*] apteəz [*]	s+obs-M	2	2;09.22
spital	'has <sub>i</sub> pitəl	hopətəl [*]	s+obs-M	2	3;02.10

1970-01-01 I w 1970-01-11 dov 1970-02-12 I de 1970-02-16 tak 1970-07-05 hos

Date	Orthography
1968-10-23	flower
1969-04-07	Daddy's glasses
1969-04-07	Daddy's glasses
1969-04-10	blue tit
1969-04-10	blue tits
1969-04-10	blue tit
1969-04-10	biscuit please
1969-04-13	please
1969-04-13	on the floor
1969-04-13	crumbs on the floor
1969-04-13	clip in hair
1969-04-22	no playing
1969-04-22	climb over
1969-04-27	clean nappy
1969-05-05	blue tit gone
1969-05-05	teddy fly
1969-05-05	on the floor
1969-05-05	another fly
1969-05-13	get a flannel
1969-05-24	clean plate

IPATarget 'flauə.ı 'dædi:z'glæsəz 'dædiz:'glæsəz 'blu:'tīt 'blu:'tɪts 'blu:'trt 'biskət'pli:z 'pli:z 'anðə'flox 'kınmz'anðə'flor 'klıpən'heı 'nou'plem klaım'ouvə1 'kli:n'næpi 'blu:'tɪt'gɒn 'tɛdiː'flaı 'anðə'fləı ə'nʌðəɪˈflaɪ 'gɛtə'flænəl 'kli:n'plett

# IPAA pavə dædız dædız bu: tit bu [\*] bu tit bıskıt pi:s [\* pn ðə kлmz klip u no pe kaım ki:n [ bu: [\* tedi fa pn də lɛləʊ gıt ə ki:n [

Actual	
z ga:gız [*]	
Z 00:S1Z	
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'] tits	
t - Constant	n. N
t pi:s [*]	n an ta
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ə fəə [*]	
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em [*]	1.
bəuvə	:
[*] næpi	
*] tit gon	
fa1 [*]	
ə də: [*]	
faı	
fænu: [*]	
[*] peıt [*]	

ClusterType	Real	Age
obs+lat-I	3	1;05.28
obs+lat-I	- 3	1;11.13
obs+lat-I	3	1;11.13
obs+lat-I	3	1;11.16
obs+lat-I	3	1;11.16
obs + lat-I	3	1;11.16
obs+lat-I	. 3	1;11.16
obs + lat-I	3	1;11.19
obs + lat-I	3	1;11.19
obs + lat-I	3	1;11.19
obs+lat-I	. 1	1;11.19
obs+lat-I	3	1;11.28
obs + lat-I	3	1;11.28
obs + lat-I	3	2;00.02
obs+lat-I	3	2;00.10
obs + lat-I	3	2;00.10
obs+lat-I	3	2;00.10
obs+lat-I	3	2;00.10
obs+lat-I	3	2;00.18
obs + lat-l	3	2;00.29

1969-05-26       go away fly         1969-05-26       fly         1969-06-01       clean them         1969-07-02       gone on the floor         1969-08-07       got a blanket         1969-08-20       another one's down the floor         1969-08-20       there's a fly         1969-08-20       that's all clean         1969-08-20       that's not past eight o'clock         1969-08-20       like it on a plate         1969-08-20       like it all clean too         1969-08-20       make it all clean too         1969-08-30       flies don't come         1969-09-21       Mummy's got blue eyes         1969-10-07       mine's not to blow on it aga         1969-11-08       that's not dolly's blanket         1969-12-18       all the clothes are out         1969-12-18       they flewed         1969-12-18       Daddy's blowing it	1969-05-24	clean plate
1969-05-26       fly         1969-06-01       clean them         1969-07-02       gone on the floor         1969-08-07       got a blanket         1969-08-20       another one's down the floor         1969-08-20       there's a fly         1969-08-20       that's all clean         1969-08-20       that's not past eight o'clock         1969-08-20       like it on a plate         1969-08-20       like it all clean too         1969-08-20       make it all clean too         1969-08-30       flies don't come         1969-09-21       Mummy's got blue eyes         1969-10-07       mine's not to blow on it aga         1969-11-08       that's not dolly's blanket         1969-11-19       my like one plate         1969-12-18       all the clothes are out         1969-12-18       Daddy's blowing it	1969-05-26	go away fly
1969-06-01clean them1969-07-02gone on the floor1969-08-07got a blanket1969-08-20another one's down the floor1969-08-20there's a fly1969-08-20that's all clean1969-08-20it's not past eight o'clock1969-08-20like it on a plate1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-30flies don't come1969-09-21Mummy's got blue eyes1969-10-07mine's not to blow on it aga1969-11-08that's not dolly's blanket1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18Daddy's blowing it	1969-05-26	fly
1969-07-02gone on the floor1969-08-07got a blanket1969-08-20another one's down the floor1969-08-20there's a fly1969-08-20that's all clean1969-08-20it's not past eight o'clock1969-08-20like it on a plate1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-20flies don't come1969-08-30flies don't come1969-08-30flies not to blow on it aga1969-10-07mine's not to blow on it aga1969-11-08that's not dolly's blanket1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18Daddy's blowing it	1969-06-01	clean them
1969-08-07got a blanket1969-08-20another one's down the floor1969-08-20there's a fly1969-08-20that's all clean1969-08-20it's not past eight o'clock1969-08-20like it on a plate1969-08-20like it all clean too1969-08-20flies don't come1969-08-30flies don't come1969-08-30make it all clean too1969-08-30flies don't come1969-10-07mine's not to blow on it again1969-11-08that's not dolly's blanket1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18they flewed1969-12-18Daddy's blowing it	1969-07-02	gone on the floor
1969-08-20another one's down the floor1969-08-20there's a fly1969-08-20that's all clean1969-08-20it's not past eight o'clock1969-08-20like it on a plate1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-30flies don't come1969-09-21Mummy's got blue eyes1969-10-07mine's not to blow on it aga1969-11-08that's not dolly's blanket1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18Daddy's blowing it	1969-08-07	got a blanket
1969-08-20there's a fly1969-08-20that's all clean1969-08-20it's not past eight o'clock1969-08-20like it on a plate1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-30flies don't come1969-09-21Mummy's got blue eyes1969-10-07mine's not to blow on it aga1969-11-08that's not dolly's blanket1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18Daddy's blowing it	1969-08-20	another one's down the floor
1969-08-20that's all clean1969-08-20it's not past eight o'clock1969-08-20like it on a plate1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-30flies don't come1969-09-21Mummy's got blue eyes1969-10-07mine's not to blow on it aga1969-11-08that's not dolly's blanket1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18Daddy's blowing it	1969-08-20	there's a fly
1969-08-20it's not past eight o'clock1969-08-20like it on a plate1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-30flies don't come1969-09-21Mummy's got blue eyes1969-10-07mine's not to blow on it aga1969-11-08that's not dolly's blanket1969-11-19my like one plate1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18Daddy's blowing it	1969-08-20	that's all clean
1969-08-20like it on a plate1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-30flies don't come1969-09-21Mummy's got blue eyes1969-10-07mine's not to blow on it aga1969-11-08that's not dolly's blanket1969-11-19my like one plate1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18blowing it	1969-08-20	it's not past eight o'clock
1969-08-20make it all clean too1969-08-30flies don't come1969-09-21Mummy's got blue eyes1969-10-07mine's not to blow on it aga1969-11-08that's not dolly's blanket1969-11-19my like one plate1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18they flewed1969-12-18Daddy's blowing it	1969-08-20	like it on a plate
1969-08-30flies don't come1969-09-21Mummy's got blue eyes1969-10-07mine's not to blow on it aga1969-11-08that's not dolly's blanket1969-11-19my like one plate1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18they flewed1969-12-18Daddy's blowing it	1969-08-20	make it all clean too
1969-09-21Mummy's got blue eyes1969-10-07mine's not to blow on it aga1969-11-08that's not dolly's blanket1969-11-19my like one plate1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18they flewed1969-12-18Daddy's blowing it	1969-08-30	flies don't come
<ul> <li>1969-10-07 mine's not to blow on it aga</li> <li>1969-11-08 that's not dolly's blanket</li> <li>1969-11-19 my like one plate</li> <li>1969-12-18 all the clothes are out</li> <li>1969-12-18 they flewed</li> <li>1969-12-18 Daddy's blowing it</li> </ul>	1969-09-21	Mummy's got blue eyes
<ul> <li>1969-11-08 that's not dolly's blanket</li> <li>1969-11-19 my like one plate</li> <li>1969-12-18 all the clothes are out</li> <li>1969-12-18 they flewed</li> <li>1969-12-18 Daddy's blowing it</li> </ul>	1969-10-07	mine's not to blow on it again
<ul> <li>1969-11-19 my like one plate</li> <li>1969-12-18 all the clothes are out</li> <li>1969-12-18 they flewed</li> <li>1969-12-18 Daddy's blowing it</li> </ul>	1969-11-08	that's not dolly's blanket
1969-12-18all the clothes are out1969-12-18they flewed1969-12-18Daddy's blowing it	1969-11-19	my like one plate
1969-12-18 they flewed 1969-12-18 Daddy's blowing it	1969-12-18	all the clothes are out
1969-12-18 Daddy's blowing it	1969-12-18	they flewed
	1969-12-18	Daddy's blowing it

'kli:n'pleɪt 'gouəw'wer'flaı 'flar 'kli:n'ðɛm 'gon'anðə'flor 'gatə'blæŋkət ə'nʌðəı'wʌnz'daunðə'fluı 'ðɛɹzə'flaı 'ðæts'pl'kli:n 'nts'nat'pæst'ent'ou'klak 'laık'ıt'anə'pleit 'meik'n'pl'klim'tu: 'flaız'dont'kam 'mʌmiːz'gat'blu:'aɪz 'maıns'nat'tu:'blov'an'ıtə'gen 'ðæts'nat'dali:z'blæŋkət 'mar'laık'wın'pleit 'plðə'klouðz'aı'aut 'ðer'flu:'əd 'dædi:z'bloum'ıt

ki:n [*] peit [*]	obs+lat-I	3	2;00.29
gəu wei fai	obs+lat-I	3	2;01.01
p <sup>h</sup> aı [*]	obs+lat-I	3	2;01.01
ki:n [*] əmz	obs+lat-I	3	2;01.07
gon on ə fə [*]	obs+lat-I	3	2;02.07
got ə blæŋkıt	obs+lat-I	1	2;03.13
nʌdə [*] wʌnz daun ə fɔ [*]	obs+lat-I	3	2;03.26
dɛəz ə faı [*]	obs+lat-I	<b>3</b>	2;03.26
dæs o kli:n	obs + lat-I	1	2;03.26
ıts not pla:st [*] eıt əklok	obs+lat-I	1	2;03.26
laik it on a pleit	obs+lat-I	1	2;03.26
meık ıt o kli:n tu:	obs+lat-I	1	2;03.26
flaız dəun kʌm	obs+lat-I	1	2;04.05
m∧miz got blu: aız	obs+lat-I	1	2;04.27
mainz not to blou on it ogein	obs+lat-I	1	2;05.12
ðæts not dolız blæŋkıt	obs+lat-I	1	2;06.14
maı laık wan pleit	obs+lat-I	1	2;06.25
ol ə kləuz ə aut	obs+lat-I	1	2;07.23
ðei flu:d [*]	obs+lat-I	1	2;07.23
dædız bləuwın ıt	obs + lat-I	1	2;07.23

·		t de la la via				
1969-12-18	Mummy bringing my clothes down	'mʌmi:'bɪŋŋ'maɪ'klouðz'daun	m∧mi biŋiŋ [*] mai kləuz daun	obs + lat-l	1	2;07.23
1969-12-18	it's closed	'ıts'klouzd	ıs kləuzd	obs+lat-I	1	2;07.23
1969-12-18	dive on the floor	'daīv'anðə'fibi	daıv on ə flo:	obs + lat-I	1	2;07.23
1970-01-01	they going to dry cleaner	'ðer'gounj'tu:'drar'kli:nər	ðeı [*] gəuŋ tə draı kli:nə	obs + lat-I	1	2;08.07
1970-01-01	catch it with both hands on the	'kætj'ıt'wıð'bouθ'hændz'anðə'fin	ı kæt∫ ıt wið bəue hænz on ə flɔ:	obs + lat-I	1	2;08.07
	floor					
1970-01-01	you're sitting on my dolly's	'ju:r'sıtıŋ'an'maı'dali:z'blæŋkət	jo: sıtıŋ on maı dolız blæŋkıt	obs+lat-I	1. • •	2;08.07
	blanket					
1970-02-12	that's black	'ðæts'blæk	ðæts blæk	obs + lat-I	1.	2;09.18
1970-02-14	teddy did fall down on the floor	'tedi:'dıd'fal'daun'anðə'flo1	tedi did fo daun on o fo: [*]	obs + lat-I	3	2;09.20
1970-02-14	you close it	'ju:'klous'ıt	u kləoz it	obs+lat-I	1	2;09.20
1970-02-14	have to find another glass one	'hæv'tu:'famdə'nʌðəɪ'glæs'wʌn	hæ tu faind ən  nðə gla:s w  n	obs+lat-I	1	2;09.20
1970-02-14	can my tissue go in please	'kæn'mar'tıs ju:'govən'pli:z	kæn mai tıju: gəo in pli:z	obs + lat-I	1	2;09.20
1970-02-14	it can't close now	'ıt'kænt'klous'nau	ıt ka:n kləuz nau	obs+lat-I	. 1	2;09.20
1970-02-14	that one's a flat one	'ðæt'w∧nzə'flæt'w∧n	ðæt wʌnz ə flæt wʌn	obs + lat-I	1	2;09.20
1970-02-14	go in horse walk in I will close	'gouən'hoıs'wakən'aı'wıl'klous	gəu in ho:s, wo:k in ai wiu kləuz	obs + lat-I	1	2;09.20
	you	'ju:	u: [*]			
1970-02-14	this one's open that one 's closed	l 'ðıs'wʌnz'oupən'ðæt'wʌnz	ðis wanz eupen, ðæt wanz	obs + lat-I	1	2;09.20
		'klouzd	kləuzd			
1970-02-14	close it	'klous'n	kləuz ıt	obs + lat-I	1	2;09.20

Lucy

			-	-			
	1970-02-14	can I open it again please	'kæn'aı'oupən'ıtə'gen'pli:z	kæn aı əupən ıt əgen pli:z	obs+lat-I	1	2;09.20
	1970-02-14	my take a bag up and clothes	'maı'teıkə'bæg'Ap'ænd'klouðz	<mai teik=""> [*] ə bæg ʌp ņ</mai>	obs+lat-I	1	2;09.20
				kləuz			
	1970-02-14	open it please	'oupən'ıt'pli:z	əupən 1t pli:z	obs+lat-l	1	2;09.20
	1970-02-16	Dad might play with my doll	'dæd'mart'pler'wrð'mar'dal	dæd mait plei wið mai dou	obs+lat-I	1	2;09.22
	1970-03-15	can I draw please	'kæn'aı'dın'pli:z	kæn ai dro: pli:z	obs+lat-I	1	2;10.18
	1970-03-15	that one's closed	'ðæt'wAnz'klouzd	ðæt wanz klauzd	obs+lat-I	1	2;10.18
	1970-03-23	it's on the floor	'ıts'anðə'flo1	its on a flo	obs+lat-I	1	2;10.26
	1970-03-23	you play Lego please	'ju:'pleɪ'lɛɡoʊ'pli:z	ju pleı legəv pli:z	obs+lat-I	1	2;10.26
	1970-03-23	it's on the floor Jane	'ıts'anðə'flo1'dzem	its on a fla dzein	obs+lat-I	1	2;10.26
	1970-03-23	shops is closed on Sunday today	'∫aps'ız'klouzd'an'sʌn,deɪtə'deɪ	fops 12 [*] kləuzd on sande1	obs + lat-I	1	2,10.26
				tədeı	. ,		
	1970-05-08	we had to not play out	'wi:'hæd'tu:'nat'pler'aut	wi <hæt not="" to=""> [*] plei aut</hæt>	obs+lat-I	1	3;00.13
	1970-07-05	he was a fly coming in here	'hi:'wazə'flaı'kʌmɪŋən'hu	hi woz ə flaı komıŋ ın hıə	obs+lat-I	1	3;02.10
•	1970-07-05	let me take this down please	'lɛt'mi:'teɪk'ðɪs'daun'pli:z	let mi teık ðıs daun pli:z	obs+lat-I	1	3;02.10
	1970-07-05	there was a fly coming in my	'ðɛı'wazə'flaı'kʌmɪŋən'maı	ðeə woz ə flaı kamıŋ ın [*] maı	obs+lat-I	1	3;02.10
	· · · ·	forehead	forhed	forid			
	1970-07-05	there's a fly just on the curtain	'ðɛızə'flaı'dʒʌst'anðə'kʌ.ɪtən	ðeəz ə flaı dzəst on ðə kə:tən	obs+lat-I	1	3;02.10
	1970-11-22	please may I have a straw	'pli:z'mer'aı'hævə'stıp	pli:z mei ai hæv ə stro:	obs+lat-I	1	3;06.28
	1968-12-27	chocolate	'tʃɒklət	<u>tj</u> ək <sup>h</sup>	obs+lat-M	3	1;08.02
	1969-04-10	chocolate biscuit	'tʃɒklət'bɪskət	koki biskit	obs+lat-M	3	1;11.16

chocolate wipe	
chocolate	
chocolate biscuit	
Chandley's	•.
cornflakes	
like chocolate biscui	
probably won't	
where's the aeroplane gone	
brush	
pram	•
tree	
tree	
pram	
truck	
crocodile	
broken dolly	
train	
train	
baby's pram	
more grapes	
tricycle dear dear	
	chocolate wipe chocolate chocolate biscuit Chandley's cornflakes like chocolate biscui probably won't where's the aeroplane gone brush pram tree tree pram truck crocodile broken dolly train train baby's pram more grapes tricycle dear dear

'tʃɒklət'waɪp
ˈtʃɒklət
'tʃɒklət'bıskət
'tfændli:z
'kp.m'fleiks
'laık'tʃoklət
'pıabəbli:'wount
weizga,eioobleiu,dbu
'pīv]
præm
'tii:
'tɪi:
præm
'tırk
'kıckə,dail
'bıovkən'dali:
'tıeın
'tıeın
'beıbi:z'pıæm
'mɒ1'g1e1ps
'tıısıkəl'dıı'dıı

# Lucy

koki [*] waip	obs + lat-M	3	1;11.16
koki [*]	obs+lat-M	. 3	1;11.19
koki bıskıt	obs+lat-M	3	1;11.28
ta:nlız [*]	obs+lat-M	2	1;11.28
ka:nfeiks [*]	obs+lat-M	3	2;00.02
laık koki [*] bıskı	obs+lat-M	3	2;03.26
pobəbli [*] wənt	obs+lat-M	1	2;08.07
weəz ə eərəplem gon	obs+lat-M	1	2;08.07
bës	obs+rho-I	3	1;05.17
p <sup>h</sup> æm	obs+rho-I	.3	1;05.21
t <sup>h</sup> i:	obs+rho-I	3	1;05.24
ţəi	obs+rho-I	3	1;06.24
p <sup>h</sup> æmə	obs+rho-I	3	1;07.15
t <sup>h</sup> ^k <sup>h</sup>	obs+rho-I	3	1;07.15
kaka	obs+rho-I	3	1,08.09
bok <sup>h</sup> n [*] doli	obs+rho-I	3	1;10.22
tşeın	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.13
teın [*]	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.13
bebis pæm [*]	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.13
ma geips [*]	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.19
taısıkl [*] dıə dıə	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.19

1969-04-13	like cream
1969-04-13	crumbs on the floor
1969-04-13	more prunes
1969-04-13	grapes
1969-04-13	prune
1969-04-13	Grandpa
1969-04-13	grape
1969-04-22	crusts to birdies
1969-04-22	drink of milk
1969-04-27	ice cream over
1969-04-27	birdies crust
1969-05-03	nose drops
1969-05-04	drink of milk
1969-05-26	drink of milk
1969-05-26	crusts the birdies
1969-05-26	Lulu bread
1969-05-26	breads
1969-06-01	crusts to the birds
1969-06-16	drink a cup of tea
1969-06-16	dropped it again
1969-08-07	there's a tractor

'laık'kıi:m
'kınmz'anðə'fluı
'mp1'p.n:nz
'gieips
'p.n.:n
'gıænd,pa
'g.terp
'kınsts'tu:'bnıdi:z
<sup>i</sup> dınjk <sup>i</sup> av <sup>i</sup> milk
'aıs'kıi:m'ouvəı
'baid'i:z'kiast
'nouz'diaps
'dııŋk'ʌv'mılk
'dınık'av'milk
'kınstsðə'bnidi:z
'lu:,lu:'bsed
'preqz
'kınsts'tu:ðə'bnıdz
'dınıjkə'kʌp'ʌv'ti:
'dıapt'ıtə'gen
'ðeızə'tıæktəı

laık ki:m [\*] kamz fo ma: pu:nz [\*] geips [\*] pu:n [\*] gagə [\*] geip [\*] kʌs [\*] tə bədiz dınk [\*] ə mək aıs ki:m [\*] əuvə bədiz krist nəu [\*] dops [\*] driŋk ə məuk diıŋk [\*] ə miuk kʌsts [\*] ə bə:di:z lulu bved buedz kast tə bədiz dıŋk [\*] ə kʌp ə t dopt it agein dɛəz ə tæktə [\*]

	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.19
	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.19
	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.28
	obs+rho-I	3	1;11.28
÷	obs+rho-I	3	2;00.02
	obs+rho-I	1	2;00.02
	obs + rho-I	3	2;00.08
	obs+rho-I	1	2;00.09
	obs+rho-I	3	2;01.01
z	obs+rho-I	3	2;01.01
	obs+rho-I	1	2;01.01
	obs+rho-I	1	2;01.01
	obs+rho-I	3	2;01.07
11	obs + rho-I	3	2;01.22
	obs+rho-I	3	2;01.22
	obs+rho-I	3	2;03.13

•							
	1969-08-20	there's Daddy's briefcase	'ðeız'dædi:z'b1i:f,ke1s	dɛəz dædız bi:fkeıs [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;03.26
	1969-08-20	an ice cream man	'æn'aıs'kıi:m'mæn	ən aıs kri:m mæn	obs+rho-I	.1	2;03.26
	1969-08-20	mine's a throwing down	'maınzə'θιουŋ'daun	maınz ə sılı bılı frəuıŋ [*] daun	obs+rho-l	1	2;03.26
				·			
	1969-08-20	bye bye ice cream man	'baı'baı'aıs'kıi:m'mæn	baı baı aıs kri:m mæn	obs+rho-I	1	2;03.26
	1969-08-30	like to go on the train	'laık'tu:'gou'anðə'tıcın	laık ə gəu on ə treın	obs+rho-I	1	2;04.05
	1969-10-07	me like a drink of water	'mi:'laıkə'dınk'av'wotə.	mə [*] laık ə drıŋk ə wətə	obs+rho-l	1	2;05.12
	1969-10-10	me like through there	'mi:'laık'θıu:'ðei	ma [*] laık ə gəv fru: [*] ðeə	obs+rho-I	1	2;05.15
	1969-10-10	me like that Grandpa	'mi:'laık'ðæt'gıænd,pa	ma [*] laık ðæt grampa	obs+rho-I	1	2;05.15
	1969-10-10	those are crabs	'ðouz'aı'kıæbz	ðəuz ə bræbz [*]	obs+rho-I	1	2;05.15
	1969-10-10	feed the grass to bunny rabbits	'fi:dðə'gıæs'tu:'bʌni:'ıæˌbɪts'tu:	fi:d ə gra:s tu bani ræbits tu	obs+rho-I	1 :	2;05.15
	· · · ·	too					
	1969-10-10	that's a crab	'ðætsə'kıæb	ðæs [*] ə kræb	obs+rho-I	1	2;05.15
	1969-10-10	those are breads	'ðouz'aı'bıɛdz	dəuz [*] ə bredz	obs+rho-I	1	2;05.15
	1969-10-17	press that for mine	'pies'ðæt'foi'main	pres ðæt fo main [*]	obs+rho-I	1	2;05.22
	1969-10-17	like to get a pram	'laık'tu:'getə'præm	laık ə gıt ə præm	obs+rho-I	1	2;05.22
	1969-11-02	not too bright to Daddy	'nat'tu:'b1a1t'tu:'dædi:	not tu brait tə [*] dædi	obs+rho-I	1	2;06.08
	1969-11-08	Mummy's getting dressed	'mʌmi:z'getɪŋ'dɪɛst	mamız getin drest	obs+rho-I	1	2;06.14
	1969-11-19	shall we cut the fringe	'∫æl'wi:'kʌtðə'fɹɪnʤ	sæ [*] wi kʌt ə finʒ [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;06.25
	1969-11-19	do Lucky's fringe in a minute	'du:'lʌki:z'fɪɪnʤənə'mɪnət	du lakız finz [*] in ə minit	obs+rho-I	3	2;06.25

1969-11-19	to do it back to front	'tu:'du:'ıt'bæk'tu:'fıʌnt	ðæt ka:nt raıt tə du: ıt bæk tə frʌnt	obs+rho-I	1	2;06.25
1969-11-19	dolly's back to front	'dali:z'bæk'tu:'f1ʌnt	doliz bæk tə frʌnt	obs+rho-I	1	2;06.25
1969-11-19	dolly is back to front	'dali:'1z'bæk'tu:'f1^nt	doli 12 bæk tə frʌnt	obs+rho-I	1	2;06.25
1969-11-19	bring a potty for dolly	'b1113ə'pati:'fə1'dali:	bıŋ [*] ə pɒti fə dɒli	obs+rho-I	3	2;06.25
1969-11-19	my haven't got fried egg	'maı'hævnt'gat'fıaıd'eg	maı [*] hævənt got fraid eg	obs+rho-I	1	2;06.25
1969-11-19	push dolly back to front again	'pu∫'dali:'bæk'tu:'fı∧ntə'gen	pu∫ doli bæk tu fr∧nt əgeın	obs+rho-I	1	2;06.25
1969-11-25	Jenny did broken it	'dzeni:'dıd'bıovkən'ıt	dzeni <dıd brəukən=""> [*] ıt</dıd>	obs+rho-I	1	2;07.00
1969-12-06	Lulu want to draw	'lu:,lu:'want'tu:'dɪɒ	lulu wont tə də [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;07.11
1969-12-06	can I draw	'kæn'aı'dın	kæn ai do [*]	obs+rho-I	3.	2;07.11
1969-12-06	my like to draw	'maı'laık'tu:'dın	mɑ [*] laık tə də [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;07.11
1969-12-06	let my pram go up there	'let'maı'præmgou'ʌp'ðɛɪ	let mai præm gəu np deə	obs+rho-I	1	2;07.11
1969-12-06	not on my bread	'nat'an'mar'b.ed	not on mai bred	obs+rho-I	1	2;07.11
1969-12-18	make a bridge	meikə,prick	meık ə brıdz	obs+rho-I	1	2;07.23
1969-12-18	we're going crossing the road	wi:1'goun'k.msinðə'10ud	wıə gəum krosın ə rəud	obs+rho-I	1	2;07.23
1969-12-18	hello ice cream	hə'lou'aıs'kıi:m	heləv aıs kri:m [*]	obs+rho-I	1	2;07.23
1969-12-31	my had a drink of water upstairs	s 'maı'hædə'dınık'Av'wotərəp'sterz	maı [*] hæd ə drıŋk ə wətə	obs+rho-I	1	2;08.06
			npsteəz			
1970-01-01	probably won't	'pıabəbli:'wount	pobəbli [*] wənt	obs+rho-I	3	2;08.07
1970-01-01	very precious	'vɛɹi:'pɹɛʃəs	veri presəs	obs+rho-I	1	2;08.07
1970-01-01	they going to dry cleaner	'ðeı'gouŋ'tu:'dıaı'kli:nəı	ðeı [*] gəuŋ tə draı kli:nə	obs+rho-I	1	2;08.07
1970-01-02	that one can't be dry to long time	'ðæt'wʌn'kænt'bi:'dɪaɪ'tu:'lɒŋ 'taɪm	ðæt wan ka:nt bi: drai tə loŋ taim	obs + rho-I	1	2;08.08
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1970-01-02	she'll draw on that boardie	'∫i:l'dı¤'an'ðæt	∫l drɔ: ɒn ðæt bɔ:di	obs+rho-I	1	2;08.08
1970-01-02	can I have another drink	'kæn'aı'hævə'nʌðəı'duŋk	kæn aı hæv ənʌðə drıŋk	obs+rho-l	1	2;08.08
1970-01-11	beat his bottom if he cries	'bi:t'hız'batəm'ıf'hi:'kıaız	bi:t 12 botm 1f i ka12 [*]	obs+rho-I	3	2;08.17
1970-01-11	it's my crayon	'ıts'maı'kıcı,an	ıts maı kreiən	obs+rho-I	1	2;08.17
1970-02-01	you got a pretty hair	'ju:'gatə'p.11ti:'hɛı	u got ə priti heə	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.07
1970-02-01	cause it's very precious for mine	'kaz'ıts'vɛıi:'pɪɛʃəs'fɒɪ'maın	kos ıts veri pre∫əs fə [*] maın	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.07
· · · ·			[*]		•	
1970-02-14	my will drink all my milk	'maı'wıl'dınık'ol'maı'mılk	ma [*] wil driŋk ou mai miuk	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.18
1970-02-12	my can draw it	'maı'kæn'dııı'ıt	mai [*] kæn dror it	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.18
1970-02-12	draw small one	'dıɒ'smɒl'wʌn	dro smo:l wAn	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.18
1970-02-14	I haven't got one and two and	'aı'hævnt'gat'wʌn'ænd'tu:'ænd	aı hævn got wan æn tu: æn eri:	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.20
• • •	three	'θıi:		. •		
1970-02-14	and it breaked	'ænd'ıt'bıeıkt	n: 1t breikt [*]	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.20
1970-02-14	my did cry to teddy bear	'maı'dıd'kıaı'tu:'tedi:'beı	maı [*] dıd kraı tə [*] tedi beə	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.20
1970-02-14	this is Grandpa's	'ðıs'ız'gıænd <sub>ı</sub> paz	ðis iz græmpa:z	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.20
1970-02-14	you will press my bag	'ju:'wɪl'pɪɛs'maɪ'bæg	ju wıl pres maı bæg	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.20
1970-02-14	Jenny's crayon	'dseni:z'k1e1,an	dzeniz kreion	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.20
1970-02-14	it's too many things to drop	'ıts'tu:'mɛni:'θıŋz'tu:'dıap	ıts tu: meni oıŋz tə drop	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.20
1970-02-14	can I have one and two and	'kæn'aı'hæv'wʌn'ænd'tu:'ænd'θıi:	kæn aı hæv wʌn æn tu: æn əri:	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.20
	three and four	'ænd'fo1	æn fo:			

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1970-02-14	look after these crayons
1970-02-16	there's one broken wheel
1970-03-07	it's not drawed
1970-03-07	that one's from Daddy
1970-03-07	can I draw
1970-03-07	under the bridge
1970-03-07	draw on this page
1970-03-15	draw Phil again
1970-03-15	can I draw please
1970-03-23	I say scream
1970-03-23	with this try it
1970-03-23	you're not cross with me
1970-03-23	I didn't draw Jenny
1970-03-23	I want to draw Jenny
1970-07-05	I drinked it very carefully
970-07-05	Grandad give me this
970-09-24	don't throw it down
970-11-22	please may I have a straw
969-04-13	umbrella
969-04-13	umbrella
969-08-20	Andrew's a big boy

'luk'æftə1'ði:z'k1e1,anz 'ðɛız'wʌn'bɪoukən'wi:l 'nat'dæd 'ðæt'wʌnz'fɪʌm'dædi: 'kæn'ar'dın 'νυς, έφτερυν, 'dın'an'ðıs'peidz 'dıv'filə'gen 'kæn'aı'dıp'pli:z 'aı'seı'skıi:m 'wıð'ðıs'tıaı'ıt 'ju:1'nat'k.ms'wið'mi: 'aı'dıdnt'dın'dzeni: 'aı'wont'tu:'dro'dzeni: 'aı'dınıkt'ıt'veii:'keifəli: 'gıæn,dæd'gıv'mi:'ðıs 'dant'0100'1t'daun 'pli:z'mer'ar'hævə'st.m elarq, we elard, we 'ænd.ru:zə'bıg'bəi

#### Lucy

luk a:ftə ði:z kreıņz [*]	obs + rho-I	1	2;09.20
ðeəz wan brəukən wi:l	obs+rho-I	1	2;09.22
its not drowed [*]	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.10
ðæt wanz from dædi	obs+rho-I	. 1	2;10.10
kæn ai dro	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.10
ndə ðə bridz	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.10
dro.r on ðis peidz	obs+rho-I	1.	2;10.10
dɔ [*] ful [*] əgen	obs+rho-I	3	2;10.18
kæn ai dro: pli:z	obs+rho-I	1.	2;10.18
aı sei ski:m [*]	obs+rho-I		2;10.26
wið ðis trai it	obs+rho-I	1.	2;10.26
jo not kros wið mi	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.26
aı dıdı dro dzeni	obs+rho-I	× 1	2;10.26
aı wont tə drə dzeni	obs+rho-I	1	2;10.26
aı dıŋkt [*] ıt veri keəfuli	obs+rho-I	3	3;02.10
grændæ gı [*] mi ðıs	obs+rho-I	1	3;02.10
dəun ərəu ıt daun	obs+rho-I	1	3;04.30
pli:z mei ai hæv ə stro:	obs+rho-I	-	3;06.28
∧mbɛlə [*]	obs+rho-M	3	1;11.19
vmprela	obs+rho-M	1	1;11.19
ændru:z ə bıq bəi	obs+rho-M	1	2:03.26

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1969-10-10	John's getting a toothbrush out	'danz'getinə'tu:θ,binf'aut	dʒɒnz gitiŋ ə tu:əbr∧∫ aut	obs+rho-M	1	2;05.15
1969-10-10	toothbrush	'tu:θ,bı∧∫	tu:sbr∧∫ [*]	obs+rho-M	1	2;05.15
1969-10-17	mine's going to Cambridge	'maınz'goun'tu:'keımbındz	maınz [*] gəvin tə keimbridʒ	obs+rho-M	1	2;05.22
1969-11-05	my go to Africa to long time	'maı'gov'tu:'æfııkə'tu:'loŋ'taım	maı [*] gəu tu æfrıkə tə [*] loŋ	obs+rho-M	1	2;06.11
			taım			·.
1969-11-19	that's a big library book	'ðætsə'bıg'laıb, ıɛ.i:'buk	ðæts ə bıg laıbi [*] buk	obs+rho-M	3	2;06.25
1969-11-19	mine is hungry today	'maın'ız'hʌŋgɪi:tə'deı	<main iz=""> haŋgri tədei</main>	obs+rho-M	1	2;06.25
1969-12-18	those are my library books	'ðouz'aı'maı'laıb,ıcıi:'buks	ðəuz ə maı laıbri buks	obs+rho-M	1	2;07.23
1970-02-01	lunch time everybody	'lʌntʃ'taɪm'ɛvɹiːˌbadi:	l∧nt∫ taım εvribodi	obs+rho-M	1	2;09.07
1970-02-16	I can see everybody here	'aı'kæn'si:'evıi: badi:'hu	aı kæn si: evribodi hıə	obs+rho-M	1	2;09.22
1968-10-24	sweetie	'swi:ti:	tısi	s+gli-I	5	1;05.29
1968-11-18	sweetie	'swi:ti:	șiți	s+gli-I	3	1;06.24
1968-12-27	sweetie	'swi:ti:	țipi	s+gli-I	5	1;08.02
1968-12-27	sweetie	<sup>i</sup> swi:ti:	sipi	s+gli-I	3	1;08.02
1968-12-27	sweetie	'swi:ti:	sipi	s+gli-I	3	1;08.02
1969-03-28	swimming	swimin	fimıŋ [*]	s+gli-I	5	1;11.03
1969-04-13	swimming	'swimiŋ	sımın [*]	s+gli-I	3	1;11.19
1969-05-13	swimming	'swimiŋ	fimin [*]	s+gli-I	5	2;00.18
1969-06-05	swimming	swimin	pimin [*]	s+gli-I	5	2;01.11
1969-06-05	swimming	'swimiŋ	fimin	s+gli-I	5	2;01.11
1969-09-13	there's the swimming	'ðɛızðə'swimiŋ	ðeəz ə swimin	s+gli-I	1	2;04.19

1969-10-10	my did feed swans	'maı'dıd'fi:d'swanz	mai [*] did fi:d swonz	s+gli-I	1	2;05.15
1970-01-01	sweet talk to dolly	'swi:t'tok'tu:'dali:	swi tok tə doli	s+gli-I	1	2;08.07
1970-02-01	my got my sweetie to put in	'maı'gat'maı'swi:ti:'tu:'putən	ma [*] got maı swi:ti tə put ın	s+gli-I	1	2;09.07
1969-12-18	getting a tissue out	'getinə'tis,ju:'aut	gɛtın ə tı∫u a∪t	s+gli-M	3	2;07.23
1970-02-14	can my tissue go in please	'kæn'mai'tıs,ju:'govən'pli:z	kæn maı tı∫u: gəʊ ın pli:z	s+gli-M	3	2;09.20
1970-02-14	she hasn't got one tissue	'ʃi:'hæznt'gat'wʌn'tɪsˌju:	∫i: hæzn got w∧n tı∫u:	s+gli-M	3	2;09.20
1970-02-14	Jenny's tissues	'œeni:z'tıs.ju:z	d3en1z tı∫u:z	s+gli-M	3	2;09.20
1969-03-28	sleep	'sli:p	şi:p	s+lat-I	3	1;11.03
1969-04-13	Teddy go to sleep	'tɛdiː'goʊ'tuː'sliːp	tedi și:p [*]	s+lat-I	3	1;11.19
1969-04-22	slip off	'slɪp'ɒf	sıp [*] of	s+lat-I	3	1;11.28
1969-04-22	sleep on Daddy no	'sli:p'an'dædi:'nov	si:p [*] on dædi nöu	s+lat-I	3	1;11.28
1969-04-22	slippers	'slīpə.iz	sıpəz [*]	s+lat-I	3	1;11.28
1969-04-22	slide	'slaɪd	said [*]	s+lat-I	3	1;11.28
1969-06-01	sleeping Daddy	'sli:pɪŋ'dædi:	fi:fıŋ [*] dædi	s+lat-I	5	2;01.07
1969-06-16	good night go to sleep	'gud'naıt'gou'tu:'sli:p	gud nait gəu tə si:p [*]	s + lat-I	3	2;01.22
1969-08-20	go to sleep	'goʊ'tu:'sli:p	gu: [*] tə sli:p	s+lat-I	1	2;03.26
1969-08-20	two dollies sleeping now	'tu:'dali:z'sli:pɪŋ'naʊ	tu dolız sli:pıŋ nau	s+lat-I	1	2;03.26
1969-08-20	two little dollies sleeping here	'tu:'lɪtəl'dali:z'sli:pɪŋ'hɪɪ	tu lıto dolız sli:pıŋ hıə	s + lat-I	1	2;03.26
1969-10-17	Lucky's going to sleep	'lʌkiːz'goʊŋ'tuː'sliːp	lʌkız gəʊɪn tə sli:p	s+lat-I	1	2;05.22
1969-11-13	Lucky's going to sleep on his	'lʌkiːz'goʊɪŋ'tuː'sliːp'an'hız'pıloʊ	lʌkız gəʊin tə sli:p ɒn ız pıləʊ	s+lat-I	1	2;06.19
	pillow					

1969-11-13	Lucky's going to sleepy	'lʌkiːz'goʊŋ'tuː'sliːpiː	lakız gəvin tə sli:pi	s+lat-I	1	2;06.19
1969-11-13	Lucky's going to sleep	'lʌki:z'goʊŋ'tu:'sli:p	lʌkiz gəum tə sli:p	s+lat-I	1	2;06.19
1969-11-13	Lucky like to go to sleep with a	'lʌkiː'laɪk'tu:'goʊ'tu:'sli:p'wɪðə	lʌki laık tə gəu tə sli:p wıð ə	s+lat-I	1	2;06.19
2.4	pillow	'pɪloʊ	pıləu			
1969-11-19	my dolly's sitting go to sleep	'maı'dali:z'sıtıŋ'gov'tu:'sli:p	ma dolız sıtıŋ gəv tə sli:p	s+lat-I	1	2;06.25
1969-11-19	like to go to sleep quick	'laık'tu:'gou'tu:'sli:p'kwık	laık tə gəu tə sli:p kwık	s+lat-I	· 1	2;06.25
1969-12-18	Jenny's a little baby to go to	ˈʤɛniːzəˈlɪtəlˈbeɪbiːˈtuːˈgoʊˈtuː	deniz [*] ə lıtu beıbi tə gəu tə	s+lat-I	1	2;07.23
. ·	sleep	'sli:p	sli:p	· · · ·		
1969-02-01	my will be lost if I go to sleep	'maı'wıl'bi:'lɒst'ıf'aı'gou'tu:'sli:p	maı [*] wıl bi lost ıf aı gəu tə	s+lat-I	1	2;09.07
			sli:p			· ·
1969-02-14	Lucky's having a little sleep	'lʌkiːzˈhævɪŋəˈlɪtəlˈsliːp	lʌkiz ævın ə lıtu sli:p	s+lat-I	1	2;09.20
1969-02-14	she had a little sleep Jenny did	'fi:'hædə'lıtəl'sli:p'dzeni:'dıd	∫i hæd ə lıtu slip dʒɛni dıd	s+lat-I	1 -	2;09.20
• • •						'
1969-08-07	Teddy's fast asleep again	'tedi:z'fæstə'sli:pə'gen	tedız fa:st əsli:ps əgen	s+lat-M	1	2;03.13
1969-08-07	Teddy's fast asleep again	'tedi:z'fæstə'sli:pə'gen	tedız fa:st əsli:ps əgen	s+lat-M	1	2;03.13
1969-08-07	Lucky fast asleep in a minute	'lʌki:'fæstə'sli:pənə'mɪnət	lʌki faːst əsliːp ın ə mınıt	s+lat-M	1	2;03.13
1969-08-07	Lucky's fast asleep in a bed	'lʌkiːz'fæstə'sliːpənə'bɛd	ləkız fast əsli:p ın ə bed	s+lat-M	1	2;03.13
1969-08-07	Lucky's fast asleep in a bed	'lʌkiːz'fæstə'sli:pənə'bɛd	ləkız fast əsli:p ın ə bed	s+lat-M	1	2;03.13
1969-08-20	Lucky's asleep	'lʌkiːzə'sliːp	lʌkiz əsli:p	s+lat-M	1	2;03.26
1969-09-21	Jenny's asleep	'dzeni:zə'sli:p	dzeniz əsli:p	s+lat-M	- 1	2;04.27
1969-12-31	dolly's fast asleep	'dali:z'fæstə'sli:p	dolız fast əsli:p	s+lat-M	1	2;08.06
1969-07-02	a snake	ə'sneık	ə sneik	s+nas-I	1	2;02.07

	1969-08-07	those are snakes Daddy	'ðouz'aı'sneiks'dædi:	dəuz ə sneiks dædi	s+nas-I	1	2;03.13
	1969-08-07	Mummy's sneezing	'm∧mi:z'sni:zıŋ	m∧mız sni:zıŋ	s+nas-I	1	2;03.13
	1970-02-12	draw small one	'dɪɒ'sməl'wʌn	drə smə:1 wʌn	s+nas-I	1	2;09.18
	1970-02-14	make a big smaller one	'meıkəˈbɪgˈsmɒləɪ <sup>′</sup> w∧n	meık ə bıg smɔ:lə wʌn	s+nas-I	1	2;09.20
	1970-02-14	a long big smaller one	ə'lɒŋ'bɪg'smɒlə⊥'w∧n	ə loŋ bıg smɔ:lə wʌn	s+nas-I	1	2;09.20
	1970-03-15	it's smaller	'ıts'smplə.	ıts smɔ:lə	s+nas-I	1	2;10.18
	1970-10-24	the smoke 's coming out isn't it	ðə'smouks'kʌmɪŋ'aut'ıznt'ıt	ðə sməvks kamın avt ıznt ıt	s+nas-I	1	3;05.29
						•	• . •
	1969-04-10	more toast	'mɒɪ'toust	ma: təvst	s+obs-F	1	1;11.16
 	1969-04-10	toast	'toust	tost	s+obs-F	1	1;11.16
•	1969-04-10	toast another	'toustə'nʌðəı	təust leləu	s+obs-F	1	1;11.16
	1969-04-22	crusts to birdies	'kınsts'tu:'bnıdi:z	kʌs [*] tə bədız	s+obs-F	3	1;11.28
	1969-04-22	all gone pen last time	'ol'gon'pen'læst'taım	o gon pin las taim	s+obs-F	3	1;11.28
	1969-04-27	Jenny toast	'dzeni:'toust	dɛni [*] təu	s+obs-F	4	2;00.02
	1969-04-27	toast	'toust	təust	s+obs-F	1	2;00.02
	1969-04-27	toast back	'toust'bæk	təust bæk	s+obs-F	1	2;00.02
	1969-04-27	birdies crust	'bʌɪd'i:zˈkɪʌst	bədiz krıst	s+obs-F	1	2;00.02
	1969-05-03	Lucy's first now	'lu:si:z'ɛs'fʌɪst'nau	luluz fəst nav	s+obs-F	1	2;00.08
	1969-05-04	more toast	'mp1'toust	mo: tอบtอบ	s+obs-F	2	2;00.09
	1969-05-24	more toast	'mp1'toust	mo tau tau	s+obs-F	4	2;00.29
	1969-05-24	piece of toast	'pi:s'Av'toust	pi:s ə təust	s+obs-F	1	2;00.29

1969-05-26	more toast	'mpr'toust	ma: təutəuz	s+obs-F	4	2;01.01
1969-05-26	crusts the birdies	'kınstsðə'bnıdi:z	kʌsts [*] ə bə:di:z	s+obs-F	1	2;01.01
1969-06-01	nest	'nest	nəst	s+obs-F	1	2;01.07
1969-06-01	crusts to the birds	'kınsts'tu:ðə'bnıdz	kast tə bədiz	s+obs-F	1	2;01.07
1969-07-02	Lulu has marmalade on her toas	t'lu:,lu:'hæz'maımə,leıd'anhəı	lulu mamleıd on ə təutəv	s+obs-F	4	2;02.07
		'toust				
1969-08-07	Lucky fast asleep in a minute	'lʌki:'fæstə'sli:pənə'mınət	lʌki faːst əsli:p ın ə mınıt	s+obs-F	. 1	2;03.13
1969-08-07	Teddy's fast asleep again	'tedi:z'fæstə'sli:pə'gen	tedız fa:st əsli:ps əgen	s+obs-F	-1	2;03.13
1969-08-07	Lucky's fast asleep in a bed	'lʌkiːzˈfæstəˈsliːpənəˈbɛd	ləkız fast əsli:p ın ə bed	s+obs-F	· 1	2;03.13
1969-08-20	just those	'dzast'ðouz	dəs [*] dəuz	s+obs-F	3	2;03.26
1969-08-20	it's not past eight o'clock	'ıts'nat'pæst'ent'ou'klak	ıts not pla:st [*] eıt əklok	s+obs-F	1	2;03.26
1969-10-07	toast is not burning	'toust'ız'nat'bı.mıŋ	təus 12 not bə:niŋ	s+obs-F	3	2;05.12
1969-10-10	like to get some toast for Daddy	'laık'tu:'get'sım'toust'fuı'dædi:	laık ə git sım təus fə dædi	s+obs-F	3	2;05.15
. ·		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			14 - A	•
1969-10-10	Daddy's got a piece of toast	'dædi:z'gatə'pi:s'ʌv'toust	dædız got ə pi:s ə təust	s+obs-F	1	2;05.15
1969-10-23	like a piece of toast	'laıkə'pi:s'ʌv'toust	laık ə pi:s ə təust	s+obs-F	1	2;05.28
1969-11-08	I had a bug to last night	'ar'hædə'bʌg'tu:'læst'naɪt	aı hæd ə bag tə la:s nait	s+obs-F	3	2;06.14
1969-11-08	put that story book away first	'put'ðæt'stn.i:'bukəw'weı'fʌ.ist	put dæt [*] stori buk əwei fəst	s+obs-F	1	2;06.14
1969-11-19	dolly must have a	'dali:'mʌst'hævə	doli mas hæv ə wiwi	s+obs-F	3	2;06.25
1969-11-19	can I have buttered toast Mum	'kæn'aı'hæv'bʌtə.ɪd'toust'mʌm	kæn at hæv bated teus mam	s+obs-F	3	2;06.25
1969-11-19	can I have some buttered toast	'kæn'aı'hæv'sʌm'bʌtəɪd'toust	kæn aı hæv sam batəd təusti	s+obs-F	1	2;06.25

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1969-11-19	don't take my vest off	'dant'teik'mai'vest'of	down teik mai vest of	s+obs-F	1	2;06.25
1969-12-06	Mummy's got waste paper more	'm∧mi:z'gat'weıst'peıpəı'moı	mAmiz got weis peipe mo	s+obs-F	3	2;07.11
1969-12-06	my lost it	'maı'lost'ıt	mai [*] lost it	s+obs-F	1	2;07.11
1970-01-02	mine did one fast	'mam'dıd'wAn'fæst	maın [*] dıd wʌn fɑst	s+obs-F	1:	2;08.08
1970-02-01	my will be lost if I go to sleep	'maı'wıl'bi:'lɒst'ıf'aı'goo'tu:'sli:p	maı [*] wıl bi lost ıf aı gəu tə	s+obs-F	1 :	2;09.07
			sli:p		•	
1970-07-05	I just losted it under the chair	'aı'&ʌst'ıt'ʌndəɹðə'tʃɛı	aı dʒəst lɒstɪd [*] ıt ʌndə ðə t∫ɛə	s+obs-F	1	3;02.10
an a					•	
1970-07-05	there's a fly just on the curtain	'ðerzə'flar'&sst'anðə'ksrtən	ðeəz ə flaı dzəst on ðə kə:tən	s+obs-F	1	3;02.10
1970-09-24	I just goed home	'aı'&ʌst'gouəd'houm	aı dzəst gəud [*] həum	s+obs-F	1	3;04.30
1968-10-16	stairs	'stelz	dɛə	s+obs-I	2	1;05.21
1968-10-23	spoon	'spu:n	bəum	s+obs-I	2	1;05.28
1968-10-31	spoon	'spu:n	bu:n	s+obs-I	2	1;06.06
1968-11-07	scarf	'skaif	ga:	s+obs-I	2	1;06.13
1969-04-07	spoons	'spu:nz	pu:nts	s+obs-I	2	1;11.13
1969-04-13	starlings	'stailinz	ta:lıŋks [*]	s+obs-I	2	1;11.19
1969-05-04	starlings	'stailinz	ta:lıŋs [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;00.09
1969-05-04	combing stop now	'koumin'stap'nau	kəumın stop nau	s+obs-I	1	2;00.09
1969-05-26	another starling	ə'nʌðəɪˈstɑɪˈlɪŋ	lɛləʊ ta:lın [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;01.01
1969-05-26	look starling	'luk'starlıŋ	lʌk talın [*]	s+obs-I	2	2;01.01

Lucy

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1969-06-01	skin on it	'skın'an'ıt	kın [*] on it	s+obs-I	2	2;01.07
1969-08-20	got sticky hand	'gat'stıki:'hænd	got stiki hænd	s+obs-I	1	2;03.26
1969-08-20	those going to Stockport	'ðouz'gouŋ'tu:'stak'poɪt	ðəuz gəum tə stokpo:t	s+obs-I	1	2;03.26
1969-08-20	spilled a little bit here	'spildə'litəl'bit'hii	spiut ə lıtu bıt hıə	s+obs-I	1	2;03.26
1969-08-20	that's going to Stockport	'ðæts'gounj'tu:stokpo:t	dæs gəum tə stokpo:t	s+obs-I	1	2;03.26
1969-10-10	there's a spade	'ðeizə'speid	ðeəz ə speid	s+obs-I	1	2;05.15
1969-11-08	put that story book away first	'put'ðæt'stori:'bukəw'wer'farst	put dæt [*] stori buk əwei fəst	s+obs-I	1	2;06.14
1969-11-08	my going to get my story book	'maı'gounj'tu:'get'maı'stori:'buk	maı [*] guin tə get mai stəri buk	s+obs-I	1	2;06.14
1969-11-19	have a spoon	'hævə'spu:n	hæv ə spu:n	s+obs-I	1	2;06.25
1969-12-18	can stay	'kæn'ster	kæn stei	s+obs-I	1	2;07.23
1969-12-31	don't let it stop	'dant'let'ıt'stap	dount let it stop	s+obs-I	1	2;08.06
1969-12-31	let it stop	'let'ıt'stap	let it stop	s+obs-I	: 1	2;08.06
1970-01-02	squeeze and a cuddle	'skwi:z'ændə'kʌdəl	kwi:z [*] n ə kʌdl	s+obs-I	-	2;08.08
1970-01-11	we going to Sunday school	'wi:'gounj'tu:'sʌnˌdeɪ'sku:l	wi [*] gəuin tə sʌndei skəu"	s+obs-I	1	2;08.17
1970-01-25	Mummy going to school on	'mʌmi:'goʊɪŋ'tu:'sku:l'an'mʌndi:	mami guin tə ku:l [*] on mander	s+obs-I	2	2;09.00
	Monday					
1970-01-25	Mummy wents to school	'mʌmiː'wɛnts'tuː'skuːl	m∧mi wɛnts [*] tə sku:l	s+obs-I	1	2;09.00
1970-02-14	to nursery school today	'tu:'nʌ1sə1i:'sku:ltə'de1tə'ma,100	tə nə:sri sku:l tədei təmprəv	s+obs-I	1	2;09.20
	tomorrow		• •			
1970-02-14	make stairs	'meik'steiz	meik steaz	s+obs-I	1	2;09.20

1970-03-07	I skipped	'aɪ'skɪpt	aı skipt	s+obs-I	1	2;10.10
1970-03-07	that's not skipping	'ðæts'nat'skipiŋ	ðæts not skipiŋ	s+obs-I	1	2;10.10
1970-03-07	watch me skip Mummy	'watʃ'miː'skɪp'mʌmi:	wot∫ mi skıp mʌmi	s+obs-I	1	2;10.10
1970-03-15	and that stays in the middle	'ænd'ðæt'sterzənðə'midəl	n ðæt steiz in ə midu	s+obs-I	1	2;10.18
1970-03-23	I say scream	'aı'seı'skıi:m	aı seı ski:m [*]	s+obs-l	-	2;10.26
1970-03-23	now stay on the pavement	'nau'ster'anðə'pervmənt	nau stei on õə peivmənt	s+obs-I	1	2;10.26
1970-04-10	my little sticker's here	'maı'lıtəl'stıkə.ız'hıı	ma lıtu stıkəz hıə	s+obs-I	1	2;11.16
1970-04-10	you wash your stockings tonight	'ju:'wa∫'jɒɪ'stakıŋztə'naıt'an's∧n	u [*] wo∫ jo stokıŋz [*] tənaıt on	s+obs-I	1	2;11.16
	on Sunday	,dei	sandei			
1970-04-10	there's a skipping rope here and	'ðɛızə'skıpıŋ'ıoup'hıı'ændə	ðeəz ə skipiŋ rəup hiə n ə skipiŋ	s+obs-I	1	2;11.16
	a skipping rope there	'skipiŋ'ioup'ðei	rəup ðeə.		•	
1970-04-10	there's a skipping rope here and	'ðɛızə'skıpıŋ'ıoup'hu'ændə	ðɛəz ə skıpıŋ rəup hıə n ə skıpıŋ	s+obs-I	1	2;11.16
	a skipping rope there	'skipiŋ'100p'ðei	rəup ðeə.	•	•	
1970-04-25	can Jenny have a spade	'kæn'æni:'hævə'speid	kæn dzeni æv a speid	s+obs-I	1	3;00.00
1970-10-10	oo it's still not dark	u:'1ts'st1l'nat'da1k	u: 1ts stil not dak	s+obs-I	1	3;05.15
1970-11-22	please may I have a straw	'pli:z'meı'aı'hævə'stın	pli:z mei ai hæv ə stro:	s+obs-I	-	3;06.28
1970-11-22	it might be not muddy where	'ıt'maıt'bi:'nɑt'mʌdi:'wɛı'ðouz	ıt <mait bi="" not=""> m∧di weə</mait>	s+obs-I	1	3;06.28
	those steps are	'steps'aı	õəuz steps a			
1968-12-27	dustbin man	'dʌstˌbm'mæn	dapın mæn	s+obs-M	4	1;08.02
1969-04-10	biscuit please	'bıskət'pli:z	bıskıt pi:s [*]	s+obs-M	1	1;11.16
1969-04-10	basket another	'bæskətə'nʌðəɪ	ba.skıt leləv	s+obs-M	1	1;11.16
1969-04-10	chocolate biscuit	ˈtʃɒklətˈbɪskət	koki biskit	s+obs-M	1	1;11.16

1969-04-10	upstairs Suki	əp'stɛız'su:ki:	npsteəz su:ki	s+obs-M	1
1969-04-13	Easter egg	'i:stə.ı'ɛg	<i:steg> [*]</i:steg>	s+obs-M	1
1969-04-13	mine's basket	'maınz'bæskət	maınz ba:skıt	s+obs-M	1
1969-04-13	more biscuit	'mɒɪ'bɪskət	ma: biskıt	s+obs-M	1
1969-04-22	chocolate biscuit	'tʃɒklət'bıskət	koki bıskıt	s+obs-M	1
1969-04-27	another biscuit	ə'nʌðəɪ'bɪskət	leləu bıskıt	s+obs-M	1
1969-05-11	downstairs	daun'steiz	daundeə [*]	s+obs-M	2
1969-05-13	disgusting Daddy	,dıs'gʌstıŋ'dædi:	g∧stın [*] dædi	s+obs-M	4
1969-05-13	disgusting Daddy	dıs'gastıŋ'dædi:	gʌstɪn [*] dædi	s+obs-M	1
1969-04-27	biscuit	'bıskət	biskıt	s+obs-M	1
1969-05-26	like biscuits	'laık'bıskəts	laık bıskıts	s+obs-M	1
1969-05-26	more biscuits	'mɒɪ'bɪskəts	ma: biskits	s+obs-M	1
1969-05-26	see Cynthia yesterday	'si:'sm0i:ə'jɛstə1,deı	si sanoiə jestədei	s+obs-M	1
1969-06-01	like biscuits	'laık'bıskəts	laık bıskıts	s+obs-M	- 1
1969-06-16	biscuits	'bıskəts	biskits	s+obs-M	. 1
1969-07-02	downstairs	daun'steiz	daundeə [*]	s+obs-M	2
1969-07-02	like gooseberry pie now	'laık'gu:s,bɛıi:'paı'nav	laı bu:bi [*] paı nau	s+obs-M	2
1969-08-20	downstairs	,daun'steiz	daunteəz [*]	s+obs-M	2
1969-08-20	those are bannisters	'ðouz'aı'bæniztəız	dəuz ə bænistəz	s+obs-M	1
1969-08-30	mine's a big girl on Wednesday	'maınzə'bıg'gʌıl'an'wenzdi:	maınz [*] ə bıg gə:l on wenzdei	s+obs-M	1

1;11.16

1;11.19

1;11.19

1;11.19

1;11.28 2;00.02

2;00.16

2;00.18 2;00.18

2;00.2

2;01.01 2;01.01

2;01.01

2;01.07

2;01.22

2;02.07

2;02.07

2;03.26 2;03.26

2;04.05

1969-09-21	my like to go downstairs	'maı'laık'tu:'gou <sub>l</sub> daun'sterz	maı laık ə gəu daunsteəz	s+obs-M	1	2;04.27
1969-09-21	like to go downstairs	'laık'tu:'gou <sub>l</sub> daun'sterz	laık ə gəu daunsteəz	s+obs-M	1	2;04.27
1969-10-07	me like some biscuits	'mi:'laık'sʌm'bıskəts	ma [*] laık səm bıskıts	s+obs-M	1	2;05.12
1969-10-10	that's a big basket	'ðætsə'bıg'bæskət	dæs [*] ə bıg ba:skıt	s+obs-M	1	2;05.15
1969-10-17	my like my basket	'maı'laık'maı'bæskət	maı [*] laık maı ba:skıt	s+obs-M	1	2;05.22
1969-11-19	have a teaspoon	'hævə'ti:s,pu:n	hæv ə ti:spu:n	s+obs-M	· 1	2;06.25
1969-12-18	member where my basket is	'membəı'weı'maı'bæskət'ız	məmbə [*] weə maı baskıt ız	s+obs-M	· 1	2;07.23
1969-12-31	my had a drink of water upstairs	s 'maı'hædə'dııŋk'ʌv'wɒtəɪəp'stɛız	z maı [*] hæd ə drıŋk ə wətə	s+obs-M	1	2;08.06
			Apsteəz	e i te an N		•
1970-01-01	a biscuit now	ə'bıskət'nau	ə bıskit nau	s+obs-M	1	2;08.07
1970-01-01	getting those newspapers	'getin'douz'nu:z,peipəiz	getin ðəuz nu:zpeipəz	s+obs-M	1	2;08.07
1970-01-01	mine's not reading those	'maınz'nat'ıedıŋ'ðouz'nu:z	maınz [*] nɒt ri:dıŋ ðəuz	s+obs-M	1	2;08.07
	newspapers	peipəiz	nu:zpe1pəz			•
1970-01-02	I did saw it upstairs	'ar'dıd'sp'ıtəp'sterz	ai did so:r [*] it Apsteəz	s+obs-M	1 .	2;08.08
1970-01-25	Mummy did go on Thursday	'mʌmi:'dɪd'gou'an'θʌɪzˌdeɪ	mami dıd gəu on oəsdei	s+obs-M	1	2;09.00
1970-02-01	to do a upstairs	'tu:'du:əəp'stɛ.z	tu du ə wiwi Apteəz [*]	s+obs-M	2	2;09.07
1970-02-01	Lucky wants to go to hospital	'lʌkiː'wants'tuː'goʊ'tu:'hasˌpɪtəl	laki wonts tə gəu tə hospitl	s+obs-M	1	2;09.07
1970-03-07	Mummy's going upstairs	'm∧mi:z'gouiŋəp'stɛız	mamiz gəuŋ apsteəz	s+obs-M	1	2;10.10

aı gəu tə ðə æskəleitə

ðæt wAnz teisti

teık ðə teisti aut

s+obs-M

s+obs-M

s+obs-M

2;10.10

2;11.08

2;11.08

1

1

1

'aı'gou'tu:ðə'ɛskə,leɪtəı

'ðæt'wAnz'teisti:

'teikõə'teisti:'aut

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1970-03-07 I go to the escalator

1970-04-02 take the tasty out

that one's tasty

1970-04-02

aı dʒəst lɒstıd [\*] ıt ʌndə ðə tʃɛə s+obs-M Lucy 1970-07-05 I just losted it under the chair 'ar'dsAst'lbstid'it'Anderðe'tfer

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3;02.10

# **APPENDIX B**

# Age at Cluster Acquisition

### Goad corpus

David		Mark	
Cluster	Date of Acquisition	Cluster	Date of Acquisition
br	3;03.21	br	3;03.21
pl	3;05.26	tr	3;03.21
sp	3;05.26	sk	3;04.26
bl	3;07.13	pl	3;05.26
kl	3;07.13	dr	3;07.13
sl	3;07.13	fr	3;07.13
tr	3;07.13	kl	3;07.13
		pr	3;07.13
		sl	3;07.13
		st	3;07.13
		SW	3;07.13

# Cruttenden corpus

Jane Cluster	Data of A convicition	Lucy	
Cluster	Date of Acquisition	Cluster	Date of Acquisition
gr	2;03.26	kr	2;00.02
br	2;04.05	dr	2;00.09
sl	2;05.22	br	2;01.01
sw	2;07.00	sn	2;02.07
dr	2;07.23	bl	2;03.13
kl	2;07.23	kl	2;03.26
kr	2;07.23	pl	2;03.26
bl	2;08.06	sl	2;03.26
gl	2;08.06	sp	2;03.26
sm	2;08.07	st	2;03.26
pl	2;08.17	θr	2:03.26
sk	2;08.17	fl	2;04.05
fl	2;09.20	tr	2;04.05
fr	2;09.22	SW	2:04.19
pr	2;10.26	gr	2:05.15
st	2:11.16	fr	2:06.25
tr	3:00.00	pr	2:08.07
		sk	2:08.17
		sm	2:09.18
•		gl	2;09.20

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