



FACULTY
OF ARTS
UNIVERSITY
OF THE BASQUE
COUNTRY

Samantha Ona Masoko

English Studies

2016/2017

A synchronic analysis of Indian English

Tutor: Esther Gómez Lacabex

Department of English and German Philology and Translation and Interpretation

“A language is a dialect with an army and a navy.”

Max Weinreich

Acknowledgments:

To Vaibhavi Kamble,
for her time, dedication and patience.
Also, to Jack Gilbert and Aritz Letona.

INDEX

ABSTRACT	1
I. PART	2
1. Introduction	2
1.1. <i>Object of study and its justification</i>	2
1.2. <i>Linguistic landscape and political and historical background</i>	4
2. The phonology of Standard Indian English (SIE)	9
2.1. <i>Consonant sounds</i>	10
2.1.1. Plosives	10
2.1.2. Nasals	11
2.1.3. Affricates.....	11
2.1.4. Fricatives	11
2.1.5. Liquids	12
2.1.6. Semivowels	12
2.2. <i>Vowel sounds</i>	13
2.2.1. Short vowels.....	13
2.2.2. Long vowels	13
2.3. <i>Diphthongs</i>	14
2.4. <i>Prosody</i>	14
II. PART	16
1. The study	16
1.1. <i>Participant</i>	16
1.2. <i>Recording procedure</i>	17
2. Corpus analysis	18
2.1. <i>Consonants</i>	18
2.2. <i>Vowels</i>	19
2.3. <i>Diphthongs</i>	20
2.4. <i>Prosody</i>	20
3. Discussion	21
3.1. <i>Adherence to SIEP</i>	21
3.2. <i>Deviation from SIEP</i>	23
4. Concluding thoughts	24

REFERENCES.....	26
APPENDIX I: Questionnaire.....	27
APPENDIX II: Orthographic transcription	30
APPENDIX III: Phonetic transcription	32

ABSTRACT

The difference between language and dialect often poses a serious challenge since the association of these concepts is usually not an easy accomplishment. Research on different aspects of language and society has been carried out over the last decades, dialectology having interestingly contributed to sociolinguistics. Indeed, *accent* — or people’s particular manner of pronunciation — can usually tell more about people and their origin/background than they themselves can. This evinces that dialectology has much to contribute to sociolinguistics and that languages can exhibit countless numbers of dialects and accents, all being equally valid, and neither being superior to any other.

The English variety spoken in India is not exception to this assortment of accents. Despite being spoken by less than 10% of the Indian population, English is deeply rooted in the Indian society, used by the media, government and Higher Education institutions. In addition, the more than 1500 languages spoken in the country have shaped Second Language English (ESL) into different accent forms. While it is undoubtedly difficult to reach an agreement as regards a standard form of this variety as a consequence of complex linguistic landscape in the country, in recent years there have been several attempts to elaborate on Indian English from a synchronic and diachronic point of view.

The present paper aims at exploring the impact that linguistic background can have on individual speech. After a brief review on how English became an official language in the republic of India, I will concentrate on the phonological aspect of Indian English. I will, firstly, procure a framework that ensures a baseline for a standard form of Indian English. Secondly, I will analyse an authentic speech sample and will discuss a number of factors that account for the adherence/deviation from the standard and which depict the phonological identity of this particular speaker.

I. PART

1. Introduction

1.1. Object of study and its justification

There is a wide-ranging belief regarding the purpose of human language, and that is its communicative nature. Certainly, if one is told that the main function of language is to communicate, they would never show opposition. Yet, it would be completely wrong to ascertain that there is nothing more to it. Unquestionably, human language conveys a social role which exposes the background or origin of the speaker, or as Trudgill (2000: 2) puts it “the second, ‘clue-bearing’ role of language”. The different social backgrounds that can be extracted from speakers are usually identified by virtue of the language dialect they speak. But what exactly is a *dialect* when we have terms such as *language* and *accent*? Regardless of the knowledge that one has in relation to these notions, they still happen to be difficult to define.

In an attempt to explain these concepts, I shall start with *dialect* and *language* in light of a common feature they share. *Languages* and *dialects* are commonly defined according to social and political factors, rather than linguistic ones (Trudgill, 2000). These tend to be delimited merely to geographical boundaries without considering linguistic continua and other variants such as age, ethnicity, individuality, etc. As for dialects, this means that in the case of rural areas, for instance, “the linguistic characteristics of these dialects change *gradually* from place to place” (Trudgill, 2000: 3); in other words, there is not an evident distinction between one town and another, or one county and another. In the same manner, as far as languages are concerned, the concept of *mutual intelligibility* shall be borne present. According to this criterion, speakers who do not manage to understand each other would be speakers of different languages, while speakers of dialects of the same language would be those who are able to understand each other (Trudgill, 2000). Mutual intelligibility, then, implies that dialects should be regarded as divisions within a language. However, according to this, German and Dutch, for example, would not be considered different languages, therefore, something else is needed. Hence, even if those in the border of Germany and the Netherlands are mutually intelligible, the ones on the Germanic side of the border rely exclusively on the German standard in the same way as the dialects in the Dutch

side of the border, which rely purely on Dutch (Trudgill, 2000). This phenomenon can be explained by the notions of *autonomy* and *heteronomy*. Heteronomy — meaning dependence — would refer to the dialect on either side of the border, since these dialects depend on either German or Dutch as a norm (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004). And German and Dutch correspond to autonomy — meaning independence — given their standard and self-sufficient nature.

Finally, whereas *dialect* refers to varieties differing in both grammar and phonology, the term *accent* would apply to varieties differing phonetically and/or phonologically only (Chambers & Trudgil, 2004).

Simultaneously, another issue to take into account regarding the aforementioned notions is the following: how to delimit accents and dialects in bilingual or multilingual settings? An array of factors grow here, such as previous linguistic background, order of acquisition, age, amount and type of exposure, learner's goals, etc. which all have an impact on the process of second/multiple language acquisition and use. In addition, socio-psychological factors shall also be present as they can also have a major impact on L2 proficiency, since they are a way of expressing group membership and help develop one's personal identity. Subsequently, the variables of age, sex, social and ethnic groups interact in complex ways, together with the ones of attitude and motivation, belonging to individual variation. As Sailaja (2009: 37) puts it, "a standard accent in an individual is not a constant or a perfect set of all the sounds identified as standard", and different contexts request more formal or informal accents.

Indeed, we can conclude that accent tells a lot about the origin/background of a person, given its direct relationship with phonetics and phonology, and accordingly, this paper will look into the phonological features of an Indian English speaker. This study aims at exploring the impact of the language background on speech.

1.2.Linguistic landscape and political and historical background

Being the Republic of India one of the largest countries in the Asian continent and in the world, a complex linguistic landscape is expected. India is comprised by twenty-eight states and seven union territories, each with its own linguistic scenery.

The primary language families in India are four: Indo-Aryan (consisting of twenty-one languages, such as Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Gujarati and Urdu); Dravidian (with seventeen languages, including Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam and Kannada); Austro-Asiatic or Munda (Santhali and Khasi being among its fourteen languages) and Tibeto-Burman (with sixty-six languages, including Angami, Ao and Bodo) (Sailaja, 2009).

Hindi, its various dialects and the Indo-Aryan languages Punjabi, Kashmiri and Rajasthani are characteristic of the northern states of Chhattisgarh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh.

Bengali and Oriya, also Indo-Aryan, are associated to the so called eastern Seven Sisters (Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Tripura), where other Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman languages are also spoken (Sailaja, 2009).

In the Maharashtra state of the west, the Indo-Aryan Gujarati, Konkani and Marathi languages are predominant. The most important languages in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu in the south belong to the Dravidian group. Nevertheless, there happen to be a number of languages which do not belong to a specific state: Nepali (Indo-Aryan), Sindhi (Indo-Aryan), Tulu (Dravidian) and Urdu (Indo-Aryan) (Sailaja, 2009).

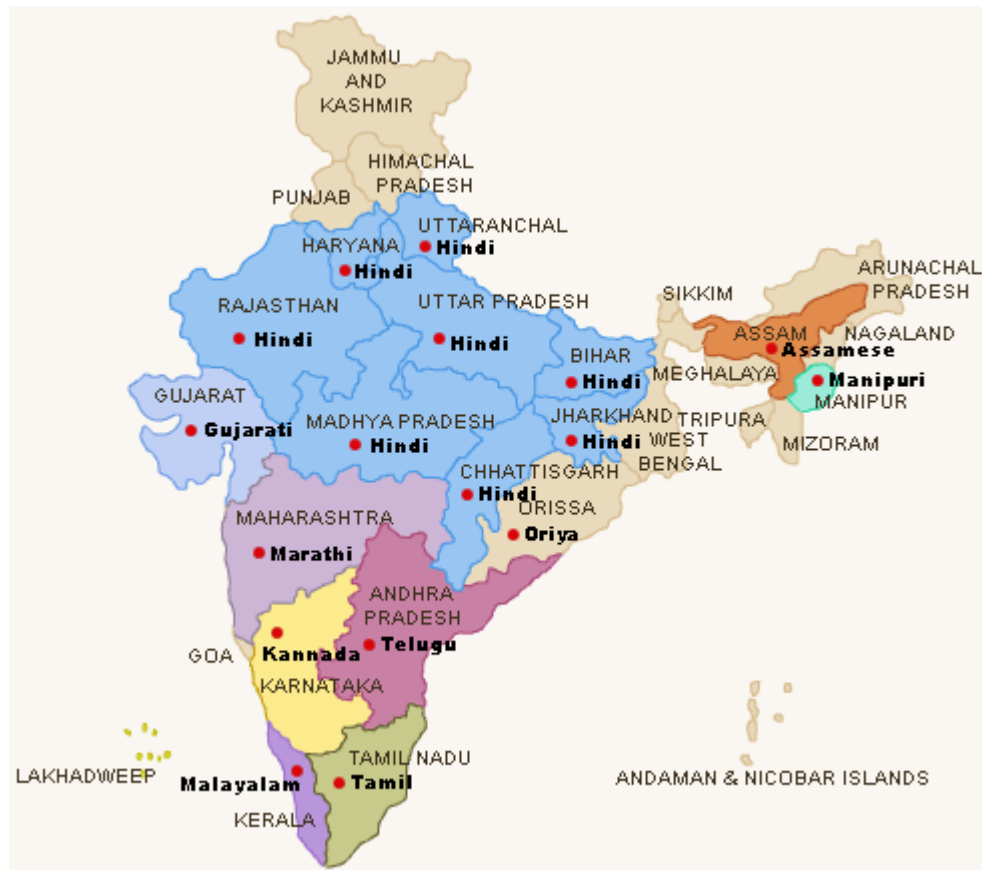


Figure 1. Linguistic landscape in India. This figure illustrates the major languages spoken in the different Indian states (in Gorana).

The politico-historical events which confer the establishment of the English language in India comprise four principal periods¹:

→ The pre-British period (1498-1600)

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach India in what we call the modern period, arriving at the Indian west coast and settled in Goa (the East India Company) in 1498, and by 1510 having acquired political power over the land. Other European powers such as the English and the Dutch arrived in India by means of Portuguese ships; as a matter of fact, Father Thomas Stephens is said to be the first Englishman to abide in India by 1579. The main linguistic consequence at this time was the development of a Portuguese pidgin as a lingua franca, due to the contact between the local languages and Portuguese. The learning of the *Patois* language (as natives named

¹ This whole section has been drawn from Sailaja (2009).

it) came to be necessary for Europeans, since the English, the Dutch, the Danes and the French used to travel to India for trading. As a consequence, there was a vocabulary exchange amongst Portuguese, English and Indian languages. Despite the interest of the early English settlers being far from education, the Portuguese provided them with the most important tool for future English instruction: the Roman script.

→ The pre-Macaulay period (1600-1835)

First of all, we ought to bear in mind that the end of this period constitutes the stabilisation of the British power in the country. In 1698 missionary activity was allowed so that the Protestant religion would be expanded. And so, despite the evangelical nature of the teaching at that time, the languages supported for the use of locals were the vernacular ones. As for books, the ones in Portuguese proved to be as useless as the ones in English, since *Patois* had nothing to do with native written Portuguese. In 1715 Reverend William Stevenson disregarded Portuguese and established the first English school, and afterwards, more charity schools succeeded this one (Bombay, 1719; Calcutta, 1739), giving rise to the Education Society Schools and the Free School Society.

A pivotal date in the history of the East India Company is the year of 1765 since the rule of the British in India began to develop. William Pitt's India Act of 1784 allowed the East India Company shared governance over India together with the British Crown. The first English printing press appeared in 1778 (in the Hooghly District) and during the period between 1780 to about 1795 a number of English newspapers emerged in the main cities. Within this period, a prominent date should be mentioned: the publication of the first book in English by an Indian in 1794.

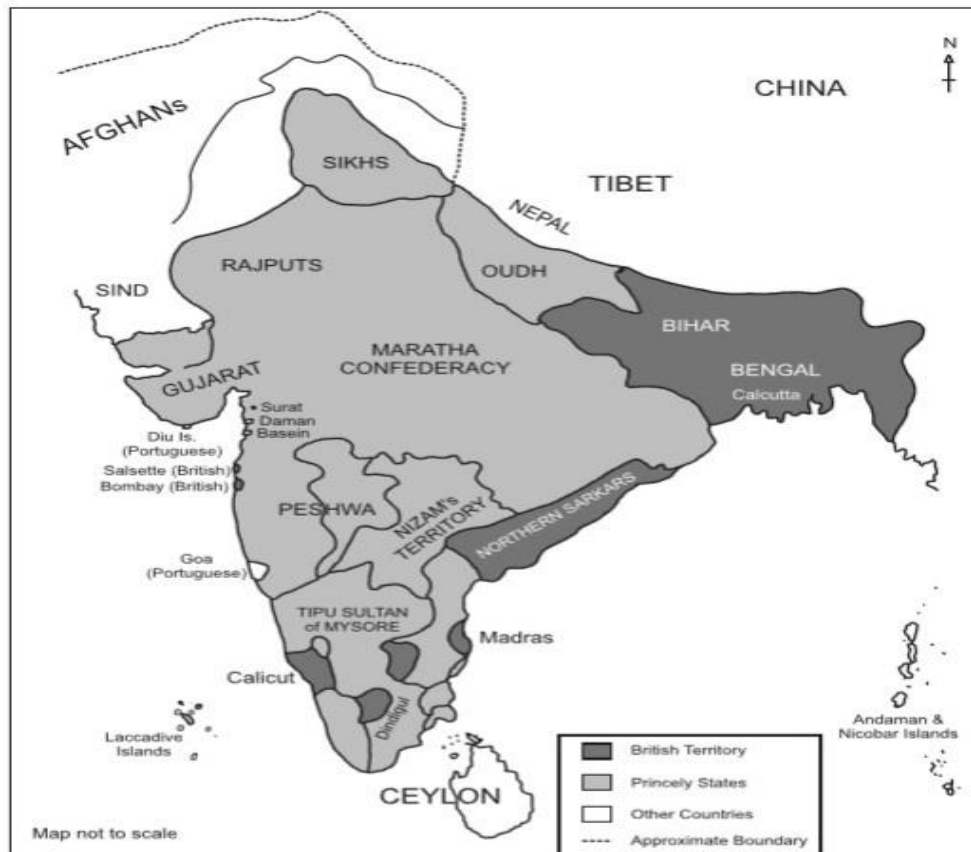


Figure 3. The advancement of the British in India in 1798 (in Sailaja, 2009: 102).

Until 1787, the missionaries had been solely responsible for the education in India, together with the support of the East India Company, yet the latter did not get involved in any affair. Between the years of 1813 and 1823, the British expansion continued and by order of the House of Commons the charter renewal of 1813 entrusted the East India Company with the education of the natives for the first time. As a consequence of that new clause, a polemic emanated, the so-called «Anglicist-Orientalist debate», which argued whether English or oriental languages (classical Sanskrit and Arabic) should be the medium of instruction. The Indians themselves resulted to be Anglicists supporters. Moreover, another debate arose: the «Anglicist-Vernacularist conflict» in Bombay, a city which, being in favour of vernacular education, struggled with the inclusion of English in education. As a result, the East India Company decided to encourage the Presidencies (Madras, Hooghly and Bombay) to adopt the English education, since the learning of European sciences and literature was in the best interest of the General Committee of Public Instruction (created in 1823). Around 1831, the «Anglicist-Orientalist debate» resurged given the difficulty of

the exercise of teaching science through translation, claiming the need for English as the instruction language.

→ The pre-independence period (1835-1947): The institutionalisation of English education

The 7 March 1835 is regarded as the day when English officially came to be the language of instruction in higher education, a condition that has been preserved until today. For the next years, the British persisted on their expansion of English education, up until 1905 with the intent of an assurance of the use of English and the formation of employees. In the same manner, the British territory continued expanding. Furthermore, attributable to the industrialisation and the considerable development at the time, both English knowledge and consequently its education became imperative. As soon as 1854, a Commission Report on Indian Education was composed, also known as the Magna Carta of Indian Education, supporting the founding of universities and the association of English with higher levels of education and vernacular languages with the lowest.

In 1857 the first glimpse of a revolution was sighted with the first War of Independence, without regard to its failure. Some years later, in 1882, the Indian Education Commission originated, with Indian people as part of the committee. Three years later, the Indian National Congress was founded, which would be responsible for the nationalist movement towards independence. Eventually, the Indians inherited a total control over the education departments in 1921. But then again, another concern arose with respect to the official language. For that matter, a conference was called in Calcutta in 1916 by the Indian national leaders — Gandhi among them — and Hindustani was vindicated as the national language.

→ The post-independence period (1947-2006)

Debates concerning the official language persisted during the independence years, with four languages — Hindi, Sanskrit, Hindustani and English — heading the listing. While the former two were preferred by the elitist upper classes, advocates Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru appeared as supporters of Hindustani due to its colloquial nature, which made it be regarded as a dialect closer to the people. 1950 arrived — with the becoming of India into a republic —, and yet there was no official language.

Considering the disagreement within the Central Legislative Assembly that governed the country at that time, its president Dr. Rajendra Prasad — president of India to come — cast his vote on the side of Hindi.

Despite the fact that Hindi was then the official language of the country, English was for a long time officially maintained for the purposes it had been serving up until then, more precisely, since the enactment of the Constitution in 1950 until 1965. By any means, protests and debates persisted during the subsequent years, which resulted in the passing of the 1963 Official Languages Act whereby the status of English continued indefinitely until the position it has nowadays. Ultimately, the three-language formula still operative today was endorsed by the National Policy in 1968, according to which, secondary schools would teach Hindi, English and a native language (one other than Hindi where it was the native language, one of the south in preference) depending on the region.

2. The phonology of Standard Indian English (SIE)

There is wide agreement among scholars that the attempt to procure a phonological description of Indian English is not an easy task. As stated by Trudgill & Hannah (2013):

There is no general agreement as to whether the standard should be strictly EngEng or whether IndEng forms [...] used by the majority of educated speakers and [...] in newspapers should be accepted in the Indian standard. (p. 133)

Several studies have been conducted on the delineation of a standard variety of Indian English. The present study will heavily rely on Pingali Sailaja's *Indian English* (2009), an appreciable description of what he refers to — and will be from this point forward referred to — as SIEP (Standard Indian English Pronunciation).

According to Gargesh (2004), there are five wide categories in which work on Indian English phonetics and phonology can be separated into: 1) description of phonetics (e.g. Bansal, 1978); 2) comparison of RP and Indian sound system involving an Indian English variety (e.g. Balasubramanian, 1972); 3) contrast between RP and an Indian English regional variety; 4) perception and intelligibility (e.g. Bansal, 1978); 5) sociolinguistic studies.

For the purpose of this paper, and in accordance with most of the authors that will emerge all through the writing, SIEP will be attributed to the most educated users of Indian English, given that it flourished as a result of the acquisition of RP imposed by teachers of Indian English (Sailaja, 2009).

2.1. Consonant sounds

2.1.1. Plosives

Voiceless plosives /p t k/ are unaspirated in all positions in SIEP, as a result of the different phonemic nature of the phenomenon of aspiration between Indian languages and RP. As we know, in RP aspiration is an allophonic realization in a specific context, i.e. the onset of a stressed syllable. In Indian languages, however, aspiration occurs as a result of «spelling pronunciation» (Sailaja, 2009). Consequently, whereas *Thomas* is pronounced [ˈtʰɒməs], *Tom* is pronounced [tɒm]. While this phenomenon is non-contrastive in British English, it happens to be contrastive in most Indian languages (Gargesh, 2004; Sailaja, 2009), where [kæt] and [kʰæt] would be considered to be different words.

Voiced bilabial /p b/ and velar stops /k g/ remain the same as in RP (Gargesh, 2004). The main change is undergone by alveolar /t d/, which become retroflex as for place of articulation, as in *today* /t̪ədeɪ/ and *London* /lɒnd̪ən/. However, according to Sailaja (2009) the use of a voiced alveolar retroflex /d̪/ is more frequent than of a voiceless alveolar retroflex /t̪/. As a matter of fact, “more formal situations bring on the alveolar sounds and the less formal bring on the retroflex sounds” (Sailaja, 2009: 21-22). Thus, there would be a correlation between the use of retroflex sounds and non-standard Indian English. Voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/, for its part, seems to be non-existent in the phonology of SIEP, given that the sources used for this paper do not mention it.

Related to connected speech, voiceless and voiced alveolar plosives, /t/ and /d/ respectively, are subject to consonant cluster simplification in SIEP, e.g. *text* [tɛks] or *fast* [fæs], when followed by another consonant (Sailaja, 2009). This phenomenon can be related to alveolar plosive elision of RP.

2.1.2. Nasals

Even if SIEP nasal sounds persist as the RP ones: /m n ŋ/ (Sailaja 2009), Gargesh (2004: 998) states that in non-standard varieties the velar /ŋ/ “occurs as a homorganic variant of /n/ before velars [...], [it] is realized as a combination of the [alveolar] nasal and the voiced velar consonant as in the words *sing* and *rung* – [sɪŋg], [rʌŋg]”.

2.1.3. Affricates

Affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are not subject to any variation and remain similar to RP realizations (Sailaja, 2009).

2.1.4. Fricatives

Amongst the labiodentals, whilst both /f/ and /v/ are prevalent in SIEP, the voiced labiodental fricative, /v/, undergoes some changes in non-standard varieties. Apart from carrying more friction than the RP one, there is a tendency in Indian English to weaken or to lose that friction, thus articulating the voiced labiodental approximant /ʋ/ (Sailaja, 2009).

Dentals /θ/ and /ð/ are practically non-existent in India (Gargesh, 2004; Sailaja, 2009), even though the voiceless one is still heard on occasion in SIEP. In their stead, Indian dental plosives /t̪/ or /t̪ʰ/, and /d̪/ are used (Sailaja, 2009). Due to the distinguished Indian «spelling pronunciation», i.e. the influence of spelling in pronunciation, the use of voiceless /t̪ʰ/ is “determined by the spelling of the word: [...] words like *Thames* and *Thomas*, which in native varieties of English have /t/ in the initial position, are articulated as /t̪ʰ/ in IE” (Sailaja, 2009: 21).

The voiceless and voiced alveolar fricatives, /s/ and /z/ respectively, are articulated in SIEP in the same way as in RP (Gargesh, 2004). In the same manner, the post-alveolars /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ and the glottal /h/ are also common to both accents (Sailaja, 2009). Nonetheless, according to Sailaja (2009), some Bengali and Hindi speakers tend to use voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and voiceless post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ as free variants.

2.1.5. Liquids

The lateral /l/ is usually clear, that is, unlike in certain environments of RP, dark /l/ is non-existent (Sailaja, 2009). However, retroflex /ɭ/ is prevalent in non-standard southern accents of India and in Dravidian languages, in which lateral /l/ and retroflex /ɭ/ are contrastive (Sailaja, 2009).

Regarding the use of the alveolar approximant /r/, Standard Indian English Pronunciation equates RP in its being non-rhotic, which is a “prestige marker” in India (Sailaja, 2009: 19). Nevertheless, in some cases /r/ has a tap /ɾ/ realization instead of an approximant one (Gargesh, 2004). Moreover, although RP intrusive /r/ does not exist in Indian English, linking /r/ is maintained (Sailaja, 2009).

2.1.6. Semivowels

In SIEP both semivowels — voiced palatal approximant /j/ and voiced labial-velar approximant /w/ — withhold the realizations of RP. Nonetheless, and related to the use of the voiced labiodental fricative /v/, /w/ and /v/ usually overlap in non-standard speech, and at times they even neutralise to voiced labiodental approximant /ʋ/ (Sailaja, 2009).

To sum up, we could list the consonants of SIEP as in the following table:

Table 1: The consonant sound of Standard Indian English Pronunciation (SIEP):

Plosives	p, b, t/t̪, d/d̪, t̪/t̪ʰ, d̪, k, g
Fricatives	f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h
Affricates	tʃ, dʒ
Nasals	m, n, ŋ
Lateral	l
Approximants	ʋ, r
Semi-vowels	j, w

2.2. Vowel sounds

2.2.1. Short vowels

Most of the RP short vowels have been preserved in SIEP, with the exception of an occasional neutralisation between mid central /ə/ and near-open central unrounded /ʌ/, or a tendency to use them as free variants (Sailaja, 2009). In non-standard varieties, however, the open back unrounded /ɒ/ and near-open central unrounded /ʌ/ are usually replaced by an open front unrounded /a/ sound, which is more open than the RP one (Sailaja, 2009).

Briefly, the short vowels of SIEP are near-close near-front unrounded /ɪ/, close-mid front unrounded /e/, near-open front unrounded /æ/, open back rounded /ɒ/, near near-close near-back rounded /ʊ/, near-open central unrounded /ʌ/ and mid central /ə/.

2.2.2. Long vowels

Contrary to RP, the long monophthongs of SIEP are seven. RP closing diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ undergo the most prominent change, since they are realized as long vowels /e:/ and /o:/, respectively (Sailaja, 2009)². Nevertheless, it is customary to shorten these vowels in word-final position to /e/ and /o/, in words like *midday* ['mɪ'de] and *although* [v:l'ðo] (Sailaja 2009). In fact, short /e/ and shortened /e/ should not be mistaken on account of the qualitative difference existing between them, i.e., mid front unrounded /e/ being “a bit lower in articulation” (Sailaja, 2009: 25).

A qualitative difference shall also be noted between RP and SIEP regarding the long open back rounded vowel /ɔ:/, which is higher in RP, while in SIEP it is realized as a “longer version of /ɒ/” (Sailaja, 2009: 25). Long mid back rounded /ɔ:/ in RP is widely replaced by long open front unrounded /a:/, for the reason that the articulation of /ɔ:/ is only achieved by highly trained speakers, e.g., the newsreaders of *All India Radio* (Sailaja, 2009).

Regularly, in non-standard accents, which are rhotic per se, the *bird* long open-mid central unrounded vowel /ɜ:/ is articulated as either /ar/ or /ər/.

² According to Wells (1996), the endurance of these pronunciations may date back to the times before the Long Mid Diphthonging in 1800, since the English establishment in India happened prior to that.

All in all, the SIEP long vowels are close front unrounded /i:/, mid front unrounded /e:/, open front unrounded /a:/, open back rounded /ɔ:/, close-mid unrounded /o:/, close back rounded /u:/ and open-mid central unrounded /ɜ:/.

2.3. Diphthongs

Considering the realization of vowels /e:/ and /o:/ as closing diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/, Sailaja (2009) reviews six SIEP diphthongs: RP centring diphthongs /ɪə ʊə eə/ and closing diphthongs /aɪ ɔɪ aʊ/. As a matter of fact, the only variation affecting these sounds corresponds to non-standard varieties: there is a tendency to realize the centring diphthongs as long monophthongs, /i: u: e:/ (Sailaja, 2009). Moreover, closing diphthong /ɔɪ/ can be articulated as /a:i/ (Sailaja, 2009).

2.4. Prosody

As for the suprasegmental features of Indian English, I will elaborate merely on stress, given that according to Gargesh (2004), rhythm and intonation happen to be the most challenging areas within the prosody of Indian English as a result of the extension and rich linguistic variation of the country.

Indian English has been described as syllable-timed accent, rather than stress-timed (Trudgill & Hannah, 2013). This may owe to the fact that “the rules of accentuation of Indian English are closer to those of Indian languages than to those of RP” (Gargesh, 2004: 1000).

In an attempt to provide a model for the tendency in accentuation, I will entrust Gargesh (2004) who concludes the following concerning primary stress:

- (a) Regardless the type of syllable, monosyllabic words are always stressed. E.g. *you* [ju:], *me* [mi].
- (b) The penultimate syllable of bisyllabic words is given primary stress provided that an extra-heavy syllable ((C)V:C/(C)VCC) does not follow, otherwise the last syllable is stressed. E.g. *mistake* ['mɪstɛ:k], *impact* [ɪm'pækt].
- (c) Primary accent falls on the penultimate syllable of trisyllabic words on condition that it is heavy ((C)V:/VC), otherwise the antepenultimate syllable is stressed. E.g. *character* [kæ'ræktə], *diminish* ['dɪmɪnɪʃ].

Sailaja (2009), on his part, simplifies that version as follows:

stress falls on the first syllable of a bisyllabic word unless the secondary syllable is extra heavy. [...] In trisyllabic words, the stress is also on the first syllable unless the second syllable is heavy, in which case the second syllable takes the stress. (p. 30)

One of the major witnessed consequences of these rules is the absence of stress shift for the distinction of nouns, adjectives and verbs, which in most cases tend to be left the same (Gargesh, 2004; Sailaja, 2009), e.g. *'conduct* in all cases, contrary to *'conduct* for the noun and *con'duct* for the verb.

Furthermore, in that all syllables in Indian English happen to be more prominent than those in RP (Gargesh, 2004), the reduction of vowels is seen at a different degree: unstressed syllables in RP tend to receive stress in Indian English, resulting in an absence of weak forms (Trudgill & Hannah, 2013), as previously seen with *diminish* [*'dɪmɪnɪʃ*]. For instance, suffixes and function words are usually stressed, as well as initial pronouns; consequently, “the difference between content words (those that carry the main meaning in a sentence) and function words (those that are important for the grammaticality of a sentence) is not maintained in pronunciation” (Sailaja, 2009: 33). What is more, abbreviations bear the stress on the first syllable, similarly to the first item in compound words; e.g. *T'V* as opposed to *'TV* and *'bad-tempered* as opposed to *bad-'tempered* (Sailaja, 2009).

II. PART

1. The study

1.1. Participant

The participant in this study, V. Kamble, is a 20-year-old Indian female in her third year of a Pharmacy bachelor's degree at the university in Aberdeen (Scotland) at the time of the recording. Native of Mumbai, capital city of the state of Maharashtra where Marathi is the official language, she attended English-medium school since early childhood until the age of 15. In fact, together with Marathi, Hindi, the official language of India, constitute her mother tongues and the languages in use with family and friends. Succeeding the completion of her O levels³, the participant moved to Singapore so as to prepare for and conclude her A levels (cf. "CGE Advanced Level", 2017). During her 2-year stay there, she was in contact with the four national languages of the Republic of Singapore: Mandarin, Malay, Tamil and English, and especially with the latter, since she continued studying in English. In addition, she learnt French basics for the two years of her stay in Singapore. Immediately thereafter, the participant relocated in Aberdeen, where she has been residing for the last three years. We shall also consider that she returns back to India once a year for a month.

Another thing to take into account is the rather complex linguistic profile of our informant. Both Hindi and Marathi constitute her L1s, English the L2 and French the L3. Nevertheless, English has been taught at school since the age of 2; Marathi and Hindi, however, started to be formally instructed at the age of 10 as the L2 and L3 respectively; and French was taught abroad as a foreign language at the age of 15 for two years. Regarding the time of exposure, the subject has been exposed to a natural environment regarding Hindi and Marathi during 15 years, but only 5 to English (abroad). The participant was also exposed to a natural environment of Mandarin, Malay and Tamil at 15 for a period of two years. As for her current language use, English (95%) and Marathi (5%) are the languages in use with her friends; Marathi (60%), English (30%) and Hindi (10%) the languages used with family and English the

³ "The O Level (Ordinary Level; official title: General Certificate of Education: Ordinary Level) is a subject-based qualification conferred as part of the General Certificate of Education [...] introduced as part of British educational reform" ("CGE Ordinary Level", 2017).

language used in education, as well as the language mostly associated with counting and thinking. Also, regarding language proficiency and attitude (*I feel like myself when I speak English* and *I identify with an English-speaking culture* in Appendix I), English appears to be predominant.

1.2. Recording procedure

The study reported in this paper is based on a small corpus consisting of an audio recording. The initial speech task selected for the linguistic analysis was an interview, in an attempt to pursue a comfortable environment. However, due to the physical distance and the impossibility of a face-to-face meeting, it was decided that the participant would perform a one-sided interview about the different cultures in the countries she has resided in. The recording averaged five minutes in length.

In addition, the participant was provided with a questionnaire aiming to obtain linguistic background information about her, complemented with some extra data obtained outside the professional environment.

After receiving the sample via email, I proceeded to analyse the sample thoroughly, listening to the sample twice and resorting to Kamble for further clarifications so as to complete the corresponding orthographic transcription. The following step was to perform the phonological transcription. For that purpose I reproduced an RP transcription as a baseline in the first place, without listening to the real recording. Once the research upon the characteristics of SIEP was completed, I applied and identified SIEP features, which would help me detect standard and non-standard features. Finally, I listened to the recording annotating the phonetic-phonological features of the real production of the contributor.

2. Corpus analysis

The following analysis of SIEP reveals a repertoire of patterns in the phonological production of the subject, which exhibits a blending in the use of both standard and non-standard features of the accent. Notwithstanding the fact that, overall, there is a tendency to adhere to SIEP features, some persisting, non-standard features seem to have a presence throughout the entire sample. Each production item mentioned in this section has been labelled with the section number: line number so as to ease its identification in Appendix III.

2.1. Consonants

Starting with plosives, there is a clear lack of aspiration of unvoiced stops [p t k] both in word-initial and syllable initial positions, that is, the given environment that triggers the use of this phenomenon in RP. *Talk* is pronounced [tʰ:k] (Section 7: line 2) rather than [tʰɔ:k]. What is more, there is also a uniform retroflex realization of British English alveolar sounds; e.g., *good* [gʊd] (3:3), *don't* [dɔ:nʔ] (4:2) and *town* [tʰaʊn] (2:6). As a matter of fact, the subject delivers various instances of glottaling, which has not been described occurring in SIEP: that is, the replacement of a sound by the glottal stop /ʔ/, which can be seen in the words *but* [bʰəʔ] (5:3) and *that* [dʰæʔ] (1:3) alone. Moreover, consonant cluster simplification appears to be present in the phonology of the speaker, in pronunciations such as [æn] (1:2) for *and*, [dʒəs] (1:5) for *just*, [ˈdɪfrən] (3:1) for *different*, [bes] (3:6) for *best* and [do:n] (4:4) for *don't*.

Nasals and affricates, for their part, are realized as RP consonants. No /ŋg/ realizations of the nasal velar /ŋ/ were found.

As for fricatives, there is a consistency in the use of dentalized alveolar plosives /t̪/ and /d̪/ in the place of dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, as in *then* [d̪en] (2:2) and *month* [mʌn̪t̪] (3:8). However, there is no evidence of aspirated realizations of voiceless /t̪ʰ/ determined by the spelling of the word, as she did not utter any word that could be subject to that realization. The articulation of alveolar /s/ and /z/, post-alveolar /ʃ/ and glottal /h/ are similar to RP ones, as in *describe* [dɪsˈkraɪb] (1:2), *'cause* [kɔz] (1:4), *traditions* [trəˈdɪʃənz] (4:6) and *have* [hæv] (2:1). As for voiced post-alveolar fricative /ʒ/, the speaker did not utter any word containing this sound, therefore, no evidence was found.

As regards liquids, on the one hand, the lateral approximant /l/ is always clear. Rhoticity, on the other hand, is variable. Words such as *culture* ['kʌltʃə] (4:5), *weather* ['weðə] (6:3) and *for* [fə] (3:8) lack approximant /r/, but it is pronounced in words like *colourful* ['kʌlərfʊl] (1:5) and *Singapore* [ˌsɪŋə'pɔːr] (2:7). Moreover, approximant /r/ is occasionally realized as a tap /ɾ/, especially before vowels: e.g., *describe* [dɪs'kraɪb] (1:2), *rate* [re:t] (2:1) or *during* ['dʒʊərɪŋ] (6:5). Interestingly, linking /r/ is realized with words which are pronounced with or without /r/ in other environments. An example would be the following: *culture in Singapore and* ['kʌltʃər_ɪn *ˌsɪŋə'pɔːr_æn] (1:2).

Concerning semivowels, besides the perseverance of the RP pronunciation of palatal approximant /j/ and labial-velar approximant /w/, e.g. *few* [fju:] (5:4) and *worst* [wɜːst] (1:2), a unique substitution of voiced labiodental fricative /v/ for /w/ is produced in the word *vibrant* ['vaɪbrənt] (1:5). Additionally, occasional substitutions of a labial-velar approximant /w/ for a labiodental /v/ can be observed, in words such as *which* [wɪtʃ] (1:4), *quite* [kwaɪt] (5:4) and *weather* ['vedʒər] (7:1).

2.2. Vowels

All features of RP short vowels are sustained by the participant and the overlapping between mid-central /ə/ (*even* ['i:vən] (3:7)) and near-open central /ʌ/ (*such* [sʌtʃ] (7:3)) is solely perceived in the production of the word *but*, which is at times pronounced as [bəʔ] (5:3) or as [bʌʔ] (3:4).

With respect to vowels, their use is mainly attributed to the characteristics of SIEP, as in *city* ['sɪtɪ] (2:3), *friends* [frɛndz] (3:5), *matter* ['mætə] (1:4), *sorry* ['spɪrɪ] (3:8), *could* [kʊd] (4:3), *love* [lʌv] (1:4) and *London* ['lʌndən] (2:4) for the short vowels, and *people* ['pi:pəl] (2:6), *always* ['ɔ:lweɪz] (4:3), *asked* [ɑːskt] (1:1), *hope* [hɔ:p] (1:1), *used* [ju:zd] (6:3) and *firstly* ['fɜːstli] (1:3) for the long ones. One of the exceptions is the inconsistent realization of the actual RP closing diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ instead of /e:/ and /o:/, as in *places* ['pleɪzɪz] (1:4), *say* [seɪ] (1:3), *make* [meɪk] (4:7), *able* ['eɪbəl] (5:3) and *maybe* ['meɪbi:] (7:2). Furthermore, there is no shortening of word-final /e:/ and /o:/, as in *delay* as [drɪ'le:] (7:5). The subject realizes RP /ɔ:/ as SIEP /ɒ:/, as in *recording* [rɪ'kɔːdɪŋ] (1:1), a seemingly extended /ɒ/. As for the non-standard equivalents of /ɜː/, there is no evidence of /ar/ or /ər/ realizations, that is, words like *worst* are pronounced as [wɜːst] (1:2).

2.3. Diphthongs

All diphthongs, with the exception of closing /ɔɪ/, of which there is no instance, are used conforming to the SIEP standard by the participant, as we can see in the following instances: *India* [*'ɪndɪə] (1:3), *during* ['dʒʊərɪŋ] (6:5), *there* [ðeər] (3:7), *climate* ['klaɪmɪt] (6:4) and *about* [ə'baʊt] (1:2). We found no non-standard variations such as the lengthening of centring diphthongs or the replacement of the closing diphthong /ɔɪ/ for /a:/.

2.4. Prosody

The subject's underlying rhythm of speech is scarcely influenced by the syllable-timed nature of Indian English. This is barely noticeable on the adjective *developed*, which the speaker pronounces ['devələpt] (2:3), unlike RP [dɪ'veləpt].

The realization of weak forms in monosyllabic words is limited, as most of them are stressed and realized with a full vowel, as can be seen in *you* [ju:] (1:1), *to* [tʊ] (1:1), *so* [so:] (1:3), *me* [mi] (1:1), *from* [frɒm] (1:3) and *would* [wɒd] (5:1). Meanwhile, in other monosyllabic words like *just* [dʒəst] (2:4) and *but* [bət] (2:4) the weak form prevails. As for disyllabic and trisyllabic words, most RP unstressed syllables exhibit a full vowel in the participant's speech, and hence do not exhibit reduction: *recording* [rɪ'kɔ:ɪŋ] (1:1), *cuisines* [kwɪ'zi:nz] (3:1), *enough* [ɪ'nʌf] (4:6), *except* [ɪk'sept] (6:2), *climate* ['klaɪmɪt] (6:4) and *initially* [ɪ'nɪʃəli] (6:5) are amongst a few examples.

3. Discussion

The interpretation of the findings considered here pertains to the rationale for the adherence (section 3.1 below) or distancing (section 3.2 below) of the subject's accent from Standard Indian English. Beforehand, we should be mindful of the importance of individual variation in Indian English, given the impact of the multiple and diverse regional features that Indian English coexists with. This is the case of the linguistic profile of the informant in this study (see section 1.1).

3.1. Adherence to SIEP

The data on consonants reveals that the unaspiration of voiceless stops /p t k/ results from the contrastive nature of aspiration in Indian languages, thus excluding the use of aspirated phonemes in RP and adhering to SIEP. The informant resorts to consonant cluster simplification of alveolar plosives /t d/ as would be expected of SIEP, also.

The use of the Indian English standard variety also guarantees the barring of the alternative realization of velar nasal /ŋ/ as /ŋg/ that appears to be common only in non-standard varieties of the language, and which the speaker does not utter. The same can be said about affricate /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, which are pronounced according to SIEP and RP, altogether.

Labio-dental fricatives /f v/ agree to the use of SIEP as well, not having found non-standard approximant realization of /v/. Similarly, dentalized stops /t̪/ and /d̪/ fully replace their interdental fricative counterparts /θ/ and /ð/ by reason of their existence in Indian languages. Even though the present evidence does not account for the use of the aspirated /t̪ʰ/, given the lack of a word triggering that sound, one could maybe predict its presence in the participant's discourse.

Albeit the standard use of alveolars /s/ and /z/, post-alveolars /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ and glottal /h/, there is a unique instance in which the subject pronounces *Malaysian* as [mə'leɪʃɪən] (3:2), disparate to RP [mə'leɪzɪən]. Some Hindi speakers, as is the case of the informant, have problems distinguishing the voiceless alveolar /s/ from the voiceless postalveolar /ʃ/, and the issue may have extended to the voiced alveolar /z/. However, since it concerns an isolated case, it would be difficult to draw a general conclusion.

Owing to the non-existence of dark /l/ in Indian languages, clear /l/ is expected to be used in all contexts, and so it was in the case of our informant. What is more, the participant does not articulate retroflex /ɭ/ since none of her Indian languages — namely Hindi and Marathi — belong to the group of Dravidian languages, which do have the retroflex realization of liquid /l/.

Even if their productions are rather scarce, the overlapping of the semi-vowel /w/, fricative /v/ and labiodental /ɸ/ in examples such as *vibrant* ['waɪbrənt] (1:5) and *weather* ['vedðər] (7:1) evinces her adherence to SIEP, the informality nature of the task having possibly triggered a non-standard realization.

The repertoire of short vowels of the speaker adheres to SIEP. The only plausible non-standard variation would be the replacement of /ɒ/ and /ʌ/ for /a/, which one can assume does not happen because of the standardized diction of the participant.

The speaker resorts to /ɒ:/ characteristic of Standard Indian English, instead of /a:/, more representative of non-standard accents of the language. The participant's realization of the vowel also accords with the SIEP convention, which describes Indian English /ɒ:/ as a long version of British /ɒ/. Added to that, the alternative articulations of /ɜ:/ are not present at all owing to her accent not being neither non-standard nor rhotic.

On account of the lack of cases where centring diphthongs are lengthened, the speaker's diphthongal sounds clearly abide as the standard rule. Moreover, due to her aptitude to articulate /ɒ/ and /ɒ:/, the closing diphthong /ɔɪ/ remains intact.

On the grounds that both Hindi and Marathi languages constitute the mother tongues of the participant, the rhythm of speech seems to be under their influence. Even if the sample does not prove it entirely, the stress shift in the adjective *developed* would constitute some evidence. In addition, the scarcity of weak forms, and consequently, the abundance of stressed syllables in the diction of the participant, contributes to the perception of a more syllable-timed beat in her speech.

3.2. Deviation from SIEP

In regard to consonants, the glottal replacement of voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ can only be a consequence of the contact with Scottish English, a variety of British English, where glottaling is rather common.

The consistent use of retroflex plosives /ʈ ɖ/ can be easily ascribed to the informal nature of the task, in which the participant is surrounded by a relaxed and tranquil environment and the topic of conversation is related to her personal experience. As it has been mentioned before, a correlation between less formal situations and retroflex realization of alveolar plosives exist, hence the prevalence of the non-standard retroflex sounds. Moreover, in accordance with the variable of age in second language acquisition (SLA), younger speakers are more likely to use non-standard forms in native speech, given in part to social pressures from their peer groups, as could be the case here.

In addition, due to the absence of a fixed pattern concerning the variation in rhoticity, it may be attributed, on the one hand, to the lengthy exposure to the rhotic accent of Scotland. Casually, the Scottish accent is well known for their traditional use of a tap /ɾ/ in the stead of the approximant /r/, a realization which is also given in SIEP. In the same manner, both Indian English and Scottish English account for the use of linking /r/, while the absence of intrusive /r/ can only be justified by its non-existence in Indian English. On the other hand, rhoticity can also be a product of orthography and Indian «spelling pronunciation». Moreover, non-rhoticity being considered elitist and a prestige marker in India, its scarce use can also be attributed to the personality and identity of the speaker. Conforming to the social-psychological theories of SLA, a threat to one's identity may account for why she exhibits deviation from SIEP. It seems more appropriate to ascribe this deviation to the informant's ethnolinguistic identity, having a personal view of herself as belonging to the group of Indian immigrants in the UK, rather than assimilating into the British culture.

Within vowels, it is long /e:/ and /o:/ which are alternatively used, sometimes adhering and sometimes not, in favour of the irregular presence of diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/. The appearance of these RP features could be attached to the effect of a Scottish accent upon the subject. In view of the fact that the speaker does not opt for the

shortened vowels /e/ and /o/ in word-final position, one can presuppose a preference for long sounds in this environment.

In accordance with the limits of my knowledge, I dare to say that the subject's experience with French does not seem to interact in her speech, most assuredly owing to the brief learning period. Insofar, as French was learnt in a formal setting with a short amount of exposure, transfer may be unlikely to happen.

4. Concluding thoughts

This paper has attempted to provide some insight into the linguistic and social background of an Indian English speaker by way of the analysis of her accent. It has observed the certainty that education, age and ethnicity are factors contributing to the shape of our language.

On account of the participant's «educated speaker» status, it can be said that the utmost of her speech conforms to the standard variety of Indian English. The presence of Indian languages sounds — as the retroflex and dentalized — implies that they are likely to have been acquired during the time preceding university studies, that is, during all the years of education in English since childhood until late adolescence.

In addition, she exhibits non-standard features of Indian English, which would evince that she keeps ongoing but less frequent contact with family and friends and also the informal nature of the interview. Additionally, this tendency to ascribe to her own variety could be associated to a perseverance of her identity, especially in the multilingual scene that she has experienced.

There is also evidence to suggest that direct contact with another variety is having an influence on the participant's speech. In this case, a uniform exposure to Scottish English has infiltrated features of the language lacking in the Indian Standard or in other Indian languages.

Personally, given the implausibility of interference of third and fourth languages that have been learnt in a formal context with a small amount of exposure, French and

the rest of the languages that the speaker was in contact with in Singapore (Mandarin, Malay and Tamil), do not appear to have had an effect on her accent.

Finally, the boundaries of this paper do not allow for deeper analysis of the influence that Hindi and Marathi could have on the variety of the participant, even if they slightly reflect on SIEP, and as a consequence, it remains unknown.

REFERENCES

- Chambers, J. K., & Trudgill, P. (2004). *Dialectology* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Gargesh, R. (2004). Indian English: phonology. In Schneider, E. W. & Kortmann, B. (eds) *A Handbook of Varieties of English: a multimedia reference tool* (1st ed., Vol. 1), pp. 992-1000. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- GCE Ordinary Level. (2017, March 20). In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved 08 April 2017 from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/GCE_Ordinary_Level.
- GCE Advanced Level. (2017, March 18). In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved 08 April 2017 from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/GCE_Advanced_Level.
- Gorana, P. (n.d.). In *Catalogue*. Retrieved 13 May 2017 from http://ceevrc.org/CODE/Catalogue/images/indiamap_language.gif.
- Sailaja, P. (2009). *Indian English (Dialects of English)*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Trudgill, P. (2000). *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society* (4th ed.). Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Trudgill, P., & Hannah, J. (2013). *International English: a guide to the varieties of standard English* (5th ed.). London: Routledge - Taylor & Francis Group.
- Wells, J. C. (1996). *Accents of English 3: Beyond the British Isles* (Vol. 3). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

APPENDIX I: Questionnaire

I. LANGUAGE HISTORY

1. Did you learn a foreign language at school? Which language(s)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
2. Were you exposed to other languages outside of the classroom on a daily basis?
3. At what age did you start learning the following languages?
 - a. Hindi:
 - b. Marathi:
 - c. English:
 - d. French:
4. How many years of classes (grammar, history, math, etc.) have you had in the following languages (primary school through university)?
 - a. Hindi:
 - b. Marathi:
 - c. English:
 - d. French:
5. How many years have you spent in a country/region where the following languages are spoken?
 - a. Hindi:
 - b. Marathi:
 - c. English:
 - d. French:

II. LANGUAGE USE

Total use of all languages should equal 100%

6. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use the following languages with friends?

- a. Hindi:
- b. Marathi:
- c. English:
- d. French:

7. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use the following languages with family?

- a. Hindi:
- b. Marathi:
- c. English:
- d. French:

8. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use the following languages at school/work?

- a. Hindi:
- b. Marathi:
- c. English:
- d. French:

9. How often do you talk to yourself in the following languages?

- a. Hindi:
- b. Marathi:
- c. English:
- d. French:

10. How often do you count in the following languages?

- a. Hindi:
- b. Marathi:
- c. English:
- d. French:

III. LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

In a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means not well at all and 10 means very well

11. How well do you speak the following languages?

- a. Hindi:
- b. Marathi:
- c. English:

d. French:

12. How well do you understand the following languages?

a. Hindi:

b. Marathi:

c. English:

d. French:

13. How well do you read the following languages?

a. Hindi:

b. Marathi:

c. English:

d. French:

14. How well do you write the following languages?

a. Hindi:

b. Marathi:

c. English:

d. French:

IV. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

In a scale from 0 to 6 where 0 means disagree and 6 means agree

15. I feel like myself when I speak the following languages.

a. Hindi:

b. Marathi:

c. English:

d. French:

16. I identify with a Hindi/Marathi/English/French-speaking culture.

In a scale from 0 to 6 where 0 means disagree and 6 means agree

a. Hindi:

b. Marathi:

c. English:

d. French:

APPENDIX II: Orthographic transcription

Section 1: Hey, Sam! Hope you're doing fine, uhh here's the recording. Uh you asked me to describe or talk about the best and worst about the culture in Singapore and Scotland and how it differs from in India. So, firstly I'd like to say that I'm like born and brought up in India, so no matter which places I go to I'll always love the culture in India 'cause it's just so vibrant and colourful and deep down I'm an Indian so I miss it quite a lot.

Section 2: And if I would have to rate the culture uhh on like, you know, the number of things you can do I would say Scotland would come next, and then Singapore would come in the end, that's, I think it's because uhh Singapore is like so developed, it's like a city, it's basically like London, like you feel like you're just in a city. But then if you compare it to Scotland, like at least where I'm from like I'm staying here in Aberdeen. So Aberdeen is much more like Scottish and it's a small town, so ehh it's easier to mingle with people compared to Singapore, and...

Section 3: Uhh yeah, so best about Singapore would be the different cuisines: so you get like Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Malaysian, name it! Like Mexican... everything, like I love the food from Singapore, it's just so good. And then, in India also the food, you could say I'm a foodie though. But uhhh like the street food in India it's really good like I really miss the street food from India. And I also miss all my friends 'cause I just grew up in India, so that would be the best like you feel like you're home, although I go back to India most of the times, like at least once a year. Uhh even though I'm just there once for like almost. Sorry, like I mean is although I'm there only for like a month, I still feel so much better than like compared to Singapore, 'cause Singapore I only stayed for like two years so I did my A levels there, so ehh that's the best.

Section 4: And if I'd say the worst about ehh India would be... you could see the pollution. I don't know, like I really love India so much. Uh there is so many things like, I don't know. Uh you could say there are a lot of things which outsiders don't know about India, but then you always have those things you like about your place and then some things you don't like about your place. So sometimes the culture goes a bit too overboard, but then ehh I think that's what we're famous for, we have a very rich

culture and traditions, so that could be sometimes not practical enough. So many traditions and cultures, I think sometimes I'm like "This doesn't even make sense".

Section 5: And about Singapore I would say it's completely opposite, it's like a proper city so nobody cares about anything, like everyone's, although there are a lot of Indians there, but ehh I don't think I was able to mingle enough 'cause I was there only for two years. And uhmm I did make quite a few friends but I would say ehh my best friends from India are my best friends.

Section 6: And talking about Scotland, uh I really like Scotland like I really love Aberdeen. Eh it's really a small town and, you know, it's so pretty and except the weather I think that would be the worst thing about Scotland, that I hate the weather 'cause I'm used to a really hot and warm and humid climate, so I'm getting used to it, almost there. But I keep saying that every year, but then during winter I always start feeling cold initially, so uhm yeah that would be that.

Section 7: And the worst about Scotland... Yeah so the worst would be the weather and the best would be ehmm. I think people here are really nice, they're really easy to talk to compared to Singapore, 'cause maybe it's just because it's a city, like if you go to London it's difficult to make friends 'cause everyone's so busy and it's such a hectic life. But in Scotland people are more chilled and relaxed. So yeah, uh I hope this helps and I'm sorry for the delay, I completely forgot that I was supposed to send this to you. Uhh thank you! Bye, bye! Have a nice time!

APPENDIX III: Phonetic transcription

Section 1: [he: *'sæm | ho:p juə 'du:ɪŋ faɪn | ʌ: | hɪəz ɔ̃ rɪ'kɔ:dɪŋ | ʌ | ju: a:skt mɪ tu
dɪs'kraɪb ɒr tɔ:k ə'baʊt ɔ̃ best æn wɜ:st ə'baʊt ɔ̃ 'kʌltʃər_ɪn * ,sɪŋgə'pɒr_æn *'skɒtlənd |
ænd hæʊ ɪt dɪ'fɜ:z frɒm ɪn *'ɪndɪə | so: 'fɜ:stli aɪd laɪk t̃ə sei ɔ̃? aɪm laɪk bɔ:n ən brɔ:t ʌp
ɪn *'ɪndɪə | so: no: 'mæʃə vɪʃ 'pleɪzɪz aɪ go: t̃ʊ | aɪl 'v:lweɪz ʌv ɔ̃ 'kʌltʃər_ɪn *'ɪndɪə kɒz
ɪʃ dzəs so: 'waɪbrənt̃ ən 'kʌlɜ:fʊl | ənd dɪ:p ɔ̃aʊn aɪm ən 'ɪndʒən so: aɪ mɪs ɪt kwɑ:t̃ ə lɒt]

Section 2: [ənd ɪf aɪ wəd hæv t̃ə re:t̃ ɔ̃ 'kʌltʃər ʌ: | ɒn laɪk ju: no: ɔ̃ 'nʌmbər_əv t̃ɪŋz
ju: kən d̃ʊ | aɪd se: z *'skɒtlənd wəd kʌm nekst | ənd ɔ̃ * ,sɪŋgə'pɒr wəd kʌm ɪn d̃i end |
ɔ̃æʃs aɪ t̃ɪŋk ɪʃs bɪ'kɒz ʌ: | * ,sɪŋgə'pɒr z laɪk so: 'dɛvələp̃t | ɪʃs laɪk ə 'sɪʃi ɪʃs 'be:sɪkəli laɪk
*'ʌndən | laɪk ju: fɪ:l laɪk juə dzəst̃ ɪn ə 'sɪʃi | bət̃ ɔ̃ ɪf ju: kəm'peər_ɪt̃ t̃ʊ *'skɒtlənd |
laɪk ət li:st̃ weər_ɪm frɒm | laɪk aɪm 'ste:ɪŋ hɪər_ɪn * ,æbə'di:n | so: * ,æbə'di:n z mʌʃ
mɒr laɪk 'skɒt̃l̃ ənd ɪʃs ə smɒl t̃aʊn | so: e: | ɪʃs 'i:zɪər t̃ʊ 'mɪŋg̃l wɪd̃ 'pi:p̃l kəm'peər̃d t̃ʊ
* ,sɪŋgə'pɒr]

Section 3: [ʌ: | ənd | jeə so: best̃ ə'baʊt * ,sɪŋgə'pɒr wəd bi ɔ̃ 'dɪfrən kwɪ'zi:nz | so: ju:
geʃ laɪk ,tʃɑ:'ni:z | dzæpə'ni:z | t̃aɪ | mə'leɪʃən | ne:m ɪt | laɪk 'meksɪkən | 'evrɪt̃ɪŋ laɪk aɪ
ʌv ɔ̃ fu:d frɒm * ,sɪŋgə'pɒr | ɪʃs dzəst̃ so: gʊd | ənd ɔ̃ ɪn *'ɪndɪə 'v:lso: ɔ̃ fu:d | ju:
kəd sei aɪm ə 'fu:dʒi ɔ̃: | bʌ? ʌm | laɪk ɔ̃ st̃ri:t̃ fu:d ɪn *'ɪndɪə ɪʃs 'rɪəli gʊd | laɪk aɪ 'rɪəli
mɪs ɔ̃ fu:d frɒm *'ɪndɪə | ənd aɪ 'v:lso: mɪs v:l maɪ frendz kɒz aɪ dzəs gru: ʌp ɪn *'ɪndɪə
| so: ɔ̃æʃt̃ wəd bi ɔ̃ bes laɪk ju: fɪ:l laɪk juə ho:m | v:l'ɔ̃: aɪ go: bæʃ t̃ʊ *'ɪndɪə mo:st̃ əv
ɔ̃ t̃aɪmz | laɪk ət li:st̃ wʌnz ə jɪər | ʌ: | 'i:vən ɔ̃: aɪm dzəst̃ ɔ̃ wʌnz fər laɪk 'v:lmo:st̃ |
'sɒri laɪk aɪ mɪ:n z v:l'ɔ̃: aɪm ɔ̃ 'o:nli fə laɪk ə mʌŋt̃ | aɪ st̃ɪl fɪ:l so: mʌʃ 'bet̃ə ɔ̃ ɔ̃ laɪk
kəm'peər̃d t̃ʊ * ,sɪŋgə'pɒr | kɒz * ,sɪŋgə'pɒr_ɪ 'o:nli st̃eɪd̃ fə laɪk t̃ʊ: jɪəz | so: aɪ dɪd̃ maɪ eɪ
'leṽl z ɔ̃æʃt̃ | so: e: | ɔ̃æʃs ɔ̃ best̃]

Section 4: [ənd ɪf aɪd sei ɔ̃ wɜ:st̃ ə'baʊt e: | *'ɪndɪə wəd bi | ju: kəd si: ɔ̃ pə'lju:ʃən | aɪ
d̃ʊ:ñt̃ no: | laɪk aɪ 'rɪəli ʌv *'ɪndɪə so: mʌʃ | ʌ | ɔ̃æʃz so: 'meni t̃ɪŋz laɪk | aɪ d̃ʊ:ñt̃ no: | ju:
kʊd se: ɔ̃æʃ_ər_ə lɒt̃ əv t̃ɪŋz wɪʃ ,aʊt̃'saɪd̃z d̃ʊ:ñt̃ no: ə'baʊt *'ɪndɪə | bət̃ ɔ̃ ju: 'v:lwe:z
hæv ɔ̃:z t̃ɪŋz ju: laɪk ə'baʊt̃ jə ple:s | ənd ɔ̃ səm t̃ɪŋz ju: do:n laɪk ə'baʊt̃ jə ple:s | so:
'sʌmtaɪmz ɔ̃ 'kʌlt̃ʃə go:z ə bɪt̃ t̃ʊ: 'o:vərbɔ:d | bət̃ ɔ̃ e: | aɪ t̃ɪŋk ɔ̃æʃs wət̃ wɪə 'fe:məs fɔ:
| wɪ hæv ə 'veri rɪʃ 'kʌlt̃ʃər_ænd̃ t̃rə'dɪʃən z | so: ɔ̃æʃt̃ kəd bi 'sʌmtaɪmz nɒt̃ 'prækt̃ɪkəl ɪ'nʌf

| so: meni trə'diʃənz ænd 'kʌltʃəz | ai tɪŋk 'sʌmtaɪmz aɪm laɪk | ɟɪz dʌznt 'i:vən meɪk sens]

Section 5: [ænd ə'baʊt *,sɪŋgə'pɔːr ai wɒd se: ɪts kəm'pli:tli 'ɒpəzɪt | ɪts laɪk ə 'prɒpər 'sɪtɪ so: 'no:bəɟi keəz ə'baʊt 'eniʃɪŋ | laɪk 'evrɪwʌnz v:l'ɟo: ɟɛər_ər_ə lɒt əv 'ɪndʒənz ɟɛər | bəʔ e: | ai ɟo:nt tɪŋk ai wəz 'eɪbəl tʊ 'mɪŋgəl r'nʌf kɒz ai wəz ɟɛər_o:nli fə tʊ: jɪəz | ænd ʌm | ai ɟɪɟ meɪk kvəɪt ə fju: frendz bəʔ ai wɒd se: e: | maɪ best frendz frɒm *'ɪndiə ə maɪ best frendz]

Section 6: [ænd tʊ:kɪŋ ə'baʊt *'skɒtlənd | ʌ | ai 'rɪəli laɪk *'skɒtlənd | laɪk ai 'rɪəli ʌv *,æbə'di:n | e: | ɪts 'rɪəli ə smɒ:l tʌʊn ənd ju: no: | ɪts so: 'prɪri ənd ɪk'sept ɟə 'vedər_ai tɪŋk ɟæt wɒd bi ɟə wɜ:st tɪŋ ə'baʊt *'skɒtlənd | ɟəʔ ai he:t ɟə 'wedə kɒz aɪm ju:zd tʊ ə 'rɪəli hɒt ænd wɒ:m ænd 'hju:mɪd 'klaɪmɪt | so: aɪm 'getɪŋ ju:zd tʊ ɪt 'v:lmo:st ɟɛər | bəʔ ai ki:p 'se:ɪŋ ɟæt 'evri jɪər | bət ɟen 'dʒʊəriŋ 'wɪntər_ai 'v:lwe:z stɑ:r 'fi:lɪŋ ko:ld r'nɪʃəli | so: ʌm | jeə ɟəʔ wɒd bi ɟəʔ]

Section 7: [ænd ɟə wɜ:rst wɒd bi ɟə 'vedər ənd ɟə best wɒd bi e:m | ai tɪŋk 'pi:pəl hɪər_ər 'rɪəli 'i:zi tə tʊ:k tə kəm'peəd tə *,sɪŋgə'pɔːr | kɒz 'meɪbi: ɪts dʒəst bɪ'kɒz ɪts ə 'sɪtɪ | laɪk ɪf ju: go: tʊ *'lʌndən ɪts 'dɪfɪkəlt tʊ meɪk frendz kɒz 'evrɪwʌnz so: 'bɪzi ənd ɪts sʌtʃ ə 'hekʃɪk laɪf | bər_ɪn *'skɒtlənd 'pi:pəl ər mɒr tʃɪld ænd rɪ'læksʃ | so: jeə ʌ | ai ho:p ɟɪz helps ənd aɪm 'sɒri fə ɟə dɪ'le: | ai kəm'pli:tli fə'gɒt ai wəz sə'po:zd tə send ɟɪs tʊ ju: | ʌ: | tʌŋk ju: | baɪ baɪ | hæv ə naɪs tʌɪm]