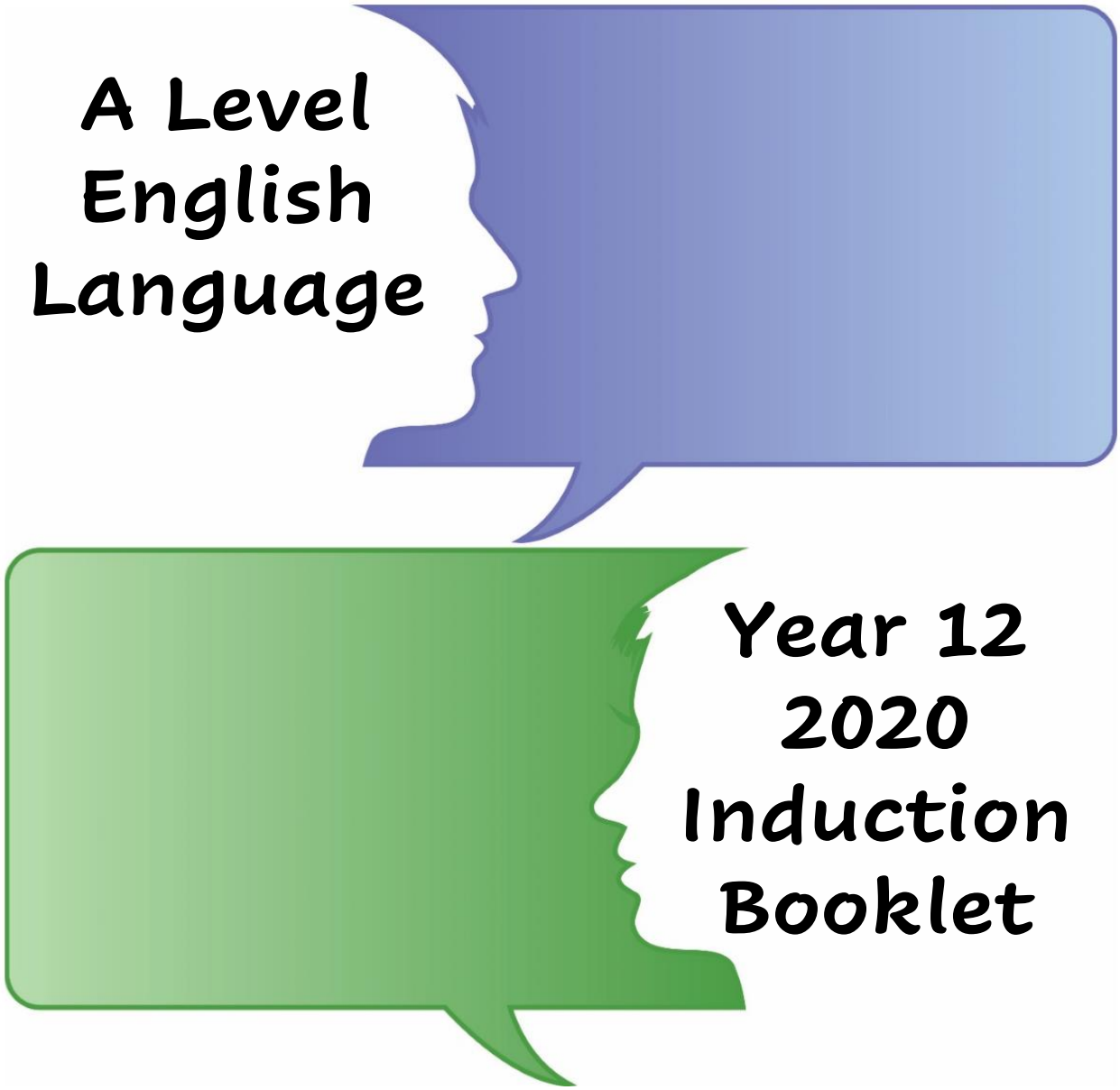
A Level English Language



Year 12 2020 Induction Booklet

Name.....

This booklet accompanies the live online lessons you will attend as part of your induction onto this course. Please make sure you have it and a pen / pencil with you when you log into the live lessons.

Some resources taken from the Leaping Into Language Series by the English and Media Centre

Personal Opinions on language

- Read the five statements in the table below and on a scale of 1 – 5 make a note of how strongly you agree (5) or disagree (1) with each. Try to write a sentence or two in the final column to explain your view.
- Your teacher will ask you to share your ideas and see if you have agreed with your classmates. What different views have been offered?
- Why not keep a note of your own sores and see if your views have shifted by the end of the course?

Statement	Your view 1 – 5 (strongly disagree = 1, strongly agree = 5)	Your reasons
If English changes too quickly, we won't be able to understand each other.		
People who use slang sound stupid and uneducated and it's best to avoid it completely.		
Some accents are just better than others; that's just a fact of life.		
There are some words that are so offensive, they should just be banned.		
When you're communicating online, it doesn't matter if you make mistakes or don't follow the normal rules of grammar; as long as people can understand, that's all that matters.		

Opinions in the media on language: Article 1

If you can't embrace regional dialect, you can kiss my chuddies

Katy Guest
The Guardian
Sunday 31 March 2019

The Oxford English Dictionary's inclusion of Regional terms shows off what the UK has in common – linguistic ingenuity

In a rare piece of happy news to distract us momentarily from all the chaos, those lovely linguists at the Oxford English Dictionary have announced an abundance of new words all taken from regional dialects.

The new entries include the Indian-English phrase "kiss my chuddies"; the delicious word "jibbons", which is what spring onions are called in Wales; and the Scottish words "sitooterie", which is (obviously) a place to sit out, and "bidie-in" ("a person who lives with his or her partner in a non-marital relationship"), which surely should have been in the dictionary ages ago, since the author Val McDermid, a fine connoisseur of the English language, uses it in her Twitter bio.

That the wise custodians of the English language are actively embracing regional variation is pleasing for many reasons. A recent report revealed "accent softening" lessons are becoming big business in the UK, especially since the Brexit referendum. Regional accents really are "a bar to social mobility", according to experts at the University of Manchester, who have found: "We can still sound regional in the workplace, but not too regional." But I'm with the linguists: now, if ever, we should come together with our fellow Brits, celebrate our diversity and make an extra effort to understand each other. Even people who say "scone" instead of "scone". Perhaps that would have avoided the sort of consternation that was caused recently when certain London-based commentators realised that Jess Phillips MP wasn't necessarily dragged up in a barn just because she speaks with a West Midlands accent. So, people in Birmingham can have office jobs, too? Well – as they say in Yorkshire – I'll go to t'foot of our stairs.

In middle-class offices around London last month, all eyes were on the New York Times's dialect quiz with which an American newspaper delighted British and Irish readers by reminding us that we'll always have our cute accents, no matter what else might be jiggered. After reading it, half the country vowed to use the magnificent word "nithered" (cold) more often; scousers wondered why nobody else has a special word for "scally"; northerners tried to figure out what's special about the word "put" that makes southerners pronounce it properly (despite saying "but", "cut", nut", etc, all wrong); and nobody managed to resolve whether the evening meal is called dinner or tea. (Tea. It's tea.) We can learn a lot about people from the things they say and how they say them. Only Scotland, for example, would have so many unique ways of describing folk with "an exaggerated sense of [their] own importance". (The OED mentions "bigsie", and "fantoosh", meaning showy or flashy.)

It feels reassuring to learn that, linguistically at least, Britain is embracing difference and change. Periodically, lovers of variation in the English language fret that regional idiosyncrasies are being ironed out by some sort of ugly, modern, homogenous tone. In the 1990s, linguists talked about "upspeak", or "high rising terminals", which made young people talk with an upward inflection at the end of sentences as though they were constantly asking questions. One theory was that they'd got it from watching Neighbours, and that it was all the fault of new towns where nobody had any proper English roots. Some observers thought that upspeak sounded ridiculous and infantile, until Tony Blair and George Osborne came along with their fake glottal stops, and then young people asking questions suddenly didn't seem so silly any more.

1

My own voice comes from Yorkshire, where children getting in the way of adults were told, “Eee, tha’s like ’oss muck – allus in t’road”; the Wirral, which scousers think is dead posh; Plymouth, whose locals are called janners; and Derby, where I learned to appreciate a flat pint of Bass in a jug please, duck. I’m a linguistic shapeshifter, a fan of a neat phrase and an in-joke, and a proud citizen of all over t’shop.
The OED promises to continue its search for regional terms, showcasing all the diverse glory of British English, as well as reminding us of everything we have in common – our wit, our ingenuity, our endless enthusiasm for a bum metaphor. I for one am all in favour of upspeak, variety, linguistic inventiveness and chuddies. And maybe, if the expert team at the OED keeps investigating, one day they might even figure out what Jacob Rees-Mogg is on about.

- Katy Guest is a writer and editor, and a commissioning editor for the publisher Unbound

https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/mar/31/embrace-regional-dialect-kiss-chuddies-dictionary

Notes

Opinions in the media on language: Article 2

Saying no to 'gizit' is plain prejudice

Julia Snell

The Independent

Sunday 10 February 2013

A war on dialect will quash curiosity and ideas

Sociolinguists have been fighting dialect prejudice since the 1960s, but negative and uninformed views about non-standard English are regaining currency in media and educational debates. Most recently, Carol Walker, headteacher of a Teesside primary school, wrote a letter to parents asking that they help tackle the "problem" posed by their children's use of local dialect by correcting certain words, phrases and pronunciations associated with Teesside (including "gizit ere" and "yous").

Naturally, I support the school's aim of teaching pupils to use written standard English so that they can progress in future education and employment. However, focusing on speech will not improve their writing. There are three reasons why the methods advocated in this letter are unhelpful and damaging.

First, the letter seems to assume that to teach standard English it is necessary to erase features of the local dialect. As a native of Teesside, I recognise several of the so-called "problem" words and phrases. I still use them, as well as standard English; they're part of the repertoire of linguistic forms and meanings I and, as my academic research shows, primary school children in Teesside draw upon.

For example, like me, the children I worked with sometimes used the banned "gizit". This is a condensed form of "give us it" (it's a normal process in informal speech that when talk speeds up sounds get left out). The use of the plural pronoun "us" instead of singular "me" is common not only in Teesside but in dialects across the English-speaking world, making a command less demanding. The letter states that children should say, "Please give me it" as an alternative, but such commands are quite risky, since they can sound impolite.

I find children use "give us it" with friends as a way of softening the command, by appealing to group solidarity. The same children use "give me it" and other "standard" alternatives such as "Can I have it?" and "I need it". It depended on context. Clearly, they had command of both standard and non-standard forms, using them discerningly.

Second, the letter is wrong on a number of points. It says that children should not say "yous" because "you is NEVER plural". This is simply incorrect: "you" is used for both second person singular and plural in standard English, but historically, "you" was the plural form while "thou" was singular. Many languages still differentiate between second person singular and plural (e.g. tu and vous in French). Standard English no longer makes this distinction, but many dialects of English, including Teesside, Newcastle and Liverpool, as well as Irish English, use "yous" to fill the gap. US English has also developed similar strategies, using forms such as "y'all" and "yinz" for second person plural.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, to learn and develop, children must participate actively in classroom discussion; they must think out loud, answer and ask questions, and challenge each other's and their teachers' ideas. When teachers focus exclusively on the form of this talk rather than the substance, children may simply remain silent in order to avoid the shame of speaking "incorrectly", and miss the interactions crucial to learning.

Ultimately, it is not the presence or absence of non-standard forms in children's speech that raise educational issues; rather, picking on non-standard voices risks marginalising some children, and may make them less confident at school. Silencing pupils' voices, even with the best intentions, is just not acceptable.

Dr Julia Snell lectures in Socio-linguistics at King's College, London

https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/saying-no-to-gizit-is-plain-prejudice-8488358.html

Opinions in the media on language: Article 3

Text-speak: language evolution or just laziness?

Anne Merritt
The Telegraph
03 Apr 2013

Pupils are becoming increasingly "bilingual" in English and text-speak, a new study claims. But is it just a simple decline in proper language skills, asks Anne Merritt.

Text-speak: shortened bits of language like “m8” and “b4” are altering the way that children communicate.

Schoolchildren as young as eight are showing a growing proficiency in bilingualism, according to a recent poll of UK parents and teachers. The only hitch? They’re bilingual in English and "text-speak" – the phonetic or acronymic bites of language such as “L8R” or “LOL.”

What’s more, this text-speak is creeping beyond their smartphones and into pupils’ everyday language. Mencap, a charity for learning disabilities, sponsored a poll of 500 UK parents and teachers. Two-in-three teachers reported that they regularly find text-speak in pupils' homework. Over three-quarters of parents say they have to clarify the cryptic text-speak in their children’s texts and emails.

Almost all participants surveyed (89 per cent) said that this growing prevalence of text speak is creating a veritable language barrier between themselves and children.

Clearly, these shortened bits of language like “m8” and “b4” aren’t just for concise texting with friends. They are altering the way that children communicate.

But is this linguistic evolution, or just laziness? Do children use text-speak because they no longer understand the boundaries of formal and informal English? Or, are children consciously changing those boundaries through a one-size-fits-all communicative tone?

Call me a traditionalist, but it doesn’t look like a revolution to me. Instead, it looks like a simple decline in proper language skills, born out of a digitally literate culture that has grown too comfortable in an age of abbreviations and spellchecks.

Yes, recent studies from Coventry University and the University of Hawaii have reported that children can still distinguish between formal and informal speech. They also note that frequent use of text-speak doesn’t necessarily correlate with poor essay writing skills.

So students are still capable of developing arguments, writing thesis statements, and structuring their thoughts. They’re just doing it with “u” instead of “you.”

It’s a problem of productive language skills. Though children learn proper English in school, they’re not applying it outside the classroom, and the lessons aren’t sticking.

Experts say that children write more these days than they did 20 years ago, because of texting and social media. Most of that writing, however, is in text-speak, and that form of language becomes a bad habit. Students are now so used to writing in text-speak that they can’t easily remember (or apply) proper language rules.

Communication is becoming more global in scope and more electronic in form. By the time these children finish school and enter the workforce, this decline in the spoken word will become greater. Written communication, in a formal report, an email, or even a text, isn’t just happening on the colloquial level anymore, and children need to be educated on how to use technology in formal, professional contexts.

1

Teachers and parents need to encourage children to discern the right time and place for casual language. Children also need to hone their proper English skills so that they can call upon correct spelling and grammar when it's needed. Text-speak in pupils' essays may be amusing, albeit cringeworthy, nowadays. It's not as amusing to imagine our children 10 years from now, as adults, texting "can u plz c me?!?" to their bosses.

Top 10 bizarre text-speak spellings

After – Rfd

Tonight – 2nite

Great – Gr8

Before – B4

Tomorrow – 2moro

Cool – kwl

Mate – M8

Pizza – Peetsa

True – Churoo

That – Dat

(source: Mencap/Del Monte Fruit Burst poll)

- Anne Merritt is an ESL lecturer currently based in South Korea.

https://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationopinion/9966117/Text-speak-language-evolution-or-just-laziness.html

Notes

2

Language and the individual: Your Idiolect

Leap into Language – Language Profile

One of the most interesting aspects of studying language is that you learn more about your own language use, so let's make this first task all about you…

• Create a 'language profile' of yourself by answering the following questions and then writing them up as a set of bullet points that highlight what you think are the most interesting and important aspects of the language you use:

o What's your earliest language memory? Can you remember a nursery rhyme, song or picture book from when you were very little?

o Have your family or extended family kept any records – video, audio, family memories – of any of your earliest words?

o Have you kept any old school books from when you were learning to read and write?

o Where were you born and where in the UK, or the wider world, are your family from? Go back a few generations if you like and think about any other languages that your family members might speak, or other places your family members might have lived.

o Are there any words or expressions only you or your family use, which others don't really understand?

o Do you or your friends at school use language in any ways that you notice as being different from other people around you? These could be other people in your year, your teachers, your family, whoever.

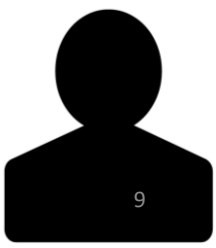
o Do you listen to or watch anyone on TV, online or in films or music videos who uses language in a way that interests or annoys you?

o Do you ever look at or hear someone else using language in a way that you find is totally new or strange to you?

o Have your teachers or family ever talked to you about the way you speak?

One of the most useful resources for language on this course is **you**. Language is made up of so much more than the words we see printed on a page, so when you are thinking about language, come back to these ideas here to keep the range wide. We are often told there is a right way and a wrong way to use language, but the more you study about language, the more you'll realise that it's more complicated and interesting than that.

And you'll also start to build up a bigger picture of the different influences on your own language identity as this course goes on – all the factors that influence who you are linguistically and how you can choose to behave with language in different situations.



Language and the individual: Forensic Linguistics

As you learn more about language use, you'll start to see that everybody has their own unique language style. Lots of things influence this – where we're from, how old we are, the type of work we do and our interests, our family backgrounds and our own individual personalities – but we all have what's called an **idiolect** (an individual language style). It's not quite the same as a fingerprint, but there are some similarities. And while detectives can use fingerprints to track down individuals, **forensic linguists** can also use this idea of individual language style to identify people, or aspects of a person's background.

Task:
This activity puts you in the role of a language detective trying to solve a crime. The police need your help to work out who might have sent an abusive social media message from an anonymous account to a local politician. They have three suspects in custody and your job is to offer a view on which one you think is most likely to have sent the message, based on possible language clues.

• Read **Exhibit 1**, the abusive message that the police are investigating. Is there anything that stands out in this message as being potentially interesting about how language is being used?

• **Social media messages** about the same issue which were used to identify three suspects. Read through these in turn, again making a note of anything that strikes you as interesting about how language is being used.

• Based on this small amount of data, have you got any suggestions about who might have sent the abusive message? Write a short police report explaining your thoughts. Try to pin your thinking down to specific bits of language evidence in the data.

Data sets

Exhibit 1: the abusive message

Hope your really proud of yourself for what you done but you gotta no that one day your gonna get payback!!! We have had enough of politicians like you not listening to us, you should of listened!!! Watch your back

Suspect 1's social media message

I don't like what's been happening in this area since the new housing development started. This used to be a nice place to live!!! I'm so disappointed in are local representatives for not sticking up for us!!!

Suspect 2's social media message

When are local councillors gonna realise that they should of been standing up for us and not for they're mates in the big building firms, these people are gonna make a fortune from this

Suspect 3's social media message

Your joking! Are they seriously going to build 200 new houses on the fields up by the hospital?! That is crazy. There's not enough facilities for the rest of us at the moment. Madness!!!

This is a **very** simplified version of the kind of analysis forensic linguists sometimes do.
If you want to find out more about the real work forensic linguists do in solving crimes, have a look at the Tim Grant lecture in the A Level Language Independent Preparation Work pack on the induction page on the website.

2

Summer Language Diary

While the A Level English Language course will take you to new places, it also builds on things you've studied and read before. That's because it's still about English: something you've been using and learning about for years. And if you like reading novels, plays, poems and short stories, you don't have to leave them behind when you're studying English Language A Level, because all those forms use language in one way or another and they can all be part of what you study. You can also write creatively on this course.

- Think back over the last few months to the various things you might have read, watched or listened to. What have been your favourites recently? For example, you might have enjoyed the latest series of *Gogglebox*, *Killing Eve*, an interview between Cardi B and Bernie Sanders, a speech by a scientist taking about public health, a novel about a child entering a parallel universe, a series of articles on a news website about conspiracy theories and fake news, a TikTok of a woman in the USA performing different accents, a stand-up comedy show on YouTube or even a clip of a man trying to chase a bat around his kitchen while a relative shouts 'He's making a mockery out of you boy' in a strong Irish accent.
- Keep a language log where you reflect on what you have read, watched and listened to. Try to identify one or two language angles to these. Was there:
    - Something interesting about an accent being used
    - A new word or expression you heard that you hadn't come across before
    - A paragraph of writing that you thought was particularly powerful
    - An image that you were struck by
    - A plot structure or character that interested you?

One of the ways to inspire your own creativity on the course is to think about the things that have inspired you. At some point, you'll be asked to produce your own creative writing on this course and that might be an article about a language issue, an opening to a short story, a review of a gig, film or restaurant, or even the text of a speech. The more you read, listen to and think about language, the more you'll have to draw on.

There is a diary space on the next page for you to keep over the summer. Bring this in with you when you return to school in September.

2

Summer Language Diary

Text type / title e.g. tv programme, podcast, article, social media post…	**Text Producer**	**What sparked your interest?** Something interesting about an accent being used A new word or expression you heard that you hadn't come across before A paragraph of writing that you thought was particularly powerful An image that you were struck by A plot structure or character that interested you?	**Date seen / heard / read**

3

History of English

Key Events in Language History

One of the most interesting parts of any A Level English Language course is exploring how the language we use today came to be. Even now, the language is changing all the time and is used by people in the UK (and beyond) in many varied ways. From its earliest origins in the 5th Century CE, English has gone through many changes and reached many historic milestones.

• This activity asks you to create a timeline of key events in the history of English. You might not know some of the dates for these events – and that doesn't matter at this stage – but you will still be able to start sequencing some of the main developments in the language.

• Write out the events in the order you think they happened on the timeline on the next page.

• How accurate was your timeline? Do any of these dates surprise you?

• Why do you think some of these dates are so significant to the history of the language? Choose three key events from the timeline and try to write a sentence or two about their significance.

Events to put on the Language Timeline on the next page

First TV broadcast in the world

First printing press in the UK

First telephone call

First Bible translation in English

First dictionary published in UK

First BBC radio broadcast

First Hollywood film studio built

First SMS (text) message sent

First spelling guide in UK

First English settlement in America

First wood-cased pencil invented

First newspaper printed in UK

Passing of Education Act that led to compulsory schooling up to age of 15

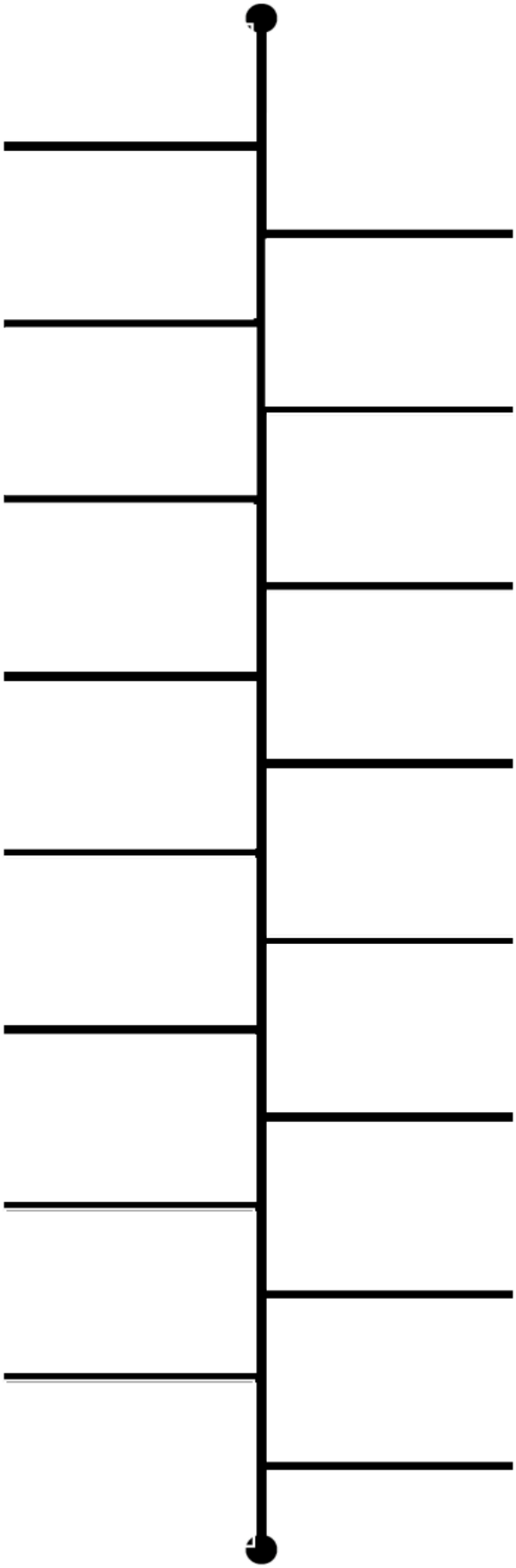
Norman invasion of Britain

First email sent

Establishment of first university in the UK

3

History of English Timeline



Accent and Dialect

Lexical Variation of Dialect

Task:

- Sort the words into whether you think they are a lexical variation for bread roll, baby or annoyed.
- Can you guess where any of them originate from in the UK?

Annoyed

Bread roll

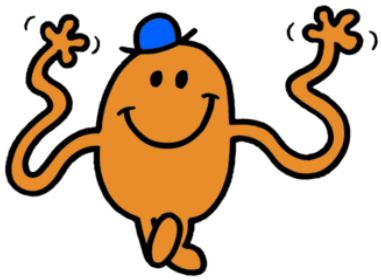
Baby

Batch	Bridie	Sprog
Bap	Got the zig	Got a cob on
Bairn	Bread cake	Cob
Raging	Down the banks	Barm cake
Nipper	Babber	Babby

Which Accents?

Everyone has an accent. You might not think you do, but it's a linguistic fact. Accents are normally associated with particular regions and places but can also be linked to a person's social class – how 'posh' they sound, for example.

- You are going to hear people with 5 different accents reading out parts of Mr Tickle.
- Can you guess where in the UK these people are from?
- What do you notice about how the words sound?



4

Accent and Dialect

Listen to your teacher play the 10 examples of different people from around the British Isles reading the same bit of text.

- Listen to all 10 of them and use the map below to mark where you think each speaker might be from.
- Write a quick comment (maybe just a few words) about each accent and how it sounds to you.

Accent Response Sheet

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	

4

Accent and Dialect

Now use the text of the extract (below) and listen to three of the recordings again. Write down the numbers of the accent clips you have chose in the relevant spaces. As you listen, use a highlighter to note the sounds that you notice as being different to how you might pronounce them. Think about the sounds that you have highlighted for each recording and see if you can notice any patterns in them.

Accent number:
When he woke the next morning, the streets were empty and there was no one to be seen. He left the house and looked up and down the hill but not a soul was to be found. Somewhere in the distance a single church bell tolled slowly but there was no other sound: no bird song, no hum of traffic, nothing. Starting to feel anxious now, he walked up past the farm, towards the church, along the path by the school and into the main square. The bell had stopped ringing now, but a fragile tune – perhaps played on a fiddle – had taken its place. And that's where he saw them for the first time: a circle of children, dancing mutely, each of their faces a mask of concentration, yet somehow alive and happy.

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5

Sociolect

Sociolect: a language style associated with a particular social group.

It is the kind of language we can draw on to display our membership of specific social groups e.g. age, gender, social class, ethnicity, occupation, interests...

Can you think back to your personal language profile and identify your sociolects?

Modern London English has now moved into several multicultural cities around Britain and is mostly spoken by young people.
It has now become a **Non geographical sociolect**

Task: Provide a translation for all of the underlined words in the paragraph below.
Challenge: Where do you think some of these MLE lexical variations came from originally? Think of a country…

> At the back of a London bus, two teenagers are engaged in animated conversation.
>
> "**Safe**, man," says one. "Dis my **yard**. It's, laahhhk, **nang**, innit? What **endz** you from? You're looking **buff** in them **low batties**."
>
> "Check the **creps**," says the other. "My **bluds** say the **skets** round here are **nuff** deep."
>
> "**Wasteman**," responds the first, with alacrity. "You just **begging** now."
>
> The pair exit the vehicle, to blank stares of incomprehension.

5

Sociolect

Transcript of Alex at the Airport

Alex is a 16 year old mixed race white British/black Caribbean Londoner, recorded here talking to his friend Zack. Zack is a white British boy, also aged 16. Both boys live in inner London and speak Multicultural London English. Immediately before this extract Alex and Zack had been talking between themselves about going on holiday and ways of bringing banned goods back into the country. In this extract it is Alex who is now holding the floor. Although the interviewer is present, Alex is mainly telling Zack about an incident at the airport in Amsterdam when his friend had hidden drugs in a deodorant spray can. Alex is a lively storyteller and he involves the listeners in the story using a range of different linguistic strategies such as address terms, the conversational historical present tense, kissing teeth, intensifiers and different rhetorical strategies, making the story a kind of performance.

Alex, male, aged 16, white British/black Caribbean mixed race, from inner London

At the Airport

1	**Alex:**	/he had like/ half ounces in the deodorant can bruv.
2		cos where the punk's so compressed yeah and it weighs heavy [Zack: mm]
		they just wrap it up .
3		bang and it just goes right in the middle of the liquid
4		they put a l. the. the spray bit the hole they make a hole right through
		the middle of it yeah
5		blud they move it like that. so they make it like that make a little hole. they just stick it in .
6		bang. done everything. weld that little bit on. smack
7		all you have to do is go crack like that with a chiv <kisses teeth> gone
8		but I see him come back yeah and he opened .
9		one time he sprayed the. thing yeah cos [Zack: punk] the export people innit
10		they sprayed the spray yeah [S: mm]
11		like just to check that it weren't anything.
12		bruv when I say they were smelling weed
13		this is him. this is them "what's that smell that's coming out?"
14		this is him "oh i dunno like it must be d.d. thing"
15		this is them. but on the back yeah what he didn't see yeah it had weed spray.. yeah?
16		but not like weed spray what you use to spray the weed like .
17		like it was called weed spray that's the smell of it yeah [Zack: mhm]
18		so the man's looking at it now proper staring at it
19		and he's thinking "weed spray"?
20		and this is him "yeah yeah like you know weed spray give you a nice smell like"
21		and the man just was so dumb
22		he went "yeah yeah my friend"
23		bang put it in a bag.
24		let them go.
25		some of them they can't be bo. in amsterdam
26		it's . you can get through their customs like that <sound effect>
27		cos they all. they smoke weed in the airport bruv .
28		I've seen them smoke weed /in the airport/ they are mad
29	Zack:	/in the café/

Q1. How many times does Alex use the discourse marker 'yeah'? Why do you think he does this?

Q2. What lexical variations does he use? Can you translate any?

Q3. Does Alex make any sounds that are not words? What are they are why do you think he does this?

Q4. Alex uses the intensifier 'so' in 'so compressed' and 'so dumb'. From this, can you explain what the effect of an intensifier is?

Language, Communication and Technology - Article

‘C ya l8tr bbz’ – Language, Communication and Technology

PhD student Christian Ilbury explores the relationship between evolving technology and the linguistic choices we make on social media, offering insights from his current research that explode myths about spelling, abbreviations and other aspects of ‘txtspeak’.

There’s a strong chance that before reading this article today, you’ve already replied to a few stories on Snapchat, sent a few WhatsApp messages and DM’d someone through Instagram. Increasingly, our interactions are migrating online in the form of texts, but how is this shift towards digital communication changing the ways in which we communicate?

Way Back Then

Back in the early days of the mobile phone when Nokia was the phone brand of choice, people primarily used to text each other via SMS. Unlike today, mobile data plans were expensive, apps weren’t a ‘thing’ and most people still had pay-as-you-go contracts. With SMS (i.e. text) messages charged per 160 characters, that extra kiss or final ‘see you later’ could set you back the cost of an additional message. And whilst a message could be spoken in a couple of seconds, using a keypad to text the same message took somewhat longer – even for the more competent texters.

To get around these issues, people developed innovative ways to communicate the same message, using fewer characters and in less time, saving both on the cost of a text and the time taken to write the message. In fact, many of these abbreviations still persist and are regularly used today: <lol> for ‘laugh out loud’, <omg!> for ‘oh my God!’, and <hbu?> for ‘how about you?’.

When these forms were first documented, academics and newspapers were quick to suggest that the internet and texting were responsible for the emergence of a new variety of English. Indeed, much of this research pointed to the fact that the language used on the internet looked like a combination of both speech and writing. For instance, think of the spelling <walkin> for ‘walking’ or <chu> for ‘you’. These two spellings essentially ‘mimic’ the way that these words are sometimes pronounced in speech. This led some scholars and journalists to describe this ‘new variety’ as a form of netspeakor txtspeak.

An Even Longer Communication History

However, whilst the technology that we now use to communicate may be new, in reality, much of the language used online and in text-messaging isn’t so innovative. Tracing communication as far back as the 1800s when people used telegrams, we see that many of the telegraph messages sent via these machines contained several spellings that look remarkably similar to those that were characterised as netspeak. And, at that time, like text-messages, telegraphs were charged by the character. So, as with

the 160-character limit of a message, people developed shorthand phrases, spellings and other textual elements to communicate more efficiently and more cheaply. Smart, huh?

The Truth of Txtspeak

Nevertheless, modern-day newspapers continue to bemoan the surge of txtspeak and warn of the destructive effects of the internet on communication. Yet, academic research on the language of text-messaging and online communication has shown spellings and textual features that are perceived to be 'typical' of the variety actually to be relatively infrequent in practice. This point is perhaps more relevant now given the widespread use of Artificial Intelligence (AI), such as speech recognition systems (e.g. Siri) and predictive text, which use conventional spellings derived from dictionaries.

In fact, in my own research on the mobile application and messaging service WhatsApp, I found a lot of evidence to suggest that users make good use of predictive text technologies and are generally very conscious of their spelling and grammar. Like other researchers, I noted that the messages were largely written in standard English. But I also found that there were least two different types of variant spelling: spelling errors and the use of netspeak in the data.

My Research Data and What it Shows

My data set comprises a corpus of 100,000 messages across two group conversations sent by sixteen individuals in their early twenties who were based in the South East of England and accessed WhatsApp via a smartphone. Exploring these variant spellings in this corpus, I found that users responded to spelling-errors and so-called netspeak features in very different ways. When I looked at the examples of the genuine spelling errors, I observed that the users actively would try to maintain 'standard' language policies, such that other users would often participate in a type of language policing. An example of this policing is found in (1), where Lisa and her friends are discussing their New Year's Eve plans:

Example 1

> *Lisa: lol guys I've just been asked if I want to go to Barbadosfor 5 nights over*
>
> *New Years FOR FREE*
>
> *Abi: omg!*
>
> *Ellie: Why don't you go*
>
> *Lisa: Nooo I already made plans with y'all! Can I split myself in half*
>
> *Abi: Lol are you STUPID Lisa*
>
> *Ellie: hahahaha*
>
> *Abi: It's Barbadous*
>
> *Ellie: Wow*

> *Ellie: Spelling*
>
> *Lisa: Hahahaha spelling*
>
> *Stef: We are going to London Bridge*

When the location is revealed by Lisa in line 1, it is correctly spelt as <Barbados>, but as the conversation develops and Abi refers to the location, she makes a spelling error <Barbadous>. Instead, of continuing the conversation, Ellie explicitly references the spelling in lines 9-10, before Lisa follows up her comments using 'hahaha' to ridicule the error. In this way, the users participate in a type of linguistic policing – by emphasising the incorrect spelling and evaluating the mistake as humorous – suggesting that spelling errors should be avoided at all costs.

When I looked at these spelling errors in more detail, I found that another way that users seem to uphold these language standardsis through the innovative use of the asterisk, <*>, which is often used to repairspelling errors. In fact, of the 865 examples of <*> in my data, 83.9% are used to fulfil this function.

But whilst genuine spelling errors are subject to ridicule and scrutiny from others in the conversation, when netspeak features are used, we do not see the same type of response from the group. This suggests that the group do not see these features as spelling errors but rather recognise them as an accepted form of online communication.

However, unlike spelling errors which are relatively frequent, these forms are incredibly rare. For instance, in (2) we observe the extensive use of netspeak features: <yaaa>, <bbz>, <c>, <u> and so on, but they occur only infrequently in other messages. For instance, whilst there are 1293 instances of 'see' in the entire corpus of nearly 100,000 messages, only seven of these are spelt as <c>. Given that they are so rare, why then would these features be used in this conversation?

Example 2

> *Mark: Ok! I'll meet yaaa*
>
> *Abi: Yeah George*
>
> *Abi: I'm walking up the road*
>
> *Stef: We're in the garden bbz*
>
> *Abi: Coooooool*
>
> *Abi: C u in a min*
>
> *Mark: You guys still there?*

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> *Abi: Yeeeeee*

To answer this question, let's return to the purpose of the conversation in (2). As a friendly interaction between group members Mark, Abi, and Stef, the sole purpose of this exchange is to establish where the group will meet for a drink. Here, it seems that the use of non-standard spellings, such as <bbz> and <c>, function solely to establish the tone of the conversation. By using these netspeak features, the three users essentially mark this discussion as an informal conversation to establish where to get a casual drink with friends. Take these forms away and replace them with the standard spellings of these forms and the conversation looks somewhat more like a formal arrangement between colleagues!

Medium, Message, Intentions and Choices

So, it seems that a lot of the work that is going here has to do with the 'medium' through which we are communicating. Given that communication on WhatsApp happens via text, we're faced with a dilemma: text doesn't allow us to use things like body language, intonation and other paralinguistic featuresto signal meaning that we use in speech. To account for this, we've developed unique ways to signal our true intentions. Emoji is a prime example of this. The infamous 'tears of joy' emoji, for instance, resembles the paralinguistic feature of laughter. What I would suggest here then, is that netspeak is doing a similar thing to emojis in that it is used to signal to the reader how the message should be interpreted.

Example 3

> *Mark: Ok I've paid the council tax, so if everyone could please transfer £23.56 asap that would be gr8 thaaanks!*

A further example is found in (3). In this extract, Mark has just sent a message to a group chat that includes his housemates asking them to pay their share of the council tax which he's paid in full. Note, in most of his message, he uses standard spellings and written conventions. However, we see he uses the 'netspeak' forms <gr8> for 'great' and <thaaanks> for 'thanks' at the end of his message.

Why, given the relative infrequency of these forms, does he use these features in this text? Based on my arguments so far, it seems likely that that his use of <gr8> and <thaaanks> are doing something very similar to the variant spellings in (2). In other words, by using these two features at the end of his message he essentially turns something very serious and formal (a request for money) into something not so serious that says to the rest of the group: 'this is still an informal conversation amongst friends'.

So, whilst our predictive text and our unlimited data may not mean that we may not use 'c u l8tr bbz' for the same reasons as before, during the Nokia era, it seems that the use of non-standard spellings are still an incredibly useful resource when communicating via (digital) text!

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Language and Gender
Deficit, Dominance and Difference

DEFICIT, DOMINANCE & DIFFERENCE

When we discuss 'language and Gender' there are three main 'models' that most theorists fit themselves into: deficit, dominance, and difference.

The Deficit model: refers to how women's language use contributes to women's lower status and weaker position in society.

The Dominance model: suggests that men's use of language 'dominates' the weaker female sex

The Difference model: men and women are just different and neither one nor the other is more dominant necessarily

DEFICIT:

ROBIN LAKOFF

Lakoff was one of the first theorists to pay close attention to language and gender. She didn't do a 'study', like we are used to, instead she wrote a book called *Language and Woman's Place* in 1975 and put forward a basic set of assumptions about the language of women. Lakoff believes that gender inequality and language are linked. She thinks that women:

- **Hedge**: this means using phrases like "sort of", "kind of", "it seems like", and so on to make their point seem less certain, and themselves seem less assertive.
- **Use (super) polite forms**: "Would you mind...","I'd appreciate it if...", "...if you don't mind".
- Use **tag questions**: "You're going to dinner, aren't you?"
- Speak in italics: intonational emphasis equal to underlining words - so, very, quite.
- Use **empty adjectives**: divine, lovely, adorable, and so on
- Use **hypercorrect grammar and pronunciation**: English prestige grammar and clear enunciation.
- Use **direct quotation**: men paraphrase more often.
- Have a special **lexicon**: women use more words for things like colours, men for sports.
- Use **question intonation** in declarative statements: women make declarative statements into questions by raising the pitch of their voice at the end of a statement, expressing uncertainty. For example, "What school do you attend? Eton College?"
- Use "**wh-" imperatives**: (such as, "Why don't you open the door?")
- Speak less frequently
- Overuse **qualifiers**: (for example, "I think that...")
- Apologise more: (for instance, "I'm sorry, but I think that...")
- Use **modal constructions**: (such as can, would, should, ought - "Should we turn up the heat?")
- **Avoid coarse language** or expletives
- Use **indirect commands and requests**: (for example, "My, isn't it cold in here?" - really a request to turn the heat on or close a window)
- Use **more intensifiers**: especially so and very (for instance, "I am so glad you came!")
- Lack a sense of humour: women do not tell jokes well and often don't understand the punch line of jokes.

A woman calling another woman humourless, passive-aggressive and prudish would appear to contradict the work she was attempting to implement, however there was a lot of truth in the work that she did. When we evaluate this study, we can obviously discuss how not *all* women can be put into one homogenous group in this way.

Language and Gender
Deficit, Dominance and Difference

O'BARR AND ATKINS

William O'Barr and Bowman Atkins (1980) saw Robin Lakoff's list, and considered it reductive. They conducted a 30-month study of courtroom footage, and they recorded over 150 hours of trials in a North Carolina superior criminal court. They assessed lawyers, witnesses, and those on trial. Although almost all of the lawyers they observed were males, the sex distribution of witnesses and defendants was more nearly equal.

Their hypothesis was that women's language is in large part a language of powerlessness, a condition that can apply to **men** as well as women. They did not believe that powerless language was a gendered concept, and that because women were in a generally powerless position in society, powerless language had just become *associated* with women.

As a result of their study, O'Barr and Atkins concluded that the speech patterns reported by Lakoff were neither characteristic of all women nor limited only to women. They found that the women who used the lowest frequency of Lakoff's 'women's language traits' had an unusually high status (according to the researchers). They were well-educated professionals from middle class backgrounds. A corresponding pattern was noted among the men who spoke with a high frequency of women's language traits. The speech patterns outlined by Lakoff, they found, were less to do with gender and more to do with perceived power in society. O'Barr and Atkins tried to emphasize that a powerful position might derive from either social standing in the larger society and/or status accorded by the court.

	Women			Men		
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Intensifiers	16	0	0	21	2	1
Hedges	19	2	3	2	5	0
Hesitation	52	20	13	26	27	11
W asks L questions	2	0	0	0	0	0
Gestures	2	0	0	0	0	0
Polite forms	9	0	2	2	0	1
Sir	2	0	6	32	13	11
Quotes	1	5	0	0	0	0
Total (all powerless forms)	103	27	24	85	47	24

The results in the table above demonstrate the number of times each politeness form was used by each participant.

Whilst O'Barr and Atkins have challenged Lakoff's theory of the Deficit Model, this doesn't mean to say that it is 'incorrect'. Many linguists challenge other linguists, but this does not mean to say that they have 'proven them wrong', it simply means that further evidence has been uncovered to challenge it. However, we *can* say that gender is a subject that has advanced enormously in the 21st Century, therefore their 1980s theories may both be considered somewhat outdated – so when discussing the Deficit Model, be sure to consider the out-datedness of it.

Language and Gender
Deficit, Dominance and Difference

DOMINANCE:
Theorists in the Dominance model would tend to argue that in mixed-gender interaction, the male participant would be the more dominant figure.

ZIMMERMAN AND WEST: MEN INTERRUPT WOMEN
Zimmerman and West (1975) recorded 11 everyday conversations in informal settings, such as coffee shops and cafes, and split them into 31 'segments' of conversation. All conversations were 'two-party talks', where the conversation is between two people. All participants were white, middle-class and approximately 20-35 years of age. All but one were University students. Zimmerman and West were looking for **interruptions,** and believed men would interrupt more, in a display of their linguistic dominance.

They established that **men interrupt more than women**. The ratio was 46 male interruptions vs. only 2 by women. This led them to conclude that men like to be in charge of conversations and women prefer to be submissive.

There are a number of questions to ask yourself here though:
Can 11 conversations truly reflect the behaviour of the entirety of each gender?
- What if there was just a particularly loud man in the test group who really wanted to hear himself talk?
- What if interruptions are not in fact a feature of dominance? What if they were in agreement?
- What other reasons could there be fore interruptions occurring?
- Could interruptions reflect interest and involvement?

PAMELA FISHMAN – WOMEN DO ALL THE WORK
Pamela Fishman conducted an experiment and involved listening to fifty-two hours of pre-recorded conversations between young American couples in their homes. The three couples that were studied had been together for varying lengths of time. One woman was a social worker, all five others were in graduate-school. All six participants described themselves either as 'feminists' or 'sympathetic to the women's movement'.

Following this study she argued that mixed-gender conversation sometimes fails, not because men are naturally loud mouths, or because women are timid little delicate flowers, but because of how men respond/don't respond. She stated 'conversation is more problematic for women, who must work harder to make it happen' Talk seems less problematic for men, who exert control over when and how it will occur'.

Fishman, in the write-up of her study, also challenged many of **Lakoff's** earlier assertions. She suggested that to say women's more frequent use of questioning was a sign of insecurity was a much too simplistic view. Fishman attributed a number of interactions to women's questioning, and aiming to keep their male conversational partners engaged and interested. She calls this 'interactional shitwork' (yes, really, you have to write 'shitwork' in your answers now).

For females, questions are an effective method of beginning and maintaining conversations with males. Fishman argues that women use questions to gain conversational power rather than from lack of conversational awareness. She claims that questioning is required for females when speaking with males; men often do not respond to a declarative statement or will only respond minimally. She also

theorised that women also use positive feedback as a way of encouraging male speakers to engage. All in all, she basically suggested that, as opposed to being weaker, women are more co-operative speakers.

GEOFFREY BEATTIE (1982): – SOCIETY BELIEVES MEN DOMINATE
Beattie (basically) wanted to prove Zimmerman and West wrong. He conducted 10 hours of tutorial discussion and some 557 interruptions (compared with the small number recorded by Zimmerman and West).

Beattie found that women and men interrupted with more or less equal frequency (men 34.1, women 33.8) - so men did interrupt more, but by a margin so slight as not to be statistically significant. This is interesting, as Beattie's work is rarely quoted, despite its relative reliability, and Zimmerman and West are regularly rolled out to prove a point. This could be seen to confirm the idea that as a society we choose to believe in male dominance rather than truly assessing the evidence.

MULAC ET AL
Mulac et al wanted to investigate spoken features such as 'I' reference (associated with males) and reference to emotions and verbs expressing uncertainty (associated with females) in written language; enlisted 127 19-21 y/old students to see if common features of spoken language associated with both genders occurred in written work; students were asked to write a description of 5 images; they imposed the follow scenarios on these descriptions:

- no scenario imposed (control writing)
- a man describing it to a man
- a man describing it to a woman
- a woman describing it to a man
- a woman describing it to a woman

These parameters meant they could test if language altered dependent on the perceived gender of the producer and the recipient; in the control group, more stereotypical features were found in line with the gender of the writer; this was also true when they were asked to take on a gender persona, whereby if asked to write like a female, more of the features associated with female language appeared and vice versa; interestingly there was little differentiation in terms of perceived audience.

Language and Gender
Deficit, Dominance and Difference

DIFFERENCE:

DEBORAH TANNEN:

Tannen is a bit like Lakoff in that she didn't do 'a study' necessarily, but she did write a book where she wrote down her observations and ideas. Professor Tannen has summarized her book You Just Don't Understand in an article in which she represents male and female language use in a series of six contrasts, a summary of which can be read here: https://bbaenglish.files.wordpress.com/2016/03/tannen-cant-we-talk.pdf but the list below is also a summary of the same. In each category, the male characteristic goes first, for example, she thinks that in conversation, men try to gain status whereas men try to gain support. Read the rest below:

Status vs. Support

Men grow up in a world in which conversation is competitive - they seek to achieve the upper hand or to prevent others from dominating them. For women, however, talking is often a way to gain confirmation and support for their ideas. Men see the world as a place where people try to gain status and keep it. Women see the world as "a network of connections seeking support and consensus".

Independence vs. Intimacy

Women often think in terms of closeness and support, and struggle to preserve intimacy. Men, concerned with status, tend to focus more on independence. These traits can lead women and men to starkly different views of the same situation. Professor Tannen gives the example of a woman who would check with her husband before inviting a guest to stay - because she likes telling friends that she has to check with him. The man, meanwhile, invites a friend without asking his wife first, because to tell the friend he must check amounts to a loss of status – although he'll definitely get it in the neck later!

Advice vs. Understanding

Deborah Tannen claims that, when faced with a problem men feel challenged to find a solution. Alternatively, when raising issues, women are more likely to be looking for an empathetic reaction that is sympathetic and comforting than for a 'quick fix'.

Information vs. Feelings

Tannen states that men's conversation is message-oriented, based upon communicating information. For women, conversation is much more important for building relationships and strengthening social links.

Orders vs. Proposals

Women often suggest that people do things in indirect ways - "let's", "why don't we?" or "wouldn't it be good, if we...?" Men may use, and prefer to hear, a direct imperative.

Conflict vs. Compromise

Tannen asserts that most women avoid conflict in language at all costs, and instead attempt to resolve disagreements without any direct confrontation, so as to maintain positive connection and rapport. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to use confrontation as a way of resolving differences and thereby negotiating status. As an example, if men disagree with a decision they will open discuss this. Women are more likely to appear as if they are going along with it then complain about it later.

Language and Gender
Deficit, Dominance and Difference

Professor Tannen concludes that:

"Learning the other's ways of talking is a leap across the communication gap between men and women, and a giant step towards genuine understanding."

She ultimately suggests that men and women have differing ways of approaching conversation, which can often make communication more difficult and complex. It is interesting to note, however, that she considers these traits to be of a societal making, not a biological one. She does not think we are born with these traits, but that we are conditioned into them.

JANET HOLMES
TAG QUESTIONS:
Janet Holmes explored how tag questions were used differently by men and women. Tag questions are a question converted from a statement by adding an interrogative – e.g. 'it is nice cake, isn't it?'. Holmes recorded conversations and then categorised tag questions into '**Modal Tags'**, which are requests for information and may show uncertainty (isn't it?), and '**Affective Tags'** which are addressee orientated and expressed intimacy and solidarity (aren't you?).

Women used more tag questions overall. Men used more modal tag questions which may show that they have a lack of self confidence. Women use affective questions more looking for a supporting relationship in conversations.

This study goes against Lakoff and against the dominance model because if men use more referential tag questions, it's their language that's lacking and if they struggle with confidence, they aren't as dominant as women in conversation.

Rather than showing uncertainty, affective tags are designed to not upset the addressee. They show concern rather than weakness, suggesting that women's conversation is not weak, but caring and intimate. This is ultimately supportive of the difference model – neither side shows weakness or dominance, merely difference.

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Language and Gender – Power Dynamic

The transcript below is a real-life conversation between a man and a woman. What do you notice?

This conversation is between two workmates, Linda and Ed, both 19, in the restaurant where they work. They have just finished their shift.

Key: (.) indicates a brief pause.
Numbers within brackets indicate length of pause in seconds.
Words between vertical lines are spoken simultaneously.
Other contextual information is in italics in square brackets.

Linda: went to see Stereophonics on Wednesday

Ed: where d'you go Manchester or [Birmingham

Linda: [Birmingham] (1.0) at the NIA

Ed: I think someone from work went (1.0) to (1.0) er (1.0) Dublin maybe

Linda: where

Ed: Dublin (1.0) they might've been working their way across mightn't they

Linda: yeah (1.0) they were in Manchester (.) well they did a couple of dates in Manchester after Birmingham (1.0) why have I put butter on my bread

Ed: cos you're stupid

Linda: but the funny thing was (1.0) you know um Claire (1.0) Lindsay's sister (1.0) our train to Birmingham was an hour late (2.0) and then (1.0) um (1.0) on the way back the train stopped at like every single stop (1.0) so it took about two hours (2.0) and um Claire (1.0) she parked her car by the river and when we got in the car must have been about two o'clock in the morning so we got in the car and started going and um she got a flat tyre um (1.0) we got out and she had a load of car boot stuff in the back of her car (1.0) so we had to chuck all of that out in the rain (2.0) and um put that lot out in the rain got the tyre out and tried to you know do everything (1.0) couldn't get the jack to work

Ed: [*laughs*]

Linda: wasn't funny (1.0) couldn't get the jack to work so we're all getting wet

Ed: wasn't Dave with you

Linda: no (1.0) Dave didn't go in the end (2.0) couldn't afford it

Ed: [*laughs*] the image of a couple of birds trying to change a tyre

Linda: yeah but we tried to change the [tyre but] we couldn't

Ed: [*laughs*]

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Language and Gender – Power Dynamic

Linda: so Claire said well it's about five minutes drive or we can walk and we were like (1.0) try and drive (1.0) she drove so far and then you know we could hear it getting really bad (1.0) um so we phoned her dad saying dad come and get us (1.0) at two in the morning or whatever (1.0) so yeah (1.0) he had to come and get us (1.0) took ages (1.0) he changed it for us (.) we were turning the jack this way but didn't realise you had to pull it up and turn it that way

Ed: did you have it on the right point on the car

Linda: I dunno

Ed: cos you've got jacking points underneath [the

Linda: [well no] (1.0) we tried to work it without actually putting it by the tyre (1.0) just holding it up and seeing which way it came out

Ed: cos on mine like (1.0) it goes that way (1.0) jacking points are at the same height in the [middle until

Linda: [I have no idea] and you put it on and it's like that

Ed: good end

Linda: hmm

Ed: that was a good end to the day

Linda: well we were turning it like this and it wasn't doing anything (1.0) shut up (1.0) we did try (1.0) we did do quite a good job

Overall, summarise the gender power dynamic in this extract. Use quotations.

8

Child Language Acquisition

Stages of Child Development

1

2

3

4

4.1

5

6

7

8

Child Language Acquisition

Constructing Meaning.
Which phase would the following utterances fit into and why? Give a brief explanation.

1. "Dada"
2. "Mummy drink"
3. "Mama"
4. "Doggie"
5. "Lady smile me"
6. "Nana"
7. "Car go"
8. "apple"
9. "I want go home"
10. "What that?"
11. "Man going fast"

TASK: Look at the transcripts from children of various ages.
Using what you know about the stages of linguistic development, work out which age you think the child is and why. Label with your features e.g. 'two word sentence with just nouns' etc.
Give your age in months so you are more specific.

1. Estimated Age: _____

Child-mother interaction
1. Child coos, gives raspberry sound with lips
Mother: Yeah, tell me some more.
2. Child coos
Mother: Yeah.
3. Child gives raspberry sound
Mother: Yeah.
4. Child almost cries, Goo.
Mother: Ah-gooo.
5. Child gives raspberry sound
Mother: Yeah.
6. Child coos

2. Estimated Age: _____

Child continues to play make-believe with the adult
1. Child: She's eating.
Adult: Great!
2. Child: She ate all…she at a pancake.
Adult: That's pretty good since I don't see any teeth in there. Was it very soft? I hope it was a soft pancake.
3. Child: I put some butter on.

3. Estimated Age: _____

Child and mother playing

1. Child: No! Ah, ah choo-choo.
Mother: Choo-choo!
2. Child: Yeah.
Mother: Okay.
3. Child: Choo-choo!
Mother: Choo-choo? I have two. What's that?
4. Child: That?
Mother: Ooo, bus.
5. Child: That?
Mother: Car.
6. Child: Words are not intelligible
Mother: Put it in.
7. Child: No!
Mother: Where's the fire truck? Put the fire truck in. Ohh, fire truck.
8. Child: Truck.

8

Child Language Acquisition

Phonology is naturally a very significant framework when it comes to acquiring language. Children experiment with sounds and phonics from a very early age (6 weeks.)

TASK: Identify which simplification techniques the following utterances are examples of.

1. Dat's a circle
2. Me want nother bissie.
3. 'bootoo' (button)
4. ‘gog’ (dog)
5. 'cocker bisik' (chocolate biscuit)
6. 'Sassy' (Francis)
7. Put dem down 'ere (there)
8. A snowowman.

Challenge: Can you also estimate which stage of development these children are at?

Lexis and Semantics: words and meaning

Which of these examples would count as a word and why?

1. A baby says ‘da’ every time he hits his toy duck against the side of the bath
2. A baby says ‘dada’ one day when his father enters the room
3. On looking into a mirror an infant exclaims ‘baba!’
4. On looking into a mirror, looking at a photograph album and various books an infant exclaims ‘baba!’
5. You show a baby a picture of a gorilla in a book. She shouts ‘Argh!’