



Age differences: A study on teenager English

Traballo de fin de grao written by Silvia Muradás Vidal
and supervised by Belén Méndez Naya

2013/2014



FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA

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Asdo.: Silvia Muradás Vidal

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the use of the English language by a particular group: British teenagers. One of the aims of this study is to present how the age factor plays a crucial role in the linguistic change and how, more specifically, the period of adolescence is a transitional stage for the individual, not only at the psychological and physical levels but also linguistically. The main focus of this research is to explain and to analyse the main phonological, lexical, and grammatical features that characterize the language of the British teenagers as a distinctive and unique language.

Why study teenage language? Age, among the various social factors in language variation (including regional, social class and gender differences) has been documented in sociolinguistic studies to have impact on variation. Moreover, most of the studies related to the age factor have focused on the differences between the language of children and of adults (Andersen, 2001:2). For this reason, teenagers' language has to be investigated, considering the significance of this transitional period between childhood and adulthood. Teenagers' language cannot be left aside since during this period, all kinds of changes, including linguistic ones, become crucial for the development of the individual.

This study is divided into five different chapters: Firstly, in Chapter 2, I will discuss linguistic variation according to age and I will explain some notions, referred to the age factor, such as *age grading*, *communal change*, *generational change* and *apparent vs real time*, in order to set the research in a broader context. In this chapter, as a background, I will focus on the adolescent period and I will explain why innovations and non-standard features are more common among teenagers than in other age groups, the public opinion of their use of the language by other age groups, and how this life stage is decisive and crucial from a psychological, physical and social point of view. In chapter 3, I will provide the main features of adolescent language as have been reflected in the literature. Here, I will pay attention to the phonological (Estuary English), lexical (slang, vague language and swear/taboo words) and grammatical features (intensifiers, tags,

discourse markers, among others). In chapter 4, I will analyse some of the features, previously explained in the preceding chapter, in corpus material extracted from a corpus of adolescent language: *The Corpus of London Teenage Language* (COLT). This material will be compared with a text illustrating conversation between adults from the London Lund Corpus. The final chapter of my study includes my conclusions and questions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

2.1. LINGUISTIC VARIATION ACCORDING TO AGE

Before starting this study on the language of British teenagers, explaining its main features, it is important to introduce and discuss, firstly, some key concepts related to variation according age and to explain why this age group, namely that of teenagers, is interesting and crucial in the linguistic development of the individuals.

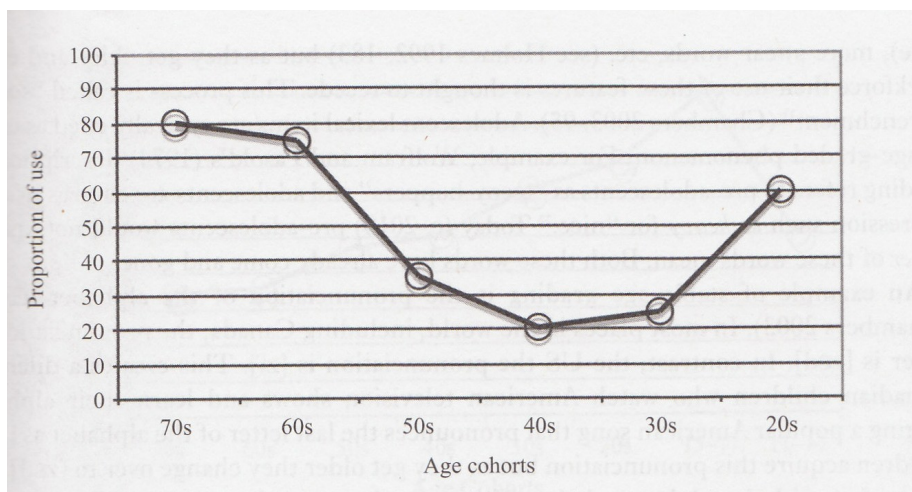
As Kertzer and Keith put it (1984:8 quoted in Murphy, 2010:1), “the aging process cannot be separated from the social, cultural, and historical changes that surround it. (...) Therefore, we must learn how different cohorts age and how society itself is changed by these differences.” The age factor is determinant for the life of an individual and he/she is affected and changed by it in many senses. As a person grows and starts to change, in a physical, psychological and social way, so does his/her language. The age of a person is important because his/her responsibilities and obligations, family, school and then work, very much depend on age. Due to these factors, the most typical division of age groups is the following: children, teenagers, adults and elderly people. People change, and their language is altered and changed across different generations.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, age is one of the social factors that influences variation and leads to linguistic change. The aim of sociolinguistics is to study language in use, the interaction between language, culture and society and how linguistic variation and change occurs according to different social patterns: the previously mentioned age, but also social class, sex, style or register and ethnicity (Tagliamonte, 2012:1). Taking age as a social variable, sociolinguists have used two different methods of analysis. On the one hand, *apparent time* study, that focuses on the “differences across different generations of speakers” (Murphy, 2010:5). In this type of study, sociolinguists survey different generations of people at one point in time and observe the differences between the different age-cohorts. It is assumed that the language of a generation reflects the language as it existed at the moment in which this generation learned the language (Murphy, 2010:5); for example, a 40-years-old person is very likely to reflect the way he/she spoke

in his/her twenties, twenty years ago. These differences between age-cohorts in apparent time may pattern in different ways, which sociolinguists have termed *age grading*, *generational change* and *communal change*.

What is usually labelled in sociolinguistics as *age grading* can be defined as follows: “linguistic characteristics of a particular age group that are temporary, and are altered or abandoned as its members grow older” (Andersen, 2001:4), that is, each age group has its specific linguistic features and consequently, when the speakers change their stage in life so does their way of speaking. Alternatively, certain features can emerge as a person gets older, as the use of vernacular features in elderly people. The typical pattern of age grading is a u- or v-shaped curve figure as displayed in Figure 1, but also the inverse form (a curve with a peak in the middle) can occur (Tagliamonte, 2012:47). Figure 1 can illustrate, for example, the use of vernacular features: a decrease during adulthood and an increase of the use of non-standard features in teenagers and in old people.

Figure 1. An idealized pattern of age-graded change (from Tagliamonte, 2012:47).

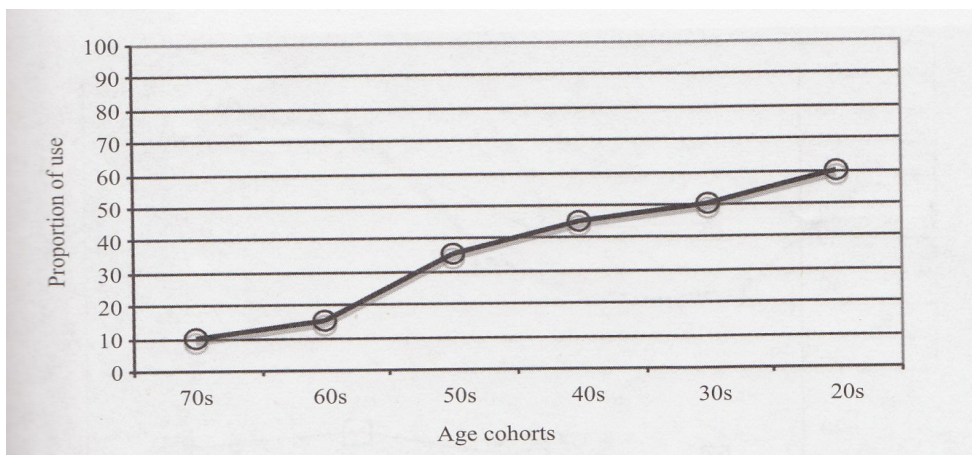


What is important for my study is that “teenagers are very likely to display patterns reflective of age-grading” (Chambers et al., 2002:309). That is, teenagers show some linguistic features which are given up later on. This can be so since, during adolescence, individuals tend to use more innovative terms, and linguistic norms that are far from the standard norm. When people enter

adulthood they shift the way they speak to more conservative and standard speech patterns (Wagner, 2012:379). Moreover, changes that are age-graded are “correlated with a particular phase in life and repeated in successive generations” (Murphy, 2010:6). This means that, generation after generation, all speakers shift their linguistic variables as they grow older.

According to Labov (2001:76), concerning changing speech patterns, one has to distinguish between *age-grading* and *communal change*. While *age-grading* is characterized by the instability of a feature of an individual, but with stability of the community for the same feature, *communal change* occurs when the individuals and the community change together. In addition to *age grading* and *communal change*, apparent-time studies can display change in progress, represented by a S-curve figure, as can be seen in Figure 2 below. Innovations, at first, spread slowly, then there is an “acceleration with a maximum rate at mid-course” (Tagliamonte, 2012:44) and finally the increase of new forms slows down.

Figure 2. An idealized pattern of linguistic change in progress (generational change) (from Tagliamonte, 2012:45).



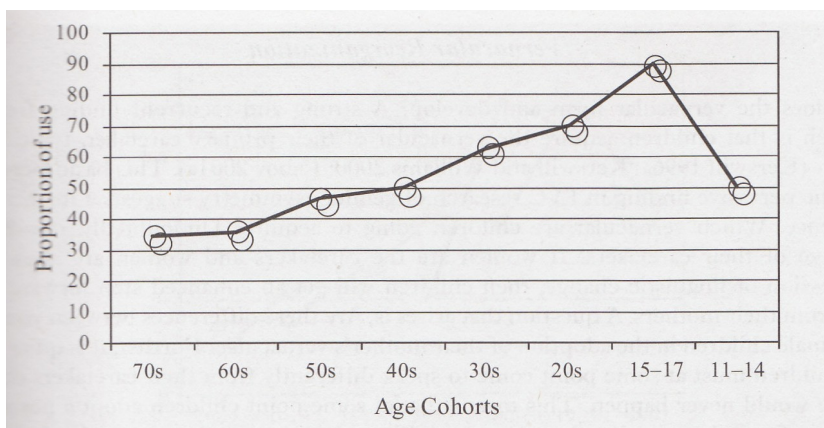
This is called, *generational change*, when “the individual preserves his or her earlier pattern, but the community as a whole changes” (Labov, 2001:76).

In addition to this, while talking about linguistic change it is important to mention that there is a tendency, in late adolescence, to lead the use of incoming forms. This is reflected in Figure 3,

in the peak between 15 and 17 years old. This means, that the use of an incoming form is highly used in this phase of life and after adolescence it is abandoned, the old form being preferred.

While, as we have seen, apparent time studies focus on the speech community in a precise moment in time, real time studies are “accomplished by revisiting the same community at different periods” (Chambers et al., 2002:309). Apparent time studies are more frequent than real time studies, since real time surveys take much more time to finish because they involve chronological time.

Figure 3. An idealized pattern of the adolescent peak (from Tagliamonte, 2012:49).



2.2 TEENAGERS' SPEECH AND THE ADOLESCENT PERIOD

After the discussion of some theoretical notions, I am going to focus now on teenagers' speech and the adolescent period. First of all, it is important to explain the terms *teenager* and *adolescent*, since they are going to be used in an interchangeable way throughout this study. On the one hand, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED s.v. *teenager* n.), *teenagers* refer to those who are in their teens, that is, the term includes people from thirteen to nineteen years of age. At the same time, during this period, puberty begins and the development of the teenager from a child into a adult takes place. This is precisely, what adolescence stands for and this is the reason why these two terms are going to be used as synonyms. To explain it further, the term *teenager* just concerns age whereas *adolescence* “involves significant aspects of identity formation, socialization and

cognitive and physical development” (Andersen, 2001:4) that take place in the period of age of a teenager. Since “the adolescent period is crucial to the individual both in terms of the cognitive and social development” (Andersen, 2001:4) adolescents' use of language becomes crucial and it develops and changes as the speaker does during this period. As Murphy (2010:10) points out, teenagers' new experiences, opportunities and social demands have an impact on their linguistic behaviour, and due to this, some specific linguistic features and innovations emerge, which makes this group age interesting to analyse. In general terms, teenagers' language is characterized on the one hand by the use of vernacular features, that is, non-standard forms, and, on the other, by innovativeness. One can explain the high frequency of vernacular features in the language of adolescents in opposition to another age-group, namely that of adults. Adolescents favour the vernacular forms whereas adults are more tied to the standard forms. According to Murphy (2010:4) “age systems often involve sanctions to enforce age-appropriate behavior which can have a variety of linguistic instantiations, from conservatism in adulthood due to professional lives and increased responsibilities, to pressure to use vernacular features in adolescence.” The differences between these two age groups, in linguistic terms, can be explained by means of their position and occupation in society. According to Wagner (2012:375), adolescents are characterized as relatively free of responsibilities and normative pressures, which make them not be so attached to standard forms. On the other hand, adults have usually undergone what Chambers et al. (2002:195) calls linguistic “retrenchment”: a retreat from the non-standard variants used in youth followed by stabilization. In this stage of life, speakers have greater responsibilities at work and at home and it is during this period when they try to define themselves, “becoming relatively settled in their tastes and opinions” (Wagner, 2012:375) and, consequently adults tend to stabilize their linguistic repertoires too. In addition to this, according to Labov, “younger speakers use socially stigmatized features more than older speakers” (2001:76). The use of vernacular forms and stigmatized features, socially not well-considered, that characterizes the language of teenagers makes teachers, parents and even linguists express their concern about the corruption and decay of the language

(Andersen, 2001:2). Among teachers and parents the term “bad language” is widely used to refer to the language of their students and children. Teenagers, for their part, want to differentiate themselves from adults. In this stage of life, they are more attached to their peers, friends, school-mates and boy/girlfriends and spend more time with them than with their parents. One way to show the distance they have with adults is through language, by using linguistic patterns very different from those their parents or teachers use.

Another important feature of teenagers' language is that of innovativeness. As Andersen points out, “adolescents are often found in the forefront of linguistic development and innovativeness” (2001:5). Interestingly, teenagers not only promote innovations in lexis, but in other linguistic levels as well, they are the promoters of linguistic borrowings and developments of new phonological variants (Andersen, 2001:3). This deviation from the norms of adults may be an indicator that adolescents do not want any adherence to the linguistic norms of a different group. Therefore, language may be an “expression of social identity and ingroupness” (Andersen, 2001:3), in other words, an attempt to keep the older generation outside while at the same time they try to reinforce their bonds with the members of their group. British teenagers put a particular emphasis on the question of identity, especially in London, where “teenagers put an effort into expressing their identity as young Londoners” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:17). They not only consider themselves a different group (different from children and adults) but London teenagers also want to show the place they belong; they want to mark age and regional differences with their language. It is not a coincidence that adolescent groups are considered the promoters of linguistic change; they feel they do not belong to childhood or to adulthood and the new experiences and changes that teenagers suffer in this period make them be innovative and creative with language in order to establish themselves as a different social group and unify it at the same time.

CHAPTER 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF TEENAGER LANGUAGE

3.1 Phonology

Teenagers pronunciation differs from that of adults. While adults are associated with features of the so-called Received Pronunciation (henceforth RP), adolescents tend to use more non-standard and innovative phonological forms. For that reason, young speakers favour the use of an accent which has become quite popular, especially among 'trendy' people. This is 'Estuary English' which has a number of non standard features.

The term 'Estuary English' (henceforth EE) was coined by the British linguist David Rosewarne in 1984. According to Przedlacka, this variety can be placed “in the middle of a continuum” (2002:1) between RP and Cockney English. Cockney English is a variety originated in London, which is applied to low-class speech (Wright, 1981) and is associated with working class people, whereas RP is the standard variety and therefore “enjoys a high prestige” (Przedlacka: 2002:8) and is associated with higher classes. Rosewarne (1984:2) defines Estuary English as a variety “of modified regional speech. It is a mixture of non-regional and local south-eastern English pronunciation and intonation”. The mixture of non-regional pronunciation, that is, RP, and local south-eastern English pronunciation, namely Cockney English, means that the features of EE are not exclusive to it. Its middle position, between the two previously mentioned accents, also favours its use by those who belong to the middle classes and as EE carries features of two very different accents, it has attracted a lot of attention, and has triggered many different attitudes, opinions and commentaries. On the one hand, due to its proximity to Cockney English, some people qualify the spread of EE as “horrifying” and call this pronunciation an “increasingly slovenly use of speech” (Przedlacka, 2002:14). On the other hand, since it has features in common with the actual standard RP but also a more modern pronunciation, EE has been defined as “the new standard English” (Przedlacka: 2002:1). Besides, in Modern British society the conservative forms of RP are not always well received and the use of EE can be, partly, seen as a reaction

against it (Hickey, 2007:180). Whatever the opinions about EE may be, the true is that this accent is spreading very quickly. One of the reasons of its fast spread is because it is an accent which preserves features of the two accents associated with London. The capital has always been the most influential place for linguistic diffusion and as Lillo (1999:63) points out “al formar parte del habla de la metrópoli, [Estuary English] constituye el principal núcleo de innovaciones lingüísticas y ejerce una influencia rápida y constante sobre el resto de los dialectos”. Another reason for its increase in the number of speakers is that this accent is considered by them as “cool” and it is spreading “not just [to] the Home Counties but [to] the Thames Valley and is found in many urban centres north of this, such as those in the West Midlands, the Mersey areas and as far north as Tyneside” (Hickey, 2007:183). On the other hand, EE is popular among young people because it avoids the social connotations of the other two accents and people “no longer wish to distinguish themselves by means of their accent” (Przedlacka, 2002:15) and as Ryfa (2003) highlights, EE serves as a unifier for young people since “EE is an important factor in group membership and an important way of signalling group” (Schmid, 1990:80 quoted in Ryfa, 2003:14-15).

Among the phonological features of EE, /l/-vocalization and /t/-glottalling are the most common. Regarding /l/-vocalization, according to Johnson (2008), teenagers and young adults use this phonological variant more frequently than other age groups. This feature is characterized by the pronunciation of the /l/-sound in final position or in a final consonant cluster into a vowel or semivowel sound: [w],[o] or [ʊ]. The /l/-sounds affected by this phonological variable are called RP dark *l* [ɫ] in RP. Examples of this are the following (from Lillo, 1999:67):

(1) *milk* RP [mɪɫk] , EE [miok ~ miøk]

(2) *sell* RP [seɫ] , EE [seo ~ seʊ]

Another typical feature of EE is the /t/-glottalling. It can be defined as the “use of [ʔ] for traditional [t] in many non-initial positions” (Wells, 1994:261 quoted in Przedlacka, 2002:33). The use of glottal stops, instead of /t/-sounds, occurs especially in final position preceding by a vowel, as in

lot (loʔ), and before a consonant (except /r/) or a semivowel sound as one can see in the following examples provided by Lillo (1999:68):

(3) *chutney* [ˈtʃʌʔni]

(4) *Gatwick* [ˈgæʔwɪk]

A third feature of EE is yod coalescence, which consists on the replacement of [tj] sound for [tʃ] in stressed and non-stressed syllables, as example (5) shows. But the replacement also takes place with the voiced alveolar /d/. Therefore, [dj] becomes [dʒ] as can be seen in the examples below provided by Lillo (1999:68) (6), (7) and (8).

(5) *Tuesday* RP [ˈtju:zdeɪ], EE [ˈtʃu:zdɛɪ]

(6) *dune* RP [dju:n], EE [dʒu:n]

(7) *due / dew* RP [dju:], EE [dʒu:]

(8) *don't you* RP [ˈdəʊnt ju:], EE [ˈdəʊntʃu:]

Another feature of EE is the diphthongization of /i:/ and /u:/ sounds. The tendency in this variety is to replace RP /i:/ into the diphthong /əɪ/ and RP /u:/ into /əʊ/, but also the pronunciation may produce “deslizamientos vocálicos más suaves” (Lillo, 1999:69) of this kind [ɪi] and [ou]:

(9) *sea* RP [si:], EE [səɪ~ sɪi] (from Lillo, 1999:69)

(10) *blue* RP [blu:], EE [bləʊ: ~ blou] (from Lillo, 1999:69)

Another feature that is spreading among the young talk is the change of the long sound /u:/ and the short one /ʊ/ into /y:/ and /y/, respectively. Lillo (1999:69) provides the following examples:

(11) *true* RP [tru:], EE [try:]

(12) *good* RP [gʊd], EE [gyd]

Diphthong shift is also another feature of EE (it is also a feature of Cockney English). The diphthongs /eɪ, aɪ, əʊ/ become [ɛɪ, ɔɪ, ʌʊ] as it is shown in examples (13), (14) and (15) provided by Lillo (1999:70).

(13) *face* RP [feɪs], EE [fɛɪs]

(14) *price* RP [praɪs], EE [prɔɪs]

(15) *goat* RP [gəʊt], EE [gʌʊʔ]

Happy-tensing is the last feature to analyse. This is a process in which the short vowel [ɪ] becomes [i] at the end of a word. The length of the sound /i/ is in the middle of the short /ɪ/ and the long /i:/. Words like *happy*, *coffee* and *pretty* are affected by this feature as can be seen in (16), (17) and (18).

(16) *happy* RP ['hæpɪ], EE ['hæpi]

(17) *coffee* RP ['kɒfi], EE ['kɒfi]

(18) *pretty* RP ['prɪtɪ], EE ['prɪti]¹

After the discussion of the main phonological features of EE it is important to mention that the reason why this accent is getting popular among British teenagers may be due to the fact that EE carries many non-standard and dialectal features, and, as it is well-known, teenagers favour this type of accent in order to distinguish themselves from other age groups. On the other hand, it is also important to highlight that EE is not exclusive of teenagers' talk, that is, it can be found in adults' speech too.

3.2 Lexis

Regarding the lexis, there are many creative and innovative terms that are exclusive to teenagers' language or more common in teenagers' language than in the language of adults. In what follows I am going to consider *slang* (section 3.2.1), vague language (3.2.2), and swear and taboo words (3.2.3).

3.2.1 Slang

Originally, slang was first used by criminals “as their secret language” and then it evolved into a subcultural speech (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:68). Today, the term *slang* is defined in the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2005) (s.v. *slang*) as follows: “a type of language that consists of words and phrases that are regarded as very informal, are more common in speech than writing,

1 Examples (16), (17) and (18) from my own.

and are typically restricted to a particular context or group of people.” The particular group of people is often associated with teenagers and young adults, but also other groups, as musicians and drug users use this informal type of language. Slang is particularly spread among teenagers since it is used as group identification and is used in particular contexts, “in name calling, insulting and sexual terminology” (Stenström and Jorgensen, 2009:179) between friends or people belonging to the same group.

Studies on British teenagers demonstrate that slang is especially used in late adolescence (17-19 years old), followed by middle adolescence (14-16 years old), while it is less frequent in early adolescence (10-13 years old) (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:74). This can be explained by the fact that in late adolescence individuals are more close to their friends and spend more time in the street than at home with their families. Slang is regarded as very informal language, therefore on the one hand, adolescents “hardly use these words in the presence of adults” (Stenström and Jorgensen, 2009:180) and, on the other, parents tend to be critical and object to its use. On the other hand, studies suggest that after the period of adolescence (20 years onwards), there seems to be a decrease of the use of slang (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:74). All in all, this is a clear example of age-grading: speakers change their way of speaking as they grow older and due to their responsibilities in society they have to adapt their language and young adults opt to abandon this informal language for more standard norms. Slang language is regarded as “innovative, playful, metaphorical and short-lived” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:47).

In terms of wordclass, the majority of the slang words are nouns, followed by adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Nouns, are often associated with name calling (as *man*, *guy*, *mate* or *dude*) or with the evaluation of a person, in negative terms (as *moron*, *dill*, *git*, *tosser* or *wimp*). Regarding adjectives, there are slang words with the meaning of good, great and wonderful such as *wicked*, *super cool* and *mega* and participial forms such as *crapped out* and *pissed off*. Concerning the verbal system, we find slang verbs such as *bust* “arrest”, *doss* “lie down to sleep”, and *snog* “hold and kiss” and verb constructions like *give a shit* and *get the hump*. Finally, in relation to adverbs,

indeedee, for yonks or *in a mo* are used. (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002; Coleman, 2012).

3.2.2 Vague words

The term 'vague' is defined in *The Oxford English Dictionary* as applied to words and phrases with “not precise or exact in meaning.” Vagueness is frequently expressed in teenagers conversations, but it is not an exclusive feature of their language. Adults also make use of vague words and some studies have demonstrated that they even make a higher use of vague expressions than teenagers. However, Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002:90) account for a number of expressions that occur only in the teenagers' talk, such as *a load of*, *and crap*, *for ages*, *and junk like this*, or *somewhere like that* or *the whole lot*.

(19) [...] *the bloke next door said English washing-machines were a load of rust.* (from Channell, 1994:106).

Besides, the reason of using vague language may be different for each age-group. According to Crystal and Davy (1975:11) vagueness can be due to memory loss, lack of knowledge or lack of a suitable exact word. However, among adolescents, the reasons for the use of these expressions are more likely to be related to the fact that they want to be cool and feel integrated in their group, since “in the teenage world it is cool to be vague, and it is cool to demonstrate that one cannot be bothered to be precise” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:88).

Vague words can be divided into three groups, (i) placeholders, (ii) set markers and (iii) non-numerical vague quantifiers.

Placeholders are words or expressions used when a person cannot remember or does not want to mention the name of a person or thing. The most common placeholders are the following: *thing*, *thingy*, *thingummy*, *whatsit*, *whatsisname*, and *whosit*. The last one, *whosit*, in contrast to the others, can only replace the name of a person; it does not apply to objects' names. By contrast, *thingy* seems to be a jack-of-all-trades. In examples (20) and (21) one can see how *thingy* applies to both, people and objects.

(20) [...] *This is erm erm what's his name Sir Jack **Thingy** I've forgotten his name now.*
(from Channell, 1994:158).

(21) *What about at night if the parents want to go out? We can have our own night nurse **thingy**, can't we?* (from Channell, 1994:158).

According to Channell (1994) some of these vague items can be used interchangeably. For example in (22) the use of *thingy* or *whatsisname* is also correct.

(22) [...] *now that you've delivered the pictures to Mr **Thingummy** [...]* (from Channell, 1994:159)

The second type of vague words are labelled by Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002:98-99), 'set markers'. Set markers are those expressions, situated at the end of the clause, that usually carry a fixed structure: and/or + a generic/imprecise noun: *and all, and that, and crap, and stuff like that, or something, or whatever*. On the one hand, the use of these items provokes that the preceding element serves as “an illustrative example of some more general case” (Dines, 1980:22), while they also act as “list completers” (Channell, 1994:134). On the other hand, the function of these set markers is that of shared knowledge, consequently they are particularly frequent in conversations between close friends who do not need a more explicit or detailed word to know what is referred to (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:100).

(23) [...] *and they like wanna see like how we talk **and all that*** (139501:11-15) (from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:99).

In (23), the preceding element (*how we talk*) not only refers to talk but to other things that are not mentioned because the interlocutor knows what they may be.

The third and last type of words that express vagueness are called “non-numerical vague quantifiers” (Channell, 1994:95). They include expressions such as *loads of, many, a lot of, a bit of, few, a mass of, bags of, some* and *oddles of*, among others. All of them can occur with countable and uncountable nouns, with the exception of *many, some* and *few*, which only appear with countable nouns. In examples (24) and (25) is shown the vague word *loads of* with a countable

noun (24) and with an uncountable noun (25). Example (26) displays *many* with the only possibility to occur with countable nouns.

(24) *Yeah, I've had breakfast, I had **loads of** crackers. I've had cheese.* (countable noun)
(from Channell, 1994:101).

(25) ***loads of** charm.* (uncountable noun) (from Channell, 1994:101).

(26) ***Many** universities have got regional studies groups ...* (countable noun) (from Channell, 1994:115).

3.2.3 Swear and Taboo words

One of the reasons why teenagers language is regarded as “bad language” by their parents and teachers is their frequent use of swear or taboo words. Depending on their function, Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002:77) highlight the distinction proposed by Ljung (1986), between 'aggressive swearing', which reflects the speaker's emotions, that is, swear words are used when one is angry or frustrated and 'social swearing', which indicates and reinforces group affinity among peers, with no intention of insulting. Words like *bastard* or *bitch*, common in teenagers speech, could be examples of 'aggressive swearing' if they were offensive for the interlocutor or if they were said with the intention of insulting. By contrast, these same words could be used as solidarity terms and therefore they would be part of the 'social swearing'. Swearing and cursing are not exclusive features of teenagers language, since they survive a whole lifetime in the talk of the individual. However, teenagers make a high use of swear and taboo words since “teenagers may do more cursing in public” (Jay, 1999:257, quoted in Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:77). Murphy (2010) highlights that the frequency of the use of swear words is higher among adults. This can be so, since “the majority of the teenagers watch their language in the presence of parents and teachers” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:79). This supports the idea that, “cursing has to do with context rather than age *per se*” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:77) since adolescents swear and curse, in the majority of cases, in company of their friends or people of their

age and in informal contexts and they avoid the use of bad language in familiar or in formal environments, as in school, for instance.

Taboo or swear words can be divided into three groups: (i) expletives, (ii) religious terminology, and (iii) abusives.

Expletives are words concerned with sex and excretion such as *asshole*, *bastard*, *crap*, *bugger*, *fuck* (and its variants *fucking* and *fuck off*) and *shit*. In (27) there is a combination of two swear words within the same sentence.

(27) *And listen to this you **fucking bastard!*** (135804:23) (from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:80)

In this case, *fucking* acts as an intensifier and *bastard* acts as a name calling for the insult.

The second type of taboo words are those related to religious terminology. In most cases, they are not used to attack religion, but occur when the speaker wants to show his/her emotions: surprise or anger, for instance. One example of this is shown in (28).

(28) *Oh **bloody hell**, this is giving me a headache.* (133202:15) (from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:80)

Other taboo words related to religion are the following: *damn*, *Christ*, *Jesus*, *goodness*, *devil*, and *gosh* (Murphy, 2010:170).

The third type of taboo word is what Murphy calls 'abusives'. These are insults based on animal names: *rat*, *cow*, *pig*, *dog* or *bitch* (from Leach (1966), quoted in Murphy, 2010:170). These insults attribute the negative characteristics of the animal to the person insulted. For example, calling a person *rat* implies that this person is dirty. *Cow* can be used to refer to a person that is fat and *pig* implies that a person is fat, dirty and eats filth (Murphy, 2010:171).

3.3. Grammar

Grammar is one of the fields of study less frequently addressed when studying teenagers' language. In general terms, teenagers' use of grammar can be described as simple (simplified syntax and incomplete sentences, for instance) and innovative (Palacios Martínez, 2011:106-107). Teenagers' grammar also contains a high number of non-standard features. Within their grammatical features I am going to consider (i) intensifiers, (ii) tags, (iii) quotative markers and (iv) other non-standard grammatical features.

3.3.1 Intensifiers

Intensifiers are defined by Stenström, Andersen and Hasund as “items that amplify and emphasize the meaning of an adjective or an adverb” (2002:139). First of all, it is important to highlight that both age groups, adults and teenagers, make use of these items that maximize or boost meaning (Ito and Tagliamonte, 2003:258), but they differ in their choice of intensifiers. According to Murphy, *very*, *fucking/fecking*, *really*, and *so* are the most likely intensifiers to suffer variation across age groups (2010:118). This can be explained by the fact that adults favour *very* while teenagers favour *really*. On the other hand, 'dirty' intensifiers, such as *bloody* and *fucking/fecking* are used almost exclusively during adolescence and young adulthood (Murphy, 2010:117). The use of *so*, as an intensifier, is also regarded as almost an exclusive feature of teenagers, and more specifically, it is related to female talk.

Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002:143) divide intensifiers into two groups: (i) items that are almost exclusive to teenagers talk, and (ii) those items that are more common in teenagers conversations but they also appear in adults' talk.

Within the first group the intensifiers *enough*, *right* and *well* are included. *Enough* is used, among teenagers, before the adjective it modifies. An example of this is the following:

(29) [...] *It's **enough** funny man I'm telling ya!* [...] (135602:34-38) (from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:144).

Right, which is an influence of American English, is also used as an adjective intensifier (30). However it is more likely to occur as a noun modifier.

(30) *it was **right** embarrassing* (142106) (from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:152).

The use of *well* as an intensifier for regular adjectives² is found in teenagers' speech but not in adults conversations. Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002:158) provide examples (31) and (32).

(31) *My mum says, I go yeah that's well nice. And she goes erm. She goes. **well nice*** (141606:31-34)

(32) *[That's it yeah I know] I'm always saying well. **well cool** and I keep saying that* (141606:31-34)

In these cases, “teenagers seem to treat *well* as an equivalent of *very*” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002:158).

Regarding the second group, that is, items that are more common in teenagers' than in adults' language, *really* is the most spread intensifier among British teenagers and it is more common among girls. Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002:150-151) highlight that the intensifier *real*, common in American English, is also spreading to British teenage English and one can find instances of *real* in British teenagers' talks, as shown in (33).

(33) *She's a **real** randy fuck apparently* (142602:328-332) (from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:151).

Focusing now on the 'dirty' intensifiers *bloody* (34) and *fucking* (35) it is important to mention that they are used especially by boys and in the period of adolescence and in young adulthood.

(34) *They're so **bloody** thick.* (134202:410-415) (from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:160).

² Also called 'full-status adjectives' (eg. *nice* or *good*). This type of adjectives are distinguished from participial adjectives (eg. *well qualified*).

(35) [*She, I think she's **fucking** ugly.*] (142305:47-59) (from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:161).

To conclude, the use of different intensifiers by adults and teenagers may be due to the fact that each age group wants to be differentiated from the other, as Murphy agrees “the use of amplifiers³ is said to signal in-group membership” (2010:113).

3.3.2 Tags

In this section I am going to focus on the invariant tags such as *eh, okay, right, yeah* and *innit*, since they are particularly common in teenage talk and its use “drops off dramatically after late adolescence or young adulthood” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:185). Therefore the use of invariant tags can be considered an age-graded feature. There are several functions that can be attributed to tags. They may have a subjective function “to reduce the speaker's commitment towards what was said” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:166-167), as in (36).

(36) *Yeah but the insurance company are probably gonna pay erm, sue me **innit**?* (140802:56)

Tags may have an interactional function in which the interlocutor is involved because the speaker asks for his/her opinion or evaluation (37), wants to know if the hearer is following the narrative (38) or wants to soften a request (39).

(37) *In fact you can have two. How about that then **eh**?[...]* (132803:266)

(38) *[...]And there's a little drop of lemonade **yeah**, right that's what I like to drink, **right**?* (132405:1)

(39) *Let me finish, **okay**?[...]* (132803:301)

Tags may also have a textual function. In this case, they serve as a means of cohesion and coherence in the structure of the narrative and to organize related pieces of information (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:167).

3 Murphy (2010) uses 'amplifier' instead of 'intensifier' following Quirk et al. (1985: 590)

(40) [...] *Oh yeah, an his dog yeah, liked it as well yeah, they used to leave a tray out for him every night yeah.* [...] (132405:1)⁴

Innit, originally, comes from *isn't it?*, and has undergone a process of 'invariabilization', that is, from a grammatical restriction (third person singular) to a more general use, as is shown in the examples displayed in Table 1 in which *innit* occurs with different personal pronouns and verb tenses. This invariant tag also has many functions and can occur in many contexts. The most typical are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Some functions of *innit* as a tag. (from Strenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:169).

Example	Function	Label
1 <i>You told mum yesterday innit?</i>	The speaker is uncertain as to the truth of P and would like the hearer to verify it.	epistemic
2 <i>Those old games, they're so shit innit.</i>	The speaker believes that P is an opinion or belief shared by the hearer and herself, and that the hearer may wish to corroborate P.	facilitative
3 <i>There's only one Mothercare innit Gwen.</i>	The speaker assumes that P is either a shared belief, or at least compatible with the hearer's background knowledge; therefore she tries to remind or convince him of P.	softening
4 <i>Remember I'm walking with Ronnie and Darren innit?</i>	The speaker assumes that P is a shared belief, but it may be less salient in the hearer's background knowledge; therefore she reminds him of P.	peremptory
5 A: <i>Got any new games for your computer?</i> B: <i>No. It's fucked innit? You must have fucked it up.</i>	S does not assume that P is a shared belief, but believes that P is at least compatible with the hearer's background knowledge.	aggressive
6 <i>It came out like a bullet innit!</i>	S does not assume that P is a shared belief, but assumes that it is compatible with the hearer's background knowledge.	imagination-appealing

⁴ Examples (36), (37), (38), (39) and (40) are taken from Strenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:166.

3.3.3 Quotative markers

In order to make a direct or a reported speech a wide range of quotative verbs are used, especially by teenagers. The function of these quotative markers is that of “expressing that a segment of an utterance reported what was said on some occasion” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:107). But, it is important to say that reported or direct speech is not always achieved by means of explicit markers. The use of zero-quotations, together with mimickry, is also frequent. In this type of reported speech quotative markers are not used. Instead, voice modulation, mimickry, gestures and hand movements serve to indicate that this part of the utterance reports what was said on another occasion or by other person, as is shown in example (41).

(41) *I watched the first ten minutes which was really funny cos, as they're going along in the truck, **ah look at that woman! Ah! Yes! Oh what a lovely body!** And, and he goes **no we can't, can we stop? Please! Please! Stop! Stop! Stop!**[...] (132503: 413) (from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:108)*

In (41) the utterance “ah look at that woman! Ah! Yes! Oh what a lovely body!” is not introduced by a quotative marker, but one can suppose that the speaker is using other person's words and imitating his/her voice. The same happens with the utterance *no we can't, can we stop?*. The first part of the utterance, before the comma, is said by a speaker and the second one by another, but there is not an explicitly quotative marker to indicate this. When a explicit quotative marker is exhibited, a well-known marker of reported speech in adolescent English is BE *like* (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:109). The use of BE *like* is thought to have originated in North America in the 80's. It is an innovation that coexists with other quotative verbs, such as *say, go, shout, etc.* (Tagliamonte, 2012:247). Concerning the construction BE *like* there are many expressions including the pronoun *it*, such as *it's like, it's sort of like, it's just like* and *it was like* as shown in (42). *Like* can also occur on its own as a quotative marker as can be seen in (43), or accompanied by an explicit reporting verb as in (44).

(42) *but it seems like they're not interested in being friends with you er **it's just like** I wanna fuck you I don't wanna laugh I don't even wanna talk to you* (142305:15)

(43) [...] *I think Nigger's a good name but, you know what I mean **like** come here Nigger! But ... it's, it's racist.* (132901:67)

(44) *And then he **goes like**, sorry man, close the door and get out.* (139003:21)⁵

But the form BE *like* is the most likely to occur as in (44) and (45). In opposition to other quotative verbs, BE *like* is favoured with first person subjects and in present tense (Tagliamonte, 2012) as is shown in (45).

(45) ***I'm like** "oh my uncle's calling me it must be important"* (from Buchstaller, 2010:192).

Apart from the innovative form BE *like*, there are more traditional ways of reporting speech such as the reporting verbs THINK, SAY and GO. These verbs have a very different profile than BE *like*. SAY is favoured in past tense and GO in historical present. On the other hand, both favour the third person, and not first. (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:121). Besides, GO and SAY can occur in non-standard forms, as *I goes*, *I says* as in (48). According to Buchstaller (2011:73) the use of *go* as a quotative marker is almost restricted to the young talk.

(46) *And he told me that he went up to Sean and he **goes** erm, and he **says** how's everything going with Tiffany, and Sean **goes** yeah it's good [...]* (142604:18-58) (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:121)

(47) *She reeled off I can't remember, reeled off a load of blokes yes last night and I **said** are there any girls going, and he **said** well I'll see if I can get Laura and Giles to come [...]* (142704:26) (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:121)

(48) *And **I goes** casually, do you like Bob Marley? No he's a black nigger. What! Do you know what you're saying?* (132901:70) (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:120)

5 Examples (42), (43) and (44) taken from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:115.

3.3.4 Other non-standard grammatical features

Apart from the previously explained grammatical features, teenagers frequently make use of non-standard features. Some of the most noticeable non-standard features that can be found in teenagers' speech are the following: Negation: (i) negative *ain't*, (ii) multiple negation, (iii) *never* as past tense negative marker. Pronominal system: (iv) second person plural pronoun *youse*. Verbal system: (v) lack of agreement between subject and verb and (vi) auxiliary omission in questions. (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002; Palacios Martínez, 2011).

In relation to negation, the use of the invariant negative *ain't* is very common in teenage talk, “in spite of having been stigmatised for a long time” (Palacios Martínez, 2010:563). The function of *ain't* can be that of insisting on the point the speakers try to make or to reaffirm themselves on the question at issue (Palacios Martínez, 2010:562). *Ain't* can be the equivalent of multiple forms of BE (am not, is not, are not) and HAVE (has not, have not). In more general terms, it is important to mention that *ain't* is used more frequently with BE than with HAVE, and more specifically, *ain't* appears more frequently with BE as a lexical verb (full-verb) than as an auxiliary verb. By contrast, *ain't*, as an equivalent of HAVE, is more likely to occur when this verb acts as auxiliary, “either in combination with *got* or as expressing perfect aspect” (Palacios Martínez, 2010:549). Example (49) shows the negative *ain't* acting as *have not* and (50) as *am not*.

(49) *I ain't got enough room for all that.* (B132616/19) (from Palacios Martínez, 2010:553)

(50) *And then my Mum goes, eight o'clock I still ain't up, my Mum goes get out of bed.*

(B132707/286) (from Palacios Martínez, 2010:553).

Multiple negation is another recurrent feature in teenagers' talk. It is characterized by the use of two or more negatives within the same sentence but preserving the same meaning of the utterance as if it were constructed by only one negative, that is, one negative does not cancel the other. This feature is also common in other varieties of English. One example of multiple negation is displayed in (51). *Ain't* can also occur in multiple negation and negative concord constructions, as shown in (52).

(51) *No you cannot use **nothing**.* (from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:138)

(52) *I know your mother **ain't** got **no** lips* (COB135001/27) (from Palacios Martínez, 2011:112)

The use of these double negations may have the function, in contrast to the standard forms, of strengthening a negative or to sound funny in front of friends (Palacios Martínez, 2010:559).

Finally, the use of *never* as past tense negative is also very frequent. When this occurs, *never* acts as an equivalent of *did not*, as can be seen in (53).

(53) *V.xx. and <unclear> **never** called for me yesterday.* (COB136903/164) (from Palacios Martínez, 2011:113)

As regards the pronominal system, the pronoun *youse*, used for the second person plural pronoun, is also used in many varieties of English and in dialectal English and highly used by teenagers. This non-standard pronoun, *youse*, is distinguished from the second person singular pronoun, *you*. In the standard norm such distinction is not found, since *you* is used for singular and plural. *Youse* can occur in subject or in object position. (Palacios Martínez, 2011:114). Example (54) displays *youse* in subject position.

(54) *Why didn't **youse** come out?* (COB135306/110) (from Palacios Martínez, 2011:114).

Concerning the verbal system, on the one hand, lack of agreement between subject and verb also occur in teenagers' conversations, especially with the verbs BE and DO, as illustrated in example (55). On the other hand, auxiliary omission in questions is common in their talk. In example (56) the auxiliary BE is omitted.

(55) *and when **he don't come out**, oh and when he does go out **he don't ask** us to go out (...)* (135306:143) (from Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:132).

(56) *Hey, **you feeling** better?* (COB1132503/1) (from Palacios Martínez, 2011:109)

CHAPTER 4

4.1 MATERIAL USED FOR THE ANALYSIS

For my practical analysis on teenagers' language I am going to use two corpora. The COLT corpus displays conversations of British teenagers, particularly in the area of London. An advantage of using texts from COLT is that they are made recently (1993), in contrast to other spoken corpora (Andersen, 2001:8). The second corpus used for my research is the London Lund, which consists on a series of conversations between adults. The purpose of choosing these two corpora containing material produced by speakers of different generations is that of comparing the language of teenagers from other age group, namely that of adults.

4.1.1 COLT

The Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT) is a corpus made of recordings containing conversations of British teenagers from different London areas (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:3). These recordings were made during the spring and the autumn of 1993 to adolescents, between 13 and 17 years of age from “varying socioeconomic backgrounds” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:4). In order to show the different social status of the participants the surveyors picked five London school boroughs, “each representing one rung of the social status ladder: Barnet, Camden, Chelsey/Kensington, Hackney and Tower Hamlets” (Stenström, Andersen and Hasund, 2002:3). The participants were instructed to record for about a week all the interactions they could have with teachers, friends, parents, relatives, etc. and in different settings, for instance at school, at home and on the street. Moreover, they did not want their co-speakers to notice that they were being recorded in order to make their talk sound natural. The results were that the majority of the corpus consists of conversations between peers and friends, but about a six per cent of the corpus material are conversations where adults are involved, especially teachers and professors. In COLT three types of conversations can be distinguished. The first and most important type involves conversations between teenagers, in which most characteristics of teenagers' talk come to light. The second type of conversation is school talk, which basically

consists of the interaction between the students and their teacher (adult talk). The third and last type is family talk in which other age groups are also involved: parents, siblings, and other relatives.

4.1.2 LONDON LUND

The London Lund Corpus derives from two projects: firstly, from the Survey of English Usage (SEU) made at the University College London and introduced by Randolph Quirk in 1959. The second project is the Survey of Spoken English (SSE), started in 1975 at Lund university by Jan Svartvik. The first copies of the London Lund Corpus of Spoken English were distributed around the world in 1980. Originally, LLC consisted on 87 texts of spoken English and then, has been augmented by other 13 spoken texts from the SEU corpus. Therefore, the complete London Lund Corpus consists on a series of 100 texts of adults' spoken English. The complete corpus is formed by the original corpus, consisting of 87 texts, and the supplement, formed by the remaining 13 texts. Each texts contains ca. 5,000 words, which makes a total of 500,000 words of spoken British English and in overall the speakers are almost entirely British (Svartvik, 1990).

4.2 FINDINGS

In order to see which linguistic features pattern in teenage talk and their differences with the language of adults I am going to analyse two different corpus: COLT and LONDON LUND. For that, I have used ca. 2,000 words from each corpus and I will provide information about the frequency of the features described above as well as others.

4.2.1 COLT

From the COLT corpus, I have picked four texts. All texts involve conversations between students. In text 1 the participants are male teenagers of 13, 14 and 15 years old from Hackney school. Their conversations take place in a bus. Text 2 also involve three male students from Hackney, of 14, 15 and 15 years old in a bus. The participants of the text 3 are male students from Hackney, of 14, 15 and 15 years old, but this time the conversation takes place at the school. The last text I analysed

involves conversations between three females, all of 13 years old, from Barnet school. Their conversation takes place in a shop.

4.2.1.1 Pronunciation

In terms of pronunciation, the COLT texts show a number of words that reflect the pronunciation of the speakers. This pronunciation is characterized by the reduction of sounds, which is, a non-standard pronunciation. For example the word *because* occurs 12 times with the reduced pronunciation, as is shown in (57) and only three with the complete pronunciation as is displayed in (58).

(57) *I was walking to school right **cos** it was so freezing* (B132501)

(58) *I'm gonna get some as well you know **because** I've only got one and it's brown*
(B136602)

The same happens with the pronunciation of *do you* which is pronounced with the reduced and non-standard form as in (59). In this case, however, the standard form (60) occurs more frequently (12 examples) than the non-standard one, since this last only occurs two times.

(59) *Where **d'ya** get on you dickhead?* (B132401)

(60) *What **do you** think?* (B136602)

Although it is also a grammatical phenomenon the use of the forms *wanna*, *gonna* and *gotta* reflect a reduced and non-standard pronunciation, replacing the standard forms *want to*, *going to* and *got to*. *Wanna* occurs in the COLT texts analysed only two times, whereas the frequency in use of *gonna* (61) and *gotta* (62) is noticeably higher, occurring 7 and 12 times respectively.

(61) *I'm **gonna** get some as well you know* (B136602)

(62) *How much you **gotta** do?* (B132402)

These reductions of sounds in pronunciation are a clear example that teenagers opt for non-standard form rather than the standard ones.

4.2.1.2 Lexis

Concerning lexis, taking into account the features described in Chapter 3.2, I found some instances of vague words in the conversations. Particularly, the words *thing* (64), *stuff* (63), (65) and *some* (66) occur as vague expressions. Example (63) can be considered as a type of set marker, (64) and (65) can be considered as placeholders and example (66) is a type of non-numerical vague quantifiers.

(63) *Soon find out, cos you do it all the morning **and stuff**.* (B132401)

(64) *to get an A, in that **thing**.* (B132402)

(65) *I like **all this stuff**.* (B136602)

(66) *We had **some** of them, at home.* (B136602)

The function of these vague words used by teenagers is that of shared knowledge, since for the interlocutor it is not necessary to give the exact name to understand the speaker. Besides, in teenage talk it is cool not to be precise, so this may be another reason for its use.

In addition to this, swear words, insults and taboo words also occur in COLT conversations. Expletives were found, such as *shit* (67), *crap* (68), *fucking* (69), and *bastard* (70) as well as swear words related to religion: *Oh my God!* (71). There are not instances of abusives.

(67) *But, **shit** I've gotta do another registration.* (RB132401)

(68) *That's **crap**!* (RB132402)

(69) *Where's the **fucking** bus!* (B132402)

(70) *What's the **bastard** doing with my bike!* (B132501)

(71) ***Oh my God!** Why did you bother.* (B132501)

Besides, it is important to mention the function of *dickhead* (72). Although it can be considered an insult it has the function of 'social swearing'.

(72) *Where d'ya get on you **dickhead**?* (B132401)

The use of *dickhead* is a type of social swearing, that is, serves to reinforce group affinity among peers.

As regards the use of slang, a number of nouns, verbs and adjectives are found in COLT texts.

The verb *reckon*, which means 'to believe,' can be considered a synonym of *think* and is displayed in (73) in the negative form and in (74) in the interrogative form. The use of this verb is associated with informal register and with urban speech. In the COLT texts *reckon* occurs two times in negative sentences and three times in interrogative form.

(73) *I don't reckon I'll get all A's this time.* (B132402)

(74) *Don't you reckon?* (B132402)

The noun *bummer* is defined in the Urban Dictionary as “a word describing the misfortune of something or someone” or “ a situation in which no desirable result can occur”. In example (75) the speaker by using this words is complaining about what he has to do: to invent a melody.

(75) - *ah I've gotta invent, a melody. I'll probably ring up James and ask him what he's done. invent a melody about erm, one in minor scales. Which isn't actually hard but I have to write it down as well. And I ho= I would have done this on, Tuesday, when I actually worked out a melody but I didn't manage a bit of paper so I couldn't write it down.*

- *Mhm.*

- *Which is a major **bummer** ... (...)* (B132402)

Tosser is another slang word found in COLT. It means, literally, one who masturbates. In the example, however, it is used as an insult, similar to *jerk* or *idiot*, but between friends.

(76) - *I like my having exams early. ...*

- *You know, a year early.*

- *<laughing>Shut up</>! <laughing>Such a **tosser**</>!* (B132402)

Concerning adjectives, I found, on the one hand, *yuck*, which means that something is disgusting or that causes strong rejection as is shown in example (77). On the other hand, the adjective *smashed*, which means 'to be drunk' as shown in (78).

(77) - *have you tried these before?*

- *yeah*

- *are they nice?*

- *bit, it, it's*

- *this ones nicer*

- *it's, it's, it's yuck* (B136602)

(78) - *It's best not to notice it. All these are **smashed** you know.*

- *What?*

- *All these are **smashed**. And they've only been here what, two weeks?* (B132402)

4.2.1.3 Grammar

In terms of grammar, when analysing intensifiers, as would be expected, the more frequent ones are *so* and *really*. Examples of intensifiers which are almost exclusive of teenage talk (See Table 1 in Chapter 3.3.2) do not occur, but examples (79) and (80) show that these intensifiers are very common in teenage conversations.

(79) *Cos we're **so** tough!* (B132401)

(80) *That is **really** funny actually* (B132402)

Concerning tags, the invariant *innit* is present in COLT conversations, as having an interactional function, because it involves the hearer. In examples (81) and (82) we can say that *innit* has the function of facilitative (See Table 1 in Chapter 3.3.2), since the speaker is asking the speaker to corroborate what he/she just said. The other tag that appears in COLT texts is *eh* (82). Its function is also interactional since the speaker wants the hearer's response. In example (83) we come across another tag, typical of teenager speech, *yeah*. In this case, it has a textual function. This means that the tag serves as a means of cohesion between two sentences. In example (83) a standard question tag also occurs.

(81) *I'm gonna get some as well you know because I've only got one and it's brown, bit disgusting **innit**?* (B136602)

(82) ***eh**? nice **innit**?* (B136602)

(83) *I mean not another registration I've gotta do another matrix. **Yeah** but, you've got the cards **haven't you**?* (B132401)

Focusing now on quotative markers, COLT texts that have been analysed do not show any examples of explicit quotative markers. However, in example (84) the speaker is reporting other person's words by using mimicry, a recourse that is often used in teenagers' conversations. One can suppose that the speaker is imitating the 'yobbo hooligan' voice, in order to make clear to the interlocutor that he/she is reporting the hooligan's words.

(84) *Yeah. <mimicking a yobbo hooligan> Where's the fucking bus! They've smashed it, smashed up the bus stop. It's entertainment.* (B132402)

In addition to this, some non-standard grammatical features can be stopped: (i) lack of agreement, (ii) negative *dunno*, (iii) omission of auxiliary BE/DO in questions, (iv) the pronoun *youse* and (v) the forms *wanna*, *gonna*, *gotta*.

Concerning (i), in example (85) one can perceive the lack of agreement between the third person singular pronoun and the auxiliary DO in negative form. Example (86) shows a non-standard form to refer to *don't know*. In relation to (iii), in example (87) is displayed the omission of the auxiliary BE, whereas in (88) the omitted verb is DO, also in the auxiliary form. Example (89) shows the non-standard pronoun *youse*, which refers to *you*. Finally, in (90), (91), and (92) are displayed the examples concerning (v), the reduced forms *wanna*, *gonna*, *gotta* to refer to *want to*, *going to* and *have to*, respectively.

(85) ***He don't, he don't** give it to you twice?* (B132402:27)

(86) *I **dunno**.* (B132501)

(87) ***you getting** some?* (B136602)

(88) ***you like** that?* (B136602)

(89) *Why **haven't youse** got a part in.* (B132402)

(90) *Do you **wanna** get one?* (B136602)

(91) *He's not **gonna** give it to you twice.* (B132402)

(92) *I've **gotta** bring it in on Tuesday.* (B132401)

The use of these non standard forms can be due to the fact that teenagers want to differentiate themselves from adults. They want to have their own language, to define themselves as an unified and distinctive social group, which is characterized by the use of dialectal features and informal register.

In addition to this, it is important to mention an innovative form that is very current in the COLT texts analysed. This concerns the recent modals *have to*, *have got to*, *got to* and *gotta* (See Table 2). All these modals variants are the newest entering the English Language and teenagers make a higher use of them than adults. Example (93) displays the modal *have to*, which was fully established in Early Modern English. Example (94) shows *have got to*, which began to spread in the nineteenth century, and finally *gotta*, together with *have* (95) or alone (96), which it is considered vulgar, entered the language in the twentieth century (Tagliamonte, 2012:228-229).

(93) *Which isn't actually hard but I **have to** write it down as well.* (B132402)

(94) *I've **got to** see <name>* (B132501)

(95) *I've **gotta** bring it in on Tuesday.* (B132401)

(96) *We **gotta** finish (...) the work on a book.* (B132401)

Table 2. Outline of the development of deontic modality variants. (from Tagliamonte, 2012:229)

Old English	Middle English	Early Modern English	Nineteenth century	Twentieth century
<i>mot:</i> permission or possibility	<i>mot</i> → <i>must:</i> deontic and epistemic develop permission reading lost	<i>must</i>	<i>must</i>	<i>must:</i> “old, established”
	<i>have to</i> first attestations	<i>have to</i> fully established	<i>have to</i>	<i>have to</i>
			<i>have got to</i> <i>got to</i> first attestations colloquial	<i>have got to</i> <i>got to</i> colloquial
				<i>gotta</i> vulgar

4.2.2 LONDON LUND

The speakers from the LLC texts I analysed are British and educated to university level. Speaker A and B are both male academics of 44 and 60 years old, respectively. The conversations in which they are involved were recorded without the prior knowledge of the participants in the year 1964. The conversations are also face to face interactions and in a private context.⁶

4.2.2.1 Pronunciation

As was the case with the COLT material I used, in terms of pronunciation, it is impossible to determine whether the speakers have a particular accent, because I have not used sound files. However, there are striking differences between the LLC material and the COLT material I analysed. For one, I found no instances of reduced forms as in COLT. The strings *because* and *do you* occur in LLC in their complete form. This is possibly due to the fact that adults are more attached to the standard-form and these reduced pronunciations are considered as non-standard pronunciations.

4.2.2.2 Lexis

Concerning lexis, I spotted a certain number of vague words. I recorded an example of placeholders, *stuff* (97), set markers such as *and that kind of thing* (97) and *or something like that* (98), and non-numerical vague quantifiers such as *some* (99).

(97) *I'll be doing CS/C _stuff and that kind of thing.* (C1T1S0:116-117)

(98) *Old and Middle English graphology or something like that.* (C1T1S0:45-46)

(99) *Some of our people.* (C1T1S0:39)

The frequency in the use of vague words in the COLT and in LLC texts I analysed is almost the same and they even agree in the choice of the items.

Swear words are also present in the conversation of adults. However, in this case, the choice of the taboo word differs from that of teenagers. In the LLC text there are no instances of strong

⁶ Information retrieved from the manual of the LLC in the ICAME CD-Rom (see Hofland et al. 1999).

swear words, such as *fuck* or *dickhead*, but I found *damn* (100), considered to be an expletive and *hell* (101), which is related to religion.

(100) *The **damn** thing hasn't come hell.* (C1T1S0:76)

(101) *Oh to **hell** with this for a game.* (C1T1S0:139-140)

It is important to say that, in COLT the frequency of swear words is higher than in the conversations of adults. This can be so, since teenagers opt for a more informal language and adults want to be more polite and respectful in their talk.

4.2.2.3 Grammar

In relation to grammar, the material from the LLC shows standard grammar. As would be expected, the most frequent intensifier used in the LLC text I analysed is *very* (102), since it is the most spread intensifier among adults (Ito and Tagliamonte, 2003:257). Other intensifiers such as *pretty* (103) and *so* (104) also occur, but with a lower frequency. *So*, especially common in teenage talk, occurs more times in the COLT material I used than in the LLC extract. By contrast, *very* does not appear in COLT but it is present in adults' conversations.

(102) *He can't feel **very** comfortable in there with all that crowd.* (C1T1S0:281-282)

(103) *It makes it **pretty** awkward, doesn't it?* (C1T1S0:284-285)

(104) *Then it's not **so** bad.* (C1T1S0:87)

Concerning tags, only standard tags are spotted in the LLC texts as can be seen in example (105). This reinforces the idea that speakers preserve the conservative and standard forms during adulthood, since no instances of invariant tags and non-standard ones, such as *innit* are spotted.

(105) *It's just one question that they have to do, **isn't it**#⁷.* (C1T1S0:57)

In relation to other non-standard grammatical features, in contrast to COLT conversations, in the LLC material, almost none of the non-standard features described in section 3.3.4 are found. Only in, one example (106), below, we find the omission of the auxiliary DO in a question. Apart from this, the standard forms are preferred.

7 # has the function of the question marker '?'

(106) *you **heard** anything about this#* (C1T1S0:248)

Finally, concerning modals, as would be expected, the extract from the LLC conversations show a preference for the old modals: *must* and *have to* (See Table 2 (Appendix)), as displayed in (107) and (108). No instances of the innovative forms are found as in COLT.

(107) *I think that we **mustn't** worry too much about this.* (C1T1S0:133)

(108) *it's just one question that they **have to** do, isn't it#* (C1T1S0:57)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In this research I have discussed how age plays an important role in language variation. Focusing on a specific age group, namely that of teenagers, and after analysing their main linguistic characteristics, I have found, on the one hand, features that are almost exclusive of their talk, that is, features that are only used by teenagers, such as the intensifiers *enough*, *right*, *well*, *so* and the 'dirty intensifiers' *bloody* and *fucking*. On the other hand, some linguistic features found in teenagers' speech are also used by other groups, as *slang*, popular among musicians and drug users and the use of vague words, also common during adulthood. Moreover, non-standard features found in teenagers' speech, such as the pronoun *youse* and the omission of the auxiliary BE/DO in questions, are also common in other varieties of English. However, it is important to highlight that, although many teenagers' linguistic characteristics are also found in other social groups, the reason of their use may be different. For example, as regards vague words, and as it is explained above, they are also used by adults. However, during adulthood they may be used due to lack of knowledge or memory loss. Among teenagers the use of vague words is said to be cool not to be precise. All in all, we have seen that in general terms British teenagers' language is characterised by the use of non-standard and innovative forms. This is exemplified in the practical analysis of this research, in which samples from two corpora have been compared. The results obtained from the COLT corpus reveal that, as regards phonology, British teenagers use a high number of reduced pronunciation, as the case of *wanna* and *cos*. Concerning lexis, a great number of slang words were spotted. Finally, in relation to grammar, many non-standard features were found, the negative *dunno* and lack of agreement between subject and verb, for instance. By contrast, the extract from the London Lund Corpus reveals that adults, regarding pronunciation, do not use reduced forms, which can be a signal that they are more attached to the standard norms. As regards grammar, the invariant tags found in COLT texts were not spotted in LLC, the standard question tags were

preferred and a lower number of swear words were found, since adults may opt for a more formal and respectful language.

Concerning innovativeness, conversations from the corpora also reveal that teenagers are more innovative and use more newer items than adults. The choice of the modal verbs from COLT texts reveal that teenagers are more innovative, since they use *have got to* and *gotta* whereas adults favour the old forms, such as *must* and *have to*.

To conclude, I hope this research gives a hint of the main tendencies of teenagers' language, in terms of phonology, lexis and grammar that have been discussed. It is also important to make clear the differences existed between teenagers and adults and the reasons for such differences (question of identity, responsibilities at work, etc). It is also important to acknowledge some limitations of my study as regards phonology. Since I had no access to the sound files and most of the studies on teenagers are focused on lexis and grammar, I could undertake the analysis of teenagers' pronunciation. Moreover, talking at the time of technology about teenagers' language, I also consider necessary and interesting to carry out some further research on internet language, since it is another way of communication especially among teenagers which may contain characteristics of their talk as regards lexis, orthography and grammar.

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APPENDIX

COLT texts

Text 1.

|rB132401

B132401

(1 Hackney)

(s bus)

(n 3)

(g 1 m)

(a 1 14)

(o 1 student)

(s 1 2)

(g 2 m)

(a 2 15)

(o 2 student)

(s 2 ?)

(g 3 m)

(a 3 13)

(o 3 student)

(s 3 ?)

|w1-1 Soon find out, cos you do it all the morning and stuff.

Have you started it?

|w1-2 Yeah.

|w1-1 Oh! Don't. See that was so easy. You don't need to work it out you just sit

|w1-2 That's alright.

|w1-1 all right, I sat down and visualized it and then did it.

And now I still se= need to do a couple more drawings. ... You go you're going so slow. Besides if you didn't understand, how to work out that, questions are asked straight away. He's seriously deficient in what he should be learning cos, he should know that at least. But, shit I've gotta do another registration.

|w1-2 What?

|w1-1 I mean not another registration I've gotta do another matrix. Yeah but, you've got the cards haven't you?

|w1-2 Mm.

|w1-1 Yeah I have them. I've gotta finish one as well. We gotta finish a wo= a gotta, finish the work on a book, and then do the, test and answers, and then do a whole matrix.

|w1-2 When for? When for?

|w1-1 Friday.

|w1-2 Not yeah for next week.

|w1-1 I got I've got a we= I've got ten days to do that in. I've gotta bring it in on Tuesday. ... Where d'ya get on you dickhead?

|w1-2 <unclear>

|w1-1 Yeah.

|w1-2 Doesn't it talk? ...

|w1-1 Ah! ...

|w1-2 Alright Rob?
 |w1-3 Yeah.
 |w1-2 And where were you this morning then, for work?
 |w1-1 You weren't in Geography.
 |w1-3 When?
 |w1-1 Just now.
 |w1-many <unclear>(11) (traffic/bus very noisy)
 |w1-1 Well, <nv>laugh</nv> well, some people didn't bring their coats in today. Cos we're so tough!
 |w1-3 <nv>laugh</nv>
 |w1-1 Glad I did bring a coat though. ... But I've go= I still got about two hours, at least, er, [to do.]
 |w1-3 [All of us are] doing the rest.
 |w1-1 I've gotta, right, I've gotta do at least erm, <unclear>
 |w1-2 <unclear>
 |w1-1 Are you sure?
 |w1-2 Yeah.
 |w1-1 What day is it, Thursday?
 |w1-2 I like the way you just <unclear>.
 |w1-1 <nv>laugh</nv> (traffic extremely noisy)
 |w1-1 Well this advertising,

Text 2.

rB132402
 B132402
 (l Hackney)
 (s bus)
 (n 3)
 (g 1 m)
 (a 1 14)
 (o 1 student)
 (s 1 2)
 (g 2 m)
 (a 2 15)
 (o 2 student)
 (s 2 ?)
 (g 6 m)
 (a 6 15)
 (o 6 student)
 (s 6 ?)
 |w1-1 So wh= how much you gotta do?
 |w1-2 I've got the <unclear>, got Monday to do that.
 |w1-1 Yeah but the humanities
 |w1-2 sa=
 |w1-1 two asa= assignments. I got an extension. [Till Tuesday.]
 |w1-6 [An extension?]
 |w1-1 I have I asked for an extension because like in in light of my present, mathematical ne= <laughing>need for seriousness</>, for seriously doing a hell of a lot of maths homework

|w1-2 Mm.

|w1-1 so that I can do my exam.

|w1-2 They told me to do our exams early.

|w1-1 I like my having exams early. ...

|w1-2 You know, a year early.

|w1-1 <laughing>Shut up</>! <laughing>Such a tosser</>!

|w1-6 <singing><unclear></>. What?

|w1-2 So what, so you just look at it and do, look at the the grade eight rubbish on that sheet that we're doing?

|w1-1 Basically, the secret is to do

|w1-2 What you're asked [to do.]

|w1-1 [two plans], and and choose one of them, with a reason, for why you chose it.

|w1-2 Yeah.

|w1-1 That's [you need that]

|w1-2 [That's crap!]

|w1-1 to get an A, in that thing. Erm, I don't reckon I'll get all A's this time.

|w1-2 No.

|w1-1 I might do, but I doubt [it.]

|w1-2 [The] thing is, you, you'll get As.

|w1-1 Er he's not gonna give it to you twice though is he cos, I don't reckon he would di= give it to you twice.

|w1-2 He don't, he don't give it to you twice?

|w1-1 What?

|w1-2 Don't you reckon?

|w1-1 No he could, but he's not gonna want to. Is he? ... I hope it's worth A's but don't think it is.

|w1-2 Next time that's on that should <unclear> we were shit.
(lots of traffic noise)

|w1-1 It's best not to notice it. All these are smashed you know.

|w1-2 What?

|w1-1 All these are smashed. And they've only been here what, two weeks?

|w1-2 Not even two weeks.

|w1-1 What that? No not that one. It's a new one.

|w1-2 Yeah I know.

|w1-1 Yeah, but this hasn't, it sho=, it, first put it up with no glass, they put the glass in, then it looked like a mirror

|w1-2 Mm.

|w1-1 and then it got, and then it got smashed. But all of them I know are smashed. Cos there's one at, two or three bus stops back you know by Lisa's an=, by Lisa's house.

|w1-2 That's what <unclear>.

|w1-1 Yeah. <mimicking a yobbo hooligan>Where's the fucking bus</>! They've smashed it, smashed up the bus stop. It's entertainment.

|w1-2 <laughing><unclear> bus stop</>.

|w1-1 <laughing>Shut up</>! ... Ah! I've left my music homework as well.

|w1-2 <nv>laugh</nv>

|w1-1 I shall have to go to the house. ... Yeah, I've gotta do music homework because

|w1-6 What's that?

|w1-1 ah I've gotta invent, a melody. I'll probably ring up James and ask him what he's done. Got to invent a melody about erm, one in minor scales. Which isn't actually hard but I have to write it down as well. And I ho= I would have done this on, Tuesday, when I actually worked out a melody but I didn't manage a bit of paper so I couldn't write it down.

|w1-6 Mhm.

|w1-1 Which is a major bummer. ... Why haven't youse got a part in, why are you are, auditioning for West Side Story?

|w1-6 What?

|w1-1 Why are you auditioning for West Side Story?

|w1-6 [I don't have time.]

|w1-1 [Why didn't you] audition yeah

|w1-6 <unclear> London. <unclear>

|w1-1 Oh.

|w1-6 My father told me <unclear>

|w1-1 Well talk about this book we do in English. What your pet reckon about the book we're doing in English?

|w1-6 <unclear>

|w1-1 What?

|w1-6 <unclear> in English. This is about the best one.

|w1-1 You reckon? ... I haven't, well [hang on]

|w1-6 [<unclear>] tell me that he was just absolutely [<unclear>]

|w1-1 [Oh tha=] i= that is re= that is really funny actually.

<nv>humming</nv> <nv>laugh</nv> That's what Danny sounds like when he's doing his <?>Cropkin</>, the way he's doing his <?>Cropkin</> thing, see? How's the squash game?

|w1-6 <unclear>

|w1-1 What kind of bloody stupid person is an ice cream <unclear>?

|w1-6 <unclear>

|w1-1 Maybe, but if they're not.

|w1-6 <unclear>

|w1-1 Yeah that will explain it, but otherwise,

Text 3.

|rB132501

B132501

(l Hackney)

(s school)

(n 3)

(g 1 m)

(a 1 14)

(o 1 student)

(s 1 2)

(g 2 m)

(a 2 15)

(o 2 student)

(s 2 ?)

(g 6 m)

(a 6 15)

(o 6 student)

(s 6 ?)

|w1-1 I was walking to school right cos it was so freezing weren't it, saw this [in the shop]

|w1-6 [Is that back] on?

|w1-1 cos sp= sp=, the bus strike.

|w1-6 But I thought that was Friday?

|w1-1 No it's today I think.

|w1-6 Ah.

|w1-1 Saw it, saw it in the window, I had to buy it!

|w1-6 Worgh!

|w1-1 Just couldn't resist it.

|w1-6 Why did you buy that?

|w1-1 I've no idea, I [just got]

|w1-6 [You've got] a recording the sound again?

|w1-1 What?

|w1-6 The batteries gonna go out.

|w1-1 Oh! What on CD? Yeah but I [want]

|w1-6 [No.]

|w1-1 I don't want tape I want

|w1-6 Oh my God! Why did you [bother]

|w1-1 [I do=]

|w1-6 really? [It's just that]

|w1-1 [I dunno], I just saw it and thought, I have to [buy it.]

|w1-6 [Oh look] Spikey, [look!]

|w1-1 [Here] he comes. Tom, you're late!

|w1-2 <unclear>

|w1-1 Mr <name> has done. He's gone home, sort of. He, I was walking in

|w1-2 Hiya Tom!

|w1-1 I was walking in and he comes past on my bike on his bike, <laughing>not my bike</>. What's the bastard [<laughing>doing with my bike</>!]

|w1-6 [<nv>laugh</nv>] ...

|w1-1 D'you ha=, do yo=, is the seventy three running?

|w1-2 I dunno.

|w1-1 Do you go to seventy three? You had to walk, [from at]

|w1-2 [Yes.]

|w1-1 home?

|w1-2 I [<unclear>]

|w1-1 [<nv>laugh</nv>]

|w1-2 What?

|w1-6 <unclear>

|w1-1 What you had to walk? I had to walk [sa=]

|w1-2 [What's] all this then?
|w1-1 <nv>laugh</nv> ... Tom.
|w1-2 What?
|w1-1 Can you try and work out why he's at school?
|w1-2 What?
|w1-1 Can you try and work out why he's at school cos he baffles me!
|w1-6 <nv>laugh</nv>
|w1-2 He just wants to come.
|w1-6 <nv>laugh</nv>
|w1-2 Where is he?
|w1-1 Er, dunno. So I gave it to him, only he came [past on his bike.]
|w1-6 [Did you sa=] you say Darren came?
|w1-1 It's hopeless to go home. <nv>laugh</nv>
|w1-2 How did you get here?
|w1-1 Er, bus and walk. When d'ya do it? Let me see.
|w1-2 Does that mean Cassie got here at half ten?
|w1-1 Yes. And, and Andy <name>.
|w1-2 And Patsy?
|w1-1 <nv>clears throat</nv> Although I'm not <unclear>. Matchsticks squares. Did you do matchstick squares again?
|w1-2 No.
|w1-1 Oh!
|w1-2 Am I brilliant then?
|w1-6 <unclear>
|w1-1 Yeah yeah yeah yeah.
|w1-6 I'll be up [there.]
|w1-1 [Besides] I'm able.
|w1-6 I've got to see <name> [<unclear>]
|w1-2 [Oh I will] why not? Trying to
|w1-1 Ha. ... I handed in Matchbox, cos for some reason I still had it. Bloody lucky I did cos a= that's the only mark scheme I had was my Matchbox.

Text 4.

|rB136602
B136602
(1 Brent)
(s shop)
(n 3)
(g 1 f)
(a 1 13)
(o 1 student)
(s 1 2)
(g 5 f)
(a 5 13)
(o 5 student)
(s 5 ?)

(g 7 f)

(a 7 13)

(o 7 student)

(s 7 ?)

|w14-5 I'll, I'll [call it my dictionary of slang]

|w14-1 [Let's go into Woolworth's], your dictionary of slang

|w14-5 <unclear>

|w14-1 <nv>laugh</nv>

|w14-5 not, <nv>laugh</nv> ...

|w14-1 I need to get a pen ... oh look I can buy a bed sheet

<nv>laugh</nv>, bed linen, what?

|w14-5 I always look <unclear> you see

|w14-1 who?

|w14-5 I always look at food, er [<nv>laugh</nv>]

|w14-1 [I know] you're food man, mad, <laughing>man</>

<nv>laugh</nv>, yeah, erm, anyway

|w14-7 where's the Easter eggs?

|w14-1 I don't know do they, have they still got Easter eggs,

just, ... (conversation in background) here we go ... (music playing)

got to get this ... do they still have Easter eggs in here? I haven't

been in here you know [since]

|w14-5 [yeah] there, idiot

|w14-1 I haven't been in here since I've come back from Devon ...

|w14-5 oh, this your ...

|w14-1 half price, ah

|w14-5 how much?

|w14-1 forty nine P ...

|w14-5 forty nine?

|w14-1 yeah, cos it's half, half that price, forty nine, fifty

|w14-5 is that nice though? jelly in [those]

|w14-1 [no] I like these ones ... how much are they? I like these

too, shall I get one? ...

|w14-5 right put, get that and go urgh in your mouth you know

|w14-1 I've already had some of these, we had this, whoops

|w14-5 put it in your mouth and it's awful

|w14-1 we had some of them, at home, shall I get one of these?

|w14-5 are they nice?

|w14-1 yeah ... have you tasted the caramel ones?

|w14-5 yeah, d'you like it?

|w14-1 yeah

|w14-5 <nv>laugh</nv>

|w14-1 do you wanna get, shall we, do you wanna get one?

|w14-5 my friend bought seven for my kids, for her kids okay,

they didn't like it, gave it all <unclear>

|w14-1 yeah ... I get you flowers to buy

|w14-5 nice look

|w14-1 have you tasted this?

|w14-5 no, are they nice?

|w14-1 I don't know I haven't tasted it?

|w14-5 shall I taste, shall we get one as well?

|w14-1 yeah

|w14-5 no man, don't need, look
 |w14-1 it's only money <nv>laugh</nv>
 |w14-7 Sarah, it's only money though
 |w14-1 yeah
 |w14-7 <unclear>
 |w14-5 have you tried these before?
 |w14-1 yeah
 |w14-5 are they nice?
 |w14-1 bit, it, it's
 |w14-5 this ones nicer
 |w14-1 it's, it's, it's yuck
 |w14-5 is it?
 |w14-1 you're, don't you see erm Chris, what's his face on the
 coach when we went to France, this is what we were gonna get extra one
 |w14-5 I know
 |w14-1 Kate! gob stopper, look they've got what we were gonna get
 Chavonne
 |w14-7 do you like this or not?
 |w14-1 that one?
 |w14-7 yeah, do you like?
 |w14-5 [love that]
 |w14-1 [yeah]
 |w14-5 is it for you?
 |w14-7 mm
 |w14-5 ooh, Kate
 |w14-1 look [Kate]
 |w14-5 [ah]
 |w14-1 Chavonne
 |w14-7 [<laughing>yeah</>]
 |w14-1 [gob <laughing>stopper</>] <nv>laugh</nv>
 |w14-5 I'm gonna get some as well you know because I've only got
 one and it's brown, bit disgusting innit?
 |w14-7 get a basket and we've, I'm gonna get a lot of sweets, get
 a basket and put everything inside and then, case I'm looking like
 <unclear>
 |w14-1 alright
 |w14-7 you know <unclear> inside, get a basket ...
 |w14-5 put your things inside
 |w14-1 <nv>laugh</nv> wow, you can carry <laughing>it <unclear>
 |w14-5 yeah
 |w14-1 oh I love these
 |w14-7 me to you know, how much are they? fifty four, have you
 tried these before? milk chocolate
 |w14-5 I like these bar, you put, I always chewed them really
 fast
 |w14-1 yeah ... I like these <nv>laugh</nv> put it this way I
 like sweets, oh look they've changed the bow
 |w14-5 me to
 |w14-1 they've changed the bow, oh it's a different make isn't
 it?
 |w14-5 oh yes ...

|w14-1 it's Woolworth's make
|w14-5 <nv>laugh</nv> you getting some? ...
|w14-1 how much are they?
|w14-7 What one?
|w14-1 <nv>laugh</nv>
|w14-5 yeah, <nv>laugh</nv> ...(7) (conversation and music in background)
|w14-1 [what one you gonna get?]
|w14-5 [what's it called?]
|w14-7 you like that?
|w14-many <unclear> ...
|w14-1 what were you gonna buy then Keat-Yee, if you got a basket?
|w14-5 ah?
|w14-1 what you gonna buy? oh Kate look how cheap this is, two ninety nine
|w14-7 oh I might get it ...(10)
|w14-5 here's a <unclear>
|w14-7 five seventeen for this
|w14-1 how much are they?
|w14-5 [what about this one?]
|w14-5 [hold it Sarah], hold it
|w14-1 yeah, that's, that's a nice one
|w14-5 hold it while I'll try it
|w14-5 what does it look like here? ...
|w14-1 what do you think? er tricky <unclear>
|w14-5 how much are they?
|w14-1 I don't know, how much are they?
|w14-5 one pound something
|w14-1 what colour's that?
|w14-5 not even two pounds, do you think that's nice?
|w14-7 this is one ninety nine
|w14-5 that's not for, that's not a t= for a test Sarah by the way
|w14-7 do you like this one?
|w14-1 do
|w14-7 erm, cos this is this one
|w14-1 yeah [that]
|w14-7 [shall I] get it? ... why? I'm getting <unclear>, shall I?
|w14-5 take two
|w14-1 you getting one? ... that's, that's rubbish ... oh look <unclear>, oh they're only two ninety nine
|w14-5 [how many?]
|w14-7 [look,] he said four on a row
|w14-1 no that, that's a set of it, that game, it's so plasticcy (sic), look ... it's so sweet ...
|w14-many <unclear>
|w14-1 you're buying one now <nv>laugh</nv>, there's no Easter eggs left, are there? ...
|w14-7 one time they had this big trolley of all smashed up

Easter eggs and me and my mum kept running up to it and nicking bits of chocolate

|w14-1 <nv>laugh</nv>, I like all this stuff

|w14-5 yeah

|w14-1 eh? nice innit?

|w14-5 I like the hat,

|w14-1 <nv>laugh</nv>

|w14-5 ooh Sarah

|w14-7 ahem.

London Lund texts

|C1

|T1

|S0

<1 B> ((of ^Spanish)) . graph\ology#

<2 A> ^w=ell# .

<3 A> ((if) did ^y/ou _set _that# -

<4 B> ^well !J\oe and _I#

<5 B> ^set it betw\een _us#

<6 B> ^actually !Joe 'set the :p\aper#

<7 B> and *((3 to 4 sylls))*

<8 A> *^w=ell# .

<9 A> "^m/\ay* I _ask#

<10 A> ^what goes !\into that paper n/ow#

<11 A> be^cause I !have to adv=ise# .

<12 A> ((a)) ^couple of people who are !d\oing [dhi: @]

<13 B> well ^what you :d\o#

<14 B> ^is to - - ^this is sort of be:tween the :tw\o of _us#

<15 B> ^what *you* :d\o#

<16 B> is to ^make sure that your 'own . !c\andidate

<17 A> *^[\m]#*

<16 (B) is . *.* ^that your . there`s ^something that your :own candidate can :h\andle# - -

<18 B> ((I ^won`t))

<19 A> *((^y\eah#))*

<18 (B) ((be a m/minute# - -

<20 B> 3 to 4 sylls)) - - -

<21 A> ^\ah# -

<22 A> [@:] you ^mean that [dhi dhi] {the !p\apers} "\are#/
<23 A> ^more or less :set ad !h\ominem#

<24 A> ^/are _they# -

<25 B> [@:h] - - they ^sh\ouldn`t b/e# - -

<26 B> ^but [@h] - I ^mean \one#

<27 B> ^sets - - \one _question#

<28 B> ^now I !mean !this fellow`s doing ((the)) language of :advertising# *.*

<29 B> ((so ^very)) w\ell#

<30 A> *^y\eah#*

<31 (B) *((^give him one on))*

<32 A> *is ^this a spare p/aper#*

<33 B> (([@] ^y\eah#
 <34 B> I actually ^got it for y/ou#))
 <35 A> ^thank you very m/uch#
 <36 A> ((1 syll)) *^thanks very much in:d\eed#*
 <37 B> *I've ^probably got some :m\ore#*
 <38 B> [f@:] ^further b\ack# .
 <39 A> be^cause you see ((I)) - [@] ^some of our p\eople#
 <40 A> (. clears throat) ((who)) are ^d\oing LEs# - -
 <41 A> [:@:m] ^have to consider which !{p\aper} . to
 "d\o# .
 <42 A> and I ^wondered . whether . [dhi] . gra:phology
 p/aper# .
 <43 A> is in ^fact . [:@:m] . ^whether it !tends to be a
 com:p\arative gra_phology _paper#
 <44 A> ^or - a his\t\orical gra_phology _paper# -
 <45 A> ((^whether it`s)) *like*
 <46 B> *((^well you))*
 <45 (A> !Old and Middle :English graph/ology#
 <47 A> ((or ^something *like !th\at#
 <48 A> ^you s/ee#))*
 <49 B> *^w=ell#
 <50 B> ^you give* them the :l\ot {^you s=ee#}# *.*
 <51 B> ^that`s the **p\oint#**
 <52 B> ((and)) ^make sure that there`s :s\omething#
 <53 B> [:@:] ^fairly :cl\osely rel\ated#
 <54 A> *^[=m]#*
 <55 A> **^[=m]#**
 <56 (B> ((to ^what they`ve st\udied#))
 <57 A> ((it`s ^just 'one !qu\estion that they have to do
 /isn`t it#))
 <58 B> ^well there were [:@] !\one#
 <59 B> or ^tw\o we`ve *got on th/ere#*
 <60 B> ^you s/ee#
 <61 A> *^yes !I s\ee#* .
 <62 A> ^y=es# .
 <63 A> ^y=es# -
 <64 A> [:@:m] . ^one \other thing S/am# -
 <65 A> [:@:m] - ^De!\aney# -
 <66 A> a Ca^n\adian#
 <67 A> *((who)) ^graduated*
 <68 B> *(([@] ^wh/ere did you put those th\ings#*
 <69 B> ^just one)) . ^let me put this in my b\ag#
 <70 B> ((or)) I`ll ((^walk a:w\ay with_out it#)) - - -
 <71 A> [:@:m] - - De^laney`s the Ca:n\adian . st\udent
 {re^m/ember#}#
 <72 A> ^last y/ear#
 <73 B> ^[mh/m]#
 <74 A> [:@:] he ^should have had his . dissertation \in#
 <75 A> ((at the)) be^ginning of M\ay# .
 <76 A> ((but)) the ^damn thing ((hasn`t) c/ome# -
 <77 A> [:@:] I ^did get a !p\ostcard fr/om him# - -

<78 A> ^saying that [[:m]] the !thing is now :r/eady# .
 <79 A> and that he will ^send it by the :end . of
 :J\une# .
 <80 A> ^that`s what he !s\ays# .
 <81 A> ^now . !A he may not . send it . quite as soon as ./
 :th/at#
 <82 A> and ^=B#
 <83 A> it ^may take a hell of a long time to !c\ome# .
 <84 A> ^if he !puts it into the :diplomatic b\ag#
 <85 A> ^as [[:m]] - !wh\at`s his _name# .
 <86 A> Mickey ^C\ohn _did# .
 <87 A> ^then ((it`s)) not so b\ad# -
 <88 A> ^but [[:]] !how are y\ou going to be pl/aced#
 <89 A> ^for *((!h\aving#))*
 <90 B> *[:] - * I ^wouldn`t want it before the :end of
 June :\anyhow R/eynard#
 <91 B> be^cause I`m !going to Madr\id# .
 <92 B> on the ^t\enth#
 <93 B> and ^coming back on the twenty-n/inth# -
 <94 B> *[:]* . I +shall+ "^^not
 <95 A> *^I s/ee#*
 <96 A> +^y/es#+
 <94 (B> b=e#
 <97 B> a^way from home :th\en#
 <98 B> un^t\il#
 <99 B> at ^\any rate#
 <100 B> the ^\end of *- * a^bout the end of \August# - -
 <101 A> *^ [=m]#*
 <102 A> [[:]]
 <103 B> so *^any time in Jul/y#
 <104 B> ^and* \August#
 <105 B> ^but [[:]] +.
 <106 A> *(- - a hiss-whistle)* +^y/es#+
 <105 (B> !not too `far into `August if *p\ossible#* -
 <107 B> ^\otherwise#
 <108 B> I`ll be ^stuck until about [dh=i:]
 <109 A> *^n\o#*
 <108 (B> !twentieth . [[:]] I`m ^h\oping#
 <110 B> to ^get into Sp=ain# .
 <111 B> from a^bout the -!twenty- . -:\eighth of /August#
 <112 B> ((to)) un^til about the !twentieth or :something of/
 that kind of Sept\ember# *.*
 <113 B> but
 <114 A> *^y\eah#*
 <113 (B> ^[adh@w] a^part from :th=at# .
 <115 B> I`ll be at ^h\ome#
 <116 B> and al"^\though I`ll be doing CS/C _stuff#
 <117 B> and ^that kind of th=ing#
 <118 B> ^I can always `put it on one *s/ide#*
 <119 B> and ^get on with the p\aper#
 <120 A> *^y\eah#*

<121 A> [[:@]] you ^see the !\other _man#
 <122 A> ^Ch\omley#
 <123 A> ^ought . ^ought . ^ought !\also#
 <124 A> to have . ^got his in on t/ime#
 <125 A> and I sus"^\p\ected#
 <126 A> ^\always#
 <127 A> that De^laney would be l/ate# .
 <128 A> that ^Chomley would be on t/ime#
 <129 A> and that ^this would . produce a nice
 "!st\agging#
 <130 A> of . of their ar^rival on your !d\esk# *-.*
 <131 A> [[:@:]] ^now it looks as if they they both
 <132 B> *[m]^[h\m]#*
 <131 (A> ar:r\ive#
 <133 A> [[:@]] I ^think that we :mustn` t worry too :much
 a:b\out th/is#
 <134 A> ^we we ^make it !perfectly clear that :papers must
 be in on the :first of :M\ay# *-.*
 <135 A> [[:@:]]
 <136 B> *[m]^[h\m]#*
 <135 (A> . [[:@ ?@:]] ^and [[:@]] I !don` t want to [[:@:]] ^you
 kn/ow#
 <137 A> ^run ourselves out of an external ex/aminer#
 <138 A> by ^your s=aying#
 <139 A> [[:@]] oh to ^hell with !th=is#
 <140 A> for a ^g/ame#
 <141 A> I`m ^not going to have my summers . bugged up in
 this kind of !w\ay#
 <142 B> *^no ((I)) ^no* it`ll be !p\erfectly all r/ight
 _Reynard#
 <143 B> I`ve ^got a . I`ve ^got about a w\eeek# .
 <144 B> of ^fairly hard w=ork#
 <145 B> [[:@]] ^after the :fourth of Jul\y# .
 <146 B> this ^CS\C _stuff#
 <147 B> ^you s/ee# .
 <148 B> and ^after th/at#
 <149 B> ^I shall ^I shall have an!other w=eeek# -
 <150 B> ^pretty h\ard#
 <151 B> a^bout [dhi:] say ((the)) say the :seventh to the
 :fourteenth of \August# -
 <152 B> I`ll be ^doing [dhi] Burgos a:w\ard#
 <153 B> from ^[dhi:] !tw\entieth#
 <154 B> to the ^twenty-!fifth# .
 <155 B> but [[:@]] ^really I`ve got about . :thr\ee w/eeks#
 <156 B> "^\less than th/at#
 <157 B> of ^hardish :w=ork#
 <158 B> ^spread over those two m\onths#
 <159 B> ^you *s/ee#* .
 <160 B> the "^\rest of the t=ime#
 <161 B> ^I`ll have !pl\enty of time {to ((^d\deal with
 them#}#)}

<162 A> *^y=eah#*
 <163 A> ^=I {^s=ee#}# -
 <164 A> ^w\ell# .
 <165 A> [:@:m . dhi dhi] the "^\{other thing} \is you s/ee#
 <166 A> that . ^if . you !h\aven`t _got _time#
 <167 A> to ^mark ((a)) paper by about . [dhi] . "^\any
 p\aper#
 <168 A> by a^bout the !middle of Jul\y# - -
 <169 A> then it`s ^not worth . !w\orrying a_bout it# .
 <170 A> un^til . the :end of [dhi] summer . va!c\ation#
 <171 A> be^c=ause# .
 <172 A> [:@:m] . the ^last meeting of ((the)) Council
 Com:mission is about the middle of Jul/y# -
 <173 A> ^and - [:@] therefore the candidates wouldn`t be
 able to re!c\eive their cer_tificates#
 <174 A> un^til No"!v\ember# -
 <175 A> * . ((so it`s))* ^up to th\em#
 <176 B> *^well ((no))* . ^let`s have a look ((at [dai]))
 ^I`m . ^I`m !back on the twenty-n\inth
 {^R\eynard#}# -
 <177 B> ^now [i] if if !these papers come . by the
 :twenty-ninth of J\une#
 <178 B> and you ^send them through to m\e# .
 <179 B> ^in L/oughton# -
 <180 B> ^then . be!tween (([:@])) the !twenty-n/inth#
 <181 B> and [:@] ^let me s\ee# -
 <182 B> we`re ^having this meeting of :CSC as:sistant((s))
 on the !fourth of Jul/y#
 <183 B> which is a ^S\aturday# -
 <184 B> I`ll ^have about !half a day`s work to look at some/
 odd scripts before th/en# .
 <185 B> and ^then I :shan`t get !\any _scripts {from the
 as^s\istants#}#
 <186 B> be^fore about let me s\ee#
 <187 B> ^f=our#
 <188 B> ^f=ive#
 <189 B> ^s=ix#
 <190 B> ^s=even#
 <191 B> a^bout the !\eighth# -
 <192 B> ^so . I shall have . r\oughly#
 <193 B> from the "^\twenty-ninth of J\une# .
 <194 B> to the ^eighth of Jul/y# .
 <195 B> on ^which I can . [:@] I can ^spend the !wh\ole of
 th/at _time#
 <196 B> on ^those two p/apers# .
 <197 B> if they ^happen to *c\ome# -
 <198 B> and ^then ag=ain#
 <199 B> ((from the ^[e]))* - from the ^eighth of Jul=y# .
 <200 B> un^t=il# .
 <201 A> *^=I {^s=ee#}#
 <202 A> ((^I`m ^I`m ^I`m it`s)) ^very kind of you :S/am#*

<203 (B> what^ever time your council meeting /\is# *.*
 <204 A> *^\[m]#*
 <205 (B> a^g\ain#
 <206 B> ^I can spend the whole time :\on *them#*
 <207 A> *^[=m]#*
 <208 (B> . ^you !s=ee#
 <209 B> [@] ^I shall g=et#
 <210 B> [[:] ^scripts from :ten assistant ex:\aminers#
 <211 B> which will ^mean . a !couple of days` w\ork#
 <212 B> ^I shall !get those on about the :eighth or ((the))/
 ":ninth of Jul/y# .
 <213 B> ((^well they`ll be)) !\out of the _way qu\ickly
 {^you s/ee#}#
 <214 B> and [@] and ^then I can get straight on to the
 papers ag\ain#
 <215 A> *^y\eah#* -
 <216 A> ^w=ell#
 <217 A> [[:] I ^m\ust _say#
 <218 A> ^this ^this is !awfully k/ind#
 <219 A> *be^cause*
 <220 B> *((well))* ^I`ll ^I`ll get them through *.*
 qu\ickly#
 <221 B> ^once I`ve had them
 <222 A> *we ^shouldn`t*
 <221 (B> from y\ou#
 <223 A> and we ^shouldn`t be im:posing on you in va!c\ation/
 _time#
 <224 A> ((there`s ^no)) !p=oint#
 <225 B> *((well ^as its))*
 <226 (A> ^you s=ee#
 <227 A> of of ^asking for :this particular d\ate ((the))
 {^first of M\ay#}#
 <228 A> ((was [s] that)) [[:m] our ex^ternal ex=aminer# .
 <229 A> ^as well as our:s/elves of _course# *.*
 <230 A> [[:] ^would be !free during t\erm- _time# +-+
 <231 B> *^[=m]#*
 <232 B> +^[mh\m]#+
 <233 (A> be ^freed "by the time term`s \ended# -
 <234 A> [[:m] you`re ^very kind old S/am# - -
 <235 A> "^\b\less _you#
 <236 A> well ^that finishes th\at# .
 <237 A> [[:m] . ((now)) ^what was the \other thing {I
 ^wanted to :=ask _you#}# .
 <238 A> ^[i] ^is . ^is it `this y\ear#
 <239 A> that [[:] ^N\ightingale _goes# - -
 <240 B> [[:] no ^n\ext _year# - -
 <241 A> [[:m] . -^sixty- [f] *.* -four sixty-f\ive# ++
 <242 B> *^sixty-f\ive#*
 <243 B> +^y\eah#+
 <244 (A> ((I thought it was be^f\ore)) sixty- _five#
 <245 A> so it`s ^not until - !next year that *the job

((will be)) :advertised##*

<246 B> *^January I sup:pose there* :may be an :interview round about January#

<247 A> ^y\eah# -

<248 A> [:@:~] ^y/ou heard anything {a^bout th/is#}# .

<249 B> ^nothing at !\all ((y/et))# - -

<250 A> [:@:~] - - you`ve ^not heard !P\eel _mentioned {in ^this conn=exion#}#

<251 B> well ^N\ightingale _mentioned it {c\asually to _me#}##

<252 B> that ^Peel !m\ight try f\or it#

<253 B> do you know anything ^definite ((ab/out him#))

<254 A> ^n\o# -

<255 A> [:@:] but ^[sambp @] it ^may have come from the same/ !s\ource a _gain#

<256 B> ^well !I mentioned it to y\ou#

<257 B> if you re^m/ember#

<258 B> *((1 to 2 sylls))*

<259 A> *^yes I* !kn\ow# .

<260 A> I know ^y\ou did#

<261 B> ^[mh\m]#

<262 A> [:@:~] I (([ri"^^ma] at ^least)) n\ow#

<263 A> I [:@] you ^come to m\ention it#

<264 A> I re"^^m\ember that you _did# -

<265 A> [:@] but I ^heard it . [:@] mentioned by somebody ^else# -

<266 A> I ^think !W=att# -

<267 A> I`m ^not s\ure# *-*

<268 A> [:@:~] - - ^and [:@:~]

<269 B> *[m]^[h\m]#*

<268 (A> you kn/ow# -

<270 A> ^if !this is :also c/ome#

<271 A> ^from [:@] - N/ightingale . {or ^y/ou#}# .

<272 A> then it`s ^not so b/ad#

<273 A> ^but [:@m] - if it`s coming from !other sources as w/ell#

<274 A> then it might ^well indicate .

<275 B> [m]^[h\m]# -

<276 B> well ^Nightingale :said that he . he :might want to/ :get a:way from . Lower N\etherhall you s/ee#

<277 A> ^y\es# - -

<278 A> ^y=es#

<279 A> I [:@] I ^wouldn`t be sur!pr\ised at th/at# - -

<280 A> I ^really !w\ouldn`t#

<281 B> ((he ^can`t feel very comfortable in :th/ere {I should ^th/ink#}##

<282 B> with ^all that cr/owd#))

<283 A> ^[m]# -

<284 A> it ^makes it pretty !\awkward#

<285 A> ^d\oesn`t it# -

<286 B> ^[mh\m]#

<287 A> do you ^happen to know whether . [:@:m] . :Sparrow
 has got an :image . of the man he w/ants#
 <288 A> ^whether he wants a medieval !l/iterature _man#
 <289 A> or - - ^wh\at#
 <290 B> [:@] I ^haven` t h\ear#
 <291 B> ^n\o#
 <292 B> ^but [:@] I mean !I should 'go for it :only :if it`s/
 - - :l\anguage# - - -
 <293 B> I mean ^my i:dea would :be to - to teach
 !l\anguage#
 <294 B> and ^hire somebody to do the "l\iterature {^sort
 of th\ing#}#
 <295 B> you ^s/ee#
 <296 B> ^whereas . if . Roy !P\eel w/ent#
 <297 B> I sup^pose !he`d do the !l\iterature#
 <298 B> and ^hire somebody to do the !l\anguage#
 <299 B> ^that`s what it would a!!m\ount to {^!isn`t it#}# -/
 <300 B> ((but I`d ^plan to get *somebody 1 to 2 sylls))*
 <301 A> *well he ^wouldn`t have to !h\ire* somebody you
 s/ee# .
 <302 A> ((he`d have ^you)) built !\in# .
 <303 B> ^w\ell I _mean#
 <304 B> *we`ve " ^got we`ve* we`ve " ^g\ot the
 <305 A> *((2 to 3 sylls))*
 <304 (B> _people there {al^r\eady#}#
 <306 B> *to do* the ^l\iterature#
 <307 A> *^[m]#*
 <308 (B> ^you s/ee#
 <309 B> and ^then there`s M/arley _there#
 <310 B> ^there`s [:@] . !L\ogan# .
 <311 B> and ^probably !T\illman#
 <312 B> ^you s/ee# - - -
 <313 B> ((oh ^what)) it either goes or it d\oesn`t#
 <314 B> ((^I m=ean#)) .
 <315 B> one ^can`t . w\orry a _bout it#
 <316 B> I`ve ^only got :five years to [:@ @] ^\eight years
 to _go {^!anyway#}# -
 <317 B> ((it`ll ^only)) be !seven years by the time th/at
 comes _round#
 <318 A> ^[m]# -
 <319 A> is the ^readership going thr=ough# .
 <320 A> ^m/eanwhile#
 <321 B> [:@:h] ^w\ell#
 <322 B> at the ^moment [:@] it`s ^gone through :c\ouncil#
 <323 B> I don`t know ^how it`s going through ((at)) the
 resid\entary l/evel#
 <324 B> ^Joe has [go] . g/ot it of _course#
 <325 B> and *.* and ^D\ell#
 <326 B> ((and)) pre^sumably those are [dhi] two people
 ((who))
 <327 A> *^h\as _he#*

<326 (B> d\o it# -

<328 A> I ^thought there were :two ex:ternal
ad!\isers# - - -

<329 B> *((^w\ell#))*

<330 A> *((that would be))* ^Dell !plus somebody w/ouldn`
it# .

<331 A> ^\oh# .

<332 A> no there are ^two external adv/isers#

<333 A> ^one lit and one \an*((guage#