Multilingual Manchester

Report
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The University of Manchester

Multicultural London English:
Media Representations and People's Views

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1   Overview

This paper aims to investigate whether the media's representation of the sociolect 'Multicultural London English' (MLE) is reflected in the views of undergraduate students at The University of Manchester.

MLE is a multi-ethnic dialect, or a *dialect spoken across different ethnicities* (Goldbeck, 2019). Multiethnolects, such as MLE, are becoming increasingly common among youth communities within cities where various ethnicities congregate. Students at Manchester University come from many different areas of England, and therefore represent a multilingual community.

Media outlets, who largely control public discourse, exercise their ability to (re)produce ideologies and negatively represent those who do not have the same control (Van Dijk, 2009). Race, gender and socioeconomic status are some underlying ideologies concerned with MLE. In light of our literature review, we aspire to look into the media's representation of the variation and juxtapose it with speakers' views.

2   Methodology

Reflecting upon our experiences, and that of those around us, we decided that the most appropriate method to gather student's opinions would be to create a prompted questionnaire online; open-ended enough to avoid leading participants to an answer, yet still limited enough that we were able to properly investigate our research aims (see Appendix B for survey responses).

We referred to Goldbeck's (2019) study into frequency of MLE slang to help compile our word list, as well as drawing upon her theory of parents' occupations and students' jobs roughly indicating socioeconomic background. Drummond (2016) asked students how they felt MLE related to their identity, and whilst his method was much more informal, we used it to help formulate our questions.

This online interview method is often used to gather data, particularly because it allows for more control variables and standardised data, thus making the results more comparable. It is also a faster, more practical way of obtaining larger quantities of data, and with the time constraints that we are under, this is crucial.

All participants provided consent on the survey before completion. 25 participants took part in the survey; all remaining anonymous. On receipt of the survey responses, we will analyse this data; grouping together the answers and assess the opinions of undergraduate students at The University of Manchester regarding MLE.

In order to get a succinct idea of the media's representation of MLE, we have collected a variety of 24 articles written in the years ranging from 2006-2019. We then used a Venn diagram to roughly separate the articles into 'positive', 'negative' and 'neutral' representations of MLE (see Appendix C). Once doing this, we will analyse the general trends of the articles, as well as a more in-depth analysis of a select few. We will conclude by comparing these representations to the survey responses, in order to see the difference between the media's representation of MLE and the views of some of its speakers.

3   Media analysis

In our sample of media articles, the earliest mention of the variety of English we are discussing is found in article (19). Written in 2006 in the Independent, the article quotes Sue Fox- a 'language expert from London University's Queen Mary College'- as well as direct speech from speakers of MLE. The anonymous author notes that researchers have suggested young people in London are "forging a separate multi-ethnic youth-speak based on common culture". What is interesting about this article is the sense of empowerment and identity it gives to the speakers; main sections of the text are direct quotes from London teenagers, who also offer qualification of the lexicon and grammatical structures. Words like 'bare' and 'aired' (both in our survey) are given definitions, demonstrating the relevance of this language today. It also suggests a certain acceptability of alternative language use and multilingualism, perhaps in line with the news outlet's liberal disposition. Consistent with descriptive linguistic practice, Fox opts to describe the variety as 'Multicultural London English' rather than 'Jafaican', noting that the later suggests "there's something fake about the dialect, which we would refute". Although fairly dated, this article consults academics and actual speakers to present the variety in a generally positive way.

Article (4) also consults speakers of MLE, although it is much more up to date (2019). Jesse Bernard writes for Red Bull, a frequent sponsor of British cultural events, music and sport, suggesting code-switching for those whose immediate family were not raised in the UK is vital. This sentiment is shared by the subject of article (1) who is quoted saying "In London, you learn to code-switch quite well, and I've always thought of that as a superpower". Both these articles offer a progressive view of MLE and present this instance of multilingualism as something important. However, they differ in tone slightly; the latter, written by Claire Armistead in the Guardian, insists the interviewee's term "road dialect" to be incorrect. The former allows the subjects (rappers and poets) to describe their language in any way they please, although perhaps this relates to the more formal format of the Guardian piece. One article (22) for the Observer, even demonstrates how bilingualism gives many social, psychological and overall health benefits to its users. Overall, despite how these articles vary in formality, they offer a contemporary view of multilingualism (all written between 2016-2019). Where not long ago MLE was targeted for 'killing Cockey', they positively reinforce its use and present it as something that is part of music, literature and general British culture, even if centred around London.

A consistent theme which emerged from the analysis of our articles corpus is the notion that MLE is indiscriminatory of all race, gender or ethnicity; many of the articles made effort to evidence the speakers of this dialect were not exclusively of Afro-Caribbean backgrounds. Article (6) for the New Statesman cites a man who grew up in Brixton, recalling eastern European girls and second-generation Asian boys using "the sounds, rhythms, colloquialisms and phonetics of Jamaican patois". Article (11) in the Daily Mail gives an anecdotal account from a concerned father about how his white middle class daughter uses Jamaican patois. It begrudgingly quotes Paul Kerswill who notes that MLE is spreading outside of London. However, whilst this piece negatively describes the pervasive nature of MLE, article (8) celebrates it. In 'Jafaican it? No we're not', Rachel Braier emphasises how it is "fast becoming the genuine sound of modern urban Britain, the native tongue of black, white and brown youth". This ties in closely with Sue Fox's observation mentioned earlier; essentially refuting the argument that 'white kids are trying to sound black'. Many of the articles attempt to push the message that in the modern day, use of MLE is only loosely connected to a particular ethnic background or race, if at all. This could be said to represent a more positive, or at least a more accurate view of this example of multilingualism; it is one characterised by the absence of any pre-judgement about the speakers of MLE.

In our sample of news articles, several also portrayed multilingualism, but MLE in particular, in a negative light. A key reason behind their disdain for this type of language was often the origins of the new kinds of lexis and grammar found in MLE which are derived from Afro-Caribbean languages. James Delingpole writes in the Express that "foreigners" are moulding English to "suit their convenience" and describes MLE as "ghastlier" than Estuary English (article 9). Article (2)'s author similarly fixates on the non-native elements of MLE, saying it is the language of those "who learnt English as a second language". From 2010, this piece perhaps represents a view held by many at that time, whilst there was little understanding of this variety. It draws a dichotomy between MLE, and Cockney with article (15) sharing this opinion, suggesting MLE is "driving out" Cockney. Nearly all of these sources are generally written with patriotic and potentially racist undertones; they attempt to alienate MLE as something which isn't British. In article (2) Keith Austin speaks of the unjust, negative connotations associated with "true Cockney" rhyming slang, which is "proudly synonymous with London". He proceeds to mark MLE with this same kind of pejorative judgement, despite this dialect originating and thriving in London. In spite of this, what is also striking is that all these articles are highly opinionated pieces. Nearly all express the views of the individual, not necessarily the news outlet; they use overtly opinionated language and writing structures to signal this.

4   Survey Analysis

25 people took part in the online surveys, all of whom were people that we know, as we wanted to ensure that the surveys would have a representative spread of people from different locations and backgrounds, whilst also making sure that all participants met our research criteria. All of the questions and answers to the surveys can be found in Appendix B. The responses provided us with a representative insight into the opinions of students at Manchester concerning their own usage of MLE, and all participants both understand MLE, and use it to some degree.
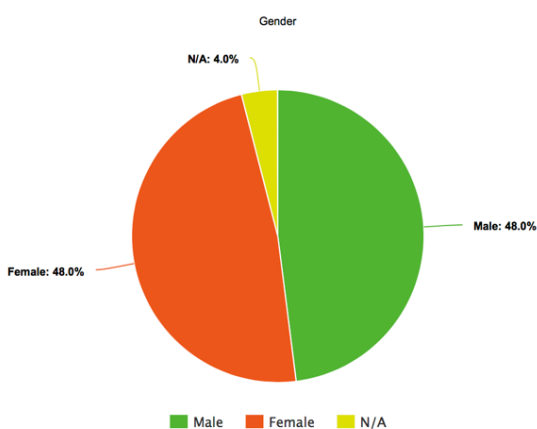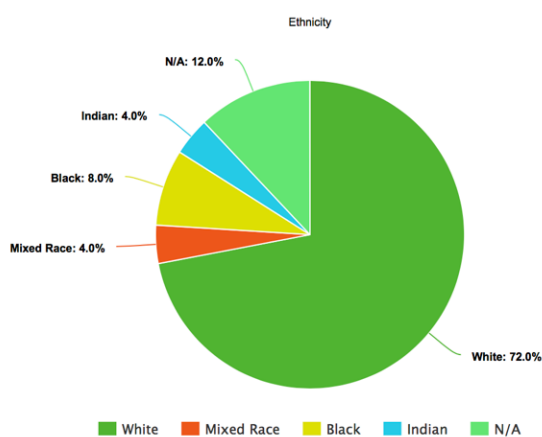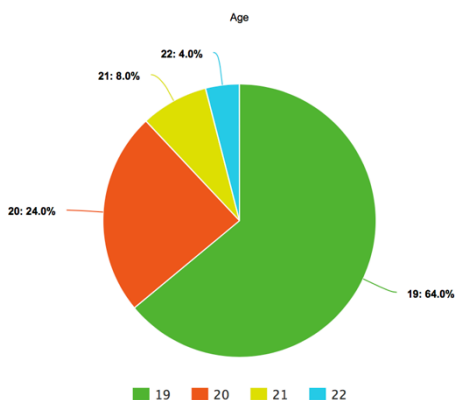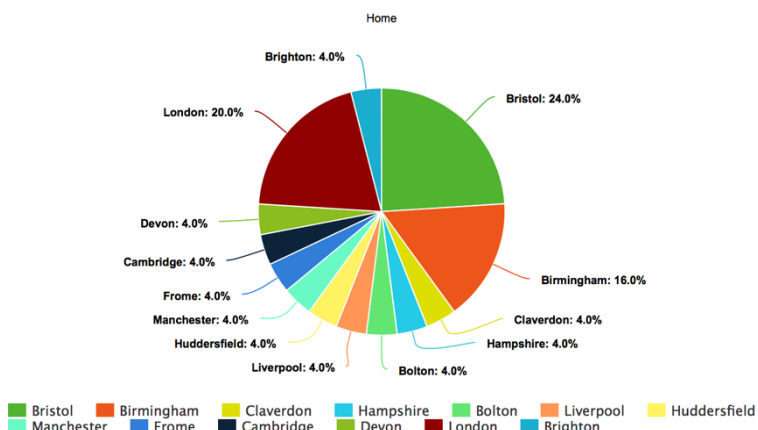

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

As displayed in figure 1, there was an even spread of male and female participants, with one participant who did not disclose their gender; this is excellent, as MLE used "regardless of the speaker's own ethnic background or gender" (Kircher & Fox 2019), so it is good that we have a spread of male and female. The ethnic spread, however, could be better, with the majority of participants being white; equally it demonstrates that MLE is not simply 'Jafaican' and used by ethnic minorities, but that it has pervaded people from many different backgrounds and ethnicities.

The participants were aged between 19-22 and would all have grown up in the time during which MLE gained more widespread use and went from being used only in inner city London, to being used in other cities and even more rural areas across the country. As such, figure 3 shows that whilst most of the participants live in big cities, there are even those that come from small towns and villages such as Frome and Claverdon, all of whom understand and use the variety. There does not seem to be a correlation between the location of the participants' homes and the amount they use MLE: participants from northern cities, such as Liverpool, Bolton, and Manchester have self-reported as much usage of the listed words as participants from London, Bristol, and Birmingham.

We asked questions relating to the students' backgrounds in the form of what both they and their parents do to earn money in order to try to gauge their economic background. It was found that most students didn't have jobs during the term time, but 17 of the 25 did have jobs whilst at home. When comparing this with the parents' jobs it is possible to see that some participants, such as 24 come from less wealthy backgrounds, with his parent(s) working as a cleaner, and him working both at university, and at home, whilst others such as number 22 seems to be from a wealthier family, with no job and lawyers for parents. Despite this, both of these participants report high usage of the listed words, which reaffirms that MLE is becoming more and more widely used regardless of background.

We were able to see the extent of a person's usage of the language through our checklist of MLE words, with some being ones that are more common, such as 'peak', which reported that 96% of participants use it regularly, and 'crease' which is less commonplace, and reported a 24% usage. Naturally from this we can only gauge their use of MLE vocabulary and not their use of MLE grammar and phonology, but it is still a good indicator. Every participant, however, was able to define the words 'peak', 'bare', and 'crease' (meaning bad, a lot, and to laugh), which shows that even if they don't use the words, they are able to understand them.
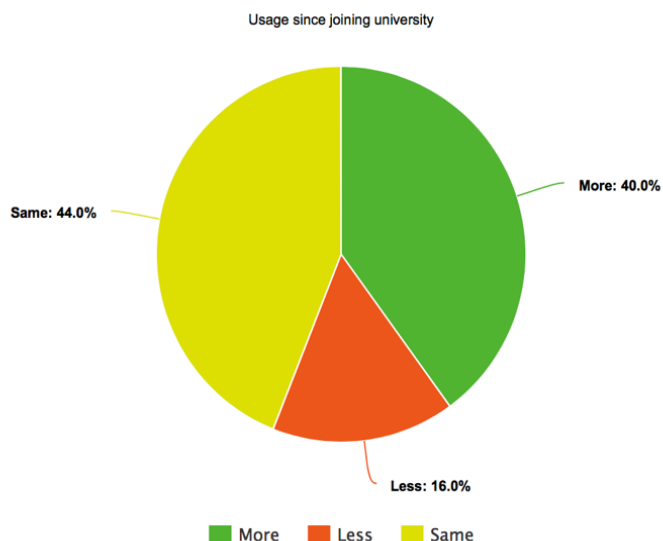
5

Usage since joining university

More: 40.0%
Same: 44.0%
Less: 16.0%

■ More ■ Less ■ Same

Figure 5

More	Same	Less
Bristol- 2	Bristol- 2	Bristol- 2
London- 2	London- 2	London- 1
Birmingham- 1	Birmingham- 3	Manchester- 1
Hampshire- 1	Huddersfield- 1	
Claverdon- 1	Cambridge- 1	
Bolton- 1	Brighton- 1	
Devon- 1	Liverpool- 1	
Frome- 1		

Table 1

All participants reported that their use of MLE is limited to their friends, and peers, which is one marker that the variety is strongly tied to youth identity. When asked who they wouldn't use it with, answers ranged from grandparents, to teachers, to bosses, but all indicate that the users recognise that it is a peer-based variety, with many using the word 'informal' as their reason for restricted use. Figure 6 displays how the participants' usage has changed since coming to Manchester, with table 1 comparing that to the homes of the participants. These pieces of data together show that even students from London state that being in Manchester has increased their MLE usage, and that most students either use more, or the same amount of MLE since joining university.

As mentioned, MLE has often been considered to be largely related to young identity, and when asked how they felt when people spoke to them using MLE, people either seemed indifferent ('normal') or stated that it made them either feel 'comfortable', or 'included'. Most people recognise others' use of MLE as a marker that they belong to similar social groups, or that they are 'on a level with me' as one participant stated. When asked what the language meant to them, however, answers were more neutral, with many people stating the word 'colloquial' as such it seems that the variety is so commonplace to them that they don't recognise it as at all special or unusual. The majority have also not had bad experiences with MLE, and those that have, had problems with misunderstanding and parents' reactions. This suggests that perhaps there is less of a stigma, or that the students are good at code switching- indicated also by their recognition of MLE as 'informal'.

5   Conclusion

From the answers provided in our survey, it is shown that every participant uses MLE. The lexical items belonging to MLE are used by the students with their "friends" or "peers". The participants claimed that their usage has either remained the same or increased since studying at the University of Manchester. This indicates that speakers of this variety of English only use it with other young people, suggesting the variety contributes to youth identity. This view is also mirrored in many of the articles we researched. Most articles, particularly ones written towards the end of the decade, were clear on the fact that this variety is a multi-ethnolect spoken

by young people all around the country. We can conclude that the recent media and our participants have a similar understanding on the types of demographics that use MLE.

However, there have been derogatory depictions of MLE in the media. As mentioned earlier, numerous articles have criticised the emergence of MLE. With one opinion piece critiquing this variety for replacing Cockney, a former, white working-class variety. Another opinion piece claimed that immigration is "killing the magnificent English Language". It could be interpreted that the criticism of MLE is used to critique other topics like immigration and ethnic diversity in the UK. In 2011, historian David Starkey blamed the intrusion of "Jamaican Patois" for the 2011 UK Riots in an interview on the BBC's 'NewsNight', claiming the rioters: "black and white, boy and girl, operate in this language together." The dislike for the variety is less about the features of the language and more about the people who speak it. All the negative rhetoric in the articles we researched have undertones of xenophobia, racism and anti-multiculturalism. Notably, not one of our survey's participants mentioned race, ethnicity or class which suggests students who use the variety no longer relate it towards its origins like some of the articles have done.

But it could be argued that the negative representations of MLE have influenced its speakers with the fact that they perform 'Code-switching'. Many participants said that they use this variety when speaking with friends and acknowledged that they do not use it when talking with "family", "lecturers" or "at work". Furthermore, numerous participants stated that they have had negative experiences when using the variety in specific situations as it has not been understood or has even been disapproved.

In Goldbeck's research (2019), she states that speakers of MLE are part of a "counter-culture", against the dominant and oppressive class system of the UK. She states it is "a way of expressing non elite identity and resisting to mainstream culture". She explains that people use MLE to distance themselves from their social class. Our data supports this concept as participants that were deemed to be from a higher socio-economic background claimed to use MLE at the same frequency levels of other participants that were deemed to be from a lower socio-economic background. Using MLE is a rebellion against Received Pronunciation and its rules. Their non-conformist language use expresses their non-conformist attitudes towards the strict class structures in the UK.

When asked how they felt when people use words from the MLE lexicon, the participants either provided neutral or positive answers. The positive ones stating they felt "cool", "accepted", "part of a group.", "up to date" or "included". This indicates the variety represents more to the speakers than just their youth. This variety is now specific to this generation. MLE is heavily used in current UK music subgenres like Grime, Drill and TV shows like 'Top boy' which represent UK Black culture. They belong to forms of counterculture, one that is opposing and different from mainstream UK media. It is MLE association with counterculture that has drawn young people of the UK to use it and this could explain why it makes some of our participants feel "cool".

MLE emerged from the mixing of different ethnicities in areas of London but has now become a staple youth variety, spoken by students at the University of Manchester, of different genders, ethnicities and classes from all across the country. The UK media has had varying views on the spoken variety, mostly surrounding the cause of MLE: multiculturalism. The articles in support of MLE are henceforth in support of multilingualism and multiculturalism. The articles in opposition of MLE demonstrate the non-inclusive culture that MLE users are countering and the negative connotations could explain the use of 'code-switching'. It represents a new

ideology and a non-conformist attitude towards Standard English and potentially the ideologies carried by those who speak it. Manchester is a large, multicultural city so MLE usage might be more prevalent than in students attending regional universities, therefore, to take this research further, it would be of interest to gather more data of young people speaking MLE in more regional areas.

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6   Appendix

Survey responses

Q1 Do we have your consent to use the data collected here in an academic study at Manchester University, which looks at the use of teenage slang in Manchester, and opinions on it? All answers will remain confidential and will be used purely for research purposes.		

Exclude 'Did not Answer'

Answer	Responses	Percentage
Yes	25	100.00%
No	0	0%
(Did not answer)	0	0%
Total Responses	**25**	

What gender do you identify as? [Optional]				How old are you?		
Sr.No.	Response No.	Response Text		Sr.No.	Response No.	Response Text
1	1	female		1	1	19
2	2	Female		2	2	19
3	3	Female		3	3	19
4	4	female		4	4	19
5	5	Appache Attack Helicopter		5	5	20
6	6	Male		6	6	20
7	7	Male		7	7	19
8	8	Male		8	8	21
9	9	Female		9	9	19
10	10	Female		10	10	20
11	11	Female		11	11	19
12	12	Male		12	12	22
13	13	Female		13	13	19
14	14	Female		14	14	20
15	15	Male		15	15	21
16	16	female		16	16	20
17	17	Male		17	17	19
18	18	Male		18	18	19
19	19	Male		19	19	19
20	20	Male		20	20	19
21	21	Female		21	21	19
22	22	male		22	22	20
23	23	male		23	23	19
24	24	male		24	24	19
25	25	Female		25	25	19

What ethnic group would you associate yourself with? [Optional]

Sr.No.	Response No.	Response Text
1	1	White/British
2	2	White british
3	3	White British
4	4	white
5	5	Caucasian
6	6	
7	7	Black
8	8	White british
9	9	White and black Caribbean
10	10	British
11	11	White British
12	12	
13	13	
14	14	White British
15	15	White
16	16	White british
17	17	White British
18	18	White British
19	19	White English
20	20	White
21	21	White
22	22	black Caribbean
23	23	Indian
24	24	white British
25	25	White British

Where is your home when you're not at university?

Sr.No.	Response No.	Response Text
1	1	Bristol
2	2	Bristol
3	3	Hampshire
4	4	bristol
5	5	Birmingham
6	6	Claverdon
7	7	Bolton
8	8	Frome
9	9	Bristol
10	10	Bristol
11	11	Bristol
12	12	Manchester
13	13	Huddersfield
14	14	Cambridge
15	15	Devon
16	16	London
17	17	Brighton
18	18	Birmingham
19	19	London
20	20	London
21	21	London
22	22	Birmingham
23	23	Birmingham
24	24	liverpool
25	25	South London

What do your parent(s) do for work?

Sr.No.	Response No.	Response Text
1	1	Manger of finance company
2	2	Child psychotherapist and business owner
3	3	Dad works in HR, Mum runs her own business
4	4	school teacher and accountant
5	5	Politician
6	6	University professor // building surveyor
7	7	N/A
8	8	Management
9	9	Receptionist
10	10	Menswear designer
11	11	Dad- recruitment consultant mum- teacher
12	12	Business
13	13	Work at a school/property developer
14	14	Stone Carver and Gardener
15	15	Curtain making/fitting
16	16	Accounting and consultancy
17	17	Social workers
18	18	Father is a self employed builder and mother works in a shop
19	19	Author and bbc producer
20	20	Lawyer/personal trainer
21	21	Finance
22	22	lawyer
23	23	doctor and shop owner
24	24	cleaner
25	25	Dad is a TV producer, mum is a GP

Do you have a job whilst at university, or over the holidays? If so, what?

Sr.No.	Response No.	Response Text
1	1	At home, barmaid, waitress
2	2	No
3	3	Raw dog food company in the holidays. No uni job.
4	4	no
5	5	Barista
6	6	Over the holidays I work as a boatman
7	7	Christmas temp
8	8	Bar
9	9	Agency work for hotels and restaurants etc
10	10	Nope
11	11	Sales assistant
12	12	Business development
13	13	Waitress/Bar tender
14	14	No
15	15	Kitchen assistant
16	16	Yes, secretary at law firm
17	17	Part time bar work
18	18	No job whilst at Universtity but a part time catering job whilst at home
19	19	No
20	20	No
21	21	No
22	22	no
23	23	yes i work in a cafe at university
24	24	yes i work on bars at home and uni
25	25	I work in hospitality and retail in the holidays

☑ **Q 8**	Look at the list of words below. Check all of the ones that you use on a daily basis.

☐ Exclude 'Did not Answer'

Answer	Responses	Percentage
'Peak'	24	96.00%
'Bare'	15	60.00%
'Moist'	7	28.00%
'Gassed'	16	64.00%
'Aired'	15	60.00%
'Trust'	12	48.00%
'Peng'	21	84.00%
'Crease'	6	24.00%
(Did not answer)	0	0%
Total Responses	**116**	

A	If you use the words in the list above, who are you most likely to use that language		
Sr.No.	Response No.	Response Text	
1	1	Mates	
2	2	Friends , siblings	
3	3	Friends and people my age	
4	4	friends	
5	5	Friends	
6	6	Mates	
7	7	Friends in Manchester (Exclusively)	
8	8		
9	9	Friends	
10	10	Friends	
11	11	Friends	
12	12	Friends	
13	13	Friends and family	
14	14	Peers and friends	
15	15		
16	16	Friends	
17	17	My friends/peers	
18	18	Friends	
19	19	Friends	
20	20	Friends	
21	21	Friends	
22	22	my friends	
23	23	friends and family my age	
24	24	friends my age	
25	25	Friends and peers	

A	If you can, define the words 'crease', 'bare' and 'peak'		
Sr.No.	Response No.	Response Text	
1	1	Bare - a lot, Peak - bad, Crease - laugh	
2	2	Crease: laughing bare: alot peak: unfortunate	
3	3	crease = laughing, bare = lots of, peak = 'aw unlucky'	
4	4	laugh, loads, very bad	
5	5	Crease: to die laughing Bare: A lot Peak: a bit shit	
6	6	Crease - very funny. Bare - very/many. Peak - bad	
7	7	Crease- laugh, bare- a lot, peak- unfortunate	
8	8	Lol, a lot, embarrassing	
9	9	Funny, a lot, bad	
10	10	crease- funny e.g i was creasing, bare- lots of or many, peak- something bad	
11	11	Funny, lots, very bad	
12	12	Crease - laugh , bare - lots of, peak - tragic or unfortunate	
13	13	Laughing/Funny, a lot and not ideal situation	
14	14	Crease = something bare = very peak = something bad or disappointing	
15	15	Funny, very, bad	
16	16	Crease - funny bare - a lot/very peak- shit	
17	17	Crease - something funny (noun or verb). Bare - 'lots of' or 'very'. Peak - anything bad (adjective)	
18	18	funny, loads and peak in a slang term would mean bad	
19	19	Funny, lots of and not good	
20	20	Funny, lots of, not good	
21	21	Funny, a lot, bad	
22	22	crease -laugh, bare - alot, peak - bad	
23	23	crease -laugh, bare - alot, peak - bad	
24	24	crease -laugh, bare - alot, peak - bad	
25	25	Funny, numerous/ extremely, unfortunate/bad	

Sr.No.	Response No.	Do you consider yourself to use more, less, or the same amount of these words since joining university?
1	1	More
2	2	Same
3	3	more
4	4	less
5	5	Same
6	6	More
7	7	much more since University
8	8	More
9	9	Less
10	10	the same
11	11	More
12	12	Less
13	13	The same
14	14	Same amount as before university
15	15	Marginally more
16	16	More
17	17	the same amount, as these words are often spoken by peers at home
18	18	Same amount
19	19	Less
20	20	Same
21	21	More
22	22	the same/slightly less (my uni student friends are more posh)
23	23	more
24	24	the same
25	25	Same amount

Sr.No.	Response No.	If you use this slang or similar, is there a group of people that you wouldn't use these words with? If so why not?
1	1	grandparents because they wouldn't understand / Lecturers
2	2	Grandparents because they wouldn't understand it
3	3	employers because it is not seen as proper english
4	4	professors, because they are an authoritative figure
5	5	Family, wouldn't understand
6	6	Very rarely used at work
7	7	My family, they wouldn't understand it
8	8	
9	9	Grandparents because they wouldn't understand
10	10	teachers- they wouldn't understood
11	11	Family because they wouldn't understand what I'm saying
12	12	Professionals , they are not formal words
13	13	Academic staff, need to be more formal
14	14	Family and work colleagues -unprofessional/might not understand due to age difference
15	15	
16	16	My parents, they wouldn't understand what I'm saying, and at work, it's too informal
17	17	Not with parents/family - wouldn't understand it, and to maintain distinction between peers and fam
18	18	I wouldn't use this slang around my tutors and some family memebers
19	19	Grandparents because they wouldn't understand
20	20	N/A
21	21	My family
22	22	wouldn't use with an employer as it has bad connotations & is seen as unprofessional.
23	23	my parents as they are quite traditional
24	24	i wouldn't use it with my grandparents
25	25	Anyone other than people of a similar age to me. Wouldn't use in formal environments

Sr.No.	Response No.	How do you feel when people use these type of words when talking to you?
1	1	Feel cool 😎
2	2	Fine
3	3	accepted
4	4	comfortable
5	5	Good?
6	6	The words are normal in my friend group so normal
7	7	Nothing in particular
8	8	Comfortable
9	9	Normal
10	10	Fine
11	11	Part of a group
12	12	Comfortable
13	13	No reaction
14	14	common age, or know where they're from. that they're up to date on uses of language
15	15	Indifferent
16	16	neutral
17	17	Included - it's generally my friends or people with similar occupation to me (student/my age)
18	18	I would feel normal if people of my age group were using these words in copmpairson to my parents
19	19	Fine
20	20	Seems normal
21	21	I don't mind
22	22	it makes me feel comfortable as i can relate to my friends
23	23	its fine, people talk in different ways and there's nothing wrong with that
24	24	i like it, feels like i can talk to them on a level
25	25	I imagine they are from a similar social group to me

A	What does this form of language mean to you?	
Sr.No.	Response No.	Response Text
1	1	doesn't mean anything just used in a chill / casual environment
2	2	Nothing it's normal
3	3	it's how I express myself as a young person, and relate to my peers
4	4	common ground
5	5	Simplicity/New generation
6	6	Not much
7	7	Someone is young or lives in fallowfield
8	8	Normal
9	9	It is familiar
10	10	It's colloquial language
11	11	Don't know
12	12	Road
13	13	It's everyday language for me
14	14	Colloquial, everyday and way of communicating with people your own age so included ?
15	15	Suggest people are from London
16	16	Everyday conversation
17	17	Use it as a marker of my identity in terms of my peer group, which is distinct from parents/others.
18	18	This language represents me and my peers
19	19	Just part of the language to get point across
20	20	It is fairly normal for me to hear these words so it doesn't mean much to me
21	21	Lack of vocabulary
22	22	older people attach bad connotations, but it is the language of my generation and i like it
23	23	how people my age talk/inclusive
24	24	it's how i speak and all my friends speak so it just feels normal and comfortable
25	25	It makes you sound less formal and younger

A	Have you ever had any negative experiences when using the words listed or similar ones?	
Sr.No.	Response No.	Response Text
1	1	no
2	2	No
3	3	I once accidentally said 'oh that's sick' to a customer on the phone at work :/
4	4	no
5	5	People not understanding
6	6	No
7	7	Not at all- everybody understands them
8	8	No
9	9	No
10	10	No
11	11	People misunderstanding what you are saying or think you are being rude
12	12	Yes
13	13	No
14	14	orginally didn't know what peak meant and embarrassed for not understanding
15	15	None
16	16	No
17	17	questioned at school when saying 'gassed'
18	18	No, however I can see how the worst moist could trigger a negative reaction
19	19	Nope
20	20	No
21	21	No
22	22	when talking like this with my friends i have had older people look at us disapprovingly
23	23	my parents get angry when i speak like that
24	24	when working on the bar i have had older customers confused when i'm speaking to them
25	25	No

Venn Diagram