













Substitutions

• Proto-words (Galen, 15 mo.)

Word	Pronunciation	Context
oh-hoh	o?ho	said when something mysterious happened
fffff	fffff	said when food needed cooling
ow!	auw	said when his anatomy encountered hard objects
whoosh!	W∧∫	said when sneezes and flushing toilets
Oh?	?o	said when humouring parents
num-num	плтплт	said of gastronomic pleasure
thank-you	ΛM	said in receipt of object
Uh-huh	лhл	said in bored agreement
wow!	wauw	said in appreciation of the wonders of the universe

Suprasegmentals and Iconicity

- He's b-a-a-A-A-a-a-d, papa. That beetle's b-a-a-A-A-a-a-a-d! (23 mo.)
- I want to go outs-i-i-i-i-l-I-l-i-i-i-de! (22 25 mo.)
- I want Strawbe-e-e-e-E-E-E-e-e-e-ries! (24 mo.)
- No-o-o-O-O-o-o-o! (a lot, c20 26 mo.)
- DeedeedeedeedeedeedeedeetABLE (22 mo.)
- L-I-I-let's go outside (24 mo.)

Indexical: In the sense that intonation patterning is caused by emotional state lconic: In the sense that intonation is exaggerated to convey emotional state