VOCABULARY ACQUISITION IN FIRST LANGUAGE: CAN THIS BE CATEGORIZED UNDER ANY UNIVERSAL DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES? A CASE STUDY OF A BANGLADESHI CHILD

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This paper is dedicated to my respectable parents and to all my teachers for their valuable guidance and support throughout my life.

Abstract. This researched based case study has been conducted to investigate the fact that whether first language acquisition process in case of vocabulary (acquiring word meanings) follows some certain sequential stages despite specific learners and their particular contexts. That is to say, to challenge the existing idea of having universal developmental patterns in case of vocabulary acquisition which tries to bring all the unique learners under one single umbrella, this study was conducted on an individual to observe whether and to what extent the child is following or conforming up to any idealistic standard of acquiring vocabulary. Therefore the study had some pre-determined questions set which was ask to the randomly selected child within an informal context (her play time). Interestingly, the study results which were analyzed both qualitatively and quantifiably with support of secondary literatures revealed that the child is not following any particular patterns of development at a time. Rather is developing word meanings by following some random sequences. That is to say, she has developed some features of word meanings which she should have acquired in some later stages (after a particular age) according to the claim of many researchers. On the other hand, she has not yet acquired features which she should have acquired already. Therefore it can be concluded that a child's first language vocabulary acquisition process (especially acquisition of word meanings) cannot be made generalized under some certain or principled patterns or rules. This is because every learning process is unique since every individual learner is unique.

Keywords: vocabulary acquisition, sequential developmental stages, overgeneralizations, metaphors, dustbin words, systematic learning.

Сікдер Шафіназ. Процес засвоєння лексики в рідній мові: чи слід його класифікувати згідно з етапами загального розвитку (на прикладі дитини з Бангладеша)?

Анотація. Це дослідження здійснено для з'ясування того, чи процес вивчення рідної мови у контексті засвоєння лексики (оволодіння лексичними значеннями) підпорядковується певним послідовним етапам, не зважаючи на особу, що навчається, та її особливості. Автор піддає сумніву панівну думку щодо універсальних закономірностей розвитку в контексті засвоєння лексики, згідно з якою все підпорядковано загальноприйнятій схемі. Дослідження проведено на прикладі конкретного індивіда з метою визначення того, чи відповідає він упродовж свого розвитку схемі загальноприйнятого стандарту набуття лексики, і в якій мірі. Тому було обрано заздалегідь певні питання, які задавали в довільній послідовності обраній дитині в неофіційному контексті (під час гри). Результати дослідження, які були проаналізовані якісно і кількісно з використанням допоміжної літератури, показали, що дитина не слідує будь-яким

конкретним закономірностям у своєму розвитку, а опановує значення слів шляхом довільних послідовностей. Автор стверджує, що впродовж спостереження дитина розвинула особливості певних значень слів, які за твердженнями багатьох дослідників, повинна була освоїти на пізніших етапах свого розвитку (після досягнення певного віку). Також, як з'ясувалося, вона ще не опанувала рис, які повинна була вже набути. Автор робить висновок, що процес опанування рідної мови (особливо засвоєння лексики) не можна узагальнювати до певних моделей і правил, тому що кожен процес навчання є унікальним, як і кожен індивід.

Ключові слова: засвоєння лексики, опанування рідної мови, послідовні етапи розвитку, надмірні узагальнення, помилкові судження, метафори, систематичне навчання.

1. Introduction

Language acquisition can be referred to as one of the complex phenomenon that every human child has to go through during his/her childhood. In fact acquiring a first language is all about gaining access to the basic elements of a language with the help of natural exposure and one's innate abilities. As a result, the ability of children to pick up their mother tongue so quickly is the central concern of the first major sub fields of psychology of language (Scovel, 2004:7). Therefore, vocabulary acquisition can also be stated as one of the areas of this complex phenomenon. Hence, many could consider vocabulary acquisition as a uniform procedure. This may not be the case in all situations due to the combination of different environmental, learning and individual factors. Nevertheless, researchers seemed to point out some universal features in case of acquiring vocabulary (especially in case of acquiring the word meanings) regardless the differences in the context and individual learning factors. For example, there are authors who claim that learning of word meanings occurs sequentially within four developmental stages during childhood (Cruttenden, 1985:86). These stages are believed to include factors like overgeneralizations, use of dustbin words, metaphors, chaining etc. On the contrary, authors like Scovel (2004) said that many pieces of researches on the acquisition of mother tongue by several child subjects have revealed glaring differences in the rate of language learning researched over a period of several years (Scovel, 2004:22).

Now the question arises that how much strong these claims are? Are there any universal stages followed by a child sequentially in acquiring word meanings? Or is it a complicated non universal phenomenon that occurs out of a combination of several factors (for example, environmental inputs, learning process and learner's differences)?

This paper is therefore based on a case study done on a Bangladeshi young child that examines whether and to what extent the subject has followed the developmental sequences/stages of learning word meanings in case of vocabulary acquisition in her first language.

1.1. Research Statement

Developmental traits of learning word meanings of a Bangladeshi child in her first language (Bangla).

1.2. Research Purpose

To investigate whether and to what extent the child maintains any sequence of developmental stages in acquisition of word meanings in her first language.

1.3. Research Central Questions

Q.1) Does development of word meanings proceeds through some particular stages in a sequence? Or does it occur simultaneously?

Q.2) Is the developmental traits limited and applicable only to acquisition of English or to all other languages?

Q.3) Is there any influential factors like learners' level of motivation or interest which might faster the acquisition process?

1.4. Research Scopes

This study aims to talk about the scopes of conducting researches on different individuals within their particular contexts of learning their first languages. This is also to encourage more surveys to evaluate the effectiveness of the concept of existing universal developmental stages in case of acquiring vocabulary in first language.

1.5. Research Limitations

One of the most prominent limitations of this paper is that it is based on one single case study. Therefore the results to which the researcher has derived cannot be easily generalized.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Defining Vocabulary Acquisition

According to You (2011), "Vocabulary acquisition is one of the important features of estimating one's language proficiency" (You, 2011:43). In other words, vocabulary acquisition normally takes place during infancy and early childhood, at a time in which the child is maturing physically and mentally, and is simultaneously acquiring many other skills and much other knowledge of the world about him/her (Matluck, 1979:697). In practical terms, the acquisition of word meaning is considered to be a function of repeated exposure to particular word referent pairings (Smith, 1978:951)

2.2. Typical Developmental Stages of Acquiring Word Meanings

Sandra (1980) said that on what basis do children form early word meanings is difficult to understand since children begin to apply words to objects as soon they have formed the concepts" (Sandra, 1980:1103). However, Cruttenden (1985) has suggested that children typically go through four stages[1] in the development of word meanings (Cruttenden, 1985:86):

(1) The very first meanings are learnt with regard to just one object or one narrowly defined situation (cf. Item learning) (Cruttenden, 1985:86).

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[1] The four stages mentioned by Alan Cruttenden (1985) on page 86 to 88 of the chapter 'Lexis' has been shortened for the 'Literature review' section of this paper.

(2) Children next go through a somewhat longer period of overgeneralization (from approximately 1; 0 to 2; 6). At first overgeneralization are of loose experiential type; however later it becomes more perceptual. The main perceptual features which form the basis for overgeneralization are movement, shape, sound, taste and texture. The relationship between the various overgeneralized meanings which a child uses for one word is sometimes not at all a simple one, because it may sometimes be the case that all the meanings share one or more semantic features (as when daddy's always have big feet) but often this is not so. Again the sort of relationship where a meaning is linked with at least one other meaning but where all the meanings do not share a common feature is sometimes called 'chaining'. Another problem even more difficult to dealt with in child language concerns metaphors. For example, a child who describes the shape made by his father's knee under the bedclothes as a mountain just overgeneralizing or, as seems more likely, making a deliberate, playful metaphor? (Cruttenden, 1985:87)

(3) Gradually the usage of overgeneralized words becomes more limited and approximate to adult usage. For example, at first, 'goggy' referred to all four legged animals, but as the terms 'cat' and 'horse' are added to the vocabulary, 'goggy' becomes the dustbin word for all other animals except those which have acquired their own label. (Cruttenden, 1985:88)

(4) At a much later age, (between five and seven) due to syntagmatic-paradigmatic shift, children learn features which group more specific things together. The child learns the feature 'animate' as referring to a class of these more specific things (and he may for the first time use the word animal on occasions when he needs to refer to all animals) (Cruttenden, 1985:88).

2.3. Acquisition of Vocabulary: Is It Always Sequential and Systematic?

"All children, no matter how rapidly or how pedestrian their rate of acquisition proceed systematically" (Scovel, 2004:23). However, other researchers like Miller (1978) said, we have no methods to follow the total process of lexis acquisition in which the child is engaged (Miller, 1978:1004). Besides, You (2011) also said that there are many internal variables of a learner that influences their vocabulary acquisition process (You, 2011:45).

3. Methods

3.1. Subject's details

Following is the personal profile of the subject who was selected for the case study:

Subject's Name : Orin Ahmed	Education : Kindergarten Student
Age : 3 years	Parents' L1 : Bangla
First Language : Bangla	Daily Interaction : Bangla
Sex : Female	Constant Exposure : Bangla

3.2. Why and how the subject was selected

The main objective of the researcher was to see whether and to what extent the child followed the typical developmental stages in acquiring word meanings. In other words, the objective of the paper was to examine whether the child can be put into any of the typical developmental stages of acquiring word meanings or not. Orin was chosen for the research since she has an intimated relation with the researcher and therefore was expected to communicate and interact freely without any hesitation. Moreover, in case of young children, informal relation becomes a necessity for carrying out an authentic research otherwise the child might not talk freely with the researcher. Besides, it is also important in case of collecting proper data through familiar conversations. In fact, the best possible way of data collection for this study was through talking with the child during her play time.

3.3. Setting (Environment) and Procedure of the Data Collection

A relaxed environment can led a child to talk much more than he/she does usually. Besides it becomes easier to understand the child's gestures, postures, way of talking, emotions and understandings of concepts and perceptions through informal conversations. Such an environment was created with some dolls and toys that the child already had and which actually helped a lot in initiating the conversation.

In fact the time of collecting data was fixed according to the subject's convenience (her play time so that she can contribute effectively to the research).

3.4. Instrument of the Data Collection

The main instrument of this case study was the questionnaires of the informal conversation[1] which was audio recorded. The subject was provided with some pre-determined questions which were set to measure her level of already learnt word meanings. Following are some example questions that were asked in Bangla during the informal conversation:

Example Questions: Informal Conversation

The following questions were inserted deliberately within the informal conversation:

Q1.) *How are you?*

[This was asked to see whether there has been item learning of regularly used words]

Q.2) *Why ,,this one is also a Barbie…why do you say that it's a doll? It's the same thing*

[This was asked to clarify why the child was using a specific term Barbie for one particular doll and the general term 'doll' for other dolls.]

Q.3) *Why? They said the truth…You are a doll.*

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[1] The entire conversation might have been influenced by one external factor; that is the child's sleepiness. Although it was her play time, yet she was feeling quite sleepy.

[This was said to see the child's reaction and to determine whether she is familiar yet with the use of metaphors or not].

4. Results and discussion
4.1. Conversational Analysis: Overall Observation
Following are the analysis of some of the features of the typical developmental stages that a child of this age is expected to have acquired.

Perceptual 'overgeneralization' along with 'generalization'

The first and most common trait which was found from the analysis of this conversational data is the child's tendency to overgeneralize words whose semantic features is being shared by one or more meanings. For example, the following chunk is an example:

Researcher: "shobaike dibo chocolate?" [will give the chocolate to everyone]?
Subject: "na dadura to chocolate khayna", [no, grandmas don't eat chocolate]
Researcher: "Tahole ki khay?" [than what do they eat] ?
Subject: "pan khay" [they eat betel leaf].

Here the child has this perceptual concept in her mind that all grandmothers prefer betel leaf instead of chocolates since her own grandmother have this habit. Therefore the child is trying to apply more than one semantic feature to the single concept of 'eating preference'. However, this behavior of the child's perception can also be justified by saying that it is based on loose experiential generalization. Again, it is also possible that the child has come across other elderly ladies who have similar preference regarding their choice of betel leaf over chocolates.

Apart from this, simple generalization can also be seen from the child's utterances. According to the second stage features, a child's perceptual generalization is usually based on features like movement, shape, sound, taste and texture. In this case, it happen that the child was not concentrating on all the features at a particular time rather making generalization based on only one particular feature like 'taste' (which is usually more prioritized by young children). For example, when the child was provided with a chocolate (which had a different shape other than the ones she has already eaten) she could not recognized it. In fact, she denied the fact that it was a 'chocolate'. However, when she tasted it, she realized that it was sweet and because it tasted 'sweet' she got the confirmation that it was a chocolate. Therefore, after this confirmation, she added this new feature (chocolates can also be square in shape, e.g. Kit Kat) into her existing knowledge of what she knew as chocolates. So learning took place when she generalized the concept.

No understanding of metaphors

Another thing about her acquisition of word meanings is that she was still not aware of the use of metaphors. According to Cruttenden (1985), a child might be familiar with the use of metaphors by the age of 2; 0 (p. 87). However in this case, the child could not understand the simple comparison of her looks with that of a bird (being pretty) even at the age of 3;0 years which is being reflected from the following chunk:

Subject: "jano ora amake pakhi bole dake…amar nam to pakhi na" [you know…they call me a bird, but my name is not bird]
Researcher: "tumito shotie akta pakhi" [you are a bird indeed]
Subject: "ami pakhi na, ami manush" (giving angry looks) [I am not a bird, I am a girl]

The idea of using metaphors might seem more complicated for a child since it is used to make symbolic comparisons between two different things. Like any other child, this child also has the knowledge that a human being is someone different from a bird and its features. She has two separate concepts for each of the entities, and therefore it became hard to find any similarities and make a comparison among them.

Use of dustbin words although familiar with specific function/usage

Another thing that is noticeable from the obtained data was the use of dustbin words. For example, the child used the word 'table' to refer to all the seats/chairs of her home except one particular type of chair; that is the 'sofa'. It can be clearly understood from the following chunk:

Subject: "table e to boshe, shajena" [table is for sitting, not for dressing up]
Researcher: "tai? tumi table e bosho?" [really? So you sit on table] ?
Subject: "ami oi table e boshi" [yep, I sit on that table]…(pointing to her chair)
Researcher: "tahole oikhane kara boshe?" [than who sits there]? (pointing to the sofa)
Subject: "oi sofay to mehman ra boshe" [guests sits over that sofa]

This is how she uses the exact term for this particular piece of furniture (sofa) because she knew it beforehand. Similarly she knew the specific function of the 'sofa' of her home. She is also aware about how the use of sofa differs from the use of any other chairs of her home even though she is not yet familiar with their names.

Differentiation among 'animate' and 'inanimate' and considering 'complex entities': a factor learned at a much later stage

Although the child has difficulties in understanding the use of metaphors, she could clearly differentiate between 'animate' and 'inanimate' objects which is something expected from a child of much later stage of development. Following two sentences are its proof:

Researcher: "ami putul na?" [so…am I not a doll]?
Subject: "na, tumi to putul na, tumi manush" [no, you are not a doll, you are a human]
Researcher: "Tom (cartoon character) o to manush, taina?" [therefore, Tom (cartoon character) is also a human, right] ?
Subject: "na". [no]
Researcher: "tahole o ke?" [than who is he]?

Subject: (no reply).

This shows that the child considered cartoons as another entity which might be something between humans and dolls since cartoon characters can talk, act and move like humans however they do not exists in real life. Again it is not the 'lifeless doll' with which she can play; it is something existing only on television. Therefore the child seemed confused about what exactly 'Tom' is.

Item learning and use of difficult words in appropriate contexts:
There were lots of item learning like saying the name "amr nam Orin" [my name is Orin] etc. by the child which had been acquired by pure memorization. This has been learnt by copying elements from adults' utterances and by means of natural interactions. This item learning is also the reason of the child's usage of words which represents difficult concepts. However the child could use them in appropriate contexts. For example,

> *Researcher: "tahole oikhane kara boshe?" (pointing to the sofa) [than who do sits over there] ?*
> *Subject: "Oi sofay to mehman ra boshe, mehman to amader poribarer keo na" [that sofa is just for the guests, guests are not my family]*
> *Researcher: "bolo ki! Poribar mane? Bujhlam na…" [o! alright…but what do you mean by family..i don't understand]*
> *Subject: "mane mehmanra to amader bashay thakena" [I mean the guests do not stay at our home]*

It is clearly understood that the child learnt the word 'poribar' (family) through item learning strategy; although she was not aware of the complete meaning of the word; poribar (family) refers to only the ones who are staying with her at home.

An unusual conceptual complexity
Something interesting and quite unusual is that the child had a distinctive perception about one of her dolls and her doll house set. She did not go for any specifications like she did in case of naming one of her dolls as 'Barbie'; rather she gave a general term 'Ema' to the doll and the entire doll house set. The following chunk shows it clearly:

> *Researcher: "eita abar ke?" [now, who is this] ? (pointing to a doll of her doll house set)*
> *Subject: "na…eita Ema, ..or nam Ema" [no, this is Ema, her name is Ema]*
> *Researcher: "r eigula ki or? Ei gula? Ei khat, chula?" [and all these stuffs? Do they belong to her? This stove? This bed?]*
> *Subject: "eigula Ema" [these all are Ema]*
> *Researcher: "Kun gula? ei gulao? Eigulato Emar khat r chula" [which one? You mean all of these? But these things are supposed to belong to Ema]*
> *Subject: "na….purata Ema" [no..all of them are Ema]*

This chunk shows that she has given one single name to the doll and her belongings as "Ema". This concept seemed even more interesting because she knows the terms 'chula', [stove] and khat' [bed] along with their accurate meanings. Therefore there was no reason for her to give a general term to all of the things. Besides, there were no functional connections between the different terms. This is because the stove represents the act of 'cooking' and the bed represents 'sleeping'. Nevertheless, one reason might be that the child had the idea that this stove and the bed was the personal possession of this doll and therefore they should be used only by this doll. This made her give one general term to all the things belonging to "Ema".

Some understanding of abstract concept of 'love'

The last thing found from this analysis is the child's understanding of the abstract concept: love. According to Cruttenden (1985), the use of abstractions is learnt at a much later stage (Cruttenden, 1985:88). However in this case the child had a clear understanding of the concept which is noticeable from this chunk:

Subject: "Ammu bhalobashe" [mom loves]
Researcher: "koto bhalobashe?" [how much she loves you] ?
Subject: "eibhabe ador kore" [she loves me like this] (cuddling her doll)

This shows that she has a good perceptual sensitivity towards the concept of love. She feels that her mother has emotions for her which is expressed through cuddling. That's why she did the same to express her love towards the doll.

It is important to mention that the study did not reveal any 'creative' use of lexical terms by the child in expressing the understanding of her surrounding world. For example, child of this age usually likes naming their dolls. They seem to give names like 'dolly' or other pet names to their toys which they might have never heard from their surroundings. They produce such by using their creativity and often make up new words by adding something to the already existing words (like adding 'ly' to doll and making it dolly). Another thing that was missing is the use of chaining which as stated by Cruttenden (1985) is something commonly seen in the relationship between the various meanings of a word (Cruttenden, 1985:87).

4.2. Determining the Child's Developmental Stage: Relating to Theories

The above findings shows that the child's understanding of learnt word meanings did not belong to one particular stage or level of development. That is to say the child's acquisition of lexical items did not actually follow any particular sequence rather has developed simultaneously in a random manner which cannot be put into any systematic division. The following chart shows the vocabulary acquisition process of the child:
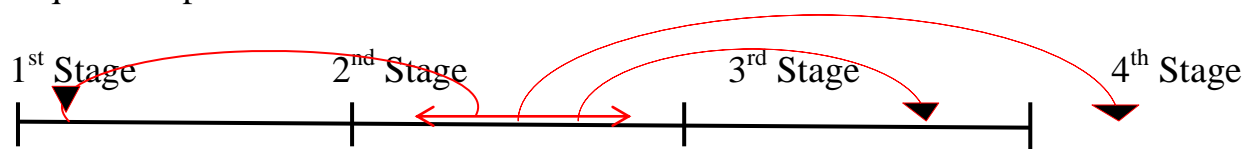

1st Stage   2nd Stage   3rd Stage   4th Stage

Fig. 1. *Developmental stages*

The above chart shows that the child is somewhere mainly between the second and third stage (on the basis of her use of the typical features); however she is also moving to and fro among the other stages and also outside the four typical stages. That is to say the child has acquired at least some of the elements (overgeneralization, item learning, use of dustbin words) of every stage which is been reflected in her use of vocabulary. Similarly there were elements (use of abstract concept) which have been acquired way too early and which were expected from a much older child. Again there were elements (like use of metaphors) which were expected from her but have not been acquired yet. Moreover, there were lexical items (dolls) which have been understood clearly with all the semantic features, whereas there were words whose meanings are still not completely known to the child "poribar" [family]. Again, there were objects which she could name (table) but could not refer to its particular function. On the other hand, there were also objects which has been understood in terms of it functions (cartoon character: Tom) but she did not know the exact terms to express it. Actually different lexical terms have different uses in different contexts which have not been fully understood by the child.

Therefore the question arises that what were some of the reasons which contributed to such an unsystematic acquisition of vocabulary?

4.3. What can be the Reasons behind Such a Complex Simultaneous Learning?

Therefore the discussion starts at the point that she has followed no single sequential and systematic way rather a simultaneous procedure of learning word meanings which is a complex combination of various factors like cognitive, psychological and individual learning factors.

According to Miller (1978), we have no theoretical frame-work in terms of which to characterize a conceptual learning project of this magnitude and complexity. The development of vocabulary is so intimately related to all aspects of a child's intellectual, emotional, and behavioral development that the lack of such a framework is less a criticism of developmental psycholinguistics than of psychology generally (p. 1004). That is to say human child learns a word as a result of a complex combination of different factors.

4.4. Can L1 Acquisition of Vocabulary be linked to Motivational Needs for Survival?

In this particular case, the factor that seems to be most influential is the child's motivational level (need for survival) which is an individual learner's factor. This is because a child who has lest knowledge about her surroundings, needs to develop at least some sort of cognitive abilities to perceive and function with the world around her; for example she needs to call her mother for her food (milk), care etc. and meet her basic necessities. Therefore to call or interact, she needs some words to convey the message to her mother. That is to say, she does not need to utter the complete

sentence 'I want milk', but she needs to utter at least the single word 'milk' to make her mother understand her need. So acquiring words and its meanings at this critical age becomes a 'necessity', because the child is very much vulnerable to her surroundings. Therefore understanding their primary needs through regular experiences and expressing them through words to accomplish activities like asking for food, sleep etc., becomes very crucial for their survival.

5. Conclusions

"First language vocabulary acquisition still remains a mystery and researchers are still debating on how much of it is innate, or nature, and how much is learned by nurture" (Ritgerd, 2014:4). In other words, it means that human child learns not only through one single factor like repetition but rather by a combination of different psychological factors which has been proved by the above case study. Actually, it is not only the frequency of input that a child receives from his/her surrounding but also their innate capabilities and other psychological elements that they unconsciously invests to learn a word and therefore its meaning. As a result, which word is learnt first and which is learnt at a later stage depends completely upon the unique abilities of the individual and their necessities to learn the meaning of the word.

To sum up, it is very difficult to decide when and how which word is acquired by the child and for what reasons. This is because acquiring or learning even a single word itself is a complex procedure which includes a lot more than it seems to be.

Acknowledgement

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Appendix
Informal Conversation Transcript

Setting: 16 Adabor, Mohammadpur, Dhaka   **Date:** 30th November, 2014   **Time:** 4.30 PM
[Researcher went to subject's house and the conversation was done during her play time]

Informal Conversation among the researcher and Orin Ahmed:
Researcher: babu kemon acho? Ai babu tomar nam jeno ki?[hey baby, how are you?..baby…what was your name]?
Orin: amar nam Orin…[my name orin]
Researcher: kemon acho?[how are you doing]?
Orin: bhalo [fine]
Researcher: eita ki? What is this] ? (Pointing to a doll)
Orin: or nam Barbie..[her name is Barbie]
Researcher: hmmm..ei ki?[hm..than whats this]? (pointing to another doll)
Orin: putul [doll] (smiling)
Researcher: eitaoto Barbie [ok…this is a Barbie as well…]
Orin: na [no] …(taking a pause)…eita Barbie r iota putul [this one is Barbie and that one is doll]
Researcher: tahole ogula ki? [than what are those]? (pointing to her other dolls)
Orin: putul [doll]
Researcher: Ora chocolate khay na tomar moton?[don't they eat chocolates like you]?
Orin: (smiling)….ami khai…[I eat]
Researcher: koi? tomar to chocolate nai [where? You don't seem to have your chocolates with you]
Orin: ase to[I do have] …(showing her candies)
Researcher: amar o ache..[I also have one]
Orin: dekhi?[show me] ?
Researcher: ei je [here it is] (showing a Kit Kat)
Orin: eita?[this one]? (looking enthusiastically)..tumi dushtu koro…[you are lying]
Researcher: shoti [no I am not] …eitao chocolate…[this one is also a chocolate]
Orin: tahole khao na ken?[then why don't you eat it]?
Researcher: acha khai..tumi khaba?[ok I am eating…you want to take a bite] ?
Orin: (opening her mouth and eating the Kit Kat)….mishti[its sweet] ….eitato chocolate ! [yeh..its chocolate !]
Researcher: chocolate moja?[tasty]?
Orin: hay…[yes]
Researcher: shobaike dibo chocolate?[shall I give to everyone]?
Orin: keo khayna to..[no body eats them]
Researcher: dadu khay na?[what about grandma]?
Orin: na..dadura to chocolate khayna…[no..grandmas do not eat chocolates]
Researcher: tahole ki khay?[than what do they eat]?
Orin: pan khay [betel leaf]
Researcher: ar kun dadu khay? [which grandma eats them]?
Orin: Mita er dadu…[Mita's grandma]
Researcher: Mita ke? tomar friend? Koi thake o?[who's she? Your friend? Where is she living]?
Orin: janina..[I don't know]
Researcher: or basha gecho?or bashay ke ke thake?[you went to her home? Who else lives with her]?

Orin: or dadu ar or ammu..r or abbu..[her grandma, her mom and her father]
Researcher: or ammu ki tomar ammur moton?[is her mother similar to your mom]?
Orin: na…or ammu to boka dey khali…[no, her mother scolds her]
Researcher: Tomar ammu boka deyna?[don't your mom scold you]?
Orin: (smiling)..ammu bhalobashe..[mom loves]
Researcher: koto bhalo bhalobashe?[how much does she loves]?
Orin: eibhabe ador kore [she loves me like this] (cuddling her doll)
Researcher: "eita abar ke?" [now, who is this] ? (pointing to a doll of her doll house set)
Subject: "na…eita Ema, ..or nam Ema" [no, this is Ema, her name is Ema]
Researcher: "r eigula ki or? Ei gula? Ei khat, chula?" [and all these stuffs? Do they belong to her? This stove? This bed?]
Subject: "eigula Ema" [these all are Ema]
Researcher: "Kun gula? ei gulao? Eigulato Emar khat r chula" [which one? You mean all of these? But these things are supposed to belong to Ema]
Subject: "na….purata Ema" [no..all of them are Ema]
Researcher: "ami putul na?" [so…am I not a doll]?
Subject: "na, tumi to putul na, tumi manush" [no, you are not a doll, you are a human]
Researcher: "Tom (cartoon character) o to manush, taina?" [therefore, Tom (cartoon character) is also a human, right] ?
Subject: "na". [no]
Researcher: "tahole o ke?" [than who is he]?
Subject: (no reply).
Researcher: acha..tomar putul gula shajena? Koi shaje? Dressing table e?[ok,what about your dolls? Don't they put on make up? Where do they dress up?on the dressing table]?
Orin: ki? table?[what? Table?]
Researcher: hm…table koi?[hm..where is the table]?
Subject: "table e to boshe, shajena" [table is for sitting, not for dressing up]
Researcher: "tai? tumi table e bosho?" [really? So you sit on table] ?
Subject: "ami oi table e boshi" [yep, I sit on that table] …(pointing to her chair)
Researcher: "tahole oikhane kara boshe?" [than who sits there]? (pointing to the sofa)
Subject: "oi sofay to mehman ra boshe" [guests sits over that sofa]
Researcher: "tahole oikhane kara boshe?" (pointing to the sofa) [than who do sits over there] ?
Subject: "Oi sofay to mehman ra boshe, mehman to amader poribarer keo na" [that sofa is just for the guests, guests are not my family]
Researcher: "bolo ki! Poribar mane? Bujhlam na…" [o! alright…but what do you mean by family..i don't understand]
Subject: "mane mehmanra to amader bashay thakena" [I mean the guests do not stay at our home]
Researcher: mehman ra tomader bashay thakena?[so guests don't stay at your home]?
Orin: ora chole jay..[they don't stay]..thakbe keno? [why will they]?
Subject: "jano ora amake pakhi bole dake…amar nam to pakhi na" [you know…they call me a bird, but my name is not bird]
Researcher: "tumito shotie akta pakhi" [you are a bird indeed]
Subject: "ami pakhi na, ami manush" (giving angry looks) [I am not a bird, I am a girl]
Researcher: acha..tumi khelo tahole? Ami jai? [ok…so you play? I will come later]
Orin: hu [ok]