

## Don't you need your pension, old geezer?

### *Generation related issues in language use*

*"The afternoon knows what the morning never suspected."*

Robert Frost<sup>1</sup>

Abstract: Generation gap spectacularly manifests itself in language use. Imagine a situation when an elderly person wants to cross the road in heavy traffic. He is approached by a polite youngster, who asks him: "Can I help you? The traffic is extremely heavy today." The younger person, in this case, is careful and polite enough to add something that eases the embarrassing situation for the other party refers to the heavy traffic as an excuse. But there is another scenario for the same situation. The driver, who approaches the zebra crossing at a high speed, brakes loudly and stops his vehicle, just to shout at the frightened and hesitating person: "Don't you need your pension, old geezer? Make up your mind and hurry up!"

The present paper focuses on the different ways younger people refer to their seniors in typical speech acts that may occur between the representatives of different generations, concentrating on their language use, the frequency of the words or phrases used to call senior people names. I also would like to show the large scale they move along, putting the extremes next to each other, offering special emphasis on those which may threaten, even hurt the right to equal opportunities and dignity in elder ages.

The other aim of the paper is to investigate the gender related specifics of addressing (geezer, dude, fella, bastard, jack, old bag, old bird, old fart, old trout etc.) and to show the findings on corpus frequency of these words/phrases in the registers of big corpora.

*Keywords: generation gap, ageism, sexism, forms of addressing*

### **Introduction**

In our encounters, age is usually one of the first characteristics we notice about other people. Conscious or unconscious, noticing it most often results in interaction with others. Questions arise upon addressing older people: How should I address these individuals? How slowly or loudly should I talk to make them understand me? Age is also a social marker that shapes our attitudes toward other people. We form our opinions based on their age, we even stereotype them, disparage elderly people without fear of censure, and we are inclined to call them names without thinking about it twice.

As Cuddy and Fiske<sup>2</sup> emphasize in their study, processes of stereotyping primarily address cognition. Stereotypes are cognitive structures that store our beliefs and expectations about the characteristics of members of social groups. They develop over time, and guide our social behavior. At the root of stereotyping there is the impulse to assign objects, events and people to meaningful classes, about which we have our own, established beliefs.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> British poet; died in 1963 at the age of 89.

<sup>2</sup> Cuddy & Fiske, 2002

<sup>3</sup> Cuddy & Fiske, 2002, pp. 3-4

Stereotyping often results in discrimination. Discriminating people based on their age is present in all human societies, and ageism, as all other forms of prejudice, has a variety of causes and functions. Strictly speaking, negative attitudes toward young people – because they are young – would qualify as ageism, too. However, this paper will discuss the term to refer to negative attitudes and behavior toward the elderly, focusing on the language use of the young.

Speaking of these two groups which are represented in every society it seems to be unavoidable to discuss the phenomenon of generation gap. According to its really simplified definition it is a term referring to the difference of attitudes between people of different generations, leading to a lack of understanding.<sup>4</sup> Examples of these differences most often include appearance, technology and language.

Perhaps older people are not far from the truth when they describe the younger generations “ruthless”, a feature often reflected in the terminology the young use to refer to these people, to address them in rude ways making them feel inferior. Of course, it is always the society that hovers in the background, portraying the elderly as slow, confused, bent and dowdy, features that quickly categorize the character.<sup>5</sup> This kind of description makes these people a perfect topic for ageist jokes and victims of daily occurring speech acts, in which they are called by rude and telling names.

As we all know, language is a constantly changing phenomenon. To achieve the initial aim of the paper, that is to examine the different forms the young use to address their seniors, I needed a usable number of nouns and adjectives which was acquired from online papers and dictionaries, which, compared to the printed version, have the advantage of developing daily.

Thanks to the big language corpora it took only a few clicks on the computer to compare these forms of addressing to real life data to see how frequently they are used. In this case the corpus evidence was given by COCA, the approximately 500 million word Corpus of Contemporary American English, which, with its contemporary and constantly developing nature seemed to be a good choice.

As ageism and sexism seem to walk hand in hand, I also made an attempt to find out how the latter is present in the examined vocabulary, how these two, closely related categories of discrimination appear in non-verbal communication across the world.

### **Earlier studies on ageism and the related language use**

Walking down the street, you glance at people, an act, which triggers an automatic categorization of each individual along three dimensions: race, gender and age, says Todd Nelson in his article about ageism, and he is probably right.<sup>6</sup> This categorization is well-learned, and influences our social behavior. It creates our prejudice based on the three categories. The study of racism and gender has been a major focus of research for quite long time, however, comparatively little attention has been devoted to prejudice based on age, called ageism.<sup>7</sup>

Ageism, as a social phenomenon, is manifested in daily life, including language use, characterized by an interesting paradox: people with positive attitudes often communicate with older people according to negative stereotypes about seniors. Two major types of negative communication have been identified by researchers: over-accommodation and baby talk.<sup>8</sup> The

<sup>4</sup> English Oxford Living Dictionaries Online

<sup>5</sup> Cuddy & Fiske, 2002, p. 5

<sup>6</sup> Nelson, 2005, p. 207

<sup>7</sup> Nelson, 2002, 2005; Schneider, 2004; Swann, Langlois, & Gilbert, 1999

<sup>8</sup> Nelson, 2005, p. 209

first one refers to younger individuals who become overly polite, speak more loudly and slowly at a higher pitch, based on the stereotype that older people have poor hearing and decreasing intellect.<sup>9</sup> Repeating our sentences several times using different speed, tone and intonation is also a pattern, triggered solely by the age of the individual we talk to.<sup>10</sup>

Baby talk is a more negative, condescending form of communication. According to Caporael and Culbertson's definition it can be regarded as a simplified speech register having special lexical items, with high pitch and exaggerated intonation. The relative frequency for the register is as high as 20%.<sup>11</sup> This type of speech is associated with the stereotype of older persons as having deficits in cognitive abilities, therefore needing special communication at a simpler level.<sup>12</sup>

The negative attitudes, according to Nelson, lead ageist behavior make it easier to regard older adults as less important than the young.<sup>13</sup> In this way, ageism has become a contributing factor which encourages some younger adults to neglect, exploit, or otherwise abuse older adults. This trend spectacularly manifests itself in what research calls generation gap, including appearance, technology and language use. Starting with the first one, for showing older adults as "conduits for comic relief, exploiting stereotypes of physical, cognitive and sexual ineffectiveness"<sup>14</sup> we have the television and the internet to blame.

Concerning technological development, there has never been a time where "things ain't like they used to be" was more obvious.<sup>15</sup> A survey and subsequent news articles suggest a generation gap exists when it comes to using online services and it has provoked some conflict between generations. While the younger generation has expressed impatience with the older generation's slowness to adopt the latest online product, the older generation is just as bewildered by young people who choose to publish their private information on the Internet. The frustration expressed among generations is considered as a new generation gap.<sup>16</sup>

Language use, the main focus of the present study, is perhaps the most spectacular manifestation of generation gap, relying heavily on ageist and sexist stereotypes. Janet Holmes writes about features of people's speech which vary at different ages.<sup>17</sup> Not only pitch, but vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar can differentiate groups, as well as the language environment. Thus, we can distinguish age-graded patterns. Teenagers and young adults, for example, use an extensive swearword vocabulary, which is, at this age, often aimed at the older generations. The frequency with which they use such words tends to diminish, especially as they start to have children, but they are easily brought back in certain speech acts, under tension. Slang is a special area of vocabulary which reflects a person's age and also attitude toward the others. It is the linguistic prerogative of young people and generally sounds odd from the mouth of an older person.<sup>18</sup> According to experts, who take care of old people, "words

---

<sup>9</sup> Kite & Smith Wagner, 2002

<sup>10</sup> Kemper, 1994

<sup>11</sup> Caporael & Culbertson, 1986, p. 99

<sup>12</sup> Caporael & Culbertson, 1986, p. 110

<sup>13</sup> Nelson, 2005, p. 2013

<sup>14</sup> Cuddy & Fiske, 2002, p. 3

<sup>15</sup> Suri, 2015, <https://www.quora.com/What-are-some-of-the-best-examples-of-a-generation-gap> (Date accessed October 1, 2016)

<sup>16</sup> Zook, 2007, <http://www.llrx.com/2007/08/technology-and-the-generation-gap/> [2016.11.03.]

<sup>17</sup> Holmes, 2013, p. 176

<sup>18</sup> Holmes, 2013, p. 176

matter. The way we address people matters. Elders deserve to be addressed by respectful, even formal names until they feel at home.”<sup>19</sup>

The language use of different generations is often gender related, as “gender influences agreement or disagreement between the generations of various issues”.<sup>20</sup> This disagreement can result in another type of prejudice, sexism, labeling the male and female representatives of the older generations according to their gender. It is offensive, especially as it is aimed at people “who need to have intimate and affectionate contacts with children, grandchildren and others, whom sociologists regard as the primary group... The need for primary group contacts is universal and lifelong, but can be particularly difficult to fulfill when one is old.”<sup>21</sup>

When discussing ageism, sexism and their vocabulary, it is difficult not to refer to the non-verbal manifestations of the phenomenon. Why do all Elderly Crossing road signs show apparently old heterosexual couples, asks a blogger on the Internet.<sup>22</sup> Why is it always the man who leads the way, telling more with his gesture than with words? Why is it always the men who rises triumphant from a joke, aimed at older people? Why is it always the mother-in-law, who suffers a painful end in an anecdote?

As is evident, there are still too many “why”-s which need answers, so let’s investigate a bit.

### Pre-research wanderings between the boundaries of the generation gap

How age is discussed depends on the context and the underlying ideology. I wanted to show that elderly people often refuse to be the targets of the nasty young, even if society mostly adheres to a decline ideology that equates getting older with getting worse, usually from a health, and often from a financial standpoint. Countering this there is positive aging ideology that insists that many things get better with age.

The entries of this short list quote the participants of an online survey carried out in the USA, calling our attention to five great things about getting older.<sup>23</sup>

- 1.) You’ll be happier.
- 2.) Your decisions will come more easily.
- 3.) The Fashion Police will be off your back.
- 4.) You’ll know who you are.
- 5.) You’ll have time on your hands.

To show how fast technological development adds to the widening of the generation gap I also looked for online evidence (Table 1).<sup>24</sup>

*Table 1: Examples for the modern generation gap*

Older generations	Younger generations
Phone book, yellow pages	Internet, smart phone
Reading the morning paper (printed version)	Reading online
Traditional mailing systems	Online services
Checks	Debit cards, internet banking
Television	Online shows

<sup>19</sup> Bradley Bursac, <http://www.eldercarelink.com/Other-Resources/Addressing-Elders-in-Respectful-Terms.htm> [2016.10.01.]

<sup>20</sup> Falk & Falk, 2005, p. 25

<sup>21</sup> Falk & Falk, 2005, p. 82

<sup>22</sup> <http://neilmossey.blogspot.hu/2012/04/why-do-all-elderly-crossing-road-signs.html>, [2016.10.01.]

<sup>23</sup> “Five great things about getting old,” <http://www.realsimple.com>

<sup>24</sup> Hayes, 2011, <http://kkcb.com/5-examples-of-the-modern-generation-gap/>, [2016.10.01.]

There is no use in listing the constantly changing vocabulary of the ever present technological changes, when even words like bug, cookie, hardware, drive, firewall, hit, etc. acquire a completely new meaning. However, there are grandmas who know precisely what these things are about, which prompts the question: Does generation gap really exist, or is it an artificially created phenomenon? Reading the next lines raises serious doubts: “A sense of urgency comes with aging. Before I was 75, I was tentative about many things. But now I know my own voice, and most important, I have the confidence to use it. Today I’m *blogging* and *giving speeches* and participating in all sorts of *activities* that, honestly, I would have been *incapable of back in my 60s.*” (*Betty Reid Soskin, 89, full-time park ranger, Richmond, California.*)<sup>25</sup>

As the experienced evidence suggests, there are still too many unanswered questions in the field, but one thing seems to be certain: how we refer to old people, what language we use to communicate with them is most often the question of personal choice.

### The research

I started my small-scale investigation concerning the language use of younger generations with three research questions:

- 1.) What are the most frequent English words younger people use to address or label older people?
- 2.) Do they use different words to label men and women?
- 3.) How frequent are these words in the registers of COCA, the Corpus of Contemporary American English?

### Methods

To create a dataset to study first I had to compile vocabulary lists of nouns and adjectives young people use to address older generations, I consulted online dictionaries, web pages, on-line papers and online journals. The online character of the sources I used was important in more than one way. First, these are developing materials, not set as their printed versions. Second, resulting from the first one, next to older entries they tend to contain recent additions, as well.

For reference, that is to show the “real life” frequency of the examined lexical units I chose one of the largest corpora of the world: the approximately 500 million word Corpus of Contemporary American English. (Approximately, because it is a developing corpus and millions of words are added to it daily.)

In the end, I identified examples for everyday use of the listed words (including jokes) and set out to find non-verbal manifestations of ageism and sexism on the net.

### The lists and results

In some cases I came across official lists and guides that warn against using terms that discriminate people of a certain age. In 2009 a guide was published for journalists, which aimed to help them report stories about “older people” in a “fair contemporary and unbiased” manner.<sup>26</sup> (Table 2)

---

<sup>25</sup> “Aging gracefully: five great things about growing old” <http://www.realsimple.com/work-life/life-strategies/inspiration-motivation/growing-old/self-discovery>, [2016.10.01.]

<sup>26</sup> Wardrop, 2009, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/4596139/Elderly-no-longer-acceptable-word-for-older-people.html>, [2016.10.01.]

Table 2: "Older citizens" vs. "Elderly people"

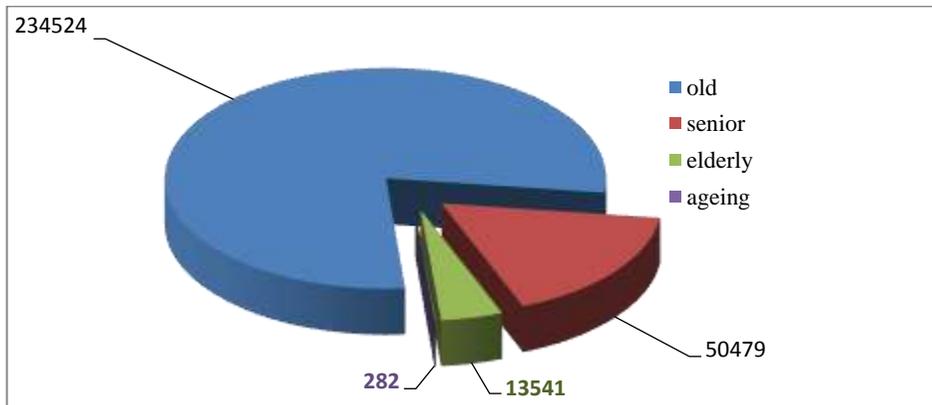
Acceptable phrases	Varieties to be avoided
older people	elderly, senior
older adults	old lady (of both "sweet" and "little" variety)
man / women + age (a man of 79; a woman of 60)	fogey
words / phrases that carry dynamism: ageing	fossil
(into the middle / older years)	bidly

The authors of the report state that 80 per cent of older Americans have been subjected to ageist stereotypes. "While names and characterizations may vary, the message is the same: "older men and women are incompetent and lack sufficiency," the guide states. Journalists are advised: If you need to identify individuals over the age of 50, 'older adults' is preferred over 'senior' and 'elderly', which can be discriminatory in nature. Another blogger totally agrees with "not calling people of 65 or older anything", we should rather talk about their interests and values.<sup>27</sup>

To see the frequency of the adjectives – both the acceptable ones and the varieties to be avoided – I looked for corpus evidence. According to COCA, the relative frequency of the word "old" is the biggest, as it could be expected. (However, we must not forget that it has more than one meaning, and can refer to things, as well.) The next one is "senior", followed by "elderly" (both words are to be avoided according to the earlier mentioned guide for journalists) and the word that carries dynamism, „ageing" is used the least frequently, but at least is present in everyday vocabulary (Figure 1). *Figure 1: The relative frequency of adjectives describing older people (COCA)*

There is also a frequency list of things one should never call someone over 50, reflecting the viewpoint of the most relevant party: the representatives of the over 50 population. These words – the results of a Facebook survey – include: honey or sweetie, old, madam, miss, elderly, guy.<sup>28</sup>

Figure 1: The relative frequency of adjectives describing older people (COCA)



The vocabulary list of informal and insulting words – most of which belong to slang, typical for younger generations – is much longer, (Table 3) however, it still offers just a narrow slice of the large cake of possibilities. Basically, we do not need too many words if we want to address an older person in an insulting way, a simple trick would do: to add a pejorative

<sup>27</sup> Graham, 2012, <http://newoldage.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/04/19/elderly-no-more/> [2016.10.01.]

<sup>28</sup> Hayes, 2011, <http://kkcb.com>, [2016.10.01.]

adjective to any noun included, and you doubled your vocabulary. I categorized the words according to gender; the numbers in brackets refer to corpus frequency. In case of a few words there is no frequency number. Granny and grandma, as well as granddad and grandpa are the softest varieties, and even if they are used to address elderly people, their basic mission is to describe family relations. Concerning abbreviations – LOL, BOF, BOOF, OP – the corpus did not offer frequency data; however, they definitely belong to the vocabulary used by the young both in everyday speech acts and electronic correspondence. And, of course, there are words which, except for labeling old people, are often used to name other things – buffer, old timer – so it would be impossible to define their frequency in the examined field.

If one pays attention to the character of the adjectives included in the lists, it is easy to identify some telling patterns. An interesting thing one can become aware of, that women are often compared to something that has wings (I wonder why?): old crone, old bat, old bird, etc, while men to animals that have horns: old goat, rhino; and, interestingly, to the end products of certain body functions: old fart and its variations. I purposefully did not include the direct gender-related cusswords which usually contain the name of an intimate body part.

*Table 3: Gender-related (informal and insulting) words*

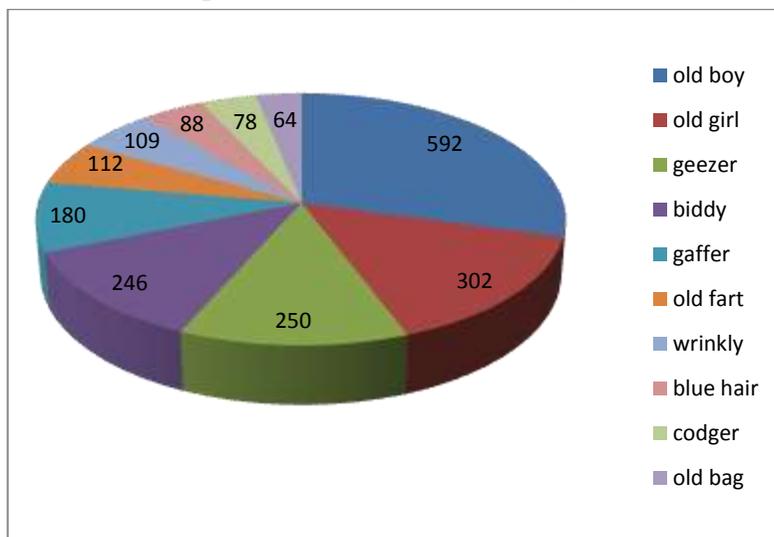
Female	Unisex	Male
granny, grandma	wrinkly (109)	granddad, grandpa
old girl (302)	blue hair (88)	old boy (592)
biddy (246)	has-been	geezer (250)
old bag (64)	OP „Old Person”	gaffer (180)
old bat (44)	over the hill	old fart (112)
old crone (33)	old + a body part	codger (78)
old dear (21)		old goat (67)
old trout (7)		old-timer
mummys (3)		rhino
sea hag (3)		buffer
LOL “Little Old Lady”		BOF “Boring Old Fart”
SOL “Sweet Old Lady”		BOOF “Burned Out Old Fart”

Showing the very same data on a pie chart makes the results more spectacular. As it is evident, „old boy” and „old girl” lead the frequency list, while the really offending words – old bag, codger, wrinkly, old fart – are used less frequently, and, according to COCA, mostly in fiction. It is good news, because it shows that the members of younger generation tend to be careful when addressing older people – the offending expressions most often belong to special situations.

If we look at the frequency of the two most often used expressions, “old boy” and “old girl”, it becomes evident that men of older age are addressed more often than women of older age, but real life, seemingly, tries to compensate. There are scenarios, in which women of certain age and position are targeted with much greater frequency than men. It is enough to think of the popular jokes about mothers-in-law and other situations, which are often imaginary dialogues that happen on the roads.<sup>29</sup> A not very nice one:

<sup>29</sup> The jokes – the constant “escorts” of friendly conversations – are from my own collection

Figure2: The relative frequency of adjectives describing older people (COCA)



An old **momma** is riding her bike when a neighbor calls after her.

“Where are you going, **mumsy**?”

“To the cemetery.”

“And who will bring the bike back?”

The woman in this joke is labeled in two ways: first “old + momma”, then “mumsy” (the COCA frequency of which is very low).

The participants of the next, very rude and very one-sided conversation are drivers and elderly pedestrians. In case of men the label is usually „old geezer” or anything else from the previously listed expressions, but women also can become the “suffering party”.

An old person takes his time while crossing the road, keeping up the traffic.

An aggressive driver shouts at him: “Don’t you need your pension, **old geezer**?”

Move your ass, because if I move it, it will hurt!!!”

Interestingly, there are peer-to-peer jokes which contain softer labeling, but put the man in the superior position at the same time.

An elderly couple is discussing their future:

Husband: “You know, old girl... if one of dies, I will move into the city.”

The last aspect to be discussed is the problem of sexism that seems to walk hand in hand with ageism. Except words and phrases, it is often manifested in non-verbal communication. Good and telling examples are provided by road signs, which, when used, seem to be universal (although I have never seen any of this type in Hungary). I have made a small collection of them from the different parts of the world. In the Cayman Islands seeing warnings against old people is as frequent as seeing warnings against sleeping iguanas under cars (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Warning signs in Grand Cayman (neilmossey.blogspot.hu)



Similar signs can be seen in Canada and Japan. One does not have to pay too much attention to see it is always the man who is in the front, which shows his superior position, although, in the case of the Japanese board we can detect caring, as well. And there is one more example from South Korea, perhaps the most democratic one in nature, depicting the elderly couple next to each other, hand in hand (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Pedestrian crossings in Canada, Japan and South Korea (neilmossey.blogspot.hu)



“Signs do not just stand there. They stand for something”, says Kramsch.<sup>30</sup> In these cases, besides the obvious reasons to show the pedestrian crossings, they have different and telling social and psychological overtones. All this was reinforced by a research with 15,000 men and women in 19 nations. The study states that complementary hostile and benevolent components of sexism exist across cultures. “Male dominance creates hostile sexism, but men’s dependence on women fosters benevolent sexism – subjectively positive attitudes that put women on a pedestal but reinforce their subordination.”<sup>31</sup>

Also related to the topic of road safety, according to a survey carried out in Britain, „most elderly people cannot use pedestrian crossings safely in the time allowed.”<sup>32</sup> Should they be called names for that? The answer is NO. There is always an alternative, which takes us back to our initial proposition about the importance of words people use.

## Conclusion

Although my initial plan was to compile word lists to investigate how younger people address, even label their elders, I saw that doing that without looking into the social and psychological

<sup>30</sup> Kramsch, 2000, p. 136

<sup>31</sup> Glick et al., 2000, p. 763

<sup>32</sup> Ingham, 2012, <http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/326452>, [2016.10.01.]

background is challenging. It is also difficult not to hurt the parties discussed in the study, those, who stand on the two sides of the ever-widening generation gap. To be fair with the young, I find it necessary to state that older people can be offensive and rude, too, often referring to them as “undisciplined, uneducated bastards” who are impolite and not considerate enough. However, it could be the topic of another study.

I hope my research questions did not remained unanswered. With the help of online dictionaries and papers 30 lexical units were identified. All these vocabulary items are used to address senior people in different everyday scenarios. Although there are some unisex words, mostly different phrases are used to label men and women. When compared to COCA registers, it became evident that everyday language use sometimes contradicts official guides, and “words to be avoided” are used with greater frequency than the “acceptable” versions. There is also a morally good outcome: the really offending words are used with low frequency, most often in fiction.

There are undoubtedly more words and phrases which could have been included into my lists, but the basic aim of the study was to offer insights into the discussed phenomena. A bunch of words used by the younger generations to address the older people were identified. Although there are unisex expressions, most of these vocabulary items are gender-related, and their great majority was coined to offend other people on the prolific soil of existing prejudice: ageism and sexism, with heavy stereotyping in the background.

### References

- Aging gracefully: five great things about growing old. (n.d.). Retrieved October 1, 2016, from <http://www.realsimple.com/work-life/life-strategies/inspiration-motivation/growing-old/self-discovery>
- Bradley Bursac, C. (n.d.). Addressing elders in respectful terms. Retrieved October 1, 2016, from <http://www.eldercarelink.com/Other-Resources/Addressing-Elders-in-Respectful-Terms.htm>
- Caporael, L. R., & Culbertson, G. H. (1986). Verbal response modes of baby talk and other speech at institutions for the aged. *Language & Communication*, 6(1/2), 99–112.
- Cuddy, A. J. C., & Fiske, S. T. (2002). Doddering but dear: Process, content and function in stereotyping of older persons. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Ageism* (pp. 3–26). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- English Oxford Living Dictionaries. (n.d.). Retrieved from [https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/generation\\_gap](https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/generation_gap)
- Falk, G., & Falk, U. (2005). *Youth culture and the generation gap*. New York: Algora Publishing.
- Five great things about getting old. (n.d.). Retrieved October 1, 2016, from <http://www.realsimple.com>
- Glick, P., Fiske, S. T., Mladinic, A., Saiz, J. L., Abrams, D., Masser, B., ... Dijksterhu, W. L. (2000). Beyond prejudice as simple antipathy: Hostile and benevolent sexism across cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79(5)(Nov 2000), 763–775. <http://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.79.5.763>
- Graham, J. (2012). “Elderly” no more. Retrieved from [http://newoldage.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/04/19/elderly-no-more/?\\_r=1](http://newoldage.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/04/19/elderly-no-more/?_r=1)
- Hayes, K. (2011). Five examples of modern generation gap. Retrieved October 1, 2016, from <http://kkcb.com/5-examples-of-the-modern-generation-gap/>
- Holmes, J. (2013). *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (Fourth). New York: Routledge.
- Ingham, J. (2012). Road crossing lights “too fast” for the elderly. Retrieved October 1, 2016, from <http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/326452>
- Kemper, S. (1994). Elderspeak: Speech accommodations to older adults. *Aging, Neuropsychology, and Cognition*, 1(1), 17–28.
- Kite, M. E., & Smith Wagner, L. (2002). Attitudes toward older adults. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Ageism* (pp. 129–161). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

- Kramsch, C. (2000). Social discursive constructions of self in L2 learning. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Social Theory and Second Language Learning* (pp. 133–154). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nelson, T. D. (Ed.). (2002). *Ageism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Nelson, T. D. (2005). Ageism: prejudice against our feared self. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(2), 207–221.
- No Tit. (n.d.). Retrieved October 1, 2016, from <http://neilmossey.blogspot.hu/2012/04/why-do-all-elderly-crossing-road-signs.html>
- Schneider, D. (2004). *The psychology of stereotyping*. New York: Guilford.
- Suri, S. (2015). What are some of the best examples of generation gap? Retrieved October 1, 2016, from <https://www.quora.com/What-are-some-of-the-best-examples-of-a-generation-gap>
- Swann, W. B., Langlois, J. H., & Gilbert, L. A. (Eds.). (1999). *Sexism and stereotypes in modern society*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Wardrop, M. (2009). “Elderly” no longer acceptable word for old people. Retrieved October 1, 2016, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/4596139/Elderly-no-longer-acceptable-word-for-older-people.html>
- Zook, G. (2007). Technology and generation gap. Retrieved November 3, 2016, from <http://www.llrx.com/2007/08/technology-and-the-generation-gap/>

### *Other online resources:*

Online dictionaries

[macmillandictionary.com](http://macmillandictionary.com)

[urban dictionary](http://urban-dictionary.com)

[slang dictionary](http://slang-dictionary.com)

Online papers, journals

[telegraph.co.uk/news/](http://telegraph.co.uk/news/)

[express.co.uk/news/](http://express.co.uk/news/)

<http://gerontologist.oxfordjournals.org>

Web pages, blogs

Frequency reference: COCA