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GENDER AND LANGUAGE: A GOODWIN LOOK AT LAKOFF

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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Abstract

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The issue of gender differences in language has its origins in antiquity. The first modern linguist to discuss specific features of women's language (WL) and Lakoff (1973; 1975; 1990). She proposed that WL had specific features, and she discussed them in a number of works. This dissertation examines the full nine features of WL Lakoff mentioned, and also provides conversations among four different groups in an attempt to discern what these features actually are. In addition, the author used Goodwin (1990) to help establish analysis of actual conversation as a source of explanation for the presence or absence of WL features in speech. Besides Lakoff's features, the study examined what previous researchers found as features of speech in conversation. A null hypothesis was proffered in the preparation of this study. Four distinct groups, ranging from pairs to seven, were recorded and their speech was examined in light of Lakoff's proposed WL features as well as later research findings. Speakers ranging from same sex to mixed sex were recorded, in order to determine if group number and composition affected conversation. Certain of Lakoff's features were found to be predominant, while others were not so prevalent. Explanations for these findings, in a "formulas and freedoms" context, are also presented.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Lakoff (1975) attempted to describe the linguistic features of 'women's language' (WL), as she termed it. She asserted that the language differences between men and women were an essential part of the communication of power between the sexes. Although her work did not include rigorous scientific investigation, she hypothesized that the manner in which women talked and were talked about contributed to their actual and perceived powerlessness. Her lack of precise investigation and the subsequent absence of any carefully designed, comprehensive study of her features reflect the need for a critical study of her two central concepts. These were 1) linguistic dominance and 2) self-effacing communication. The present study is an attempt to assess these assumptions.

Although not designed to test Lakoff's premises, Goodwin (1990) also endeavored to examine male and female speech. Her research introduced an appropriate empirical study of conversational analysis into an anthropological study of black children's speech activities. Although this study attempted to offer a further explanation of differences and similarities between male and female speech, it did not directly address Lakoff's claims, so it did not provide a broad-based inquiry into Lakoff's positions. However, it did provide a model for an empirical analysis of speech features of males and females.

There exist divergent opinions on the concepts of gender and language, such as **no difference** (Dubois and Crouch 1975; Greenwood and Freed 1992; Freed and Greenwood 1996); **dominance** (Thorne and Henley 1975; Brown 1979, 1983; O'Barr and Atkins 1980; Spender 1980; Lakoff 1990); **difference** (Maltz and Borker 1982; Tannen 1990); and **the 'creation' of gender within conversation itself** (West and Zimmerman 1989; Smith-

Louvin and Brody 1989). Because of these various and conflicting research results, the pursuit of further assessments of Lakoff in general and refinements of the work presented by Goodwin to test the model of adult interaction is required in an attempt to provide the field of linguistics with a better validated model for current discussion and future research.

The critical linguistic claims of Lakoff about WL are as follows:

1) 'Empty' adjectives (such as 'divine' or 'lovely');

2) 'women's words' relating to their special interests (such as 'shirr' in sewing);

3) tag questions and question intonation in declaratives;

4) hedges (such as 'you know');

5) intensive 'so' as an expression of uncertainty;

6) hypercorrect grammar;

7) superpolite usage;

8) no sense of humor or the ability to tell jokes;

9) use of 'italics' to hedge (great prosodic intonational range as a sign of uncertainty).

Goodwin's salient conclusions concerning her research are:

1) peer interaction in conversation should be the model for investigating language use;

2) the peer conversation of girls did not conform to the theoretical model of female speech as essentially supportive (Gilligan 1982; Maltz and Borker 1982);

3) aspects of gender are revealed in speech activities;

4) the speech activities themselves shape the identities of those involved in these conversational activities, including gender self-identity.

Clearly both Lakoff and Goodwin have presented linguistic concepts which are critical to this further understanding of language in general and women's language in particular. Their concepts require specific definitions which can lead to testable hypotheses. Towards that end, this work developed key concepts from both works. They are as follows:

1) What can one discover about the use-- or absence-- of the WL features Lakoff (1975) claimed to occur in the speech of adults?

2) Are there other significant linguistic features of speech which Lakoff did not consider, such as interruptions, backchannels and others, which can be found in the speech of adults?

3) If the above mentioned features exist, do these features exist in the speech of all adults, or if they differ, what accounts for these variations?

4) Using Goodwin's (1990) research as a starting point, but using adults, what can be added to our knowledge concerning the relationship of gender and language?

Of the four above mentioned conceptual questions, the following hypothesis, stated in the null form, is proposed: Women's language does not differ from men's language in terms of an analysis of features. This was constructed in light of the conflicting conclusions reported by previous researchers.

In an attempt to test this hypothesis, the following experimental constructs and design were constructed. A total of 107 females and 55 males were audio-recorded in 110 separate conversations. Although the percentages of females and males in these conversations differed, a complete continuum, from only female to only male dyads and small groups, was recorded. These conversations were drawn from the following four groups:

1) ESL/Bilingual instructors enrolled in a graduate program;

2) undergraduates of various ages and backgrounds enrolled in writing courses;

3) teachers in a private school specializing in the education of emotionally disturbed children, ages 5-12;

4) disk jockeys working for a listener-sponsored, free-form (without set play lists) radio station.

This dissertation shows that language differences appear to exist, but not as the only factor in these differences. Through an examination of four different groups of adults engaged in conversation, it will be argued that different features in the participants' speech can be attributed to gender differences fostered in part by the social dimensions of what appropriate female and male behavior 'is', and that these features appear regardless of other important social differences, such as age, ethnic background, or economic class. It will also be shown that these differences are not mutually exclusive, as traditional views of female and male have explained them, but rather occur as tendencies and trends along a continuum, established in part by group composition, self-identity, topic and occasion.

One important difference between this study and other research lies in the experimental groups used. Most previous research in language and gender focussed predominately on dyads in laboratory settings. The present study used dyads and larger groups (from three to seven) to gather data. Moreover, the groups ranged in composition from same-sex female to same-sex male, so a large range of interaction was observed. Additionally, previous research generally used undergraduates whose racial composition was usually Caucasian and whose ages ranged from 18-22. The present study gathered data from such a base, but used others: speakers whose backgrounds included European, Latin American, Asian as well as African-American cultures; subjects whose ages ranged from 17 to 65; subjects who were teaching or working "on-air" as DJs.

Furthermore, the present research draws upon two sources: Lakoff (1975), from which the concept of 'women's language' (WL) took its impetus; and Goodwin (1990), from which the research model of conversation interaction among small groups over an extended period established a new standard for sociolinguistic research, especially germane to language and gender studies. Since Lakoff's initial study generated much research response and Goodwin's study arose from an anthropological framework, the literature review will be divided into two sections. The first will examine pertinent research, reaction and reverence arising from Lakoff's work, and it will follow a roughly chronological sequence. It will also be arranged to reflect the three salient strands of theoretical constructs developed to examine and explain possible gender differences in language: the **dominance** model, to which Lakoff has devoted her attention and work (Lakoff 1975; 1990; 1994; 1995); the **difference** model, exemplified by Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990); and the **doing gender** model, advanced by many researchers (West & Zimmerman 1987; Freed & Greenwood 1992, among others). The second section will examine the language and gender debate from research done in fields related to linguistics: anthropology, psychology, speech and small group communication, and sociology. It will review pertinent literature in these areas, some of which was directly influenced by Lakoff (Gal 1978; Drass 1986; Rakow 1986, among many others), or by the subject of language and gender (Bem 1974; Mulac *et al.* 1986; Gunzberger 1995, among many others). This review marks another departure from previous work. No previous research has examined the different disciplines to establish the findings and problems in the area of language and gender; many previous researchers have mentioned this dearth of interdisciplinary documentation. Because Lakoff and Goodwin have themselves become the focus of much of the literature,

the inclusion of these apparently disparate works appears appropriate. Chapter II will examine the issues and often-contradictory findings and conclusions in the hope of establishing a coordinated collection of research work from which this and future research can develop and benefit.

Chapter III will provide the research design for the present study. Chapter III will explain the forms and functions of the features Lakoff (1975) used to determine WL, and it will also explain and illustrate other forms and their functions that were used to interpret the conversational data gathered from the four groups. Chapters IV, V, VI, and VII will discuss the four groups and findings individually. Chapter VIII will provide conclusions and an explanation of the 'formulas and freedoms' model developed from the conclusions. Chapter IX will suggest areas for future research.

To expand the data base from which previous research on language and gender has worked, the present study examined four distinct groups: teachers of ESL/bilingual students taking graduate courses for certification and/or a Master's degree in ESL or bilingual education; undergraduates from diverse ethnic backgrounds enrolled in college composition courses at two proprietary colleges; teachers working with emotionally disturbed (ED) children (ages 5 to 12) in a private elementary school; and DJs working 'on-air' at a small listener-sponsored 'free-form' radio station. The four groups were taped doing a number of tasks (see Chapter III and Appendix A) as they worked in dyads or small groups, and their speech was analyzed for features which Lakoff (1975) had dubbed 'WL' ('women's language'). Their speech was also examined for features Lakoff had not included but had been used in previous research on language and gender (see Table II, Chapter III and IV). Additionally, the speech of the interlocutors in these groups was examined using a model of

study Goodwin (1990) had developed when working with black children in Philadelphia. This model of group interaction creating the contexts and realities of its speakers was expanded to examine the adults in the four groups.

The purpose of the present study was to examine speech of adults in same- and mixed-sex groupings, in a variety of settings as naturalistic as possible, to determine if WL features existed in females' speech and, if they did, to explain their salience and difference. Although Lakoff had delineated her WL features in 1975, her work had generated so much reaction in the literature, both positive and negative (see Chapter II for a thorough literature review), that the present writer deemed it appropriate to investigate the issue further using speakers engaged in actual discourse. In a telephone conversation, Lakoff stated that more research was needed in language and gender issues (Lakoff 1995).

The present work also addresses the major criticism of Lakoff's work, the absence of empirical examples to support her claims, and it also acknowledges methodological problems. Some of the questions, difficulties and contradictory conclusions of much of the previous research involved the speakers selected (usually white undergraduates between 18 and 22), the features examined (usually one or a few done in isolation from the rest), and the settings of the research (laboratories, staged rather than naturalistic situations). The present writer attempted to tape subjects in settings that resembled naturalistic ones, the speakers performed very practical tasks, and their conversations were examined for a wide range of features, not one or two in isolation from each other.

Besides investigating the entire gamut of WL as well as features not mentioned by Lakoff but referred to in important research on language and gender, and identifying and audiotaping diverse groups that resembled as well as expanded upon previous subjects, the

present study takes Goodwin's 1990 study of urban black children as a starting point for an examination of adults conversing in a variety of settings on a variety of topics. Certain functions of speech validated Goodwin's assessments and helped clarify and explain WL features and their distribution among the groups. The present study attempts to add to the knowledge of the finely-tuned functions of certain ways of speaking in varying contexts by investigating speakers of different ages, ethnicities and cultures speaking together (an occasionally at cross-purposes). The model mentioned by Goodwin has been used to evaluate the speech of these groups, and their interactions have led this writer to propose a 'formulas and freedoms' model to explain the findings of the present research. This model has been developed to take into account the various explanations of language and gender issues proffered in the wake of Lakoff (1975) as well as the diverse research in the different disciplines examining these issues. It attempts to explain that language differences appear to exist, and their existence relates to a number of factors, both individual and social, that 'color' the conversations.

The purpose of this study was to collect and evaluate conversations from a variety of speakers and settings, including dyads and small groups. Speakers who were older and more diverse ethnically, racially and by class than previous research subjects were particularly sought out for the study. It examined these conversations for all features that Lakoff (1973; 1975) had identified as comprising WL. Also assessed were features that have been discussed in the literature in the wake of Lakoff's claims. These explanations that have supported, expanded and challenged Lakoff's original intuitions were reviewed. These above-mentioned features were analyzed in the context of their use. These data were examined in light of the various theories mentioned above concerning female and male

language. They were further examined in the context of what conversation analysis, and particularly Goodwin's (1990) use of it, has to offer for the understanding of female/male speech.

Results indicate that a number of features, including use of intensive 'so', non-lexical backchannels (minimal expressions of conversational support) and humor and supportive interruption, appear to be used more by females than males, thereby lending support to previous studies as well as shedding new light on the existing questions of 'gendered' talk. Among findings are the discovery that females tended to use 'so' as Lakoff had predicted, but in situations and functions different from those she had explained; employment of non-lexical signs of support replicated and confirmed Hirschman's (1973;1994) small study of such uses among females in same- and cross-sex conversation; backchannels need to be analyzed separately, by dividing lexical and non-lexical ones into separate groups, and examined as a function of contextual need. Additionally, contour in prosody and humor and interruptions can be analyzed to explain the purposes and functions of adult conversation, for which ethnicity, race, social class and context interacted with gender in many situations. A concept of conversation as a linking of formulas and freedom is discussed. This posits that the simple dichotomy of male and female does not explain the richness of human interaction. Rather, females and males employ a variety of formulas which they possess and take as they need, and they also create new formulas as the conversations allow. These formulas and freedoms contain many factors, an important one of which is gender identity and gender self-identity. Therefore, WL features exist in male speech and 'men's language' features occur in female speech. However, there still exist

different degrees or tendencies of use that reflect the gender of the speaker. Areas for further research are also discussed.

Lakoff (1975) initiated formal study of this phenomenon by defining that women's language (WL) lacked power and contained features which ultimately diminished their interpersonal power as contrasted with men. Goodwin (1990) continued this discussion and through the use of more empirical methodology suggested that women were not nearly as polite and tentative as Lakoff (1973; 1975; 1990) had suggested. The present study was an attempt to address this linguistic argument through developing a primary hypothesis which suggested that between the sexes within these groups there were no gender differences in language. This hypothesis was rejected.

II. 1. Lakoff and Her Legacy: A Literature Review

The term "ground-breaking" conveys powerful connotations as well as denotations. Meaning 'innovative,' the term also suggests 'disruptive,' 'creative,' 'destructive,' 'optimistic,' and 'unsettling,' among others. And often the results and implications of such innovative work that groundbreaking sets into motion can be felt decades after the initial 'shock' of the 'new'. One such work in linguistics was initiated by Robin Lakoff.

While not the first to write about the factors of 'women's speech,' Robin Lakoff (1973; 1975) presented a strong argument that suggested women's powerlessness, relative to men, both in the language they were "restricted" to use and in language which was used to describe them; this work stirred a storm of response, both positive and negative and which continues to stimulate research studies and debate into the present, in a number of disciplines, which will be reviewed below). Although the linguistic method she employed to explain her position was primarily "introspection" (1975:4), this aspect has long been employed by linguists (Jespersen 1922; Chomsky 1957, who was her immediate model for studies of grammaticality.). Lakoff also asserted that the majority of the claims she was making would be true for the "majority of English speakers," and, by extrapolation, she felt it would reflect universals (5). This marks a significant expansion of the Chomskyan notion of an ideal speaker in a homogeneous speech community. Derivative of this is a broader contrast between Chomsky and Lakoff reflecting the characteristics of "abstract competencies". By this it is meant to reflect the issue of socially accepted language reflective of expected women's roles and functioning in general and the transmission of power in a context.

Lakoff claimed that men wielded the power in society, and in the service of their general power, so they also wielded the linguistic power. Women were cast as victims of this inequality in two salient ways: 1) in the language that was inculcated an early age, and 2) in the language used to describe them. She detected a number of elements of 'women's speech' (8-19,53-56): more polite expressions; "empty" adjectives and "useless" discriminations in color terms and the like; use of tag questions and rising intonations in seemingly declarative sentences; use of other hedges and such terms (y'know, kinda, well, etc.); use of intensive "so"; hypercorrect forms; non-telling and non-appreciation of jokes; and use of "italics"(56) to hedge. She also claimed that there were certainly other 'markers' of women's talk but were difficult to detail in writing because they were intonational.

Her second claim involved the use of language to describe women that could be termed "derogatory" (19); she further averred that many of these terms employ euphemisms, such as "lady" (20). For instance, the originally parallel terms "master/mistress" today evince a negative and degrading meaning for the female term; another derogatory word when applied to females is "professional". Additionally, women are not expected to use the blunter forms of words and expressions, nor are men in mixed company. (This feature of women's speech has long been commented upon in history, but in this century very famously by Jespersen [1922].) One explanation she provided for these "euphemisms" is that women follow the politeness maneuvers more than men do, both in the basic four maxims as delineated by Grice (1975) and in the more finely demarcated adjustments known as implicatures.

She explicitly claimed that her work was intended to serve as "goad for further

research" (7) and a "first step" in expanded use of gendered linguistic styles by both men and women (83); she also urged women to be more flexible in their language. However, some took special umbrage at her "charges," among the earliest and most negative the study by DuBois and Crouch (1975) on tag questions. Not only did they conclude from their research that 1) men use more tags than women and 2) Lakoff's claim that tags represent an avoidance of commitment from women was "open to serious doubt" (294); they also used the first half of the article to identify and detail six major flaws in her 1973 article: "1) errors of fact; 2) use of examples that appear fabricated to the authors; 3) failure to isolate the variables in question; 4) errors of reasoning; 5) disregard of the work of others; 6) etc." (a cryptic category if there ever was one!) Tellingly, DuBois and Crouch also failed to show explicitly the contexts and uses of ags by the male (and female) faculty members who comprised their sample. However, a more recent survey of the issue of tag questions, interestingly entitled "Lakoff in Context" (Cameron, McAlinden & O'Leary 1988), finds more to support Lakoff's original contention:

> Drawing on empirical studies we have undertaken, we argue that it is time to reassess certain historical preoccupations of researchers in this area; and we urge future investigators to be aware of the complexity of relations between linguistic form, communicative function, social context and social structure. (74)

Two other books were published in 1975 which, either explicitly (Thorne and Henley) or implicitly (Key), lent empirical and theoretical support to Lakoff's claims, which essentially can be labeled as male **dominance**, (which was part of Thorne & Nenley's title and marks the first major research model for studies of language and gender). Also, a review published in 1976 (P. Brown), while critical of many of the

factors that Dubois and Crouch had indicated as flaws, found Lakoff's work "exciting" and not without merit. Brown elaborated two features of Lakoff's book, one negative, one positive, that prove central to Lakoff's position. As for the negative, Brown wrote (247):

> I suggest that what is missing from Lakoff's analysis (and all such analyses which reify rules or conventions or norms as the basis of human behavior) is an account of humans as rational actors oriented toward communicative goals and employing strategies to achieve those goals. Lakoff's analysis, like other rule-based sociolinguistic analyses, fail [sic] to provide an account of the choices being made and the reasons for the choices. Furthermore, any purely rule analysis cannot deal with exceptions, for example, that men on occasion may want to use strategies similar to those employed by women, for particular ends.

A positive feature that Brown found in Lakoff can assist different disciplines in their quest for further insight (241):

> From the linguist's point of view, then, this book [Lakoff 1975] is a further illustration of the crucial role of context: if a speaker is a woman, the appropriateness of her utterances will be judged differently than if a man speaks the same sentences. From the anthropologist's point of view, Lakoff's contribution lies in providing insights, and a way of analyzing language usage, which promises an account of a much more intimate relationship between the workings of language and of society than is envisioned in the work of most sociolinguists. And from the feminist's point of view, the book offers a route into one aspect of the oppression of women in society (and potentially, in other societies): the oppression via expectations of appropriate behavior for women that constrain their ability to express themselves and provide the interactional basis for negative stereotypes about women.

In citing the crucial link between language usage and its social context, Brown foretells much later work in this area, especially that of fellow anthropologist Goodwin (1990), whose work provides the second theoretical background for this present research.

Lakoff herself responded (1977) to Dubois and Crouch's study in a footnote to comments concerning hedges in women's speech when, after listing eight sentences, in order of decreasing indirectness from tag question to a blunt command, wrote (230)

> I am not condemning any of these forms of speech on the grounds of their indirectness; rather my point is that though indirectness has its uses, too often speakers (especially female speakers, for the reasons I have already discussed) use indirect forms like sentences (1)-(4) above [including "It's getting late, isn't it?"] without really being aware of their effect, or indeed realizing that they have a choice and could express themselves otherwise to better effect.

These comments are followed by a footnote, which castigates Crouch and her purportedly scientific statistical study. A relevant part of the long footnote is (246)

> Tags themselves are sometimes used as markers of deference, sometimes as true indicators of judgments of real-world undecideability, and sometimes as a means of securing a response from one's addressee. Unless we can definitely assign the responses of the male and female subjects [of Crouch and DuBois's survey] to these or other categories, we can make no definite statement about why men use tags as often as women. That is what I mean about Crouch's interpretation of purely superficial responses as giving debatable results.

Lakoff's comments appear both to respond to a critic and to foreshadow the spate of research which attempted to place such 'women's language' items as tags in a context and to identify the various uses of similar linguistic structures.

Brown herself provided a further explanatory context when she, in collaboration with Levinson (1978; 1987), produced work on politeness, introducing the concepts of 'positive' and 'negative' face-saving procedures employed by people in a number of situations in a variety of cultures. These concepts, linked with Grice's maxims, gave

researchers into women's language more focussed directions for their studies. The theoretical underpinnings Brown and Levinson established and elaborated upon helped provide frameworks for understanding and analyzing why men and women sometimes produced 'uncharacteristic' speech; the situations they found themselves in helped shaped the statements and responses they would produce. These also helped corroborate the theoretical and practical discussions introduced by those in the conversational analysis field, led theoretically by Goffman and Sachs and his co-researchers.

A study explicitly testing Lakoff's hypothesis was made by Siegler and Siegler (1976), in which they extracted tags, modally modified assertions, and what they termed "strong assertions" and prepared a "test" to determine if students could ascribe "male" or "female" speaker to each. They included neutral statements as controls for their experiment, and the results of their printed survey did indeed 'prove' Lakoff's hypothesis. Although the survey was limited to 24 males and 24 females, and was conducted on paper, not audiotaped and played to the participants, the results revealed some additional statistical support to the Lakoff position. More of such studies of tags, interruptions, pauses and other 'women's language' features were published as the 1970s ended.

A rather interesting and prescient (in its conclusions) study involved the analysis of women's and men's vocal contours in answering questions about where they were born and what their favorite color was (Edelsky 1979). The three contours were: straight rise (Lakoff's [1973] indicator of females' "tentativeness'), straight fall, and rise-fall-rise (1979:15). Edelsky elicited comments from 154 male, 165 female "white adults in the student union building of a southern U.S. university, using 4 male and 4 female experimenters". Later, she had three males and three females match the three types of

vocal contours, and played these 18 matched-guise efforts to 9 male and 21 female "junior level students in an introductory linguistics class" (19), who then rated the voices on a seven-point semantic differential scale based on sex-stereotyped poles. Two major germane discoveries were noted by Edelsy: for one, although the falling contour was overwhelmingly employed the most often by both sexes, the only difference occurred between female speaker and experimenter – the rise-fall-rise was used more often only in this context (27). As Edelsky concludes:

> It is interesting to note that only in response to female experimenters did women exceed men in the use of this contour. Rather than implying a timid (feminine!) is that all right?, the women might have been trying to facilitate the interview or continue the interaction. (28)

Her speculation is important for the present work in that a feature that was found used much more often by females in this research was 'support interruptions', talk which women used not to take the floor or change the topic, but to offer encouragement to the speakers they were listening to. So the present research supported her inferences concerning the apparent anomaly in her data. Another relevant part is her speculation on the listeners' evaluations:

> listeners interpreted language production by attaching the same stereotypes to both female speakers and to certain contours; i.e., language **attitudes** did reflect the differential social statuses of the sexes; and it may be the attitudes which also bear the burden of perpetuation. (30; emphasis in original)

These two observations and interpretations of her findings place Edelsky among the first to criticize both the treatment of language perceptions and attitudes about language use

and argue for more context-driven assessment of language use and a change in the "actual status hierarchy and the language attitudes that hierarchy produces" (31); this criticism took more definite shape later.

Besides Brown, a number of reviews appeared in the latter part of the decade (Kramer *et al.* 1978; Moulton 1976 [which includes mention of three other unfavorable reviews: McCawley; Valian and Lawrence; O'Barr *et al.*]); Showalter 1975; Thorne 1976; Timm 1976) which criticized Lakoff for not documenting her assertions with data collection — although most cited her 'pioneering' [Timm 1975:251), 'new' (Thorne 1976:744), and 'worthy' (Moulton 1976:427) efforts. Also following the collective call for more empirical studies of Lakoff's claims appeared a spate of studies examining the accuracy and prevalence of the purported features: female use of more 'prestige' language forms and linguistic change (Gal 1978); question intonation and sex role (Edelsky 1979); features of a 'female register'(Crosby and Nyquist 1977); differences in degree of language, including number of words used, diminutives, politeness, signs of insecurity (Brouer *et al.* 1979); differences between female and male children of different social classes (Edwards 1979); between parents and children (West & Zimmerman 1977); and differences among male, female and mixed groups (Aries 1976). Additionally, scholars began to investigate possible differences in lexical choice and descriptions (Miller & Swift 1976, 1991), use of expletives (Oliver and Rubin 1975) — and the whole notion of "women's language" was reassessed by Lakoff (1977). From these and other discussions arose a difference of theoretical perspective: power and solidarity. Thorne (1976) alluded to the latter in attempting to assess Lakoff's claims in a different light: women's language as different, not deficient and dominated. This new theoretical perspective can

be labelled the **difference** model. However, this model did not receive a full theoretical explanation until the publication of Maltz and Borker's (1982) study of male-female miscommunication.

In 1980, Spender published a book (Man-Made Language) that criticized male dominance in language as well as in society. Thorne and Henley (1975) had included essays that mentioned some of the issues raised by Spender, but her work combined much feminist and linguistic research into one book.

Spender introduces her book with a sweeping comments. She states that previous studies of "language and sex" (as she terms it [7] have generally concluded that women are "deficient-- or deviant". Her explanation for this is that the research designs and the premises behind them have assumed that something is wrong with women's language, and so the resultant studies have found the 'facts' that they had inherently believed.

She then focuses on Lakoff (1975) and the problems her point of departure appeared to have fostered:

> It would be unfortunate — and unjust — to be unduly critical of Lakoff's findings on women's language for she was one of the early feminists who began to explore — and to make acceptable — such research. Her study, Language and Woman's Place, has been influential; it has also been constrained by some of the sexist assumptions of the linguistic paradigm in which she worked. But as her hypotheses and theories serve to illustrate some of the ways in which the deficiency of women's language has been constructed, I am using them to generalize about the deficiencies of language/sex research. For example, Lakoff accepts that men's language is superior and she assumes that this is a feature of their linguistic performance and not of their sex. She also compares women to a male standard. (1980:8, 9)

She further mentions the controversy caused by Lakoff's assertion that tag questions are a feature of women's language because their use by women indicates their lack of

certainty and domination by men. She also refers to Crouch & Dubois's (1975) research on tags and their conclusion that men used these forms more than women did.

Spender concludes by questioning whether we should call men's language uncertain because of their finding (9). This passage points out concisely the problems and challenges that Lakoff's study held for feminists whose standards are being used, and which stereotypes are tacitly being used to 'filter' the research and its conclusions. Spender notes such problems, as well as the advances made by feminists (including Lakoff, one could add), in her conclusions:

> **Difficulties still persist. The dominant reality in which women are diminished and in which their mutedness and invisibility are constructed and maintained is still the prevailing reality. There are those difficulties which are put upon us within the patriarchal order and which relate to our ostensible inadequacies as women. They are meant to undermine us. They are designed to control our language and to discourage us from writing. ... We have gained the initiative by naming the world from our vantage point, by naming** patriarchy **and** sexism **and here is an attempt to wrest that power from us, to wrench it away from our grasp, to name us once more as deficient, abnormal,** as neurotic. . . . **But we can also be encouraged by this response because it would not be forthcoming if women were genuinely muted. (229,231,232) [Emphasis in original]**

These long passages serve to demonstrate that much of what would follow -- and continues to follow — in feminist research by linguists, speech specialists, sociolinguists, sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists can be recognized in Spender's words. She turned the debate concerning Lakoff's credibility into a call for investigation of what men had done to obfuscate women's reality, and even to prevent women from stating it. By stating that women need to act (and interact) to gain and continue to gain credence in their communities, on their own terms, she anticipates the research and conclusions of

later fieldworkers who would study and discuss the theoretical issue of **'doing gender'**, the third major theoretical perspective to arise from language and gender studies (Kramarae 1981, 1985; Holmes 1984, 1986; Kramerae, *et al.* 1984; Poynton 1985; Mulac, *et al.* 1986, 1988; Rakow 1986; Nichols 1987; Philips *et al.*, 1987; Schiffrin 1987; West and Zimmerman 1987; West and Garcia 1988; Todd and Fisher 1988; Cameron and Coates 1988; Devor 1989; Greenwood 1989; Gervasio and Crawford 1989; Smith-Louvin and Brody 1989; Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990; Tannen 1990, 1993, 1994; Crawford and Gressley 1991; Simkins-Bullock and Wildman 1991; Freed 1992, 1994; Hall, Bucholtz and Moonwomon 1992; Uchida 1992; Bem 1993; Thorne 1993; Bucholtz *et al.* 1994; Roman, Juhasz and Miller 1994; Crawford 1995; Hall and Bucholtz 1995; Bergvall, Bing & Freed 1996; Coates 1996; Freed 1996; Greenwood & Freed 1996; Kim & Bresnahan 1996).

In the same year as Spender's pivotal work appeared an article that expanded the issue of 'powerless' language to both sexes: 'Women's Language' or 'Powerless Language'? (O'Barr and Atkins 1980). This article analyzed various witnesses called to court, and the authors found that both women and men who came from the lower classes used 'women's language', thereby raising the question of the title. Along with Spender's perspective, O'Barr and Atkins paved the way for newer research questions and designs: While the authors maintained that their "interest ... was sharpened by Lakoff's essays, indeed, her work was for us ... a jumping off point." (O'Barr & Atkins 1980:93). After examining a number of lawyers' manuals about how to talk to witnesses (which noted that women witnesses should be dealt with differently than males and thus needed special handling), O'Barr and Atkins found specific advice to young trial lawyers from

experienced ones that included these "special considerations: 1) Be especially courteous to women;... 2) Avoid making women cry. ... 3) Women behave differently from men and this can sometimes be used to advantage."(95) Moreover, after examining six witnesses (from many hours of taping), they found that although female witnesses tended to have more of the "WILE" features that Lakoff (1975) discussed, "Associated with increasing shifts in social power and experience were corresponding decreases in frequency of WILE features."(104) Thus they constructed the hypothesis that Lakoff's "women's language" might be more accurately dubbed "powerless language".

Scarcely had the linguistic dust had time to settle into the studies mentioned in relation to Spender (1980) then another powerful approach to language and gender appeared in a study written for John Gumperz and his collection Language and Social Identity (1982): "A Cultural Approach to Male-Female Miscommunication" (Maltz and Borker 1982). This work specifically introduced the concept of **difference** in explaining female and male differences in language. It assessed the gender differences between the sexes and their language use as an example of separate cultural conditioning during children's language and gender identity maturation, ages 5-15. As a result of this cultural separation, boys and girls come upon different ways of talking and what is expected of them and by their interlocutors. This cultural difference, not dominance by males, causes misunderstanding between the sexes. This ideologically 'neutral' explanation of female-male conversational conflict promptly influenced an influential and popular linguistic scholar, Deborah Tannen (who herself was greatly influenced by Lakoff), who developed this thesis in a number of studies (Tannen 1984, 1990, 1993, 1994).

Exploration of various features mentioned by Robin Lakoff also led to a number of

quite specific empirical studies, among them the hedge expression 'you know' (Östman 1981; Holmes 1984, 1986); interruptions (Zimmerman and West 1983); discourse markers of uncertainty (Schiffrin 1987); and tags (Coates and Cameron 1988). All such studies agreed that refining Lakoff's forms through careful examination of talk really used by speakers would demonstrate the validity of her point, if not a vindication of her taxonomy. Östman, in particular, did her research at Berkeley, where Lakoff taught, and her quite exhaustive analysis of the forms and functions of 'you know', some of which demonstrated uses of the phrase quite opposed to what Lakoff had averred, added to an increasing understanding of context as well as gender in the use of the phrase; Holmes (1984) also found a variety of functions for hedges which expanded as well as challenged Lakoff's claims. She asked, "Are there any differences in women's and men's use of hedges for particular functions?" (156). Her literature review concludes with two specific challenges to Lakoff. The first, "Hedges may express solidarity and politeness as well as uncertainty, and their distribution in the speech of various groups, including females vs. males, may pattern quite differently for these distinct functions" (171).

The second concludes her essay: "It is time to reject the unidimensional view implicit in Lakoff's misleading label 'women's language' and to consider the possibility that the forms referred to ... are among those used by the more skillful and supportive conversationalists" and that these forms may in fact reveal "a wide range of functions and communicative strategies." (172) Much of the present research appears to lend support to Holmes' two contentions.

Schiffrin (1987) [as did Tannen (1984)] used American females of Jewish upbringing [from which ethnic group Lakoff herself intuited]; both Tannen and Schiffrin

concluded that some cultural relativity influenced the use of women's language that did not correspond to Lakoff's original premises. (Interestingly, Lakoff and Tannen collaborated in a study [1984] of the female and male leads in Bergman's Scenes from a Marriage, which wed the dominance and difference concepts in its explication of the characters' dialogue. Lakoff reviewed four features of communicative styles: distance, deference, camaraderie, and clarity from an earlier work [1979]. Then Tannen and Lakoff discussed the differing styles of the wife, Marianne, and the husband, Johan. In their analysis of these variations, they expose Johan's dominating style and Marianne's deferential linguistic manner, which, as Tannen cites in her introduction to a later edition of the article [1994], "It was only in retrospect that ... the styles could be seen ... to typify female and male styles of interaction" [137].)

In the mid -1980s two reviews and studies appeared in England: Cameron (1985) and Coates (1986). These reviewed the early research which attempted to prove (Zimmerman and West [1975] on male interruptions of females; Brown's [1980] study of politeness patterns among tribal Mexican females and males) and disprove (Dubois and Crouch's [1975] study of tags among female and male English department members) Lakoff's contentions; they also concluded that the "dominance" and "difference" theories concerning male/female relations should be combined in studies of language used in context. Furthermore, both authors called for more female/female studies, as much of the previous research had been designed by males, so males and males talked, and females and males talked, but little research in female to female conversation and interaction had been carried out. In fact, both authors collaborated (1988) to discuss groups of women speaking to each other, and included a discussion and expansion of Lakoff's 'women's

language' features through an analysis of all-women groups talking. Also in 1988 appeared Bale and Taylor's work on women communicating, which provided further evidence of a difference between females' "supportive talk" and men's "competitive talk". In 1989 Graddol and Swann's review and analysis of Lakoff's effects in their book, Gender Voices, again called for more analysis of women talking in context; they repeated the theme of Lakoff's visionary work lacking "talk data". And also in that year appeared Smith-Louvin and Brody's analysis (1989) of men and women's patterns of interruptions in group talk; they essentially agreed with Zimmerman and West's (1975) conclusion that men interrupt women more often than they do other men, while women don't "discriminate" in their interruptions. Their conclusion merits quoting, as it points up my interest and research models:

> We find women's interruption attempts and patterns of yielding the floor do not support an image of females simply submitting to the higher-status (in expectation states' terms, higher task expectation) males. Women direct and accept interruptions in a way that does not differentiate systematically between males and females. In addition, we find interesting effects of interruptive content and group sex composition on conversational process. These factors suggest that issues involving conversational style, coordination of speech, and salience of gender identity within groups of varying composition are fruitful areas for further research. (Smith-Louvin & Brody, 433-34)

These researchers were among the only ones to use groups larger than dyads (6 in a group), but relied on undergraduates as members of the groups, as had virtually all other researchers (see Coates and Cameron [1988] for a 'minority usage' of older as well as college-age subjects).

Another mid-1980s text (Schiffrin 1987) discussed a number of linguistic 'markers'

of discourse, some of which Lakoff had indicated as features of 'women's language'; however, at least one of them, 'so', was described by Schiffrin as a marker of 'result,' not as an intensive signal of uncertainty (1987:191-227). This limited explanation will be discussed in the next literature review as well as in my data analysis.

Theorists reviewing the then-extant literature made some general observations and drew various conclusions, but two appear to resonate throughout the literature: a need to provide more same-sex conversation between females and the need to base all analyses of talk in concrete conversations. These two seem to signal the clarion call of researchers in the 1990s as they examined if gender itself continued to operate as an important factor in linguistic analysis, or whether the creation of meaning in various conversational contexts took more importance from other factors, such as age, class, ethnicity and purpose, than it did from gender alone. Furthermore, the concept that sex and gender (previously differentiated strictly between the biological and societal roles 'placed' upon individuals) might be actively intertwined in the process of 'gendering' of people took more theoretical significance.

Interestingly as well, the late 1980s produced an argument that politeness as defined by Brown and Levinson (1978; 1987) may not be the static global norm its authors suggested, but that politeness may in fact be a sign of male domination (Smith-Hefner 1988). In her Javanese example, Smith-Hefner describes the linguistic situation as demonstrating women's need to be more polite within the home, while the men use more polite features in the public, political sphere. She also mentions another contradictory finding (Keenan 1974) similar to her own, and theorizes that in societies where the public and political arena is considered "as a male domain, we should not be surprised to find,

while women, their political subordinates, speak less politely and with less power" (1988:552). And at least one researcher (Nichols 1980; 1983; 1987) called for a cross-cultural analysis of women's talk, for virtually all research until her time had focussed on white women and men.

One important exception was Goodwin's studies (1980; 1983; 1990), which were to influence much of the discussion on female language in the 1990s. She was the first to study conversation in naturalistic settings over a long period of time; additionally, she examined groups of children's talk in same-sex settings, which previously had not been studied proportionally to the same degrees as all-male or mixed groups had. In fact, Coates and Cameron (1988, 1989) took on the same issues by examining women in their speech communities (the title of their book) and non-white speech groups, although not nearly to the extent that Goodwin did. Goodwin's conclusions are important to the present study and will be discussed in the next section of the literature review as well as in the analysis and conclusion sections of this dissertation.

Also in 1990 were published two books by the "spokespersons" of the dominance and difference theoretical camps: Talking Power: The Politics of Language, by Lakoff (dominance), and You Just Don't Understand, by Tannen (difference). In the former, Lakoff deals with much more than in her groundbreaking 1973 and 1975 texts; however, she does include a chapter on women's language (1990:198-214) which expands upon her initial features list, in recognition of research and explanations which have issued in the wake of her work. Her overall belief remains unchanged; as she avers

> I take certain points to be by now self-evident. Men have power, political and social ... . Women are subservient. ... Since men, in control of the words, are defined as the **we**, women become by default the quintessential **they**. ... Finally, men enjoy these marks of favor and power and are loath to give them up or even share them.(199) [Emphasis in original.]

However, she both moves away from and expands upon those features she once detailed: "Not all women use them, and probably no one uses them all the time. ... Men sometimes use them, either with different meanings or for individual special reasons. (Gay men sometimes imitate them.)"(200) Her list of "characteristics" (her new heading) includes both linguistic and kinesic features and contains 14 rather than 9 specifics. Her 'new' characteristics include 2 that are attributed to the work of others (her 11 & 12):that women's talk tends to be interrupted more (Zimmerman and West 1975) and to be more collaborative (Tannen 1990). Among the other additions to her list are that women's language tends to be less phonetically precise, with "lisped s's, obscured vowels"; to be "breathier" in voice than men's; to be less committed to making an opinion; and to be more nonverbally expressed. She notes at the end of her list that "women have communicatively more options than men ... . At the same time, what they may express, and to whom, is more severely limited," and she concludes that women's language was created by women "in order to do two impossible things at once: get our needs met, and survive. ... women have developed the relevant communicative skills, and most men have not."(Lakoff 1990:200, 201). Interestingly, part of her own 'collaborative' feminist theorizing includes a reference to the other theory developed since her work appeared, difference, and specifically to its most visible proponent — Deborah Tannen.

Tannen's 1990 book was drawn from her earlier research (Tannen 1982; 1984;

1986; 1989; 1990) and its register has been altered to suit a larger, less specialized readership. She acknowledges Lakoff as her mentor, and she also cites Gumperz, in whose book Maltz and Borker's "cultural difference" interpretation of female-male difference in language was first proposed (Gumperz 1982). Linguistically, the book added little to the research developing in the various social science literature, but it stands as a sociolinguistic 'target' for the most recent theoretical and research literature to aim at (Freed 1992; Greenwood and Freed 1992; Hall, Bucholtz, and Moonwomon 1992; Uchida 1992; West 1992; James and Clarke 1993; James and Drakich 1993; Bucholtz *et al.* 1994; Crawford 1995; Hall & Bucholtz 1995; Bergvall, Bing and Freed 1996); Coates 1996).

Freed (1992) made explicit reference to her target in the title of her presentation: "We Understand perfectly: A Critique of Tannen's View of Cross-sex Communication" (144-52). She first criticizes the book as an "anachronism"; moreover, she asserts "to speak of these gender arrangements [cultural differences] without connecting them to the power arrangements which they enforce and enhance as well as reflect is intellectually naive." Freed further aligns herself with Lakoff's positions when she adds, "I agree with Eckert and McConnell-Ginet when they state that 'the emphasis on separation and resulting ignorance misses people's active engagement in the reproduction of and resistance to gender arrangements in their communities'" (1992:466;1994:437) (146). To support her opinions of Tannen (1990), and to include what has become the latest strand of the dominance-difference discussion of female/male language — the construction of gender-meaning through **doing gender** in conversation (West & Zimmerman 1987; Uchida 1992), Freed quotes from two other feminist theorists of this language issue:

"Henley and Kramarae (1991) proffer the suggestion that miscommunication may in fact be a smokescreen that allows people to emphasize issues of difference over issues of unequal power." (148)

Additionally, to add more support to her argument, Freed uses this quote from her alluded-to pair, "[T]he construction of miscommunication between the sexes emerges as a powerful tool, maybe even a necessity, to maintain the structure of male supremacy (Henley and Kramarae 1991:30)." And in her conclusion, Freed also mentions the need to examine talk not as an isolated set of features or differences, but in contexts: "Yet, ... while repeatedly discussing ... factors such as geography, ethnicity, class, race and situation in ... conversation, ... [Tannen] treats sex and gender as unidimensional categories and as the most salient features in our lives — which they are not."(149)

As an empirically-based development of Freed's position, Greenwood and Freed (1992) discuss a study conducted among eight dyads of female friends, four of undergraduate age (18-22); four older (39-52), who were either students or known to the investigators. These were drawn from a larger study conducted among 30 pairs of speakers, some all-male dyads, other mixed-sex partners who were "recorded in an experimental setting." Their overarching purpose for conducting these was to prove that conclusions drawn from intimate heterosexual partners (Fishman 1978, 1983) or anecdotal reports could not demonstrate the "complexity of question use in conversation" as well as the complexity of conversation itself (198). Greenwood and Freed devise an intricate taxonomy of 16 question types, subsumed under four headings (202), and organized the 35-minute taped discussions into three parts to test for the variety of questions and their distribution among different conversations (198-205). Their

conclusions were that the studies showed that "Clearly,... sex is not the variable which accounts for different question use" (204), and more importantly for the present research,

> In general, the distribution of question types changed less dramatically from section to section for the older group of women than for the younger. Since the overall patterns of the two groups are similar, further research is needed to ascertain whether these subtle differences are significant (205)

In recent research Freed and Greenwood (1996) introduce their study (from among the same 30-conversational dyad cohort of their previous study) with some theoretical underpinnings for their research. These have direct bearing on the purposes and conclusions of my study, so they are collected here:

> The concept of stable and mutually exclusive gendered speech styles, uniquely associated with women and girls or men and boys, is unfortunately still pervasive in the field of linguistics. ... results of early cross-sex studies... that investigated only white speakers living in the West cannot be unproblematically transferred to generalized conclusions about the speech styles of all women or all men in all contexts. We believe that many assumptions and conclusions ... drawn from research carried out before 1990, need to be reconsidered. ... In particular, the conception of gender... seems simplistic and naive. We object to conclusions about speakers' general communicative style (or specific phonological characteristics) which are based on the examination of single linguistic variables, isolated from their full conversational and communicative functions (Lakoff, 1975); and we reject, as others have, claimed correspondences between single linguistic structures or pragmatic expressions and invariant functional meanings associated with any group of speakers. .(1,2)

These comments and opinions are not the authors' own, *per se*; many of their references sprinkled throughout their essay have been mentioned above. However, they present the most current elicitation of the most recent turn in gender/language discussion in a powerfully compelling form, and they also demonstrate some problems that need to be

solved by other researchers — including, not incidentally, in their own research design and methodology.

Their article examines two discourse features which, as they point out, "have been widely studied and regularly associated with gendered speech styles": **you know** and questions in casual speech (2). Their data are drawn from eight same-sex pairs of friends, from 30 such dyads, and the "participants were White, 18-28 years old, from middle- and working-class backgrounds", undergraduates at a NJ university. The friends who were brought with them are not explicitly described, but presumably fall into the same age/racial/ethnic cluster. The pairs were then told a suggested topic to discuss, friendship, and that they would be taped, but, "to manipulate the conversation," the experimenters "gave the appearance of being overwhelmed with equipment problems," to allow for a period of "spontaneous" talk between the friends. The experimenters returned after 10 minutes to set up the "discussion" of friendships between men *vis a vis* those of women. After 15 minutes, the pair were interrupted and asked to complete "an anonymous demographic questionnaire and a form granting permission to use the taped recordings." During this time the pairs talked and discussed the forms; the researchers taped and dubbed this 6-10 minute sequence "collaborative talk." (3,4)

Their conclusions support their constructs; neither sex displayed more or all of the forms being examined. As they point out, "these data [on **you know**] lead us away from generalities which focus on categories of sex or gender, and toward a conclusion grounded in discourse requirements."(7) Furthermore, in their discussion of the use of questions, they likewise declare, "Our data again establish that neither sex nor gender is a salient variable in these conversations, and that discourse requirements underlie the use of

particular linguistic forms."(13) They conclude, "It is our hope that... this study will motivate researchers in sociolinguistics...to direct their work... toward a more nuanced analysis of gender and its interaction with other linguistic and social phenomena" (22). This very finely-crafted piece of work is, unfortunately, plagued by the methodological problems of most of its forebears: an (albeit relaxed and varied) experimental setting; pairs of speakers in a one-session experience (which may not evince all the spontaneous talk one would like to examine); and mostly college-age, white, middle-class Americans.

Interestingly, a study by McMullen and Paloski (1992) discusses what the title intriguingly says, "Effects of Communication Apprehension, Familiarity of Partner, and Topic on Selected 'Women's Language' Features." Their introductory remarks include sentiments shared by Freed and Greenwood: "After more than 15 years of research into sex differences in the use of these [WL] forms, it seems safe to conclude that sex is, at best, a weak determinant of this so-called speech style."(18) Furthermore, their study, as Freed and Grennwood's, focuses on dyads of university students, but uses 71 female pairs and groups them by friend and stranger. As they claim, "Very little work has been done on the relationship between topic and dyad partner to the use of WL features."(19) Their choice of subjects was slightly different from others, however: they are drawn from a Canadian university. Also, the dyads were given differently-focussed topics, exercise and Olympic Games and international relations. (20-21) The experimenters were analyzing four of Lakoff's features of WL: hedges, tags; question intonation and intensifiers. (22)

Their findings include that "the use of specific WL features is influenced differentially by a host of social, situational and and psychological variables." (26) What

has particular relevance to my research design and literature review sections is stated at the end of their article: "an important next step will be to draw together the existing research in order to summarize what we know to date about the variety of functions served by WL features, and the influence of special social, situational and psychological variables on their use."(28)

Two collected writings of many feminists-- linguists, sociologists, anthropologists and English scholars, among others — have been produced by the Berkeley Women and Language Group in this decade, and contain much of the newest research on gender and language (Hall *et al.* 1992; Buchholtz *et al.* 1994); moreover, a volume of essays (many of which appeared in the former volume) was published to celebrate the 20th anniversary of Lakoff's book (and dedicated to her) with the self-explanatory title: Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self (Hall & Bucholtz 1995). The importance of Lakoff (1975) for the editors (and for the present study) is stressed in their introduction:

> Lakoff's book set the terms for research as few others have done. ... Robin Lakoff ... succeeded in a brief eighty-three pages in bringing feminist analysis onto linguistic scholarship, thereby ushering in an exciting program of research that spans linguistics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and other fields. (2)

They also acknowledge tacitly the criticisms that Lakoff failed to provide examples from actual conversation (which the present study also addresses) by stating that Lakoff produced a remarkable endeavor in that she articulated "her vision of a feminist linguistics from ... the very core of the field, within the theoretical mainstream," not from a sociolinguitic perspective, with all its attendant data collection and analysis. They

elaborate further: "Thus Lakoff's methods are wholly consistent with her disciplinary commitments of the time: introspection and native-speaker intuition." And they conclude with "empiricism, then as now, had not taken its place in the toolchest of mainstream linguitics" (3). After their discussion of the authors and themes in the book (including an article by Lakoff), they end the introduction with a final apology (in the traditional sense of the word) for continuing to use Lakoff (1975) as a touchstone:

> We therefore cannot agree with Rita Hoffman (1980) that we should lay the text aside as obsolete; instead we urge scholars of language and gender to study it for what it suggests about where the field has been and where it is going. We can only hope that the present volume has the same salutary destabilizing effect, as we usher in the third decade of language and gender research. (19)

Lakoff herself presented a talk on the ominousness of the silencing of women in the public arena as well as in private (Hall, *et al.* 1992:344-355); additionally, she dealt with this theme in her "Cries and Whispers: The Shattering of the Silence" (Hall & Bucholtz 1995:25-50), where she restates her avowed position, one that has appeared consistently throughout the generation of her writings: "We have begun, however tentatively, to break the silence of the millennia. The next step is to learn to speak so that our words can have some effect." (48)

In these volumes women and men examine the talk of women and men in a variety of contexts, providing a number of useful theoretical and empirical studies. Interesting, and telling, is the presentation Tannen makes, "The Sex-Class-Linked Framing of Talk at Work" (Bucholtz *et al.* 1994:712-728), which dealt with an aspect of her most recent 'popular' book (Tannen 1994). Her conclusion demonstrates her response to the criticism

of Freed and others: "I have argued against the misconception that a 'cultural' approach and a 'dominance' approach are mutually exclusive and opposed to each other." (726)

Even more important to this study is the presentation Goodwin makes (Hall, *et al.* 1992:182-196). After acknowledging Lakoff's contribution to the study of gender and language, Goodwin states her purpose: "I look at interaction ... within a particular domain, a form of gossip activity that African American girls call **he-said-she-said**. Instead of being a discrete linguistic variable, a story ...encompasses a range of different kind of talk.." And her reasons for including such gossip can be seen thus: "I want to analyze how language can be used to build relevant social organization... [Gossip] provides an exemplar of female verbal virtuosity in orchestrating political activity." (182) This analysis of female activity, especially one (gossip) long viewed as a negative private female speech activity by men, can shed light on Lakoff's original premises, such that her features can be examined in contextual active talk. Goodwin states this perspective again at the conclusion of her talk:

> If we are to understand the full range of female communicative competencies, we need to examine what females do across a variety of contexts, in same-sex as well as cross-sex interaction in diverse communities. To investigate power in female speech, one place to begin might be how females use language to orchestrate the important political event in their lives. (194)

In a similar vein of examining females and males "in diverse communities," Kim and Bresnahan (1996) examined university students of both sexes in four ethnic settings--Korea, Japan, Hawaii and the U.S., with mean ages ranging from 19 to 23. Students were asked to role-play in six request situations, which were varied according to status —

subordinate, superordinate or equal — and gender. (60) As they report, "The results showed that participants' gender did not have any significant main effect ... in any of the four cultures studied."(63) They further state that "The main implication of the findings is that biological sex difference may not be a significant factor in accounting for conversational differences.... The traits of masculinity and femininity ... are of greater value to communication researchers." (63,64) Of particular relevance to the present study are their discussion of research limitations and future research directions: the fact that the study was limited to one communication form, the request, needs to be addressed; the need to examine more contexts in studying any gender and language issue; although the people involved were culturally diverse, the need to "tap cultures other than the four groups studied here"; and the limitation of the university population: "A wider variety of populations with differing linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds should be investigated" (64,65).

Another recent study of women talking comes again from Coates (1996). This work deals with informal conversation among friends and how these conversations shape these women's lives. As she states, "I want to make it clear from the onset that gossip, chitchat, natter — that is, the everyday talk of women friends — is what this book is about. I hope to demonstrate that women's talk is far from trivial" (1). She uses twenty conversations to set the stage for her broader discussion of what women's talk does for the participants. Among her points that relate to the present study are her comments on hedges, which challenges Lakoff's (1975) claims and posits hedges as positive, not tentative, expressions. (171) She also states that "overlapping speech is more like several instruments playing different tunes which fit together harmonically." (133) These "jam

sesions" help situate women's interruptions are cooperative, not competitive. These concepts have found validation in the present research.

Finally, in her book, Talking Difference: On Gender and Language, Crawford (1995) criticizes both Lakoff (23-48) and Tannen's You Just Don't Understand (91-108). She claims that the former implied that women's language is deficient (Lakoff 1975;1990), and that the latter's cultural difference approach furthers women's oppression by treating women's inferior status in relation to men as merely the result of cultural difference, thereby countenancing the *status quo*. These criticisms had already been made by Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992), Freed (1992) and Gal (1991) (among others). What is important for the present study are two other aspects of Crawford's argument: women's rich and gendered humor (129-169) and one section of her conclusion, where she states (172)

> Yet increasingly, feminist social scientists and philosophers are arguing that there should be no single privileged 'feminist method' and that any method can be a tool for feminist inquiry. ... I endorse this view. Methods that did not originate in feminist inquiry, such as conversational analysis, can be made to serve feminist ends with a sensitive attention to interactional context (Duranti & Goodwin 1992; Goodwin 1990).

Her specific reference to the quality and importance of Goodwin's work helps validate its theoretical importance for the present research design and study. More of Goodwin's importance will be highlighted with the literature review of the social sciences related to linguistics.

The next section of the literature review will discuss research carried out in disciplines other than linguistics — anthropology, psychology, speech and

communication, and sociology. There are a number of reasons for including this corpus of work. For one, many of the studies in these areas specifically discussed are language and gender, and particularly Lakoff's hypotheses (McMullen & Pasloski 1992; Canary & Hause 1993; Blankenship & Robson 1995; Jorgensen 1996; Kim and Brasnahan 1996, to cite just some recent work). Moreover, the researchers themselves have lamented the fact that there has been no single theory attempted which is based on the wealth of research findings (Canary & Hause 1993, among many others). Thirdly, one of the most important theoretical and research models for the present study has come from anthropology (Goodwin 1990). Therefore, it appears prudent to examine some of the relevant studies from these related disciplines, both to present relevant research from related fields and to collect these studies into one review for the first time to foster future research. As a review and a reminder of what Lakoff herself did not completely do in her own work (1973, 197), a relevant reference to an article e by Lakoff, printed in 1972, is quoted below:

> **There are areas of linguistic competence that cannot be described in any theory that does not allow an integration of information about the context in which the discourse takes place – sometimes erroneously referred to as 'real-world' as opposed to 'linguistically relevant' situation** – and the purely linguistically relevant information the sentence seeks to convey: superficial syntax, choice of lexical items, and semantics aside form contextually-relevant meaning elements. (909) [emphasis added]

II. 2. Goodwin and Conversation: A Literature Review

If much of modern Western civilization owes a debt to the Greeks, certainly one relevant part of that tradition is the Socratic tradition. Socrates talked and asked a lot of questions, interacting and shaping the values he cherished with other men of his own class, and so his connection to this study is noteworthy. However, for direct influence, the work of Sacks and his colleagues in conversation provided an important starting point for discussion of talk, especially Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974). The concepts of turns of talk, adjacent pair construction and other aspects of their "simplest systematics" inspired many other theorists and researchers. They even accounted for the system of "conversation repair" in a later article (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1997).

However (as was the case of Chomsky's system for Lakoff), their theoretical system-building contained a problem and a potential flaw that would prove its (relative undoing. As they asserted, "Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time.... Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief." These confident words have been shown to be somewhat misleading, specially when the "ideal speak-listener" gets situated in socioliguistic context, such as those demonstrated by Goodwin (1990), among many others. Additionally, while Sacks *et al.*, claimed that they had devised a fairly comprehensive model for turn-taking in conversation, they stated, "The problem of introducing particular social identities into our description ... is especially complex.... A formal characterization of how participants' social identities are made relevant, and changed in conversation, does not now exist, though work is proceeding on that problem" (Sacks *et al.* 1974: 718). (Of course, this was a problem that has seen 22 years of careful

scholarship address.)

Another problem was that the model essentially discussed dyads, although Sacks et al notes that three- and four-partner conversations could also be analyzed under this model: "Still the system favors, by virtue of its design, smaller numbers of participants" (712). They elaborate further concerning larger groups, "With the introduction of a third party, 'next turn' is no longer guaranteed (or obliged for) any current speaker. ... With four parties, ...variability in the number of turn-taking systems in operation. ... With four parties, then, schism is a systematic possibility." (713) Therefore, the analysis of small groups in conversation could not be clearly managed by their system – but the basic 'politeness' factor in turn-taking could be extended to larger group participation. Tellingly, the practice of studying dyads was, and still is, the primary mode of conversation analysis.

An early study that was not printed until 1994, Hirshman (1973) studied six dyads, both same-sex and mixed-sex, to "isolate a number of quantifiable entities related to controlling or directing the conversation" (431). Her findings anticipated much future research, including the present study: "single-sex pairs have each other substantially higher frequency of affirmative responses" (435) which gives support to women as facilitators of conversation; "mm hmm, from these data, appears to be a predominantly female speech form," and "the two females interrupted with a much higher frequency" (437). These findings were supported by the present research.

A cogent and relevant criticism of Sacks *et al.* (1974) occurs in Murray (1985). His claimed that their contention that "someone's turn must always and exclusively be in progress" (697) does not apply in all cultures and for all situations — in particular, which

is germane to the present study, "in interactions involving more than three persons, it is easy to observe that more than one party talks at a time" (31). Furthermore, he concluded that "simultaneous speech is neither necessary nor sufficient for the recognition of 'interruption' by interlocutors" which is contrary to what Sacks *et al.* (1974) had purported to demonstrate as part of their simplest systematics. He also averred that "there are no absolute syntactical or acoustical criteria available for recognizing an occurrence of 'interruption' either to those involved in a speech event or analysts" (33). These observations point to the need for situated analysis of speech in the context of the speech interaction.

In a later study, Murray & Covelli (1988) challenge Zimmerman & West's early study on male/female difference in interruptions (1975), specifically their conclusion that males interrupt females much more often than *vice versa.* Murray & Covelli attempt to prove the opposite, and toward that purpose they employ "the coding instructions and operationalization of 'interruption' and 'overlap' presented by Zimmerman & West (1975)," and they find that "interruption is, after all, a part of middle class North American women's communicative repertoire" (104). Their conclusions are germane to the present study, particularly to the preponderance of females' "support interruptions" in my data. They state that "in contrast to the women Zimmerman & West ... interruption is within the behavioral repertoire of some women, both when speaking to other women and to men," and also relevant to this study, "[n]early as obvious a conclusion is that context matters" (108). These studies all fail to specify whether the interruptions constituted attempts to take the floor or to offer verbal support from the listener to the speaker, so this present study will address that.

Greenwood (1989) cites earlier research and definitions of interruptions from Zimmerman & West (1975) on and finds problems with efforts to define interruptions. Singling out Bennett's (1981) contention that interruption depends on the speakers' perceptions and conversational setting, and Beattie's (1981) distinction between "simple" and "silent" interruptions, Geenwood also notes that Beattie examined non-dyadic conversation where the floor "is not so easy to pass along; it must be grabbed" (82). She then defines three conditions for interruptions: "1) the speaker has the attention of the entire group; 2) the speaker's turn is intruded upon before the end of the utterance or message; 3) the result of the intrusion is to turn the talk away from the speaker to another" (85). She also mentions support and attempted interruptions as other types that satisfy conditions 1) and 2) but fail to satisfy 3) (88). Two of her conclusions have relevance for the present study. She suggests that future research might test if a male "shows dominance in conversations, do the females defer to him? Or, if there are boys around, do the girls behave in a was that would align them to each other" (121)? She also finds that "gender is only one of several variables that may motivate discourse style. ... girls and boys vary their discourse behavior depending on the personal dynamics of each conversation" (122). Her study of small groups marks a significant departure from the predominately dyadic nature of studies. Her work with children, like that of Goodwin (1990), suggests expansion into similar studies of adults in dynamic contexts, which is the major focus of this present study.

A recent review of the literature and a study of perceptions of gender and aggression is Bresnahan & Cai (1996). Their review examines the role of gender as well as gender identity in perceptions of simultaneous talk as interruptive or not. After noting

that "little consensus [is] evidenced in the cross-disciplinary literature studying interruption ... because interruption is conceptualized differently across these studies, findings are also difficult to compare" (173), they test whether females and males judge simultaneous talk as interruptive and disruptive or not. They use transcripts of a meeting between a high-status female (college advisor) and a low-status male (student) involved in adversarial conversation in which both interrupted each other an equal number of times. Two hundred sixty undergraduates (154 f, 106 m) evaluated the transcripts and provided data relevant to this study. The authors found that "verbal aggressiveness is a better predictor than gender for whether or not they will judge simultaneous talk to be interruptive in situations of conflict" (185). They also conclude that women are more likely to view simultaneous talk to be interruptive, men tended to use interruption as "retaliatory strategies," and women professed disliking "both the use of verbal aggressiveness and being interrupted" (185). These findings are supported by data in the present study.

A significant early study to test some of Lakoff's WL features was conducted by McMillan *et al.* (1977). They were the first to question the premise (expressed in the title of their study) of how WL really functioned: as uncertainty or interpersonal sensitivity and emotionality? They took four features mentioned in Lakoff (1975) and Key (1975): intensifiers, modal constructions of past events, tag questions, and imperatives phrased as questions (547). They then tested three hypotheses: women used more of each of these features, women used more of these uncertainty signals in mixed-sex groups than in same-sex ones, and men interrupted women more often than *vice versa* and men interrupted men. To test these, they assembled the range of groups (mixed-sex and same-

sex) numbering from 5 to 7 for each group. They assigned each group a task: solve a murder mystery together within a half-hour. Because 14 clues had been divided up among the members of each group, it behooved them to work cooperatively in finding their solutions within the designated time (550). Their results mostly confirmed Lakoff's (1975) contention that gender differences in language existed. For three of the four tested features women used more of them in mixed-sex groups than in same-sex ones. There was, though, one exception. The only feature women used more in same-sex groups than in mixed-sex ones was the intensifiers. This has direct bearing on the present study for this research also found females generally used more of these forms, especially with each other. The reason for this unexpected result can be understood in light of the authors' conclusion that women share a subculture that uses overt linguistic forms in different distributions and functions. Drawing on research of social scientists (Bernard 1972; Kluckhohov 1953; Rokeach 1973) which posits the separation of the genders into male and female subcultures, McMillan *et al.* conclude that there is a difference in their speech, with women emphasizing "the interpersonal and emotional dimensions of interacting", in contrast with men favoring "the instrumental and rational dimensions" (550). As a result of these differences, women use more intensifiers which "reflect their emotional involvement with the speaker and solicit emotional involvement from the listener"(554). These conclusions anticipate Maltz and Borker's (1982) study five years later. They also foreshadow later research, including the present one, with their call for more research, especially among "different races and different listeners" than their research group (which included "undergraduates from a midwestern university") (558, 549).

In a study of gender and small-group interaction, Propp (1995) tested the "impact of

biological sex as a determinant of source credibility and its effect on information usage" in small-group interaction. She selected 88 undergraduates (44 of each sex) from a communications course at a large Midwestern university. Twenty-two four person juries, with 2 females and males in each, were created and given a task to decide on: which parent should gain custody of their child. This "realistic" task was chosen to get the participants personally involved in the task. (459, 460). Her study found that although females introduced information as often as males did, the females' "was evaluated more stringently than if the information is held by men" (471). This suggests that males still wield more power and influence in group interaction and conversation.

Sociologists have been among the first to study talk in real situations — from Goffman (1959; 1974;) to Zimmerman & West (1975) and West & Zimmerman (1977) — in almost microlinguistic fashions (interruptions, relies and responses). Certainly, the work of Sacks and his colleagues dealt with the most mundane and concrete examples. Psychologists too have examined gender roles in conversation. Bem (1974) developed a set of paired words to help understand the concepts of male and female in social settings, and this work also included examination of 'psychological androgyny.' Bem later (1993) argues that the sociobiological arguments for gender difference are no longer salient in society since "cultural invention has now so transformed the situational context of human life that the bodily differences between the sexes are no longer as functionally significant as they once were." However, she finds that the "cultural beliefs and social practices" which begin as a result of the sexual division of labor and the system of male political dominance have remained in place because modern technology, which has eliminated the functional differences between the

sexes, has not been able to — and could not — "instantly eliminate the inertia of that cultural and political history."(32)

From sociology Dress (1986) using Bem's (1974) androgyny scale and Burke & Tully (1977) to assess speakers' gender identity found that females and males with more male-like self-identity tended to overlap and interrupt the talk of others in same-sex dyadic conversations. Therefore, her point is that "self-in-role" determines the type of talk one will produce more than actual gender does (294). She explicitly mentions Lakoff (1975) as well as other early researchers in her paper and claims that her findings "complement and extend the work of Zimmerman & West (1975). ... The use of overlap and interruption in conversation does appear to be the patterned verbal strategy associated with a more male-like definition of self" (300). Another of her conclusions is that "individuals, whether male or female, accomplish a form of dominance and control over an interactional partner" (300). However, her summary also includes a passage which appears contradictory to her conclusions above:

> Maleness versus femaleness is not a simple categorical distinction. Rather, it is a continuum of meaning along which individuals vary in terms of self-definition. An individual's location along this continuum should reflect his/her history of interaction with others. (300)

These conclusions are not as contradictory as they appear, though. They interweave the three major theoretical strands of the language and gender debate: there are gender roles, and males have been dominant in society, but the context of conversation as well the speaker's history produces the identity (i.e., the speaker "does"

his/her gender). Dress also has relevance to the present study in its anticipation of the formulas and freedoms concept of conversational interaction.

Muluc *et al.* (1988) found that male/ female differences in language features do appear to exist, more pronouncedly in same-sex dyads, and that these differences moderate in mixed-sex dyads. Apparently, these asymmetries can be attributed to accommodation theory (Giles & Smith 1979). They based these findings on their analysis of features discussed by previous researchers which helped Mulac *et al.* to devise their three-part feature clusters: socio-intellectual status, aesthetic quality and dynamics. The first two had been associated with female qualities, while the latter with males. They concluded that males used more interruptions, directives and conjunctions and other fillers at the beginning of sentences as their modes of keeping and maintaining the floor. Women, in contrast, employed more questions, justifiers, intensive adverbs, personal pronouns and indirect, qualified style, with adverbials at the beginnings of sentences to maintain their accommodating modes (330). They also concluded that their study of the dyads provided a "dynamic view of language use, one that changes with context," and that their findings were "gender preferential rather than gender distinct." (329, 330)

Two recent articles on transsexuals and their speech (Knight 1992; Günzberger 1995) find that this group attempts to model their 'new' voices on stereotypes of feminine and masculine speech. Knight states that there are three major forms of interference in the speech of transsexuals: "1) display of knowledge atypical of the target gender, 2) style of asserting authority, and 3) assumptions about the purposes of communication among peers" (313). He also mentions that female to male (FTM) transsexuals exhibit fewer of their original gender traits in their speech than do male to female (MTF) transsexuals and

that it is rare for FTMs to exhibit extremely feminine characteristics before their change. As she asserts, "I have never encountered a FTM whose conversatinal stle alone posed a barrier to passing" (313). She also points out, "Many highly-educated MTFs who held positions of authority as males... convey by their speech styles that they expect a certain unquestioning deference unknown to women of comparable status" (314). Her conclusion points out that this group tends to "highlight little-explored questions of gender as psychological identity and social construct" (316). Because of their experiences as being both sexes, they can provide interesting data on code-switching in gender roles to an extent approached only by transvestites.

Günzberger conducted two experiments to determine if MTF transsexuals retained "distinct male voice quality" in spite of "spontaneous efforts to alter their manner of speaking" and hormone therapy (339). The first was an acoustic test, the second a perceptual one. She found that "the subjects are able to intuitively adopt a number of characteristics that are known to add a feminine voice quality, which was "significant" (347). Also, 31 18-20-year-old students (17 m, 14 f) judged the tapes of the speakers as being females to a significant degree (347). These findings indicate that a smiling face shortens the oral cavity, thus enhancing "stereotypical feminine characteristics" of higher-pitched resonances and "more intonational dynamics" (347, 341). Her study provides acoustic support to the psychological (and symbolic) findings that women do speak "in a different voice" (Gilligan 1982).

An interesting study (Barrett 1994) of the speech of African-American drag queens' (AADQ) speech also demonstrates appropriation of feminine speech qualities in males speech, but for a somewhat different intent. Barrett discovered that " although the 'white

woman' style is a vital characteristic of AADQ identity, its use does not imply an underlying desire to be white" (7). His research leads him to conclude that the use of this style of speech among AADQ "highlights a variety of more critical attitudes towards whiteness. ... they suggest a form of resistance toward racism and homophobia" (11, 12). Important for this study are Barrett's reference to Lakoff's (1975) WL features and his use of them as a "basis for discussing the 'white woman' sty;e of AADQ" mainly as a "stereotype" of middle-class white-women speech (4). This is significant for the prevalence of Lakoff's influence in language and gender studies and the exploration of gender identity — in this class, biological male homosexuals not opting to become MTF transsexuals. The data also show the male qualities of aggressive, sarcastic speech in AADQ, which suggests that even homosexual males speak as males rather than females, even when employing WL.

In another recent phonetic study in southern California, Hagiwara (1995) found differences between female and male pronunciation of /r/ in ways that could not be explained by vocal tract factors alone. He also found that women and men had slightly different vowel spaces (122). He also concluded that biological sex should be considered in any discussion of phonological use or innovation. As he states and suggests:

> the role of physiology in constraining and influencing the phonetic form of language should not be so discounted; in discussions of phonetic variation (separate from gender) is sex also a factor in why women appear to lead in some changes and not in others? Are there physiologically based features of men's and women's voices that make changes in progress more or less apparent at certain levels? (123)

Apparently, for Knight (1992), Günzberger (1994) and Barrett (1994) these physiological

factors are salient for their findings. For Lakoff, even stereotypes of language use are in fact grounded in phonetic features, as well as social, cultural and contextual factors, in the perception and use of WL or other linguistic and pragmatic constructs.

Other studies of female regional dialect (Davis & Houck 1990; 1992) found that type of dialect affected listeners' judgments concerning their status and occupation. These appeared to stem from what Golombeck & Fivush (1994) term as 'gender stereotypes,' which develops from childhood (16-37). And these stereotypes often produce difference in status perception in small groups (Gervaso & Crawford 1989; Carli 1990; Rubin & Greene 1991; Spence 1993; Schneider & Cook 1995), and even who will be researched at all (Canary & Hause 1993; Reid 1993).

Psychologists and other social scientists have long struggled with the concept of gender and sex. As Kessler & McKenna (1978) point out, "As we go about our daily life, we assume that every human being is either male or female. ... Gender very clearly pervades everyday life" (1.3). This dichotomous thinking has led to stereotypes 'dictating' female and male roles. And a number of studies have come to challenge the 'either/or' thinking of gender. Shaver & Hendrick (1987) collect a series of essays dealing with gender and sex differences, including Aries' essay on male-female differences in communication (149-176). Connell (1987) explicitly titles his study "gender and power," and traces the gender roles in society and how they oppress women and gays (x). Devor (1989) explicitly studies women who 'blend gender,' the androgynous women who test the limits of duality in gender identity. Segal (1990) explains how men's concept of themselves must change to accept new thinking on gender roles. Coupland *et al.* (1991) collect essays on miscommunication, which includes Henley & Kramarae's review and

critique of power, gender and miscommunication (18-43). Lutz & Abu-Lughod (1990) contains an examination of power, gender and control of emotion through discourse (Lutz: 69-91).

Gender has also been examined for its effects on interaction. An early study examined the relationship between degrees of self-monitoring (SM) and initiation of conversation in same-sex dyads, and found that females in same-sex dyads were more involved and more affiliative than males (Ickes & Barnes 1977). Coates (1986) examined the role of gender self-identity in interaction between females and males, Simkins-Bullock & Wildman (1991) examined the relationships between gender and language and found differences in the areas of questions, suggestions and amount of talk in dyads of undergraduates: women used more of the first two, and males talked more. Ridgeway (1992) investigated how gender inequalities affected interaction. Kimura (1992) examined biological affects on female/male differences, and postulated that hormonal influences affect "cognitive variation between the sexes" (119). And recent research on gender composition and effectiveness of small groups, Rogelberg & Rumery (1996) found that gender composition in four-person groups affected the effectiveness and cohesion of the group, with decision-making quality increasing proportionately with the number of males in it. however, one-female groups outperformed all others.

However, the work that contained an enormous impact for studies of females and males in groups is Goodwin (1990). She found that girls and boys in groups used different ways of communicating directives and other decision-making strategies (63-137). She found that boys tended to use imperatives, while girls employed suggestions for action (109). Additionally, though, she discovered that girls did have the ability to be

as direct as boys, and that the theory that girls (women) spoke 'in a different voice' (Gilligan 1982) was not accurate (136-137). And also, girls did use stories and disputes in ways different from the boys (the "he-said-she-said" disputes [190-225]), but, more importantly to this present research, she claimed that 'the he-said-she-said event thus provides a resource for realigning the social organization of the moment and reconstituting occasion-specific identities"(224-225). What Goodwin found in her study was a complex set of speech activities that 'argues for a situated rather than uni-dimensional view of girls' "concerns" and "girls can hold their own in arguments with boys" (284).

What is so germane in Goodwin's work to the examination of possible gender differences in language is the careful collection of conversation in its context, away from laboratory and other artificial constructs that diminish or obscure real-life female-male interaction. Her model of using girls and boys in real contexts provides a powerful paradigm for further research. The fact that her study involved minority subjects further expands the database. Therefore, it appeared quite appropriate for this study to employ an examination of groups of adults in conversations in natural settings to determine if gender differences exist in their speech, as Lakoff contended. Using Goodwin's model allows for an analysis of all the features Lakoff described as constituting WL in actual conversations. The present study thus follows a validated method of data analysis and explanation, and can offer a new perspective on Goodwin's study in using adults in the groups instead of children, and a range of ages and ethnic backgrounds.

III. Research Design

The research design for this dissertation was based upon an examination of a number of different adults engaged in actual conversation in what Goodwill termed "participant frameworks," which would involve the speaker in "face-to-face interaction ... in ways that are relevant to what is happening at the moment." (1990:10) The methodology involved taping dyads and small groups of speakers, both same- and mixed-sex, on a number of occasions to tabulate the frequency of Lakoff's nine 'women's language' (WL) features (1975). An initial null hypothesis was raised, that no differences in frequency and function of these WL features would be found in the speech of females and males of different age, ethnic and racial backgrounds.

To compile data for this dissertation, four distinct groups were taped. Each group was taped in different circumstances, and the four groups convened in configurations ranging from pairs to eight people. Although the four groups were engaged in different types of conversation, all were used in this study for a number of reasons. First, Lakoff (1956) designated her set of nine forms of 'women's language' (WL), as probably 'universal' (Lakoff 1975:4). Secondly, while Lakoff differentiated these nine forms, she did not provide examples of them in actual conversational contest; rather, she gave examples using her 'intuition' in the Chomskyan sense of native-speaker intuition. As a linguist trained in the generative grammar model established by Chomsky rather than the sociolinguistic or anthropological methodologies, she did not deem it necessary to include actual conversations to distinguish and exemplify her nine features of WL. Therefore, some of her categories lack specific data to illustrate them. One of the purposes of this dissertation intends to show examples – or lack of examples – of her

features in the speech of a variety of female and male speakers, native as well as non-native English speakers, interacting in a number of groups of different size and gender configurations ranging from all of one gender to mixes of both. Her nine features included (with her own examples provided whenever possible): 1) empty adjectives ('lovely,' 'divine'); 2) 'women's words,' relating to females' specific interests *vis a vis* males' (such as 'mauve' or 'shirr' in sewing); 3) tag questions and question intonation in otherwise declarative sentences, indicating uncertainty and powerlessness ('We'll eat - at six ?'); 5) intensive 'so' as an expression of uncertainty (I was *so* tired last night); 6) hypercorrect grammar (such as '-ing' instead of '-in' suffixes on progressive verb forms); 7) superpolite usage such as commands couched in interrogatives; 8) no sense of humor and no ability to tell jokes (explained by Lakoff as a perception held by the more powerful males and their standard of humor; no specific examples are provided)p 9) use of italics in speech to hedge (she didn't provide illustration of this, but explained that the use of italics was an elusive component of speech (1975:55). In particular, a problematic category in Lakoff's set is the intensive 'so'; she did not provide a specific example of its use in actual conversation, yet in tabulating the data the present author determined that its existence does appear to be a more preferred feature n female speech. (See Table II.) Therefore, a brief discussion of its use as an intensive marker in female speech is required to understand its frequency as well as function in the present research. The present author has distinguished five separate uses of 'so' in English: 1) as an introductory and/ore transitional devise, often found in the colloquial dialects of American urban speakers ("so ... how have you been?") (akin to the German *alzo*), 2) as an adverbial modifier ("it was done so," in that manner); 3) as a coordinating conjunction, the only previously

researched usage done using actual conversation, described and exemplified by Schriffin (1987) ("We were very poor, so we had to work together"); 4) as part of a 'cause/effect' syntactic structure ' so...that ,' similar in meaning but differing in syntax from 3) ("We were so tired that we had to go home and sleep""; 5) as an emphatic WL word designated by Lakoff and included in the present research design ("I was so thrilled that he came"). The distinctions are displayed in Table I. (See also Burchfield 1996:720-22; Wilson 1993:401.)

TABLE I: FUNCTION OF 'SO' IN ENGLISH

FUNCTION	EXAMPLE
TRANSITION/ INTRODUCTION	"So ... how have you been?"
ADVERB OF MANNER	It was done so.
COORDINATING CONJUCTION	"We were very poor, so we had to work."
CAUSE/EFFECT (WITH 'THAT')	We were so tired that we had to go home and sleep.
WL FEATURE OF CERTAINTY	I was so thrilled that he came.

Third, although her claims provoked much response and research claims, both supportive and critical of their claims, researcher didn't investigate the entire set of features, a lack that this present research attempts to address and investigate comprehensively. Furthermore, previous research generally ignored subjects who were not white, middle-class undergraduates, aged 18-25. Fourth, as the research data developed and were interpreted in actual conversational settings staged in laboratory

settings, other features were identified that both complemented and challenged Lakoff's nine features, such as 1) support interruption (Zimmerman & West 1975) and 2) backchannels (Ynvge 1970; Hirshman 1994). Moreover, research supportive as well as critical of Lakoff's assertions argued that context affected both the frequency and function of many of these forms, and also that perhaps these forms were not merely or exclusively the qualities of WL but rather 'powerless speakers of either sex, relative to the context. Therefore, it was determined by the present author that a comprehensive examination of speakers in a variety of actual conversations rather than merely laboratory settings was need to help clarify data and claims concerning the existence of the forms among females and males of different ages, ethnic and racial backgrounds. No previous research has examined talk to determine the prevalence and function of all nine WL features. Lakoff claims, nor has any previous research discussed, the prevalence of all of complementary and/or counterclaims. In order to establish where contexts created situations which evinced different kinds of talk and features, the author compiled nine more features which could be examined in relation to Lakoff's initial nine. Some of these other features have been defined in previous research, such as support interruption which can be defined as simultaneous talk during which Speaker 2 overlaps the speech of Speak 1 at least a syllable before or after Speaker 1 can be expected to complete a speech event (West & Zimmerman 1975). However, instead of attempting to take the floor from Speaker 1, the interrupter is expressing agreement and support for what Speaker 1 is stating. An example would be:

GF 4: **was he born here** **well that happens**

GF 5: **no he wasn't but I don't know why**

Notice that the two females interrupt each other for support and to help the conversation along (interruptions are marked by brackets). Another feature, called 'backchannel' (Yngve 1970), is also a kind of support interruption. However, although this feature has been mentioned as containing linguistic items such as 'yes' and 'uhhuh,' it has not been analyzed in its different components, lexical and non-lexical, in great detail previously, so the present author separated these various forms of support interruption into three categories – 'yes, yeah'; 'ok/right'; and non-lexical expressions ('mmm/uhhuh'). The purpose of this analysis was to determine if women use any (or all) of them more frequently than men. Furthermore, the use of 'ok/right' as a signal that the speaker wishes to take the floor rather than support or agree with the current speaker was excluded from the tabulations. The appearances of 'ok/right' were deemed non-supportive on the basis of their context in the conversation (an example appears in Ch. VII). Additionally, the author included the category of questions, or definite requests for information, clarification, and confirmation (Feed 1994), as a contrast to Lakoff's tag questions and question intonation in declaratives, in order to assess if women and men do differ in the frequency and function of these phonetic contours. The category of slang, or vernacular speech and perhaps obscenities, was introduced as a similar contrasting feature to Lakoff's hypercorrect and superpolite WL features. (Holmes 1995; Jay 1992) It was included to assess if men in fact do generate more of these speech tokens more often that do females. Humor was likewise included to determine where and how women employ humor in conversation, and if their use of humor resembled or differed from males, both in frequency and function. The category encompassed joke telling, puns, repartee and narratives, and sarcasm and self-deprecation, and was included to determine whether

previous studies of women's humor (Mitchell 1985; Coates 1996) could be supported. Finally, based on Lakoff's assertion that men are more direct and powerful in their speech as well as subsequent research (Zimmerman & West 1975; Brown 1978; Coates *et. al.* 1998, among others – see Ch. II); the taped conversations were examined to assess who either interrupted to challenge the current speaker or to take the floor, or who changed (or attempted to change) the topic and how frequently. These challenges to ongoing speaker were classified by the present recorder as 'but interruptions' and 'new topic.' The tabulated totals for all groups and items appear in Table II.

The four cohorts taped were selected to provide data in a variety of actual conversations in a number of situations, as Goodwin asserted are the best means to collect and examine conversation. Speakers were grouped in same-sex and mixed-sex settings, including one member of one sex and a number of others of the other sex to mixed numbers, equal as well as not. The groups included pairs of speakers to groups ranging in size from three to eight members. Pairs and groups also involved speakers of different ages and ethnic backgrounds, as well as homogeneously monolingual and bilingual speakers. Same-sex speakers were used to determine if each gender did in fact use different features in different degrees, and mixed groups were used to determine whether males and females altered the frequency and functions of their features when conversing in these settings, or whether they continued to use the features in the same ways as they did among same-sex speakers. Furthermore, within each of the four cohorts age and ethnicity of speakers were varied as much as possible to examine whether these variables affected the number and types of features used. Speakers of white, middle-class backgrounds, aged 17-25, were also included since these were the predominant subjects

of previous research, as well as female speakers who resembled Lakoff herself, to assess in Lakoff's intuitions were in fact bound to her own background and not generalizable. Since Goodwin (1990) established a strong model for assessing speech between male and female speakers, small groups of speakers engaged in conversation over a period of time, the present research attempted to replicate her work, with the innovation of examining adult speakers. If Goodwin's assertion that talk is a "situated activity" (1998:8) is accurate, then having adults engaged in such activity should produce similar results as did her work with children. All of Lakoff's nine features of WL were used to determine whether they in fact comprise 'women's speech' in a variety of actual conversations over a period of time. Groups were taped over a period of time as much as possible to replicate Goodwin's data collection; groups 3 and 4, teachers involved in class preparation and disk jockeys were recorded only once due to the situations under which they were taped – on-the-air fundraising and after school planning sessions for the work they prepared for their students to do.

The four groups and their taped conversations will be discussed in detail now. Group 1 consisted of 70 students, 49 females and 21 males, in two graduate courses taught by the present author. These students, all of whom were teaching or planning to teach ESL students as well as native-born speakers, were enrolled in a course dealing with the phonology and structure of the English language, which is required for certification or a masters in bilingual or ESL education. They were asked to discuss problems with their students (or themselves, if they too were ESL speakers) were having or might encounter in the phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics or pragmatics of American English. The students formed units of 5-7 speakers to discuss subjects such as

'th' pronunciation, 'ch/sh' variations, b/v for Spanish speakers of English, pronoun usage, syntax (especially adj/non combinations and subject/verb consistency), and other problems students demonstrated. (See Appendix A) Each week for approximately eight weeks these teachers would tape their conversations as they tackled these issues, and each taping lasted 30-45 minutes. Transcripts were made of these tapings, and the present author counted the appearance of each of the nine features of WL as proposed by Lakoff as well as the nine additional features that arose in the wake of Lakoff's assertions to determine whether females and males did differ in the frequency and functions of these forms. As stated above, Lakoff did not consistently draw upon actual conversations in illustrating her features; however, she did contend that these features were a part of women's talk. Therefore, by having a number (49) of females ranging from native- to non-native speakers of English, aged 24-55, it was determined that these speakers provided a fairly broad and previously untapped research cohort to test Lakoff and her critics' contentions. Similarly, since Goodwin had used tapings over a period of time, these multi-taping sessions were used to examine if features did indeed appear over a course of months. Students were situated in units separated from each other and from me, so this would encourage free discussion unfettered either by a "laboratory setting" (as much of the previous research had been conducted) or by the possibility of the "observer's paradox." Furthermore, students were told that they were being taped as a part of an ongoing study of 'regional dialects' continuing Kurath's (1939) study of the dialects so the eastern United States. They were encouraged to keep the discussion as informal and conversational as much as possible, thereby obviating the problem of the student's anticipating the true nature of the research. They also appeared, both during the

tapings and afterwards when they were asked about their perceptions of the tapings (see Appendix B), to have maintained a relatively relaxed conversational manner. They are teachers used to discussing matter with other professionals, so the tapings were acquired in a natural setting.

Group 2 consisted of 62 undergraduate students, 40 females and 22 males, enrolled in four freshman composition classes at two proprietary two-year colleges in the New York metropolitan area, with two sections attending day classes and two attending evening classes. All students at both colleges were enrolled in courses leading to "occupational degrees," all in business fields; none was an English major. The compositions of these classes diverged greatly: the day students ranged in ages from 18-40, with only 2 of 42) being 28. Most were 18, and only 4 of the 42 (all female) had children, 2 whites, 1 black and 1 Hispanic. Therefore, this number most closely resembled the majority of the previously used research cohorts. The 20 evening students ranged in age from 18 to 55, and spanned native speakers, both African-American and white, Caribbean, European, African and Asian students. Therefore, this number provided, as did Group 1, new subjects for research of this kind. All 62 were engaged in similar activities: students were given an array of writing assignments focusing on various essay structures (narrative/process, descriptive, definition/classification, comparison/contrast and persuasive). They were given their marked essays and asked to form units of 4 and 5 students to discuss the essays' strengths and problems. (See Appendix A.) They were told they were being taped so that the present author could hear how clearly they understood revision. They were separated from each other and from the present author and were encouraged not to worry about their own writing but to help each

other and to focus on positive peer evaluations. Many of the students were taped five times over the course of a semester, each session lasting from 20 to 30 minutes, and some were taped in different courses with somewhat different configurations of students. (See Appendix A.) The students discussed two types of underlined 'errors': those which they had written and those 'gaps' where something had been omitted. Each of the students was encouraged to speak, and all did participate.

Group 3 consisted of 15 teachers, 13 female and 2 male, who work in a private elementary school for emotionally disturbed children in New Jersey. Since the school includes just 4 classes (grouped by age, from 5-12) and each class was taught by a head teacher and at least one assistant, the number of participants in this group is small. The four tapings, lasting from 30-45 minutes, included two or three teachers, as well as conversations with other school personnel who might 'pop in' during the instructional planning sessions. In addition, three teachers were taped by the author for a previous study (1993), and their three-hour conversation, which took place at the home of one of the three, was also assessed as part of the data collection. The school-based tapings also included two student teachers (1 female and 1 male) who were involved in the curriculum planning and implementation. Subjects' ages ranged from 22 to 48: all were white native speakers of American English (although some of them were bilingual in other languages). Since these sessions were a part of the teachers' schedule, they approached the tapings in a relaxed manner; most had been teaching together for many months or years, so their conversation had a natural aspect, not a 'laboratory' feel. Additionally, three were taped at home during a holiday visit, so their conversation was very natural. They too were informed that their tapes were part of the 'American dialect' study being conducted by

the author.

Group 4 consisted of disc jockeys on a free-form FM station located in East Orange, NJ; there were 5 females and 10 males in the cohort. They were selected because during the annual fund-raising drive, disc jockeys pair up on the air to help garner donations. Since they were speaking live on-air, and often ad-lib, they did not follow any directions other than those promulgated by the FCC. The fact they were unaware of being taped afforded a rarely found opportunity to gather actual conversation among speakers who were involved in a normal and enjoyable part of their lives (they are unpaid volunteers). Dyads were taped in segments ranging from 30 to 90 minutes. Furthermore, not much research has been gathered on this type of conversation, and, while not continuing a large number of members, this group did provide a new and important cohort of research – especially since it was a non-commercial, listener-supported station.

These four groups were analyzed for the features displayed in Table II, and the next four chapters will discuss the findings and provide some explanation for them, as well as examining contexts which affected the data.

TABLE II: DATA TOTALS PER GROUP AND GENDER

	G1		G2		G3		G4	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
LAKOFF'S FORMS:								
1) FEMALE WORDS	7	0	0	0	188	0	2	0
2) EMPTY ADJS.	74	12	7	0	101	0	20	44
3A) QUES. INTON.	672	137	209	52	107	0	23	28
3B) TAGS	162	38	57	20	4	0	2	10
4) HEDGES	2593	812	428	192	889	2	123	113
5) 'SO'	62	2	12	0	31	1	6	17
6) H. COR. GRAM.	371	184	28	5	132	0	10	26
7) SUPERP FORMS	165	66	39	12	157	3	34	161
8) NO HUMOR	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9) 'ITALICS'	129	12	13	0	22	0	39	29
OTHER FORMS:								
1) SUPPORT INTER.	7564	2033	1596	887	818	8	101	227
2) BACKCHANNELS	2109	376	531	129	231	10	42	54
3) YES/YEAH	2591	546	559	286	40	2	65	67
4) OK/RIGHT	1622	594	401	173	261	6	60	45
5) QUESTIONS	2590	710	503	276	460	3	49	94
6) SLANG	118	81	57	50	108	1	43	81
7) HUMOR	1125	388	286	150	468	5	111	233
8) 'BUT' INTER	727	331	127	98	64	0	22	54
9) NEW TOPIC	141	105	9	16	24	0	0	9

Before discussion of the individual groups begins, some information on checking the features for reliability and validity is necessary. A Likert-type test was administered to approximately 25% of the speakers in the four groups (f=22, m=18). (See Appendices B.1., B.2.) Speakers were informed briefly of certain categories of features (humor, intensive 'so', interruptions both for support and to take the floor, backchannels, tag questions and actual questions). They then listened to portions of tapes they had participated in and portions of tapes from the other groups' conversations. They completed the Likert-type tests as they listened and shortly afterward, upon some reflection. The speakers were almost uniformly in agreement, marking 'agree' and 'strongly agree', or 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' virtually 100% of the responses. (Only one of the female teachers diverged from the rest; she appeared not to understand the test completely, for her answers contradicted themselves.

Furthermore, two 'naïve' subjects, one female and one male, also were solicited to listen to portions of tapes from all four groups, and they, too, were in agreement with my assignations and groupings of features found in Table II. The two subjects listened to the same tapes independently of each other, as did volunteers from the four groups. The only exceptions were four members of the graduate group, two male and two female, who had been together on a tape and listened to it together. (They, too, were in complete accord with the present author's judgements.) Another group, of undergraduates, two female and two male, also had recorded together, and they listened together, again with complete agreement with the author's impressions of their talk. Therefore, the present author believes that the counting represented in Table II appears not to suffer from 'male bias' or non-awareness of the contexts in which the conversations were recorded.

Additionally, the features that Lakoff described did not always include specific examples from other speakers' actual conversation in naturalistic settings; they were defined in terms of Lakoff's 'intuitions' about their reality. It was for future researchers to attempt to determine first what some of these features actually meant (e.g., speaking in italics; this feature Lakoff herself explained to the present researcher [1995: p.c.] as a fuller prosodic/phonological range appearing in women's speech). Moreover, researchers both hostile and favorable to Lakoff's contentions did proffer specific examples of what these features included and in what context (e.g., the use of interruptions by men and women were found to differ according to the gender of the speaker being interrupted and that of the interrupter). What the present researcher attempted was to isolate in actual speech the features that Lakoff and others identified as arguably belonging to 'women's language', and present operational definitions for these features, employing the research of others as well as that of Lakoff and Goodwin. As stated previously, the present researcher examined actual speech in adults over a period of time for all features that Lakoff had itemized; this had never been attempted before. Also included were an array of features that previous researchers had operationally defined as possible alternative categories to Lakoff's, as well as features identified by the present researcher as a check on features proffered by Lakoff but not specifically examined.

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTIONS:

A number of conventions were used to transcribe the data on the four groups. The following important conventions were followed:

CAPS = more loudly pronounced syllables

ne
Li spacings = indicates rising or falling intonation (Bolinger 1986)

= break in speech

=
= speech occurring without noticable pause

. ⎫
. ⎬ = ellipsis
. ⎭

⎡ = interruption or simultaneous speech

(x.y) = time in tenths of seconds

( )= inaudible speech

[ ]= researcher's comments

? = rising, question intonation

! = excitement (although CAPS usually do this)

Bolinger's (1986) intonation conventions were chosen to demonstrate the prosodic variety of the speakers' voices, especially the females, who consistently used more variation in their intonational patterns.

IV. GRADUATE STUDENTS

IV. 1. Description

The graduate students comprised the largest group in the present study (n=70) and also the largest amount of audiotaped conversations. This group includes older students, students who speak English as a second language, and students who are also teachers. They teach E.S.L. and bilingual courses to students grades K through college/adult education. They were taking a graduate course (entitled Phonology & Structure of American English) as part of a certification and/or a Masters program, and they were audiotaped over a semester's time. This group expands the scope of previous research studies in a number of ways. First, they ranged in age from early 20s through mid-60s, thus comprising a cohort much older than those of most previous studies (Freed & Greenwood 1996; Kim & Bresnahan 1996, among many others). Second, their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds provide a diversity not usually included in previous studies. Graduate students included Turkish, Italian, Persian, Polish, Russian, Spanish and Basque as well as English speakers. Furthermore, these students were teachers or student teachers, so they were much more verbal than other subjects, who often were undergraduates. Additionally, they believed that they were being taped as a study of changes in regional dialect since the work of Kurath (1937) as well as part of their course work in examining possible phonological, syntactic, intonational, semantic and lexical problems their students might encounter. Therefore, their conversational interaction revealed few of the problems a laboratory setting might introduce and thus mar the quality and naturalness of their talk. Finally, they were taped multiple times in the

complete continuum of group composition, from all-male to completely female configurations. and the group composition ranged from 4 to 7. (There were also a few instances of dyadic conversation when group members were absent from class.)Since they comprised the largest group, their figures for the various features were consequently the largest. (See Table II.) Therefore, statistical correlations were calculated only for this group. As can be seen from Table II, females used many more hedges, support interruptions, backchannels, yes/yeah expressions, OK/right expressions, questions, and humorous expressions. Although not in the same proportion, women also employed more question intonations in statements, hypercorrect and super-polite forms, and 'but' interruptions. This last feature was not a predicted one in the literature (Lakoff 1975; Zimmerman & West 1975; Fishman 1978, among others), so it will be examined and explained in this section. Finally, although the number of tokens is quite small (f=62, m=2), the almost exclusive use of 'so' among the females is worthy of examination and explanation as a potential 'female' feature, as Lakoff (1975) posited. Additionally, in two other groups (2 and 3), the distribution of 'so' (albeit small) again points to its almost exclusive use by females. The one anomaly in the data, for the DJs, also points up the importance of examining and explaining its appearance in the data.

TABLE II: DATA TOTALS PER GROUP AND GENDER

	G1		G2		G3		G4	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
LAKOFF'S FORMS:								
1) FEMALE WORDS	7	0	0	0	188	0	2	0
2) EMPTY ADJS.	74	12	7	0	101	0	20	44
3A) QUES. INTON.	672	137	209	52	107	0	23	28
3B) TAGS	162	38	57	20	4	0	2	10
4) HEDGES	2593	812	428	192	889	2	123	113
5) 'SO'	62	2	12	0	31	1	6	17
6) H. COR. GRAM.	371	184	28	5	132	0	10	26
7) SUPERP FORMS	165	66	39	12	157	3	34	161
8) NO HUMOR	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9) 'ITALICS'	129	12	13	0	22	0	39	29
OTHER FORMS:								
1) SUPPORT INTER.	7564	2033	1596	887	818	8	101	227
2) BACKCHANNELS	2109	376	531	129	231	10	42	54
3) YES/YEAH	2591	546	559	286	40	2	65	67
4) OK/RIGHT	1622	594	401	173	261	6	60	45
5) QUESTIONS	2590	710	503	276	460	3	49	94
6) SLANG	118	81	57	50	108	1	43	81
7) HUMOR	1125	388	286	150	468	5	111	233
8) 'BUT' INTER	727	331	127	98	64	0	22	54
9) NEW TOPIC	141	105	9	16	24	0	0	9

Chapter III explained the forms and functions of the features in Table II. This and the next three chapters will examine some of the relevant distributions of features in detail. However, as stated above, due to their size, the numbers in Group 1 have been examined for any statistical significance and correlation.

First, the graduate females (GF, n=49) were analyzed in two ways—by age and by ethnic difference (monolingual vs. bilingual)- for two features: intensive 'so' and non-lexical backchannels. To test whether possible age differences in use of these features existed, the GF were divided into three age groups:

a) Younger than 30 (n=19)

b) Ages 31-46 (N=17)

c) Older than 46 (n=13)

These age distinctions were made partly to have roughly equivalent numbers in the categories as well as for socio-historical factors: pre-'Baby Boomers'(c), 'Baby Boomers'(b), post-'Baby Boomers'(a). F tests revealed no significant differences were found between groups (a) and (b) and groups (a) and (c) of GFs in their use of backchannels. For ethnic background, monolingual English speakers vs. bilingual speakers were divided as follows:

a) monolingual speakers (N=70)

b) bilingual speakers (N=22)

For the backchannel features, no statistical differences were found between groups a, b and c in their use of backchannels. For the intensive 'so', the difference between the two groups was very non-significant. Therefore, it appears that GFs, regardless of age or

ethnic background, were employing these features to a significant degree in a variety of contexts.

Furthermore, using an F test to compare GF and graduate male (GM) use of backchannels and intensive 'so', the results suggested that GF and GM differed significantly in their use of backchannels at 95% probability. Additionally, the results suggested that GF and GM differed significantly in their use of 'so' at 99% probability. Therefore, these results provide validation to the claim that females and males differ in their uses of these features, regardless of age and ethnicity, and in a variety of contexts.

A correlation study was conducted on the GF. The total minutes of speaking time for each GF were tabulated, the average number of speakers in each group that every GF participated in were found, and these figures were tested with the following features to determine any correlations: question intonation, 'hedges, 'so', support interruptions, backchannels, yes/yeah, OK/right, questions and humor. The results are listed in Table III.

TABLE III: CORRELATION BETWEEN GF SPEAKER & FEATURE

FEATURE	AVERAGE TIME OF SPEAKING/CORRELATION #
Question intonation	.1507
Hedges	.3628*
'So'	-.0788
Support interruptions	.6177*
Backchannel	.4626*
Yes/Yeah	.4753*
OK/Right	.2392
Questions	.2847*
Humor	.3870*

(* = significant at 5% level. Any association > .28 is significant.)

The correlation study found significant results for all the women in a number of important features: hedges, support interruptions backchannels, yes/yeah, questions and humor. These are important in a number of ways. First, Lakoff had indicated that hedges would be a WL feature as a function of uncertainty. However, as the data will indicate, these hedges could not all be interpreted in this manner; in contrast, they appeared to indicate care and positive involvement in the conversation (Östman 1980; Holmes 1986). Additionally, the support interruptions demonstrate the collaborative nature of women's simultaneous talk (Coates 1996). The backchannel use supports Hirshman's small data

findings (1973). The use of yes and questions again points to the work women do in maintaining the conversation, and the high correlation between speaker and humor validates the findings of previous research (Jefferson 1984; Mitchell 1985; Crawford 1995). Finally, although the use of 'so' did not correlate, its occurrence among the GF was so small (n=62) that it would not correlate significantly over the large amount of time the GF were taped. However, since statistics are not a true picture of the dynamics of group interaction in real time, an examination of the distribution of 'so' as well as the other features will reveal some salience in its usage.

IV. 2. Support Interruptions

As the figures in Table I indicate, support interruptions were a significant part of the GF repertoire. As example 1 will demonstrate, the five women studying for a test will interrupt each other freely in order to help answer questions about the upcoming test:

(1)

GF 5: Whats the /ae/ together called
GF 4: The what - the /ae/ - what-yeah WHATS [that called =no the a
GF 3: [the schwa=
GF 4: and the e next to each other the /ae/ sound it has [a name
GF 5: [I know

The three females feel free to interrupt each other to work out the problem collaboratively. This is also what Goodwin would term an example of cooperating in a "goal activity" (1990). A little later in the same conversation they get involved in interruption that supports the study, a kind of choral talking (2):

(2)

GF 4: WAIT go over that WHAT did you say?
GF 5: like she BOUGHT the new [SUIT
GF 3: [its like a RHYTH m=
GF 4: oh YEAH he wanted the ac cent=
GF 5: =she BOUGHT [the new SUIT for the in terview
GF 3: [the new suit for the interview
GF 4: [INterview so
that's THREE STRESS es=

GF 5: =yeah=
BOY OUT MON
GF 3: =like the will be next day=

GF 8: =we're gonna have to use one kind of ( )
BOY OUT
GF 4: the will be
MON
next day

GF 8: Its like=
IT
GF 7: =yah can ()
SPEAK
GF 4: yeah I guess its the way you
TO
os=

GF 8: =yeah=

RING BELL
GF 7: =yeah you will the

GF 5: my husband does that BACK
back
ward like he'll say it ward he'll stress the wrong
GF 4: the wrong

for
word hehheh is he-is he a eigner or is- was he born
GF 5: yeah

GF 4: here

GF 5: no he wasn't but I don't know why

GF 4: well that happens

There is a lot of interaction going on in this example. When GF 4 asks for clarification of an intonation example, GF 5 gives it, and GF 3 interrupts to assist ('Its like a RHYTHm'). Their efforts work, then the two repeat another example, during which GF 4 interrupts to repeat and reinforce her *knowledge* of it. GF 8 and GF 7, who are the ESL bilinguals in the group, begin to review, and they are interrupted by GF 4, but no one feels insulted. (They were asked about this specific exchange later.) Then GF 3 interrupts

to talk about her husband's problem with the pronunciation of statements, to which GF 4 responds with a clarifying question, and a support interrupt as a helpful explanation. This passage shows the cooperative working of the female group, with all freely participating. Interruptions are accepted without complaint or attempts to retake the floor, and even a personal digression is introduced into the study. Significantly, the all-female group contains one English monolingual (GF 3) in her mid-20s, two fluent bilinguals (GF 4 and 5) mid-40s and mid-20s, respectively, and two ESL bilinguals (GF 7 and 8) mid-30s. They all contribute to the conversation, and no one feels out of place or afraid to share. This suggests that females with age and ethnic differences will nonetheless contribute to the ongoing talk, especially since the context (preparation for a test) is important to these teachers who are also students. Notice also that the example contains examples of support 'yeah,' questions, and hedges ('like.' 'I guess,' well). These hedges are not merely signs of uncertainty so much as efforts to work toward an understanding of the matters at hand and to contribute to the task at hand.

Another example of cooperative interruption, this time in a mixed-sex group, can be found in 3, where they are discussing students' problems as preparation for a class presentation:

(3)
GM 8: OKAY:
[laughter]

LEV enth?
GF 29: April e

GF 32: April [eLEVenth- yeah
GF 30: [april- [yes
GF 29: We need to disCUSS what [we're [doing for our class-
GM 8: [OK there's something written for

the class-UHM- what is-I have- these are

problems I have with my kids [the 'd' n- the Be
GF 30: [ahah

GM 8: n =and the 've' that's the first the second thing
GF 32: and the 've'=

GM 8: is-ah- 'es' instead of saying 'snake' they go 'esnake'

[They tend to say [the 'es' sound in Spanish into [English
GF 29: [I have that- [I have that problem [alright

GF 32: what about the 'see aitch' in Spanish

GM 8: the 'see aitch' sound-ah I haven't seen
GF 30: [my first [graders I-
GF 29: [Yeah I have to say
my younger kids will do that a lot they have that with

'chare'['share'] and sometimes they'll say CHELF['shelf']

GF 32: Uhhmm [I had-
GM 8: [CHELF yeah chelf yeah that's true

This passage reveals a number of support interruptions between the male speaker and the female (GF 29:'I have that'),who interrupts to acknowledge the truth of the male's comments, but she doesn't attempt to gain the floor. Additionally, support interruptions are also demonstrated among the three females at the start of the taping when they are establishing the right date. Interestingly, when GM 8 interrupts GF 32 in supporting GF 29's mention of the 'ch' pronunciation, she cedes the floor to him. GM 8 wanted to add

his 'own two cents' to the talk, and did not think twice about interrupting both GF 32 (who spoke in support of GF 29) and GF 29. This apparently supports previous research that found a preponderance of males' taking the floor from females (Zimmerman & West 1975; Fishman 1978; West & Garcia 1988). The women did not appear to desire to wrest the floor from either each other or the male. They wanted to show their interest in and support of each other's talk about students' ESL pronunciation problems, but not to take over the talk themselves. Also included in this interchange are female supportive 'yeahs', backchannel (GF 30: 'ahhah') and 'right' (GF 29: 'alright').

Example 4 is taken from another mixed-sex group, and they are in the midst of discussing problems their students have with the language, from which will come the material for their in-class presentation. The problem at hand is 'mines' for 'mine':

(4)

GM 6: Is that an ESL problem [or [or is that a
GF: 23: I have that [problem today with
one of my kids

GM 6: problem influenced by=
GF 22: =Black English

GM 6: Is that an ESL problem or a Black English problem thats what I asked one of the English teachers today

GF 20: I [dont know
GF 22: [I dont know
GM 6: about 'mines' 'mines' versus 'mine'-I said is that a
GF 21: mhmm

GM 6: STANdard little kid problem

GF 20: MUM
GF 22: I think its a STANdard

little kids problem 'cause I've heard little white
GM 6: a[Black English problem [or a [or an ESL pro-

GF 22: kids say ITS MINES I've heard little kids running in
TOYS 'R' US little white kids-
GM 6: [I think thats [I think thats=

GF 22: =but when do

they outGROW the problem

The topic GM 6 introduces stirs a lot of interest, as GF 23 mentions she had that happen that very day, and GF 22 finishes his sentence ('Black English'). When he repeats the problem, GF 20 interrupts to add her uncertainty, as does GF 22 , who interrupts GF 20. When GM 6 mentions the possibility of the problem being developmental, GF 22 interrupts and speaks simultaneously with GM 6 in providing anecdotal evidence. And when GM 6 attempts to speak again, GF 22 interrupts with a question ('but when do they outGROW the problem'). This passage again displays female backchannels.

It also demonstrates that females certainly don't demur when it comes to interrupting males, and it also suggests that GM 6 was unsuccessfully attempting to regain the floor after introducing the topic of 'mines'.

The next, all-male example of support interruption also contains some features, such as aggressive interruptions and competitive sarcasm, that will be discussed later. The tape begins with the group realizing that they all hadn't done the phonetic exercises for the class, so they banter and move to side discussions for a while (example 5):

(5)

GM 21: SO it looks like I'm the only one who DID it alrightheh
[laughter] [laughter]

GM 19: although i did it inFORMally heheh

GM 17: I did it in school but I left it- I DID I clean
GM 20: SURE heh
GM 17: forgot about it

GM 21: From what I understood we were supposed to take THESE words from the top two rows and have them
GM 19: KEY words have THEM as

GM 21: category HEADS and- match these other WORDS so
GM 20: yes
GM 19: mhmm

GM 21: so, it sounds easy enough

GM 20: he shudda done this with CURSE words I think (hheh)
it wudda been a LOT more interesting=

GM 17: =Yea we use them DIFferently
GM 19: higher frequency higher frequency words

GM 17: yes higher frequency usage acc-
GM 21: ALright if we start with 'bat' and
we-
DEA WORD=
GM 19: that was the i that we find a
GM 20: =yeah

GM 17: Thats why in the suburbs where I grew up Italian
Americans- stere are Italian Americans where I grew
GM 20: yeh
'DIS'
GM 17: up who sound like and you're like
GM 20: YEAH
GM 18: uhm
POS
GM 17: HOW could you sibly SOUND like that what- but its
[laughter]
because thats the way their parents and thats the way-
they're originally from BROOKlyn and so
GM 20: HM
GM 21: right

GM 17: it kind no- its not that its just of
TOID [laughs]
GM 19: TOIdy

GM 17: a Harsher rough sound where I grew up
GM 20: yea rou-
GM 21: yea so-sound sure
GANG
GM 17: that's kind- what are you PLAYing ster here
GM 21: see that

GM 17: that was the SOUND

GM 21 tries to jokingly assume a 'teacherly' mien when he discovers that he was the only one who completed the work. Another claims he did it informally, and a third claims to

have forgotten it. At that point another who hadn't done the exercise interrupts sarcastically ('SURE'). GM 21 (who assumed an unofficial 'parliamentarian' role in getting the group back to task, and who also provided many backchannels throughout) reviews the procedure. Another male interrupts to help clarify the work. GM 20 next criticizes the assignment ('He shudda done this with CURSE words') to which GM 17 and GM 19 respond and interrupt banteringly. GM 21 interrupts to get the talk back to task, then GM 19 (who had done it 'informally') interrupts with a clarifying question, and GM 20 interrupts with the answer. This passage suggests that the male conversation will be marked with a high degree of 'joshing and jostling' to get the floor.

The off-task conversation revolves around certain accents that suburban speakers will 'inherit' from their Brooklyn-bred parents. As GM 17 relates the pronunciation ('DIS'), GM 19 attempts to offer another humorous feature of this accent ('TOIdy TOID'), which is not what GM 17 had intended. As he attempts to explain himself. GM 20 and GM 21 chime in and offer supportive interruption ('rou-', 'so-sound'). This exchange offers examples of support interruptions as well as sarcastic disruptions. Also in this exchange are backchannels, 'yes/yeah' and 'right' support.

One further example of support interruptions from a male perspective is 6, where a quite intricate series of interactive interruptions and simultaneous talk occur, again with a humorous frame of reference:

(6)

GM 20: uhm- theres a particular Irish accent which is very strong-
uhm it probably doesn't exist anymore but Ive heard it-um
fer
for example, theyll use ah-ah when re ring to YOU plural
theyll say ['youse'
GM 18: ['youse'
GM 19: oh well thats-
GM 17: OH well THATS that[s New JERsey
GM 21: [where
I was growing up it when he was sayin
isnt

GM 17: OH NO thats New Jersey it even in
the suburbs

GM 19: sure
GM 21: right

GM 17: 'youse guys' [oh YEAH
GM 18: yeah I've heard that 'youse[guys'
GM 21: Its not just- its New JE:Rsey=
GM 17: Its all the way =DATS all the way to Westfield
where I grew up-I mean-its FAR into the suburbs

GM 21: yeah
GM 20: UMM?
GM 19: Its our version of 'y[all'
GM 21: [right
GM 17: and people laugh at US
GM 21: yeah you cant help it ah-y'know it slips out now and[then
GM 17: [It DOES
slip out yeah

The comment that GM 20 makes about hearing an accent 'that probably doesn't exist' (which is a funny piece of folk linguistics, considering that he heard it!) and introduces the plural 'youse' raises immediate response from all of the others, and they freely interrupt and support each other in attempting to 'locate' the geographical boundaries of the expression. There is a lot of self-disclosure going on ('yeah Ive heard that,' 'and people laugh at US,' 'y'know it slips out now and then'), and all find the topic quite

interesting. Again, there are also tokens of backchannels, 'yeah' and 'right' support. This interchange resembles the vast majority of female conversations but not many other male exchanges in its sustained sharing of floor in collaborative explanation. Interestingly, it referred to the speakers and not to their task or to students' problems with learning English, so it does not actually develop the way female interaction does. Therefore, the conversation creates the identities of male self-involvement and distancing (Bird 1996) as opposed to a collaborative discussion. Goodwin's (1990) model of group talk as creating identity certainly appears valid when applied to the present adult groups.

IV. 3. Backchannels

The data in Table II indicate the large number of female and male uses of backchannels and also the significantly larger number of them among the females, even after accounting for the fact that men were outnumbered by the females more than two-to-one (49 to 21). This certainly appears to demonstrate what could be called a gender difference in language use, and one that is even more pronounced then the difference in support interruptions, which appear to be almost twice as frequent among females (after factoring in the larger female n in the group).

Example 3 above contains two backchannels by females: one to a male (by GF 30), the other to another female (GF 32). The fourth example has two more examples of female backchannels GF 20 and 21). 82 Example 5 above contains three backchannels, each by a different male (GM 18, 19 and 20), and example 6 again has GM 20 providing a backchannel. (This latter one is a sign of surprise at the wealth of information he has just received concerning his comment about 'youse'.) Many other examples can be found in the data.

Example 7 provides a few examples of female backchannels for other females. These all occurred within a few minutes of the passage cited in example 4, and they involved different females discussing writing problems:

(7)

GF 21: Its really noticeable in their WRITing
GF 22: MMHMM
.
.
.
GF 20: They have to make the recognition it has to come from them
GF 23: AHHA
.
.
.
GF 20: Or you ask which of these two way sounds the best
GF 21: mmhm

It should be noted that GF 21 continued to speak after GF 22's backchannel, and GF 20 also spoke beyond GF 21's backchannel, but because of space constraints and to show the symmetry of backchannel responses, their comments were omitted.

The next extract (8) occurs during an explanation GM 8 about the use of Spanish in his class, and it demonstrates the responses the females tended to use throughout the data:

(8)

GM 8: When the kids want to be part of a little group/ they
speak SPANish
GF 29: mmhm
GF 32: mmhm

GM 8: I have eight kids in my class they understand Spanish but
they dont speak it OK? 'cause I have bilingual
GF 29: ahoh
GF 32: oh
GM 8: REGular
GF 29: mmhm
GF 32: mm

These backchannels serve to show the speaker that the listeners are attending to the talk and that he can continue, as well as their reactions to his information.

Example 9 contains some shorter and longer exchanges from a discussion concerning the final in-class presentation they will make:

(9)

GF 26: I think- you know he just you know REAl ly needs a lot of communicative activities= thats the PROBlem
GF 27: =MMHM
GF 25: yeah

GF 27: So maybe when you take this HOME just LOOK
GM 7: yeah all
GF 27: at it CAREfully and I mean-ya-ya- even if we PICK a
GF 26: mmhmm
KAY:
GF 27: different person it will be O but

GF 25: 'cause its hard to do the FRENCH woman your-your nanny now because
GF 27: JUST she's so- good- that its she's SO good the French and the Polish ones other than-like- working on small pronunciation problems
GF 24: yeah but-
GM 7: but I would like even-
GF 27: to you know YOU were talking about the what are Russians than they-they couldn't get their PROsody

GF 27: RIGHT I would like to examine THAT as a problem
YES AHHH OK
GF 26: igh OH r t

GM 7: WORK or examine HOW to on that
GF 27: OOOH 'cause you know I have a whole TAPE of Russians speaking I didnt even=
GM 7: =BUT I dont know

The females are quite supportive of the lone male speaker, and offer 'yea' and 'right' support. Interestingly, when he starts to say what he is interested in, the others pause, and the most assertive of the group (GF 27) encourages with a 'what are' phrase before he begins speaking again, at which point she stops; she and another female provide a backchannel and supportive words as he completes what he has to say. Finally, GF 27 interrupts his speculation with a supportive backchannel followed by a helpful comment ('I have a whole TAPE of Russians speaking'). There are also two uses of 'so', about which more will be discussed below.

One final example of backchannels (10) will include one male and two females uses:

(10)

GM 3: ah-I think you brought up a very good point with this here-well lets go back and finish up regular and verbs?
irregular
HMM

GF 1: MM

.

.

GM 1: But I dont know of any other way to teach irregular verbs in s-to make 'em MEMorize it re peat it o ver and course
ver-of in different CONtexts just to make 'em

GF 1: mmm

GM 1: memorize it almost rote learning

GM 3: mmhm

This group had three males and two females, and all were verbal and unafraid to offer collaboration as well as criticism. This group showed its interest in long interchanges, and they often punctuated their listening with comments.

IV. 4. Yes/Yeah

Yes/yeah have been associated with backchannels (Yngve 1970; Schegloff 1982; White 1989). However, to get a sense of what the expressions could mean, this writer separated them into their own category for statistical purposes. As Table II indicates, these were used by both sexes more often than the non-lexical backchannels which comprise that category, so their usage proved significant and significantly different according to gender. This term appears to be gender-specific in its distribution.

As will be reiterated in Chapter VII, 'yes/yeah' can serve a number of functions: 1) as an answer to a tag or other interrogative; 2) as a support interrupt or backchannel; 3) as a transitional device; 4) as a polite, face-saving statement of doubt about the speaker's assertion or comment, used with rising tone on the word or some increase in pitch. The difference among functions 2, 3, and 4 can most readily be understood in the context of the varieties of conversations used in this research (as well as in others). As stated above in the discussion of support interruptions, 'yes/yeah' can function as a support, not as an effort to take the conversational floor. Furthermore, 'yes/yeah' can be used by a speaker who wishes to take the floor and/or to change the subject, and the resulting success (or failure) of the "yesor's" speaking can support the claim for the presence of this functional distinction. Additionally, as will be seen later in this dissertation (especially in Ch. VII), 'yes/yeah' can serve to express the speaker's doubt about the veracity of the other's talk, or serve to demonstrate a polite disagreement with the comments of another.

Because the use of 'yes' as an answer does not serve the purposes of the present study, it will not be addressed. The vast majority of the uses of 'yes/yeah' serve function

two, but other functions for the term can be found in the present data. (The function of 'yes' as a tag will not be addressed in the present study, chiefly because it did not appear as one in the data: 'It is OK, yes?')

An interesting series of affirmative 'yeses' occur during a discussion of the multiple uses of 'left' (example 11):

(11)

GF 10: We came up with seventeen uses of the word 'left' ...

GM 4: left OUT
GF 10: yeah

GF 10: But you can say I FELT left out
GF 11: yeah

OR

GM 4: You can use left o ver
GF 10: left OVER yeah

GF 11: You have left field in a baseball diamond and when

with

theyre not quite it we say theyre in left FIELD

GF 10: yeah that's a whole different MEANing=
GF 14: =and left at the ALtar

GF 10: YEAH

GF 13: There are only three LEFT
EA RIGHT
GF 10: ye thats

In this exchange the woman who introduced the topic (GF 10) serves as the 'official assentor' by affirming each variation (such as her initial 'yeah in (11) Also, GF11 chimes in with a supportive yeah to GF 10's statement about the expression 'left out'. Additionally, her last comment also includes the supportive 'right' (as opposed to the

transitional 'right') because they all continue on the topic of the range of figurative/idiomatic meanings for 'left' plus other lexical items.

'Yes' can also signal an opportunity for a transition, as the following passage from the group in example 11 attests (example 12):

(12)

GF 14: multiple meanings too
GF 11: RIGHT right

GF 10: Even THIS that-where you can use a VERB in so many ways must be very confusing if youre learning the language. It must be VERy confusing to new learners-new language learners

GF 13: Yes because I guess-you know when they see the -ing end-ight?

ing they think is porGRESSive form, ri and is not

GF 9: MMM
GF 13: ADjective

GF 13 takes GF 10's comments about multiple uses for words such as verbs as a starting point for her own turn on the topic. Her 'yes' both affirms the other woman's comments while allowing her to add her own. (GF 13's use of a tag at the end of her support interruption seems to serve as a way to elicit support and agreement from the others, not to interrupt and ignore the talk of GF 10.) This also appears to support what many authors, Crawford (1995) and Goodwin (1990) included, have commented what appears to be a feature of female conversations. Females tend to share a topic by commenting on it and offering non-aggressive interruptions. (Notice also GF13's hesitations during her interruptions, as if not wishing to dominate the other speaker but to gently suggest

support.) An example of 'yes' as a transitional device as well as a polite way of disagreeing with another's comments can be seen in the following (13):

(13)

GF 13: an-the-the I know: SO many different words that they
GF 9: [use jus-you know -i guess is-is language BORrowing
GF 9: [mmHMM mmmHMM
GF 13: like AHTtic PEOple used to say AHTTICO an-I don't
GF 9: MM
GF 9: [ight?
GF 13: theres no SUCH a word ri
GF 9: [yeah yeah

GF 11: I remember learning
that one

GF 10: Is it-
GF 9: YEAH ah-yes that is yea- in Spanish also you use
AHTTICO yea you can also use 'CAMEROTE'- I
GF 13: OKAY then
GF 9: guess which would be the same

GF 9 uses 'yes/yeah' in a number of ways: as agreement(in response to GF 13's question, "There's no SUCH a word, right?"), as a transition for her explanation of 'attico' and in relation to GF 11's comments about learning the word('YEAH'), and as a gentle disagreement withGF 13's assertion, couched in hedges('ah-yes that is yea- in Spanish also you useAHTTICO yea'). What is even more interesting about this exchange is the fact that GF 13 and GF 9 are the only of the seven-person group who are ESL speakers.

They share a special knowledge of the language that the others do not (although the one male and GF 11 also speak Spanish). Furthermore, GF 9 can act as 'expert' because she was born in Spain and speaks Spanish as well as Basque. Her gentle response to GF 13, who is Colombian, is that much more significant. The collaborative style of her

discourse reveals much politeness as well as wisdom, and GF 13 appreciates her partner's participation and points. Also, GF 9's use of backchannels demonstrates her careful attention to GF 13's talk.

One specific example of a male-to-male disagreement occurs in example 5, where GM 17 is responding to GM 20's criticism of the assignment (example 14):

(14)

GM 20: He shudda done this with CURSE words I think (hehheh)
It wudda been a LOT more interesting=

GM 17: =Yea[we use them DIFferently yeah
GM 19: [higher frequency higher frequency words

His response may be a polite disagreement, and it could also be competitive, one-up-manship repartee in response to GM 20's joke. GM 17 is countering GM 20's assertion as well as initiating some humorous banter about the use of curse words in speech.

One other example (15) of 'yeah' as a negative face-saving device (Brown & Levinson 1987) can be found during a discussion of phonetic differences of 'dad' among the male same-sex group:

(15)

GM 21: whadda say [d æ d] or [d ɑ d]

GM 17: [d æ] definitely [d æ d]
GM 20: [d æ d]
GM 18: [d æ d]
GM 17: [d æ d] is- thatsthats more Jersey City Brooklyn Hud

GM 21: I
THINK i say like BOTH yaknow it jus depends on what
GM 18: [d æ d] yea
GM 21: comes out

GM 17: 'cause my MOTHer says [d æ d]
GM 21: mmm
GM 18: sounds like ( ) to me [d æ d]

GM 21: yea thats like midWEStern sounds like minneSODa=
GM 17: yea DAD is is OLD-
GM 17: =oh yeas DAD? NO I think its AH- I think its more Hudson County NO? you don't THINK so

a:h?
GM 21: ye

Here GM 21 expresses his disagreement with GM 17's assertion politely yet forcefully enough for GM 17 to understand and to respond to its intent ('NO? you don't THINK so?'). More examples of males' disagreement 'yes' will be shown in Chapter VII during the discussion of the DJs.

IV. 5. OK/Right

OK/right have been associated with backchannels and As with yes/yeah, it was deemed appropriate to separate these related terms from the body of non-lexical terms that comprise the category of backchannels. 'OK' and 'right' can serve a number of functions: 1) as a sign of recognition or agreement; 2) as a transitional device (with 'right' alternating with 'alright'); 3) as a tag question or rhetorical question. All three functions of these terms were found in the present data. As Table II indicates, males used the terms more often than they employed backchannels and 'yes' (and even more than humor and 'but' interruptions). Thus it appears that the terms might be gender-preferred by the males.

In example 9 above GF 27 responds with supportive OK when the one male (GM 7) finishes giving his preference for the presentation. In example 8 GM 8 uses OK as a tag/rhetorical question (perhaps also 'filler' as well) in explaining some of his students' behavior to the group he records with. And GM 8 employs OK as an opening transition to present the problems he found with his students. In example 12 GF 11 provides a repeated 'right' in emphatic agreement with GF 14's comment about words with multiple meanings, and GF 13 uses 'right' as a tag in both examples 12 ('I guess when they see the -ing they think its porGRESSsive, right?') and 13 ('There's no SUCH a word right?'). Interestingly, in line with the expectations established by a tag question, GF 13 gets responses from both queries—a backchannel and a 'yeah', both from another female ESL speaker (GF 9). The 'yeah' was actually a negative response couched in politeness, as explained in the previous section on 'yes/yeah'.

OK can be employed as a closure statement, and in that role it might be considered a transitional device signalling the possible end of the conversation. One such potential closing occurs in example 16:

(16)

[a long discussion of code-switching versus Spanglish has occurred]

GF 13: Thats code SWITCHing (1.5)
GF 10: OK

The conversation if fact does terminate shortly after this point, with the group identifying itself for me on the tape. Example 17 shows another use of 'right' as well as some 'oks' for the same supportive function:

(17)

GF 33: With my students the beginners who've just come since September-ah- I've GOTten them into writing sentences NOW and they're speaking but I'm having a difficult time having them understand when to use the article

GF 35: right

GF 33: I like A cold weather

GM 13: AHAH

GF 33: but the group of kids that IM teaching- the TURKish kids, 'v' is 'w' so it's 'v' for them 'wowels' instead of
GM 13: ok
GF 33: 'vowels' they say 'wowel' and the 'th' sound
GM 13: OK ok
GF 35: REALly
GF 33: I think would probably be aNOTHer universal
FM 13: MMHM
GF 35: YEAH
GF 33: sound that people have difficulty

GF 35 provides a 'right' after GF 33's rather long explanation of writing problems her students have; this is especially appropriate 'work' that the woman does (Fishman 1978) in this context. GM 13 provides three 'OKs' during GF 33's explanation (as well as two backchannels) in support and acknowledgment her comments. GF 35 also offers a support interrupt ('REALly') and a 'yeah'.

Another example of 'right' as a support backchannel can be found in the following example (18):

(18)

```
GM 17:a lot of people from Hudson County moved to the

      SUB urbs             so the people that to me sound
GM 20:        right
GM 21:             right

GM 17:like Hudson County are all there IRish people from
      Jersey City it was a HUGE Irish population apparently
GM 21:mmhm                              right       right
                                    up

GM 17:who moved to where I grew
GM 21:                              right
```

As mentioned earlier GM 21 assumed an unofficial leadership role, and his profusion of 'rights' in a brief time span attest to his supportive listener role; he also includes a backchannel. GM 20 also offers a supportive 'right'.

IV. 6. Humor

The issue of women's and men's humor has particular importance in the present study, as Lakoff (1975) listed 'no humor' as a WL feature. While that statement appears too sweeping and simply untrue, Lakoff included it as an example of the denigration of women by powerful men as well as part of women's politeness strategies (1975: 81-82). As Lakoff puts it

> There is a whole genre of antiwomen jokes, based on sexual stereotypes as antiethnic jokes were (and are) based on ethnic stereotypes ... There are to my knowledge no parallel jokes based on stereotypes of males in general. Even female comediennes [sic] don't tell such jokes, probably because men make up the jokes, or at least men seem to establish what constitutes acceptable topics for joking about.... women are not expected, by men or by themselves, to be among the possible people to participate in the bonding induced by joke telling (81, 82).

Obviously, this passage has certainly become dated by the ensuing events of feminist inroads against sexism and studies of female humor in its own right and in contrast to male humor (Mitchell 1985; Mintz 1988; Mulkay 1988; Goodwin 1990; Johnstone 1993; Crawford 1995; Coates 1996; Jorgensen 1996, among many others).

However, the importance of humor as gender-specific, and in its different functions in discourse, is important to examine, so Lakoff's provocative generality can be examined for its truth in actual interchanges and conversation. Indeed, the present study found that not only do women have a sense of humor, their use of it exceeded the males' and differed from it in some interesting ways.

The stereotype of male humor being aggressive and competitive and female humor being self-denigrating and collaborative did appear in other unexpected differences in humor did reveal themselves in the present data, as well as in the humor of the other groups (which will be examined and discussed in Chapters V, VI and VII).

IV. 6a. Male Humor

A primary example of male humor serving aggressive, competitive ends can be found in example 5 above. At first, when it becomes apparent that all did not complete the assigned phonetic work, one (GM 17) offers an excuse:

(19)

GM 17: I did it in school but I[left it- I DID
GM 20: [SURE heh

GM 20's response (SURE heh) can be understood in two ways through the context of the conversation: 1)his loud emphasis of the word 'sure' and b)GM 17's loud retort ('I DID'), produced simultaneously with GM 20's chuckle (and immediately after GM 20's 'SURE'). Tellingly, the male offering the mocking retort did not do the work. Additionally, GM 17, when describing some speakers use of 'dis' for 'this', he mocks their usage:

GM 17: up who sound like DIS and you're like HOW could you
POS
sibly SOUND like that [laughter]

GM 17 is sarcastically (and condescendingly) asking how anyone could use 'dis' and 'dat', but also laughing (sensibly) at his own use of it. Others, too join in the enjoyment of the bashing of a social stereotype. A bit later in the conversation the males discuss the Brooklyn/Jersey City plural 'youse', and in the discussion GN 17 again refers to mockery the form evokes, this time directed at him by people from outside the region:

```
GM 19: :     Its our version of 'y'all'
GM 21:                            right
GM 17:       and people laugh at US
```

GM 17 sarcastically says that, ironically, the people using 'y'all' should not laugh at those using 'youse' because both usages are tied to regional and socio-economic classes. GM 17 appears also be judging the use of 'y'all' as socially inferior to 'youse' in complaining that people find 'youse' risible, and so he would presumably laugh at uses of 'y'all'. The sarcasm is underscored by the fact that no one in the conversation did laugh at GM 17's comment, so the humor was not meant to include all of those in the group, but rather to exclude any levity and good-hearted laughter. This appears to be what researchers have claimed to be a part of the aggressive aspect of male humor (which is what Lakoff [1975] suggested when she claimed that women do not have a sense of humor: men employ humor to denigrate others, especially women, and to reflect the competitive edge to male relationships).

Example 20 provides another example of humor that appears to mock others' use of certain expressions that did not get on tape:

```
(20)
GM 20:just go to nouns
GM 21:                right heheh
GM 17:OK its recording now [laughter]

GM 20:YEAH its
GM 18:      now rePEAT  what we alREADy said [laughter]
```

Through his asking the others to repeat what they had said before the tape got rolling (both in his interruption of GM 20 and the louder contour of his 'rePEAT' and

'alREADy'),GM 18 appears to be 'telling on' the others, mocking them gently. This competitive, "I'm tellin'!" type of humor again seems to be part of the male banter (more of which will be seen in Ch. V with male undergraduates' speech and humor).

A bit more humor at others' expense takes place in this continuation of the excerpt in example 21:

(21)

```
GM 21:To MY ears you don't sound like you have a real Brooklyn
      ACcent           you don't sound like you have a REAL
GM 18:       me neither

8GM 21:      jersey CIty Accent

GM  19:      But acCENT doesn't really CHANGE after ah-ah-(1.5)
                        oes it?                    CON
      adoles cence d           unless its sub   siouly
GM 17:       your-your accent  I think you've done what I've

      done it isn't that you've changed your accent you've just
     tried to sound a little EDucated heh      using better
                                                  AH?
GM 19:                                      ye

GM17: vocabulary and you don't use words like 'youse'
GM 21:                                                and 'erl'
      'ter lit             Archie Bunker terlit
                                  That

GM 17:           POple Actually SAY                  Do they SAY
   that actually?

                         says

GM 19:oh yeah-my aunt    it and will say it to this DAY

      'the TERlit's the terlits overflowing' [laughter]
```

This competitive 'can-you-top-this?' bantering occurs often in the humor of males (see Chapter VII on the male DJs). The underlying feeling appears to be that a certain dialect is laughable and not worthy of one's use, but that some people ignorantly use it (Archie Bunker, a male character, GM 19's aunt, a real 'character'— and female?).

One final example of a male's attempt at humor and topic control also contains some clear use of humor and repartee by females. This conversation involves two of the oldest females as well as a young monolingual female and an ESL male who has taken a bantering stance throughout the tapings. The long excerpt (22) includes some counterexamples to gender stereotypes:

(22)

GF 45: today is four?
GF 42: today is theaahh tweni FIFTH
GM 15: tweni fifth yeas=
GF 44: =tomorrow my son will be forti ONE

GF 42: oh WOW conGrat ulations (hahahah)
GF 45 MMMM
par

GM 15: Are we inBIted to the ty
giv

GF 44: I dont think hes ing a party (hehheh)
know?

GF 42: he probably doesnt want ti reMEMber it ya'
GM 15: (aha)
GF 42: once a man gets over forty they dont wanna remember it
[laughter]
GF 44: yeah fort ONE
WAY
GM 15: by di how old is the instructor hah how old
GF 45: I have an OLder son

GM 15: is the instructor
GF 42: who knows (hahah)

GF 44: PROLly about my SONS age wouldnt you say
GM 15: yeah fordi?

GF 42: in his forties well-y'know hes been
GF 44: Yeah I would say hes fortyish
GF 45: yeah

GF 42: TEACHing for a long time so I would think you know
GF 44: well hes not been
teaching a long time at that age i would say

inhis early forties thats CERtainly no OLder
GM 15: Yes

GF 45: hes YOUNG inTELligent (heheh) hes got a JOB just the opposite for what I am
GF 44: YOURE inTELligent and youre not going
GF 45: yeh but I havent a job and if you

GF 45: dont have a job-
GF 44: to get any YOUNger than you are now
GM 15: ahahahaHA hahah haha
GF 42: YOULL get a job-
GF 45: NO [toGF 44] you wont either SIR
GF 44: OK? NO
GF 44: youve got to hang on to every MINute
GM 15: NO one is getting younger
GF 45: BUT da-da MEN do get younger right?

GF 44: no SIR
GM 15: we get INteresting oh BOY (heheh)
GF 44: WE get exCITing [lots of laughter]
GF 42: SO ALRIGHT- so what were we disCUSSing

In this long and rich passage, GF 42 supports GF 45 by helping her with the date. GF 44 then offers a self-disclosure about her son's birthday, to which GF 42 responds with a backchannel, a compliment and laughter. GM 15 jokes about being invited to a party, and GF 44 responds with a doubtful hedge about it. Then GF 42 turns the stereotype of females' worrying about aging into a male concern: 'He probably doesnt want to remember. When a man gets over forty they dont wanna remember it'. This provokes laughter; interestingly, GF 42, in her mid-20s, is the youngest in the group.

Then, as a floor-taking turn, GM 15 asks the group how old they think this writer is, talking over GF 45's self-disclosure about her son. GF 42's "who knows?" comes across more like "who cares?" and makes her laugh. GF 44 pursues the question, to which the group addresses itself until GF 45 (the oldest [65] and a polyglot) contrasts the writer's state to her own 'diminished' one.

This provokes sympathetic responses from the other two females ('youre intelligent', 'youll get a job'). GF 45 assets that men seem to get younger with age, to which GM 15 agrees with 'we get interesting' (a self-promoting assertion), but GF 44 (also the oldest as 65) disagrees twice :'no sir' and the one-up of 'we get exCITing'. Even GM 15 cannot top that, as his 'oh BOY' and the others' laughter attest. Finally, the youngest group member attempts to get the group back on task (with 'so' and 'alright' being employed as transitional devices).

So, besides the role-reversals of GF 42's comments about men dreading aging and GF 44's retort that women get exciting with age, another interesting counter-to-stereotype exchange is GF 45's reaction to GF 44's sympathetic comment about her not getting any younger. She snaps, "NO you wont either," which is very unexpected from any female – especially an older European-bred woman. This excerpt truly adds new dimensions to the gender difference data in a cross-cultural perspective (Wierzbicka 1991; Kim & Bresnahan 1996).

IV. 6b. Female humor

If the stereotypical male humor is aggressive and competitive, then the stereotypical female humor can be characterized as self-denigrating and collaborative; however, as Goodwin (1990) found with her black children, females can joke more aggressively than the stereotype has made it seem. The present data confirm what Goodwin found among her subjects.

For the first example of female humor (23), the group consists of five females, four of whom are bilingual and three ESL speaker, and one bilingual male. The three ESL females are 32, 39 and 50, the female native speaker is 39, and the native-fluency bilingual is 25. The male bilingual is 32. This group spent a lot of their speaking time code-switching and speaking entirely in Spanish. It also generated the most laughter of any group in the present study.

In this example, the group is introducing itself, and there are two females visiting the class. The group jokes about the introductions, and they refer to events that have occurred in the class previously that have induced laughter before:

(23)

GF 18: OK visitor, VISitor: PLEASE introduce yourSELF [laughter]
NAMES
GF 15: [to guests] just SAY your

GUEST: Mary=
GF 18: =why are you here I want to know why (laughs)

GUEST: I want to audit to see what the class is doing
GF 19: Are we going to- ColLEEN orTEga
GF 15: Vanessa
GF 19: Junior [laughter]
GM 5: Orlando Angulo Junior [laughter]
GF 18: Nereida IBeCEta YOU know ME: [laughter}
GF 16: Maribel GarCIa
GF 17: Silvia GueVARa

The first speaker, GF 18, is the oldest in the group and has established herself as the unofficial 'leader' of the group. Although her accent is strong, she is never diffident about speaking, and she often had many specific examples of her children's problems learning English. So her introductory comments are to be taken both as a polite gesture to me in announcing the 'visitor' and a humorous inclusive comment to the two guests. GF 15, the youngest and most fluent bilingual in the group, also encourages the visitors to speak. When one announces herself, GF 18 again humorously interrupts to 'grill' them for the reasons they're visiting.

She knows perfectly well why they're there, having invited them herself. This mock interrogation includes them in the session, to which the group always participates with relish. The reference to 'junior' refers to the humorous nickname the writer gave GM 5. GF 19, the native speaker, goads GM 5 to introduce himself by the nickname he had been given; he joins in the joking by initially referring to himself by his formal name, then calling himself 'junior'. This friendly banter characterized most of the tapings this group participated in. Notice also the ease with which the females engage in the activity and include but not defer to the male group member. Also, the oldest speaker (GF 18) jokes aggressively yet engagingly with the others.

Another example of sharp-witted repartee among the speakers can be found in the following exchange (24). The group is discussing what they will present and who will be doing which parts:

(24)

GM 5: Vowels?
GF 19: vowel sounds
vowels

GM 5: you're gonna do the Ortega alright
ahm. [to GF 15] youll do vowels
EE?
GF 15: me the vowels?
GM 5: You DONT want to DO it?
GF 19: [to GF 15] you dont have a CHOICE
CE?
GF 15: I DONT have a CHOI

GF 15: like my kids have a problem with sounds 'sh' and 'ch'
GF 19: 'sh' and 'ch'?

GF 15: yeah the CH and SH- like CHEESE not HERE it's like
EERE?
CHEESE not HE [lots of laughter]

The first part of the example shows GF 19 kidding GF 15 that she doesn't have a choice in the presentation, to which she retorts 'I DONT have a CHOICE? This rapid exchange resembles the male] stereotype of sarcastic remarks to each other (see the examples above and Chapter VII for specifics). However, the sarcasm is meant to bond rather than alienate the two females (Jorgensen 1996).

The second part of the excerpt represents a topic recurring throughout this group's talk: humorous but not negative examples of ESL problems. The 'ch'/'sh' confusion evokes a lot of laughter and stimulates the group to continue talking and sharing humorous vignettes about second language errors and double entendres, as the next example (25) attests:

(25)

GF 19: That's why they say '-es' 'es'
GF 15: That's why they call us esSpics (heheh) That's where SPICS comes from [laughter]

GF 15: Ive had kids RUIN my name like CRAzy- Xcolona(heheh) SScolona= They dont hear the 'e'- and
GM 5: =just an 'es'?

GF 15: some kids will say, DONT call her XCOLONA (heheh) shes not X [laughter]

GF 18: What about 'Senior COHN'- MAHri cohn [laughter]
GF 15:: KING COHN [laughter]

GF 18: eng-eng and named Benito Flores de las buenas Puerto Rico [laughter] and he learned so fast (hheeheeh-and he went to apply for a job an when they asked him for his NAME he say 'Im WELcom FLOwer from the water of Puerto Rico HEE- HEEHEE [general laughter]

GF 15: Dr. CASAS is DOCTOR HOUSE [laughter]
GF 18: remember Flower (Heheh) now that we-now that we are saying ALL of this JOKE about-ah- las NAMES who wants to do las names we make a tape=
GF 15: =and we do some JOKES

This long exchange begins with the female who joshed with GF 15 (GF 19) continuing to talk about students' problems, which gives GF 15 an opportunity to joke about the original of the pejorative term 'spic'; however, it is neither presented angrily or mockingly, but rather as a humorous friendly aside. She then continues to joke about the ways her kindergartners 'ruin' her name, again without malice. This prompts the 'leader'(GF 18) to remind the group of a double entendre joke that had been previously told (by GM 5), and then to tell a joke about a n ESL student trying to find work. GF 15 is then reminded of another 'funny' name, and GF 18 exhorts the group to present a tape, to which GF 15 responds to avidly.

This rich passage demonstrates the group creating identity and cohesion through their ESL experiences. Rather than criticizing or mocking the second language learner's

attempts to cope with English (and bias), they joke and have fun with the errors and humorous ambiguities of the situation. The females feel free to participate, interrupt each other to sustain the humor, and use double entendres for humorous effect. In fact, the oldest female reintroduces the 'senior cohn' joke, and then talks about a Puerto Rican who exposes his ignorance. In another context with, say, a group of American male speakers, this exchange could be offensive; here, however, all appear to relish the incongruities of misunderstanding and miscommunication as the group collaboratively plays with language. (In fact, on another tape they discuss creating a book of these funny gaffes and language jokes.) This passage also shows that females don't shy away from humor that is risqué or provocative, and the older female joins in as avidly as the younger one. This certainly is a delightful counterexample to the 'women as humorless' stereotype, and more of these occur on other recordings.

So, what has been witnessed in this examination of male and female humor appears to support the research cited at the beginning of IV.6. that some very real gender differences seem to exist in the employment and enjoyment of humor. Male humor (as has been noted numerous times) can become sarcastic, ranging from the gently mocking to the vociferously aggressive.

Female humor, while often occurring as part of more self-deprecating expressions than does males' use, can be as ribald and wryly sarcastic as its male counterpart. Women also seem to enjoy their humor with each other, as something to be shared together as an experience; in contrast, the males often try to impress and/or outdo each other, directing their humor at each other, rather than splitting their humor with each other. Both sexes appear to enjoy wordplay, narratives, jokes and sarcasm; however, as the researchers

indicated in this dissertation point out, female humor does exist and often in contrast to males'. This cohort has included women of widely different ages, backgrounds and especially language background. However, these women do seem to find common ground in their talk, and this appears very clearly in their employment of humor, support interruptions and other backchannels. More of these apparent gender differences in the employment and enjoyment of humor will be seen in the data of the three other groups in this dissertation.

IV. 7. 'So'

One usage that Lakoff (1975) had included in her WL features appeared many more times among females than males in this (and two of the other three) group: 'so'. Interestingly, Lakoff described the 'intensive so' as "more frequent in women's language, although certainly men can use it" (54). She further characterized it as a device to hedge on emotion, "as though to say: I feel strongly about this—but I dare not make it clear how strong" (55). Her only example of this word was her example, "I like him so much"— a veiled sexually emotional function (55). The present data include many examples of 'so', but their context as well as the judgments of all listeners I had respond to its usage appear to point toward another meaning: **so** is a lexical form used to express emphatically the emotional intensity of the speaker. None of my judges found 'so' to indicate a hedging or dilution of feeling; to the contrary, they judged it as a emphatic sign of strong emotion.

Before providing examples of its use, it appears appropriate to define and classify the various functions of 'so' in English. The only previous attempt to define its function appears in Schiffrin (1987), where she links it with 'because' as markers of "cause and effect" (191-227). She understands 'so' to function "in the organization of transitions in participation framework. ... speaker shifts responsibility to hearer; ... the shift ... is centered around the accomplishment of a particular interfactional task" (217). More explicitly, she states that "so conveys a meaning of 'result" (201-202). A few of her examples will illustrate this meaning of 'so':

So we had a long discussion, my neighbor's Italian. (224)

Z: So she's workin', she's been working=
D: Oh, great!
Z: =and she says, 'I'm so tired!' (212) [Underscore in orig.]

Obviously, Schiffrin's 'so' is different from Lakoff's, as the examples show. Interestingly, the second example includes the intensive 'so' ('I'm so tired!'), but Schiffrin does not acknowledge it, much less discuss it, as a discourse marker of significance.

Since Schiffrin's is the only reference to 'so' in the literature, and its description is not what Lakoff used, I will offer some classifications of 'so' before turning to the data. **So** can function as 1) a conclusion and transition, as Schiffrin explains it; 2) a marker of elided information ('She asked me to clean the house, and I did **so**'); 3) a transition device in conversation. I have heard this usage among the Italian women of Hoboken, when they were trying to find out 'what is going on in their conversational partners' lives ('**SO** ... how have you been?'); 4) a first element with **'that'**, as in "I was **so** tired **that** I fell asleep during the lecture." (This construction was used to great comic effect by Johnny Carson as a recurring 'bit' on *The Tonight Show*); 5) an intensifier, as Lakoff (1975) attests. I believe that the intensive **so** may have developed from the construction mentioned in 4) (See Table I and Ch. VIII0.

The 'that' subordinating clause was deleted, and the so took on the semantic 'weight' of the intensive. Interestingly, only males used the 'so ... that' construction during the tapings. This feature deserves to be studied further as a potential 'male-preferred' device. The following examples of 'so' demonstrate its function as an indicator of intensive emotional responses in the speakers. In example 25, two females

are discussing how South American Spanish (in this case, Colombian) distinguishes 'b' and 'v' while the Caribbean varieties do not. (GF 23 was born in Puerto Rico, GF 21 in Cuba, and both are native-fluency bilinguals):

(26)

GF 23: Theyre VERy preCISE

GF 20: Their-their language is SO clear

In the next example (27) GF 22 is relating a story about a child in her class who misunderstood her idiomatic expression ('He's just pulling your leg'), and she's depicting his frustration:

(26)

```
                                                    I KNO
GF 22:We were JUST doing one in my class oh       Ow. PULLing
      your LEG           I said he was just pulling your leg

GM 20:              yeah
GF 21:               OK
GF 23:                        UMHMM

                                                          NOOOOO=
GF 22:and the kid looked at me and it was like
GF 20:=yeah
GF 21:        no, hes no-
GF 23:        yeah YEAH-
                                                            GOT-
GF 22:                       you like y'know but the kid

                            HEEEZ BUGGIN MEE
         was like SO like
```

Here the 'so' is bounded by hedges, which suggests that GM 22 was searching very intently for the exact phrase to capture the intensity of the boy's frustration. She finally switched to mimicking his shouted retort to her attempted pacifying move ('He's just

pulling your leg") as well as demonstrating the high-energy style of her presentation. (GF 22 was one of the most intense speakers in the group.)

In example 28 another group is discussing a videotape they had just watched to gather material for their presentation. One of the females (GF 24) has been asked by another (GF 27, whose tape it was and who unofficially 'led' the discussion) what person and problem she would like to present:

(28)

GF 24: yes well the Spanish speaker because he has SO many prob- also when he lapses into Spanish I understand some of that=

GF 27: thats-theres SO many things we could TALK about his CODE switching

GF 24 mentions that the speaker has so many difficulties with English he often code-switches into Spanish to express himself. GF 27 interposes her comments as a support interrupt (and a floor-taking move) with an emotional 'theres SO many things' about that problem the group could discuss in their presentation. Example 9 above also shows GF 27 using 'so' as an expression of emphatic certainty ('shes SO good'). Interestingly, she also interrupts another female (GF 25) who was about to use the same expression ('he's JUST shes so- good'). Perhaps the emotional rendering of the hedge 'JUST' gave GF 27 'license' to interpose support interrupt, as a solidarity move and collaborative agreement. Example 13 above also contains emphatic 'so' ('I know; SO many different words that they use') used by GF 13. What appears significant in the use of 'so' by the females is that, despite the relatively small numbers of examples of the

term, the term can be found in the speech of women of different ages and ethnicity and language background. For example, in the instances cited above, speakers contained both native-fluency bilinguals (GF 20 and 27) as well as ESL bilinguals (GF 13 and 23), younger English speakers (GF 22, 24, 25) as well as older (GF 20 and 27).Furthermore, the GF bilinguals included Spanish, Turkish/Persian and Polish speakers, so native language does not appear to influence the use (or non-use) of 'so'. Obviously, more research needs to be done to test for the salience of this use, but it appears that this present study uncovered enough of this usage among females (as Lakoff [1975] asserted) to present 'so' as an example of a female-identified and preferred use. (A further discussion of 'so' as a female-identified term appears in Chapter VII when its use by male DJs is examined as an anomaly in the data distribution, especially its presence in the speech of the most "female" of the male DJs.)

IV. 8. Hedges

The data in Table I include the feature 'hedges', which Lakoff (1975) claimed was a prime example of the 'uncertainty' of WL. And certainly the distribution of occurrences of hedges between the females (n=2593) and the males (n=812) provides a significant gender-preferred difference. Therefore, mention should be made of this fact.

The literature since Lakoff has dealt with hedges in some depth (Schiffrin 1987; Coates 1996), and in particular the phrase 'you know' (Östman 1981; Holmes 1984). What the studies have revealed is that hedges do not constitute uncertainty or powerlessness per se, but they often function as floor-ceding moves (Östman 1981) confidence signals, sensitivity messages, searches for the right words, exploration of emotional topics, self-disclosures, and equalizers (to avoid 'playing the expert' or 'pulling rank') (Coates 1996:152-173). Coates summarized the positive functions of hedges quite well:

Women's greater use of hedges can in part be explained by topic choice. Another crucial feature of women's friendly talk is self-disclosure. ... women use hedges to establish a collaborative rather than single floor... women's ability to exploit the multifunctional potential of hedges is a strength ... hedges are a resource for doing friendship (171, 172).

Example 9 above demonstrates this collaborative search for truth and the number of hedges used reveals their work . GF 26 begins with a sentence-full of hedges:

(9)

GF 26: I think- you know he just you know REALly needs a lot of communicative activities= that's the PROBlem
GF 27: =MMHM
GF 26: yeah

GF 27: So maybe when you take this HOME just LOOK at it CAREfully and I mean-ya-ya-even if we all PICK
GF 26: mmhmm

GF 26 is carefully thinking out loud about the problem they will all face presenting an in-class discussion of ESL problems and solutions—in a collaborative manner; her comments elicit a backchannel and a 'yeah' from two other women. Additionally, GF 27(whose tape they had been viewing) tries to eliminate being the 'boss' or 'expert' by suggesting that they might look at the tape and the others can pick their own parts from it, GF 26 assents in a backchannel.

Similarly, in example 13 above when GF 13 is trying to think of words calqued from English into Spanish (jus-you know- i guess is is language BORrowing') and she asserts that 'attico' doesn't exist, GF 9 uses an interesting hedge—'yeah'—repeated to soften the face-threatening correction she must make. So the ultimate face-threatening act—telling someone that one is wrong—is presented carefully, thoughtfully and kindly. (Also, note the use of 'you know' as a collaborative, inclusive hedge by GF 13.)

IV. 9. Conclusion

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the females, regardless of age or ethnic background, demonstrated similar distributions of features and correlated significantly on a number of them (see Table III). Again, although the data for 'so' were small, both native speakers and ESL speakers used it. Backchannels were a part of every woman's repertoire, and collaborative talk (support interruptions, use of 'yes' and 'right' as lexical support) also appeared throughout the women's talk. The interactive use of humor and hedges also constituted a common female feature. These facts argue for gender-specific language use. Of course, males employed the same devices (except for 'so' which occurred only once in two males' speech, GM 1 and GM 4, who, in their mid-20s, are among the youngest in the group), but never to the same degree that the females did. As will be seen in the following chapters, the other three groups patterned closely to this largest one, although the DJs diverged in interesting ways and which will be discussed with their data.

It appears that the use of humor by males and females reveal differences between the genders, as well as some other data from Table II, examined in some detail in this chapter, such as the supportive interruptions the females are using as well as the number of non- and lexical backchannels; also, the use of intensive 'so,' cited specifically by Lakoff (1975) as a WL feature, argues for a gender tendency. This use may be expanding into male speech (as my anecdotal evidence, gathered in the wake of this initial research project, seems to indicate). The reason for claiming that this feature may be moving from its place as a WL feature into the male population will be examined later in the

dissertation (especially in Ch. VII). However, its use among females does not appear to be a function of uncertainty; rather, it seems to signal strong emotional response from the females (and the judgments from the sampling of speakers questioned supports this interpretation (see Appendix II for the questionnaires used to test this interpretation). If this use really does reflect strong emotion commitment to what is being said as opposed to voicing female uncertainty, this could explain its appearance in males' speech as well as females' in contexts of apparent speaker surety.

Additionally, recent work on the functions of hedges in female speech (Coates 1996) suggests that hedges are also a most-favored female conversational feature. This could not only support both Lakoff's and this research's findings that hedges are used in WL, but also as a sign of solidarity and support, not uncertainty and inferiority (see examples 9 and 13 and the discussions). The next three chapters will examine the same features for confirmatory findings discussed in this chapter.

V. UNDERGRADUATES

V. 1. Description

The undergraduate group comprised the youngest and most traditional experimental group, as well as some of the most diverse and heretofore understudied members. Students included speakers from the U.S. (white, black and Portuguese and Spanish); Caribbean and South American English, Spanish and French speakers; European bilinguals and polyglots; Arabic, Chinese and Korean speakers. There was even an American-born male who lived in Nigeria between the ages of 9 and 17 who spoke Yoruba and English. Students also ranged in age from 17 to 51, so this 'undergraduate' group expands the previous subjects in the undergraduate category. Although the students in this group numbered about as many as in the graduate group (f=40; m=22), total distribution of features is much less, due to the nature of their tasks. Since the undergraduates were asked to read their own essays and then as groups orally correct the problems this researcher had identified in the essays, the students did not generally spend as much time discussing the errors as they did reading the essays. Therefore, statistical analyses were not conducted on their data. However, many of their numbers resemble the graduate groups, so examples of these will be shown and discussed in this chapter.

V. 2. Support Interruptions

As with the graduates, the females used more support interruptions than the males did (see Table II); however, when factoring the greater number of females in the group as a whole, the distribution of support interruptions appears equal. However, it will be seen the group configurations and familiarity of members will affect the use of these features, as Goodwin's (1990) data demonstrated.

Example 1 shows a high level of support. CF 26 has just read her essay about men and women in marriage, including clear and eloquent discussion of economic, sexual, and emotional situations. She then addresses the group:

(1)

```
                                                  ight?
CF 26:  OK we got to talk about the misTAKES ri
CF 23:  THERE wasnt many gramMATical spelling=
CF 24:  =YEAH  its developed REAlly WELL
CF 23:                  errors=      thats about it
CF 25:                        =yeah
CF 26:  AL right
CF 24:           YEAH it WAS [laughter]

CF 23:  good DEtails=
CF 25:              =VERY good details-

CG 26:  like what like  what like for example
CF 23:                               AH            um
CF 26:  'discipline'?  second page- I MEAN number  three- page
            NUMber three
CF 24:  'who DIScipline' I think it should have an S[ at the
CF 25:                                              [YES
CF 24:  end=      'who disciplines AND pleasES the children'
CF 23:     =yeah
CF 25:  then put more at the-take off the bottom=
CF 24:  =yeah with the WORM?=      yeah
```

CF 25: =yeah
[laughter] NOW
CF 23: You WROTe it [laughter]

CF 26: (heheh) OK ahnm- wait there was
CF 25: thanks for the THOUGHT (heh)

CF 23: would it be
'HEARD' to think or 'HARD' to think? in terms of
on ( )
CF 24: and on the FIRST page 'CRITiCISm' you skipped a c
CF 26: I skipped a c
CF 24: Yeah
CF 25: um I think theres ah- in accustomed? I think there should be
accustom=
CF 26: =not with a d

CF 25: unless- unless your introDUCtion- was THIS your THEsis
statement here- this whole sentence?
CF 26: I HAD it but I-I reversed it around

CF 24: Maybe he wants more than just the thesis-
CF 25: yeah more than just the thesis
maybe maybe he wanted more of an introDUCtion
O:
CF 26: k ahhh
CF 25: ok
CF 24: WHATS this is THIS somethin OR is this just-
CF 25: OH THIS should
mean HARD=
CF 24: =no:?

GM 15: I think that- that-
CF 23: Thats what i say is a HARDer
verb- that-
CF 26: Yeah but-

This passage displays a rich interplay of simultaneous talk and support interruptions that was stimulated by the interesting, well-written essay. The essay was not the only factor in this talk; the participants were a cohesive, respectful and serious group. CF 26, at 28,

was the oldest student in this class; the next oldest student in the class (at 23) is CF 23, who began the supportive comments at the beginning of the example. CF 26 and CF 23 have a child each; CF 26 is married, CF 23 is a single parent. They are the most 'experienced' in the group, and CF 23 also provided the most sardonic humor (as her comment 'you WROTE it NOW' demonstrates). CF 24 and CF 25 (18 & 19) are friends, and CF 24 is the most careful editor of the group. Three of the females are native speakers; the other (CF 26) is a native-fluency bilingual. The only male in the group is a nineteen-year-old ESL speaker from Peru, whose reticence was somewhat heightened by his stammer. This did not prevent him from speaking, but his writing problems often left him at a loss for suggestions and corrections.

They interrupt each other to praise the essay and to help CF26 make her corrections. They begin with praise and relaxed laughter; CF 26 has to ask for specific corrections. They accommodate her, and the friends CF 24 and CF 25 often repeat and interrupt each other. The three native-speakers assist CF 26 in proofreading her paper, and their simultaneous talk and interruptions are considered helpful to the process (A verification was conducted after this, and CF 23, 24 and 26 agreed that the interruptions were done to correct the paper quickly and supportively.)

This passage also includes examples of backchannels, 'yes' and 'ok' for support and collaboration, as well as hedges that reveal the careful thinking and comments the speakers provided. Interestingly, CM 15 is interrupted by CF 23, but her perception of the exchange as well as his reactions throughout the tapings suggest that the interruption was supportive and polite, for he was having trouble with his stammer at the time of the interruption. So

this conversation confirms Goodwin's (1990) concept that the talk 'creates' speakers' identities and helps the students 'do' gender (West & Zimmerman 1987) in that the speakers were collaborative and sensitive to each others' words and intent, while at the same time succeeding at the task. In another sense, women wielded the power in this situation by having a surer grasp of grammar and by assisting the male in completing his thoughts.

Example 2 demonstrates a nice bit of support between two females during a reading and after it. One female has decided to assist the reader:

(2)

CF 7: The house is in ah- sku= secluded ah
CF 1: =seCLUDed
.
.
.
CF 7: Someday I-this dream house will ve-become MY realiTY

CF 7: It will be my own [private paradise
CF 1: [private paradise
CF 6: mmhmm

The writer (CF 7) is a young Korean; CF 1 is a young Trinidadian. As CF 7 reads her essay, she struggles over the pronunciation of a word ('secluded'), which CF 1 quickly and gently pronounces for her. At the end of the reading, CF 1 reads along with CF 7 as a solidarity move. CG 6, who is also Korean, provides an almost simultaneous backchannel for support and affirmation. This suggests that women across cultures can be very supportive of each other. (CF 1 is a very vocal person, and CF 6 also asserts herself a lot on the tapes.) Although not much was said, the interruption, repetition and backchannel all

demonstrate a very collaborative participation on the part of these different females.

A third brief but significant passage also demonstrates how females can use interruptions and self-denigration to relax and 'get into' the work:

(3)

```
CF 2:   No, I'm just gonna let it reCORD (4.5)
CF 4:   Are we gonna go over this first?
CF 2:   were gonna haveta go over it YAEH
CF 4:   will we read the first one or=
CF 2:                                       =yes thats ok you can start
                                  K?
            by critiCIZing mines O

CF 4:                             O
                                   k
CF 2:   I know I make a LOT of BOO boos=      'movies and books'
CF 4:                                 =YES (hehah)

CF 4:   I dont know why is that wrong         flick?
CF 2:                                         WHAT?        NOOo

CF 2:         flick its like uhm a      =a slang I guess youre not
CF 4:                           SLANG?=

CF 2:   supposed to use a slang-EH
```

In this excerpt CF 2 is gently leading the group of 5 females, being the oldest and most experienced, both in her career and in her motherhood. As CF 4 asks how they should proceed, CF 2 simultaneously offers her essay as the first to be edited because she makes 'a lot of BOOboos'. This childlike phrase loosens up CF 4, who can both interpose that CF 2's essay indeed has many errors and add a bit of relieved and supportive humor. This is not at all aggressive or face-threatening. And a bit later, when CF 14 is trying to understand an

error, she feels free to interrupt CF 2 with the 'correct' word. CF 2 is twenty years older that CF 14, yet they have found a common ground on which to correct their work. Both are native-proficient English-Spanish bilinguals. The other women are a Korean, a Chinese and a Guyanese English speaker. They do contribute some to the conversation, mainly on the strength of CF 2's warm, maternal style. This group has certainly established its solidarity through talk, as Goodwin (1990) concluded, and across languages and cultures at that.

Example 4 demonstrates support among a same-sex male group as they also worked on editing their essays:

(4)

CM 11: You GOTta SAY somethin [about-
CM 13: [nice ESsay, Nazario

CM 12: he has goods usage- I think he just drifted off topic at
the end thats where I LOST him at the last paragraph-
do you know what I MEAN? where he goes 'one day after
school'?= =yeah thats what I
CM 11: =yeah where did THAT come from=
CM 12: didnt understand I was waiting f=
CM 11: =he was just trying to use an example=
CM 12: =NOT just an
AM
ex ple I really didn- yahKNOW?

Here the two native speakers try to help an ESL writer with the structure of his essay. Their interruptions and hedges ('maybe', 'just', 'yahKNOW') reveal their care in attempting to explain the problems as well as their respect for the other student's feelings and achievement. Interestingly, CM 13, another ESL speaker, apparently feels comfortable enough with his English to interrupt CM 11 to offer a compliment. Of course, polite

expression also appear more frequently in ESL speakers' utterances generally (although not invariably; see Montgomery 1996 for a discussion of conversational closings among Chinese speakers).

Another brief but interesting example of support can be found below (5):

(5)

CM 11: Thats how he USE ta spell it (heheh)
CM 12: Awright My name is Lorenzo=
CM 14: =millaTELlo
CM 11: hehah) millaTELlo

CM 14, an ESL speaker, interrupts CM 12, a native speaker, to remind him to provide his full name for the taping. CM 12 laughs and complies by repeating his own name. CM 14 was a generally serious and cooperative participant in the tapings, and this group had also developed 'buddy' rapport (the four members' ages ranged from 18 to 22).

Example 6 is taken from the same conversation as the previous two. Again, the interplay of support and competition can be discerned throughout the interaction:

(6)

CM 12: I like- you had really good inforMAtion but what I dont
underSTAND is how he-y'know the information was good-
fects
really good but how he drifted from the e to why
people like it thats what I thought about it

CM 11: NAH I thought-I thought he covered like just
about EVrything yeah

CM 12: you THOUGHT he cover-oh yeah he had good inforMAtion
CM 14: Basically= [yeah
CM 11: =yeah [yah'know he had his good points

Here CM 12 is praising the essay but has a problem with how it 'drifted'. However, CM 11 interrupts with a disagreement, to which CM 12 repeats 'he had good information'. Then CM 14 agrees with CM 11, and CM 12 again cites the writer's 'good points'. The passage also illustrates supportive 'yeah' among the interlocutors.

V. 3. Backchannels

The backchannel as a non-lexical signal of support has been shown to be a favored feature of female speech among the graduate students of Chapter IV, as the degree of difference in usage between males and females demonstrates (see Table I). It is also used more by females in the present chapter, but not by as nearly the same margin. (531 to 129). But, as example 9 below attests, the backchannel is identified as a 'female' feature by males in their humorous use of it.

Example 7 appears to be a typical use of a backchannel:

(7)

CM 7: OK lets go to where the next mistake is

CF 15: oO GOOD

CF 18: this is-this is

WELL done

CF 16: uHHMM

Speakers CM 7, CF 15 and CF 18 are all Caribbean English speakers, CF 15 is an African-American, and they are commenting on a female Chinese student's essay. CF 13 expresses her enjoyment with a backchannel followed by a compliment, CF 14 interrupts the male to give her praise, and CF 15 provides an assenting backchannel. What is interesting is that the Caribbean females do not hesitate to speak their minds on particular matters, and they will interrupt a male speaker without face-saving politeness expressions. This assertive behavior was evinced by females from Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad. And all feel free to provide backchannels and other terms to show their feeling.

Example 8 shows a number of support devices, involving a group from different cultures:

(8)

```
                        Semi       here?
CG 36:  Here's a what-     colon
CM 19:                                    Yeah
                                                      per
CF 36:  I think hes trying to say is uh- either a     iod or not a

              small 't'-the 't' should be small          I think thats
CM 19:                                    yeah-yeah
CF 36:  what hes tryin to say there  there should be no COMma
             there that'd be a PERiod=            and a capital 't'
CM 19:                            =Period?
CF 38:                                      mmmm
CF 38:  mmm he didnt make to MAny misTAKES
CF 36:  mmhm
CF 37:         mmm
```

Here the only U.S. born speaker, CF 36, a bilingual in her 40's, is helping CM 19, 22-year-old from Trinidad, who respectfully asks questions and responds in a respectful manner. CF 38, a mid-30's female from Barbados, listens carefully, offers a couple of backchannels in agreement with CF 36's comments, and she also praises CM 19. CF 37, a 30-year old from China, also listens carefully, as her quiet backchannel to CF 38 shows. This group established a nice rapport, with CF 38 'taking over' a bit later in the tape.

One final example of a backchannel (9) has an unusual function. One male had just read his opinion essay about his mother, in which he revealed some strong affection, calling her his 'best friend.' The group is silent for a moment; then, under the obligation of saying something positive, the males respond thus:

(9)

CM 12: good essay (9.0)
CM 11: good ESsay Nazario. (10.0) you do explain that your mother loves you a LOT (3.0)

CM 12: Nazario RiVERa
CM 11: Very tender side to him AWWWWW (heheheh)
CM 12: hahaheh

The example shows an unusual amount of silence between comments, revealing the males' difficulty talking about an emotional tribute to his mother. Finally, the ESL speaker gives his praise, followed by a native speaker's repetition of the writer's name. The other native speaker then mentions the 'tender side' of the writer, and twists it into an exaggerated 'feminine' backchannel: 'AWWWWW'. The humorous backchannel serves to defuse the discomfort through a distancing of the speaker from his previous compliment and his own feelings, to which the other native speaker responds. Interestingly, the ESL speaker does not laugh – nor does the other ESL speaker: author of the essay. These kinds of cross-cultural differences need to be examined with greater numbers of interlocutors.

V. 4. Yes/Yeah

As with backchannels and other supportive expressions, women tended to use more of 'yes' and 'yeah' in their conversations as they created a collaborative environment for themselves. (See Table II.) This supports Goodwin's claim that the interlocutors will produce their sense of reality in their talk. Examples 1, 3, 5 and 6 above include the rich use of 'yes' among females (and males). The next example (10) involves a group consisting of one male (Jamaican) and four females (from Guyana, Jamaica, China and the U.S.). The Chinese female has just read her paper, and the others are commenting on it:

(10)

CF 18: OK Theres no corrections on the first PAGE=
CF 15 =the first
paragraph=
CF 18: Its well=
CM 13: =yeah

CM 7: Yeah=
CF 18 =ideas
CM 7: ideas nine PLAYers not nine-wheres the other mistake
here
CF 15: a COMma

CF 13 in third pace I should put a COMma
MOND?
CF 15: yeah 'each place on the di

CM 7: whats that- each side on'-
CF 15: WAIT wait where- OK uhmm

In this passage, the interlocutors are paying close attention to the editing, and they are quick to praise the Chinese woman's paper. In fact, the Chinese female (CF 12) introduces a

correction herself, which runs counter to the stereotypical silent Asian. The student has a history of asserting her opinions in public and for writing good and long papers (see below). What's interesting to note are the two different uses of OK in the passage. The first one marks a transition; the second signals support and is followed by a support backchannel. This group has bonded as an equal unit, free to interject comments and questions freely without discomfort about one's 'accent' or language proficiency.

The next example (11) also reveals the close relationship through the various lexical support terms:

(11)
CF 36: 'She talked'- I think it should be without the '-ed'
or it should be talks with 's'=
CM 19: =oh, no I did it- I
did the underlining
CF 36: OOH, YOU did it
CM 19: Yeah
CF 36: oh. OOk

As in example 9, this group is discussing CM 19's essay. CF 36 offers a possible explanation for an error (signaled with the hedge 'I think'), to which CF explains that he, not the instructor, has underlined the word. She responds with a backchannel and a repetition of CM 19's comment, to which he assents. She ends with a backchannel and an 'ok'. This passage demonstrates the fine interplay backchannels, 'yeah' and 'ok' have in maintaining conversation and communication among interlocutors.

Example 12 is taken from a group including three students (CF 1, CM 2, and CM 3) who had been together in my class the previous term and who 'knew the rules' of the taping

sessions. They were joined by a young native-fluent bilingual female (CF 9) and a young male (CM4) who were new to the tapings. However, the female bonded with the three quite well, while CM 4 remained somewhat out (although he was never snubbed nor treated badly). Born in Trinidad and in her 20s, CF 1 becomes 'one of the boys' in her banter with CM 2 and 3, and bonds with the only other female present. CF 1's assertive personality is revealed, as well as her accommodating 'female side':

(12)

CF 1: no-no-no-no-no-no- OK OK. Also if= =UHUHN
CF 9: =also is COMma=
CF 9: NO?
CF 1: [uhUHH ALso? [yeah PUT a COMma
CM 2: [yeah [ALso

CF 1 first disagrees with a previous comment, then changes her mind and does agree ('Ok') and gives an "ok' as a transition to examining the underlines 'also' CF 9 interrupts with a suggestion, to which CF 1 disagrees. CF 9 asks again, and while CF 1 is disagreeing again, CM 2 agrees with CF 9. So CF 1 agreeably looks at the disputed sentence and then changes her vote to a 'yeah' (and a command to 'PUT a COMma' in). This shows both her assertive personality and her willingness to review her comments. She 'commands and complies' quite a bit throughout the session. Note CF 9's assurance in suggesting an answer and her polite challenge to CF 1's mistaken assertion ('No?').

V. 5. OK/Right

In the present research, 'OK/right' were separated from backchannels to determine if their use differed from that of 'yes/yeah' and non-lexical backchannels as well as from other supportive interruptions. As Table II reveals, this particular usage was employed more by females than males in the aggregate, as well as in each of the four groups. As noted before, 'ok' and 'right' have a number of functions: 1) as a response to a tag or other question; 2) as a support device; 3) as a transitional device (often in its 'alright' form); 4) as a tag question expecting a positive response; and 5) as a sarcastic response (often with 'yes', as in 'yeah RIGHT'). Uses 2 and 3 are of particular interest here and will be discussed below (function 5 never occurred in the present data, but its synonym, 'SURE,' did a few times; see Chapter IV, ex. 5).

The next example (13) contains transitional 'right':

(13)

CM 12: Rafael Cintron is next (hehheha)
CM 13: What you wanna do THAT
CM 11: Yo- Nazario wants to give a shehot to a couple high schoolhahehah Rafael Cintron. Alright

The excerpt begins with CM 12 calling out CM 11. CM 13 challenges his joking; meanwhile, CM 11 takes a joking poke at CM 14 before ending the kidding by stating his name and the end-of-joke transition 'alright' to get the group back on task. It also demonstrates the competitive, aggressive banter the males tend to engage in when they are in a same-sex group (see Chapters IV and VII for more of these).

Example 1 contains 'right' functioning as a tag (by CF 23) and as a support/ agreement backchannel by (CF 26). The next example (14) demonstrates intensive support through 'right'. The group is near the end of their work, but they hit one final problem with 'also':

(14)

```
CF 1:   'Also'=      its  a-whats its? he we GO again
CF 9:       ='also'
CM 2:   here we go again
CM 3:                    also? WHERE we AT?

CF 1:    ALso=
CM 4:             =ALSO
CF 9:                also
CM 4:   Also the MUStang is NOT=
CF 1:                          =RIIIGHt
CF 9:                           RIGHT

CF 1:   OOk thats IT
CF 9:               Ok whatdoo=
CM 3:                     =OK      CUT it
CF 1:                          Ok          CUT
```

The two females are struggling to figure out and correct the problem with 'also', and when the author of the essay (CM 4) comes out with the appropriate solution, they provide enthusiastic approval. Additionally, since the task of editing has been completed, CF 1 assumes the leadership role in 'releasing' the group from its responsibilities ('OOk thats IT'). CM 3, an African-American in his late 30's, gives the 'orders' to stop the recorder ('OK CUT it (incidentally, while cutting off CF 9's question ['OK whatdoo'] before she can even finish). CF 1 supportively agrees ('Ok') then 'has the last word, literally, ('CUT'). This last interaction contains 'ok' in its transitional and supportive functions, and also demonstrates the close and freewheeling nature of the group's self-identity.

Other instances of 'ok' as a support term occur in example 3 (by CF 4), in example 10 (by CF 15), in example 11 (by CF 36), and in example 12 (by CF 1 again). Moreover, CF 2 uses 'ok' as a tag in example 3, CM 7 employs it as a transition in example 7, and CF 14 employs it as a transition at the beginning of example 10. As these examples indicate, 'ok' and 'right' are more often part of the females' talk than the males, adding weight to the conclusion that females still do a lot of the interactive 'work' in conversation, as Fishman (1978) and West & Zimmerman (1975) found. These expressions of support – interruptions, backchannels, 'yes/yeah' and 'OK/Right' – appear to be a gender-preferred use in conversation, regardless of age, language background or social class. (See Tables II and V.b. and compare the data in Chapters IV, VI and VII.)

V. 6. Humor

Researchers in humor have discovered that males and females do use humor differently, whether it be topic, type or style of presentation (Mitchell 1985; Mintz 1988; Mulkay 1988; Jay 1991; Johnstone 1993; Crawford 1995). Female and male interlocutors used humor differently, as was seen in Chapter IV. Those differences were also discovered in the undergraduates' tapes. Male humor in a same-sex and mixed-sex settings will be analyzed first, then female humor will be examined. The presence of African-American, Black Caribbean and young Hispanic speakers, as well as some mature young women, make for some interesting challenges to politeness norms and gender stereotypes.

V. 6a. Male Humor

Males appear to employ and enjoy different kinds of humor than females do. The models and stereotypes portray male humor as aggressive, competitive and often sarcastic. In the following example (15), this all-male group seems to demonstrate these qualities:

(15)

CM 12: OK you- tell um what you think is pos itive about the
rIGHT? NOT
Essay you gotta write- Im touchin you (hehahaha)

CM 12: STop TOUCHin me- (hahaha)

.

GM 12: But I THINK it was GOOD he got good wording
and detail-
CM 11: now I think its time to get high with Juan Perez (heheh)
CM 12: Now its time for Juan PeREZ= JUAN peREZ comon
CM 13: =nahhh comon
CM 14: jus READ it
CM 13: my name is JUAN [laughter]

.

. bout
GM 12: say SOMEthin a it
CM 14: I think-I think he made made um- very
good points wha hagged- what can happen you if you use
marijuana

CM 11: Yeah I liked the part about ahhh- mariJUANa (hahaehah)
I don KNOW [laughter]

.

.

CM 14: very GOOD=
CM 12: =VEry good [I liked it
CM 13: I thought it was VEry good [Its good because he gives
his opinions on success= SUCCESS
CM 11: =SUCK cess= SUCKSEX (heheh)

CM 12: Alright my-uh-essay is on FRIENDS
CM 11: DO you HAVE any? (hahahah)

This long series of exchanges took place between readings of the students' essays. Although the students were aware of the 'rules' of the readings (one twice exhorts the others to say something 'positive' about them), the males had a tendency to move off topic through jokes. CM 11 interjects a mock command for CM 12 to stop touching him, then he kids about the next reader's subject (mamrijuana) by saying (*sotto voce*) 'I think its time we get high with Juan Perez'. They all laugh at Juan's self-introduction (my name is JUAN') after exhorting him by name to read his paper. CM 11 again interposes 'I like the part about ahhh- mariJUANa', just to 'say smethin' about it; moreover, he kids CM 13 on his accent in pronouncing 'success,' then puns on the word's pronunciation ('SUCKSEX'). Finally, CM 11 teases CM 12 (his friend) about CM 12's lack of friends. This banter was received well by the group (as my post-recording questionnaire revealed; see Appendix IIb), and, although CM 11 was the 'culprit' in this session, he did a lot of the corrections for the group as he is a native-fluent bilingual (English-Spanish), and CM 13 and CM 14 are ESL speakers. CM 12, a native speaker, also assisted, as his comments above demonstrate. Additionally, note the support interruptions ('very good' 'yeah'), and CM 12's use of 'alright' as a transitional device.

This passage demonstrates (as the male humor in Chapter IV also did) that males tend to use aggressive, distancing humor that overtly mocks or denigrates others as a solidarity move (as Lakoff 1975 noted; see also Shaver & Hendrick 1987; Segal 1990; Bem 1993; Thorne 1993; Bird 1996). Females tend to use self-denigrating, inclusive humor that brings the group together (see example 3 above as well as examples in Chapter IV and below).

Example 16 again involves the all-male group of example 15, but during a different

editing session. CM 11 has just read a satirical essay about hunting that mocks the blood-thirsty nature of many hunters in their quest to kill "Bambi," among other creatures. CM 12 is complaining about the author's stance in the essay when the following ensues:

(16)

CM 12: You make it look like if you miss the animal still gets killed-how-I mean can THAT HAPpen-

CM 11: ITS suPOSED to be sarCAStic you JERK [laughter]

WAY

CM 12: Well- I took it the wrong

The aggression of CM 11 does not cause CM 12 to retort strongly; it appeared that they joke around in this way as a matter of course. CM 12 did not address the insult, and there was general laughter among the students when CM 11 called CM 12 a 'JERK'. In fact, CM 11 had asked CM 12 when he was about to read his essay on friends, 'Do you HAVE any?', to which laughter was also the response. (Compare these with the jokes in Chapters IV and VII, and a style of aggressive joking among males can be discovered.)

Two interesting examples involving mixed-sex groups and Caribbean students will be excerpted next. In the first (17), CM 7, the sole male, is a Jamaican in his 20s who served in his island's army. CF 18, exactly like he, is in her mid-20s and has served in the army. CF 15 is an East Indian inhabitant of Guyana, in her early 30s. CF 13, from China, is in her 20s. CF 16 is an African-American in her mid-30s. All of these students work during the day, are enrolled in an AAS degree program in office technology, and are attending evening college full-time (at least four evenings per week). So their fatigue is used as an opening for some humorous exchanges which turn to Jamaican word play:

(17)

```
                              why
CF 18:  [to CF 13 ] DAHlin      did you WRITE  so much (heheheh)

        SIX PA
              ges Correction time- time to go home
CM 7:                                                      Yeah

CF 18:  lets correct a little a little part- eh- lets do it now
CF 15:                                                        Yeah
             I will give you some rough ideas and what they-

CM 7:   NAH I don DEEP so
CF 18:  let Me talk about- it was=
CM 7:                               = oh SHIVUP MUST you be TAAKin
             january february march april [laughter]
CF 15:  AHH
CF 16:     I never HHEARD that SHOOT I never heard that
CF 15:  thats a NEW one eh?
CF 18:  OK theres no corrections on the first page=
CF 16:                             I LIKE THAat
```

Here CF 18, who often assumes the 'spokesperson's role, chides the Chinese woman for writing such a long essay, but doesn't merely mock, she actually orders the others to work efficiently, so they can 'go home'. CF 15 offers some immediate support (and she, too, was an avid editor), to CF 18 begins to address a point. Suddenly, CM 7 stops her to tell her she talks too much ('MUST you be TAAKin january february march april'), and all laugh. The African-American gushes that she's never heard of that expression before, and CF 15 accommodates her by repeating, 'thats a NEW one, eh?' CF 18 then tries to redirect the talk and take the floor again, but CF 16 is still marveling over the comment ('I LIKE THAat'). This is actually the talk leading up to example 10 above.

Interestingly, CF 18 couches her commands in the inclusive 'lets' construction, exactly

as Goodwin found the females in her research formatting directives (1990: 109-114). CF 18 lived in Jamaica, and Goodwin's research took place in Philadelphia. This confirmation of her finding in the present data appears to validate at least part of the gender-preferred usage.

The second mixed-sex humorous exchanges occurred often with the group quoted in example 14. Here the women are 'outnumbered' 3 to 2. Yet they can hold their own in the conversations, as this following excerpt (18):

(18)

CF 1: Also? yeah PUT a COMma in
UP=
CM 2: also IF you LOOK
CF 1: =Also (heh) if
UP (hehehea)
(heheh) you look
CF 2: they ya go (haheha)

CM 4: YA HOOK up its NOT LOOK up but-
CF 1: OH [lots of laughter
CM 4: its hook up- MAN youre MESsin this SHIT U:P

CF 1: Im (hahahehaha)
CM 3: I was WONderin why SHE has-I was WONderin why hes lookin
up TOO [laughter]

CF 1: Im sorhahah SUR-hahah Im sorry I take it back [laughter]
GO
CF 9: 'Also' how is- Ok THATS ood
CF 2: 'tits' it is-
WHAT?
CF 3: WHAs that? hook up

CF 9: hook up [tits
CM 2: [tits

CF 3: tits? ah, O:k

CM 4: TINTS
CF 1: TITS oh TINTS
CF 9: tints? [lots of laughter]

CM 3: Oh shit- c'mon its gonna all be on TAPE y'all

In this passage the males and females are trying to correct what they think a problem is, but after bandying it around for a bit, the author (CM 4) tells them all it's 'hook up, not look up'. There is general joking about this: CM 3 repeats his incredulousness ('I was wonderin what he's lookin up too') and laughs, while CF 1 is attempting an apology through her laughter. Tellingly, the man offers a challenge, and the woman puts herself down and apologizes. CM 4, the 'new kid ' in this writing block, finds himself frustrated ('MAN youre MESsin this shit U:P'). CF 9 attempts to help finish the problem ('Also how's that -Ok') and offers a support expression ('Ok'). The other male, a Caucasian in his mid-20s, is also trying to answer the question, but he too mistakes the word (deliberately for the joke?). CF 3 accepts the error, and it again forces the author to correct everyone ('TINTS') which leads all into laughter. Interestingly, CM 3 tries to bring the group back with an admonition (Oh shit- its gonna all be on TAPE c'mon y'all').

This passage again yields some interesting conversation. The two females are not embarrassed by the errors, for they laugh as much as the others-- in fact, more than the men. The men may have been embarrassed, or, at the very least, frustrated. The women both tried to help the male writer, even though he eventually gets frustrated by their errors. And CM 3 tries to bring the group back to propriety by reminding them of the 'listening' tape.

V. 6b. Female Humor

As mentioned in Chapter IV and above, humor seems to be gender-specific in its topics, types and structures. However, not all female humor can be neatly classified as self-denigrating and inclusive; some can be sharp-tongued. Yet, as the next example (17 below) will show, the 'barbs' in the humor are polite and face-saving to the addressee:

(17)

CF 18: [to CF 13, the Chinese female] My DAHlin WHY did you WRITE
so much [general laughter]
SIX PA
ges. Correction time- time to go home

Here CF 14 chastises CF 12 for writing so much, mainly because the others will now have to correct it-- and they're eager to go home, as the 'Correction time-time to go home' attests. However, no one either agrees with her that the paper was too long, or does anyone make a move to leave. Therefore, her humor was not taken by the others as an aggressive, negative criticism, but rather as healthy bonding through humor. Note also the use of intensive 'so' as a function of emotional emphasis.

The other group cited above (example 18), also shared some teasing humor. When the newest male in the group (CM 4) is reading his essay about his 'dream car,' CF 1, who initiates quite a lot of activity (and had the final word on the tape), can't resist a little 'audio assistance' for comic effect (19):

(19)

CM 4: 'It has a very POWerful engine- you can hear the engine run from blocks away'
CF 1: hehaheh-URR-URR heheaheh
CM 3: [rrrmm [gahhead gaaHEAD rr(heheh)
CM 4: [it has a very powerful [engine
another thing is (heheh) its VEry (heheh) FAST
CF 9: ssshhh
CF 1: wait
wait ok? go ahead
CM 4: if you- put a stick shift in it you will
go so [fast y- will think you are FLYing
CF 1: [you think- [laughter]

CM 4: it finally comes with a SPEAKer system=
CF 1: =OK

As CM 4 describes his dream car, CF 1 can't resist 'revving' her voice as a humorous backchannel. The joke works: both CM 3 and CM 4 start laughing, and CM 3 follows her lead in adding background 'sound effects' to the reading. CF 1 even reads along with CM 4 when he tells how fast you can go with a stick shift. No one seems at all bothered, although CF 9 does chide the others with a quiet 'ssshhh' and CF 1 tries to stop CM 4 until everyone is calm again. The joking is inclusive, and is meant to be fun, not aggressive or threatening. CM 4 does laugh at her antics during the reading, and she does follow up his last words with a supportive 'ok'.

CF 1 was also involved with another group a term before the conversations above were recorded. During one of those earlier sessions, she got involved in an argument over 'pots and pan' as she corrected a Korean student's paper:

(20)

CF 1: 'two pots and a pan'-but how could she say 'pots' and then 'a pan'
but then she goes on to say 'knives and dishes' but pan is the only singular.

CM 1: Theres probably only one PAN [laughter]
'three pots, a pan knives and some dishes'(heh)
when you buy-when you buy your (use) pan how many pans come with it?

CF 1: exCUSE ME?
ight? [laughter]
CM 1: one PAN ri

CM 1: one pan/ a couple a POTS
CF 1: When you buy WHAT?

CM 1: When you go buy you dishes and stuff you know how
CF 1: NO my
DISHes come with DISHes and my pots COME with POTS
CM 1: you buy your-
[lots of laughter]

In this passage CF1 is earnestly dealing with the concept of parallel structure: to her way of thinking, if you buy more than one pot, knife and dish, then you will buy more than one pan. CM, an African-American in his early 20s, tries to tell her that you don't necessarily have to buy more than one pan. However, he doesn't clearly articulate a term '(use) pan' (which is inaudible on the tape), and she begins to get annoyed. His attempts at clarification get more off-track, and hedges begin to appear in his phrases, until she interrupts with a direct 'No', and says, 'My dishes come with my dishes and my pots come with my pots' which also cuts off the rest of his explanation. The misunderstanding is handled in a direct way: she creates the clarity and finality in the group, and all laugh (appreciatively) at her simple statement.

Although she is as bald and blunt as an interlocutor can get, no one seems upset or offended by her interruption and rejection of his explanation. Interestingly, the author (a Chinese female in her mid-20s) doesn't challenge CF 1' interpretation and criticism of her essay. She appeared quite satisfied to listen to the female perspective, and eventually she edited her pan into the plural. So the female was able to help correct an ESL student's paper and vie with a young male to 'win' the argument-- and without any overt hard feelings. She did it through direct, but not personally threatening, confrontation. And everyone left laughing.

The technique CF 1 employed in getting her point to closure is uncannily close to Goodwin's "playful and metaphorical frame switches as techniques for attempting closure" and "format tying"(1990: 170-185). CF 1 turns CM 1's words around on him and 'ties him up' with them, thus ending the argument powerfully and elegantly. Again, the framework which Goodwin developed to interpret speech, which perceives the talk as creating the context and identities of the participants, works effectively in understanding the gender differences my subjects exhibited while saying the 'same' things. And it also helps to understand some of Lakoff's occasionally abstract and under-illustrated features of WL – such as 'so', interruptions and humor as positive, and distinctly gender-preferred, uses.

V. 7. 'So'

The feature 'so' (specifically cited by Lakoff 1975 yet never investigated by succeeding researchers until the present study) does not appear very often. yet overwhelmingly (fn-31. mn=0) it appears in female speech. The only occurrence of 'so'in a male's speech actually was written by him. and he repeats it as the group edits his paper for errors:

(21)

CM 4: if you- put a stick shift in it you will go so fast y-
will think you are FLYing (see 19 for complete excerpt)

This does not really count as the intensive 'so' that Lakoff dubbed an 'uncertainty' feature. for as was explained in Chapter IV. 'so' in CM 4's speech is actually part of a 'so ... that' construction. This cause and effect structure is more akin to Schiffrin's (1987) explanation of the discourse feature 'so' than it is to Lakoff's contention. (See Table I.)

On the other hand. CF 18's use of 'so' (from 17 above) does fit the function that Lakoff indicated:

(17)

CF 18: DAHlin WHY did you WRITE so much

So, even appearing a relatively few times in the data. their occurrence exclusively in female speech, and in speech of women from different age, ethnic and economic classes, appears to

support a female language feature. When the distribution of support interruptions and non-lexical backchannels are considered, genuine variation appears to be the norm, rather than a feature of chance. 'So' as an apparently preferred usage in women's speech will also be examined in the next two chapters to determine if this usage holds true of all four groups.

V. 8. Conclusion

As can be seen from the data in Table II, as well as appendices C and D, the frequency of certain features in the conversation of females in this group parallels those of Group I. For example, the appearances of intensive 'so' in only the speech of females (31 tokens vs. 0), while not statistically significant, nonetheless suggests strong support for Lakoff's calling it a WL feature. (Also see Tables I and V.b.)

Furthermore, in the various subdivisions of what has been termed 'backchannels' (Yngve 1970, among others) – non-lexical interjections, 'yes/yeah', 'ok/right', and other lexical expressions – the women's use of these in their speech compares closely with those of Group I's female cohort. Since these are part of what women do as part of their conversational 'shit-work' (Brown 1978), their frequency in this group's female members' speech lends credence to previous research, especially Goodwin's contention that "girls participate jointly in decision-making with minimal negotiation of status," producing an "egalitarian social organization" (1990:109). Goodwin further adds that the girls' use of directives displays solidarity and equality rather than differentiation among group members (1990:114). And, as was seen in the cooperative talk among these females of diverse cultural, linguistic and ethnic backgrounds, this spirit of equality pervaded the conversation and suggest a global aspect of certain kinds of talk among women. Additionally, as Goodwin points out as a distinction between boys' and girls' negotiation styles, "by way of contrast [with boys] girls actively negotiate who has the right to address others with imperatives and modify their behavior when challenged" (122). Goodwin also comments on two supposed 'focal points' of 'women's speech':

"1) women are more polite and 2) in cross-sex situations women are dominated by men" (117). Her data show (as do mine) that females do in fact defy three points by using direct commands in two contexts: "1) in response to clear violations and 2) during play when advancing the activity or attending to the welfare of others has a clear priority" (118). These insights, I believe, do much to explain the relatively 'impolite' speech of females in all four groups in the present research. The women are ameliorating the situations and/or the welfare of others, so they feel justified in speaking bluntly. (See Appendices A and B.)

This can also help explain the variety of humor displayed by the group (as well as in the other three). Goodwin's conclusion to her chapter of talk among girls and boys also bears on the present data and research finding:

> Thus girls exhibit a wide range of different types of social organization ... Here I have attempted to show that some features of girls' activities are similar to how boys hierarchically structure their play; the finds reported here thus seem to counter many of the prevalent notions about girls' social organization. (1990:135-137)

Interestingly, the Caribbean females proved somewhat atypical of the general female undergraduate group, and, in many ways, unlike the females in the other three cohorts. This suggests valuable future research projects. However, these female shared a number of similarities, such as support interruptions, backchannels and especially humor – both as users and appreciaters of humor and its range.

VI. TEACHERS

VI. 1. Description

The teachers comprised members whose ages were similar to the traditional 'laboratory' subjects; they also included nontraditional subjects. Their ages range from early 20s (almost an undergraduate age group) to late 40s (about Lakoff's generation). Additionally, three of the oldest subjects were recorded as they discussed being raised as "ladies" and their reactions to their upbringing and their and their own daughters' views of women's roles.

The rest of the tapes were made during after-school planning sessions where the women work, a small, private elementary school for children diagnosed as emotionally disturbed (ED). These sessions involved the head teacher, her assistant, and anyone else who might come in with a question or comment. Also, there were two student teachers in the tapings, one female (TF 13) and one male (TM 1). The small number of males (n=2) allowed for the present research to focus on women in their groups as professionals, in ways that could not be done with the graduates, who were (with two exceptions) talking in mixed-sex groups, nor with the DJ group, which contained only one female dyad.

There appears to be a need to use more females in work-related settings to examine if gender differences exists in their speech. Therefore, this particular group was selected to expand the research database. Additionally, extended talk in a naturalistic setting could be collected from these speakers since they interacted in their classroom free of laboratory distractions. Furthermore, as the conversations were dyadic, comparisons could be made to

previous research, which predominantly examined dyadic talk, and many of the speakers were almost the ages and ethnic membership (Caucasian) of previous studies. Alternately, since the setting and sometimes the ages and numbers of speakers differed from previous studies, differences from previous findings could be looked for. And since much previous research on women has focussed on business environments (Tannen 1994), this ED school setting provided a viable alternate work site for data collection and analysis.

VI. 2. Support Interruptions

As in the previous groups, support interruptions occurred often among these females, who produced more than half the number that the undergraduates did (818 vs. 1596) while numbering only 1/3 of the undergraduate females (13 vs. 40). Of course, they spoke for a longer time a once than the undergraduate females did, and the setting of their conversations (at home and in **their** classrooms) may have affected the frequency of these usages. However, the large number of them in females' speech parallels the findings among all other groups, so their presence supports the argument of their function as a female-preferred usage. (See Tables V.a., b.)

It is useful to examine the contexts and functions of support interruptions in the teachers' speech. The first example is taken from a long conversation that was used in a previous study (Romano 1993). This particular excerpt demonstrates the rich interplay of support talk as they reminisce about the clothing they wore as children. The talk takes the three into the past, as their vivid interchanges attest:

(1)

TF 1: Did you Ever think that perhaps crinolines were invented
to KEEP anybody from getting too NEAR your personal SPACE-

TF 3: I thought they were invented so you could never sit in
a CAR.

TF 2: [ummm
TF 1: [I remember standing in the back of a car like a little
PUPpy with -ah- little gloved hands

flip
TF 3: I used to my crinoline up like THIS and I could sit
down- but I couldnt lean BACK

TF 1: ummm

```
                              edge
TF 2:   You could sit on the       like a lady=
TF 3:   =YES, YES-om-well you should NEver sit all the way BACK-
            you should keep your back STRAIGHT=
TF 1:                                          =STRAIGHT as POSsible
TF 3:   I was PRobably too SHORT [laughter] so thats why they
            probably let me STAND [laughter]
TF 2:   back straight knees toGEther=
TF 1:                                =now SHOES- a little girl
            NEver wore STRAPless shoes=
TF 3:                               =oh
                                      [no
TF 1:   it was the mark of apPROACHing[TEEN dom=          =or
TF 3:                                              =or POINTS=
TF 1:   POINts-they had to be rounded- and then ALways ROUNded=
TF 3:   =if you were a LAdy=
                                    LA
TF 2:   oh NO(h) I was NEver a REAL  dy  then [laughter]
```

During this talk of dressing 'like a lady', the three finish each other's thoughts as they remember clothes and incidents. The repetition of phrases also functions as supportive involvement in the conversation. They literally 'recreate' the past through their interaction, and the results are what Goodwin (1990) has called "talk as social action' and "stories as participation structures" (1; 239). Note also the backchannels, 'yes' supports, and self-deprecating humor as they share their memories.

Another example (2) of supportive interchanges can be seen between TF 7 and 8, the head teacher and assistant, respectively. They are just beginning their taped planning session:

(2)

```
           LO                                        HOT
TF 7:   Hel   AL        youre LISening to TWO     BABES
TF 8:           heheha
TF 7:   thats what we decided to NAME our TAPE (3.0) OK we just
             reMIND about the trip so=
TF 8:                                  =YES
TF 7:   We-I REALly dont want to plan any-um REAL prework GROUP
        for that   ahm-only because we just want to get our STUFF
TF 8:       Riight
TF 7:   done for Switzerland but then we'll WANT to reFER BACK to
        later on when we start doing our-ahm ah AFrican AmERican
             studies-YEAH and then itll be good make a connection AT
        THAT time but I just want to get Switzerland done=
TF 8:                                  yeah-          =yeah
              sometimes you just have to get BACK to it    as opposed=
TF 7:                                                 mmhmm
TF 7:   =thisll be  the prework but we DO need to get the
permission
           slips out (1.0) Monday      oKAY?=
TF 8:                                  MON-          =mmHMM
```

In this excerpt the two females are planning a field trip. They provide each other much interaction and support interruptions, from 'yes' to 'right' to backchannels to repeated words ('Monday' 'Mon- '). Although TF 7 does most of the talking, TF 8 displays her support by interposing support terms and backchannels to signal her understanding and agreement. The next example (3) includes a triadic discussion. The three females are discussing the preparation of students' painting:

(3)

```
TF 6:   Small little STENcils- a:nd in BLACK=      do the
TF 5:                                          =Okehh
TF 6:   lettering
TF 4:   =YEAH i THINK the STRING first so they know where the
        painting is
        going to (?)
             DID
TF 4:   OH i     nt hear what you SAID
                              string
TF 6:   NO-I- I sssaay PUT the        on LAST=     so that they
TF 4:                                        =why?
TF 6:   dont get the PAINT on the string 'cause the STRING is
TF 6:   gonna be VEry THIN
TF 5:   Its all gonna be one COLor n thats oKAY
TF 4:   RIight as long as they understand that- OKAY 'cause
             theyre COLorin=            =YEAH doya SEE what I mean?
TF 5:                  =its SEParate=
TF 6:   yeah
TF 4:     theyll just have to be-ya'know- CAREful
```

In this interchange the interlocutors are trying to work out the best ways to get the children to complete their paintings in the most appropriate way. TF 6, who is an assistant but the oldest of the group, is telling the teachers, one of whom (TF 5) is a first-year novice, some techniques that seem to work. While the head teacher (TF 4) agrees with TF 6 initially, she quietly questions a later assertion, and is backed by the other teacher ('its all gonna be one COLor n thats okay'), also in a subdued manner. TF 4 and 5 collaborate on an explanation to the other female, and the gentle tag politely brings the other female to agreement. This passage also contains many other examples of support interruptions, which help resolve the questions and problems at hand. Interestingly, TF 6, who normally is quite assertive, couches her comments in a negative and some stammering ('NO I-I ssaay') in stating her difference in painting preparation.

VI. 3. Backchannels

As with the other groups, the teachers used backchannels to create connections with each other as they spoke. These non-lexical utterances can function as agreements or facilitators (Reid 1995), which let the speaker know that she is being listened to or agreed with. One category that Reid did not mention is the exclamation of surprise at what the listener has just heard. However they might be classified, backchannels always helped the conversation 'flow', and it appears that the females made the talk 'flow' more. (See Tables V.a., b.)

Example 1 above contains two kinds of backchannels: one functioning as a sign of surprise (uttered by TF 2), another functioning as agreement (spoken by TF 1). In example 2, TF 8 uses a backchannel as a sign of acknowledgment and agreement. In example 4, a student teacher is scheduling a combined class activity with a head teacher who is not her cooperating teacher:

(4)

```
TF 13:  Are ya SURE?
TF 7:   mmHMM
TF 13:  the kids eat lunch before they go to gym      but we get
TF 7:                                                mmHMM
TF 13:  back at 12:30=
TF 7:                =ok
```

TF 7 sensitively and supportively follows TF 13's questions and plans, and she also provides a supportive 'ok' at the conclusion of TF 13's talk.

Example 5 contains a teacher praising her assistant's artwork, and then listening to the assistant's procedures:

(5)

TF 11: Those ladybugs are SO: cute
TF 12: yeah it was they got blank ladybugs and they followed
directions- COLor the wing area [RED
TF 11: [mmHHMM
CUTE
TF 11: LOOK at this its so::

TF 11 uses 'so' to voice her surprise at and pleasure with the artwork the children had done; next, as TF 12 explains how she used a listening skills exercise to help create the art, TF 11 interposes a backchannel to show her she's following along. Also, TF 11 twice expresses extreme pleasure at her children's artwork.

In example 6 TF 4 is planning the pre-holiday work with her assistants and a number of support comments arise:

(6)
TF 4: so the critical thinking activity might be knocked [out
[O
TF 6: [kay

TF 5: They DO get bored after a WHILE [
TF 4: [mmHMM
TF 6: [yeah

TF 4: I know a lot of them like MATH so we can throw in EASy
math [
TF 5: [mmHM
TF 6: [MMMm

Again, the backchannels function as support interruptions, and they are synonymous with 'OK' and 'Yeah'. However, backchannels, as Reid (1995) also asserted, can function as negatives (7):

(7)

```
                                              COUN        ALL?
TF 9:   Do you think he needs FINgers or     ters at
TF 10:  UHuh.
```

One final comment on backchannels in this chapter is appropriate. As mentioned above, only two males were a part of this group, and for one of them (TM 2), his conversation was limited to a few interjections, as he was not one of the regular classroom instructors. However, the other male did speak a bit as he was a student teacher. His brief recorded interactions (as he had to leave shortly after the taping commenced for a class) included 10 backchannels. This was so due to his role as learner and to his cooperating teacher's style of carefully explaining administrative and other procedures that are special to an ED setting. One brief exchange is typical of his responses:

(8)

```
TF 9:   Because the mastery level is 80%
TM 1:                                    mmhm
TF 9:   so we dont expect-its not like they CANT get above that-
        but for SOME kids the scale is not aPLICable
TM 1:                                                  MMM
```

TF 9 was explaining the report card grading system to the student teacher, for he had to supply grades for some of the skills areas he had been working on with the children. He also provided the only use of 'so' in its intensive function; interestingly, he employs it in talking about some students' negative reaction to one boy's speech intonation:

(9)

```
TM 1:   it was SO loud- and people were-ya'know- 'What did you SAY
        WHat did you SAY'
```

VI. 4. Yes/Yeah

As the previous examples this chapter has demonstrated, the teachers' talk is liberally sprinkled with supportive comments, whether they be repetitions, other support interruption phrases, and backchannels. Similarly, 'Yes/yeah' (and 'OK/Right') also share prominence in the females' speech, often in free variation with the other forms, as examples 1, 2, 3, and 6 above indicate.

Example 10 contains 'yeah' as well as 'right' in similar functions:

(10)

```
TF 7:   I didnt DROP his sentences down=
TF 8:                                  =RIight
TF 7:   Hes VEry worried about what his answers are=
RF 8:                                               =YEAH
```

Again, this exchange shows the cooperative relationship the two share and create through rapid speech, akin to the 'call-and-response' structure of the blues and gospel groups. In like manner, the three teachers discussing how their children will complete an art assignment share some close 'riffing' (as Coates 1996 dubs it) (11):

(11)

```
                      Ve
TF 4:   But it takes a   ry STEADy hand to do that=
TF 6:                                             =yeah
TF 5:                                                    =sure DOES
```

And a final excerpt from the three oldest teachers will provide a few examples (12) of 'yes in action'. They are discussing what it means to be a 'lady':

(12)

TF 3: I think you can be more comfortable but=
TF 1: =yes and ladies can be that way=
TF 3: well I think theres always comfort in knowing what to do because then youre CHOOSing whether to do that or NOT do it=
TF 2: =I think a lady can throw caution to the wind=
TF 1: =YES I do too its a womans prerogative=
TF 3: =and she can do it in a lady like FASHion=
TF 1: =or NOT depending on her CHOICE 'cause a lady I think= =is beYOND-its an evolved as gathered
TF 2: =yes yes=
TF 1: some strategies and power=
TF 2: =its an internal thing more than=
TF 1: =an external=
TF 3: = YES

The rich interplay of voices as they create the power that knowing how to be a lady can produce comes across almost like Molly Bloom's *yes* in Ulysses. The women finish each other's thoughts and provide simultaneous speech so well it sounds planned- but it wasn't. As Holmes (1993) claimed, 'New Zealand women are good to talk to," and these women in their careful, collaborative speech do share features that appear to be gender-preferred, as do the females in the other chapters, despite what Greenwood & Freed (1996) claim about gender not being a salient feature in conversation.

VI. 5. OK/Right

As in the previous sections, 'ok' and 'right' appear throughout the recordings. Usages of 'ok' functioning as a support device can be found in example 3 (by TF 5), 4 (by TF 7), and 6 (by TF 6); 'ok' as a transitional device can be seen in example 2 (by TF 7). Example 13 reveals a number of 'ok' forms, as the two teachers plan for the school's international festival:

(13)

TF 4: Its JUST like croissant and chocolate
TF 5: OK

TF 4: You can do the anchovy the day before=
TF 5: =ok
TWO SALads?
TF 4: Maybe we can make
TF 5: Okay
on TUESday?
TF 4: we could do CHOColate bread
TF 5: OK

This extended example demonstrates the collaborative talk the teachers all used, as they were cooperative preparing their classes. The structure of this school in particular requires much team work as teachers move from small group to small group within the class room. TF 5, being new to the school that term, is especially attentive to the plans for the celebration, and her 'ok's reflect that. Additionally, TF 4, the nominal assistant, is actually in charge of training TF 5; her two indirect, inclusive 'commands' ('Maybe we can', 'we could do') function to reduce difference and enhance egalitarian task-sharing. These usages mirror what Goodwin found used among the girls in her study (1990: 109-112), as opposed to the boys who threw direct imperatives at each other while they worked.

Example 14 also includes 'ok' as an agreement marker in the planning session:

(14)

TF 7: ALRIGHT and we'll just dismiss 'em probably-you know
TF 8: from JOURnal
TF 7: during JOURnal-j-journal choice that kind of
thing oKAY alRIGHT lets see how youll GO hmm- this week
you do handwriting Monday Wednesday and critical
TF 8: mmHM

TF 7: thinking = Tuesday THURSday OK
TF 8: Tuesday THURSday=

TF 7 is describing the events and possible changes in the schedule, and she uses 'ok' as a tag, followed by 'alRIGHT' as a transition. As she talks about other plans, she pauses to think and TF 8 finishes her sentence, which TF 7 repeats and assents to with 'OK'. The passage begins with an 'alright' in a transitional function.

In like manner, 'right' was favored both as an agreement and a transitional marker. TF 8 uses 'right' in its agreement function in examples 2 and 8 above. Additionally, while TF 6, an assistant, is telling TF 5, the new teacher, about procedures for student of the week awards and school store visits before and after a holiday break, TF 4, the other teacher, supports the statements with 'right' (example 15):

(15)

TF 6: no one was able to DO one= when they get BACK
TF 4: =right RIight
TF 6: but Im SURE they're gonna go to school STORE=
TF 4: =RIGHT
TF 6: ya'know Im almost POSitive of that you know-so:
TF 4: right

Interestingly, TF 6 ends her 'SURE' comments with some hedges ('ya'know Im almost POSitive of that you know-so:), and then trails off, possibly anticipating comments from TF 4, who had just interrupted her comments with a 'right'. This appears to be sensitive, careful talk, which Coates (1996) claims reveals women's strengths, not uncertainty, as they create meaning from their conversation. Also, in line with Goodwin's discussion of female collaborative creation of self-identity, TF 6 is leaving the 'conversational door open', to allow TF 4, the head teacher, to add more data. As Goodwin puts it, "the sequential organization of conversation provides built-in resources for elucidating how the **participants themselves** are interpreting the talk in which they are engaged" (6; emphasis in original).

Example 16 also shows an assistant carefully monitoring the head teacher's plan for individual instruction for a child:

(16)

TF 9: Thats what I want to work on when we return from vaca-
DOES
tion-DOES he know how to regroup and if he s thats

TF 9: where Im GOing to START
TF 10: RI
ight

Finally, example 14 above contains two uses of 'alright' by TF 7, which function as transitional utterances.

VI. 6. Humor

As with all the other groups, the teachers had opportunities (and created opportunities) to share a laugh and to comment on their own issues and concerns. In line with the explanations of the features of women's humor vis a vis males' (Mitchell 1985; Mulky 1988; Crawford 1995, among others), the females did use humor as a inclusive conversational device, sometimes through self-denigration; however, the women could use humor to jibe somewhat aggressively, as can be seen in example 17. TF 11 is passing the classroom where TF 4, 5, and 6 had shown a video using two VCRs:

(17)

TF 11: Are you watching a LOT of TV these days [laughter]

TF 4: You KNOW whos on television? CLARE and LORrie Channel 4
(heheheh)
TF 11: what did they DO? what did they ROB? (heheh)

TF 4: They were WATCHing them [laughter] 151
TF 5: [to TF 11] you LOOK like a lit- a LEprachon (hehaha)
true
TF 11: its I look like a LITtle SMERF
[laughter]

THERE
TF 6: ya go [laughter] SMURPHY

TF 11's reference to Clare and Lorrie is somewhat aggressive since they were the principal and curriculum coordinators at the school, but they all are also long-time friends. Additionally, the interchange reveals the good-natured form of the humor, as when TF 5, who is much younger than TF 11, says that TF 11 looks like 'a lita LEPrachon'. TF 11 immediately responds with 'its true', then picks up the 'lit-' part of TF 5's talk with 'I look

like a LITtle SMERF.' The group all laughs, then TF 6 tosses off 'SMERFY', a name for a leprechaun Smerf. The speakers' age range from early 20s (TF 4 and 5), to mid-30s (TF 6) to mid-40s (TF 11), yet they all 'come together' to create a humorous stretch of collaborative banter.

Another example of female humor both being collaborative and 'holding its own 'with males' can be found in 18:

(18)

```
                that
TM 2:   whats       for the STUdents though?

TF 11:  Georgette and I decided we're NOT going to be vulgar=
TF 12:                                                      =we

        PROmise=                                  =like ALways
TF 11:          =we're going to be proFESsional=

             [laughter]
                                    Als     GREAT
TM 2:   jus like I was SAYin that     the       est hes LUCKy to be with a
        GIRL like LORrie
        Ar
TF 11:    tie you have to LEAVE now
TM 2:                                 Ok goodbye(heheh)

TF 12:                                            no men aLLOWED
                  ⌈BYE
TF 11:  ba        |
TM 2:             ⌊(bye haheh)
```

The two teachers begin with a mock serious series of statements, collaboratively produced with much simultaneous talk. TM 2 attempts to chide the researcher to which the female teachers respond with dismissive statements ('You have to leave now', 'No men aLLOWED'), ending with the reference to *a Saturday Night Live* routine involving rude airline attendants. It is not clear if TM 2 'got' TF 11's reference. This excerpt demonstrates

the self-assured personalities of TF 11, who is almost 20 years older than TM 2, and TF 12, who at 22 was the youngest participant in the group.

The next example (19) involves two of the younger teachers, TF 7 and 8, who are both in their mid-20s. They are discussing the food that the son of a lesbian will be bringing to the school fete:

(19)

TF 8: three n a half foot CUcumber (heheh)

TF 7: which is funny for his MOM to ORDER and Im surprised
TF 8: [laughter]
TF 7: she-y'know PARTed with SIX of those CUcumbers so=
TF 8: =she said
her FRIENDs in the hospital [laughter]
GOD
TF 7: oh my we were cracking up-I mean [laughter]

This excerpt demonstrates that females can (and will) tell sexual jokes; this joking also involves a story with a number of people involved: TF 7 as listener, TF 8 as teller, the mother and her hospitalized friend. This humorous exchange is an example of a female story structure, as Mitchell (1985) discovered in her examination of narratives told by fluent males and females. It also echoes Crawford's analysis (1995) of females' humor in contrast to males'. This is not the only example found.

In example 20, two teachers in their early 20s (TF 4 and 5) are remembering an annoying man they encountered on a field trip to an art museum with their class. Apparently, the man had criticized a child's sketch of a painting because it was too 'crude':

(20)

```
            GUY          MET
TF 5:   that    y at the       (heheheh)

TF 4:   i-didnt-I dont have enough energy - I was going to KILL       um
TF 5:   heheha=
              =NO
TF 4:   I WAS I was gonna KILL um Im like NO I
        have to act appropriate ya'know 'cause if this
        was ME and the kids werent there I wouldve fuckin
        SHOVED one of those paintings up his ASS=
TF 5:                 hahaha                      = AHhahaha
```

This example reveals the anger TF 4 felt about a man's unkind remark, and she didn't care that the tape was running- she wanted to 'vent' to her friend. TF 5 takes a back seat in the talk, enjoying the revenge scenario by laughing along.

Another, less graphic example (21) of female humor in its collaborative function occurs when TF 4 walks in on TF 9 and 10, and an exchange takes place concerning TF 4 and 10's boyfriends:

(21)

```
TF 10:  You can chat 'cause I have to go make DINner-
TF 9:   she-ah, yes, she has her uh BEAU to ahh-make dinner for-
TF 4:   wee, I was supposed to call Jim
TF 10:  did you THANK um      DAVE made that
TF 4:                   yeah
        HER
TF 9:       DAVE        oh GOD- we need to get-  no he-um-doesnt
TF 10:          HEheheh            DAVAD

TF 9:   ahh-SOUND like a DAVid telling time
TF 10:                                      yes his MOTHer used
        to call him that=
TF 9:                   = telling time to the HOUr
```

In this the females talk about their male friends, and TF 9 notes that TF 10's friend and the student teacher (TM 1) both have the same name ('HER DAVE'). TF 9 also notes that TF 10's friend does not 'sound' like a David, then directly returns to the task they had been doing before TF 4 entered. TF 10 also shares the fact that her boyfriend's mother used to call him David. There is a lot of humorous bantering occurring, yet no one appears to be upset by the interaction, as TF 9 and TF 10 resume their planning.

In example 22 the teachers share female troubles and also play a trick on the principal (TF 1):

(22)

TF 5: and I have my FRIEND
TF 1: UGGGG go HOME
TF 5: I have SUCH cramps
CLARE are
TF 4: YOU the BEST PRINcipal a SCHOOL can HAVE
TF 1: WHY?
TF 5: (heheh)
AL

TF 1: oh NO youre doing ALS TAPE- you STINK
TF 4: hahah
TF 5: hahah
TF 1: thats how spaced OUT I am I didnt even SEE the thing
GOing - [laughter] and SIGNing OFF- 'cause I have such work-
AL, come HERE please [laughter]

The young teachers were able to fool their 'boss', and so they can share a conspiracy of sorts- yet they all enjoy themselves. Even TF 1 'forgives' the others by self-criticism ('Thats how spaced OUT I am'), and she goes off to chide the researcher. So the teachers have found ways to create bonds through humor- and thus create an inclusive atmosphere.

A final example of extended, cooperative humor is 23, where the women are talking

about matching clothing and which evolves into something quite different:

(23)

TF 2: I still think its a good ides
TF 1: The white SHOES?
TF 2: WHAT white shoes?
TF 3: NO-no-you mean MATCHing EVERYthing
TF 1: OH MATCHing=
TF 2: =no matching EVerything-not wearing WHITE=
TF 3: =SEAsonal
TF 2: in the seasons I like it I still DO I dont whether Id DO it anymore but I still LIKE it
TF 3: Its good to know the DIFferences
TF 1: I dont like WHITE shoes PERiod
TF 3: me NEIther-do you HAVE em?
TF 2: well-ACtually I DONT I stopped wearing white when I heard someone say the your shoes should never be a lighter color than your dress
TF 3: ahAH
TF 1: I never heard THAT one Stephanie
TF 2: It was someone-somewhere- not too long either
TF 3: IT must have been liberACHE!
TF 2: youknow-like twenty YEARS ago
TF 1: Flip WILson-GERaldine
TF 3: Well it couldnt a bin Michael JACKson [laughter]
TF 1: 'cause he cant get ANYTHING lighter than his SKIN [laughter]
TF 1: OH michael MICHael hes got some SERious PROBlems
TF 3: Alright-so what aBOUT aHUM DRESSes-like sashes I remember in the winter= =the SASHes were VELvet
TF 1: =ACCHH=
TF 3: so:=
TF 1: =or SATin

This passage combines a number of features: a reminiscence about matching clothes; humorous banter about men who dressed or acted feminine; and commentary on knowing about 'how to dress' without having to slavishly follow fashions. The women also used a number of terms for effect: simultaneous speech as a function of cooperation; backchannels and yeahs; transitional 'alright' to get the group back on topic; you know as a careful hedge (Östman 1980; Holmes 1986); and a combination of serious and silly talk that bonded the

three women. As Cameron and Coates (1989) described it, this extract revealed 'women in their speech communities'; as Coates (1996) described it, this friendly talk provided much creativity, cooperation and caring among its interlocutors.

VI. 7. 'So'

As with the graduates and undergraduates, the teachers used a number of 'so' expressions in their conversations. Although the totals are not as significantly large as other features, they are present enough in their speech to be a salient part of the women's repertoire. (See Tables II, V.a., b.) In the first example (24), TF 7 and 8 are discussing a student's progress in his journal writing:

(24)

TF 8: We talked a little bit today after he finished his journ-I mean- he- he worked so HARD on that aBOUT FOcussing during that morning work time- like-it's the hardest time of the DAY for him he went he-ya'know-he said MORNing WORK I-like- well I think we need to Focus he said hes gonna TRY (hhhH)

TF 7: Ok well you know what you can DO you can try an ask hi what can YOU do to help to get focussed

TF 8: well we talked a bit about
the crown= and he said OK
TF 7: =and he- Ok

TF 8 is discussing a problem a child in the class is encountering, and she interrupts her story to remark about how hard the boy is working on his journal. The 'so' functions as a sign of her empathy for the child's struggle to write.

The next example (25) is a collection of short statements containing emphatic 'so' in a variety of contexts. One teacher (TF 9) announces quietly as she is passing some other teachers on her way out of the school:

(25)

```
                SO
TF 9:   Im     TIRed im SO tired
```

Similarly, one of the oldest teachers (TF 11) laments as she is cleaning out her files:

(26)

```
TF 11:  OH, Im SO: TIred
```

Also, in example 25 above TF 11 signals her enjoyment twice with 'so'. Another teacher (TF 5), in talking about a child, declared:

(27)

```
                                YYY
TF 5:   Chilly is SOO  FUUNN
TF 4:   ISnt he a DOLL?
TF 5:   I just LOVE (hehehhe) his FACial(heheheh) exPRESsions
```

TF 9 had some praise for a student's growth in class, and the relevant excerpt is quoted below:

(28)

```
TF 9:   Hes SO enthusiAStic and he was SO- he volunTEERED
```

Another kind of 'so' was a sarcastic variation, but still functioning as a sign of strong emotion. (See Table I.) In one situation TF 10 is kidding the student teacher (TM 1) about his not having to go to class:

(29)

TF 10: I KNOW you like hangin OUT with us SO much

In a related usage, TF 8 is relating a situation with a student to TF 7 and she uses 'so':

(30)

TF 8: And Fran and Marilyn were SO nice to tell me that Joannie didnt have her EARphones plugged in

TF 8 is sardonically relating how two students 'told on' another. [The names of all the students have been changed.] These exclamations and comments use 'so' as a function of strong and definite emotion, but not of uncertain or hedged feelings.

A final example with 'so' (24) also involves some other comment that make it appropriate as a closing citation. The three women who remembered being raised as 'ladies' spent a significant amount of time talking about clothing, especially restrictive kinds of dress. Their interchange is typical of their talk together:

(31)

TF 3: I remember little BROWN velvet shoes and BLACK velvet shoes with the little straps and BUTtons
TF 2: OH MY: WELL I got one pair of-of dress shoes for the summer and ONE SO
TF 1: They were HARD

TF 2: pair of dress shoes for the winter- and I never got
TF 1: YES
TF 2: BUTtons
TF 3: MMM I had buttons well I had a couple of
TF 1: UMmm those godDAMNED BUTtons
TF 3: lady aunts who always bought those button shoes

The three freely interact, supporting the talk (and each other) with support interruptions, backchannels, 'yes', and emotional interjections (they were SO HARD', 'those godDAMNED BUTtons'). They all helped to re-create memories and create cooperative, collaborative conversation. Each one brings herself to the talk, and they all listen intently and comment eloquently. They certainly exhibit a variety of talk that Goodwin (1990) saw in the girls she studied. As she put it,

> The structure of talk girls use among themselves constitutes not a limited repertoire or a kind of 'restricted code,' but rather systematic procedures through which a particular type of social organization can be created. The fact that their social organization varies substantially across different domains makes it imperative that studies of girls' play or interaction be grounded in detailed analysis of specific contexts of use (137).

Merely substituting 'women' and 'women's' for 'girls' and 'girls'' shows how useful Goodwin's analyses and explanations are for an expanded research group, and why this present study relied on her model to examine Lakoff's contribution to understanding the interrelation between language and gender.

8. Conclusion

As was found in the aforementioned data of this group, the female teachers did in fact use 'so' and other forms much more often than the males. (Admittedly, the sample was small, yet tendencies can still be gleaned from the speech of the group.) They also evinced much humor, some of it what previous researchers found to be the province of female humor (Coates1996; Crawford 1995; Jefferson 1984; Mitntz 1988; Mitchell 1985; Mulkay 1988), and some that would be considered more vulgar and stereotypically 'male' (Jay 1992).

Similarly, much of what was found to be significant in the speech of the largest female cohort, graduate students (see Tables II and III) can be found in the speech of these females. Additionally, three of the females in this study (TF 1, 2, 3) are approximately of Lakoff's age and social status (though none is Jewish; all are Catholics), and their use of 'so' and 'women's words' patterns closely patterns what Lakoff found as WL features as she drew from her intuition to derive the features. They are all of a certain 'generation' and thus share some features. However, although the younger females in this group did not use these features as much as these three (see Appendices C and D), their use of them also suggest a cross-generational frequency *vis a vis* the males' usage.

Finally, what was mentioned about the use of the various WL features and the variety of humoring the undergraduates' conversation (see V. I.) can be applied to the talk of the teachers. These women were 'doing talk' and 'creating situations' as they talked and reminisced, and their banter and serious support for each other can certainly be noted

in the frequency and functions of the items delineated above. And, as Goodwin noted about her girl subjects (see the quote in V. 8.), these women definitely did not defer to men or demur in their use of a variety of language, including blunt and non-polite. These females did 'diverge' from Lakoff's WL features, especially in light of Goodwin's insights referred to in Chapters IV and V. Further, as the graduate students and undergraduates demonstrated (see IV. 6b. and V. 6b.), these females could also use sarcasm and ribaldry in their exchanges, but they, again, did not use sarcastic or really insulting humor as the males did (see IV. 6a. and V. 6a.). So, there does appear to be a difference in the function of humor in the females' and males' conversations and interactions. (See Tables V.a., b.)

VII. DISK JOCKEYS

VII. 1. Description

The subjects of this cohort work for a small New Jersey non-commercial "free-form" radio station. Their ages range from mid-twenties to early forties, they speak English as their native language and all are Caucasians. They were taped during the station's annual fund-raising marathon when DJs are paired off during their radio shifts. Their uses of the features differed somewhat from the other cohorts, yet in many ways they appeared consistent with the other subjects. (See Tables II, IV, Va anb b and Appendix D.)

These subjects were chosen for specific reasons. The relevant literature indicates that no similar groups have been examined for their linguistic usage, and the researcher was able to tape the full spectrum of interactive dyads: female/female, female/male and male/male. (There are only two recent studies of radio talk in the literature. One study was conducted using a call-in radio show in London [Couper-Kuhlen 1996]. This, however, involved a commercial station, and the callers were in an asymmetrical power relationship with the radio personality. The other dealt with a radio talk-show therapy program in Los Angeles, and the speakers again did not share the relationship that those in the present one do [Gaik 1992].) Furthermore, since these subjects were "on the air", their status as it related to their speech would be closer to natural interaction. Some arguments can be made regarding the strictures of being "on the air" in that that would preclude certain usages. In a similar vein, most previous research employing undergraduates encountered the same problem of 'politeness' in that the subjects were aware of the fact they were being "studied". Arguably,

the politeness and propriety of their language would suffer the same constraint, if not more, than the groups in the "on-the-air" model.

As the results of the present study indicate, the linguistic dynamics of many important areas have a similarity which validates the central premises of this inquiry. For example, the feature of backchannels for the females, while fewer than the males', is remarkable when one considers that the males outnumbered the females two to one. The feature "yes" as a backchannel support contained virtually the same number of tokens for both groups, and the feature 'ok/right' revealed more uses by the females. Thus, the finding that women tend to use backchannels and other forms of 'positive interruptions' is supported by this group. It should be remembered that Hirshman's (1973; 1994) cohort numbered only four; therefore, it is significant that, twenty years later in a completely different set of circumstances, linguistic and sociological, the features are demonstrated along a gender divide. This divide and its aspects of the communication of power lend additional support to the central question at hand. The following are some examples of each of the above mentioned features.

VII. 2. Support Interruptions

Although the male disk jockeys demonstrated their support of each other (for example, RM 10 provided 25 instances of support interruptions), the females provided the greater number, especially when one considers they numbered half the recorded males. For instance, (1):

(1)

```
RM10:   cued up instead of Kerr Duka the first time=
RF 5:   =oh, well=     =uhh
RM10:             =uhuh=
                  it happens
RF 5:   mistakes are us
                                      CDs
RM10:   You're lucky I'm not playing      on the turntable,
        [y'know
RF 5:   [uuuuuuu
```

The female disk jockey interjects support sign three times, with the third also serving as an example of a backchannel device (as originally defined by Yngve [1970]).

In example (2), again the female DJ interrupts to offer support and information for her co-host and audience:

(2)

```
                what
RM 7:   Ah           do'ya get the beer coasters for=   =oh
RF 3:                                                  =sixty five dollars=

RM 7:   that's the sixty five dollar[pledge
RF 3:                               [level, yes

RM 7:   They Came, They Played, They Blocked the
              Driveway   which was-        this is from three years ago
RF 3:   that  was                [the first [double CD
```

In fact, in her second interruption, RF 3 is given the floor by RM 7, who stops himself as she explains that the CD in question was the first one of the type that had been made live from the station. In example (3), one can see how the female speakers will support each other as they relay some humorous stories concerning makeup:

(3)

```
RF 2:   I jes-mmmm=
                                                PUNCHED          FACE
RF 1:   Ya'know, somebody asked me if I got           in the

            today-heheh

        REAL
RF 2:       LY      WOW
.
.
.
                                      LI
RF 2:   I teased my hair out like a    on [an-              = yeah
RF 1:                                     [I remember this=
```

RF 1, whose time slot it is, tells a somewhat self-mocking story of her coworker's reaction to her unusual makeup, and her co-host adds an interjection of support and empathy. A short time later in the same conversation, RF 2 reels off a long story about her use of makeup for a Halloween party, and RF 1 shows her support by saying she has remembered that incident. It has the effect of stopping RF 2 momentarily in her narrative, to which she returns after a few moments and acknowledging RF 1's support.

Example (4) demonstrates male support of another male's comments thanking volunteers for providing food as well as money:

(4)

JOHN

RM 4: We wanna thank saints and TERRI for donating
all the food for- for the
LISH
RM 3: de ous by the way

RM 4: big end of the marathon party tonight

VII. 3. Backchannels

Example (1) provides two examples of backchannels as I have defined them, being generally nonverbal expressions of support which do not attempt to take the floor from the speaker, but rather provide a 'supportive background' for the current speaker's turn (White 1989). In general, the data for backchannels reflect those for the other groups: although the females produced 55 tokens of backchannels, when averaged out in comparison with the male tokens (79), they did produce more. (See Tables Va and b.) In example (5), there is a somewhat elaborate crisscrossing of backchannels as the two females, discussing whether to go out on Goth Night, as they dub it, decide on what to wear:

(5)

```
                                    UP
RF 1:   Well, let's get all dolled    and-uh-stake out the joint

                          STINKY
RF 2:   and-uh-wear that        [perfume
RF 1:                           [hahah-      that STINKY-uh-

             uh-patchuli[aah    MUSK      matter- yeahyeah=
RF 2:                   [aah                              =and those

             long black dresses-          and a les-I get to like
RF 1:              uhmmmmm       (1.5)

        PLASTER
RF 2:           my hair to my face=
RF 1:                             =mmuhum  well wull have a-uh-
                   KNOW
             I'd-ya'      wull have a black rinse made up for you
```

In this series of turns, RF 2 offers a suggestion which RF 1 gives a backchannel to ('hahah'), which leads to RF 1 embellishing the suggestion ('MUSK'). RF 2 provides a backchannel support ('aah') and then takes over the floor again to describe the dress. Again, RF 1 offers

backchannel encouragement and, after waiting for RF 2 to end her turn, provides yet another backchannel ('mmmuhum') and then offers a suggestion for completing the 'look' they're after. This very intricate yet eloquently cadenced series of exchanges has been noted as one characteristic of women's talk with each other (Coates 1996, among others), and these two have a fine and apparently enjoyable time with this alternating backchanneling and floortaking. More of this conversation will be discussed in the section on humor in male and female talk.

Example (6) involves a male and female DJ, where her supportive backchannels can be seen:

(6)

RM 7: Uh- they're only uh- they were premiums for people who pledged $91.10- (.5)

RF 3: in marathons past=
RM 7: =in marathons past, thank you because my words are failing me- 201

RF 3: ah-ehhoho ok

Besides completing his flagging words, RF 3 provides a supportive and sympathetic backchannel. She also uses 'ok' as a supportive interruption when he does begin giving out the station's marathon phone number. This is almost an archetypal 'feminine' support conversation.

Although female speakers in all groups tended to use backchannels and support interruptions much more than the males did, the male DJ group showed more of these usages. Example (7) provides a male-to-male backchannel:

```
(7)

                                     CAL            NOW=
RM 2:   Might be you right there       lin' right
RM 1:                                       exactly   =I-I
                             WILL
             dare say it        be
                                        HUM
RM 2:                                  um
```

Besides the supportive backchannel at the end of these turns, two features appear. There is the support interrupt by RM 1 ('exactly') as well as his taking the floor to add further support, to which RM 2 gives his assenting backchannel. So this overlap marks a supportive interruption, not an unwarranted interruption.

Example (8) demonstrates a male-to-female backchannel:

```
(8)
RF 4:   Once you[get that thing in the mail if you decide you've
RM 8:           [right
                                YOU                     Change
RF 4:   found an extra you know     know how you find
                      couch
            in your        [like when you clean your couch or if you do

RM 8:                      [uhmmm
                                             hap
RM 4:   a big spring cleaning and you[jus     pen to come across
                                        ight
RM 8:                                [ri
```

This example implies a male listener who is generally supportive: he provides the backchannel ('uhmmm') as the female searches for words to complete her thought, and he also uses the supportive 'right' twice. Later in the section on humor I will return to this particular pair to demonstrate how females cane be 'male-like' in their humor as well as decidedly female.

VII. 4. Yes/yeah:

'Yes/yeah' has been separated from both backchannels (where it is commonly included in the literature: Yngve 1970; Schegloff 1982; White 1989) and support interruptions, where it could arguably be subsumed. It serves a series of functions: 1) as an answer to a tag or other interrogative; 2) as a support interruption or backchannel; 3) as a transitional device; and 4) as a polite, face-saving statement of doubt about the speaker's assertion or comment. As my interest lies in the different functions such lexical utterances may have in conversation among same- and different-sex speakers, the last three will be examined below.

An instance of 'yes' serving as support can be found in example (9), between a male and female DJ:

(9)

```
                        LOT
RM 10:  $26,000 is a      of money in five and a half hours
              which-            is what we have left, folks
                   AI-
RF 5:   yeah              I don't know if it's doable
```

Here she offers a doubtful agreement to support his opinion, then drops out of the turn to allow him to continue, where she again offers support for his doubts. She didn't quite overlap his talk, but this example can also serve as a 'support interruption'. Although she is negative (as is he), this still constitutes an example of the second type of 'yes' delineated above because she supports his negative comment.

Example (2) also offers an example of supportive 'yes' when she interrupts him to say the support 'level', then adds 'yes'. An example of female-female use of this 'yes' can be

discerned in example (10) (continuing from example (3):

(10 [3])

```
                                        LI
RF 2:   I teased my hair out like a    on[an              =yeah
RF 1:                                    [I remember this=

RF 2:   it was great it[was [ya'know  [oh- it's us girlygirls
RF 1:                  [aha [but it's [like
```

This exchange carries rich conversational interaction and interplay, but the speaker holding the floor (RF 2) actually acknowledges the support interruption RF 1 provided ('I remember this') before attempting to continue. RF 1 also vies for the floor, but allows RF 2 to retake it. More of this will be discussed in the humor section, in the sense of a female type of humor (Crawford 1995).

An example of supportive 'yes' occurring in male dyads is next (11):

(11)

```
                                                                  of
RM 2:   Have you seen that deck o cards or the workup there

          I have not
                    NEI
RM 1:   I have not   ther


                                                    MIS
RM 2:   Apparently these missing person cards are    sing=
RM 1:                                                   =yea:h
```

In this same conversation can be found two other uses of 'yes': as a transition statement allowing the speaker to take the floor and as a face-saving indicator of the speaker's doubt about the other's comments (12):

(12)

RM 1: I think the missing person cards ACT ually involve people EV DAY who continue to be missing en to

RM 2: a:h ye

.

RM 1: U Hardly missing by WFM standards

RM 2: a:h e y-y-y aahhh=

RM 1: WAY = waddaya gonna give a waddaya gonna give away

The first use of 'yes' serves as a function of the listener's doubt about the truth of the statement-- or at least his lack of supportive agreement. The second serves as a transition for the speaker, but when his pause becomes filled with a wordless gap filler, the other DJ takes the floor to redirect the conversation.

VII. 5. Ok/right:

Similar to the supportive function of 'yes' are 'ok' and 'right' (also 'alright,' but this often has a transitional function). These words can also mark a transition for the speaker, who may either continue speaking in support or change the topic. Some examples of the supportive function of these two are below (example 13):

(13)

```
                                                    well
RM 3:   But let's pick a couple of other things as      to give

            out to the kids
          what
RM 4:   OK      else- what else do you want to give
```

(example 14)

(14)

```
RM 3:   the two hundred and eighty thousand is just to keep the

             lights on
                              op                  year
RM 4:   right thats just to   erate for another
```

Another example of OK and right being used as supportive and transitional functions occurs within the following female/male interchange (15):

(15)

RF 4: OK what-what are we putting up on the block for the next fifteen minutes

RM 9: After that we're gonna put up the Glen Bran -ah- ca- Symphonies number eight and ten

O:

RF 4: K () AL RIGHT now five minutes to get thirteen ninty

VII. 6. Humor:

In another area of linguistic usage it appears that women and men employ humor differently (Mitchell 1985; Crawford 1995; Coates 1996). The present findings are consistent with previous research: male humor tends to be mocking and competitive, female supportive and self-denigrating. However, these simple dichotomies do not reflect the broad spectrum of the female data I recorded: theirs contained a number of mocking sessions, and occasionally directed at me. (See the findings for Group 1, graduate school ESL instructors [Ch. IV], and Group 3, teachers in a private school for ED children [Ch. VI]). Since the female DJs often enjoy and play louder 'alternative' music, their on-air personalities also reflect this traditionally 'boy music' fans' or listeners'.

However, the females' and males' humorous exchanges did differ, as the following examples will attest. Male examples will be followed by female ones.

VII. 6a. Male humor:

Example (16) shows how one male's verbal slips cause the other to attack. Note how this passage is reminiscent of those in Ch. IV. and V. among the same-sex groups of male speakers.

(16)

```
                  FI
RM 2:   You'll be   red

                       CHES
RM 1:   That's-uh- in      ter New Jersey  Crow

                                                JEEZUS
RM 2:                                        aaah        will-
          NUFF
         ee

RM 1:   two-o-one-six-seven-eight five-fourhundred let's give away

         this Chester-I mean-the-the- aah


                    STOP    BOYD- ahhh
RM 2:   will  you
                       IT      mike    OFF                    MY
              that's    your      is       remember this is    SHOW
                        MYYY SHO:W
              THIS IS
```

This exchange reveals how the DJ whose show it is (RM 2) is in charge and in control of the other MC, and he employs aggressive humor to comment on the other DJs slip of the tongue. Later in the same show, the two turn their mockery on listeners who will call in a pledge that will award them t-shirts (17):

(17)

RM 1: When you're WALK in the board walk at Coney Island an ya see somebody in an FMU t-shirt wadda'ya do RUN the other way
RM 2: Yeh heh
OTHER get to the side of the boardwalk

In this exchange one male sets up the joke, and while he's presenting the punch line, the other male interjects a support ('yeh') and then takes the floor to repeat the mockery, thus showing competitive aggressive behavior (Mitchell 1985; Norrick 1993). Even in the interaction of the two most gentle male DJs there occurred some mockery, as the two examples attest (18), (19):

(18)

RM 5: Im-Im-like some kind of= old senile drunk man
RM 6: =as WERE it
REAL
RM 5: I'm ly dizzy I-ah-hope you all take that into consideration 'cause I don't know self start on reason
RM 6: well the-
nice
the thing Andy is that I don't think anyone can tell-h-h-h-h so you can feel like you feel
THANKS
RM 5: well

(19)

```
                            real    beau
RM 5:   you said something     ly      tiful Doug an-

RM 6:                                                 it-uh-it's in

             MO                GONE              ETH          ON

        the    ment Andy its       its in the    er  move

RM 5:                                                  safe an   safe an
                                  THAT
         wh- like I haven't heard      before
```

The mocking is somewhat understated, yet the male aggression is still found in the humor they employ.

Example 20 demonstrates the competitive quick repartee that is often stereotypically associated with male humor:

(20)

```
                Ken
RM 3:   Ya know     yu-ju-you're familair with Russian roulette
                                              not
              are you correct-ah-ah-are you
           I've
RM 4:           played (laughter)
```

VII. 6.b. Female Humor:

Additionally, there were many examples of the "male-ish" humor employed by the females in this cohort. An example where the female, talking with a male (who is also a friend of hers, as she later informed me), she kids him with gentle mockery for forgetting the premium they were about to give away (example 21):

```
(21)
                                                          big         big
RF 4:   ok so we wanna(.) do the grandiose ah- the    one the

              PULL
                                                               prize
RM 8:             aahhh ah sorry uh- Leila what was the        we
                                                    SEG
        were going to-ah-that little-ah-   ment there

RF 4:                                                       it's the

              GRAND                                  shift
RF 4:                  prize    for the whole

RM 8:                        wuz there                ok- tha-we were
                               grand        AL
              working on the        prize   right (.2)
                                              want
                 SO NOW                ok you        you want one
                            M
RF 4:   I WANT A NEW      C heh heh      noo   I'm joking      no no

RM 8:   minutes worth of a new MC   anybody in the house=
RF 4:   hahahah                    GOT=
        =how come you for

                THATS
RM 8:   =thats ok       fine=                  [I gave ya a hundred
RF 4:                             =no Im jok[ing

RM :         and seventy nine minutes and I fell one minute short=
                                                   FEC
RF 4:   =mm-yes-one minute short of per    tion
```

What is particularly interesting about her exchange, in relation to the mocking of the male MC by the other male in example (20), is that she softens her mockery and even claims she was only joking. No such mollifying statements were given by males to other males.

An extended example of female humor now follows between RF 1 and RF 2. Later in the same conversation that produced (5) above, where the two females supported each other so closely that their speech intertwined and they provided a lot of shifting from floorholding to backchanneling, this next example (22) begins with female talk- makeup- but segues into bathroom humor. Here they display both gross humor, wordplay, and appreciative cooperative humor:

(22)

RF 1: k just AS KNOW
oh-ah-o I was going to say you as a model's
friend
best Preparation H when applied to wrinkles on the
crows' shrink
face or the eye area feet will and you will not
HAVE fur-fur-a certain amount of time a couple of hours or
shrink
something it will

RF 2: yeah but doesn't it-
skin yeah
RF 1: it will make your-ah make your firmer so ummm
OLD
that's an old- that's an trick=
STINK
RF 2: =doesn't that stuff
washed hand
RF 1: Ah-that depends if you've your when you p-ha-ut
to grab more ahahaahaha
knew
RF 2: uh-uh I-I never that Preparation H does the trick

RF 1: Diane I
SMELLS you
have no idea what Preparation H like do have
dea
some i
got
RF 2: No but-well- I just the idea that prolly

RF 1: maybe they should have

RF 1: flavored ones
ma NO the
RF 2: stink uuuh aro tic Preparation H- aroma rapy

Preparation H= get-th- so you get the

RF 1: =ha- there you go

MOODS mood
RF 2: different I mean what kind of do ya have to
RF 1: uuu wow
butt
RF 2: be in an going to stick stuff in your I mean in all

honesty it's like its

RF 1: that's just the normal day for me Diane

UUHHH OOOHHH
RF 2: like that-well-yeah but I never really like
GOD ter
God i've got to DO this oh this is rible so if they put
ROM ther ALL laxed
if they used a a apy and like got ya like re

REAL NICE ca
RF 2: ya know this OH this is gonna be ly appli tion
RF 1: ahahha
nice REAL
RF 2: this is gonna be really this is gonna go by ly

SMOOTH JOY
ly I going to en this=

plete trol CAN
RF 1: =oh-oh my God I'm com ly out of con mmhem I not
control my own radio program
.
.
.

```
           know    I know
RF 1:   you     ya        I don't go near THERE ya'know there's no
        rea                                    know     one
           son for me to=        =although ya     the     time that

RF 2:   =well that's a good thing=

         se                        in                        trieve some
RF 1:      veral people had to go   there heh to helheh re

RF 1:   [thing     ahm I had one IV of Valium and one IV of Demerol
RF 2:   [hehahha
            BABY                   SE
RF 1:   and       I loved everyheh     [condheh of itheheha   [YEAH
RF 2:                                  [hahahahah           go[ahead
            TIIME=   YEAAHH
RF 1:   any                    yeah     hmmm
                                                          soon
RF 2:             =yeah    YEAH     yeah     see ya again
        yeah we gotta do this again sometime=
                     TUBE
RF 1:   =twenty foot      came my mouth but ah-but-ah[ ya'know
                                                     [       still
RF 2:                                               [HEY we
                                 WORD-     word       ei
         haven't thought of that-     that      thing   ther

RF 1:   Oh the two-ah- word thing
```

This exchange demonstrates a long cooperative series of humorous turns, each supportive of the other and each contributing freely. Even RF 2's interruption of the humor to remind RF 1 that they were still trying to find a name for the "two-name band" phenomenon they had been joking about earlier, RF 1 doesn't consider it a true attempt to get the floor taken from her; she merely turns her attention to her friend's suggestion. This is the longest joking session of all the disk jockeys. Although others talked longer than these two did, no other dyad sustained the talk this long. It again supports the research that claimed women's humor is different from men's (Mitchell 1985; Crawford 1995; Coates 1996). This is why Lakoff (1975) stated that women do not tell jokes or appreciate humor. She was claiming

that this appeared true from a male point of view. This exchange also supports other data in the present study, particularly from Group 1, the graduate students, and Group 3, the teachers.

Additionally, the intricate manner in which these two share in the humor of the conversation, and how they cooperatively share speaker/listener roles, vividly validates Goodwin's conclusion that the talk shapes the people just as much as the people shape the talk (Goodwin 1990:286). Although the two use non-WL features – less than hypercorrect grammar ("gonna" and "gotta" from RF2); jokes (the whole Preparation H conversation); interruptions ("Hey" from RF 2)-- the conversation does have a decidedly female contour to it. Perhaps the combination of the intonational patterns, the non-aggressive stance of the two, and the cooperative interchanges overall are what establish the female feel to the exchange (Michell 1985; Crawford 1995; Coates 1996). Additionally, the reality of two decades of women's liberation and consciousness raising, and the movements with rock to bring women more into the male-oriented music (such as the punk and riot grrrls movements) could have provided an environment and models for female assertion of self (McDonnell & Powers 1995).

VII. 7. 'So':

An interesting apparent anomaly in the data concerns the use of the intensive 'so'. Lakoff (1975) termed it an example of uncertainty; the present research has indicated that the opposite function --that of intensive underscoring of emotion – appears the cause of the usage. (See Table I.)

Among the DJs, 'so' was used only 2 times by females in all the taped conversations. For the males, the number was 17. These numbers, although small, are the opposite of the other three groups, which had the largest number of tokens spoken by the females. However, this can be explained and understood on by examining the distribution of the tokens. One DJ (RM 5) used 'so' eight times during his taped conversation. He also had the largest number of other WL features, such as 'empty adjectives', question intonation in statements and hypercorrect grammar. Additionally, his intonation marked him as the most 'feminine' of the male speakers. Therefore, it is not surprising that his talk would include such a number of this 'female' feature. In fact, he (and the other male DJs who used 'so') used the term in the manner that females did-- as an indicator of extreme emotionality. For instance, example 23 shows his use of 'so' three times in a single extended set of utterance, all dealing with a particular CD he loves:

(23)

```
                        SO:: hap
RM 5:   It'll take you          py in some of the longs-songs then it'll
                    plete
        take you com      ly down in the dumps ... This thing came out
                                                GOD        SO::
        on my birthday and I thought OH my      I was      into this
                                                Balk(?)
        record ... Viva Saturn it's-ah- David DO           who used to
                       RADE(?)
        be in the rain pa          ... If I were less sick I could
                     SO:
        just-  speak      eloquently and poetically about how
       WON
          derful this record is
```

Besides his emotionally use of 'so', he also speaks in question intonation twice (where the ? follows the words). These emotion-laden effusions concerning the music he is talking about resemble the contexts and moods that the females used the term. In similar function, he employs 'so' in these utterances (24):

(24)

```
RM 5:   which is why I'm SO shocked here ...
                love                                          I-       dore
RM 5:   I would       to give away these two records that    just a

        SO: much...
                    so              SUCH   good rec
        Ya'all are   lucky th-it's     a          ord ...
           JES            you      MESSED    oh   GOD        SO
        oh    us Doug you    are          up    my   that is   sick
```

The DJ who uses the next largest number of 'so's (RM 4) happens to be the station manager, and his use of 'so' also conveys emotion, expressing his gratitude for volunteers helping the station survive, as example (25) shows:

(25)

RM 4: They give us all the food for SO many of our events and on top of that they donate SO mu ch to us.

Likewise in (26), he expresses appreciation for one DJ who especially saved the station during the snowstorms of early 1996:

(26)

RM 4: STORK has done SO much for the station in the last year that We - this year's motto - the 1996 Marathon motto is WFMU is STORK country.

The station manager is relating his debt of gratitude for the generosity of his staff and volunteers, so it is not surprising that the use of 'so' appears in his turns of talk. Moreover, when he is explaining to listeners the effects of falling short of raising operating capital, he uses 'so' to express the strain of telling DJs that some needed equipment may not be purchased (27):

(27)

```
                SO MANY things
RM 4:   SO MANY                people have asked me about in the
                                                    THIS
        last couple of weeks like can we do     in the future

                   THAT                          broad
        CAN  WE do       ya'know in tems of      cast equipment
                                                                  DAT
         ya'know                              =getting a second

                    PEOPLE            STAND=
RM 3:   [they like-          don't under
        [play
RM 4:       er it costs ya'know  a couple of dollars a day but things
                                      First    GO
        like that are LITerally the       to
```

The other male DJ breaks in to support RM 4, and RM 4 pauses until the other is finished before completing his "spiel". This other DJ, who is generally highly emotional throughout the taping (as it was the last three hour of the marathon), was also responsible for two instances of 'so', briefly shown below (28):

(28)

```
                     OUT          TIRE
RM 3:   I once MADE      to an en       Yo La Tengo CD with this
                        SO:::
        girl and it was      GOOD I'll TELL ya...

              SO:::             SO:

         It's       good it's      GOOD
```

In general, it can be said that the male DJs all used the intensive 'so' in expressing their own emotional states, even when directing them, as RM 4 and RM 5 did, to other people. However, the females (see Group 1 data) did not always express their own feelings only, but also provided an inclusive 'so', as this exchange demonstrates (29):

(29)

RM 9: s= [WOW
SO
RF 4: =close [we're close to our goal

It is not clear that RM 9's 'so' was an expression of intense feeling. What is clear, however, is that the female DJ assumed it was, as her repetition of the 'so' reveals. His backchannel may or may not reflect his emotion; it may be his recognition that the monetary goal was imminently attainable.

Finally, the only other instance of a female DJs use of 'so' occurs while she and her male partner are thanking listeners for their donations (30):

(30)

thank
RM 7: Do we have anyone else to here
RF 3: alri:ght
We SURE do Tim from SPOTSwood New [Jersey
RM 7: [Thanks Tim for jumpin' on
the bandwagon=
ED Brook
RF 3: =thank you for upping that pledge from lyn
RM 7: congratulations Ed, thanks for-ah-helpin us out
from Ci
RF 3: That's right John from ah- New York ty thank you SO much=
RF 7: =thanks John

The female DJ is expressing gratitude for herself, but, as did the other female DJ in 29, she also for her co-host and the station. So, what appears to be happening in these data on 'so' is that the males, being more dominantly aggressive and quick to speak, as well as being the

most 'powerful' (the station manager, RM 4, who used the second most tokens of 'so'), were the ones to use the emotional intensifier. However, they employed it as the females would, as a lexical indicator of heightened emotion, not as an uncertainty one. Furthermore, the DJ with the most WL features in his speech (as noted by Lakoff [1975]) used 'so' the most, within the least amount of speaking time. The station manager (RM 4) was recorded for almost three hours, while RM 5 was taped for about thirty minutes, during which he used 'so' three times within two minutes, and a few other times within a few minutes of each other.

As Bendix (p.c.) has suggested, this use of 'so' among males might reflect attempts to get more in touch with 'feminine' personality traits. Further research in this feature is absolutely necessary. What is interesting, however, in the dearth of female uses of 'so' could be explained in that they, for the most part, were playing 'supportive' roles to their male counterparts, and the one female dyad that was taped most certainly supported each other. This fact, plus the emotion of the moment, as well as an 'aggressive' male stance of expressing one's own feelings, both positive and negative, could account for the virtually exclusive male use of 'so'. And as noted above, the male DJ with the most uses of 'so' also demonstrated the most uses of other WL characteristics, so his use of 'so' fits his linguistic profile. The male DJ with the next largest number of 'so's' was the station manage, so he could be exerting his power position by 'officially' thanking the various volunteers for performing as he wanted. Finally, most of the male DJs' 'so's' were self-revealing, while the two examples here, while small, were more inclusive of the others, such as co-hosts and audience, which was consistent with its use by females in the other groups.

VII. 8. Conclusion

Group IV demonstrated some interesting divergences from the other three groups in frequency of forms by each gender, especially in the males' use of intensive 'o' and 'superpolite forms' (m=17, f=8; m=161, f=34). However, as was explained in VII.7., the anomalous uses of 'so' among the males can be understood by the idolect of one DJ (who used 'so' almost half of the total times as well as the largest relative use of other WL features delineated by Lakoff). Furthermore, one other DJ used the token five times, and he was speaking as station manager, thanking the listeners and volunteer DJs and helper, so content seemed to play a role in the appearance of 'so' more often in the speeck of males than females. Additionally, there were twice as many males as females in this group. Moreover, the context of the conversations – fundraising from listeners – probably prompted the males' increased use of superpolite forms, as well as hypercorrect grammar (m=26, f=10).

In other ways, however, the females and males in Group IV appeared to be using forms in roughly parallel frequency to the other three. For example, in the display of certain support interruption forms, such as 'backchannels', 'yes/yeah', 'ok/right', the females and males in this cohort used them, but in proportions resembling their appearance in the other groups. (See Tables II and IV.) This appears remarkable in that these speakers were broadcasting live, without knowledge of my taping them, and still demonstrated similar employment of these features to the other, more 'formally' taped groups. An finally, the females in this group did indeed demonstrate an ability to use and appreciate humor in its various forms, as delineated in Chapter III (and exemplified in

Chs. IV, V and VI), and their employment of humor matched that of the males. Tellingly, their employment of humor also differed in kind from the males' in this group (as well as in the other three). See VII.6. above, as well as IV.6., V.6., and VI.6. Additionally, the sarcasm present in the humor of the male pairs was not demonstrated by the females. The women did not mock each other; rather, they made self-mocking comments and offered support interruptions and backchannels, laughing and commenting in solidarity for their female situations.

VIII. FINDINGS: FORMULAS AND FREEDOMS

From an examination of the data summarized in Table II, the present study has found that a number of forms appear to be much more frequent in the speech of females than in the speech of males. As Table IV indicates, the total N of females (107) is approximately twice that of males (55). Further, in every category that Lakoff described as a feature of 'women's language (WL), the frequency of the total females' usage is more than twice that of the males', except for one case – superpolite forms. This apparent anomaly can be understood in light of the total for Group 4 males – the disk jockeys. The males' frequency of 'superpolite forms' equals five times that of the females. For all of the other three groups — the graduate students, the undergraduates and the teachers – the males' frequency falls short of the females'. The DJs were on the air during the station's annual fund-raising marathon, and they were seeking donations for the listener-sponsored station they worked for. Therefore, their politeness can be considered as contextually consistent: they were thanking the listeners for their generosity. Further, since the number of males in this group (10) is twice that of the females, and their speech generally exceeded that of the female DJs in length and frequency of conversation (especially when there was a male and female together on the air), thus the greater tokens of polite forms functions as a direct result of the speakers' situation. Secondly, for the items collected in the 'other forms' in Table II, again the females' frequency of usage of each of the forms is more than twice that of the males, except for two, 'But Interrupt' and 'New Topic', of which, adjusted for the total number of speakers of each sex, the males produced more per capita. Again, these two

TABLE IV: TOTAL NUMBER OF FEATURES BY GENDER

LAKOFF'S FEATURES	N= 107 F	N=55 M	OTHER FEATURES	N= 107 F	N=55 M
1)female words	197	2	1)sup. inter.	9078	3155
2)empty adj.	192	66	2)backchan.	2913	569
3a)ques. inton.	1011	217	3)yes/yeah	3621	901
3b)tags	270	68			
4)hedges	4033	1116	4)OK/right	2344	818
5)'so'	111	20	5)questions	3602	1183
6)hypc. gram.	541	213	6)slang	426	213
7)superpolite	195	263	7)humor	1990	776
8)no humor	3	0	8)'but' inter.	938	483
9)'italics'	203	41	9)new topic	174	130

TABLE V. a: ADJUSTED SCORES AND FEMALE:MALE RATIOS

LAKOFF'S FEATURES				OTHER FEATURES			
	N=107	N=55					
	F	M	F:M		F	M	F:M
1) female words	1.84	0.04	46.00:1	1) sup. int.	84.84	57.36	1.48:1
2) empty adj.	1.79	1.20	1.49:1	2) backchan.	27.22	10.35	2.63:1
3a) ques. inton.	9.45	3.95	2.39:1	3) yes/yeah	33.84	16.38	2.07:1
3b) tags	2.52	1.24	2.03:1				
4) hedges	87.69	20.29	4.32:1	4) OK/right	21.91	14.87	1.47:1
5) 'so'	1.04	0.36	2.89:1	5) questions	33.66	21.51	1.56:1
6) hypc. gram.	5.06	3.87	1.31:1	6) slang	3.98	3.87	1.03:1
7) superpolite	1.82	4.87	0.38:1	7) humor	18.60	14.11	1.32:1
8) no humor	-----	-----	-----	8) 'but' inter.	8.77	8.78	1.00:1
9) 'italics'	1.90	0.75	2.53:1	9) new topic	1.63	2.36	0.69:1

TABLE V. b: ORDER OF SIGNIFICANCE AND MEANS

LAKOFF'S FEATURES		OTHER FEATURES	
1) female words	**46.00:1**	**2) backch.**	**2.63:1**
4) hedges	**4.32: 1**	**3) yes/yeah**	**2.07:1**
5) 'so'	**2.89:1**	**5) questions**	**1.56:1**
9) 'italics'	**2.53:1**	1) sup. inter.	1.48:1
3a) ques. inton.	**2.39:1**	4) OK	1.47:1
3b) tags	**2.03:1**	7) humor	1.32:1
2) emp. adj.	1.49:1	6) slang	1.03:1
6) hypc. gram.	1.31:1	8) 'but' inter.	1.00:1
7)superpolite	0.38:1	9) new topic	0.69:1
8) no humor	-------		
MEAN RATIO:	**2.62:1**	MEAN R.	1.45:1

BOLD indicates probable significance

inconsistencies in the data can be understood in light of the stereotypical 'dominance' of conversation, as stated by Lakoff and many of her subsequent researchers (see Ch. II). One feature, 'slang', appears with almost the same frequency for both genders (F N=107; slang= 426; MN=55; slang=213). Again, the gross totals suggest a tendency for females and males to differ in frequency and possibly function of their features, as the data reporting in Chs. IV-VII seem to point to. Further, the data tend to lend support to Lakoff's claims — at least for her features. The other features, used primarily as a check for her assumptions and to replicate what previous researchers had after Lakoff added to the speculation (albeit in a fragmented manner). However, all of the data do not support Lakoff's claims made to explain the prevalence of WL features in women's talk.

The converted data of Table IV appear in Tables V.a. and V.b. and they offer a clearer perspective for the findings. The figures were converted to represent the average number of occurrences of features for females and males as well as the ratios for each feature. Since a ratio less than 1.5:1 would probably express a chance situation, the numbers offer a compelling suggestion for female-preferred usage. Lakoff's features of 'female words,' 'empty adjectives,' 'question intonation,' 'tags,' 'hedges,' 'so,' and 'italics' all demonstrate strong female preference, and the'emty adjective' category is just below the suggested cut. For the Other Features categories, 'backchannels,' 'yes/yeah,' and 'questions' all display a strong inclination toward the females' preference, with 'support interruptions' and 'OK/right' demonstrating close to significant ratios. Two categories often cited in the literature as 'male features' – 'but interruptions' and 'introducing new topics' — reveal a similar patterning, although not to a significant degree. Therefore, although the number of tokens for some of the features was small in

some cases, the averaged scores and accompanying ratios do indicate some striking trends. Furthermore, the data in Table V.b. indicate that most of Lakoff's WL features were found to a significant degree in the present research, validating her claims of more than twenty years ago. And, as suggested in Table IV, the raw data do support some clear support of Lakoff, as well as some divergences.

For example, the feature of 'no humor' does not appear at all in the research contained in the present study (save for three instances by one woman, who was frustrated with her unit's apparent lack of cooperation – see Ch. IV and Appendix D). In fact, the data suggest that the females overall tended to employ humor, and to a much greater frequency than did the males, overall. The data show that women employed more than two and a half time the number of humorous interactions than the males did, so even though the females outnumbered the males almost two to one, they still out- produced the males in humorous exchanges. This use of humor should not surprise, especially based on our anecdotal experiences; furthermore, recent research has demonstrated both the quantity and variety of women's humor. (Apte 1985; Mitchell 1985; Mulkay 1988; Crawford 1995; Coates 1996, among others). Lakoff's original contention concerning the apparent lack of women's humor (for her) — that men have a different sense of what is 'funny' than do women — appears to be borne out both by the above cited works and the present research. As Apte (1985) puts it:

> Women's humor generally lacks the aggressive and hostile quality of men's humor. The use of humor to compete with or belittle others, thereby enhancing a person's own status, or to humiliate others either psychologically or physically, seems generally absent among women. . . . Some varieties of humor that are absent from women's expressive behavior in the public domain are present in the private domain, where the audience generally includes only women. . . .When women act

> collectively, many of the behavioral constraints that they must observe as individuals can be disregarded. (70, 76, 78)

This anthropological viewpoint does demonstrate that the women in their humor can (and do) differ from men, as well as choose to be mocking of men (as Goodwin explained it – see V.8. for the pertinent reference). Additionally, Jay (1992) collected various kinds of cursing in different contexts, and he found in his survey that men and women did use cursing in different ways. However, as was stated in VI.8., the women could also use these vulgar and stereotypically 'male' forms of humor. Specifically in this research data, men tended to use sarcasm almost exclusively, while women's humor did not mock or belittle each other, as every male-only unit did among the four groups (see IV-VIII 6.). However, as Goodwin (1990) found in her girls' employment of the 'he-said-she-said' mode, females can also be sarcastic and mocking (see VI.6.) but not necessarily directed at each other, as the males' examples almost always were. Females tended to chide each other in non-aggressive manners, almost always allowing the group to laugh at them as well as with them. The men seemed to be competitive in their sarcasm, and not at all self- deprecating, while the women often were self-deprecating in their humor. It does appear that women use humor differently than men — and the difference does not merely reside in the lexicon or dialect employed (Davis & Houck 1990; Jay 1992). Women tended to use humor as a sign of solidarity and shared relief/enjoyment of the situations they found themselves in, and men tended to employ humor in mocking, aggressive and distancing functions. Again, the examples provided throughout chapters IV through VII are representative of the humor contained in the taped research and not at all atypical.

Another important feature that seemed to be used much more frequently by females than by males is the intensive 'so' (F=111, M=20), as Lakoff asserted. Although not statistically significant (due to its relatively small number of occurrences), it does nonetheless occur among more females, and to a greater degree, than among males- in fact, more than half the total number of occurrences of 'so' are found in just two males' speech — both in Group IV. Significantly, almost 50% of the total appearances of 'so' (8 of 17) were uttered by one DJ, the statistical outliner, who also exhibited (non-coincidentally) the greatest number and varieties of Lakoff's WL features (see Ch. VII and Appendix D). Therefore, it can be argued that the DJ was (consciously or not) 'imitating' female patterns in his speech for whatever purposes (and he does project a feminine intonation as part of his radio persona), and thus it would be understandable that the female-preferred 'so' would appear in his idiolect. Additionally, the second largest number of tokens of intensive 'so' (5) occurred in the station manager's talk; he employed them during his 'on-air' end of the marathon fundraising rush. He was expressing his professional and personal appreciation for those who had donated money, time, food and other support for his station and its continued success. Therefore, it would be expected that he would use the intensive, effusive 'so' in his emotionally intense appeals and congratulations to those submitting funds to sustain his career and to those who had served his needs so well (see Table II and Chapters IV-VII). The exception occurs among the DJs recorded from their 'on air' fund-raising marathon. It was also seen that the use of 'so' by the male DJs appeared more self- projected than other-directed; it was an expression of the intensity of emotion to himself exclusively as opposed to someone inclusively using it (such as a female saying, "It's so sweet" or It's so cute!" as

an appreciation of what someone had done or said for another, not necessarily for the female speaker herself; see Chapter VII for further explanation). In the employment of 'so', age, ethnicity and class of the speaker did not affect its use. (See Chapter IV for an analysis of the use of 'so' classified by age group and native speaker vs. ESL speaker, and see Chapters V and VI for examples of its distribution among undergraduates and teachers.) In addition, the function of 'so' among the speakers in the present study apparently contradicts the explanation Lakoff (1975) provided for its appearance among females: she claimed its use demonstrated female uncertainty, while my research indicates that women (and men) use it to signal heightened and emphatic certainty of emotion and belief. (See Ch II, the examples in Chapters IV, V, and VI and Appendix B 1. and 2.) Furthermore, the present study was the first to define and classify the functions of 'so' beyond its limited definition in Schiffrin (1987) (See Table I). So, it appears that Lakoff accurately 'heard' the use of so in the speech of females, but failed to explain the true reason for its frequency. One problem in assessing this arises from the fact of a dearth of data on 'so' in Lakoff's original work; as stated above, Lakoff used introspection (and also intuition) in her linguistic discussion, so she did not offer actual conversation to help exemplify and illustrate her claims. As a symbol of the salience of 'so' among females in their daily speech, I quote from Patricia Ireland, President of the National Organization for Women (NOW), lawyer, and former airline hostess, who, in her book What Women Want, writes, "It was **so** obvious to me that the lack of a clear constitutional guarantee of equality under the law continued to make progress for women all over the country incredibly slow, difficult and easy to reverse" (1996:104). [Emphasis added]. In her impassioned insistence of the need for an ERA she employs the intensive

'so.' Because this emphatic 'so' had not been noted as a female-preferred speech feature before Lakoff, it is difficult to trace its origin and development in female speech with great certainty. However, it appears possible that this emphatic 'so' may have appeared as a truncated form of the 'so' ... 'that' cause/effect structure (see Table I). For example, it may have developed as a shortened form of expressions such as a famous lyric from Hank Williams, "I'm so lonesome I could cry," or from comments such as, "I'm so angry I could SCREAM!" Perhaps, also, with its CV syllabic structure its phonetic efficiency *vis a vis* such multi-syllabic synonyms as 'very', 'really', 'awfully', or 'extremely' could have propelled its usage into popularity. ('So' is also physically easier — and Americanly more direct — to pronounce than 'quite'.) Also, the ratio of female and male use in Table V (2.89:1) add additional credence to the significance of 'so' as a female-preferred usage.

Another feature employed overwhelming more frequently by females than by males is 'other' form 2: "backchannels". (See Table IV.) What this term indicates is what other researchers have termed "minimal responses" or "backchannel devices" (Yngve 1970; Schegloff 1982; White 1988; Reid 1995): those non- lexical signs, such as 'uuhuh', 'mm', etc. Although these examples of support were used by both sexes, their frequency among females is significant. Furthermore, an almost 'legendary' presentation (to use Tannen's phrase) by Hirshman (1973) first appeared in print (Hirshman 1994) only after Tannen tracked the author down and convinced her to publish the paper. What is fascinating and germane in this paper is that, although Hirshman used only 4 female speakers as subjects, she discovered that non-lexical minimal responses ('uhhuh', 'mmm') appeared predominately in her data. I discovered the article after I had completed my own data

collection and count, and I found it most encouraging for the present findings. These non-lexical signs of agreement, acknowledgment, surprise and even disagreement can be found in the speech of females in the present data regardless of age, class, occupation (or lack of it), and native language, and to a much greater degree than in the speech of the comparable male cohorts, more than twice as often as males did, adjusting for the different Ns of the groups, and as the ratio in Table V.a. attests. Additionally, the number of tokens of both 'yes/yeah' and 'OK/right', which have been included as backchannels in some studies [Yngve 1970; Schegloff 1982; White 1988; Reid 1995;], also show much greater frequency in women's talk as in men's. In fact, because there has been such an inconsistent description and definition of 'backchannels', the present researcher decided to separate these non- and lexical items for a clearer analysis. Interestingly, these distinct categories all consistently contained many more tokens for females than for males, which certainly supports previous claims that these appear to be female features. (See Table IV and Chapters IV-VII for detailed examples and explanations.) Overall, the ratios for the first four 'Other Features', which were previously subsumed under the category 'backchannels', indicate a strong female preference for their usage, with two of the four showing strong significance and two revealing slightly less than the significance (#1, 1.48:1; #4, 1.47:1).

Further forms that seem to be preferred by female speakers are hedges, hypercorrect forms, superpoliteness and "italics" — as were predicted or intuited by Lakoff. However, hedges do not uniformly indicate a woman's tentativeness or uncertainty, as Lakoff asserted; they are also used as discourse markers of mitigation, careful descriptions and analyses, and signals that the listeners would also agree with the speakers' hedges — in

addition to the introduction with great frequency of the colloquial 'like' in both female and male speech since Lakoff's study in 1975 (Holmes 1984; 1986; Schiffrin 1987; Östman 1981; Coates and Cameron 1989; Coates 1996). Furthermore, females' use of hypercorrect and superpolite forms does not preclude the use of slang and vulgarity, as the 'other' forms 3 and 7 indicate; therefore, women's liberation may have helped "free" women to employ wider spoken registers, even in semiformal settings such as classrooms. (In fact, the undergraduates and teachers occasionally used vulgar expressions — see Chs. V and VI for examples.) Also, it is equally possible that under-representation of women's actual conversations, arguments and jokes in much of previous research masked their presence and reinforced stereotypes (see Mitchell 1985; Cameron & Coates 1988; Goodwin 1990; James & Drakich 1993; Johnstone 1993; Crawford 1995; Coates 1996, among others). Interestingly, as in my research, Dindia & Allen (1992) discovered that, factoring listener, setting, and topic, "women disclosed more than men" (106).

Perhaps as a significant conversational expression of women's self-disclosing, a very significant finding appeared to be the difference in the use of humor by males and females (see Table II, Chapters IV-VII for correlations, examples and explanations.) Lakoff's astounding assertion that women had no sense of humor, patently false even then, and despite her 'powerless and polite female' explanation, was proven not true by the present data. However, the fact that she did distinguish between the types of jokes men told (and therefore would consider funny) and what women never did, adds a symbolic truth to the 'silencing' of women that underlies her original assertion and continues as part of her latest research (Lakoff 1990; 1992; 1995).

Nevertheless, the fact that women are generally less powerful (economically and politically) and less positively regarded cannot obscure the fact that women do use humor differently than men — and the difference does not merely reside in the lexicon or dialect employed (Davis & Houck 1990; Jay 1992). Recent studies of humor and storytelling preferences have disclosed definite gender preferences for topic, type and telling (Mitchell 1985; Mintz 1988; Mulkay 1988; Crawford & Gressley 1991; Jay 1992; Crawford 1995). The present study has also found a variety of female-preferred and predominant joking modes and presentations across culture, language, age, and class (see Chapters IV-VII for examples and explanations). Women tended to use humor as a sign of solidarity and shared relief/enjoyment of the situations they were in, and men tended to employ humor in mocking, aggressive and distancing functions. Additionally, although women could and did employ aggressive humor towards others — even other females (see Chapters IV, V and VI in particular), they never lost an inclusive, supportive stance so that other females felt 'singled out' or 'left out'. (Some women used mockery in their conversation — and it was often directed at the researcher, and men occasionally employed puns and other word play in their repertoires. However, the only 3 instances of a woman's not using humor occurred during a particularly stressful group encounter among the graduates, during which the woman [GF 38] felt frustrated by the apparent lack of serious planning for the group's in-class presentation.) In fact, self-mockery and denigration in the spirit of mutual sharing often linked and/or prefaced the joking. And the humor often consciously linked the participants, as if females needed to find ways to bond, even in humor (Gilligan 1982; Capek 1987; Miller & Swift 1991; Rakow 1992, among many others).

Finally, the use of 'italics' (the wider use of phonological range and prosodic variety) itself is a relative concept, although acoustic phenomena can be measured quite accurately and findings compared (Bolinger 1986; 1989; Crystal 1969). Although my research did not include doing spectroscopic readings of speakers' prosodic ranges, the data captured on tapes certainly demonstrated that women and men were employing their intonational varieties differently. Therefore, although many speakers in my sample — females and males — used 'italics' thus in Lakoff's sense (Lakoff 1996: p. c.), women did employ a relatively wider acoustic range. That was one reason for adopting Bolinger's conventions for indicating intonational contours in speech. Additionally, a recent phonetic study by Hagiwara (1995) suggests that more variation between females and males will be discovered as researchers sift through expanded 'data bases' (121). And the intriguing work on transsexuals and their vocal styles/identity (Knight 1992; Günzberger 1995; McElhinny 1995) appears to point toward some gender-identified and preferred usage. So, despite what Freed & Greenwood (1996) claim in their otherwise elegantly - argued essay, "We continue to object to the characterization of women and/or men as having distinct conversational styles" (22), the findings of Goodwin (1990) and the present research appear to point in another direction: gender-preferred as well as gender-neutral conversational styles appear to exist.

So, how does one consolidate the disparate findings of previous research with present findings? An apparent answer lies in what will be termed the 'formulas and freedoms' approach to language and gender, which presents an attempt to amalgamate the somewhat conflicting theoretical positions previously proffered. While the dominant male model certainly has truth to it, and the cultural difference model appeals also, the

"doing gender" approach carries promise as well. For, while it is true that men have power over females (and other males as well) in many relationships — personal and social (in their higher- prestige and paying jobs as well as in governmental positions) — and while it is also true that boys and girls spend their formative years in many same-sex settings (Maltz & Borker 1982: Goodwin 1990; Thorne 1993:), females and males do not exist in exclusive enclaves with no cross-cadre contact. So, while it is also true that we "do" our gender self-identity (West & Zimmerman 1987), we also live in a world — social, psychological and linguistic — of formulas and freedoms, from which we create our talk and ourselves.

Formulas exist in all of us — from the time the doctor tells the mother that she has given birth to a 'healthy boy/girl', we live by formulas and shifting assumptions — or beliefs. Our perceptions are based on formulas too: the unknown surrounds us, and we 'plug in' variables as we move from relationship to relationship, from dyad to dyad, from group to group. We have formulas for our past, and we have formulas for our expectations. The formulas are not single, unchanging verities; rather, they shift for each situation. Also, the formulas for our speech exist almost as simultaneous equations, from which we can freely or formulaically draw as the occasion present it — or push us. These formulas can be conceived as the unmarked aspects of the grammatical systems we live and breathe in — as well as the parameters of our linguistic systems. We live on our memories and perceptions of what we think, like, expect, fear our world to be. Alternately, we can have the 'equation' altered as new data are received and processed (although there is often an unwillingness to allow new information into the set of the known).

This affects our language use. We also have freedom, not just in the Chomskyan sense of the ability to create sentences that we have neither read nor heard before, but to 'solve' the formulas we employ in different contexts. Just as we are never quite sure where we 'learned' that expression we use in a given conversation, we are never quite certain of the outcome of our interactions with others. Although the 'simplest systematics' proposed by Sacks *et al.* (1974) for conversation exchange has a certain elegance, it is after all an open equation — akin to an algebraic problem, analogy format or chemical formula for combinations and distillations. And every time we engage in a conversation, argument, discussion, interrogation, lecture, game or problem-solving task, we are attempting to work out a Newtonesque 'law' of dynamics: when females and males get together, for every action there will be some kind of reaction — equal or not, depending on power and possibility, cooperation or conflict, question or comment, topic or subtext. So, we also 'do' ourselves in each conversation, and we are constantly improvising on the basic 'riff' of our self. We change our minds, we realize new things, and social conventions change — all of these and more open the mind for new expression, of which language is just one aspect. Language is also a set of formulas, to a great extent. Each language and dialect has its own syntactic boundaries and structures, its own phonological distinctive features and allophones, its lexicon and idioms, its politeness constraints and registers of speech, its intonational patterns, semantics and pragmatics. From these formulas come the freedoms we employ in communication, from phatic formulas and ritual texts to informal discussions and 'shooting the breeze.' Or individual idiolects are themselves drawn from what we believe ourselves to be as well as what others have led us to believe, to conceptions of what we would like to do or avoid.

The formulas and freedoms are dynamic, but our gender presence in a cultural setting provides much unquestioned data in our formulas and from which we often frame our freedoms in speech. Problems with the formulas we have (or are given to us) we get from our social situation and our individual sense of self. Many assumptions and expectations are inculcated and instilled in us by our families, peers and friends (especially as Maltz & Borker [1982] point out and Goodwin [1990] illustrates]), and we do engage in a lot of same-sex conversation from the age of about 5, when our linguistic parameters have been essentially 'set', to adolescence, when our changing physiology and physiogany give us another set of problems and questions concerning the formulas we have been operating with.

The freedoms we have linguistically are often what we choose to let others know about us in our speech (and silences, as Tannen & Saville-Troike [1985] remind us), as well as what we select from our formulas of 'simultaneous equations' that we have heard or read. Often (especially in the data discussed in this dissertation) our freedoms arise from our humorous exchanges and outbursts, from our discussions and debates, from our 'doing' language and self. This often includes 'doing' gender and self-expression. This helps to explain that the statistical outlier DJ will employ 'WL' features in his talk because he has chosen to (and has internalized some of the formulas) for whatever his purposes. It will also explain that many females appear to 'facilitate' the conversations through their backchannels, and men 'appropriate' conversations through interruptions and extended turn taking (McClosky 1987) because their formulas of themselves as social (and sexual) speakers have given them the freedoms to do so. It may also explain why the humor of the women is more frequent and various than that of the men; they

have the freedoms to discuss matters and (apparently) not to be afraid of making fun of themselves in the process. Also, the freedoms of the women's liberation may help explain why women can be as 'impolite' as the males in their speech (Table IV) — because they are free to choose to. Certain clusters of features discussed in this dissertation can be attributed to formulas we have of who we are and what we should talk like: they also could reveal the echoes of what we would like to be understood as well as what we would like to be understood as saying.

The formulas and freedoms concept allows us to understand that there are certain fluctuating factors coming into play at every moment of every interaction — and gender-preferred usage appears to be major factor in interaction. It can serve to explain why 'so' is a female-preferred feature, and why some males do use it (and apparently do not use it). Of course, there will be a continuum of conversational features employed by different speakers at the same time as well as by the same speaker at different times. The one piece of the formulas that probably finds its way into all conversations is our gender self-identity. This is not to claim that biology must be destiny; however, judging by the number of transsexuals in the world, it appears highly probable that people do not question their biological identity on a daily basis. However, it is also likely that individuals are constantly reevaluating their formulas for themselves and others (not as an essentialist proposition, invariably), and therefore people will be employing variable different self-identifications with one another.

The data in this study have presented a picture of a gender-preferred set of features which are not invariable but do appear to be used by females more than males and *vice versa*. It is also apparent that intragroup differences exist. However, since most of us do

not radically question our biological being, we do accept certain tendencies existing within each biological sex — but not as an exclusive, essentialist part of each female or male. But, unfortunately, some of what we turn to as data are in fact stereotypes — and gender stereotypes become embedded in us at an early stage of development (Thorne 1993; Golombok & Fivush 1994). Also, not everyone has been able to 'blend gender' (Devor 1989). These features often reside at the unconscious boundaries of language use; however, we can borrow those that appeal to us or can express a solution to a problem or present a freedom of choice. Women do appear to have more freedom of speech — prosodically at least, from 'motherese' to mimicry of men for humorous effect. Men appear to have access to the conversational 'floor' more easily than females — but this, too, is not an invariable feature of the formulas we employ in interaction. As Lakoff contended, there do appear to be WL features in the speech of more females than males; as Goodwin contended, the conversational situation we find ourselves in helps create self-identity, including gender self-identity. Goodwin also avers that the females do create a gender-identity that is distinctly female, and their conversations reveal that. As the formulas and freedoms approach suggests, the gender component is a strong one, ready to be activated in any formula. However, there is the freedom that exists in every social formula we propose, alter, learn, or come to reject over the course of our interactions.

IX. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As the present study has demonstrated, a few tantalizing facts have been found involving the frequency of, and/or 'preference' for, certain lexical, prosodic, phonetic, and pragmatic items in the language of a large sampling of females and males from a variety of backgrounds in a variety of settings. Furthermore, as Lakoff herself (1990; 1992; 1995 [p.c.]) has declared, much more research is needed to determine what are features that mark women, denigrate and/or silence them in our society, as well as in many others. Among the recent critics of Lakoff (Cameron and Coates 1989; Freed 1992, 1994; Gal 1991, 1992; Greenwood and Freed 1996;Hall, Bucholtz, and Moonwomon 1992; Tannen 1990, 1993, 1994; among others) has arisen a call to examine (and reexamine) unitary notions of 'power' and 'dominance'-- and even 'gender' in examining the speech of females and males in same-sex and cross-sex conversation.

Therefore, more research needs to be done on groups who differ from the majority of previous studies: Caribbean speakers, Africans, Asians and Middle Easterners in bilingual (and multilingual) settings. As my research on undergraduates revealed, the Caribbean speaker (CF 1 – see Ch. V) displayed many non-female (or Lakoffian WL) features; she interrupted the males, and she even insisted on disregarding the (correct) suggestions of a "new" male speaker in "her" group (assembled initially during the previous semester)! Also in the same undergraduate group were some Asian speakers (especially CF 7) who appeared to diverge from stereotypes of Asian females' being demurring and self-effacing. Similarly, more data need to be collected to determine if the intensive 'so' reveals itself as a female-preferred usage among these linguistic and

ethnic/geographical groups, as it did among the (mostly) white and Hispanic speakers in my research. (The present researcher has continued to tape graduate and undergraduate students, traditionally college-aged as well as non-traditionally aged, and has found much anecdotal/impressionistic support for many of the present findings. Intriguing new data include Polish speakers from 18 to 60, and Indian, African and Asian speakers from 18 to mid-50s, as well as some more Caribbean speakers, from English- and other-based Creole systems.)

Likewise, older as well as younger speakers need to be studied, in a variety of settings, and languages and dialects spoken, to determine what (if any) the salient differences -or similarities- are between males and females. Studies of ESL speakers using English outside of classroom or experimental settings should be gathered to examine if any features arise in their use of 'foreigner' cultural and linguistic usage (Montgomery 1996 provides a sterling starting point for one area-- conversational closings). As indicated above, the present researcher has continued to tape his students in graduate and undergraduate classes, and many of his students are older than the traditional college freshman. Furthermore, the graduate students continue to be older and from various cultures, and a number of them are repeaters from the original groups which provided the present data, so follow-up studies can be conducted. Furthermore, since the present research was conducted, two more fund-raising marathons have occurred, from which many more tapings have been made. These will add to the study of speakers in non-classroom, 'real-life' situations.

Another interesting research model would be to examine speech of young children in same- and mixed-gender settings to determine any apparent 'onset time' of WL

features-- such as when does 'so' first become a salient part of a girl's (or a boy's) speech, or when the backchannels develop in either or both of the sexes; or if there are other kinds of developmental stages in the appearance (or disappearance) of these features. Longitudinal studies could also be conducted to determine what kinds of features appear that are typically or stereotypically associated with one or both of the physical genders.

Additionally, phonetic studies should examine more female acoustic and articulatory realizations, as Hagiwara (1995) so compelling demonstrates; far too long have women's pronunciation patterns been deemed 'imperfect deviations' from the male 'norm' (see McClosky 1987) for some cogent comments on this). A rich area for further research on phonetic as well as feature frequency studies can be gleaned from the many taped interviews conducted on television and radio. These programs can be studied for all or some of the features examined in the present research to determine if the findings are indicative of a larger population or if refinements in the findings should be made. Additionally, examinations of massive numbers of recorded talk might reveal whether and/or when context may help increase, decrease or eliminate features in either or both male and female speakers. Do live recordings provoke different numbers of features than do planned interviews or conversations? What are the formulas and freedoms determined in different situations?

Furthermore, more regional features need to be examined, to determine what factors other than uncertainty are expressed in certain women's speech. (A fine example would be a study of Southern 'belle-ese,' which appears so helpless, yet achieves some powerful results for its speakers.)

Economic/ethnic classes need to be examined in more breadth, as the Jewish and New York varieties have already (Tannen 1982; Schiffrin 1987). Work has begun on the language of Puerto Ricans and Chicanas (Hall, Bucholtz, and Moonwomon 1992; Bucholtz, *et al.* 1994; Hall and Bucholtz 1995); some work has been done concerning Native American varieties and Japanese, among others. More work needs to be done on the Spanishes of the world, as has been done for certain various Englishes (Trudgill 1976; Holmes 1984, 1986, 1992; Cameron 1985; Boynton 1989; Cameron and Coates 1989), as well as for other European, Asian and African varieties of English and other languages.

Another area to determine if there are 'female' and 'male' features in speech is to examine the actual versus the stereotyped homosexual (female and male) registers; an intriguing start Barrett 1994 and Leap 1996, as well as various computer and other discourse networks used by lesbians (as Bucholtlz *et al.* 1994 demonstrates). Perhaps the homosexual 'take' on heterosexual speech may be an exact 'copy', or perhaps something more akin to the biological sex of the speaker-- or somewhere in between (Stewart 1996 p.c.). Examining these as well as phonetic, contextual and group variants will provide a more realistic understanding of how we humans/people/mammals really communicate – or obfuscate.

More work-related naturalistic speech needs to be recorded and examined (as the data on teachers and DJs in the present study have shown). Tannen (1994) also presents a focus; however, much of the previous research on work-related speech turned to business or medical settings. Perhaps speech used by people employed in other, sometimes non-traditional sites would provide some balance, contract or validation for previous research. (Interesting studies of women in unusual settings were done by McElhinny 1993 and

Hall 1995, on police officers and phone-sex workers, respectively.) A related need is to tape more naturalistic, grounded conversation for study. An interest in laboratory settings has perhaps skewed data and findings, so studies of real speech in the real world can only enlighten us all. Special attention should be given to poor women and men, who have been grossly underrepresented in research, and their true stories need to be recorded to determine whether economic class affects the WL features in females' and males' speech (O'Barr & Atkins 1980; Reid 1993). And storytelling-- not only tales but also real life reminiscences-- should be recorded and analyzed to understand how the context of the teller and the story creates the teller as well as the story (Linde 1993). (Again, using the vast library of televised and radio programs can give us some more actual talk in real time and space, and not merely staged in a laboratory setting or a classroom.)

A further area to examine if we are looking at and listening to reality or to some embedded stereotype is the concept of politeness and its relation to power. Perhaps the classic view of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987) may not be as 'universal' in its explanations of 'face' as its authors allege. Recent research on Japanese and other forms of politeness (Smith-Hefner 1988; Matsumoto 1988; Wetzel 1988; Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990; Nyowe 1992, among others) indicates that our notions of a 'global' concept of 'face' still eludes us-- and, in fact may prove illusory. Also, politeness itself as a function of power and domination brings us back to Lakoff (1975). Work still needs to be done to determine if we in fact understand the possible 'contexts' of politeness and power-- as well as equality and similarity, for females and males alike (or is it unalike?)...

In an essay cited above, McClosky (1987) examines a number of issues – both theoretical and actually recorded by herself – in discussing gender and conversation.

After examining a number of previous research projects, including Lakoff's 1975 work, she concludes with some remarks that are germane to this present research as well as future work:

> While research begins to present fuller descriptions of sex differences in communication, the answers to many basic questions, like a mirage, appear further away the more we move toward them. To understand the multi-functional nature of language and how it interfaces with our social identity and psyche should not be a simple matter. Nor is it, as the study of gender and speech attests. Uncovering gender differences in conversation is difficult, but interpreting those differences once excavated is an even more arduous task. It is a task well worth pursuing. (151)

As McMullen & Paloski (1992) conclude,

> An important next step will be to draw together the existing research in order to summarize what we know to date about the variety of functions served by WL features, and the influence of specific social, situational, and psychological variables in their use (29).

This study has attempted to make a small step in that linguistic direction.

APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH GROUPS

AND

DIRECTIONS FOR THE GROUPS IN THE TAPING

GROUP I:

Students in this group included two sections of a graduate course who are current or prospective teachers of ESL or bilingual students, grades K-college (adult). The research group includes students ranging in age from the mid-twenties to mid-sixties, whose ethnicity includes native-born US Caucasians and Hispanics, and foreign-born Hispanics and Caucasians. The context of their taping involved their grouping from 5 to 8 times over the course of the semester to discuss problems their students have or might encounter with American English phonology, syntax, lexicon, and semantics. Included in these discussions are assignments they had to complete before each session, as well as discussions of problems they themselves might have with the American language. They believed that they were being taped so that the instructor (the present researcher) would have opportunities to listen to and assess problems and solutions raised. They also were instructed that they should not be concerned with 'correctness ' in their speech and/or grammatical content, and that they should freely mention problems they themselves had in solving the problems or discussing the topics of the class sessions. They were also told that their dialects would be studied as a follow-up to Kurath's (1939) findings about American regional dialects. They formed groups voluntarily, and some groups included members who were friends and colleagues, and other groups contained strangers. Of the total 13 sets of conversational sets, there included one set of all-male speakers and one of all female speakers. The other 11 ranged from one-male with females to one female among males. Group size varied from 5 to 7 members, and taping time ranged from 20 to 45 minutes each.

GROUP II:

Students in this group included four classes of undergraduate composition students in two two-year colleges. Two classes contained evening students, and two had day students. They comprised the most various group in terms of first language ability and country of origin, while their ages ranged from 17 to mid-fifties. The group included native US Caucasians, Hispanics and African-Americans, as well as Caribbean blacks and Hispanics, Europeans and Asians. They were all enrolled in college credit courses as part of their career-oriented associates' programs. They were asked to gather in groups to discuss essays they had written which the instructor (the present researcher) had read and indicated problems of usage and/or omission by underlining the problems. They gathered to read and attempt to discover what the underlined problems entailed (and 'correct' them, if possible). They assembled from 4 to 6 times during the semester in groups of from 5 to 6 to address the issues of the essays. They

were told that they were taped so that the instructor could assess their work after the class sessions, and they were encouraged to participate, which they did because each read his or her own essay and were instructed to talk about the underlined problems in the essays. The students all spoke at least a few times each taping (which lasted between 20 and 45 minutes), and they were also told that they were part of the Kurath-like dialect study mentioned for Group I.

GROUP III:

This group included 15 teachers and/or administrators in a private school for emotionally disturbed (ED) children in New Jersey. The group included 13 women, ranging in age from the early 20s to mid-40s, and two males in their mid-20s. The group was taped in sets of two or three, in a total of five sets. Four sets were discussing plans for their ED students (who ranged in age from 5 to 12 and are predominately African-American and Hispanic, as well as predominately male); each set consisted of a teacher and her assistant, and often another assistant or colleague(s) joined in. These sessions lasted about 45 minutes. The fifth set of speakers were three females in their mid-40s, who spoke for about three hours on the topic of being raised a lady. This tape was made as part of an earlier study (Romano 1993), but, since the principals were also involved in the school, their talk was checked for features and included in the present study. All of the group were Caucasian, but some spoke languages other than English. They spoke with each other in a naturalistic setting, their own classrooms, or in one of their own living rooms, so this group differed a bit from the classroom groups I and II. They were told by the present researcher that they were being taped to conduct a Kurath-like study of regional dialects (as were Groups I and II).

GROUP IV:

This group included 15 DJs at a listener-sponsored, free-form radio station in New Jersey. They were taped while they were broadcasting during their fund-raising marathon, where DJs are paired off to help raise money. This group included 10 males and 5 females, all Caucasian, whose ages ranged from the mid-20s to mid-40s. They, like Group III, were taped "on the air" during their shows, so the tapes revealed a group of people talking in a naturalistic, work- (and pleasure-) related setting. The pairs were taped in 45-minute segments, and two pairs were taped for almost three hours (one all-female and one all-male dyad).

DIRECTIONS FOR EACH GROUP BEFORE TAPING:

GROUP I:

Form groups of 5 to 7 and discuss the problems you are having with the assigned phonological and grammatical topics as well as any actual or potential problems for your own students. Please feel free to discuss whatever is of value to you, and do not feel constrained about making 'mistakes'. Each person she is expected to participate in the discussion, even if to raise questions or ask for clarifications. You are being taped so that I can hear what problems and solutions you discussed, without my interference. We will be discussing each group's findings during the following class sessions. You are also being taped as a follow-up to Kurath's (1939) study of regional American dialects. Thanks for your help.

GROUP II:

Get together in groups of 5 or 6. You will be given copies of your essays to distribute to the group. Read your own essays as the others read along, and after completing each essay, the listeners will say one positive thing they liked about the essay. After that, all will talk about the underlined portions of the essay, to see if you can all figure out why they were underlined. Then try to offer suggestions for improvement, as specifically as you can. If you don't understand why something is underlined, circle it for the full-class discussion after the groups have completed reading and editing. Please don't be afraid to guess, as they can often be more than one 'right' solution to an underlined problem. You are being taped so that I can hear what you discussed, and I will discuss these tapes in the next class meeting. You are being taped as part of a study of regional dialects begun by Pro. Kurath in 1939. Thank you for your help.

GROUP III:

Tape a planning session for your students. You will be part of a follow-up study of regional American dialects begun in 1934 by Pro. Kurath. Your taping should last 45 minutes. Thank you for your help. (The three women from the earlier study were asked to discuss what "being a lady" meant for them as they were growing up, and now, and what they would do with your own daughters about this.)

GROUP IV:

None, as they were being taped live on-the -air during their regular time slots. They were asking for listeners to contribute to the fund-raising marathon for the station, which is solely listener-supported.

APPENDIX B. 1.: FORM FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

NAME_____ TAPE #_____
Please answer the following questions by circling the statements that best sum up your impressions of the tape.

1. You interrupted others to help figure out problems:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

2. You interrupted others to change the subject:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

3. You found humor in what others said:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

4. You found no humor in what others said:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

5. You expressed uncertainty about the answer's solutions at times:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

6. You used 'so' to express uncertainty:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

7. You used 'so' to emphasize an emotion or opinion:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

8. You felt others interrupted you to help solve problems:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

9. You felt that others interrupted you to change the subject:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

10. You felt that the humor interfered with your work:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

APPENDIX B. 2: FORM FOR UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

NAME_____ TAPE #_____

Please answer the following questions by circling the statement that best sums up your impression of the tape you are listening to. Thank you for your help.

1. You interrupted others to help figure out the problem:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

2. You interrupted others to change the subject:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

3. You found humor in what others said:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

4. You found no humor in what others said:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

5. You expressed uncertainty about answers/solutions at times:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

6. You found that talking over the essay with others helped you in your own writing:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

7. You felt that others interrupted you to solve problems:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

8. You felt that others interrupted to change the subject:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

9. You felt that humor interfered with your work:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

10. Going over your essay in groups has improved your writing:

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE NO OPINION DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

APPENDIX C: AGES & ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS OF PARTICIPANTS

GROUP I: GRADUATE STUDENTS

FEMALES

GF 1: 40, Colombian Hispanic
GF 2: 50, Caucasian
GF 3: 28, Caucasian
GF 4: 41, Hispanic
GF 5: 25, Hispanic
GF 6: 26, Hispanic
GF 7: 44, Cuban Hispanic
GF 8: 46, Cuban Hispanic
GF 9: 50, Hispanic
GF 10:50, Caucasian
GF 11:35, Caucasian
GF 12:55, Caucasian
GF 13: 34, Hispanic
GF 14: 50, Caucasian
GF 15: 25, Hispanic
GF 16: 31, Puerto Rican Hispanic
GF 17: 39, Ecuadoran Hispanic
GF 18: 49, Hispanic
GF 19: 39, Caucasian
GF 20: 30, Hispanic
GF 21: 55, Caucasian
GF 22: 28, Caucasian
GF 23: 31, Puerto Rican Hispanic
GF 24: 29, Caucasian
GF 25: 27, Caucasian
GF 26, 58, Caucasian
GF 27: 41, Iranian Caucasian
GF 28: 57, Colombian Hispanic
GF 29: 26, Hispanic (Portugese)
GF 30: 32, Cuban Hispanic
GF 31: 25, Hispanic
GF 32: 25, Hispanic
GF 33: 32, European Caucasian (Turkish)
GF 34: 24, Dominican Hispanic
GF 35: 25, Caucasian
GF 36: 50, European Caucasian (German)
GF 37: 51, Caucasian
GF 38: 32, Cuban Hispanic
GF 39: 26, Hispanic
GF 40: 29, Hispanic
GF 41: 27, Hispanic
GF 42: 26, Caucasian
GF 43: 36, Cuban Hispanic
GF 44: 63, Caucasian
GF 45: 65, European Caucasian (Polish)
GF 46: 34, European Caucasian (Polish)
GF 47: 31, Hispanic
GF 48: 24, Hispanic
GF 49: 28, Caucasian

MALES

GM 1: 24, Puerto Rican Hispanic
GM 2: 46, Caucasian
GM 3: 53, Caucasian
GM 4: 26, Caucasian
GM 5: 32, Hispanic
GM 6: 44, Caucasian
GM 7: 63, Caucasian
GM 8: 27, Gyanese Asian
GM 9: 29, Hispanic
GM 10: 24, Hispanic
GM 11: 32, Caucasian
GM 12 :28, Caucasian
GM 13: 27, Hispanic
GM 14: 39, Peruvian Hispanic
GM 15: 30, Colombian Hispanic
GM 16: 26, Caucasian
GM 17: 38, Caucasian
GM 18: 40, African-American
GM 19: 34, Caucasian
GM 20: 28, Hispanic
GM 21: 32, Caucasian

GROUP II: UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

FEMALES

CF 1: 25, Trinidadian African-American
CF 2: 43, Puerto Rican Hispanic
CF 3: 35, Haitian
CF 4: 25, Hispanic
CF 5: 30, Chinese
CF 6: 35, Korean
CF 7: 21, Korean
CF 8: 37, Guyanese Asian
CF 9: 26, Puerto Rican Hispanic
CF 10: 24, African-American
CF 11: 22, Caucasian
CF 12: 30, Hispanic
CF 13: 51, Chinese
CF 14: 32, Trinidadian Asian
CF 15: 29, African-American
CF 16: 21, Hispanic
CF 17: 28, Trinidadian African-American
CF 18: 34, Jamaican African-American
CF 19: 39, Vietnamese Asian
CF 20: 28, Bangladeshi Asian
CF 21: 41, African-American
CF 22: 25, Peruvian Hispanic
CF 23: 23, Caucasian
CF 24: 18, Caucasian
CF 25: 19, Caucasian
CF 26: 28, Puerto Rican Hispanic
CF 27: 20, Mexican Hispanic
CF 28: 19, Caucasian
CF 29: 19, Peruvian Hispanic
CF 30: 19, Caucasian
CF 31: 19, African-American
CF 32: 40, Caucasian
CF 33: 18, Caucasian
CF 34: 18, Caucasian
CF 35: 20, African-American
CF 36: 32, Barbadian
CF 37: 30, Chinese
CF 38: 42, Puerto Rican Hispanic
CF 39: 40, African-American
CF 40: 25, African-American

MALES

CM 1: 25, African-American
CM 2: 21, Caucasian
CM 3: 35, African -American
CM 4: 21, Caucasian
CM 5: 31, African-American(& Nigerian)
CM 6: 26, Hispanic
CM 7: 29, Jamaican African-American
CM 8: 30, Haitian
CM 9: 25, Puerto Rican Hispanic
CM 10: 23, Peruvian Hispanic
CM 11: 22, Caucasian
CM 12: 18, Caucasian
CM 13: 19, Dominican Hispanic
CM 14: 20, Mexican Hispanic
CM 15: 19, Peruvian Hispanic
CM 16: 18, Caucasian
CM 17: 19, Hispanic
CM 18: 18, African-American
CM 19: 22, Trinidadian African-American
CM 20: 21, Caucasian
CM 21: 27, Caucasian
CM 22: 41, Russian Caucasian

GROUP III: TEACHERS

FEMALES
TF 1: 49, Caucasian
TF 2: 50, Caucasian
TF 3: 45, Caucasian
TF 4: 23, Caucasian
TF 5: 23, Caucasian
TF 6: 37, Caucasian
TF 7: 24, Caucasian
TF 8: 28, Caucasian
TF 9: 30, Caucasian
TF 10: 24, Caucasian
TF 11: 46, Caucasian
TF 12: 21, Caucasian
TF 13: 22, Caucasian

MALES
TM 1: 22, Caucasian
TM 2: 27, Caucasian

GROUP IV: DJs

FEMALES
RF 1: 33, Caucasian
RF 2: 37, Caucasian
RF 3: 29, Caucasian
RF 4: 28, Caucasian
RF 5: 40, Caucasian

MALES
RM 1: 28, Caucasian
RM 2: 35, Caucasian
RM 3: 34, Caucasian
RM 4: 37, Caucasian
RM 5: 27, Caucasian
RM 6: 37, Caucasian
RM 7: 35, Caucasian
RM 8: 32, Caucasian
RM 9: 28, Caucasian
RM 10: 37, Caucasian

APPENDIX D.: FEATURES TOTALS BY PARTICIPANT

GROUP I: GRADUATE STUDENTS

FEMALES

FEATURE	GF 1	GF 2	GF 3	GF4	GF5	GF6	GF7	GF8	GF9	GF 10
1)W words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp. adj.	0	1	4	1	7	1	0	0	0	3
3a)q. inton	2	4	23	20	20	5	24	2	9	9
3b)tags	1	3	7	5	9	2	2	0	5	5
4)hedges	11	37	124	90	81	92	19	8	13	30
5)'so'	1	0	2	5	5	2	1	0	0	0
6)hyp. cor.gr	5	23	6	7	2	9	2	1	9	8
7)sup. pol.	8	2	7	2	2	0	0	1	0	5
8) no humor	00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
9)italics	1	0	9	5	5	2	1	0	1	2
1)sup. Inter	110	105	144	175	144	96	232	166	120	172
2)backch.	98	105	21	75	26	12	48	40	60	109
3)yes/yeah	63	39	103	123	60	29	41	35	61	59
4)OK/right	47	15	41	53	19	5	5	1	15	49
5)Ques.	45	24	90	84	33	24	66	55	4	89
6)slang	5	3	8	4	3	1	0	0	0	0
7)humor	15	4	38	50	44	33	19	15	6	15
8)but inter.	13	15	11	10	6	3	4	3	12	7
9.)new topic										

	FEMALES									
FEATURE	G 11	G 12	G 13	G 14	G 15	G 16	G 17	G 18	G 19	G 20
1)W words	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3
2)emp. adj.	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	3
3a)q. inton.	6	0	34	2	13	1	5	14	24	41
3b)tags	4	0	6	1	1	0	0	2	3	2
4)hedges	18	2	33	6	138	3	17	38	86	235
5)'so'	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	1	3
6)hyp. cor. gr.	5	1	15	1	3	0	2	8	1	88
7)super. pol.	0	1	2	0	3	0	1	2	1	19
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics	6	0	2	0	3	1	1	3	1	4
1)sup int	171	12	153	65	339	122	227	352	276	492
2)backch.	81	10	47	9	142	7	23	50	29	87
3)yes/yeah	56	0	32	4	121	7	52	44	32	238
4)OK/right	34	2	6	4	140	5	15	70	36	60
5)Ques.	67	0	50	17	91	8	22	86	53	113
6)slang	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	16
7)humor	12	0	2	1	82	9	6	61	11	54
8)but inter.	12	0	20	1	31	1	8	25	27	66
9)new topic.	0	0	0	0	18	0	6	12	13	7

GRADUATE FEMALES

FEATURES	F21	F22	F23	F24	F25	F26	F27	F28	F29	F30
1)W words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp. adj.	2	4	0	0	0	1	6	0	1	0
3a)qinton.	14	29	9	3	20	10	40	0	2	3
3b)tags	3	4	1	4	9	1	1	0	5	0
4)hedges	107	271	15	50	80	61	140	2	44	16
5)'so'	1	3	0	1	4	6	4	0	0	0
6)hyp.cor. g.	50	13	1	0	2	1	10	0	4	0
7)sup. pol.	9	9	1	4	7	5	8	0	0	0
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics	0	0	0	0	4	4	5	0	0	0
1)sup. inter.	167	363	210	117	207	190	185	7	139	85
2)backch	78	72	55	24	54	64	94	1	19	16
3)yes/yeah	65	121	129	67	49	76	93	3	26	27
4)OK/right	58	94	15	18	87	66	66	0	18	6
5)ques.	53	178	29	31	138	58	117	2	29	8
6)slang	1	14	14	1	2	4	44	0	5	0
7)humor	21	66	57	31	60	26	24	0	19	8
8)but inter.	22	89	34	3	21	12	20	0	6	0
9)new topic	5	19	1	0	0	0	5	0	3	1

GRADUATE FEMALES

FEATURES	F31	F32	F33	F34	F35	F36	F37	F38	F39	F40
1)W words	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp.adj.	0	0	8	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
3a)qinton.	9	6	30	1	22	19	4	5	12	16
3b)tags	1	0	3	0	8	5	0	0	0	0
4)hedges	15	10	62	2	70	77	32	7	28	48
5)'so'	0	0	3	0	5	1	2	0	0	0
6)hyp.cor.gr.	3	0	29	1	16	0	1	1	2	2
7)sup. pol.	2	0	10	2	7	8	10	4	1	0
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
9)italics	0	0	22	0	2	4	4	2	2	0
1)supp.inter.	112	74	136	32	169	183	176	76	87	54
2)backch.	25	17	97	10	90	38	47	22	23	8
3)yes/yeah	35	25	51	1	53	105	61	6	54	38
4)OK/right	21	4	37	1	36	87	43	17	25	25
5)ques.	30	14	91	4	31	116	72	46	31	35
6)slang	1	2	12	1	2	1	0	1	0	0
7)humor	12	4	32	1	23	37	44	15	4	16
8)but inter.	1	0	12	1	10	38	19	13	5	7
9)new topic	4	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0

GRADUATE FEMALES

FEATURES	F41	F42	F43	F44	F45	F46	F47	F48	F49
1)W words	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp. adj.	0	0	0	2	1	1	4	0	1
3a)Qinton.	19	5	15	25	22	18	19	2	35
3b)tags	0	0	12	7	0	14	4	0	22
4)hedges	57	16	17	14	15	46	44	41	125
5)'so'	1	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0
6)hyp.cor.gr.	13	1	3	6	6	1	1	0	8
7)sup. pol.	0	1	1	6	6	4	1	2	1
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics	2	0	3	19	4	1	0	0	4
1)supp.inter.	42	41	86	98	139	200	167	215	134
2)backch.	20	7	17	29	15	29	24	23	12
3)yes/yeah	42	10	48	51	28	34	46	44	34
4)OK/right	45	13	6	6	17	44	23	17	105
5)ques.	31	12	15	27	60	53	60	64	135
6)slang	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
7)humor	21	6	8	14	12	5	23	26	38
8)but inter.	8	3	30	30	18	10	8	15	17
9)new topic	1	0	0	0	0	2	5	4	0

GRADUATE MALES

FEATURES	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10	M11
1)W words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp.adj.	0	1	3	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	2
3a)Qinton.	5	7	3	4	14	29	4	8	1	6	4
3b)tags	7	3	4	0	7	1	0	9	1	2	1
4)hedges	45	141	78	34	57	44	41	20	4	35	56
5)'so'	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6)hyp.cor.gr.	21	30	61	16	13	13	0	2	1	6	0
7)sup.pol.	12	8	21	1	4	2	4	2	2	7	1
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics	0	2	0	1	2	0	1	3	1	1	3
1)supp.inter.	151	77	124	59	257	211	80	47	29	143	73
2)backch.	60	26	33	10	24	19	8	0	9	74	5
3)yes/yeah	80	34	28	16	26	47	29	11	3	54	18
4)OK/right	128	36	57	30	59	31	8	24	3	31	5
5)ques.	33	28	57	17	90	77	28	30	7	79	9
6)slang	9	20	15	1	5	5	2	6	0	3	2
7)humor	9	15	9	4	54	28	7	20	4	41	13
8)but inter.	29	12	7	8	32	25	25	12	8	31	9
9)new topic	0	12	4	0	12	29	2	1	2	9	2

GRADUATE MALES

FEATURES	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1)W words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp.adj.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3a)Qinton.	5	0	2	0	19	9	1	8	5	2
3b)tags	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
4)hedges	16	13	0	0	77	80	12	22	56	115
5)'so'	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
6)hypc.gr.	0	2	0	0	2	5	1	8	4	9
7)sup.pol.	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	0
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1)sup.inter.	94	50	43	9	171	141	29	83	97	117
2)backch.	9	3	6	3	25	9	5	1	19	16
3)yes/yeah	16	21	5	9	34	33	5	10	33	36
4)OK/right	17	3	1	2	19	21	3	4	19	107
5)ques.	41	3	7	15	75	37	2	16	36	35
6)slang	9	0	0	1	22	5	0	0	0	5
7)humor	5	15	1	2	20	57	3	35	8	23
8)but inter.	10	3	2	10	22	16	1	8	14	11
9)new topic	1	1	0	1	3	3	0	4	3	2

UNDERGRADUATE FEMALES

FEATURES	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10
1)W words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp. adj.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3a)Qinton.	25	18	3	6	1	11	7	5	10	1
3b)tags	9	2	0	2	0	2	14	0	10	0
4)hedges	46	51	12	23	0	20	0	28	17	0
5)'so'	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
6)hyp.cor.gr.	1	1	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
7)sup.pol.	5	3	4	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
1)supp.inter.	103	64	24	57	4	54	30	56	86	1
2)backch.	33	44	10	24	9	41	9	24	15	3
3)yes/yeah	40	38	7	17	2	35	15	12	15	1
4)OK/right	34	34	7	9	2	5	1	8	16	1
5)ques.	50	39	6	14	0	28	7	11	21	1
6)slang	15	5	0	1	0	0	0	1	6	0
7)humor	51	22	4	3	0	15	8	3	12	1
8)but inter.	15	8	0	1	0	6	0	1	6	0
9)new topic	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

UNDERGRADUATE FEMALES

FEATURE	U11	U12	u13	U14	u15	U16	U17	U18	U19	U20
1)W words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp. adj.	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0
3a)Q.inton.	2	5	0	7	5	0	8	5	5	5
3b)tags	0	1	0	12	2	0	0	2	4	0
4)hedges	21	19	0	7	8	0	20	33	8	1
5)'so'	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
6)hy.cor.gr.	1	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0
7)sup.pol.	1	0	0	4	1	0	0	2	0	0
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0
1)supp.inter.	23	49	2	148	168	1	59	129	47	6
2)backch.	12	13	2	8	57	0	15	16	11	0
3)yes/yeah	19	18	2	39	50	0	35	20	0	0
4)OK/right	9	13	0	12	27	0	23	9	1	0
5)ques.	14	6	1	42	29	0	8	31	5	1
6)slang	1	1	0	0	1	0	4	6	0	0
7)humor	5	5	1	8	11	0	6	11	3	0
8)but inter.	3	3	0	13	7	0	7	16	4	0
9)new topic	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0

UNDERGRADUATE FEMALES

FEATUREU21		U22	U23	U24	U25	U26	U27	U28	U29	U30
1) W words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp. adj.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3a)Q.inton.	8	5	3	11	3	2	0	1	0	0
3b)tags	0	0	0	6	3	1	0	0	0	0
4)hedges	17	1	3	2	3	3	0	4	4	1
5)'so'	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
6)hy.cor.gr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
7)sup.pol.	4	3	0	1	1	1	0	3	1	0
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	0
1)supp.intrt.	43	48	26	28	18	19	0	4	1	1
2)backch.	11	9	2	18	3	9	0	0	3	0
3)yes/yeah	5	6	9	18	7	8	0	5	7	0
4)OK right	27	3	0	10	9	4	0	13	3	0
5)ques.	28	7	1	32	8	9	0	10	1	0
6)slang	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
7)humor	10	6	16	14	14	3	1	14	2	0
8)but inter.	6	2	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	0
9)new top.	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0

UNDERGRADUATE FEMALES

FEATUREU31		U32	U33	U34	U35	U36	U37	U38	U39	U40
1) W words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp.adj.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3a)Q.inton0	0	4	6	6	0	6	0	7	10	7
3b)tags	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
4)hedges	0	4	2	8	1	27	5	12	12	3
5)'so'	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
6)hy.cor.gr.	0	0	3	1	4	2	0	0	0	1
7)sup.pol.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0
1)supp.inter.	3	3	32	31	4	57	33	43	33	47
2)backch.	0	3	5	0	3	75	10	13	14	5
3)yes/yeah	0	1	7	29	3	28	7	10	20	19
4)OK right	1	2	22	14	10	13	2	8	51	5
5)ques.	5	8	9	9	6	23	5	8	22	8
6)slang	2	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	2	0
7)humor	0	1	8	7	4	16	2	9	1	2
8)but inter.	2	0	3	5	2	1	1	1	2	3
9)newtopic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

UNDERGRADUATE MALES

FEATURE	U1	U2	U3	U4	U5	U6	U7	U8	U9	U10	U11
1)W words	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp.adj.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3a)Q.inton.	9	8	10	2	12	1	1	0	2	1	1
3b)tags	5	0	0	0	9	0	4	0	0	0	0
4)hedges	16	9	17	0	62	15	13	6	4	5	1
5)'so'	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6)hy.cor.gr.	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
7)sup.pol.	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	4	0
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1)sup.inter.	41	116	82	26	36	23	117	43	80	59	6
2)backch.	70	8	5	1	4	3	15	18	11	7	0
3)yes yeah	22	33	35	4	16	11	47	18	15	12	3
4)OK right	5	16	23	3	8	5	61	9	12	5	2
5)ques.	14	31	17	11	36	3	42	12	21	7	3
6)slang	5	1	5	8	1	0	3	0	2	2	7
7)humor	5	26	17	8	1	3	14	2	7	5	20
8)butinter.	13	14	5	2	9	0	12	2	6	19	10
9)newtop.	0	1	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	2

UNDERGRADUATE MALES

FEATUREU12	U13	U14	U15	U16	U17	U18	U19	U20	U21	U22
1)W words 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp.adj. 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3a)Q.inton. 1	0	0	1	0	1	1	4	1	0	8
3b)tags 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
4)hedges 5	1	1	0	0	5	1	9	11	6	4
5)'so' 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6)hy.cor.gr. 0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
7)sup.pol. 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0
8)no humor 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics 0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1)supp.inter. 11	6	12	4	7	35	23	40	49	20	54
2)backch. 0	0	0	0	1	5	3	30	2	0	13
3)yes,yeah 4	2	1	2	1	13	2	17	13	3	6
4)OK right 1	0	0	0	3	2	0	3	11	1	5
5)ques. 3	5	3	1	0	12	4	32	7	0	7
6)slang 1	1	4	0	0	1	4	3	2	0	0
7)humor 14	4	3	0	0	5	4	3	8	0	0
8)butinter. 6	0	41	0	0	4	7	0	9	1	7
9)new top 2	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0

TEACHERS

	FEMALE													MALE	
FEATURE	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11	F12	F13	M1	M2
1)W words	37	60	91	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)emp.adj	19	38	29	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	10	1	0	0	0
3a)Q.inton.	8	3	32	26	5	0	12	0	6	10	1	0	1	0	0
3b)tags	1	9	10	10	5	0	7	0	0	1	6	0	3	0	0
4)hedges	104	322	177	55	14	5	28	7	96	51	5	12	14	2	0
5)'so'	2	6	12	0	3	0	0	2	1	0	3	1	1	1	0
6)hy.cor.gr.	19	40	56	4	2	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0
7)sup.pol.	20	37	61	2	1	0	3	0	8	0	9	2	5	1	2
8)no humor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9)italics	2	5	8	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	8	2	0	0	0
1)supp.inter.	148	98	262	35	53	6	8	27	45	74	33	16	6	7	1
2)backch	43	21	64	13	16	5	5	14	11	12	20	4	3	10	0
3)yes/yeah	107	41	89	30	16	3	2	23	12	10	32	20	20	2	0
4)OK/right	6	14	19	31	43	4	30	15	48	21	17	1	12	3	3
5)ques.	54	37	144	43	30	2	13	7	44	9	50	11	36	2	1
6)slang	7	30	52	7	1	0	5	0	1	1	3	0	0	1	0
7)humor	83	170	121	20	4	1	11	5	4	5	28	13	6	1	4
8)butinter.	33	12	13	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0
9)newtopic	4	4	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

GROUP IV: DJs

	FEMALES					MALES									
FEATURES	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10
1)W words	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2)Emp. adj.	7	4	2	7	3	4	8	6	4	15	5	2	0	0	0
3a)Q inten.	7	2	1	13	2	6	10	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	1
3b)Tags	1	0	0	1	1	3	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0
4)Hedges	52	43	4	24	20	18	39	7	3	11	7	3	2	23	16
5)'So'	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	2	5	8	0	0	0	1	1
6)Hyer.gr.	3	0	3	4	0	4	4	2	0	8	5	2	0	1	0
7)Sup. pol.	3	0	13	18	35	14	27	33	44	18	6	7	4	8	41
8)No humor															
9)Italics	12	11	4	12	5	3	1	4	6	8	0	4	0	3	5
1)Sup. inter.	18	34	5	44	40	32	56	75	19	11	2	8	5	19	18
2)Backch	6	14	5	17	13	1	15	12	3	11	3	0	5	4	25
3)Yes,yeah	22	21	4	18	26	6	25	8	11	3	2	0	3	9	25
4)OK,right	18	21	0	21	11	3	22	0	0	11	0	0	8	1	13
5)Ques.	20	11	0	18	6	24	31	15	5	9	4	0	1	5	10
6)Slang	13	5	9	16	8	12	40	11	4	8	1	4	0	1	5
7)Humor	33	31	5	42	14	79	66	25	13	8	8	12	4	18	10
8)But. Inter.	4	2	1	15	0	15	16	7	4	4	0	1	1	6	1
9)New top.						1	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	1

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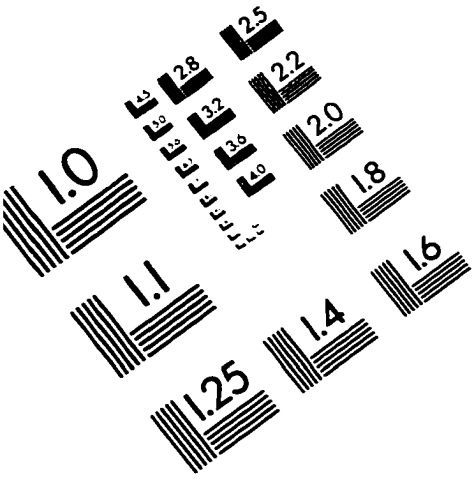
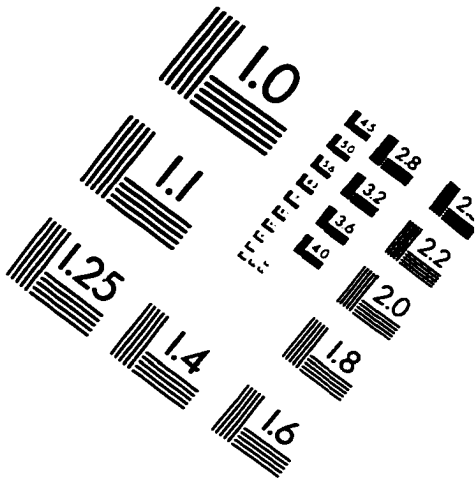
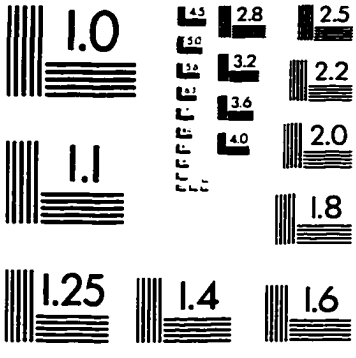
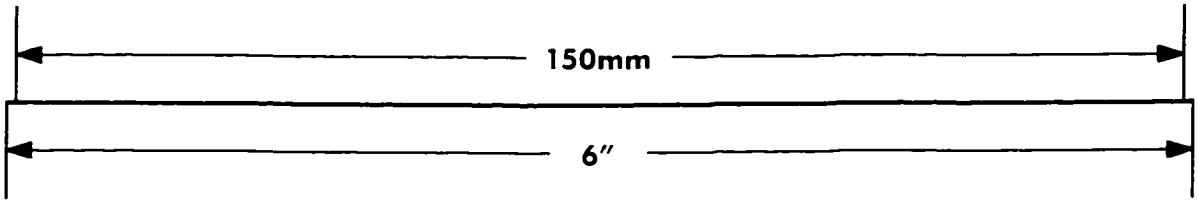
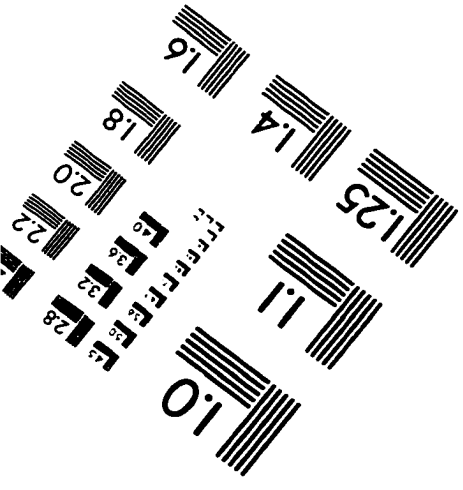
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

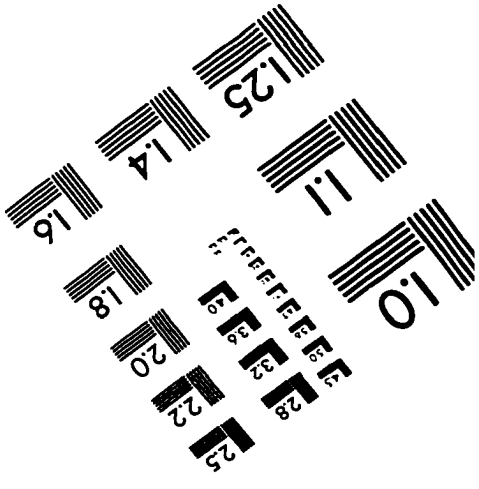












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