Language and Gender: A study case

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## 1. Introduction

Observations of the differences between the way males and females speak were long restricted to grammatical features, such as the differences between masculine and feminine in morphology in many languages. However, in the 1970s women researchers started looking at how a linguistic code transmitted sexist values and bias. Lakoff's work (1975) is an example of this; she raised questions such as: Do women have a more restricted vocabulary than men? Do they use more adjectives? Are their sentences incomplete? Do they use more 'superficial' words? Consequently, researchers started to investigate empirically both bias in the language and the differential usage of the code by men and women.

This paper will analyze a short recorded sample of natural conversation (see Appendix 1) in order to discuss if the following claims can be supported by research: a) women talk more/less than men; b) women break the 'rules' of turn-taking less than men c) women use more standard forms than men; and d) women's speech is less direct/assertive than men's. Results in the analysis showed that there does not seem to be a distinguishable difference with respect to the usage of language by men and women potentially due to the establishment of an informal atmosphere during the recorded sample and to a sense of solidarity among participants, which enabled them to make use of the code to maintain conversation.

To further studies on language and gender and even before examining the procedures and results of this study, a brief review of the literature with respect to men's and women's speech will also be mentioned in this paper.

## 2. Differences in men's and women's speech

### 2.1 General comments

The issue of women interacting differently from men has been discussed for hundreds of years. However, feminist movements in the 1960s realized that language was one of the instruments of female oppression by males. As a matter of fact, language not only reflected a patriarchal system but also emphasized male supremacy over women. Most of the works analyzing language were to do mostly with male language production. Labov's works (1972a, 1972b), for instance, described mostly the speech of men. However, other linguists, such as the ones cited below, started to become interested in observable differences in language production depending on the sex of the speakers.

### 2.2 Women talk more/less than men

According to Cameron and Coates (1985), the amount we talk is influenced by who we are with and what we are doing. They also add that if we aggregate a large number of studies, it will be observed that there is little difference between the amount men and women talk. On the one hand, in a recent study, Dr. Brizendine (1994) states that women talk three times as much as men. On the other hand, Drass (1986), in an experiment on gender identity in conversation dyads found that men speak more than women.

### 2.3 Women break the 'rules' of turn-taking less than men

Studies in the area of language and gender often make use of two models or paradigms - that of dominance and that of difference. The first is associated with Dale Spender (1980), Pamela Fishman (1980), Don Zimmerman and Candace West (1975), while the second is associated with Deborah Tannen (1984). Dominance can be attributed to the fact that in mixed-sex conversations, men are more likely to interrupt than women. It uses a fairly old study of a small sample of conversations, recorded by Don Zimmerman and Candace West at the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California in 1975. The subjects of the recording were white, middle class and under 35 . Zimmerman and West produce in evidence 31 segments of conversation. They report that in 11 conversations between men and women, men used 46 interruptions, but women only two. The difference theory was also summarized in Tannen's book You just don't understand (1990) in an article in which she represents male and female language use in a series of six contrasts:

- Status vs. support

This claims that men grow up in a world in which conversation is competitive - they seek to achieve the upper hand or to prevent others from dominating them. For women, however, talking is often a way to gain confirmation and support for their ideas. Men see the world as a place where people try to gain status and keep it. Women see the world as "a network of connections seeking support and consensus".

- Independence vs. intimacy

In general, women often think in terms of closeness and support, and struggle to preserve intimacy. Men, concerned with status, tend to focus more on independence. These traits can lead women and men to starkly different views of the same situation

- Advice vs. understanding

Deborah Tannen claims that, to many men a complaint is a challenge to find a solution:
"When my mother tells my father she doesn't feel well, he invariably offers to take her to the doctor. Invariably, she is disappointed with his reaction. Like many men, he is focused on what he can do, whereas she wants sympathy."
(Tannen 1984:180)

- Information vs. feelings

Culturally and historically speaking, men's concerns were seen as more important than those of women, but today this situation may be reversed so that the giving of information and brevity of speech are considered of less value than sharing of emotions and elaboration.

- Orders vs. proposals

It is claimed that women often suggest that people do things in indirect ways - "let's", "why don't we?" or "wouldn't it be good, if we...?" Men may use, and prefer to hear, a direct imperative.

- Conflict vs. compromise

This situation can be clearly observed in work-situations where a management decision seems unattractive - men will often resist it vocally, while women may appear to accede, but complain subsequently. In fact, this is a broad generalization - and for every one of Deborah Tannen's oppositions, we will know of men and women who are exceptions to the norm.

### 2.4 Women use more standard forms than men

In the literature, Trudgill (1972) found a kind of sex differentiation for speakers of urban British English. His study demonstrated that "women informants"... use forms associated with the prestige standard more frequently than men". His study also discovered that male speakers place a high value on working class nonstandard speech. He offers several possible reasons for the finding that women are more likely to use forms considered correct: (1) The subordinate position of women in English and American societies makes it "more necessary for women to secure their social status linguistically"; and (2) while men
can be rated socially on what they do, women may be rated primarily on how they appear so their speech is more important. As for American literature, research has not shown a noticeable difference in terms of the usage of standard forms by men and women.

### 2.5 Women's speech is less direct/assertive than men's

In 1975, Robin Lakoff published an influential account of women's language in her book entitled Language and Woman's Place. In another article she published a set of basic assumptions about what marks the language of women. Among them she made some claims that women:

- Hedge: using phrases like "sort of", "kind of", "it seems like", and so on.
- Use (super)polite forms: "Would you mind...","I'd appreciate it if...", "...if you don't mind".
- Use tag questions: "You're going to dinner, aren't you?"
- Speak in italics: intonational emphasis equal to underlining words - so, very, quite.
- Use empty adjectives: divine, lovely, adorable, and so on
- Use hypercorrect grammar and pronunciation: English prestige grammar and clear enunciation.
- Use direct quotation: men paraphrase more often.
- Have a special lexicon: women use more words for things like colors, men for sports.
- Use question intonation in declarative statements: women make declarative statements into questions by raising the pitch of their voice at the end of a statement, expressing uncertainty. For example, "What school do you attend? Eton College?"
- Use "wh-" imperatives: (such as, "Why don't you open the door?")
- Speak less frequently
- Overuse qualifiers: (for example, "I think that...")
- Apologize more: (for instance, "I'm sorry, but I think that...")
- Use modal constructions: (such as can, would, should, ought - "Should we turn up the heat?")
- Avoid coarse language or expletives
- Use indirect commands and requests: (for example, "My, isn't it cold in here?" - really a request to turn the heat on or close a window)
- Use more intensifiers: especially so and very (for instance, "I am so glad you came!")
- Lack a sense of humor: women do not tell jokes well and often don't understand the punch line of jokes.

Holmes (2001) and O'Barr and Atkins (1998) have both constructed similar lists of Lakoff's work on "women's language". As can be noted, some of these statements are easier to verify by investigation and observation than others. It is easy to count the frequency with which tag questions or modal verbs occur. However, Lakoff's remark about humor is much harder to quantify - some critics might reply that notions of humor differ between men and women.

In their study, O’ Barr and Atkins (1980) looked into courtroom cases and witnesses' speech. Their findings challenge Lakoff's view of women's language. Doing some research in what they describe as "powerless language", they show that language differences are based on situation-specific authority or power and not gender. It is also evident that there may be social contexts where women are (for other reasons) more or less the same as those who lack power. As a matter of fact, this is a far more limited claim than that made by Dale Spender (1980), who identifies power with a male patriarchal order - the theory of dominance.

As a result of their study, O'Barr and Atkins (1980) concluded that the quoted speech patterns were neither characteristic of all women nor limited only to women. Therefore, the women who used the lowest frequency of women's language traits had an unusually high status (according to the researchers). They were welleducated professionals with middle class backgrounds. A corresponding pattern was noted among the men who spoke with a low frequency of women's language traits. O'Barr and Atkins tried to emphasize that a powerful position might derive from either social standing in the larger society and/or status accorded by the court.

## 3. Research subjects

Four subjects participated in this study. Friends gathered to celebrate another friend's birthday, Sara. One is a Male American and another is a Female Australian. The other two participants are Brazilian. In short, the Male Native American is married to a Brazilian woman and the Brazilian man is married to the Female Australian. Their age ranges from 24 to 47 years old. Both couples are friends and the two English native speakers teach English in a language institute in Brasília. Their names ${ }^{1}$ and brief profile are given in table 1 below:

| Subject | Gender | Education | Occupation |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Andre | Male | Tertiary | English Teacher |
| Vera | Female | Tertiary | Civil Servant |
| Tim | Male | Tertiary | Civil Servant |
| Ana | Female | Tertiary | English Teacher |

Table 1: Brief Subject Profiles

### 3.1 Research method

A 14 ' 8 "- conversation was recorded utilizing a StorVision MP4 Personal Media Center ${ }^{2}$ on October $4^{\text {th }}$, 2007. On that night, friends got together to celebrate Sara's birthday, one of the two couples' friends. In fact, $6^{\prime} 20^{\prime \prime}$ of the conversation had been recorded before they arrived. The couples had been told in advance that their gathering would be recorded for study purposes. The other guests invited to the party did not know

[^0]about the recording. In order to have an even number of participants, only the conversation of the subjects involved in the process was taken into account. However, during the transcription, some other utterances were transcribed so as not to hinder the natural flow of the conversation, but were not used as part of the conversation sample analysis.

The researcher was not present during the conversation. Also, before proceeding with the research, the participants were asked whether they would feel intimidated by the fact of being recorded. As a result, they said that they would only feel intimidated if the recording was used to analyze the psychological aspect of their talks. When told that only the linguistic features would be analyzed, all of them felt more comfortable.

The following transcription notation based on Ochs (1999) was utilized (see table 2) below:

| $[$ | simultaneous speech |
| :--- | :--- |
| $/ /$ | interruption (first speaker stops speaking) |
| $\ldots$ | interruption (first speaker does not stop speaking) |
| $(\ldots)$ | pause |
| $(x x x)$ | posclear utterance |
| [... | falling intonation |
| $\nearrow$ | rising intonation |

Table 2: Transcription Notation

### 3.2 Results

### 3.2.1 Talking time

## Claim: Women talk more/less than men

Table 3 below summarizes the number of words uttered by participants:

| Subject | Word count |
| :--- | :--- |
| Vera | 505 |
| Tim | 363 |
| Ana | 361 |
| Andre | 150 |

Table 3: Word counts

As can be noted, Vera speaks a higher average of words than the other participants. Tim's and Ana's amount of utterances seem to equal. However, there is a slight difference in the number of utterances made by Andre, which is the smallest of all. In this study, it can be noted that the amount of words uttered by women outnumber those uttered by men. For instance, women’s total words equal 866 words whereas men's equal 513 in a total of 1375 words. As a matter of fact, there are a great number of factors which can contribute to the amount of utterances produced by men and women - The number of words uttered seems to be influenced by familiarity with the conversation topic and the people you are with, as was observed by Cameron and Coates (1985). In conclusion, it can be inferred that as they are all friends and were involved in a very friendly atmosphere, there is every reason to affirm that the topic was of everyone's interest - they gathered to celebrate a friend's party
in one of the couple's house. Therefore, there was no kind of topic which could hinder communication on the basis of unfamiliarity.

### 3.2.2 Turn taking

## Claim: Women break the 'rules' of turn-taking less than men

In this study, turn-taking will be subdivided into three categories: Interruption, simultaneous speech /overlapping and silence and pauses.

### 3.2.2.1 Interruption

Sacks et al. (1974) suggest that speech exchange systems in general are organized to ensure that (1) one party speaks at a time and (2) speaker change recurs. These features are said to hold for casual conversation as well as for formal debate and even high ceremony. Thus it appears that the range of speech exchange systems found in our society (and possibly all societies) is constrained by some form of turn-taking mechanism. According to Sacks et al (1974), a turn consists of not merely the temporal duration of an utterance but of the right (an obligation) to speak which is allocated to a particular speaker. The turn is spoken of as something valued and sought (or sometimes avoided) and illusion is made to the distribution of turns as a kind of economy. Interruption occurs where one speaker begins an utterance while another speaker is already speaking. This only occurred in line 42:
42. VERA: //Ha-ha, that's great, ha-ha. I can't wait to hear the rest of it, ya know, but I really have to go to the bathroom so... Hey, come with me. Yeah, yeah, it'll be like we're gal pals, ya know, like at a restaurant. Oh , it'll be fun, c'mon.

Vera interrupted Ana while she was still speaking. Subsequently Ana, the other speaker, continued the flow of her conversation in line 43:

## 43. ANA: Oh my God, oh my God, oh my God.

The conversation recorded seems to follow Sacks et al (1974) diagram which characterizes a model of interruption as a "locally managed" system by which they mean that over a series of turns the rule-set operates to effect transitions between successive pairs of adjacent turns, one turn at a time, the focus of the system being the next turn and the next transition. Turn size is also locally managed since the concatenation of unit-types to construct longer turns is also provided by the system's organization. Hence conversation can be diagrammed as follows:


This system is said to be "party administered", i.e., turn order and turn size are under the control of parties to the conversation who exercise the options provided. Consequently, turn order and turn size are being determined by conversationalists.

### 3.2.2.2 Simultaneous speech and overlapping

The turn-taking mechanism described by Sacks et al (1974) is so constructed that under ideal conditions conversations generated via its use would exhibit, among other features, a minimum of perceptible gaps between speaker turns and no instances of simultaneous talk (e.g., "overlaps"). In the recording, some simultaneous speech was observed in line 32:
32. VERA:[Chinese menu guy. Forgot the menus.
and also in line 79.
79. VERA:[ Ok people, I want you to take a piece of paper, here you go, and write down your most embarrassing memory. Oh, and I do ask that when you're not using the markers, you put the caps back on them because they will dry out.

### 3.2.2.3 Silence and pauses

Silences in the conversational exchange are also possible outcomes provided by the model. The operation of the rule-set does not command participants to speak; even a next speaker selected by the current speaker (and thus obliged to take the turn thereby transferred) may pause before speaking. In fact, there is nothing inherent in the turn-taking model which would suggest that, over a range of turns and of different conversations, one party to a conversation would fall silent more frequently than other. Some examples in the recording can be seen in line 80 :
80. TIM: Hi Dr. Elaine. So, uh, how's everything in the uh, vascular surgery.... game?

Also in line 73:
73. ANDRE: It's a traditional Mexican custard dessert...Look talk to Vera, she's on the food committee.

In line 43b:
42. VERA: //Ha-ha, that's great, ha-ha. I can't wait to hear the rest of it, ya know, but I
really have to go to the bathroom so... Hey, come with me. Yeah, yeah, it'll be like we're gal pals, ya know, like at a restaurant. Oh, it'll be fun, c'mon.

And in line 131:
131. TIM: Yeah.... you obviously have a problem. You've chosen a husband exactly like your father.

### 3.3 Use of standard forms

Claim: Women use more standard forms of language than men do.

Given the sociolinguistic aspect of spoken interaction, where participants' utterances were made in a freer atmosphere and having in mind that the analysis made comprised of spoken discourse, all observations made in the conversation sample are related to register rather than grammar deviation or slang lexis. Furthermore, according to the data collected, there does not seem to be a distinguishable difference in relation to the usage of standard forms and gender. The following utterances exemplify the use of informal register during the recording:

In line 5 Vera utilizes the abbreviated grammar 'wanna', which is a standard but informal form of the verb 'want to':
5. VERA: You wanna be in charge of the food committee?

Additionally, in the same sentence, she does not use the simple present auxiliary 'do' to pose her question. She only used a rising intonation to ask the question

In line 9 Ana utilizes the pronunciation ellipsis 'Ya' instead of 'you'
9. ANA: Yeah, I agree. Ya know, I think fancy parties are only fun if you're fancy on the inside and I'm just not sure we are.

In line 20 Andre utilizes the abbreviated form of 'would' with the word 'anyone':
20. ANDRE: I didn't think anyone'd buy that, ok.

In line 37 Ana asks a question without using the simple past tense auxiliary verb 'did':
37. ANA: You thought I was Sara?

In line 40 and 42 Vera substitutes the usage of the pronoun 'you' for its pronunciation ellipsis 'ya':
40. VERA: NO! No, I'll take that for ya.
42. I can't wait to hear the rest of it, ya know, but I really have to go to the bathroom so... Hey, come with me. Yeah, yeah, it'll be like we're gal pals, ya know, like at a restaurant. Oh, it'll be fun, c'mon

In line 66 Tim abbreviates the pronoun 'them' and uses 'em' instead:
66. TIM: You know what, this is ridiculous, ok. This is your birthday, this is your party. I say we just put 'em all together and if they can't deal with it, who cares.

In line 69 Andre utilizes the form 'gonna' instead of 'going to' to express a future event:
69. ANDRE: Look, are you gonna be ok?

In line 83 Vera uses the verb form' wanna' instead of 'want to':
83. VERA: Listen you guys, I don't mean to be a pain about this but, um, I've noticed that some of you are just placing them on. You wanna push the caps until you hear them click.

In line 84 Andre uses the form' sorta' instead of 'sort of' as another form of ellipsis: 84. ANDRE: I um, was sorta thinking about maybe...

In this study it was observed that both men and women abbreviated the pronoun 'you', substituting it for 'ya'. In addition, other abbreviations were found as for the conditional auxiliary 'would' for 'd' and the drop of the auxiliary to ask questions. Holmes (2001:311) suggests that this deletion occurs in friendlier, casual speech and this suggestion seems to be the one in case. As the participants in the case study are all friends, it was observed that there was a sense of solidarity between them which allowed their use of the language to be more relaxed and intimate.

### 3.4 Directness and assertiveness

## Claim: Women use less direct, assertive speech than men

On her list of women's language, Lakoff (1975) presents a collection of hedges and tag questions which are considered language features that express indirectness and uncertainty. Some of them were observed in the recording and are summarized in table 5 below:

| Language features | Subjects |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Hedges | VERA | ANDRE | TIM | ANA |
| "I think" |  |  |  | 1 |
| "I guess" |  | 1 |  |  |
| "you know" | 1 |  |  | 1 |
| "oh" "ah" "uh", <br> "yeah" ... | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| Tag questions |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| Polite forms | 2 |  |  | 7 |
| Rising intonation in <br> declaratives | 2 | 6 | 3 | 361 |
| Total | 8 | 150 | 3 |  |
| Word count | 505 |  |  |  |

Table 5: Use of indirect language

As can be seen, independent of the number of words spoken, the use of hedges does not seem to vary drastically. As shown above, there does not seem to be a considerable quantitative difference between the number of words uttered and the number of hedge devices used.

As for tag questions, there was only one observed in line 77:
77. ANDRE: Yeah, we set up a court in your room. Uh, you didn't really like that grey lamp, did you?

Polite forms were found in Vera's conversation in line 44:
44. VERA: Andre, Could you at least send some men to the party?

And line 126:
126. VERA: Could you guys please try to keep it down, we're trying to have a serious talk here.

A polite form was found in Ana's talk in line 39
39. ANA: Well, should I put my coat in the bedroom?

Rising intonation in declaratives was found twice in Vera's talk in line 5 and 113 respectively:
5. VERA: You wanna be in charge of the food committee?
113. VERA: You wear bi-focals?
and in line 37 in Ana's talk:
37. ANA: You thought I was Sara?

Falling intonation was found in line 77:
77. ANDRE: Yeah, we set up a court in your room. Uh, you didn't really like that grey lamp, did you?

## 4. Summary

In short, some claims can be made about the study: 1) The data collected showed a very slight difference with respect to the amount of words uttered by women and men. In the present study, women talked roughly 20 percent more than men. As mentioned above, some factors can influence this difference in the number of words and not necessarily gender. 2) Turn-taking was roughly distributed in the conversation and followed Sacks at al (1974) model of description, which followed a natural flow of interruption, silence and overlaps as a naturally occurring conversation. As noted, Vera was the only one to have interrupted the other participants. 3) Language was used by both men and women in a very informal way on account of the relaxed atmosphere created in the social setting in question - a birthday party. Both men and women used informal forms almost equally and therefore there is not a correlation with gender. 4) There was not a discrepant difference between directness/assertiveness speech in relation to gender.

## 5. Conclusion

The main aim of this paper was to analyze a sample of natural conversation and note the extent to which it supports or challenges the claims made in the literature. As the language data above showed, difference of language between subjects was not related to gender potentially due to other factors such as the solidarity between participants, where men and women had equal opportunities to express themselves during the conversation and the familiarity with the topic.

Before closing, the researcher does not wish to reiterate that male-female interaction will invariably exhibit relatively symmetric patterns as it was reported in this paper with respect to women's and men's speech. Therefore, a challenging task for further research is the specification of conditions under which they occur, i.e., the conditions under which sex roles become relevant to the conduct of conversationalists and when sex-linked differences in conversational interaction emerge.

## Appendix 1: Transcript (October $4^{\text {th }}$, 2007)

```
[ simultaneous speech
// interruption (first speaker stops speaking)
// [ interruption (first speaker does not stop speaking)
... pause
(...) unclear utterance
(xxx) possible interpretation of unclear utterance
    falling intonation
    rising intonation
```

1. VERA: So, I'll get candles and my mom's lace tablecloth, and since it's Sara’s birthday, I mean, we want it to be special, I thought I'd poach a salmon.
2. ALL: ohhhhhhh!
3. VERA: What?
4. TIM: Question. Why do we always have to have parties where you poach things?
5. VERA: You wanna be in charge of the food committee?
6. TIM: Question two. Why do we always have to have parties with committees?
7. ANDRE: Really. Why can't we just get some pizzas and get some beers and have fun?
8. TIM: Yeah.
9. ANA: Yeah, I agree. Ya know, I think fancy parties are only fun if you're fancy on the inside and I'm just not sure we are.
10. VERA: Alright. If you guys don't want it to be special, fine. You can throw any kind of party you want.
11. VERA: Andre they're not real. I start miles beneath the surface of these things, ok, they're fake. See honk honk.
12. TIM: I talked to Sara's sisters, neither of them can come.
13. VERA: Ok, um so, I still have to invite Sophie and Jimmy and Katy Cox.
14. ANDRE: Woah, woah, woah, uh, no Katy Cox.
15. ANA: Why not her?
16. TIM: Cause she uh, she steals stuff.
17. VERA: Andre, that is horrible.
18.ANDRE: Hey I liked her, alright. Maybe, maybe too much. I don't know I guess I just got scared.
18. ANA: I'm sorry, I didn't know.
19. ANDRE: I didn't think anyone'd buy that, ok.
20. TIM: Hi honey, how did it go?
21. VERA: So what happened?
22. ANA: Ok, so I guess we don't invite her parents.
23. VERA: Well, how about just her mom?
24. VERA: Cause I already invited her.
25. ANA: Ooh, ooh, did you ask Shenna?
26. ANDRE: Oh no, can't invite her. She also steals.
27. ANA: Ok, here are the birthday candles. Where's the birthday cake?
28. VERA: Ok, we're not having birthday cake, we're having birthday flan.
29. VERA: It's a traditional Mexican custard dessert.
30. ANDRE: Oh that's nice. Happy birthday Sara, here's some goo(...)
31. VERA:[Chinese menu guy. Forgot the menus.
32. TIM: So, basically just a Chinese guy.
33. ANDRE: Uh, hey, Tim, why don't you come with me, we'll put your jacket on Vera's bed.
34. TIM: Alright, that sounds like a two person job.
35. VERA: Ana, I am so sorry, I thought you were Sara and we just weren't ready for you yet.
36. ANA: You thought I was Sara?
37. VERA: Yes because uh, you look so young.
38. ANA: Well, should I put my coat in the bedroom?
39. VERA: NO! No, I'll take that for ya.
40. ANA: Oh well thank you. Thank you. Ahh, it all looks so nice, so festive, all the balloons...
41. VERA: //Ha-ha, that's great, ha-ha. I can't wait to hear the rest of it, ya know, but I really have to go to the bathroom so... Hey, come with me. Yeah, yeah, it'll be like we're gal pals, ya know, like at a restaurant. Oh, it'll be fun, c'mon.
42. ANA: Oh my God, oh my God, oh my God.
43. VERA: Andre, Could you at least send some men to the party?
44. ANDRE: Ok, they're coming, don't worry!
45. VERA: Ohh, thank you for the wonderful dinner.
46. TIM: Thanks for being born.
47. ANA: Ohh, thank you for my beautiful earrings, they're perfect. I love you.
48. TIM: Oh, now you can exchange them if you want, ok.
49. ANA: Now I love you even more.
50. ALL: Surprise.
51. VERA: Happy birthday Sara
52. SARA: Wow you, you. I had no idea.
53. TIM: Really?
54. SARA: No, I knew.
55. TIM: All right.
56. VERA: Ok, everybody, there's food and drinks on the table. Go across the hall.
57. TIM: What?
58. VERA: Right now, Tim and Ana, go now.
59. ANA: Why.
60. VERA: Just go.
61. ALL: Surprise.
62. SARA: Both of them are here, both of them, both of them are here?
63. VERA: Well, we could count again.
64. SARA: I can't believe this is happening.
65. TIM: You know what, this is ridiculous, ok. This is your birthday, this is your party. I say we just put 'em all together and if they can't deal with it, who cares.
66. VERA: I do.
67. TIM: That's who.
68. ANDRE: Look, are you gonna be ok?
69. SARA: Well, I have to be, I don't really have a choice, I mean, you know, I could look at the bright side, I get two birthday parties and two birthday cakes.
70. TIM: Well, actually just one birthday flan.

## 72. VERA: What?

73. ANDRE: It's a traditional Mexican custard dessert...Look talk toVera, she's on the food committee.
74. TIM: Andre, Andre. Hey, some girl just walked up to me and said, 'I want you Jack,' and stuck her tongue down my throat. I love this party.
75. ANDRE: Quick volleyball question.
76. TIM: Volleyball.
77. ANDRE: Yeah, we set up a court in your room. Uh, you didn't really like that grey
lamp, did you?
78. TIM: Andre, a woman just stuck her tongue down my throat, I'm not even listening to you...
79. VERA:[ Ok people, I want you to take a piece of paper, here you go, and write down your most embarrassing memory. Oh, and I do ask that when you're not using the markers, you put the caps back on them because they will dry out.
80. TIM: Hi Dr. Elaine. So, uh, how's everything in the uh, vascular surgery....game?
81. DR. ELAINE: It's not a game Tim, a woman died on my table today.
82. TIM: I'm sorry. See that's the good thing about your job. All the dinosaurs on your table are already dead.
83. VERA: Listen you guys, I don't mean to be a pain about this but, um, I've noticed that some of you are just placing them on. You wanna push the caps until you hear them click.
84. ANDRE: I um, was sorta thinking about maybe...
85. VERA: No. No you can't go. No this is fun. Come on we're just getting started. Here,
here's your marker.
86. ANA: Listen if you wanna go, just go.
87. ANDRE: No, she'll yell at me again.
88. ANA: Alright, I can get you out.
89. ANDRE: What?
90. ANA: Shh. In a minute, I'm gonna create a diversion. When I do, walk quickly to the door and don't look back.
91. VERA: I think I need a drink.
92. TIM: Oh, here, I, I'll get it for ya. Whad'ya want?
93. VERA: Scotch.
94. TIM: Scotch. Alright, I'll be back in 10 seconds with your scotch on the rocks in a glass.
95. VERA: Neat.
96. TIM: Cool.
97.VERA: No no no, no no no, neat, as in no rocks.
97. TIM: I know.
98. VERA: Oh hello Andre, where have you been?
99. ANDRE: Hi. Uh, I have been in the bathroom. Stay clear of the salmon mousse.
100. VERA: Oh, scotch neat. Ya know, that's my favorite drink.
101. TIM: Oh, mine too. Isn't that neat, scotch neat. Would you excuse me? Hey, hey, where you uh, sneaking off to mister?
102. ANA: I'm getting my cigarettes out of my jacket.
103. TIM: No. no.
105.ANA: Whad'ya mean no?
104. TIM: No, um, see 'cause that, that is, that is a non-smoking area.
105. ANA: Get my glasses too.
106. TIM: All right. What a great moment to say that for the first time.
107. VERA: Ok, the first person's most embarrassing memory is, 'Sara, your party sucks.' Very funny.
108. ANA: Oh no, ooh, ooh, did somebody forget to use a coaster?
109. VERA: What? I don't see anything.
110. ANA: Great, I'm seeing water rings again.
111. VERA: You wear bi-focals?
112. TIM: Um-hmm. I have a condition, apparently, that I require two different sets of focals.
113. ANDRE: Did you know I worn glasses just like that?
114. TIM: Well those are very popular frames.
115. VERA: Gisele Bündchen wears them.
116. VERA: Sara, you didn't tell me your boyfriend smoked.
117. SARA: Yeah, like a chimney.
118. TIM: Ohh, big smoker. Big big smoker. In fact I'm gonna go out into the hallway and fire up this bad boy.
119. ANA: Are you wearing my glasses?
120. TIM: Yes. I was just warming up the earpieces for you.
121. ANA: Thank you. Is that one of my cigarettes?
122. TIM:Yeah, yes it is, I was just moistening the tip.
123. ANA: Ok, ok, she's taking the trash out so I can get you out of here but it has to be now, she'll be back any minute.
124. VERA: Could you guys please try to keep it down, we're trying to have a serious talk here.
125. VERA: Ana.
126. ANA: Alright, I'm sorry but these people needed me. They work hard all week, it's Saturday night, they deserve to have a little fun. Go.
127. VERA: Ya know, this party is fun. I mean, maybe it's a little quieter, less obvious sorta fun but, you know, if people would just give it a chance...
128. ANA: You want me to see a therapist?
129. TIM: Yeah.... you obviously have a problem. You've chosen a husband exactly like your father.
130. ANA: Ok daddy, you know what, fine, I'll make an appointment ok, but you know what, right now, I gotta go, I gotta go do a thing.
131. TIM: Did you know my mother spent $\$ 1200$ dollars on bansai trees? I felt like Gulliver around that place.
132. ANA: Really? you know what, I really wanna hear more about this, I really do, but I just have, I just have to do a, some stuff.
133. VERA: Ok, thanks for coming, I hope you guys had fun.
134. FRIEND: Alright, Vera dear, I'm gonna hit the road. Now I've left my 10 verbs on the table. And you be sure and send me that finished poem.
135. VERA: Ok will do. So glad you came.
136. FRIEND: I think I saw Elaine out in the hall.
137. VERA: Ok, let me go check. Your mom wants to say goodbye.
138. SARA: Oh ok.
139. MOM: Happy birthday sweetie.
140. SARA: Ok.
141. ANDRE: Ahh, you drive safe.
142. ANA:Tim, what're you doing?
143. TIM: I'm getting ready for the dishwashing
144. FRIEND: Well, uh, Sara where are you going?
145. SARA: To get my coat.
146. VERA: No no no.
147. SARA: Alright, alright, I'm not going now.
148. ANDRE: Sorry, we're on a major flan high.
149. ANA: I have to be heading to my chateau, thank you.
150. ANDRE: Oh all right, then I guess we're going back into the hallway.
151. TIM: Thanks for coming Mrs. McFee. Well, ok, you take care.
152. ANA: Oh, you kids. Well, this is the best party I've been to in years.
153. VERA: Thank you.
154. VERA: Ok everybody, it's time for flan.
155. ANDRE: Yup, get ready for the gelatinous fun.
156. TIM: Kinda looks like that stuff you get when you get a bad infection.
157. VERA: Ok, that's enough.
158. ANA: Ok Sara, make a special flan wish.
159. SARA: Ok, I've got one. Wow, those things almost never come true.

END OF TRANSCRIPT

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ All personal names occurring in this study are fictitious.
    ${ }^{2}$ This paper does not concern itself specifically with the nonverbal component of conversational interaction.

