An Investigation into the language of English-speaking adolescents, with particular reference to sex, age and type of school.

THESIS

submitted in fulfillment of

the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of the University of Cape Town

by

Vivian Anne de Klerk

February 1989.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thanks and appreciation

- to my husband, Billy, for his boundless enthusiasm and encouragement, and for his expert and cheerful tuition and guidance on the computer.

- to my patient and understanding children, Jennifer, Andrew and Christopher, who have, inevitably, had to make sacrifices in order to enable me to complete this magnum opus.

- to Dr. Rajend Mesthrie for his careful and prompt supervision of my work, and his positive attitude throughout.

- to Professor Eales for the use of the Geology Department's plotter in the preparation of my graphs.

- to the Cape Education Department, for granting me permission to approach Government schools, and to the headmasters of Graeme College, Diocesan School for Girls, St Andrews College, Kingswood College, Victoria Girls High School, and Port Alfred High School, who cooperated with me by providing me with the requisite numbers of informants and venues in which to interview them.

- to each and every one of the 160 informants, who have gained (anonymous) immortality in my work, and without whose cooperation I could not have achieved very much.

The financial assistance of the Institute for Research and Development of the Human Sciences Research Council towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this thesis and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the Institute for Research and Development or the Human Sciences Research Council.

NOTE:

160 informants were recorded during this investigation, and space limitations have prevented me from incorporating their contributions into my thesis. A sample tape of five recordings (plus analyses of transcripts in the Appendices) accompanies this text, and the remainder of the data is available for scrutiny on request.

ABSTRACT:

In this thesis I attempt to separate stereotype from reality in the area of sex-related linguistic features by carrying out a sociolinguistic investigation on a group of adolescents. In Chapter One I focus first on traditional folklinguistic beliefs and stereotypes with regard to men and women, in an attempt to show how androcentric and subjective such attitudes tend to be, and how deep and pervasive their influence is, in causing the possible perpetuation of sexist beliefs. I discuss the role of power-imbalances in society in creating these linguistic myths, and then comment on the potential these myths have of turning into self-fulfilling prophecies, whereby girls end up behaving the way the stereotype would have them behave, thereby causing themselves to be classified as inferior.

After pointing out that stereotypes seldom match reality, and that discrepancies may be striking, I make a distinction between stereotype and genuine marker, and briefly discuss the possible reasons for the existence of (hypothetical) gender-related linguistic differences, with a view to relating these to the particular investigation which I report on later in the study. This chapter ends with a summary of the reasons for my own investigation, in an attempt to justify its validity as a means of assessing the genuine existence of linguistic markers in society, and thereby possibly counteracting the insidious influence of linguistic (sexist) stereotypes.

The hypotheses on which the study is based are then outlined: that the overwhelmingly male-biased sterotypes will probably not be authenticated by the study, but that differences between the two gender-groups are likely to exist, and to reflect differences in socialisation patterns (rather than genetic differences in ability): males are expected to show evidence of in-power characteristics: relaxation, confidence, unhurriedness and authority, girls the opposite. The type of school and age/standard of informant is also expected to play a part.

Chapter Two starts with an overview of the methodological problems any sociolinguistic investigator faces in research, in an effort to show up weak areas in previously reported studies, and possible reasons for not placing over-reliance on the results of many such studies. This is followed by a review of all the relevant linguistic research in the area of sex-related linguistic characteristics, insofar as these aspects relate to the particular investigation carried out by myself, viz. the use of prestige varieties, amount of speech and volubility, politeness, hesitance, linguistic "superiority", lexical features (including slang and expletives), and aspects of written language. In each case an attempt is made to come to some sort of "verdict" or decision in assessing the overall results of studies, in order that some foundation can be established on which to base the hypotheses in the investigation reported on in this thesis.

Chapter Three deals with the methodology of this investigation: the population sample, its composition, the data-gathering instruments, the types of data collected from each informant, the manner of collection, the method of analysis, and the assumptions and limitations of the chosen method. Two types of linguistic data were collected: taped formal spoken English and a written response to a questionnaire on slang and expletives from equal numbers of boys and girls distributed evenly with respect to standard (6 or 9) and type of school (Government, private, coeducational, single-sex). Independent variables in this study are, in order of hypothesised significance: sex, educational standard, and type of school of the informant.

In this chapter I take each dependent variable selected for analysis in turn and motivate why it was chosen for study, following this with an attempt to justify the selection of the statistical test to be used to assess the degree of significance which can be attached to results eventually obtained. The hypotheses which form the basis of this particular sociolinguistic study are then developed in an attempt to link dependent variables to the independent variables: are there genuine linguistic markers which distinguish speakers according to their sex? to what extent are these influenced by the educational standard of the speaker? and to what extent does the type of school have any noticeable or measurable effect?

In Chapter Four the findings of the analysis of the transcribed spoken data are presented. In each subsection, which relates to a sex-related stereotype which is being tested for validity (eg. time and talk, disfluency measurements, syntactic complexity etc.) the implications of the results are discussed in terms of sex, age and school type, (graphs provide a visual representation) in an attempt to assess which of the three independent variables has a more noticeable/significant effect on the linguistic habits of speakers. Z-scores (based on variance, mean and standard deviation) and their corresponding degree of probability are cited for each group comparison, in order to judge the degree of reliability or significance which can be attached to differences between respective groups (eg boys versus girls, standard 6's versus standard 9's) in each case.

Chapter Five is devoted solely to one particular area of the investigation under discussion: the somewhat suspect realm of slang and expletives. As folklinguistic views are at their most heated and rigid where the use of slang and taboo items is concerned, (seeing them as anathema to the female of the species) it was seen as important to focus in particular on the validity of these views. After presenting a full spectrum of opinions and definitions (separately) of each of these linguistic phenomena over the past 100 years, I devote particular attention to each in relation to females in particular, both from the stereotyped point of view and from a real-world perspective; known studies in this area are reviewed, in order to establish a basis from which to launch the main focus of the investigation at hand. The results of the questionnaire-based investigation described above are then presented.

The following, and final chapter (6) presents a comprehensive summary of the whole range of dependent variables tested, correlating these with each of the independent variables (sex, age, school type) in turn. The final conclusion reached is unlikely to come as a surprise, revealing as it does, that the null hypothesis is not supported, in that male and female adolescents do differ significantly with respect to the realisation of several of the variables tested in the investigation, but that the stereotypes are not accurate or fair representations of the way (adolescent) males and females actually speak, often suggesting the opposite of what actually appears to be the case. Differences are found to relate not to ability, but to socialisation practices, and the theme of power is seen as being particularly relevant.

In conclusion, I make some suggestions with regard to proposed future linguistic developments generally and possible directions for research.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbr	Abbreviations
AF	adult females
AM	adult males
Avg	Average
Coed	Coeducational
Govt	Government
JB	Junior boys
JG	Junior girls
MC	main clause
MLU	mean length of utterance
Non-Std	Non standard
Omits	omissions
Priv	private (schools)
SAC	subordinate adjectival clause
SADVC	subordinate adverbial clause
SB	senior boys
SG	senior girls
SNC	subordinate noun clause
S-S	single-sex (schools)
Std Dev	standard deviation
TTR	type token ratio
WPM	words per minute

Schools, in order of mention:

S6	St. Andrews Std. 6 boys
KB6	Kingswood Std. 6 boys
G6	Graeme Std. 6 boys
PB6	Port Alfred High Std. 6 boys
D6	Diocesan Std. 6 girls
KG6	Kingswood Std. 6 girls
V6	Victoria Std. 6 girls
PG6	Port Alfred High Std. 6 girls
S9	St. Andrews Std. 9 boys
KB9	Kingswood Std. 9 boys
G9	Graeme Std. 9 boys
PB9	Port Alfred High Std. 9 boys
D9	Diocesan Std. 9 girls
KG9	Kingswood Std. 9 girls
V9	Victoria Std. 9 girls
PG9	Port Alfred High Std. 9 girls

CONTENTS PAGE

LIST OF FIGURES:

CHAPTER 1

STEREOTYPES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY.

> A woman's intellect is normally more feeble and her curiosity greater than those of a man; also it is undesirable to set her to studies which may turn her head. Women should not govern the state or make war or enter the sacred ministry. Thus they can dispense with some of the more difficult branches of knowledge which deal with politics, the military art, jurisprudence, philosophy and theology. (Fenelon, 17th century, a French Catholic Archbishop, cited in Tavris and Wade 1984:11)

> Women are only children of a larger growth; they have an entertaining tattle, and sometimes wit, but for solid, reasoning good sense, I never in my life knew one that had it. (Earl of Chesterfield)

> The North Sea will sooner be found wanting in water than a woman at a loss for a word. (A proverb from Jutland quoted by Coates 1986)

> A woman as a woman simply has no place in the academy. Of course I have a great deal of admiration for her work, But it is like putting a dove in the rabbit hutch. Adding one inhabitant like that makes the place overpopulate. (Jean Guitton of the French Academy 1980, quoted in Tavris and Wade 1984:22)

1.0: Introduction: Fact versus Fiction.

> Women continue to be one of the mysteries of the universe. (Shuy 1970:856)

In a society where women are devalued it is not surprising that their language should be devalued. It is nevertheless interesting to examine the extent to which such devaluation has occurred.

1.1: Some serious misconceptions by serious linguists:

1.1.1: The Past:

From the quotations given at the start of this chapter, it should be evident that men over the ages have not been particularly chivalrous in their views on women, many of which reveal an androcentric bias; When linguists first hit upon the idea that the speech of men and women might differ, they tended to summarize existing stereotypical differences, based on intuitive judgements about "women's speech".

Language is defined by most eighteenth century writers in terms of male language, the way men talk being seen as the norm, women's language deviating from this. Tucker quotes an anonymous contributor to The World (6 May 1756) which nicely represents views about women's speech current at the time; here he criticizes female overuse of hyperbole:

> there is so great a scarcity of originals, and ..... the ear is such a daily sufferer from an identity of phrase, whether it be *vastly, horridly, abominably, immensely* or *excessively*, which make up the whole scale or gamut of modern female conversation. (1961:96)

Jespersen's (1922) chapter on the topic of female language continues this tradition of an androcentric approach, in which he makes sweeping generalisations with little or no supporting evidence for his claims that women are more conservative than men in their speech and have less "initiative" with regard to language. According to him the vocabulary of women is more restricted than that of men, and women tend to hyperbolize and intensify what they have to say, building sentences in a random and loose fashion

> like a set of pearls joined together on a string of *ands* and similar words (1922:252)

According to him, women speak more softly, use diminutives like "teeny weeny", construct sentences loosely and

> women much more often than men break off without finishing their sentences, because they start talking without having thought out what they are going to say. (1922:250)

In male speech, he says, we

> find many more instances of intricate or involute structures with clause within clause . . . while the typical form of long feminine periods is that of coordination, one sentence or clause being added to another in the same plane. (1922:251)

One finds several implicit contradictions in Jespersen's work: he starts by saying

> Some men are confirmed punsters, while women are generally slow to see any point in a pun and scarcely ever perpetrate one themselves. (1922:249)

but then he goes on to say (without offering any corroborative evidence)

> woman is linguistically quicker than man: quicker to learn, quicker to hear, and quicker to answer. (1922:249)

Explaining this apparent female linguistic agility does not prove to be a major problem to Jespersen:

> it is as though every statement were admitted immediately and without inspection to fill the vacant chambers of the mind. (1922:252)

He calls on the authority of past masters to support his claims, and quotes Swift:

> whoever is a master of a language, and hath a mind full of ideas, will be apt, in speaking, to hesitate upon the choice of both: whereas common speakers have only one set of ideas and one set of words to clothe them in, and these are always ready at the mouth. So people come faster out of church when it is almost empty, than when a crowd is at the door. (Quoting Swift: Works, Dublin 1735, i 305)

So the "superior readiness of the speech of women" is not, in his view a sign of intellectual superiority, but of thoughtless chatter, the implication being that women's occupations are of such a trivial nature that deep thought is inessential, in fact

> A woman's thought is no sooner formed than uttered . . The superior readiness of speech of women is a concomitant of the fact that their vocabulary is smaller and more central than that of men. (1922:253)

1.1.2: **Recent Views:**

It would be wise to note that Jespersen's tendency to contradict himself and to make strong, unsupported assertions is not unique to him. It should prepare one for study of subsequent literature in this field, which turns out to be a web of deception, contradiction and uncertainty. His impressions have been reiterated in various forms in several places, along with notes about women using more adverbs ending in "ly", and being enthusiastic but largely trivial speakers. (Bernard (1972), Farb (1973), Key (1972), Pei (1970)).

Adler in all seriousness, quotes the German researcher Guntert, and in so doing reinforces the misconceptions that have taken root:

> It has often been noticed that men speak differently from women. The latter speak more jerkily, they hint more, and since they like to jump from thought to

> thought, very often amalgamations of constructions occur. They love every kind of exaggeration. Women are also more conservative in their use of language than are men. (Guntert 1956:45 cited in Adler 1978:104)

Kramer (1974c) points out the injustice of these stereotypical views, showing how it is not only a phenomenon of the past, when one could perhaps excuse a lack of true scientific objectivity, and forgive Jespersen for saying:

> men will certainly with great justice object that there is a danger of the language becoming languid and insipid if we are to content ourselves with women's expressions. (1922:247)

but also a common feature of current works on the subject.

Clearly it is important not to make the error of grouping all women together, of generalizing broadly, yet this is the tendency of many of the studies in this area. Female writers in the field appear to be just as guilty, allowing a sense of outrage at what has been said about the language of their sex to cloud their view of the subject. (See Spender and Sarah (1980)).

Jespersen's claims about women's speech have become infamous, and have prompted further investigation, much of which has not proved to be reliable. An example of this is Lakoff's (1975) lengthy study on linguistic discrimination and prejudice against women, which has the important defect of being largely introspective and intuitive, like Jespersen's - she openly admits that she does not have precise statistical evidence (p.6.) and that her data have been gathered mainly by introspection.(p.14.)

According to her hypothesis language both reflects and subtly reinforces social order - we use terms which differentiate male from female, and in so doing, we remind ourselves of their divergent roles. This social order, she claims, is an unequal one in which males and their language are more valued than females, the former being more assertive, adult and direct, the latter immature, excessively formal and polite, non-assertive and indirect. She suggests the existence of a female register (used by both male and female, but embodying the female role in society) typically expressive, polite and non-assertive. Rough and ready slang, expletives and the like would be highly marked in the speech of women.

Several of Lakoff's suggestions about the difference between male and female speech have been the focus of subsequent research, virtually none of which has supported her assertions. For example Erickson, Lind et al.(1977) found that men used features of female "powerless" language more than females did, and Dubois and Crouch (1975) report a similar finding about tag questions, while Brotherton and Penman (1977) found no differences with regard to verbosity and incomplete sentences. This research will receive closer attention in Chapter 2.

1.2: **Stereotypes:**

1.2.0: **General:**

Stereotypes are abstractions, simplifying what otherwise might have overwhelmingly diverse meaning. The expectations stereotypes generate can have undesirable constraining effects on person-perception, and have behavioral consequences. Any pervasive, widely shared expectation about people in a social category inevitably exerts subtle pressure on its members to display behaviours, traits and attitudes consistent with it. Sex-role stereotypes are tenaciously held, well-defined concepts that prescribe how each sex ought to perform. Such sex-role stereotypes generate sex-role standards (i.e. expectations about how each sex ought to act) and the stereotypes and standards reinforce each other.

We have, in our culture, folk-linguistic stereotypes. We see these manifested in comic strips, manuals of etiquette, cartoons and novels, even in so-called "scientific" linguistic texts - Jespersen and Lakoff are good examples of this. Some of these folk-linguistic beliefs about language which are accepted as common sense in a society are quite accurate, others completely false and inaccurate yet even the most ludicrous beliefs (some of which will be discussed later) return to haunt "empirical" sociolinguistics. (See Cameron 1985:31)

There is, in my view, much potential for research into the validity of these stereotypes as their influence is not inconsiderable. With regard to stereotypically male or female linguistic behaviour, there seems to be consensus in society at large that there is an either-or type of behaviour demanded of men and women by our cultural mores, and that one is under the threat of some penalty - disapproval or ostracism, for linguistic behaviour not befitting one's sex.

1.2.1: **Stereotype versus Linguistic Marker:**

Hertzler (1965) claimed that with the legal equality of the sexes, the increasing employment of women and the fact that the sexes increasingly perform the same kind of work, most of the sharply distinct functional divergences between the speech of the sexes have grown weaker or disappeared, but it seems that even though things may be changing, the stereotypes are firmly entrenched and will take much longer to shift. What we must attempt to ascertain is whether, at the level of expression, there is a genuine difference in behaviour between men and women.

Smith (1979) following Labov (1966) differentiates between stereotype and marker, saying that genuine differences are markers, and stereotypes are features which have, for many different reasons, become associated with, and expected of men and women, regardless of their diagnostic efficiency. He sees no necessary relationship between stereotype and marker, and states

> the degree to which stereotypes about men's and women's speech, and actual differences between them overlap, is a matter for empirical research. (Smith 1979:110)

- this is one of the aims of this study.

Sex as an explanatory variable in sociolinguistics and its study involves a close examination of the processes whereby our ideas about social groups originate, stabilise and evolve. Speech can, by virtue of its real or imagined association with a particular sex, acquire masculine or feminine connotations. But a given feature serves as a marker of a speaker's location along many dimensions of social identity at once, and sex is probably not the primary determinant of any feature in isolation. Thus, even though the male or female connotations of aspects of speech may reflect the actual distribution of markers between the sexes, the attribution of this distribution to sex alone is not apt. Furthermore, many features and patterns stereotypically associated with one sex are not reliable markers, even in a statistical sense.

> While the precise points of description between speech markers and speech stereotypes of sex have yet to be discovered for any language, there are enough data to conclude that our preconceptions about male and female speech are significantly at odds with male-female speech differences, at least in English-speaking America. (Smith 1979:134)

One expects the same to be the case in South Africa.

Petersen and Wittig (1979) stress the importance of determining the validity of already reported claims of gender differences, some of which are clearly misinterpretations of the data - if there do exist demonstrable group differences, then their study will contribute to our knowledge of the general nature of cognitive mechanisms, and could, for example, aid in new therapy for aphasics, or give insight into new educational approaches in schools.

1.2.2: **The effect of stereotyped beliefs: experimental evidence:**

It's all very well to read in Greenough and Kittredge (1901) that everyone knows that the vocabulary of men and women differs considerably, that women swear less and use slang less, and to read similar views in Jespersen (1922) and Lakoff (1975), but are these views reflections of currently held stereotypes or of the true state of affairs in society?

The questions examined in this section are: How do male and female speakers recognise and evaluate sex-associated speech? Do they share common schemes of evaluation? Are the same feature salient markers of both male and female speech? Does the recognition of speaker sex cause reassessment of the speaker, or is it the way s/he speaks that causes the reassessment? (There is evidence that the latter

is correct.) In order to answer these questions a chronological summary of studies on the existence of stereotypes is provided below.

Studies suggest that women are perceived as being less believable, and Goldberg (1968), presenting the same texts to his subjects under the guise of differently-sexed authors, showed that female and male students were more impressed by male academic writers, regarding them as more competent and their writing as more valuable. These results indicate a bias in favour of males in the minds of the informants.

Addington (1968) similarly found male and female judges rated changes in female voices differently from similar changes in male voices, and a study by Broverman et al.(1972) endorses the idea that men and women are associated with stereotyped characteristics in people's minds; research demonstrates the contemporary existence of clearly defined sex-role stereotypes for men and women, contrary to the phenomenon of "unisex" currently touted in the media. Women are perceived as relatively less competent, less independent, less objective, and less logical than men; men are perceived as lacking interpersonal sensitivity, warmth and expressiveness in comparison to women; masculine traits are more often perceived to be desirable than are stereotypical feminine characteristics since more female traits are negatively valued than masculine traits, and women tend to have more negative self-concepts than do men - evidence of the powerful social pressures to conform to the sex-role standards of society.

Yet, according to Key (1972)

> in spite of the fact that society seems to operate under the assumption that there are great differences between male and female, relatively few studies have been made on the differences of linguistic behaviour.(1972:15)

She stresses the importance of taking the context into account, the relationships of the participants and the situation because

> many of the differences which are attributed to male and female behaviour are mixed in complex ways with other dimensions of behaviour. (1972:16)

Other studies which tested the strength of linguistic stereotypes in this area also show that they are strong and very much alive: Miller and McReynolds (1973) found that receivers rated a male communicator as more competent than a female communicator with all other source qualifications and the message held constant. Garcia-Zamor (1973) found that kindergarten children unerringly assigned *shit* to the male dolls rather than female dolls in her experiment, and Kramer (1974b) in her study on comics, found that over 75% correct links were made between words and comic character; informants explained this by mentioning the typically logical, concise, businesslike controlling nature of men, versus the stupid, vague, emotional confused wordy speech of females.

In her investigation into the prevalence of male and female stereotypes per se, Kramer (1977:158) found that on 36 scales men were rated differently from women, male speakers being seen as attention-seeking, dominating, authoritarian, aggressive and frank, while female speech was seen as friendly, gentle, enthusiastic, grammatically correct, but containing gibberish on trivial topics.

A study by Edelsky (1976a and b) explored the acquisition of adult norms of communicative competence in the area of sex-linked language, in an attempt to find out if people can recognise and then explain why certain language items (e.g. *adorable, so mad, damn mad, oh dear,* and tag questions) are linguistic expressions of traits which are socially assigned on the basis of sex, and to plot the course of development of this aspect of interpretive communicative competence in children. In general the study revealed that adults' communicative competence did indeed include the ability to identify linguistic correlates of sex roles, and that children became increasingly competent in this ability with age.

> The social structure is profoundly reflected in and perpetuated by even such subtle matters as the assignment of certain lexical and syntactic features on the basis of sex (1976c:749)

Siegler and Siegler (1976) studied male and female speech patterns and demonstrated that statements using the syntactic forms and speech styles associated with males were rated by both sexes as revealing higher intelligence than those associated with females. They also conducted a study using a 7 point scale, asking speakers to attribute given sentences to males or females, and found that strong assertions (e.g. *football is a bloodthirsty game*) were attributed significantly less to women, while tags were more often attributed to women.

All this research shows that men and women are very differently evaluated, on the basis of different speech cues. Aronovitch (1976) found a significant difference and clear stereotypes, using 57 speakers, who were found to use different cues to judge males and females, and Erickson, Lind et al. (1977), in a carefully constructed experiment, showed that sex-associated speech style was more important than the actual sex of witnesses in witness evaluation by informants.

Smith reports on a study by Erickson (1978), who constructed two versions of witness testimony, each containing the typical features of either male or female speech.

> The results showed that linguistic style was a more important determinant of the way the witnesses were rated than was the speakers sex. (Smith 1985:152)

Using stimulus tapes with a high proportion of "typical "female and male features, Berryman (1978) found that feminine linguistic features were very consistently associated with high credibility, by both male and female informants, while male features were associated with being extroverted. It has been recently demonstrated that children as young as 2.5 - 3.5 years display stereotypic concepts of sex-

appropriate traits, beliefs and adult roles (Kuhn et al. (1978)).

Edelsky (1979:29) and O'Barr and Atkins (1980:110) both present evidence in their studies that linguistic forms with stereotypically feminine associations are evaluated negatively, even though few women actually use them. Speakers using a high frequency of stereotypically female language features tend to be judged as less convincing, less intelligent and less trustworthy.

Bradley (1981) concludes, in her investigation into the use of qualifying phrase, tag questions and declaimers by males and females in groups, that linguistic devices used by women are devalued not because they are inherently weak, or inappropriate, but because of the lower status of their female source. In general males were regarded as being quite intelligent and well-informed regardless of whether or not they used qualifiers and hedges. Apparently the same linguistic device is viewed differently depending on its source. The study shows that in control-related settings, because men are expected to be skil ful, they are perceived to be so, regardless of reality. Smith affirms this when he says

> women, on the other hand, are not expected to be skii ful (in such situations) and they are not perceived so to be, unless they make explicit attempts to display control- related resources. (1985:160)

1.2.3: **Stereotypes, Language and Power:**

Power is unequally distributed in most societies, and depends not only on the personal qualities of the individual, but on social position. In Western society women have traditionally occupied a powerless position in comparison to men: class inequality and gender inequality coexist. (Oakley 1987:281)

Only in the current century have really concerted efforts been made to equalise the powers of the respective sexes in the Western world, with limited success to date. Socially, politically and economically the female has always played second fiddle to the male, and the linguistic effects of this tradition are bound to be felt as a result. One might be tempted to argue that, with the surge of interest in the rights of women and with wide-ranging legislation aimed at improving their position, the power difference between the sexes is negligible, but Reid and Wormald, in their survey of sex differences in Britain contradict this view when they claim:

> It can be argued that women have remained socially disadvantaged and subordinate, despite some changes in job opportunities and legal rights ..... women are typically found in disadvantaged and subordinate positions. (1982:14)

Oakley (1987) also follows this line of argument, pointing out that the post World War I reactions against socio-economic change persisted beneath the superficially seductive appeal of the "jazz age" and

the apparently liberating new sexual morality; economically the theme of women's status as a reserve labour force was repeated again after World War II (p26): capitalism had, by the 1960's, shown itself to require the existence of two classes of labour power: productive and reproductive. Women, as the bearers of children, seemed naturally fitted for this latter role.

Mitchell (1971) provides corroborative evidence that by the 1960's women made up about one third of the labour force, were paid about three quarters of the salary of a male and worked mainly at unskilled jobs; by the 1960's

> woman's rise in formal male politics ..... had been paltry, as had their infiltration into the professional elites. (Oakley 1987:27)

In Britain while the 1979 election provided the phenomenon of a female prime minister, it did so against the tide of a fall in women's membership of the House of Commons to the level obtaining in 1951. In the domain of public power generally, women have failed to advance. The South African experience has been somewhat similar.

> women's own economic autonomy is reserved for the "exceptional" case of the woman who is not living in a relationship with a man. But even these women are not free from oppression, because economic gender divisions are reproduced in the psychological construction of femininity and masculinity. The very identity of men and women is predicated on the secondary nature of women, and these mental maps are written in the cultural institutions that surround us ..... women are socially and economically oppressed by their femininity. (Oakley 1987:31-32)

How does this imbalance of power influence language? The most obvious difference is that women's reticence is balanced by men's assertiveness, and masculine power is reflected in speech. A few detailed examples may be illuminating at this point: Eakins et al. (1978) taped a year's worth of university faculty meetings, counting speech turns, and males surpassed females in number of turns and the length of speaking time (the average longest female turn was 10 seconds, the average shortest male turn was 10.66 seconds). The number of speaking turns was found to follow the hierarchy of power and status according to rank, importance or length of time in the department. They also found in their study that the most interrupted person in the faculty was a woman, the only member of the department without a doctorate.

Zimmerman and West (1975) looked at overlaps, interruptions and silences in same-sex and dual-sex conversations and found that in mixed-sex interactions 96% of the interruptions and 100% of conversational "overlaps" came from males. Fishman (1977) taped three couples during 52 hours of intimate conversation and found women asked two and a half times more questions than men, and used more attention- getting devices. She concludes that interactional work is tied up with feminine identity.

Coser (1960), investigating humour, found the same trend with her laughing (subordinate) females humouring the joking (superior) males.

Linguistically, Western women appear to have adopted a passive role consisting of a lack of initiative and a tendency to be the object responding to rather than the subject constructing a social situation. More than that, female linguistic habits in Western society have come to be derogated because of their association with the out-of-power group.

Despite the existence of some counterevidence (Genauer (1976)) it seems that there is a relationship between the social value of a group of speakers and the social value of linguistic terms associated with that group. As Edelsky puts it:

> Language use can thus reinforce the status differential existing between the sexes by allowing people to justify women's lesser power partly on the basis of linguistic evidence supplied by female speakers. That is, with each utterance of "oh dear" for instance, a speaker, probably a woman, is broadcasting not only a lack of involvement with a topic, but submission, dependence, passivity, neatness and many other facets of the female stereotype. (1976b:103)

Keenan's study (1974:141-143) on the linguistic norms among males and females in Malagasy provides an interesting illustration of the point I am attempting to make: among the Malagasy the men are consistently discreet, avoiding confrontations, and using language subtly, indirectly and inexplicitly. The women, on the other hand, can (and do) openly express emotions, confront others and are direct and straightforward, frequently being used by the men to accomplish aims which an indirect approach could not achieve. In their society however, it is the male indirect/obtuse linguistic variety that is prized, admired and carries prestige, while the women, (definitely socially inferior), are regarded as linguistically inferior. Their speech characteristics are the very ones which carry prestige in Western society, because Western males exhibit them.

Consequently we can see how the speech patterns of the two sexes reflect their relationship within the total society. The in-power group's linguistic characteristics will tend to be positively valued, regardless of what these characteristics are. Women as a class are at a distinct, pervasive social disadvantage to men (Reid and Wormald (1982)) and negative judgements are clearly reflected in existing stereotypical views projected by folklinguistics about the language associated with women, as has been shown in section 1.1.

Several linguists concur on this issue. In the words of Kramer:

> beliefs about sex-related language differences may be as important as the actual differences. As, long as women play a subordinate role, their speech will

> be stereotyped as separate and unequal. (1974b:85)

Cultural sex-role prescriptions are pervasive and persuasive. As Philip Smith (1985:27) says, the problem with stereotypes is that they rarely carry connotations of "different but equal" - people have definite and conspicuous attitudes about which sex is "better" or "superior" for any of the putative differences. There is no shortage of evidence that, as members of particular linguistic communities, we have stereotyped ideas about voice, intonation paralinguistic signs, phonology, lexicon and style, all with evaluative connotations.

> Once we have satisfactorily categorised someone as male or female, our gender constructs come into play, providing us with judgemental standards against which to compare a person in forming impressions about their masculinity or femininity. (1985:28)

The problem, linguistically speaking, is that fancy and stereotype have sometimes been misrepresented as fact, and used to perpetuate existing social imbalances.

> Stereotypes tend to persist for as long as they reinforce important social inequalities. So as long as women are subordinate to men, their language has got to be characterised as indicating natural subservience, unintelligence, immaturity. While men dominate women in mixed groups by limiting their opportunity to talk, our folklinguistic beliefs must (sic) include the untruth that women talk incessantly. (Cameron 1985:33)

> As long as the society disvalues women, negative attitudes to any behaviour attributed to women will persist, regardless of what women actually say and do (Holmes 1984:169)

Such discrimination is much the same for social dialects and ethnic languages, as Finlayson ((1982), (1984)) shows in her fascinating discussion of the practice of *isihlonipha* by married women only, among traditional Zulu cultures in South Africa (a practice which is rapidly disappearing in westernised environments). Clearly many of the forms attributed to women are seen as inferior - even the use of expletives is seen as providing men with extra outlets and creative alleys, showing authority, conviction and confidence. Lakoff (1975) and several other researchers reveal a similar negative attitude towards so-called female language forms. Lakoff depicts women's language as a handicap and according to Spender (1980) in comparison with the (ostensibly) forceful and effective language of men, women are tentative, hesitant, even trivial, and therefore deficient.

McConnell-Ginet (1978) argues that women's higher pitch and more variable intonation are among the most important sources of the idea that women are emotionally unsuited for responsible positions, and

Lakoff says

> the marginality and powerlessness of women is reflected in both the ways women are expected to speak and the ways in which they are spoken of. (1973:45)

> if a little girl talks "rough" like a boy, she will normally be ostracised, scolded or made fun of ..... the teaching of special linguistic uses to little girls . . raises serious problems ..... the acquisition of this special style of speech will later be an excuse for others to keep her in a demeaning position. (1973:47).

So a girl is damned if she does and damned if she doesn't.

Nancy Henley also stresses that women are socialised into docility and passivity:

> In grammar, vocabulary, voice quality and intonation patterns, women's language keeps them at a disadvantage, while men's ..... language tends to ignore women completely or deprecate them. Terms of address, conversation patterns, self-disclosure, demeanor ..... all contribute to the maintenance of the status quo. (Thorne and Henley 1975:198)

Everyone can agree that there are sex stereotypes, if only there were as much agreement on how accurately they reflect reality. Despite this, one must avoid the common tendency to attribute conscious plots to the course of evolution. Tavris and Wade (1984) point out that primitive men did not gather one languid afternoon and decide to keep women forever barefoot, pregnant and at the hearth. Nor did primitive women, after a gossipy day washing clothes at the river, decide that they would rather do the weaving and leave the warfare to the men. Things evolved slowly, adapting to circumstances at the time, but with the rapid acceleration of the pace of social change, stereotypes now find themselves lagging somewhat behind reality.

A vicious circle has come into existence: because of the unequal status and power of the sexes in Western society, the speech of men and women has apparently evolved into two distinct varieties, and the variety used by the less important sex, along with its negative stereotypes, has come to be perceived, however inaccurately, as proof of the need to retain the inequality in society. Such judgements are validated partly (though illogically) on the basis of linguistic differences between the sexes (regardless of what these actually are), and would tend to reflect the current values and power structure of the society concerned.

1.2.4: **A self-fulfilling prophecy:**

Stereotypes are self-fulfilling prophecies, guiding not only thinking, but linguistic behaviour as well.

> Folk-linguistic beliefs are never without significance, and ..... have an effect on how women think they speak, and how they think they ought to speak. In formal situations where speech is monitored closely, women may indeed converge towards the norms of the mythology, obeying the traditional feminine commandments. (silence, not interrupting, not swearing and not telling jokes.) (Cameron 1985:155.)

The strength of this assertion emerges from the fact that people do misreport their own linguistic behaviour, hence the need to be wary of the validity of self-reported language use data. (Labov (1966); Cameron (1985).) However, such over- and under-reporting by men and women is an important source of information about the value that informants attach to speech, and about stereotypes.

As Petersen and Wittig (1979:5) point out, one's status as a male or female in a society is not simply or mainly biological, but also social, therefore the possibility that characteristics are acquired through the process of socialisation as males versus females must also be examined. Sex role stereotypes, sex typing of cognitive skills or tasks, and gender identity are among the highly important sociocultural variables that influence sex-related differences in cognitive functioning. Widely held beliefs about sex roles become the stereotype of "appropriate" sex-related behaviour and these are frequently based on mythical sex-related differences.

The stereotypes are always more extreme than observed differences between the sexes. There are curious discrepancies between man's vision of women and the reality, between beliefs and behaviour. As Tavris and Wade say:

> the historically contradictory image of woman lives on in the modern mind. (1984:22)

Despite the fact that during child-rearing, the parent may, in fact, be acting in a totally equalitarian fashion, still the children may extrapolate stereotypic beliefs from the culture beliefs which can influence children's perceptions of expectancies of others, perception of their own ability and performance, attributional patterns, and, ultimately, generalised expectancies for success. (Parsons et al. 1976)

Cultural sex-role standards lead to different motivation for the sexes in different areas. Merely labelling a task as "for girls" or "for boys" raises the expectations for success by females and males respectively. Lenny (1977) showed that females show more confidence in their performance on verbal tests and less confidence in more traditionally masculine areas like maths. Females consistently reveal higher

attainment for "sex-appropriate" areas of achievement. Eleven to eighteen year-olds do better in verbal tasks because they regard it as appropriate: a self-fulfilling prophecy.

1.2.5: **Stereotyping and its influences on Research:**

Another of the dangers of stereotyping is its possible influence on research. Cameron asks

> Are sociolinguists subconsciously influenced in their choice of data by their own folklinguistic beliefs about the activities and social organisations typical of women and men? (1985:44)

A study of sex differences cannot rely on anecdotes and stereotypes. It must substantiate claims about women's usage with empirical evidence and that evidence must be based not on what people say women say, or what women say they say, but on what they really do say.

Questions concerning the influence of stereotypes and values on the interpretation and perception of linguistic behaviour are relevant to any research which compares the speech of the statusful dominant group in society with other groups. Researchers are particularly vulnerable to stereotypes, as their reports and summaries often involve generalisations and simplifications which result in too narrow a view of the functions served by particular linguistic forms. One must also keep in mind that the type of question a researcher asks and the answers s/he finds are influenced by the values and stereotypes which prevail. In the words of Holmes:

> Quite clearly the eye of the beholder can make a dramatic difference to what is perceived and presented to the reader ..... one (female) person's hedging may well be perceived as another (male) person's perspicacious qualification. (1986:18)

and as Smith (1979) points out, these sex-associated speech stereotypes merit study in their own right for the insight they give into what is assumed by listeners, and will tend to be expected until disconfirmed. More than idle caricatures, these expectations may define listeners' predispositions towards conversations with women and men, and confirmation of them may be actively sought.

Many researchers are not unaware of this problem: Lowe and Hubbard (1979) and Star (1979) attribute findings that there are sex differences to social stereotyping and bias on the part of "patriarchal scientists" (Star 1979:116) who merely find what they are looking for (regardless of reality) in order to prove things they would like to believe about men and women.

> In addition to the possibility of being a primary source of our ideas about men and women, beliefs about sex-associated speech may act as guides to where we seek confirming and disconfirming evidence for other sex differences. (Smith

1979:129)

1.3: **Sources of Differences:**

Several suggestions have been made in an attempt to explain why the supposed differences mentioned above have evolved. What follows below is a brief discussion of the reasons cited in the literature for the apparent linguistic differences between the sexes.

1.3.1: **Conservatism: Sex-typed personality traits:**

According to Sole

> Girls are ..... characterised by greater affiliative needs, fear of rejection and people orientation ..... more perceptually attuned to cues emanating from the environment than boys. (1978:39).

She says that girls are more prone in puberty and adolescence to identify with other models and it is easier for them because their teachers are females - their cultural and educational system encourages passive-dependent conformity and school is a positively reinforcing environment.

> Women have always shown a greater receptive readiness than have men to submit and conform to the standards, demands and values of the prevailing social order. (1978:39)

From her study she claims that Mexican-American girls have been found to have greater adaptability of thinking, flexibility and preference for behavioural change than their male counterparts have. (Which appears to contradict somewhat her claim that girls prefer not to change, but rather to conform!)

In the opinion of Maccoby (1966), too, girls are more conforming, suggestible and dependent on the opinion of others, therefore oriented to the stimuli emanating from other people. Higher levels of achievement by girls may thus be related to a greater need for approval. Whether the personality differences are innate or socially acquired is not clear, but the existence of the differences may well have a bearing on the subsequent intellectual development of the two sexes.

In the same vein, Cohen (1966) claims that most children are socialised to regard males as independent and dominant and females as dependent and passive. Infant studies have apparently demonstrated innate behavioral and maturational differences in boys and girls, but these differences are increased by parents' differential handling of males and females from birth. Research results indicate that parents hold and attend to boys more, but that mothers talk more to female than male children. (See 2.1-2.5) (Romaine and Reid (1976); McCarthy (1953); Maccoby (1966); Gall, Hobby and Craik (1969); Hutt (1972a and b); Wilkin (1982); Lee (1980))

Likewise Lester et al. (1972) in a longitudinal study on 107 children from grade 1 to 5 discovered consistently higher performance from girls at all levels, and found that girls were obedient, dependent, sober-minded, quiet, practical and realistic, while boys were assertive independent, excitable, happy-go-lucky, sensitive and free-thinking. They too suggest that sex differences in personality may account for the higher academic achievement of girls.

This supposed conservatism of the feminine psyche has been suggested as a reason for existing linguistic differences: while intrepid men have forged their way ahead into new linguistic realms, cautious females have preferred the known and stayed behind, resulting in current differences. According to Smith (1985), females are more prone in puberty and adolescence, to identify with other models, and it is easier for them because most teachers are female - a good model. Our culture and educational system encourage passive conformity, positively reinforced environmentally.

This claim is not uncontroversial, and is refuted by several sociolinguistic investigators (listed in Cameron and Coates, p144) who claim the very opposite: that women are not conservative:

> Perhaps conservatism is chiefly in the mind of the linguist ..... Insofar as sociolinguistic surveys have thrown any light on the question of female conservatism, the evidence seems to be that, on the contrary, women are often in the vanguard of change. (Cameron and Coates 1985:144)

Sole's (1978) study cited above actually reveals greater adaptability of thinking, flexibility and preference for behavioural change among Mexican-American girls than boys. (Although Sole interprets this differently.) Nichols (1978) reports that women are more innovative in upwardly mobile groups and Labov also notes their innovative role, seeing women in the vanguard of linguistic change:

> It seems likely that the rate of advance and direction of a language change owes a great deal to the special sensitivity of women to the whole process. (Labov 1972:303)

1.3.2: **Social Status:**

This explanation for assumed differences in sex styles in language relates women's more accurate approximation to the standard to the status this gives its user, status which it is otherwise difficult for the average housewife to attain in any other way. Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1974) both support this view, Trudgill stressing female hypercorrection as further evidence of this phenomenon. Cameron and Coates (1985) criticise the use of the term "hypercorrection" in applying it to female speech patterns, saying that this is biased, the females usage being judged against the "norm" of the male standard.

> It is no more justifiable to call this pattern of female usage hypercorrect than it would be to call the usage of the middle class hypercorrect in relation to that of the working class. The notion of women's sensitivity to prestige norms is an explanation that arises from *the intrinsic maleness of the norms.* Men's linguistic behaviour is seen as normal; when women's differs, it has to be "explained". (1985:145)

Inverting this analogy, one can see the the term "covert prestige" has been used in the same exclusive way, associated with masculinity, vernacular, tight cohesive group membership etc, the implication being that non-users are the "lames" of the society, deviating from the norms of the superordinate class. Another pervasive problem in this area, pointed out in chapter 2.1 is the unfair categorisation of females on the basis of father's or husband's occupation, income etc.

In the groups which formed the focus of this study, (see chapter 3) social status is not an important issue for two reasons: most of the pupils at respective schools share very similar backgrounds, and secondly they would be unlikely to "compete" socially, this being a given - competition would more likely be in an academic sphere. One might extend Trudgill's analogy however, and relate the closer approximation to the standard by females to a need to make up linguistically for deficits in other areas of academic pursuit - mathematics for example?

1.3.3: **Solidarity:**

Milroy's (1980) concept of social network, and the density and multiplexity of the networks is used by her to explain female approximation to the prestige variants in Belfast - mens' tighter-knit networks maintain vernacular norms, not as enforced in looser female groups, which are therefore more responsive to overt prestige variants. Milroy's studies on density all concern single-sex groups, and multiplexity is seen by Cameron and Coates (1985:148) as having an inherently masculine bias in Western culture, concerning, as it does, working companions and after-hours leisure time companionship. As they say:

> women and men differ in their speech patterns, that is agreed; but a scoring system that throws the differences into relief by giving women low scores unless they take on male roles may be skewing our understanding of sex-linked variation. We need a model of *difference* not *deficit.* (Cameron and Coates 1985:148)

Peer groups may have something to do with it. Male peer groups have been widely documented, and membership of and adherence to the norms and views of a particular peer group can make a difference to the school attainment and involvement of boys. Do girls have similar groups? What are the educational consequences?

Women do not form the same type of social groupings as men and are not as recognisable as a distinctive group, as men frequently are, especially in the lower social echelons. However, this line of argument is not particularly pertinent to the group under investigation in this particular study, (see chapter 3) as social class membership is obscure, and girls are more noticeably "girls" by virtue of schools' tendencies to group scholars according to sex. In single sex-schools this group membership will be a natural part of life in the school, and one can presume that if differences are found between the sexes, they will be slightly magnified in the single-sex schools, where solidarity and cohesion are a stronger feature in peer groups.

1.3.4 Sex versus gender: the power of socialisation:

There is a central conceptual distinction between sex and gender - sex refers to the biological division between male and female, mainly based on their differences in procreative function; gender however is a cultural concept relating to the parallel and socially unequal division into femininity and masculinity. This usage is now well established, and it is with the results of the processes of socialisation that any investigation into language is ultimately concerned.

Apparently differences in behaviour do not come naturally to humans; Birdwhistell sees man as overwhelmingly unimorphic in comparison with other species - but man

> organises much of his gender display and recognition at the level of position, movement and expression. (1970:42)

There is a great deal of empirical evidence to suggest that biology plays only a small part in determining the behaviour of women and men and that social influences are more important. It is essential to recognise that gender roles are learned and that the processes of learning are deeply embedded in socialisation and education, and constantly reinforced by the dominant images of popular culture.

In general human knowledge and behaviour are highly susceptible to modification through experience, and the extent of this capacity for learning is undoubtedly one of the distinguishing features of our species. The appearance of the genitals at birth provides the basis for the first and most pervasive and most stable division of human beings into groups. This initial classification is a vital event, a cue for all sorts of discriminatory beliefs, expectations and behaviours. In a society where sex/gender is a highly significant category, it is not surprising that language reflects and reinforces it. Language is one of the means whereby individuals locate themselves in social space, speech is an act of identity, and when we speak, one of the things we do is identify ourselves as male or female, via behaviour learned in childhood.

Within any social group the power of the forces of socialisation is strong and all-pervasive, and interesting proof of this power is provided by Money and Ehrhardt (1972), who describe an occasion on which disastrous misuse of electrocautery during circumcision resulted in one of a pair of twin boys

being sexually reassigned as a girl; at 17 months the name, clothes, hair style and genitals were changed accordingly. When the twins were four and a half the mother said of the "girl":

> One thing that really amazes me is that she is so feminine. I've never seen a little girl so neat and tidy ..... she could sit under the drier all day long to have her hair set. She just loves it." (Money and Ehrhardt 1972:119-120)

As Money and Ehrhardt observe

> it is abundantly clear that nature has ordained a major part of human gender identity differentiation to be accomplished in the post-natal period" (1972:18)

One of the dangers of sex difference research is that it inevitably magnifies the differences, obscuring the fact that they may be the conventionally stereotyped extremes of broadly overlapping functions and potentialities. Socialisation processes are probably quite sufficient to account for most of the observed and documented sex differences, and the socialisation effect cannot be dismissed.

In addition to creating in our children the sex-appropriate likes and dislikes, skills and predilictions, we socialise them into distinct linguistic habits, "appropriate" to their respective sexes, but not necessarily advantageous to each group.

The theory of social learning contends that the development of gender identity involves a learning process that is essentially the same as other learning processes. A little girl observes her parents performing masculine and feminine roles, but when she imitates the various behaviours she sees, she is only rewarded for those considered appropriate to her gender. Through such differential reinforcement feminine behaviours come to be positively evaluated and masculine ones rejected, for little girls: "I want rewards, I am rewarded for doing girl things, therefore I want to be/am a girl." The result is a generalised tendency to imitate all the same-gendered models (Mischel 1967, 1970)

This trend is by no means universal: the Tanulang and Fedilizan peoples of South East Asia teach their female and male children the lesson that gender is not an important discriminator of personal identity or occupational role. Albert Bacdayan (1977) reports the absolute sharing of economic decisions and equal participation in wealth, village politics and all aspects of agricultural and domestic life. It would be interesting to discover whether they differ at all linguistically in such a society where <u>all</u> aspects of life are shared. (Bacdayan does not report on this.)

The Tanalong and Fedilizan are not unique among pre-literate cultures described by anthropologists. In general the socialisation of boys and girls is in step both with the economic system and the personality values of a culture. It is also the case that the bipolar sex and gender categories - either female or male, either feminine or masculine - of the Western industrialised civilised world would puzzle many preindustrial peoples whose thoughts and attitudes are more liberal and who allow not only for the

irrelevance of biological sex to cultural gender attribution but for the possibility of physical sex states that are neither female nor male (Martin and Voorhies 1967).

In the following subsections (1.3.4.1 -1.3.4.3) is a summary of the more important agents of socialisation or gender-training.

1.3.4.1: **Parents:**

The forces of socialisation are very strong, and chief among these are parents. Work in the seventies (Frochl (1973), Maccoby and Jacklin (1974)) points to sex differences as learned, with specialisation reflecting the roles and functions of each sex in society. Boys and girls are reinforced from the start by parents, trained to conform to social definitions of male and female role behaviour. According to Bardwick and Douvan (1971) children are socialised into adopting stereotyped behavioral patterns, males being independent, aggressive, competitive, assertive, objective, analytic-minded, and unsentimental, women dependent, passive, fragile, non-competitive, empathetic, sensitive, subjective, intuitive and supportive.

The question arises as to what comes first, the chicken or the egg? Are females inherently more conservative and conformist, or is society making them that way?

Kramer (1975b) suggests that since there is evidence that adults adjust their speech patterns depending upon whether they are talking to little girls or little boys, children are likely learn some of the stereotypes about male and female speech behaviour at an early age, and Walum (1977) says

> the key experience is the child's categorisation of himself or herself as male or female. This categorisation occurs at the same time language is being acquired, between the ages of 18 months and 3 years. (1977:38)

Socialisation, rather than male-female brain differentiation (a controversial issue (see MacCaulay (1977))) is a vital consideration. Lee (1980) cites Belloti (1965) in this connection:

> the parents have fixed in their minds a very precise model to which the children must conform according to sex ..... the whole process of upbringing seems to revolve on this differentiation. (1965:68) (Quoted by Ann Lee.)

Lieberman (1968) has noted that mothers and fathers speak differently to children, and that children may react to this by shifting their pitch in an attempt to match that of the similar-sexed parent. Cherry and Lewis (1975) and Woll et al. (1975) show that these differences in parental speech relate in addition to purpose of interaction and the context of situation.

Malone and Guy (1982) found that the speech patterns of mothers and fathers talking to their three year

old sons over a ten minute period were significantly different: mothers had larger MLU's (mean length of utterance), three times fewer imperatives, and many more eliciting questions than the fathers. They speculate that the difference in the number of questions asked by mothers and fathers is one key to the different linguistic roles parents play in their children's development - fathers' less frequent questioning may present a challenge to the child, who may have to exert himself more for the father and try harder to be understood (1982:606)

1.3.4.2: **Education:**

According to Delamont (1980) schools are also important agents of socialisation, and are believed to be powerful forces for social improvement (those who wish to change society frequently suggest education as a vehicle). Schools develop and reinforce sex segregations, stereotypes, and even discriminations which exaggerate the negative aspects of sex roles in the outside world, when they could be trying to alleviate them.

> schools and other educational institutions today are enforcing a set of sex and gender roles which are more rigid than those current in the wider society ..... sex roles demanded by educational institutions are unnecessary for the organisation or the individual, and actually produce unhappiness ..... as well as producing inequality. (Delamont 1980:4)

The "hidden" curriculum deserves a special mention:

> There are two kinds of educational curricula: the public and the private. In the sociology of education the term "hidden curriculum" has achieved importance in recent years as referring to aspects of educational practice that cannot be deduced from the public agenda of what schools say they do. The term refers to those aspects of learning in schools that are unofficial or unintentional or undeclared consequences of the way teaching or learning are organised and performed. (Meighan 1979:102)

This includes school rules, routines, teachers' expectations, knowledge structures implied by certain techniques, and the constraints provided by the structure of school buildings, as well as timetables and resource allocation. The hidden curriculum is important both because of its obvious capacity to shape pupils attitudes and progress, and because, being implicit and often unconsciously implemented, it is peculiarly resistant to change.

As Althusser (1971) makes clear, the family and education systems function as "ideological state apparatuses", transmitting the ideas and practices intrinsic to the survival of capitalism. According to him the educational system is a means for promoting the supply of amenable and profitable workers.

> Women's formal education mirrors, rather than determines, their position in society - it's not the golden path to emancipation at all. (Oakley 1987:134)

According to research results boys get more detailed step-by-step instruction in how to solve a problem or how to do something for themselves - Serbin found boys got eight times as much instruction as girls, and when teachers were faced with this they said girls picked up things by themselves, boys needed teaching. (Cited by Delamont 1980:30)

As far as differences in pupil treatment go, the following studies deserve mention: Thomas (1983) looked at 64 classes, 60 teachers, and found that at all levels males get more teacher interaction, increasing with the level. Ginsberg (1980) found that boys received more imperatives, warnings, vocatives and directives and Mann (1980) found no significant differences, apart from a vague gender bias. When teacher attention is focussed primarily on boys, (Sears and Feldman (1974)), when the curriculum is directed primarily to boys (Clarricoates (1980)), when boys are permitted to talk more and encouraged to challenge and question more (Parker (1973)) it becomes clear that girls suffer considerable disadvantage in the mixed classroom. (Spender and Sarah 1980:61)

According to Coates (1986), Sears and Feldman (1974), and Spender (1982) boys get more attention in schools, participating actively; they guess aloud, challenge and thereby learn by doing. Girls, taught not to be loud, do not. As Coates puts it

> the quiet child, if quiet means passive and unassertive, is a child who is unable to participate fully in learning. (1986:157)

She reports (1986:157-158) a project in Britain known as GIST (girls into science and technology) which found a significant majority of attention devoted by teachers of both sexes to boys in the class, which was grossly underestimated by the teachers concerned. Also evident was a negative attitude by boys towards the girls in the class, (which was not reciprocated by girls) and selection of topics by teachers to please boys in the class - because of loud dissension from the boys if feminine topics were suggested. She reports on a project on "War and Society" in a mixed class, noting the silent girls, and the teacher's remark that the girls will read anything, so something is always chosen to interest the boys. In addition teachers apparently tend to spend more time with boys because of management problems, constantly reprimanding or overpraising them and thereby reinforcing their assertiveness.

Spender and Sarah (1980) point out that, possibly as a result of the effect of stereotypes, boys tend to make more noise and disturbance, and distract the girls, who tend to be shyer and quiet and are prepared just to get on. They maintain that teachers can be "dictated" to by dominant elements in the classroom.

> Girls ..... frequently seem to accept that boys are a natural focus of attention, or source of amusement, or objects of a teacher's concerns, as well as being more

> likely to contribute spontaneously to organised discussion. (Spender and Sarah 1980:106).

Delamont (1980:37) is careful to say that it would naturally be ridiculous to suggest that teachers are enforcing sex differentiation upon pupils to whom it is unknown. Pupils come to school with clearly stereotyped ideas about boys and girls which even a teacher trying to inculcate sex equality can do little to shift.

1.3.4.3: **The media:**

The forces of socialisation are very strong and all-pervasive. In addition to the obvious parental and educational powers is the invidious power of books, radio and television: Czaplinski (1976) has shown that sexist bias (as judged by relative representation of female and male characters) increased markedly in the 1960's. McClelland (1961) used children's books as indicators of achievement values in a cross-cultural study of economic development and found a strong positive relationship between masculine achievement imagery and subsequent economic growth. Dixon (1977) also provides ample evidence of sexism in children's literature, (exemplified by a pervasive definition of girls and women as relatively passive indoor creatures, and by a glorification of masculine adventurousness) as does Lobban (1977) in a survey of British children's literature.

Children's television provides little relief from the relentless feminine message:

> Even such "liberal" programmes as Sesame Street do not place girls and women in prominent or seriously powerful positions. It is relevant to observe that most of the controversy about the effects of television on children is about the prevalence of male aggression ... it is important that [pre-school] children spend more of their lives watching television than they do at school, and that much of what they watch from an early age is adult television: they are thus exposed to the general range and effect of media representations of women. (Oakley 1987:109)

Through television (Howett (1982)), education (Gershunny (1974), Nilsen (1977)) and adverts (Courtney and Whipple (1974)

> stereotypes about male and female interpersonal behaviour emanate from the characteristics of situations in which they are expected to be found, and activities characteristically performed within them. (Smith 1985:144)

All this results in strong sex stereotypes. One's social identity may influence the skills that one acquires as well as the skills that one chooses to employ.

> If women are universally limited in their exercising of public authority ..... we must expect certain linguistic consequences to follow from the different life experiences of the two sexes. Man and woman will speak differently from each other in every social group (Nichols 1978:53)

Sex and gender tend to be confused, however:

> the aura of naturalness and inevitability that surrounds gender differentiation in modern society comes ..... not from biological necessity, but simply from the beliefs people hold about it. In particular, most people believe that there are inborn differences between the sexes, that differentiation increases social efficiency and that differentiation is a natural law. (Reid and Wormald quoting Oakley (1972) 1982:15)

In situations of social change, biological explanations may assume the role of an ethical code akin in their moral persuasiveness to religion. They provide powerful and easily understood arguments about the undesirability of change by fuelling a retreatist emphasis on the immutability of the natural world. Western society organises itself around gender divisions in which women are defined in relation to the prevailing masculine standard of normality; women have developed as a subordinate group within a culture dominated by the interests and perspectives of the "opposite" gender.

1.3.5: **Developmental Timetable:**

This theory, cited as a reason for differences, claims that physiologically girls mature faster, and the cortical structures relevant to speech are more fully formed in girls at birth, so they get off to a faster linguistic start. (Maccoby (1966)) During adolescence boys supposedly "catch up" maturationally, and linguistically. This view does not find support in the writings of Bayley (1956) who shows intellectual growth rate to be unrelated to physical growth rate, nor does it explain the apparent continued superiority of girls beyond the time of catching up.

1.3.6: **Direct effects of sex-typed interests:**

Members of each sex are encouraged in and become interested in and proficient at the kinds of tasks that are most relevant to the roles they fill currently and are expected to fill in the future. But does a girl do poorly in a maths test because she thinks that kind of skill is not going to be important for her later in life, and well on a spelling test because she thinks this kind of skill is?

1.3.7: **Identification and modelling:**

Such a view claims that differences result from conscious modelling on the behaviour of the same-sex parent (and mothers are more verbal). Through observation and experience, children gradually acquire

information about the kinds of behavior that are socially approved for the two sexes. This learning provides information about probable outcomes for responses before they are actually performed. Differences in the attitudes and emotional responses of the sexes to specific stimuli arise from differences in their conditioning histories. (Mischel (1966)).

However not all aspects of verbal functioning are susceptible to modelling - vocabulary and fluency perhaps, but not spelling ability, a noticeable area of female superiority. Sex differences in verbal ability apparently occur at a very early age, long before a child can conceivably identify "same sex parent" and differences appear to decline from the point at which identification and differentiation modelling could begin, when they should be increasing.

Why is it that many of the differences which have been noticed are evident only in adolescents, and are most pronounced from the ages of 11-13? What is it about early adolescence that brings about such marked differentiation in the intellectual arena?

By adolescence, sex-role requirements have been rapidly augmented; heterosexual relations demand reciprocal roles. Uncertainty regarding new role demands and heightened self-consciousness results in a retreat to the safety of stereotypes learned long ago - it is a phase during which concentrated modelling and identification occurs. For these reasons, sex-role prescriptions become more important in adolescence than they were in middle childhood. (Feldman et al.(1977), Nash and Feldman (1977)).

> Most intellectual sex-related differences emerge during early adolescence, just when sex role becomes most salient to the developing male and female. Sex roles and their associated prescriptive standards may mediate cognitive performance by affecting the expectancies and values put on success in a given intellectual achievement area. (Nash 1979:290)

In contrast to this, Maccoby and Jacklin (1973) say examination of socio-emotional factors has not yielded explanations adequately tying either girls' verbal superiority or boys spatial and mathematical superiority to differing elements in their socialisation or childhood activities.

1.3.8: **Attitudes of parents and teachers:**

Parents and teachers may unconsciously convey limited expectations for the girls future in sex-inappropriate areas. Levels of female aspiration, achievement, motivation and actual performance all decline in later adolescence, which may in part explain the closing of the gap during these years between boys and girls. Intellectual success becomes linked with masculinity. During adolescence, for the first time sex-role standards give the boy the go-ahead to achieve at school, in preparation for the real world. Maccoby (1966:31) concludes that the achievement drop-off among girls as they reach maturity is linked to adult sex-role. Thus adolescence appears to be an especially important developmental stage in terms of the salience of sex-role prescriptions and sex-related differentiation of cognitive performance. Nash

concludes that

> the sex-related difference found in adolescents is most likely a "crutch", a retreat during a period of unclear self-definition. (1979:290)

Patterns are likely to change depending on each person's experiences through life, but if females are regarded as less assertive and more polite, this too could affect teachers attitudes to the different sexes, giving them an unconscious bias towards the girls.

> Parents and teachers often expect girls to do better than boys in elementary school-though they do not relate these expectancies to their prognosis for the child's adult achievements in the same way for girls as for boys ..... despite their higher expectancies for her success in the immediate situation, adults may be conveying limited expectations for the girl's future. (Parsons et al.1976:55).

With an inevitable drop in motivation and aspiration among female adolescents, (a self-fulfilling prophecy), and a corresponding increase in performance by males, matching their growing confidence and ambitions, which are nurtured by socialisation, the gap (in terms of academic and especially linguistic performance) between girls and boys narrows as they grow older. Evidence in favour of this hypothesis is presented by Bradley (1981) who shows that in control-related settings men are expected to be skillful, and are consequently perceived to be, regardless of the tactics they actually employ.

Pre-set views of teachers can greatly influence the teachers' attitude to the language performance of each sex: if the teacher expects the girl to have a flair for description, and the boy to battle, this expectation may become self-fulfilling. If the teacher expects boys to be linguistically more confident, assertive and precise than the girls, they may become so, and the girls may withdraw deeper into the roles the stereotypes have laid down for them to follow. If boys are expected to perform less efficiently linguistically, more efficiently mathematically, such attitudes are unconsciously reinforced.

Pupils also react depending on the sex of teacher, apparently. One theory advanced states that little girls excel initially because they have the advantage of same-sex teachers (this would naturally only be the case in societies where females predominate in primary school teaching); the problem is that these same teachers teach maths to both sexes, and this time boys excel. In a study by Forsland and Hull (1972) it was found that both boys and girls perceived male teachers as being significantly more rewarding than female teachers, but this was not supported by parallel differences in achievement scores. The interested reader is referred to Spender et al. (1980) and Sheridan (1982) for references to further studies in this area.

To say that girls' use of language in school is related to their disadvantaged status is not the same thing as saying that girls' use of language causes disadvantage. The disadvantage arises from the way society is organised.

> as a minority group, girls are caught up in a process whereby social distinctions are reflected in linguistic differences, which in turn reinforce social distinctions. (Coates 1986:160)

1.3.9: **Unreliable ratings:**

A number of experimental studies support the contention that sex-role labelling of tasks can affect performance, as can the sex of examiner and teacher. In a study by Pedersen et al. (1975) females scored higher when tested by female examiners and males excelled with male examiners. The greater proportion of male maths teachers and female English teachers could be producing an educational artefact in western society which tends to produce superior quantitative ability in males and verbal ability in females.

Research conducted over the past two decades in this area generally supports the view that girls excel in subjects that are taught by women and boys in those that are taught by men, and because primary school is a highly female teaching environment, girls do well then. One also reads claims that boys receive more negative and more positive attention from teachers at both primary and secondary school levels. Many teachers believe in the educational relevance of sex differences, and claim that nice (female) pupils are conformist whereas intransigent boys are enterprising and inventive. Teachers apparently prefer obedient and compliant pupils, but the child's sex mediates their ratings, so that independent girls tend to be the least preferred category.

There is evidence that teachers rate girls higher than boys in speech development and find girls easier to understand than boys. (Perhaps they do not feel their authority is threatened by girls because of the stereotypical view they have of females.) Bell, Weller and Waldrop (1971), Brandiss and Bernstein (1974), Eisenberg, Berlin, Dill and Frank (1968) all show this to be the case (the higher ratings). This may of course affect results of classroom administered tests, which is what Johnson and Medinnus (1969) claim: that many of the reported tests revealing female superiority could be a result of the fact that testers were female.

1.4: **The Reasons for this study:**

Some have argued that a study of differences between the sexes is inherently sexist (e.g. Grady (1977)), claiming that its mere existence seems to presume the existence of sex differences and therefore serves to legitimise socially defined stereotyping of the sexes, and, in particular, the oppression of women - knowledge we'd be better off not having. Others say such research fails to answer practical questions, or to explain why such differences exist (Bernard (1975) Unger (1978)). Still others assert that such research only reinforces the very stereotypes it is trying to get away from (Bart (1971)). Similar problems exist for sociolects and ethnic dialects.

It is important that researchers keep in mind the social implications of sex difference research. Experiments that could needlessly produce results open to popular misinterpretation should be avoided, but if they could serve to clarify what appears to be a field full of contradictions, they are surely relevant.

Why a study on adolescents in particular? As Hartford says:

> it is disturbing ..... that no-one has seriously gathered empirical data on the speech of adolescent women, nor looked at the social-psychological parameters which might show significant relationship to such speech patterns. (1978:56)

Few empirical studies which focus on communicative variables like age and education are to be found, and it is my view that we need to examine these variables that are related to the degree of likeness or difference and to trace these variables in comparisons other than cross-sex. Most particularly there is a gap in studies of the language of youth, especially the youth of South Africa.

There is an extensive literature on adolescents, from which it is clear that many adult social scientists are extremely anxious about people between 12 and 21, stressing how confused, vulnerable and disturbed adolescents are.

> Adolescents are researched if they are deviant or delinquent, and not if they are normal or conformist. Adolescent boys are researched if they are working-class but not otherwise. Adolescent girls are researched if they are promiscuous or pregnant, but not otherwise. Hells Angels are studied but not Boy Scouts. Researchers on adolescents have been tempted by the bizarre and exciting, not the respectable and conventional. (Delamont 1980:60)

Research about the acquisition of sex-related language differences by children represents, in my opinion, a particularly important area in which to concentrate scholarly efforts. Walum suggests that

> The language we acquire as children provides the lens through which we see and therefore structure the world. Language is not a piece of clothing we put on and take off at will, rather, it is more like a mould into which young minds are poured. In the process of learning the language, the child learns how to think like other members of the society ..... Language perpetuates ..... thought structure and social patterns by continually reiterating them. (1977:13)

Spender (1980) has much to say in this regard as well.

There is a need to address the political and societal implications of sex-related research findings in a responsible fashion, so that potential misuse of data can be avoided. The susceptibility of scientific

inquiry to personal bias, especially in the field of sex differences, requires scientists to admit that their ethical commitment to objectivity often falls short of the goal.

Legislation and executive actions concerned with sex-stereotyping and discrimination in education, employment, and civil and criminal law are partially based on assumptions about the nature and circumstances of men and women, and on the differences in their intellectual skills thought to result from these assumptions. If one assumes that there exist some differences between the sexes, then understanding the development of these differences is important for determining what type of intervention, if any, would be most effective. Mere descriptions of average differences between the sexes do not constitute explanations for their occurrence, but they are a step in the right direction, and may have useful educational implications for both sexes.

Cameron suggests that research will show that

> women have rich and complex verbal resources and (prove) that the folklinguistic consensus on women's speech style is inaccurate. (1985:160)

Whatever is found to be the case, it is important to counter the extraordinary tendency to blame what happens to people (e.g. "discrimination" against women) on the sort of language they use. Language per se can't be responsible for social disadvantage.

If it emerges from the study that there are few if any differences between the sexes, and that the gap is narrowing and society has not realised it yet, that stereotypes are lagging behind reality, it should be recognised that the strength of some linguistic stereotypes is potentially damaging to both sexes. (See Staley (1982).)

In changing times attitudes should keep pace with reality. Awareness among educators of the subtle power of sexual stereotypes, especially if they are unjustified, may counteract their insidious power. (see Reid and Wormald (1982), Spender and Sarah (1980)).(See also ch.2.)

If, of course, the results of the study indicate that there are genuine differences, then these differences should surely be taken into account in the educational practices followed at present. It might be realised that separate education may better serve the differing needs of each sex, or that mixed-sex English classes are ill-advised. Decisions can only be made on the basis of knowledge.

1.5: **Summary of hypotheses:**

The two questions this study poses are: does the speech of males and females really differ and what are the societal implications of these differences. Hopefully one could go on to say which of these differences are recognised as the salient markers of sex, and why, and which are simply stereotypes, typically associated with one or other of the sexes.

The central part of this thesis reports on a particular sociolinguistic study carried out on adolescent informants of different sexes and ages from schools with different educational approaches - Government or private, coeducational or not. In this chapter various linguistic stereotypes have been discussed, which clearly reflect the traditional values of the society in which they have evolved, and therefore favour males generally. The following are the hypotheses on which the study is based

a.) a close correspondence between stereotypes and findings is not to be expected.

b.) in a society where the roles and values associated with the two genders differ markedly, and where there is an inequality in the distribution of power in most areas of social life, one would expect this inequality to be reflected in the language spoken by the two genders. Typical masculine linguistic characteristics will tend to show evidence of in-power characteristics: relaxation, confidence, unhurriedness and authority.

c.) the type of school one attends, and the amount of freedom one is given, and the amount of association between the two sexes should have a measurable effect on the linguistic characteristics of the two genders, and one might expect those from more strictly regimented educational backgrounds to exhibit linguistic characteristics more typical of out-of-power groups; private schools are expected to promote the in-power linguistic characteristics most markedly; the effect is expected to be lessened in coeducational environments, particularly among females, and those least likely to show such characteristics are the female informants from Government girls' schools.

d.) the language of males and females probably does differ in several ways, but these differences, instead of proving linguistic superiority or inferiority of either sex, will probably only relate to culturally induced characteristics, learned unconsciously through the various agencies of socialisation into gender divisions, and are unlikely to result from genetic pre-programming.

e.) out-of-power groups can all be expected to share features of behaviour, not least among these language. A parallel between the linguistic behaviour of the younger informants in this study generally and that of females generally is therefore to be expected.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND OVERALL CRITIQUE OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

2.0: Introduction:

Thus far it has been established that stereotypes definitely exist, and have a powerful (and not altogether benign) influence on the workings of a society. As has been pointed out, popular belief and scholarly opinion maintain that there are real differences between the linguistic characteristics of males and females. The present section aims to review the literature and come to some conclusions about whether the stereotypes are founded on real facts - whether genuine differences exist. Since this study is mainly concerned with differences in:

a.) amount of speech
b.) fluency and hesitation phenomena
c.) syntactic differences
d.) lexical choices

it is mainly the literature in these fields that will be reviewed.

2.1: Methodological Problems:

The question arises as to whether all of the studies are equally believable, and which ones might be more reliable than others. Petersen and Wittig believe that

> there are a number of misconceptions which we attribute to the questionable validity of previous research that has been limited by the nature of the questions asked, faulty theorising, or inappropriate methodology. (1979:2)

Problems which reduce the reliability of many of the studies carried out in this field (and which also bedevil other areas of sociological research) and which should be borne in mind as caveats while assessing the reliability of research to date are discussed from 2.1.1 - 2.1.6.

2.1.1: Prejudice against the Null Hypothesis:

Research reviews rely on published studies, but published studies are generally required to show some positive results. A hidden bias may be the result: studies which were carried out and did not show any noticeable differences have, according to Petersen and Wittig (1979) simply not been published. This requirement that a study show some positive results has been termed "prejudice against the null hypothesis" (Greenwald (1975:1-20)).

Tavris and Wade (1984) discuss the same phenomenon, suggesting that nonfindings are sadly lacking in dramatic appeal, and that scientific convention dictates that it is impossible to prove that a difference between groups does not exist; all a researcher can say is that there is no evidence that a difference does exist - all pretty dull compared with proclaiming "Eureka! Men do X and women do Y!"

Null results may be the consequence of one of several factors (e.g. genuine lack of any difference, measurement error, bad sampling) but still we are only likely to hear of those studies that found a difference, and even studies finding a very small sex difference often have exaggerated clout.

2.1.2: **A Lack of Statistical reliability:**

Failure to use reliable statistical methods and the extreme variation in the numbers of informants chosen to form a representative sample make one wary of the value of some studies. Obviously the more informants used, the more reliable the final conclusion is likely to be; inequality of distribution of sexes within samples also reduces the validity of research results and is not always controlled.

Firm evidence of the avoidance of female informants by researchers comes from Griera (1928) who is reported by Coates (1986:45) as saying that women should be excluded because it is impossible to maintain their attention during a long questionnaire lasting several days (!), and because their knowledge of objects is, in general, more limited than men's, and they lack firm concepts, reflected in their imprecise naming of objects. Pop (1950:725) also says female informants should be avoided because it is difficult to persuade women to give up a few days to a project, since household chores prevent them from doing so, and they feel embarrassed sitting down at a table with a "city gentleman". Such avoidance of using female informants is bound to have had an effect on data examined and conclusions reached.

When females have been included, the fact that sample differences between the sexes seem likely to increase with age, as socialisation effects accumulate, is often overlooked. Puberty, the time when sex-related differences in cognitive functioning reliably begin to appear, is likely to be a critical time for intensification of socialising effects, yet this, ironically, is an area in which comparatively little research data is available.

Staley (1982) endorses this view; after finding that 4 year olds differed significantly in the stereotypical direction of males, having more descriptive speech, and that 16 year olds differed in the opposite direction, an apparently anomolous finding, she says:

> Late adolescence is a developmental period that has been largely overlooked in the types of linguistic research discussed within this study. Research on child and adult language is more readily available, although much research in differences in content of adult language is 10 to 20 years old. Therefore, since

> there is little else to which the present findings for 16 year olds may be directly compared, it is not known whether findings in this study should be interpreted as a temporary aberration, such that sex-related differences reappear in adulthood, or as a real departure from or rebellion against societal expectations. Perhaps age 16 is a curious period in the development of personal and sexual identity when there is a rebellion against traditional role models as an assertion of independence. An alternative explanation points towards raised social consciousness on the subject of sex-role stereotypes in the last 10 to 15 years. (1982:154-155)

In addition it should be pointed out that many reviewers reach conclusions about males and females in general on the basis of studies with young children, a serious error, as some sex differences do not emerge clearly until adolescence, and some are outgrown in adulthood. In fact, comparing males and females of the same ages may be inappropriate, since developmental age may be quite different from maturational one; unfortunately we do not yet have adequate information about the maturation rates of behavioral characteristics over the life cycle, rates which may differ by sex - information that is sorely needed in order to compare the sexes adequately.

Davis (1985) confronts the problem of social class grouping in sociolinguistic research, and is highly critical of the more-or-less arbitrary grouping of subjects into classes on the basis of socio-economic scores, even more unfair in the case of women, who are frequently categorised on the basis of their husbands' scores. He points out that objectivity should be the goal of sociolinguists, even if their resulting graphs and tables turn out to be a bit less neat, and advocates the use of correlational analysis in order to attain greater objectivity.

The prize for scepticism can definitely be awarded to Macaulay, who says of measures of linguistic proficiency for young children that they are extremely crude instruments and that

> probably several statistically significant differences in linguistic development could have been established if the samples of children had been divided into two groups on some arbitrary basis such as the initial letter of the last name. The reliability of most linguistic measures is too low to exclude this possibility. The discovery of occasional sex differences is most likely a chance product of this unreliability, which has arisen simply because the possibility of sex differences has been investigated. (1977:357)

His warnings against conclusions based on statistics alone are not to be taken lightly, and Smith comes a close second to Macaulay in the sceptic stakes:

> Investigators are so keen to draw the magic stratificational graph they fail to look beyond the handful of features that produced it ..... concentrating on the blindingly obvious, linguists risk missing complex variation which is equally important. (1985:44-45)

Rebecca et al. (1976) point out that research paradigms in the social sciences emphasise the establishment of differences between groups. Hence, when studying males and females, we contrast them rather than compare them for similarities and differences, and we seek quantitative rather than qualitative differences and may have overused analysis of variance procedures, which can lead to inappropriate interpretations with sex difference research; sex can never be given a randomly assigned treatment and its role in influencing some outcome must be evaluated in relation to all hypotheses as to why sex might be important as a variable.

Other points which need consideration under the general heading of statistics are: should studies be weighted equally or should those with larger samples or those which used more rigorous methods carry more weight? What should be the percentage cut-off point for differences? As Petersen and Wittig say

> in the absence of generally accepted, statistically based criteria, we are forced to make decisions that are somewhat arbitrary. (1979:8)

In any event it must be remembered that the amount of variance accounted for by sex is generally not large.

2.1.3: Contradictory Findings:

Another problem with regard to research results, which will emerge during this chapter (see 2.2), is the number of findings with reference to sex differences which are contradictory. Macaulay says that this

> should be sufficient warning against drawing conclusions from studies that show one sex to be linguistically superior to the other. (1977:357-358)

Perhaps it should rather be interpreted as a danger signal, warning of the complexities involved in such studies. The moral of the story is not, perhaps, that if one finds a plethora of contradictions, one should discount the issue as unimportant, but rather that the issue deserves a more careful examination.

2.1.4: Over-reliance on earlier findings:

As Macaulay points out, conclusions are often drawn from interpretations of other studies, and these interpretations are often cited as evidence; in view of the serious number of contradictions which will emerge in the forthcoming sections, it would be unwise to rely too heavily on what others have found

before, except as a guide to trends which might emerge.

Jeanne Block (1976) reanalysed some of Maccoby and Jacklin's (1974) data, (in which they attempt to give an overall assessment of all sex-related research to date), including some extra studies formerly overlooked, and concluded

> the long, arduous, complicated evaluation process undertaken by Maccoby and Jacklin in their effort to impose organisation upon a sprawling unruly body of data is vulnerable to error and reasonable argument at every step along the way. (Cited in Tavris and Wade 1984:41).

2.1.5: **Contrived Environments:**

Another reason for scepticism about the results of earlier studies is the neglect of context and sex of interviewer, both of which are vital. With a couple of exceptions (Sankoff and Cedergren (1971); Cheshire (1978)) men did most of the large-scale surveys in English, and Giles (1973) has pointed out that the effect of interviewer sex is important: sex needs to be controlled before generalisations are made, as accommodation to interviewer prevents one from capturing informal styles. As Bradley puts it

> in spite of attempts to create realistic settings for the examination of communicative behaviour, laboratory studies represent contrived environments. This is necessary for control and predictability, but it often limits the extent to which findings can be generalised to other situations. (1981:89)

Settings need careful monitoring; formal observational settings will always favour display of control-related behaviour, therefore facilitating things for men. In the words of Smith:

> an attempt explicitly to sample situations that vary in ways related to affiliative goals ..... is essential before we can conclude that the simple contrast, dominant-submissive captures the essence of male - female communication in our society. (1985:156)

> One possibility ..... is that the finding itself that women deviate less from the prestige standard, may be partly an artefact of the methodology used. (1985:150)

Studies on young people in university environments abound - captive informants, easily available to fond experimenters. These should not tempt us into new generalisations - their value lies in their empirical approach, which makes the results susceptible to controlled replication and systematic extension in other

situations. Their results are limited to generalisations about a highly specialised and restricted population.

On the other hand the need for reliable and valid measures presents a major problem in much of the research, and all too often we must take the author's word that a construct has been accurately identified and adequately measured. Rigorous evidence of reliability and validity is not usually provided.

2.1.6: **The Influence of Stereotypes:**

Another problem is that the variables tested depend on the intuitions of the tester, a warning against being casual or naïve about the complexities of social analysis.

> This reliance on intuition increases the risk that the selection will be biased in favour of stereotypical linguistic indicators. Less obvious variables, perhaps distributed in quite different ways go undetected. (Smith 1985:82)

Another failing frequently evident in the literature is the confusion of stereotype and reality. Lakoff, discussing characteristics of female speech wrote:

> when I say that these features "characterise" a woman's speech, I mean that a woman in this culture is expected to speak this way. (1977:225)

It seems that she fails to recognise the implications of distinguishing between sex differences and widely-held stereotypes about sex differences, and makes relatively strong claims to the effect that "woman's style" is actually used by most women, and is not used by most men. Her observations subtly reinforce the "male is norm" theme.

> It is important to distinguish between what in fact exists as a difference and what researchers have perceived to be a difference, (tainted by their own stereotypic conditioning.) (Garcia and Frosch 1978:83)

Smith, too, is critical:

> It is clear that the pot-luck approach to the discovery of masculine and feminine speech typified by most of the sociolinguistic and anthropological studies described is very inefficient ..... widespread reliance on intuitive sensitivity as a method of selecting variables for empirical attention ensures that less-obvious features of sex-stereotypes speech will be a long time finding their way into scholarly descriptions. (1985:90)

The relationship between markers and stereotypes of sex in speech is not yet well understood, and it is towards this understanding that future research on sex and language should be directed. The discovery of processes in society which result in the association of speech features with sex, and attributions and evaluations based on them, sources from which these impressions derive and their relationship to male-female speech differences is of considerable importance to research. According to Hirst

> the study of sex differences ..... is inherently difficult and controversial because of the confounding influence of cultural differentiation of the sexes, because of the possibility of unintentional experimenter bias and because of the political consequences of the results. (1982:96)

Shields (1975) has something to say on this topic as well: she relates how early attempts to account for male superiority tried to identify which sections of the brain were involved. When, at first, the frontal lobes were believed to be responsible for intellectual ability, several neuroanatomists reported male frontal lobes to be far larger than female frontal lobes. Then, at the turn of the century, some scientists argued that the parietal lobes, not the frontal lobes, were responsible for intellect. This change in the concept of brain functions, Shields wryly observes in her review of early psychological research on women, involved a lot of revisionism. Neuroanatomists hastened to their laboratories and discovered that parietal lobes were actually smaller in women, and the frontal lobes larger! This scientific about-face required a remarkable lack of objectivity. It didn't help that in many cases the researcher knew in advance the sex of the brain being dissected - they saw whatever difference they expected to see. The 1980's are far more enlightened years, we hope, but nevertheless this spectre lurks in many a study of this nature.

Kramarae (1981) complains throughout her book (perhaps with justification) of the inadequacy and/or distorted nature of the available research or the application of research frameworks to women and language, pointing out that the research is typically conceived by males, carried to fruition by males, analysed by males, and that work done by women to date has tended to be fragmentary, anecdotal, or emotive.

Administration of the tests can also be biased - Nash, (1979) points out that children can do better on an intelligence test if the administrator is of their own sex. Tavris and Wade suggest that the manner in which an experimenter produces a self-fulfilling prophecy is usually nonverbal and

> like the abominable snowman, hard to track down. (1984:39)

Reinforcing this standpoint is a study by Rosenthal (1968) cited in Tavris and Wade, in which it is observed that male experimenters gave instructions to the men and women in their studies differently: only 12% of the researchers smiled at the men, while 70% smiled at the women. An experimenter's facial expression might well affect his results, and he might find a sex difference that he himself had

caused! So long as no systematic framework exists within which this research and writing can be done, the status quo will probably prevail, but we need to remain aware of the possible effects of the interviewer.

Sole claims that

> the relevance of sex differentials in sociolinguistics lies in the fact that this variable features prominently in the structure of all human societies, no matter how much a culture may have modified, elaborated on, and in some cases even reduced the practical significance of these differences. (1978:29)

However, sex is but one of many descriptive variables that can be explored (age, ethnicity, social or economic status are others) unique among the variables that possibly influence interpersonal communication, not only because it is a primary and fixed state of a human being (except in extremely rare cases) but also because it is the most stable component of the set of descriptive variables. (Chronological age doesn't necessarily equal mental, physical or emotional age; socio-economic status can change overnight, etc.)

Our thinking about men and women has often led to myopic concentration of research on sex differences, to the exclusion of other possibly important variables. We need to understand more about how the sexes are maintained as distinct social categories before we can understand how and why they are different.

> Once categorised, entities tend to be judged and evaluated on the basis of their category membership, to the neglect of their individual attributes. (Smith 1985:18)

The authors of more recent urban linguistic surveys have pointed out that the speech variables they were interested in were usually better predicted by ethnicity, age and socio-economic class than by sex. (E.g. Labov, (1972)). As Smith (1979) points out, only if the correlation of a speech feature and sex is perfect is the inferential link between speaker and sex a direct one; otherwise the observed co-variation may be the result of a coincidental correlation of sex with another social division (e.g. occupation) which has stronger implications for speech than does sex, or of something that is itself a consequence of sex, (sensitivity to variations in context of situation for example), which does not saturate the sex group or cross the sex boundary, i.e. it may not be all the members of a sex that use a feature. So differences between male and female speakers are not necessarily primarily markers of sex. Genuine sex differences are subtle and few, and as Smith (1985) points out, almost all cited examples are of sex-preferential tendencies, not sex-exclusive (Bodine 1975b).

Rubin and Nelson (1983) also point out how many investigators employ a single variable design where language is sampled in some highly constrained context and the speaker sex serves as the sole determinant of the speech style that is investigated. Such research design precludes insights into the simultaneous effects of other social and psychological variables such as context and social class.

One also finds the other extreme: claims that sex is not a worthwhile variable to examine at all; these are probably exaggerated and unfair. It must simply be remembered that this variable ought not to be looked at in isolation, but rather in combination with other variables. Dubois and Crouch say

> Unless we look elsewhere in social contrasts for parallels, we are unlikely to determine either the source or significance of what we see in the case of women. (1978:27)

2.2: **A Review of Research:**

2.2.1: **Prestige dialects:**

> They shall at the least way . . speke none English but that which is cleane, polite, perfectly and articulately pronounced, omittinge no sillable, as folisshe women oftentimes do of a wantonnesse, whereby divers noblemen and gentilmenne's chyldren . . have attained corrupte and foul pronuntiation. (Elyot 1531 The Governour quoted by Coates 1986)

2.2.1.1: **The case in favour of the fairer sex:**

Although this study will not be focussing on phonetic detail, a brief review of the literature in this area is relevant to the overall hypothesis. Numerous examples of English language studies suggest that Elyot was wrong, and that women produce more standard, or rhetorically correct pronunciations, which generally correspond to the realisation, as opposed to the omission of certain speech sounds.

A review by Astin et al.(1975) of early studies carried out on children (1930 to 1960) reveals six which produced conclusive results in favour of females having better articulation and comprehensibility, and fewer speech disturbances in general, and none which produced results to contradict these findings.

Fischer (1958) in an early study, demonstrated that girls in a New England community pronounced the standard realisation of the verb ending [ing] more frequently than boys, who realise [in] more often, and Labov (1966) found fewer stigmatised forms in careful speech among New York women, wider style ranges and a tendency for hypercorrection.

Further evidence of more accurate phonetic approximation to the standard by women comes from Shuy,

Wolfram and Riley (1968), who found the same phenomenon in Detroit, and Wolfram (1969), in his study on black speakers of English; Levine and Crockett (1967) also found that women in North Carolina used the prestige form more, especially in careful speech. Likewise Sankoff and Cedergren (1971) found a trend among female speakers in Montreal to use the liquid [l] in French, regarded as standard there, more than males, and Trudgill (1974), in his Norwich study found women closer to the standard, using [ŋ] more than the non-standard [n]. According to Wolfram and Fasold

> in more formal styles, lower middle class women are much more apt to show substantial increases in the frequency levels of prestige variants, so that they use them more often than their middle class counterparts. (1974:94)

They conclude that women are less linguistically secure than men.

Romaine and Reid (1976) found that among a group of Scottish school children, girls produced the dental [t] in the middle and at the end of words (e.g. *water, got*) 10% more often than boys, who replaced it more often with a glottal stop. (The girls' pronunciation being standard.) With regard to the postvocalic [r] in American speech, the standard variant, women have also been found to pronounce it more often than men. (Anshen (1969), Levine and Crockett (1967), Wolfram (1969)).

Romaine's studies in Edinburgh (1978) confirmed the existence of significant differences in male and female usage of prestige forms in speech, as did Hartford's (1978). This view is endorsed by Elyan (1978), who found females more discriminating in judging standard and non-standard speech. In an investigation of linguistic variation in Reading, England, Cheshire (1978) focussed on the (s) variable in its standard use as a marker of third person singular concord (e.g. *he knows*) versus its non-standard marking of first person singular concord (e.g. *I knows*). Girls in the study were found to use the *s*-ending as much as boys, but they did not exhibit the same correlation between frequency of use and index scores, and shifted the use of it towards standard English norms in formal situations to a greater extent than the boys.

Evidence which leads us to believe that women are, in fact, more attentive and accurate observers of verbal style than men are comes as well from Mazanec and McCall (1976), who found that women recall actions and features of style with greater accuracy and in more detail than men, who are apparently better at recalling people's appearances and the content of what they say.

Explanations for this apparent awareness of linguistic "status symbols" among females tend towards a view that insecurity leads to sensitivity to linguistic norms to make up for social inadequacy, and to hypercorrection (revealed in self evaluation). The covert prestige phenomenon operating among males, who value status and solidarity, is also cited as a contributing factor.(See Trudgill (1974).) Class often has more to do with the issue than sex, and lower class women from tight knit groups display similar linguistic trends to men. Coates (1986) suggests that most women are like Labov's "lames" -

outside of the central group, less integrated into vernacular culture. Yet they are not isolated as Labov's lames were; their networks are simply less dense and multiplex. (See 1.3.2 and 1.3.3 for comments on these claims.)

2.2.1.2: **The Case Against:**

In contrast to these findings (2.2.1.1), Fasold (1972) found no differences in the speech of his Washington informants in relation to sex of speaker. Crosby et al. (1981) measured several indices of women's style in male-female dyads without finding any significant differences, and Bem, Martyna and Watson (1976), Patton, Jasnowski and Sherchoock (1977), Putnam and Macallister (1981), Brown (1981), Albrecht and Cooley (1981), and Ickes and Barnes (1978) all have failed to find significant differences between the speech of each sex.

Smith (1985) cites more recent studies by Maclaren (1976), Milroy and Margrain (1978) and Milroy and Milroy (1978) which show that community structure and employment patterns affect linguistic usage more than sex.

2.2.1.3: **Conclusions:**

It seems we are warranted in drawing the conclusion that women tend to use more standard speech than men in informal and formal situations, for none of the counterevidence showed any differences in favour of men, while many cases revealed evidence in favour of females. The criteria for defining standard exist independently of the speakers perceptions and evaluations. Much of the data above has been summarised by the comment that women use the more socially prestigious speech (Labov (1972), Trudgill (1974)) - this gives the standard evaluative connotations, and contrasts noticeably with the fact that women do not on the whole, enjoy a prestigious position in society, compared to men. It must be remembered that "prestige" cannot be used interchangeably with "standard" in sociolinguistics, for the linguistic varieties that are socially advantageous (or stigmatised) for one group, may not be for the other. (This is probably the case with slang and expletives.) That is, the evaluative connotations of speech cannot be assessed independently of the people that use them.

One must ask whether the social advantages in using a certain speech style are the same for both groups, whether each sex evaluates the speech variables similarly, and whether they apply the same evaluative criteria. What was revealed in the foregoing section on stereotyping, was that the standards of evaluation for men and women clearly differed in certain fundamental respects. (Labov chose the term "covert prestige" to characterise men's unexpected behaviour with regard to "overt" prestige variants). An anomolous pattern is emerging in which the user of the "better" form is stereotyped as inferior.

2.2.2: **Speaker turns and amounts of speech:**

> If a woman could talk out of the two sides of her mouth at the same time, a great deal would be said on both sides. (George Prentice, quoted by Tavris and Wade (1984))

> When both husband and wife wear pants it is not difficult to tell them apart - he is the one who is listening. (Anonymous)

> Many women many words; many geese many turds. (Proverb cited by Coates (1986:31))

2.2.2.0: **General:**

Despite the popular stereotype that women never keep quiet, constantly chatter, and interrupt, and despite the quotations above to this effect, linguists have observed that the opposite may be the case - yet another example of the curious opposition between stereotype and reality. Dale Spender comments somewhat acidly:

> the talkativeness of women has been gauged not with men but with silence ..... when silence is the desired state for women ..... then any talk in which a woman engages can be too much. (1980:42)

2.2.2.1: **Men Talk a Lot:**

Lakoff's claims that men speak for longer, have more speaking turns, interrupt more and control the topic in mixed-sex dyads, have generated heated debate. Evidence in favour of males having longer speaking turns, especially in mixed-sex conversations comes from Strodtbeck (1951), Strodtbeck and Mann (1956) (found men did 4 fifths of the talking, though admittedly men constituted two thirds of the juries), Soskin and John (1963), Argyle, Lalljee and Cook (1968), and Wood (1966), who found quantitative differences in her study of spontaneous picture descriptions to addressees of controlled sexes: males had a greater verbal output.

Maccoby (1966) in a comprehensive review on the subject of sex differences, also cites several references as clear evidence of more male talk, among them Paivio (1963), who found more verbosity by nine-year old boys in story telling, Gallagher and Aschner (1963) who found greater fluency from boys in classroom speech, and Carmen et al. (1964) who found that college men spoke more in debates.

Likewise Parker (1973) observed 200 college students in discussion and found that males participated significantly more than females. Swacker (1975) who recorded full picture descriptions by 17 men and 17

women students, found men to be more verbose, using more numerals, and Zimmermen and West (1975) also show that women are interrupted more and are more linguistically conservative. Other studies which provide corroborating evidence in this respect are: Eakins and Eakins (1978), Duncan and Fiske (1977), (who found men took longer speech turns, and filled their own pauses more), Hilpert et al. (1975) (examined 57 dyads and found that men spoke more overall), and Aries (1976), who found that in mixed-sex dyads men initiated and received more communication. (Though topics were not strictly controlled and may have had an effect.)

Leet-Pellegrini (1980) made half of his informants "experts" and found that the male "experts" talked more, asserted more and supported less than their female counterparts. Staley (1981) found that boys were more verbose at all levels (4, 8, 12) except 16 years, though only the 12 year old differences were significant, and at 16 years the reverse significant difference was found i.e. girls more verbose than boys.

2.2.2.2: **Men do not talk a lot:**

In contradiction to the above analyses, Young (1941) found a significant difference in favour of girls with respect to verbal fluency and amount of talk, and Smith and Connolly (1972) conclude that girls are both more talkative and more fluent then boys. They talk more both to their mothers and to other children, before the age of four, but then differences disappear. It is suggested that these results may be a consequence of parental expectations. Brownwell and Smith (1973) studied 79 four-year-olds of each sex, and also found that females produced significantly more speech across all conditions (dyads, triads and groups) than males. They interpret this as confirmation of female linguistic superiority.

Apart from Staley's anomolous result, some researchers have not found differences in output of women and men in dyads (Hirschman (1973),(1974)) or alone (Brotherton and Penman (1977)). Bernard says

> since women in single sex groups talk as much as men in single sex groups and perhaps even more so, this difference must undoubtedly be social in nature. (1969:161, cited in Adler 1978:45)

Cherry (1975) found no differences between the fluency of instructor-male and instructor-female dyads in a classroom of preschoolers, in terms of either utterances per turn or words per utterance. Similarly Silverman and Zimmer ((1979),(1982)) find few differences in the conversational fluency of adult men and women.

Counterevidence to the claim that men speak more than women is also presented by Hirchman ((1973),(1974)) who found overall output to be the same, with no significant difference in utterance length etc., and by Garcia and Frosch (1978): controlling sex of interviewer, they asked males and females to react to two pictures, and found little or no difference in the amount of detail, descriptions, word choice etc.

2.2.2.3: **Conclusion:**

Despite the statement by Brotherton et al. that

> results do not support the popular stereotype that women talked more, talk faster, leave more sentences unfinished and speak at a simpler conceptual level than males. (1977:162)

the data here are too piecemeal, and English-centered to make any reliable generalisations; it nevertheless appears that women may contribute quantitatively less, and exert less control over male-female conversations than men do. At the same time extreme caution is needed in making such generalisations, in view of opposing bodies of evidence.

Interpretations of linguistic behaviour, especially in dyads, needs great care. For example, interruptions may be "dominant" or "supporting" or "enthusiastic" . One needs to examine the variables that are related to the degree of difference or likeness and trace these variables in comparisons other than cross-sex. It is clear that very careful controls are necessary for reliable results to be obtained.

> It is not that men are unilaterally dominant and women unilaterally affiliative ..... it is simply that masculinity tends to be expressed in control-related skills and femininity in terms of affiliative skills. (Smith 1985:165).

The sensitivity of output to other factors is highlighted by a study, reported by Smith (1985), of marital decision-making in 28 husband-wife pairs, in half of which the wife was an active feminist; in the latter pairs the women spoke longer than their husbands. Clearly the factors influencing turn-taking and conversational control in male-female dyads needs further research attention. Feldstein (1977) found significant differences which depended on the race of the speakers, and differences in the phatic signals made to signal ends of turns.

2.2.3: **Women's speech and politeness indicators:**

> For surprise we have the female exclamations "good gracious" ..... and "dear me" by the side of the more masculine "good heavens ..... Great Scott. (Jespersen 1922:247)

2.2.3.1: **The evidence that women are more polite:**

Women are stereotypically seen as more polite, and more anxious to please the listener. This is perfectly exemplified by Adler's claim, made in all seriousness, that

> the language of apology belongs predominantly to the female. Women are always being sorry or asking pardon for something. Whether or not they are to blame for something or not is not the issue ..... it is a way of life for females. (1978:32)

Coser's study (1960) in which she found that women laughed more and harder, and joked less themselves in mixed company than males supports this view, though in her study she perhaps overlooked the importance of status differences of participants.

Brown and Levinson (1978) and Ervin-Tripp (1978) studied politeness in the use of directives, and found that women are more conscious of a need for politeness. Likewise Zimin (1978) in her doctoral study claims that women use language more politely than men, influenced largely by the sex of the addressee.

Becker and Smenner (1986) in a study on preschoolers, found that the girls said "thank you" spontaneously more than boys, and that significance decreased with social class (i.e. the higher the class, the fewer spontaneous "thank you"'s). A higher percentage of boys (41%) than girls (18%) spontaneously greeted the experimenter (possibly a signal of greater male confidence than of politeness). Gleason (1980), despite a study which revealed no real differences in the "thank you" and "goodbye" routines of boys and girls, suggests that this results from greater female shyness owing to socialisation practises, and cites Moss's (1969) hypothesis that girls receive more social training from adults than do boys, resulting in a faster acquisition of social niceties by females, because of the emphasis the culture places on their importance to females.

Further research on the spontaneous use of these social routines is in order, perhaps with more careful controls on other variables. (For example, in Becker et al. (1986) the children of lower socio-economic classes might have said "thank you" more often than those from more privileged backgrounds because they were more grateful for what they received than their wealthier counterparts: they were given a sticker!)

It is interesting to note the findings of a large scale investigation in Denmark by Preisler, who reports

> extensive sex differences in language use which transcend age and class differences. (1987:29)

He finds

> an all pervasive tendency for male speakers to express themselves more categorically - and female speakers, conversely, more tentatively - than the opposite sex. (1987:30)

and asserts that these differences are not primarily the result of the spontaneous interplay of personalities during a particular conversation, but are more likely to have been developed as sex-specific patterns. More marked differences in tentativeness usage were found in the younger (20 - 25 year) age group, interpreted (tentatively) by Preisler as a sign of immaturity on the basis of the theory that social sex roles of adult society are often taken over in an extreme form by adolescent male and female peer groups.

Work on hedges and tags (regarded as polite as they include the other participant, and offer a potential turn in conversation, being facilitatory) is particularly interesting as an example of how misleading research can be. Firstly, those who undertook research in this area (Lakoff (1975), O' Barr and Atkins (1980) and Crosby and Nyquist (1977)) all make very unsatisfactory attempts to define the term "hedge", and are inconsistent in their use of the term, which they discuss at length as a phenomenon in female speech. In addition much early work (Lakoff (1975), Siegler and Siegler (1976), and O'Barr and Atkins (1980) confirmed that English speakers assume a connection between tags and female linguistic usage, but leave it unproven.

Perkins (1983) found a significant difference in the use of *I think* by boys and girls, interpreted as less assertiveness by girls and according to Coates (1986:130) the primary function of the modal expression *I think* is to express subjective uncertainty or deference -it hedges the force of an assertion and is therefore more polite.

Fishman (1980) found women used *you know* five times more than men in twelve and a half hours of taped conversation, particularly at pauses in conversation, when turntaking falters, and interprets the use of *you know* by women in mixed sex conversation as evidence of their work in maintaining the conversation.

> Women use it more than men because it is men rather than women who fail to respond minimally or with a full turn at appropriate points. (Coates 1986:102).

All this sounds most impressive and convincing, but, as Holmes (1984) points out, although hedging may be lexical, it can also be shown by other linguistic and non-linguistic devices, e.g. intonation, tags, or extralinguistic signs. Once one has defined "hedges", they need to be contextualised. As investigations by Hudson (1975), Armagost (1972) and Holmes (1982),(1983) show, tag question use by males and females is an extremely complicated matter, and language researchers frequently ignore this complexity and treat tags as if they were uncomplicated and even invariant forms whose relative frequencies in the speech of men and women can be compared without further analysis. (E.g. Crosby and Nyquist (1977), Hartman (1979), O'Barr and Atkins (1980)). Though Dubois and Crouch (1975) and Baumann (1979) acknowledge variation in form and function briefly, they subsequently ignore it in comparisons.

Problems in interpretation show that, out of context, one cannot say whether a tag question or hedge is tentative, forceful, checking, aggressive, warning, persuasive, encouraging, polite, patronising, or something else. One must not simply count forms, but rather functions; "just" can be an intensifier or a softener, it depends on the context. As Holmes puts it:

> the rather shaky foundations of much sex and linguistic research is even more evident ..... simply summing up linguistic forms must be recognised ..... as an inadequate first step. A complete taxonomy of the linguistic devices available to express the particular communicative strategy under investigation is required in order to proceed further with any confidence in the validity of such research ..... detailed analysis of the functions of different linguistic forms is a necessary prerequisite for the quantification on which generalisations about female and male usage may be based. (1984:172)

Instead of carefully assessing Lakoff's original claim that women use more hedges in cases where

> the speaker is perfectly certain of the truth of the assertion and there is no danger of offence, but the tag appears anyway, as an apology for making an assertion at all (1975:54)

most researchers simply asked: do women use more hedges than men? Instead they needed to ask whether differences in male and female hedge usage reflect functional differences. Other points that were neglected in the haste to get results were: who spoke more - male or female? Obviously the more speech, the more opportunity for hedging; What was the topic? The more familiar one is with a topic, the less need to hesitate; were equal numbers of informants from each sex used?

The problem is: how does one measure the expression of a specific speech function in order to compare men's and women's usage in relation to it? For example, how does one reduce the function of politeness and hedging to a purely linguistic level, and then quantify it? Some of the linguistic items which express doubt (e.g. *I think, sort of, you know, probably*) have amazing freedom of occurrence, can occur several times in an utterance, at any place and are more or less semantically equivalent. According to Brown:

> Theoretically it should be possible to quantify underlying intentions such as strategies and count them up, but a methodology that would allow us to do this in any rigorous way is still in its infancy. (1980:128)

It is interesting to note the results of Holmes'(1986) study of *you know* using the proposed functional approach: she finds very little distributional difference overall; functional analysis revealed, surprisingly, that women use the term more to express certainty, politeness, confidence and to be emphatic, while men use it more to show uncertainty and linguistic imprecision. For the appealing function no

difference was found. This study thus refutes the idea that women use it more to express a lack of confidence. It must be remembered that interpretation of how an expression functions in any utterance is potentially very subjective, and that Holmes may well have been biased in this, in favour of interpreting the function of female "politeness" or "hesitation" phenomena as something other than politeness or hesitation.

In summary, then, research did not show that women use tags more than men, and even if it had, one couldn't then conclude that they were seeking approval thereby. Because of our cultural stereotypes we interpret it that way.

One needs to approach analyses of style with caution, as they inevitably involve subjectivity and vagueness. Connotations and functions of style differences derive from many sources, including their differential use by men and women, and it would only be partially correct to claim that men typically use more forceful or decisive speech on the basis of these differences, since the connotations of these styles may, to some extent, derive from their asymmetrical use by men and women. So connotations of "politeness" or "indirectness" communicated by speech styles may partially derive from male-female relations themselves. The unanswered questions are how speech styles come to be recognised and labelled, how they acquire significance as social symbols, and whether the implications of using a particular structure are the same for male and female speakers and listeners.

As Cameron (1985) points out, claims about excessive dysfluency, unfinished sentences, illogical ordering, speaking less than men in mixed company, being cooperative and non-competitive conversation, using approval seeking devices, tags etc. are all very impressionistic labels, hard to pin down, and even if one is able to reduce them to a statistic, one still has the problem of interpreting the statistic: what does it mean? A word like "illogical" is particularly dangerous and indefinable, as is "cooperative in conversation" - it depends so much on the mood, topic, motivation, knowledge etc.

> Conversation is a highly contextualised phenomenon and to generalise about it on the basis of so gross a variable as sex is unwise. (Cameron 1985:42)

2.2.4: **Female Linguistic Superiority?:**

> The vocabulary of women as a rule is much less extensive than that of a man ..... The superior readiness of speech of women is a concomitant of the fact that their vocabulary is smaller and more central than that of men. (Jespersen, 1922:253)

2.2.4.1: **The Evidence in Favour:**

The discussions in 2.2.1 and 2.2.3 could be used as arguments in favour of this hypothesis, in that it presumably takes heightened awareness of linguistic subtleties to be able to detect prestige forms, let alone to approximate them. And it takes extra sensitivity to language (and/or to context of situation) to know when to show politeness.

Jespersen observes (without supporting evidence) that

> little girls, on the average, learn to talk earlier and more quickly than boys; they outstrip them in talking correctly; their pronunciation is not spoilt by the many bad habits and awkwardnesses so often found in boys. (1922:146).

Unfortunately (see 1.1) he explains this in terms of female empty-headedness! There is an unfortunate trend in research in this area to categorise linguistic performance as better or worse, instead of simply as "different", resulting, inevitably, in a certain amount of heated defensiveness.

McCarthy (1953) says boys have far more language disorders than girls, though the reasons given for this stretch the imagination somewhat- for example little boys are seen as more frustrated in their attempts to model their linguistic behaviour on the man, because they don't see him enough, and they cannot approximate the deep tones easily! He ends his review of the literature up to 1954 by saying

> one of the most consistent findings to emerge from the mass of data accumulated on language development in American white children seems to be a slight difference in favour of girls in nearly all aspects of language that have been studied. (1954:577)

Though it is conceded that

> the magnitude of the sex differences usually found in children's language is not large enough to yield statistically significant differences when the usual criterion is employed. (1954:580)

yet he concludes

> the vast array of evidence in the same direction from a variety of investigators working in different parts of the country, employing different situations and methods of observation, and employing different analyses and linguistic indices certainly is convincing proof that a real sex difference in language development exists in favour of girls. (1954:580)

Studies cited by Maccoby (1966:336-338) support the view that in pronunciation, mean length of sentence, vocabulary, comprehensibility of responses at an early age, and verbosity, girls outstripped boys, and boys suffer from more disorders (stuttering, dyslexia etc.) 61 out of 102 studies showed superior female performance, and only 12 male, though statistical significance was lacking in several of the studies. Garai and Scheinfeld, in a smaller-scale review, say

> Studies of verbal ability have shown that girls and women surpass boys and men in verbal fluency, correct language usage, sentence complexity, grammatical structure, spelling and articulation, while males tend to excel in verbal reasoning and comprehension. (1968:252)

They also say girls suffer from fewer linguistic disturbances than boys. Some contradiction emerges when, in 1974, Maccoby and Jacklin say very few sex differences in verbal skills appear before 11 years, but girls gain advantage in adolescence - in the 1966 study by Maccoby girls are reportedly consistently better at grammar, spelling and general fluency. They reveal a strong influence of stereotypical views in their statement that

> The earlier speech development and greater verbal fluency of girls appear to be related to . . . their innate tendency towards more sedentary pursuits, their closer contact with mothers, and their greater interest in people. (Quoted by Macaulay (1977:359))

Other studies which support female superiority in vocabulary, sentence structure and grammar are that carried out by Thompson (1967), who asserts that male speakers are more confident and animated, but as listeners women are more persuadable, responsive, receptive, perceptive, impressionable, and teachable, and more sensitive to non-verbal communication, and the study by Meditch (1975), who found that female judges were more accurate in sex identification than were males; Edwards (1979) also concluded that this was the case in a study which examined the influence both of sex and of social class, and Mazanec et al. (1976) reports that females were more sensitive than males in interpersonal relations, especially with regard to verbal styles.

According to Gall et al. (1969) women are more verbally fluent than men, and achieved a higher mean word count 8 out of 9 times; Nelson (1973) found that girls acquired language earlier than boys. The hypothesis that females are linguistically superior gets further support from Sole (1978), (who concludes that females are more receptive to language shift, and learn linguistic niceties quicker), and Nichols who reports that women are more innovative in upwardly mobile groups:

> the present study suggests that women lag behind men in the adoption of new forms within traditional and relatively stable societies. In more mobile groups

..... we might expect women to be in advance of men. (1978:53)

Shipman (1971) found that among the disadvantaged, girls were clearly ahead in a number of linguistic measures - yet another case of parallels between girls and the middle class and boys and the working class, and Hutt is very emphatic, saying

> girls learn to talk earlier than boys, they articulate better and acquire a more extensive vocabulary than boys of a comparable age. In all aspects of language usage this performance is considerably superior. (1972b:94)

Also in favour of female "superiority" is Wilkin, who says that girls do better in English exams and that at 16 years

> girls are rather more successful than boys . . . girls generally show a more positive attitude than boys towards school and a tendency towards competence in language. (1982:87)

Clarke-Steward (1973) observed American mothers and first-born children (aged 9-18 months) for 9 months and found the linguistic skills of girls in the sample, both in terms of comprehension and vocabulary, were significantly higher than those of boys; in addition Nelson (1973) studied the acquisition of vocabulary by 18 American children aged 1 to 2 years, and divided them into two groups according to the rate of acquisition, the index being the age at which the child had acquired 50 words. All the boys fell into the group with the slower rate. The mean age for acquisition for girls was 18.0 months and for boys 22.1 months.

Perkins (1983) studied the use of modal expressions (*can, will, probably*) in the spontaneous speech of 96 6-12 year old children in Wales, controlling for age, sex and social class, and the frequency of the modal use varied in relation to sex and social class, though differences were not statistically significant.

2.2.4.2: **The Counterevidence:**

It is necessary to examine some of the evidence that is not so definitely in favour of the idea that girls outstrip boys linguistically: Templin's large scale study in 1957 on children aged 3 to 8, although it shows girls to have better scores 133 times out of 230, and boys 84, only had some results reach the 0,05 level of confidence, none higher, and admits that

> the differences between the sexes are somewhat less pronounced than is frequently stated. (1957:147)

Maccoby (1966) cites 10 early studies which showed either no differences or one in favour of males, and Winitz (1959) finds that though studies favour girls they are often contradictory and seldom significant. I. Q. and socio-economic status are often ignored. He used 75 children of each sex, controlling IQ, socio-economic status, and family size, and found that verbalisation elicited from stimulus pictures showed girls significantly better in M.L.U. but a non-significant better performance by girls on response length, number of different words and structural complexity. He concludes that the differences in verbalisation are not significant in the measures generally regarded as of major importance. It is to be noted that the experimenter was male, and Thorne and Henley (1975) point out that the authors of 8 studies that found female superiority were female, and of the 2 studies that found male superiority, the authors were mixed.

Winitz (1959) found no significant differences between sexes at the age of 5 years. Also unable to find conclusive differences was Moore (1967), in a longitudinal study covering the first eight years.

Macaulay is sceptical, pointing out that Garai and Scheinfeld (1968) misrepresent Darley and Winitz as saying that girls begin to talk earlier than boys by 2 to 6 weeks; what Darley and Winitz actually say is:

> at present there appears to be little evidence to indicate that girls begin to speak earlier than boys, as measured by the age of appearance of the first word. (1961:284) (Cited in Macaulay 1977.)

Further counterevidence comes from Natalicio and Natalicio (1973) who found a significant difference in favour of boys in their study on noun pluralisation; and Sause (1976) concluded from an investigation that kindergarten boys produced more language than girls. (204 words versus 163 words, average). (It is important to note that in this study a male interviewed the children, and used a block and a fire-engine as stimulus items - small wonder it excited more response from the boys!)

Maratsos (1976) found no significant difference in comprehension between boys and girls aged 3 to 4; Maccoby and Jacklin (1974:76-83) list 123 studies with 159 measures of language behaviour. Of these 62% show no sex difference, 28% show female superiority and 9% male superiority, though Macaulay is very sceptical of the validity of the 28% and advocates extreme caution in accepting them at face value.

Cherry (1975) recorded the spontaneous conversations of 38 preschoolers and teachers of controlled sexes, and found no significant differences which could be related to the sex of the children or the teachers, and no greater fluency among the girls at all. In the words of Kibler et al.

> most research that has been done in the cognitive domain suggests that males comprehend more information from an oral message than do females: though some studies reveal exactly opposite results, or show no sex difference in comprehension of information. (1970:287)

They, in their experiment found no support for the hypothesis that males comprehend or retain more information from an oral message than females.

> Even though males have scored higher on comprehension tests in a number of studies, this has not been found consistently ..... [and] may be a function of the test conditions. (1970:291)

A final counter-suggestion must be made to the claim that more males than females stutter (see Maccoby 1966; 2.4.1 above). Silverman (1986) points out that this seemingly uncontroversial statement, endorsed by several experts on stuttering, Bloodstein (1980) included, is not a reliable one: investigations (Silverman and van Opens (1980)) have shown that teachers are far more likely to refer boys for speech therapy than girls, presenting identical speech problems, seeing it as a more serious problem for boys. In addition a study done by Silverman and Zimmer (1982) reports a far greater lag between time of stutter identification and treatment initiation for girls than for boys. (Twice as great!) A further factor deserving consideration is that since clinicians

> are trained by reading about the problems of male stutterers, hearing lectures about male stuttering that represent it as a white male problem, and are providing clinical services almost exclusively to males (10 male adults seek treatment for stuttering compared to 1 female) they are apt to conclude (consciously or unconsciously) that female stutterers are, to say the least, peculiar. (Silverman 1986:36)

The reason for the fact that fewer female adults seek treatment may either be a higher rate of spontaneous recovery, or a fear of treatment at the hands of therapists whose

> stereotypes of females contain allusion to insanity and gender confusion. (1986:36) (because they have a "male" problem.)

The reported sex ratio data concerning stuttering is based on therapist caseloads and clinical records, but in view of the fact that therapy is more likely to be arranged for boys, the number of female stutterers may have been seriously underestimated.

2.2.4.3: **Conclusions:**

Maccoby and Jacklin conclude

> female superiority on verbal tasks has been one of the more solidly established generalisations in the field of sex differences. (1974:75)

and recent research continues to support the generalisation to a degree. They later add :

> for large unselected populations the situation seems to be one of very little sex difference in verbal skills from about 3 to 11, with a new phase of differentiation occurring at adolescence. (1974:85)

and they admit that studies showing sex differences before the age of 3 are very dated. Macaulay takes exception to this conclusion, stating that

> such differences as have shown up in tests are relatively slight and much smaller than those which have been shown to relate to social class, ethnic background etc. (1977:357).

He points out the danger of using interpretations of data as evidence for an hypothesis, and the failure of many investigators to establish significant differences, taking the view that much of this evidence is the result of hearsay upon hearsay, that many of the studies showed only slight margins of superiority for girls, and that many of the results lack statistical significance.

The overall conclusion one seems forced to reach is that one cannot reach any firm conclusion on the basis of the evidence available.

2.2.5: **Reading:**

> As soon as the time was up the paragraph was removed and the reader immediately wrote down all that he or she could remember of it. It was found that women were usually more successful than men in this test. Not only were they able to read more quickly than the men, but they were able to give a better account of the paragraph as a whole. (Jespersen, 1922:252)

2.2.5.1: **Girls read better than boys:**

Despite the fact that studies on reading show a similar disparity of results, most show girls to be far superior. In 19 studies summarised by Maccoby (1966) 10 show female superiority, and 9 show no differences. (None show male superiority.) Other studies which have reported a female advantage in the field of reading follow:

Lee (1980) quotes several studies as evidence of the marked advantage female young readers have over males, and Dwyer (1974) takes the reading superiority of females as a fact, and focusses rather on the possible reasons for this phenomenon; this view is endorsed by Margaret Wilkin (1982), who says girls have an extraordinary advantage initially, and cites the survey of primary education in England,

> showing girls in a superior position initially, and the reading abilities of the sexes diverging less as age increased. (1982:87)

2.2.5.2: **Girls are not better than boys at reading!:**

In counterargument to the claim made at 2.2.5.1 is the fact that Thornedike (1973) found only slight differences in favour of girls in some of the countries surveyed. To confuse the issue further, Johnson (1973) found that although girls read significantly better than boys in England and Nigeria, the reverse seems to hold in USA and Canada. Social factors were seen as more important than sex. All that appears is a series of inconsistencies.

2.2.5.3: **Conclusion:**

If one did conclude that female reading ability is superior to male, there are several factors that would need careful consideration. Firstly, reading ability differences between the sexes seems to correlate with perception of reading in the specific culture: if the society regards it as acceptable for males to excel in it, they do (e.g. Germany, Britain), but where this is not the case (e.g.USA) boys lag behind. Any differences that are found seem to be due more to cultural and socio-economic background than physiological sex differences. According to Dwyer (1974) males perceive school and reading as sex-role inappropriate which, in turn, depresses their achievement in this feminine domain. The opposite applies to females, who, seeing language excellence as sex-appropriate, devote more time and energy to it, therefore performing better at it. Dwyer asserts that

> Reading is generally seen as a feminine activity and this classification has the effect of lessening boys' motivation to excel in reading, probably since there are very strong taboos against males participating in any part of a feminine role. (1974:462)

Nash (1975) also found that the more feminine an adolescent girl viewed herself, the better her reading ability, and Preston (1962) reports that in Germany, where reading is regarded as a male-appropriate activity, and where elementary teachers tend to be male, the boys had significantly higher reading achievement scores than the girls.

An interesting interpretation of the fact that from the ages of 2 to 10 boys are far more likely than girls to be diagnosed as having reading problems is the idea mooted by Tavris and Wade (1984): apart from the fact that it could mean that boys are verbally slower than girls, it could mean that for some reason boys resist learning to read, or it could mean that teachers are especially likely to notice boys with reading problems, perhaps because they expect boys to have trouble or because boys with academic difficulties act up in class. They cite a study by Karlen et al. (1981) in which out of more than 12,000 kindergarten and first grade children, boys scored as favourably as girls on tests designed to predict

kindergarten and first grade children, boys scored as favourably as girls on tests designed to predict reading disabilities - consistent with the idea that boys outnumber girls in remedial reading classes at least partly because teachers notice boys' reading problems more than girls' problems.

The small amount of research investigating the relationship between sex role and verbal performance tends to be correlational in nature, making it impossible to deduce causal relationships. Dwyer (1974) summarises some of the major causal explanations for sex-related differences in reading, but is unconvincing: one cannot justifiably claim that females are more advanced developmentally, and thus more ready to read earlier if one remembers that after the decline of maturational superiority, females appear to continue to excel and even increase in reading skills. Secondly the view that reader content is usually geared towards female interests is clouded by analyses of reading materials for school children, which have revealed an overwhelmingly masculine bias in topic, male characters and masculine achievement, making reading more attractive to boys than girls, presumably (Dixon (1977), Lobban (1977)).

What one learns from this brief digression into the realms of reading skills is that there is often more to a difference than at first meets the eye, and that one obvious variable (sex) interacts subtly with other less overt factors such as cultural beliefs and teacher attitudes. One may perhaps be justified in concluding that verbal skills such as reading are greatly influenced by stereotypes, and that these differences are more likely to be culture specific than gender-specific.

2.2.6: **Sex Associated syntactic and lexical features of spoken language:**

> In speech the custom of the learned is the first law. Writing therefore is to be adjusted, not to that sound which herdsmen, girls [*mulierculae*] and porters use, but to that which the learned and cultivated scholars use in speaking and recitation. (Gill's Logonomia Anglica (1691-21) as translated in Dobson (1969:435:fn4) (Quoted in Coates (1986:29))

> In learned terminology we may say that men are fond of hypotaxis and women of parataxis. (Jespersen (1922:251))

2.2.6.1: **The evidence that differences do exist:**

Scholars have been busily collecting information on this score for some decades already: Furfey tentatively suggests that

> it is probably at least true that there are certain expressions, such as *oh dear* and *how perfectly sweet* which sound distinctly feminine to our ears, and others, including a number of salty and unprintable phrases, which sound equally

masculine. (1944:221)

Another interesting difference is reported in an early study by Pittenberger and Smith, in which they state that

> educated women ..... generally make a point of the difference between *can* and *may* in the majority of the time (sic). In general colloquial usage American men use "may" only infrequently and its use will be heard as formal, affected, precise and effeminate. (1957:67)

In a study in 1959, Gleser et al. discovered that females used significantly more words implying feeling, emotion, motivation, more self reference, more modals (in terms of frequency rather than types) and more negatives. Males were found to use more time and space words. The differences faded with increase in IQ.

Wood (1966) strongly supports the hypothesis that length of utterance and lexical selection are functions of the speaker's sex. It was shown that males tend to use more words in respect to a given stimulus than do females, and two distinct approaches to a verbal communication task were shown to correlate with the sex of the speaker. After an analysis of lexical lists, each of which were categorised into nouns, verbs and modifiers, Wood hypothesises that exclusive sets can be distinguished for men and women in spontaneous speech and that distinct styles of speech are correlated with male and female speakers.

> The fact that these differences were found in a tightly controlled experiment indicated that they are fundamental characteristics of male and female verbal behaviour. (1966:137)

The finding was that men typically had an "empirical" (action-based, objective) style while women had a creative, interpretive style, involving more connotative conceptions. Females varied their tenses more, and used more actives than passives. In the same vein, Gilley and Summers (1970) found that males use more "hostile" verbs, though the definition of "hostile" verb is a little suspect - a functional analysis (see Holmes (1986)) would probably give a more accurate reflection of a verb's role, in context.

Kainz (1962:230), a German linguist cited (in all seriousness) by Adler is worth quoting at this point, by way of light relief:

> Women love exclamations which they often interrupt halfway through. In this way a characteristically large number of so-called close-circuit sentences come about ..... the mentality of women prefers jumps and omissions; they like less compelling consequential thinking and prefer to put the contents of their imagination side by side. Therefore their grammatical construction is less built

> on hypotaxis (i.e. subordinative of one clause to another) like that of men, and more on parataxis (i.e. placing the clauses one after another, without words to indicate coordination or subordination.) (Cited in Adler (1978:44))

Further evidence (some not very reliable) of this nature comes from Farb (1973) who claims that typically female words are *goodness*, *gracious* etc and intensifiers; Lakoff (1973:51), who says women use more *adorable*, *charming lovely, divine*, while men prefer *great, terrific, neat* and that women use more tags as a hedge; and Pei (1970), who says women use diminutives more (*panties, nightie, cute*) "french" words (e.g.*taupe*, *beige*), and extravagant adjectives like *heavenly, marvellous* and *wonderful.*

Adler states that

> a closer look at the English language, both in Britain and in the United States, will show how often women use words which are not used by men and vice versa. (1978:27)

and cites Key as saying

> female language demonstrates greater use of hyperbole, accompanied by strong emphatic patterns: *I'd just die! He'll never forgive me* ..... (1975:37)

Such claims are vague, and based on rather subjective opinion - the sort of views that reinforce all the stereotypes that can be so damaging in the long run, and would be difficult to support empirically.

Using recorded samples of teachers' and pupils' classroom discussions, Barron (1971) analyzed the use of grammatical case according to sex and found that it was sex-typed: women apparently used more psychological state verbs (*hear*, *think*, *love*) and purposive cases, expressing function or rationale of somebody's actions, and males used more instrumental and source cases (action via implements) and objective cases, stressing things, especially things acted upon.

Shuster (1973) also points to a difference between male and female use of active and passive, and transitive and intransitive verbs in written language, more active transitive types being used in reference to males. (This does not contradict Wood (1966) and Barron (1971) who refer to usage by males, not with reference to males.)

That sexes have different word domains and that specialisation reflects the roles and functions of each sex in society was the conclusion of Conklin (1974), who says that males verbalise differently, and in addition women have acute sociolinguistic sensitivity, entailing being attuned to the behaviour of others and relying on external norms. They have skill in manipulating language, a large range of stylistic repertoires, and a high degree of attentiveness to the speech of others, she concludes.

In a 1973 study Hirschman found females used more fillers, had more unfinished sentences, and fewer unfilled pauses. Hirchman (1974) reported that females used a significantly greater number of *mmhmm*, and males used *I think* twice as much, especially assertive speakers - seen by Hirschman as a polite way of stating an opinion, not as a hedge (see Holmes' comments in 2.2.3.1 on the dangers of such interpretations). In the examination of 6 dyadic conversations no difference in the use of qualifiers (eg *maybe*) was discovered.

On the basis of a picture description task, Swacker (1975) reports that men used more numerals in their descriptions, and were more precise and assertive, even when wrong - they tended to try to be more accurate. Women used more approximators in front of definite numerals (*about* six books) and sexes differed in topic shift mechanisms, women using conjunctions while men used interjections (e.g. *OK*). Though no significant difference in speed of discourse was found, (women 113.8 w.p.m; men 107.9 w.p.m.) women had less standard deviation from the norm, and spoke for a far shorter period. (Female mean time for speaking was 3.17 minutes, male time was 13.0 minutes!)

Haas ((1978), (1979)) used 24 middle-class American children and analysed 100 utterances, finding a significant difference between boys and girls in certain spoken language features: boys spoke of sport, girls of school and personal desires, boys used significantly more "sound effects ", girls laughed more and were more compliant; it is hypothesised that these differences are learned before the age of 4, and that sex of speaker and dyadic partner are important variables.

Testing reactions to pictures judged to be "typically" appealing to males and females respectively, Garcia and Frosch (1978) found males described theirs in terms of spatial relations, females referred to colours and patterns, but little difference in amount of detail, word choice, colour etc was evident. Males described things in terms of spatial relationships to each other, and went from details (specifics in the picture) out to wider issues (the size of the frame, for example, or the overall mood of the picture), while females focussed on patterns and colour, and progressed from the general to the particular. There were few observable differences at the lexical level.

Finally, evidence that real differences exist comes from a study of natural conversation in homes by Fishman (1980), who explained the fact that women said *you know* five times more than men in terms of the female role of conversation facilitator in the home.

2.2.6.2: **Evidence that Differences are not Significant:**

Sender differences in linguistic/grammatical forms have rarely been found; they are subtle and few, and are often not found where expected. Fasold (1972) for example, in a study of tense marking among Black speakers, found men and women did not differ in the use of several grammatical forms that differentiate between standard and non-standard speech.

Staley (1981) studied 4, 8, 12,and 16 year-olds, 10 of each sex in each group, using picture descriptions, half interviewed by males and half by females, and found no striking qualitative differences apart from a steady increase in descriptive language by females with age. The speech of the 16 year old groups showed some reversals of popular stereotypes, parallel to many current studies which report no differences where there are supposed to be differences.

Using spoken interviews, Rubin and Nelson (1983) analysed data for tags, intensifiers *(a lot, really)* deintensifiers *(not really, only)* polite forms, modal adjuncts *(maybe, probably)* modals *(might, could)* perceptual verbs *(seems, looks)* refusals, and sentence trail-offs.

They conclude that

> the weight of the present results clearly supports previous empirical work that found little evidence of gender-typical patterns in discrete linguistic functions. A main effect for speaker sex emerged only for the relative frequency of perceptual verbs. (1983:286)

(e.g. *seems,* rather than direct assertions). High ability females had a high degree of modal adjuncts, but there was little evidence of social class differences, apart from the fact that the upper classes were more voluble. (See also Higgins (1976), Piche, Rubin and Michlin (1978)). This is inconsistent with the British research tradition which suggests that social class is a major determinant of linguistic style. High ability was generally associated with more tentative language (*um*, *er* hesitations, pauses and *I think*, *it seems*), seen as reflecting cognitive sophistication, rather than hesitance. (Loban (1966), Turner and Pickvance (1972))

In view of the fact that research has established that this constellation of features is stereotypically associated with female and powerless speakers, and that these stigmatised stylistic features occur in the speech of all members of the community in some contexts, (i.e. not only females), Rubin and Nelson (1983) suggest that it would seem advisable then to provide resources to all segments of the society, to help alleviate the effects of such linguistically mediated negative stereotypes.

2.2.7: **Expletives:**

> There can be no doubt that women exercise a great and universal influence on linguistic development through their instinctive shrinking from coarse and gross expressions and their preference for refined and ..... veiled and indirect expressions ..... Men thus become the chief renovators of language. (Jespersen (1922:246-247))

Labov states that

> in middle-class groups, women generally show much less familiarity with and much less tolerance for non-standard grammar and taboo. (1972:207)

but this statement is unsupported by any data.

With regard to the use of expletives, Oliver and Rubin (1975) and Bailey and Timm (1976) both found a higher rate of expletive usage among males than females, with interesting variations according to age and "liberation" in the woman's liberation sense of the word. Edelsky (1976c) tested children's perceptions of swearing, and found a highly consistent view: all *damn's* etc were attributed to male speakers by under 12's.

Staley (1978) found a narrower gap in expletive usage between the sexes in the 20 to 25 age group, but a very much wider gap in the stereotyped views of the informants about each others speech. De Klerk (1988) also found a fairly narrow gap between the habits of each sex, not nearly as wide as the stereotype would have led one to expect. Differences were not solely a result of sex, but also appeared to relate to other variables. Gomm (1981) in an unpublished dissertation referred to by Coates (1986:111) reported a higher frequency of swearing among males in 14 mixed and single-sex conversations, though use dropped in single-sex conversations, and there was no qualitative difference in the use of swearwords.

Once again it is evident that current opinions about language are far from accurate. The notion of strict social sanction, akin to taboo may be evoked to help explain why women use fewer profane and obscene expletives than men. There is a general sanction against the use of rude language which applies unequally strongly to women. However, in Brazil, Head (1977) found that women reported that they spoke rudely as often in front of men as in front of women, while men attenuated their use of obscenity in the presence of women. This suggests that women are harsher judges of improper language than men - that their standards of judgement differ from those of men. This topic will be examined in more detail in chapter 5.

2.2.8: **Analyses of Written Language:**

> There is greater average difficulty in books written by male than by female authors. (Jespersen (1922:248))

Although this aspect of language will not be investigated in this study, it is interesting to note that analyses of written language have also revealed conflicting evidence. Warshay had 263 white middle class American students write an essay about past events, and found that males wrote less fluently, used more verbs, made more time references, involved themselves more in their references to events, and referred less to others.

> Thus the male is shown to be more active, more ego-involved in what he does, and less concerned about others. His achievements are personal, underscoring and rewarding his individuality. (1972:8)

Scates (1981) found that there were differences in linguistic style and Keene (1985) found that males wrote more, but could discover no other major differences.

In an interesting article, Dahlerup (1972) compares two reviews by the same writer, in the first of which he is under the impression that he is reviewing a female poet, and in the second of which he knows the poet is male. The differences in verb and adjective choice were noticeable, but this would take us beyond the realms of linguistics and into psychology, fortunately an area outside the scope of this study.

2.3: **Summary and General Conclusion:**

It might seem obvious that in order to describe speech properly, one would observe and record its users and then produce a full description; but the favoured method is in fact comparative, describing most varieties in terms of how they differ from other varieties (e.g. the male middle class norm). Women's speech is often dealt with only insofar as it differs from men's. Smith (1985:31) points out that this norm and deviation research framework must be an important factor in producing both stereotyped findings about women, and stereotypical explanations. It represents a long tradition in the study of language variation - the anecdotal or folklinguistic approach in which the speech of subordinate groups is represented as different from or more usually as deviant from the standard.

Several aspects of possible linguistic differences between the sexes have been examined, and one emerges with an understandable confusion - wherever "proof" exists in favour of any hypothesis, it is a safe bet that one will be able to find "counterproof". No absolute or definite claims can be made on the basis of evidence cited in this chapter, only tendencies and trends emerge, together with a distrust of many so-called scientific investigations, and a wariness of any investigator who becomes too emotionally wrapped up in his investigation and allows it to become a matter of the heart rather than the head.

The issues raised in the foregoing chapter indicate the need for a healthy caution with regard to reliance on previous research, the level of "disbelief" rising in accordance with the time the research was carried out: the longer ago, the less reliable it is likely to be. Extreme care is evidently needed in the planning of any research, or field work and these caveats will be borne in mind when the experiment which will form the focus of this study receives closer attention in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS OF PROOF AND TECHNIQUES OF DATA-GATHERING:

3.1: The Experimental Design:

The proposed experiment aimed to study a carefully selected group of speakers under controlled conditions, in order to avoid being subject to many of the criticisms aimed at earlier studies.

3.1.1: Population sample:

Choosing the lucky individuals who will attain immortality as informants can be problematical. In the ideal linguistic universe, all members of the speech community would line up and await their turns to provide the investigator with fascinating (and publishable) data. With his unlimited time, energy and money, the ideal linguist would talk at length with each speaker, transcribe the entire interview and emerge with a definitive statement about the nature of speech in that community. Operating, as I have done, under severe temporal and monetary constraints, I had to content myself with a small portion of a local speech community.

The question of what constitutes a respectable number is a thorny one, an overriding consideration being that repetition of the same experiment should yield a fairly stable and consistent set of results; i.e. the sample should be representative of the community from which it is chosen. Few analysts can escape making sampling decisions, sampling being a practical way of reducing volume to manageable proportions.

Gillian Sankoff (1980) notes that the researcher needs to make three kinds of decision about sampling procedures. These are:

a. to define the sampling universe (i.e. the boundaries of the group in which one is interested.)
b. to assess the relevant dimensions of variation within the community - this involves constructing stratification for the sample, asking whether ethnic group, sex or social class might affect the kind of language used
c. to fix the size of the sample.

As with measurement where there are many different scales that might be used, each having its own properties, sampling is not a simple uniform procedure, but one which varies from problem to problem in a way that permits and even demands correspondingly different mathematical treatment. It inevitably introduces into any study an element of uncertainty, and one always has to consider the question of how large a sample should be to permit generalisation within specified confidence limits. Obviously the larger the sample the more certain the investigator can be that his findings are a true reflection of reality, (as long as there is no systematic error in the sampling design, in which case lack of validity would increase

commensurately with sample size). Labov's generalisations in New York City were based on 88 speakers, Trudgill's in Norwich on 60. Other publishable sociolinguistic results have been obtained with samples of 48 (Wolfram (1969)), 87 (Anshen (1969)) and 122 (Labov (1966)). In the words of Anshen:

> if I were forced to guess the minimum number of interviews to be conducted in a strange community with a reasonable hope of interesting results, I would aim for about 75 complete interviews. (1969:40)

Woods et al. reaffirm this view:

> If the variable is not normal but has a population histogram which has a single mode and is roughly symmetrical, i.e. is ..... slightly skewed, then samples of 20 or so will probably be big enough to ensure the normality of the sample mean. (1986:103)

Sankoff notes, as do many linguists, that large samples tend not to be as necessary for linguistic surveys as for other surveys. This is apparently because linguistic behaviour is more homogeneous than many other types of behaviour studied by surveys (e.g. dietary preferences.) (Or perhaps it is wishful thinking!)

> The literature, as well as our own experience, would suggest that even for quite complex communities samples of more than about 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data-handling problems with diminishing returns. It is crucial, however, that the sample be well chosen, and representative of all social subsections about which one wishes to generalise. (1980:52)

In this study, where there were pre-existing hypothetical factors which would form the focus of research, a stratified sample was seen as a more suitable and practical alternative than a genuinely random sample; thus a purposive sample of a given number of subjects in each of several categories was "recruited", to reflect quantitative and qualitative aspects of the sources which were deemed important, rather than a totally random sample in which every source would have an equal chance of being selected. Practical considerations inevitably dictate sample size, and Milroy (1987) endorses the use of planned stratification, saying

> no easy solution has yet been found to the problem (of sample sizes). Perhaps because of this the practice of using random procedures to obtain stratified samples is now less popular than it was in the late sixties and early seventies. (1987:23)

In preparing the sample design care was taken to ensure freedom from idiosyncracies which might bias any findings. Practical considerations limited the sample in this study to a total of 160 informants, from schools either in Grahamstown or nearby (Port Alfred High School was the only non-local school used, unavoidable, in order to include a coeducational Government school to compare with Kingswood, a coeducational private school). This meant that no sub-group used for comparative purposes would be smaller than 20, which meets Woods et al.'s (1986) requirements as stated above.

An equal number of informants (evenly sexed) from Government and private schools and from each standard was desired and expressly planned, for statistical purposes, but the actual informants who met these requirements were numerous, and these informants all had an equal chance of being chosen.

After children who were not English mother-tongue speakers had been eliminated in advance, teachers at each school were requested to provide informants using the following procedure: if there were 30 pupils in the standard, every third pupil was selected from an alphabetical list, if 40 every fourth, if 50 every fifth etc. Teachers were expressly warned against selecting highly "verbal" pupils, or those who were good readers etc. It was hoped that in this way, despite a deliberate focus on subjects from specific schools in Grahamstown, a reasonably random range of linguistic ability would appear in the sample.

It is important to point out at this stage that social class was not regarded as a variable in the selection of informants. All the English speaking schools in Grahamstown were used as a source of informants, and although some of these are private schools (and by definition expensive) and some Government, it would be incorrect to classify pupils of the Government schools as being from a lower social class than others - most of the children of highly qualified academics from the local university, people of considerable social status (but not commensurate wealth) attend these schools, for example, and could not be termed "lower class" by any stretch of imagination. In Lanham's (1979) terms for South African English these would be speakers of "respectable/conservative" South African English rather than "extreme".

Another (less respectable) reason for avoiding the issue of class, seen by all urban sociolinguists as an important factor to take into account in sampling a population, is that, paradoxically, it is a variable which has often created problems, both conceptual and interpretive, as the nature and definition of social class has for a long time been a controversial matter in the social sciences. Fortunately making decisions about sex groupings is clear-cut. (Especially where pupils are obliged to wear sex-distinguishing uniforms!)

The sample of 160 informants was made up in the following proportions:

Government Schools:

	Single sex:		Coed	
	Graeme	**V.G**	**Port Alfred**	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Std 6	10	10	10	10
Std 9	10	10	10	10

Private Schools:

	Single sex:		Coed	
	St. Andrews	**D.S.G.**	**Kingswood**	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Std 6	10	10	10	10
Std 9	10	10	10	10
Totals:	40	40	40	40

Grand Total: 160 informants.

(**Note**: A recent development, motivated by a need to rationalise on teaching staff, has led to an attempt to combine teaching at St. Andrews and DSG from Std. 8 level, for some subjects only. The two schools are physically totally separate, the uniforms, rules and headmasters are different, and social mixing outside the classroom is very strictly controlled, so in my view one can be fully justified in still regarding each of these schools as being "single-sex" for the purposes of this study.) Thus it might be possible to compare the linguistic characteristics of:

a.) boys versus girls in general
b.) Std. 6 boys versus Std. 9 boys
c.) Std. 6 girls versus Std. 9 girls
d.) Std. 6 boys and girls versus Std. 9 boys and girls
e.) Government school pupils versus private school pupils
f.) single sex school pupils versus coeducational school pupils
g.) sections e. and f. above might also be compared within sexes and standards, if this proved significant.

Pupils in Std. 6 fell in the 12-14 year age group, and those in Std. 9 in the 15-17 age group.

Speaker variables under scrutiny were thus sex, educational standard, and whether the informant attended:

a) a Government or a private school
b) a single-sex or a coeducational school

Of these variables, sex was obviously the primary focus of this study, and Horvath's regrouping of some of Labov's data in terms of "natural" linguistic groupings even suggests that sex should take precedence over class as the major speaker variable; she remarks that

> if social class is seen to take precedence, then these other social dimensions might remain hidden or only dimly perceived. (1985:64)

Milroy (1987) remarks that one implication of these comments is that it is perhaps more reasonable to explain class differences in terms of sex, than sex differences in terms of class.

3.1.2: **Data-gathering instruments:**

Two types of linguistic information were required from each informant: taped "formal" speech, and a written reply to a questionnaire about informal usage.(See 3.9)

3.2: **Taped speech sample:**

It is a matter of common observation that on different occasions a speaker will use quite different types of language, dependent not only on his/her desire to convey meanings of (for example) hostility or intimacy, but also a range of contextual factors. The experiment was constructed in such a way as to keep such variations to a minimum.

Unfortunately all the headmasters of all the schools concerned proved highly resistant to any suggestion that interviews with informants be conducted in my office, which would have enabled strict control over conditions of each interview. A compromise was reached in that each school provided two venues in which to conduct the experiment: one room for private taping and another for the filling in of the questionnaires. From the point of view of the informants' nervousness, it must be conceded that using classrooms familiar to them might have reduced a potentially high degree of self-monitoring which might otherwise have influenced results, and so this unavoidable compromise may actually have had a beneficial effect in the long run.

A standardised technique was used in all the interviews, so that the experiment could be replicated by any later researcher who wished to test the validity of the results obtained. Each interview was prefaced by a brief conversation, to reduce the potential anxiety of the situation. This was seen to be a "necessary evil", as some subjects showed signs of considerable nervousness, and a preliminary chat reduced this.

Informants were unaware of the aim of the experiment, apart from the fact that it was "linguistic" in nature. Each informant was given the same written instructions (see appendix A) and this document was read aloud to him/her, to ensure that it was clearly understood.

All informants sat the same distance from two pictures, labelled A and B respectively - which had been chosen on the basis of their appeal to either sex, and of their replicability in future research on a similar group of informants. Two "great" art works were selected for the exercise, one of which (*Bridge at Mantis* by Corot) depicted an outdoor scene, the other (*Marriage of Arnolfini* by Van Eyck) a couple, standing indoors. (See appendix B) It was hoped that at least one of these would appeal to every informant, giving scope to those who would be more likely to give affective interpretive descriptions, and those whose descriptions might be more objective. (Wood (1966) and Staley (1982) suggest that females characteristically have an interpretive emotional style and males a descriptive empirical, detailed style.) Naturally a different choice of pictures would have been made had informants been drawn from a less privileged social or educational background.

An attempt was made to reduce experimenter-bias (with respect to the sex or presence of the experimenter having an effect on the informant) by arranging to leave each informant alone after the reading of the instructions to each, so that s/he could carry them out. Each informant was instructed to call the experimenter on completion of the verbal task. No time limit was imposed, so each informant had as much time as s/he needed to describe the pictures with which s/he was presented.

The speech obtained under these fairly tense circumstances, during which the informant would probably be monitoring him/herself fairly closely, while describing the pictures, was classified as "formal" for the purposes of the investigation. Thereafter each informant was taken to a separate venue where a questionnaire (see Appendix C) was to be completed.

Each interview took approximately fifteen minutes. Only when all informants at the school had completed their interviews, were persistent pupils informed about the true aims of the study.

3.3: **Assumptions and limitations of method:**

The first sample could be taken as a fair reflection of highly monitored speech; the second sample might reveal, in writing, speech habits under different conditions, and might be regarded as a reflection of stereotypical differences, keeping in mind that females have been found to under-report, males to over-report.

Chapter 2 summarises the pitfalls of research of this nature, all of which apply to this exercise. In particular, possible defective areas in this study include:

a) inability to interview every informant in an identical environment, though I do not regard this as a major problem, since equal numbers of boys and girls from each standard were interviewed in the same venues, although these venues differed from school to school.

b) the danger of interpreting responses to questionnaires about informal speech as a reflection of real informal speech. It is pointed out in chapter 1, however, that such responses must be seen as a reflection

of stereotyped values, although they do, at the same time, reveal words known to the informant.

c) restriction of informants to pre-selected schools. The fact that six schools (all of them boarding schools with the exception of Port Alfred High School, taking in pupils from a fairly wide area) were included in the study should compensate somewhat for this unavoidable limitation. A normal population has had to be assumed for the purposes of the study, and the use of 160 informants allows for a greater degree of confidence than a smaller group would do. It should perhaps be stressed that limitations on time prevented a greater number of informants being used, and control of their sources and distribution enabled equal proportions of each class of respondent to be included.

Owing to the twofold nature of this investigation, section 3.4-3.7 will focus on the methodology used in the analysis of the taped samples, and 3.8 will deal with analysis of written samples.

3.4: Content Analysis:

3.4.1: General:

> The analysis of content is a central topic in all of the sciences dealing with man. The capacity for speech is man's major striking characteristic, and language is bound up with rational thought, the emotions and all the distinctively human parts of man's internal life ..... Rightly viewed content analysis is a core problem in the study of man, and to work at solving it could alter the social and behavioral sciences in fundamental ways. (David Hays cited in Holsti 1969:1)

Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Berelson 1952:18). The term "content analysis" is used here to mean the scientific analysis of communication, and the methodology is broadly speaking the scientific method, requiring that the analysis be rigorous and systematic. Using this method the content of communication is transformed, through objective and systematic application of categorisation rules, into data that can be summarised and compared - it is the systematic and quantitative description of any symbolic behaviour.

Content analysis is never entirely objective, because even in its simplest most mechanical form it requires the investigator to use his judgement in making decisions about data. One needs an explicit set of rules to minimise (but never eliminate) the problem, but there is always the possibility that the findings reflect the analyst's subjective predispositions. The obvious test for objectivity is whether other analysts, following identical procedures with the same data, would arrive at similar conclusions, hence the need to explicate procedures, criteria for selecting data, determining what data is relevant, and interpreting the findings.

In view of the fact that content analysis is the application of scientific methods to documentary evidence, the definition of categories which follows is essential. Initial selection of categories is inevitably slightly subjective, but asking the right questions of the data, even if the questions are vague, is better than answering inappropriate but precise questions. Categories chosen in this investigation reflect the issues discussed in chapter 1 and 2.

Holsti (1969) points out that using this approach is indeed justifiable, and he cites studies comparing the linguistic behaviour of schizophrenics with normal people (Fairbanks (1944)), and the language of best-sellers with other novels (Harvey (1953)) as examples of the successful application of this procedure. Increasingly content analysis is being applied to verbal data produced at the behest of the researcher, this investigation being a case in point.

The great advantage of using this method is that it is a non-reactive, unobtrusive research technique. Language is, however, extremely complex, and the use of highly systematic methods is essential, in order to provide precise and replicable methods for analysing those attributes of documents which may otherwise escape casual scrutiny. A good research design makes explicit and integrates procedures for selecting a sample of data for analysis, content categories and units to be placed into categories, comparisons between categories, and the classes of inference which may be drawn from the data. It describes the attributes of messages without reference either to the intentions of the sender or the effect of the message on the receiver. It thus implies that the investigator has clearly thought out the rationale for his enquiry, that he is able to specify the type of evidence needed to test his ideas, that he knows the kind of analysis he will make once the data are gathered and coded and the inferences they permit him to make. In short a good design ensures that theory, data gathering, analysis and interpretation are integrated.

The criteria for analysis of the data in this experiment follow, and it is hoped that they meet with the rather stringent requirements cited above.

3.4.2: **Reliability:**

Holsti says

> defining an acceptable level of reliability is one of the many problems in content analysis for which there is no single solution ..... as categories become more complex, they may yield results which are both more useful and less reliable. (1969:142)

Reliability is a function of coder's skill, insight and experience, the clarity of categories and the coding rules which guide their use. Category reliability depends on the analyst's ability to formulate categories for which the empirical evidence is clear enough that competent judges will agree to a sufficiently high degree on which items belong to a category and which do not. Obviously as categories and units of

analysis increase in complexity, results are often less reliable (though often more useful).

Practical considerations prevented the investigator from having more than one analyst, although it is acknowledged that pooled judgement of coders increases reliability. Ideally an assistant, unaware of the aims of the experiment, but trained in the coding procedure, should repeat the coding for 10 transcripts independently, to ascertain whether 85% (or more) agreement is obtained; such a percentage is seen as adequate reliability, in view of the complexity of the rating system. (See Sause (1976), Poole (1979), Cooley and Lohnes (1971), Staley (1981)) Because content analysis requires skilled and sensitive coders, the very persons who soon become bored and frustrated by the tedious and repetitive nature of the task, there is a very real danger of inaccuracy.

Holsti cites Berelson's (1952:198) warning on this subject:

> unless there is a sensible, or clever, or sound, or revealing, or unusual, or important notion underlying the analysis, it is not worth going through the rigour of the procedure, especially when it is so arduous and so costly of effort. (1969:150)

One very important factor which reduces the potential boredom and consequent inaccuracies is the advent of computers, which carry out what used to be extremely taxing tasks of counting etc. at the touch of a few keys. In the interests of reliability, immediately after raw transcription, before detailed scoring of data, a double-blinding was effected, thereby keeping experimenter-bias to a minimum from the point of view of pre-knowledge of information about informants.

3.4.3: Validity:

Validity is a measure of the extent to which one is measuring what one intends to measure, whether the categories are adequate for the study at hand, whether the coding is reliable, plausible and consistent with other studies. The reader is invited to assess this for him/herself.

3.5: Selection and definition of categories:

Loosely speaking one could regard each of the following categories as linguistic variables, covarying with other units in the system, and with the range of speaker variables under scrutiny: sex, age/standard and type of school attended. The significance of the use of the linguistic variable is that it allows quantitative statements to be made about language use, so that a speaker may be said to use more or less of a particular variant than another speaker.

3.5.1: **Time and Talk:**

3.5.1.1: **Amount of talk**

Males reputedly talk more than females (see 2.2.2.1) and those in a position of social authority would tend to talk more than inferiors. Wood (1966:118) defines an "utterance" as "a stretch of talk emitted in response to a single stimulus"; by this definition each of the informants thus used two utterances in toto, as two pictures acted as the two stimuli. The total number of "utterances" analysed was thus (160 x 2) = 320. These were timed, for each informant, and these separate times were recorded, as well as the total speaking time for each informant. Time which elapsed between each of the two descriptions was not included in the calculation of total speaking time.

3.5.1.2: **Rate of Speech:**

The stereotype would have us believe that females have a more rapid speech rate than males. It has been reported by Dalton (1983:25) that "female speakers are known to be approximately 20 syllables per minute faster" than males - yet another hypothesis worth testing, especially in view of the negative stereotype attached to rapid speech, and the low-status associations it has with powerless speech. Rate of speech was measured by using the first two minutes of recorded speech, and dividing the total number of words by two, giving a words per minute rate. It was felt that this was a more realistic measure of speech rate than a division of total number of words by total time occupied by speech, as most informants slowed down towards the end of their descriptions, as they ran out of things to say.

3.5.1.3: **Stretches of Silence:**

It was felt that silence was a relevant category of analysis. In my opinion a high percentage of pauses during an informant's description would indicate an unhurried attitude, and a certain amount of confidence (although verbal planning would also be a factor here). A relatively "pauseless" transcription (with short or rare pauses) might signal anxiety to end the interview and might be associated with powerlessness (though fluency could be an alternative interpretation).

A metronome was used and each informant's speech was timed. Every silence lasting for one second was marked in the transcript by a ".", so that the computer could tally these during analysis. (See Appendix E for transcript.)

3.5.2: **Disfluency**:

Speech disruptions are seen as an indication of tentativeness and uncertainty, stereotypically associated with females, negatively viewed and linked to out-of-power status. According to Broen disfluency is

> any break in the word-to-word flow of speech that was not linguistically meaningful. (1972:10)

These linguistically irrelevant utterances include repeated or interjected sounds, words or phrases, and broken, incomplete or retraced sentences. Maclay and Osgood (1959) report disfluency rates from 3% to 10% of word totals as normal in conversational speech, and Broen and Siegel (1973) found similar rates in normal adult speakers. On the basis of the few conclusions that can be drawn from studies on disfluency, evidence suggests (see Dalton (1983)) that linguistic complexity may influence the level of fluency in normal children; Hood (1978) is reported in Dalton as finding this to be the case with five year olds, and Zuckerman et al. say

> when grammatical constructions were relatively difficult for children, complexity affected the occurrence of disfluencies. (1980:67)

Such a view may complicate the interpretation of any findings: if females hesitate more is it because thay are less confident or using more difficult language? A comprehensive syntactic analysis might help to solve this dilemma to a limited extent.

It was expected that in view of the tension of the interview situation, a slightly higher rate of disfluency might occur, but the focus of attention in this investigation was on whether there was any difference between the disfluency rates of males and females respectively, and both sexes were "suffering" under identically strained conditions.

The following were regarded as being disfluencies in speech, and were marked during transcription analysis:

3.5.2.1: **Hesitations:**

Um, uh and *er*, verbal tics, mid-word hesitations (e.g. *bu- butter*) and semi-words (e.g. *pur* (purple)) were regarded as being hesitations. Traditionally associated with uncertainty and anxiety, they can also indicate the degree of complexity of planning as well, or of word-searches. (These were marked by "-" during transcription.)

3.5.2.2: **Fillers:**

Word automatisms were regarded as fillers, and these were clearly revealed by WORD analyses, a programme which computes the total number of times any single word is used in any speech sample (see Appendix F); any word cropping up excessively would rate as an automatism. Examples of these were the word *like* and the phrase *sort of* used as fillers, and *well* and *oh* as vestigial interjections. (Naturally words such as *the* and other syntactic markers were not rated as automatisms.) Other fillers which one

often finds in normal two-way conversation, such as *you know* did not occur, in view of the fact that informants were alone at the time.

3.5.2.3: **Repetitions:**

Repetitions including single words (e.g. *chair chair*) and sequences of more than one word. (E.g. *in the front in the front.*) (These were marked by "#" during transcription.) (Appendix I, Table 2, column 8-9.)

3.5.2.4: **Language Mazes:**

Language "maze" phenomena, where loss of orientation in verbal planning causes sentence trail-offs (stereotypically associated with females). (E.g. *the man is standing the man is holding her hand.*) (These were marked in the transcript by "*") (Appendix I, Table 2, column 10-11.)

Subtotals and indices (in terms of total words) with respect to each type of disfluency were computed for each informant. (See Appendix E for edited transcripts of informants S95-S910.)

3.5.3: **Structural Complexity:**

Several recognised methods of measuring structural complexity exist, and in view of the claims in chapter 2 that females' speech is more correct and advanced than males', the presumption is that it might be more complex structurally. It was therefore deemed advisable to make a careful measurement of syntactic complexity. The following subsections formed part of this assessment:

3.5.3.1: **Type-token Ratio (TTR):**

A type token ratio measures variability in the communicator's working vocabulary. A score is based on the number of different words found in samples of standard length, words of different dictionary spelling (unique orthographic units) being considered different types. A measure is made of the number of different words (types) to the total number of words (tokens) in a given sample. Because the ratio tends to vary inversely with the size of the sample (the larger the token the smaller the ratio), only samples of the same size can be compared meaningfully. Such a type-token ratio can be based on the first 200 to 400 words of a sample (Phillips (1973)). It was decided to use the first two hundred words of each utterance and take the average of these scores as the ratio for each informant. The number 200 was selected because although many informants used 500 words or more in their recordings, several others had a maximum of only slightly more than 200 words, and a small number actually used fewer than 200 words.

Broen (1972:8) used this measure in a study of parents' speech to children, and advocates Schiefelbusch's (1963) criteria for word counting, which involve including *um*, *er* etc, but excluding semi-

words or incomprehensible noises. However, for the purposes of this investigation, it was decided to exclude all "fillers" such as *um, er, uh* and *erm* as well, as these cannot, in the opinion of the writer, be regarded as meaningful words.

The use of TTR as a measure of speaker flexibility or variability in vocabulary revealed lower TTR's for schizophrenics than normal students (Johnson (1944)), lower TTR's in adult speech to retarded children than to normal children (Siegel (1967)), and lower TTR's by adults to children in general (Broen (1972)), and can be taken as a respectable technique of measuring complexity in general.

A large type-token ratio would be indicative of a diverse vocabulary, a phenomenon hypothetically associated with females because one of the common assumptions in the literature is that girls use more complex language than boys. Appendix I, Table 3, column 2 lists the numbers of "unique" words used by each informant, (i.e. separate vocabulary items) and column 3 of the same table lists the number of words used once only in any single transcription - scores which correlate very closely with each other. High scores would be interpreted as an indication of greater fluency, a wider vocabulary and a fair degree of linguistic sophistication.

3.5.3.2: **Mean Length of Utterance (MLU):**

Each informant's total verbal contribution was counted, and then all hesitation phenomena and half-completed words were deleted, and a second word count was made. It was felt that these scores could meaningfully be compared with each other in view of the fact that everyone was given the same chance to speak. (Appendix I, Table 1, column 13 lists these scores.) In addition the computer programmes PCWRITE and WORD were used to calculate the average letters per word, a high number being regarded as indicative of a more sophisticated vocabulary. Girls, supposedly because of their greater linguistic skills, might perhaps be expected to have higher letter-per-word scores. These scores also had to be calculated for an identically-sized sample, as scores vary inversely with the size of the sample. Results showed very few differences, all informants varying only by a few decimal points from each other, the average being 3 to 4 letters per word. It was therefore decided to abandon this path of enquiry.

3.5.3.3: **Subordinate clause ratio**

In order to investigate clause complexity, relevant to the stereotypes cited earlier regarding parataxis for females, hypotaxis for males, and on the additional assumption that the more subordinate clauses used, the more complex the language use (for English this is the case, though not for languages like Tamil or Turkish), each utterance in the standard sample of the first two hundred words was analysed, and clauses were indicated in the following way:

Main Clause	[MC]
Subordinate Adjectival Clause	[SAC]
Subordinate Adverbial Clause	[SADVC]
Subordinate Noun Clause	[SNC]

Editing the 200 word samples proved slightly problematic on occasions where speakers made false starts and "got lost" in language mazes. It was decided to ignore these, not assigning them to any clause category, and make a final assessment of syntactic ability by considering clause scores together with hesitation phenomena. Appendix G contains examples of the edited texts of S95 to S910.

Total amounts of subordinate clauses were calculated, as well as main clause totals. The proportionate use of each type (subordinate versus main) was recorded for each informant. In this context (a strained one, calling for a formal variety of English) a hypotactic style, marked by a high subordinate clause total in relation to overall number of clauses, and a low overall clause total (indicative of longer clauses), was interpreted as a reflection of greater linguistic versatility.

Admittedly a paratactic style is not necessarily a reflection of lower ability, but it is not unfair to regard it as inappropriate in this context. Part of a speaker's linguistic competence is his/her ability to use the language appropriately, and although a paratactic style is frequently more appropriate than a hypotactic one, this was not the case in this particular context. Final results would have to be examined in the light of counts for ungrammatical utterances, false starts and language "maze" phenomena, which might detract from the general measurement of linguistic proficiency level. Appendix I, Table 3, columns 4 to 10 record the results of these tallies.

3.5.3.4: **Non-standard Utterances:**

Granted, generally syntactic complexity and non-standard English are theoretically independent issues, and the lack of *-s* in *he go*, for example, does not alter syntactic complexity from a clause analysis point of view - someone who uses many non-standard forms may also use a hypotactic style, with complex (and, for him/her correct) syntax. However it is to be remembered that the informants under scrutiny in this particular survey were all L1 speakers from mainly middle or upper class backgrounds, accustomed to hearing and speaking standard English as vernacular, it might be justifiable to regard a high number of utterances, regarded as aberrant from a prescriptivist point of view, like *there is a lot of trees on the bank*, as an indication of a low regard for linguistic correctness, or a low linguistic ability.

Perhaps a more felicitous term for this subsection might have been "ungrammatical utterances", in that this relates more directly to the syntactic issues under discussion. Branford (1987), in her Dictionary of South African English, uses the status label "substandard", and restricts it to points of usage rather than vocabulary, (her example: *I was working by a chemist* instead of *at*) and translations/calques from Afrikaans rather than particular lexical items. The non-standard utterances that occurred in the speech

samples in this survey were almost always concord errors, indicating something relating to a language maze, in which the speaker forgets the number of the subject by the time he reaches the verb - in other words they were primarily the result of inaccurate planning ahead of speech, rather than habitual translations etc.

A brief review the sort of non-standard forms that occurred in the speech of informants follows. This is done in order to justify what follows in this particular analysis, for I have taken the viewpoint that the non-standard utterances of these particular informants are relevant to an overall assessment of the syntactic complexity of their speech.

The typical errors made by informants were:

a.) Incorrect concord especially evident when "there's" was followed by a plural noun phrase, e.g.: *there's six arches / there's two people / there's huge curtains behind them / the houses and bridge looks quite old / there's little arches there / the walls have got paper on it / playing in their mother and father's clothes / the lady's shoes seem to be have taken off*

b.) Confusion of the a/an determiner choice, which relates to whether the subsequent word begins with a vocalic sound, e.g.: *there's a open window / it's a old fashioned picture / in a old house / with a orange cap.*

c.) overgeneralisation of the weak past tense forms of verbs, (very rare) e.g.: *she putted her hand into his. hand*

d.) use of incorrect concord in relative clauses e.g.: *there's tables which is made out of / there's some orange fruit what looks like on a table / the young woman which is in green which looks pregnant.*

e.) *each other/respectively* constructions incorrectly implemented, e.g. *they are holding each other's hand.*

f.) incorrect use of prepositions, including the admittedly prescriptive rule of ending sentences with prepositions, e.g.: *little puppy playing at the bottom of them / it's got some writings on / it's a very dry place where he's at / the building in the beginning of the bridge / in the middle of the two of them is a dog.*

g.) incorrect morphological formation, e.g.: *it's a very winter day.*

h.) inappropriate use of vocabulary items (suggesting ignorance of the right word), e.g.: *there's a stumpy (x3) / see through the gable of the bridge / arcs in the bridge for the boats to go through / everything's slightly out of colour / pillows in the bridge / a skirt dressified thing / a chandelier kindified thing.*

Only very occasionally were the non-standard utterances genuinely the result of non-standard habits, as exemplified by the following utterances: *there's a man by his wife / she looks like she's sad/pregnant.*

Naturally all speakers make such errors in spontaneous discourse, but less proficient speakers will, it is hypothesised, make more. It is therefore probably legitimate to regard a high number of this sort of non-standard utterance as indicative of a lower syntactic planning ability, rather than of (correctly) applying a non-standard syntactic rule.

Instances of such non-standard utterances were marked by "&" in the transcriptions, and computed as well, and taken into account when estimating degree of linguistic ability. (See 4.1.3.3 and Appendix I, Table 2 column 12-13.)

3.5.3.5: **Language Maze phenomena:**

Every incomplete sentence or clause in transcripts, where speakers lost track of what they were saying, and started afresh, was marked by *, and totals were calculated, as it was felt that scores obtained should be taken into account when making an overall assessment of general linguistic fluency and efficiency - language mazes result from syntactic and semantic confusion generally.

Naturally it is in spontaneous speech that the grammatical system of a language is most fully exploited, but the complexity of spoken language is, in the words of Halliday (1985) more like a dance - not static and dense, but mobile and intricate. More of the meaning is expressed by grammar than vocabulary. There is a folk belief, typical of written culture, according to which spoken language is disorganised and featureless, while only writing shows a wealth of structure and a purity of pattern. This is then "demonstrated" by transcripts in which speech is reduced to writing and made to look like a dog's dinner. Because speech was not intended to be written down it does tend to look silly in that form, just as writing often sounds odd when read aloud; but the disorder and fragmentation are a feature of the way it is transcribed, and even a sympathetic transcription cannot represent it adequately because it shows none of the intonation, rhythm or variation in tempo and loudness of the original, but only shows how it is organised grammatically, so enabling us to analyse it as a text. The problem is that the kind of grammatical agility one finds in a spoken passage is not well represented by standard techniques of analysis and presentation, and the example transcripts in the Appendices do not do full justice to their speakers.

3.5.4: **Linguistic Indicators of Vagueness or Uncertainty.**

Linguistic folklore and several authors (See chapter 1) attribute more unfinished sentences, imprecision and hedges to female speakers, relating this to hesitance and lack of confidence (though there may be far more to this than meets the eye, e.g. a need to plan complex utterances or a careful avoidance of inaccuracies.) A measure of the occurrence of such linguistic phenomena was made in order that this stereotype could be tested, and the following indicators of "avoidance techniques" were computed separately, and then converted to an index of the word total for each informant:

modal adjuncts	*maybe; hopefully; perhaps*
indeterminate pronominals	*and stuff; thingy; whatever*
proximals, vague references to amount	*about; sort of; more or less; a few*
perceptual verbs	*looks like; seems; I think*

Modal verbs (e.g. *can/could/may/might*) are perhaps conspicuous by their absence from the list, but an analysis of these is extremely problematic, as their use can indicate far more than uncertainty (e.g. *can* may indicate ability or permission). For this reason, in view of their rare occurrence in transcripts and in order to avoid having to quote a context for each instance, I felt it wiser to omit them altogether. (For results see Appendix I, Table 3, columns 11 to 16 and Table 4, columns 1 and 2.)

3.5.5: **Linguistic Indications of Reduced Self-Monitoring:**

Although all informants were speaking under strained circumstances, indications from research that males are linguistically more confident and less afraid to assert themselves, take their time etc. were worth testing. The following aspects were regarded as signifying relaxation on the part of the informant (something that might (stereotypically) be expected from the males rather than from the females):

a.) a high count for use of abbreviated forms (e.g. *he's; aren't*). (To facilitate computer counts, the use of the apostrophe was reserved for abbreviations, and possessives were not written with an apostrophe at all, e.g.: *the womans hand is in the mans hand.*)

b.) omission of words in sentences, marked in transcripts by "^", as exemplified in:

^think she's sick	(*I* omitted)
^man looks quite pale	(*the* omitted)

c.) a high pause count in relation to total time occupied by speech.

d.) a low speech rate matched with a high word count and time count (see 3.5.1 above)

Appendix E provides examples of the full transcripts.

3.5.6: **Emotive, Expressive, or "Personal" Language:**

Females reputedly make more linguistic reference to people - to themselves as well as others, and to feelings and emotions. It was therefore decided to count:

a.) first and second person pronouns.

b.) occurrence of expressions of personal attitude, e.g. **lovely** *woman*, **revolting** *hat,* **boring** *scene* etc.

c.) use of intensification i.e.: *very*

3.5.7: **Semantic Aspects:**

According to the literature (see 2.2.6) males use more objective, spatial descriptors (numerals, adverbs) while females use more subjective, emotive, imprecise descriptors and make finer colour discrimination. For this reason all colour references, numerals and spatial references (mainly prepositions) were counted from the word-frequency tables (examples of which are displayed in Appendix F).

3.6: **Summary key to all variables identified during transcription analysis:**

[MC]	main clause
[SAC]	subordinate adjectival clause
[SADVC]	subordinate adverbial clause
[SNC]	subordinate noun clause
-	mid-word hesitations
.	per one-second pause e.g. I . . can't say
*	incomplete utterances (language maze phenomena)
#	repetition of words or phrases
&	non-standard utterances
^	verbal omissions
'	abbreviations

3.7: **Observational Process** (pre-tests, statistical tools etc.)

Much of this chapter has been concerned with specifically *linguistic* problems of defining and quantifying variables. But there is a further and less linguistic type of problem which arises after these decisions have been taken, and the counting process is under way. This concerns the analysis, presentation and interpretation of the resulting numbers, issues which pertain to the realm of statistics. To this problem we now turn.

Verbatim transcripts were made of all interviews, including all semi-words and hesitation phenomena. Before analysis each transcription was then double-blinded by an outsider, so that the analyst would, from that point, be unaware of the age, sex or school of the informant, thus preventing any bias in scoring. (After scoring, the texts were resorted into sex, age and school types.)

The preselected notation explained above was then used to analyse each transcription in detail. The computer programme PCWRITE was used for this purpose, in conjunction with WORD and PCSTYLE. (See Appendix D for sample transcriptions corresponding to accompanying recordings of informants S95 to S910)

By transcribing in this fashion one enables the computer to count all instances of such linguistic phenomena totally accurately, and frequencies of occurrence in each category of the scoring system can be computed at the touch of a key. All linguistic coding indices were expressed as proportions to yield measures independent of the total number of words spoken. In other words the percentage of the occurrence of anything was computed as a function of the total number of words in the sample. In the case of pauses, the total time (not words) was used in computing the relevant index. Total frequencies of occurrence in each category of the scoring system were then worked out, shown in summary form in Appendix I for all informants, with a full explanation of column headings given in Appendix H.

After the means had been calculated for each variable, the standard deviations were also worked out for all groups under consideration, in order to give some indication of the extent to which individual scores were clustered around the mean. In the words of Wood et al.:

> the standard deviation is one of the most important statistical measures. It indicates the typical amount by which values in the data set differ from the mean (X) and no data summary is complete until all the relevant standard deviations have been calculated. (1986:43)

Milroy reaffirms the need for suspicion about studies reporting on means only

> the mean, which is the type of average most often used by sociolinguists, is not always the most suitable measure of central tendency within a group; under some conditions the median or the mode are more appropriate. Measures of central tendency need to be interpreted along with measures of within-group variability - that is the clustering of particular scores around a typical value. The statistic most often used to measure within-group variability is the standard deviation ..... since the linguistic homogeneity of groups can vary considerably, it is important for sociolinguists who aggregate individual scores to use these measures carefully. (1987:136)

The statistic chosen as a test for significant differences between two proportions, where samples of the size $N > 30$ were concerned, was that suggested by Bruning and Kintz (1977:222) because, using this, one is able to compare the proportion of language in each category for each group, while taking into account their separate totals - i.e. all are proportionate. So though an initial difference may appear large, it may not be significant when the total amount of language is considered. This statistic is commonly known as

the Z-score, and gives the levels of reliability (p scores) of the differences between the means / averages one is dealing with. The Z-score is reliable when one is working with samples of size $N > 30$, and in view of the fact that all groups being analysed had totals of 40 or more (e.g. Std. 9 girls at single-sex schools = 40; government school boys = 40; all girls = 80 etc.), no additional type of statistical test was considered to be necessary.

To calculate the Z-score, the difference of means of two groups is divided by the square root of the sum of the variances of the score of each group divided by the number of individuals in the group. The variance is the square of the standard deviation, so the calculation is as follows:

$$\text{Z-score} = \frac{\text{mean of group A} - \text{mean of group B}}{\sqrt{\frac{(\text{SD group A})^2}{\text{number of group A}} + \frac{(\text{SD group B})^2}{\text{number of group B}}}}$$

The resulting Z-score can then be compared with statistical tables to determine the degree of significance that can be attached to it. For the sake of convenience, the Z-scores corresponding to the conventionally acceptable levels of significance levels are listed below:

> 1.96 indicates significance at the 0.05 level
> 2.576 indicates significance at the 0.01 level
> 2.805 indicates significance at the 0.005 level
> 3.291 indicates significance at the 0.001 level

In view of the fact that the conclusions reached at the end of the literature review in chapter 2 were somewhat shaky, taking all the caveats mentioned earlier into account, the hypotheses on which this study was based had, of necessity, to be extremely tentative,

The null hypothesis is that sex, age, and school type have no effect on linguistic behaviour, and that males and females have identical linguistic habits, regardless of school type or educational level. If the desired level of significance is not reached, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected; there is no way to prove a lack of relationship, the most one can say is that one has failed to prove the existence of one.

Results of the taped data will be presented in Chapter 4.

3.8: **Written data obtained via a questionnaire, concerning less formal speech habits:**

After recording of verbal descriptions, the informant was taken to the second of the venues provided and asked to fill in a questionnaire (see appendix C) in order to obtain the second sample required. (This was deemed the only viable method to elicit samples of speech usually used in an informal setting:

slang and expletives.)

The questionnaires, which were filled in anonymously to prevent constraints on any informant who might otherwise have withheld intimate information, also requested information regarding age and standard, and was divided into two main sections: slang and expletives. In the slang section 23 key words or concepts were given (with examples in each case to stimulate the memory) and informants were asked to fill in as many synonymous slang terms for each. Terms revolved around the areas of entertainment, eating, drinking, smoking, the opposite sex and school, all semantic areas known for their abundance of slang.

In addition opinions regarding users of slang were requested, in order to ascertain stereotyped views regarding appropriacy of usage. As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, many of the "slang" terms actually given by informants would be regarded as swearwords by many, an acknowledged problem in the definition of the term *slang*.

In the second section (expletives) ten situations were sketched each with varying audiences (e.g. alone / with friends etc.) in which the informant was asked to imagine him/herself, and then to write down any expletive(s) which s/he might use. The situations ranged from mild irritation to extreme anger, from dismay to pain, shock, embarrassment and delight, in an attempt to include as wide a variety as possible. These were deliberately presented in a random order, to avoid the possibility of an emotional build-up in the informant. At the end of this section opinions about men, women, girls or boys who swear were once again elicited, as well as any comments regarding the questionnaire as a whole. It was hoped that an analysis of these might throw some light on theories regarding stereotypes held by the sexes, and reveal whether each sex held similar views about each other's use of slang and expletives, or whether the standards of judgement differ depending on the sex of the judge. Informants filled in the questionnaires alone, discussion being expressly avoided.

Comments, both written and verbal (later) reflected astounding enthusiasm for the questionnaire, delight at being able to let go of linguistic inhibitions anonymously, and at the fact that some people are interested in the language of youth. Only a minority (boys and girls) expressed reservations or uneasiness about the topic.

3.8.1: **Scoring system:**

A database was created and all the responses recorded in detail. In the slang section a tally was made of numbers of responses in each section, discounting instances where the example suggested was given again as a response. A high score would thus indicate a wide slang / expletive vocabulary, even if this were a passive one.

3.8.2: **Expletive Rating Scale:**

In order to reduce the expletive responses to a manageable basis, and to enable inoffensive discussion of this section, each expletive was given a numerical value, and all responses were ultimately reflected numerically. The scale of values was devised in the following way:

A list of all the words actually written by respondents was compiled, and presented to twenty different assessors, none of whom had taken part in the experiment as informants but all of whom were aged between 13 and 18 years, half of each sex, equally distributed in standards six and nine respectively, and between private and Government schools. They were asked to rate the words on a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 implied extreme mildness and inoffensiveness to hearer, and ten indicated a high shock value, and extreme disgust. The raters were all amazingly similar in their judgements, and their ratings concurred with questionnaire responses from those with a declared aversion from swearing and those who seemed not to mind it. Words encountered rarely in respectable literature were all given higher scores than those encountered more often, and those referring explicitly to sexual and excretory functions received higher (numerical) ratings than those of a milder nature.

It is acknowledged that such assignment of numerical values to responses is fraught with the possible danger of skewing results, hence the precautions taken not to impose personal judgement regarding these values, but to use informants' judgments as a basis for decisions.

The resultant table of values assigned to each expletive is given in appendix L. On the basis of these values, each informant's responses were tallied numerically, a high score reflecting gay abandon to really meaty and shocking language and a low score indicating the opposite. It was remembered that responses were to imaginary situations, but all informants had to imagine the same situation, and responses were not gauged as a reflection of reality, but rather of stereotypes.

3.8.3: **Hypotheses:**

In view of the fact that slang is stereotypically regarded as the domain of the young, and that expletive usage is seen as most typical of males, it seemed to be a fertile area where linguistic sexual differences might emerge. It was therefore seen as advisable to investigate this aspect of language among the informants, to assess whether there is any truth in current beliefs about usage in these areas.

In this case the null hypothesis is that sex, age, and school type have no effect on slang and expletive usage. Disproving the null hypothesis would suggest that because of the tighter, more close-knit peer group structures among males (Labov (1966), Cheshire (1978)(1984)) males would know and use far more swear-words than females, especially in single-sex schools, and that knowledge and use would be likely to increase with age, as linguistic behaviour of this kind would be used as an overt badge of identity and group membership, at a time when belonging is of vital importance to the individual. Knowledge and

use of expletives might also be associated with confidence generally, so one might expect higher scores at private schools.

On the basis of resulting scores, using the same methodology as that explained in section 3.7, comparisons would be possible between the sexes / standards / school types regarding both knowledge and use of slang and expletives and attitudes towards their use by different groups. The results of the analysis of the written data will be presented in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS:

4.0: General:

In this chapter the results of the analysis of the taped speech samples discussed in 3.2 will be presented. Owing to the complexity of the data collected, I shall present the results of my analyses separately, under subheadings, before attempting a full interpretation of the information collected.

Under each subheading, data will be presented initially in the form of the average score from the ten pupils in each standard at each school. This means that sixteen results will be presented as the scores from 160 pupils, one score for every ten pupils. In each case the data will be presented in the same order, and the order and codes for each school are given here, for ease of reference:

The schools from which informants were drawn were as follows:

1.) St. Andrews College: A private single-sex school for boys (S)
2.) Kingswood College: A private coeducational school (K)
3.) Graeme College: A Government single-sex school for boys (G)
4.) Port Alfred High School: A Government coeducational school (P)
5.) Diocesan School for Girls: A private single-sex school (D)
6.) Victoria Girls High School: A Government single-sex school (V)

Each informant was given a code number (from 1 to 10) e.g. the fifth subject from Graeme in Std. 6 was G65, while the third from Kingswood in Std. 9 among the boys was KB93, the fourth Kingswood Std. 9 girl KG94 etc. Rapid and easy cross-referencing was possible during analysis. Full tables of results are in appendix I.

The order of presentation:

1.	**S6**	St. Andrews Std. 6 boys	9.	**S9**	St. Andrews Std. 9 boys
2.	**KB6**	Kingswood Std. 6 boys	10.	**KB9**	Kingswood Std. 9 boys
3.	**G6**	Graeme Std. 6 boys	11.	**G9**	Graeme Std. 9 boys
4.	**PB6**	Port Alfred High Std. 6 boys	12.	**PB9**	Port Alfred Std. 9 boys
5.	**D6**	Diocesan Std. 6 girls	13.	**D9**	Diocesan Std. 9 girls
6.	**KG6**	Kingswood Std. 6 girls	14.	**KG9**	Kingswood Std. 9 girls
7.	**V6**	Victoria Std. 6 girls	15.	**V9**	Victoria Std. 9 girls
8.	**PG6**	Port Alfred High Std. 6 girls	16.	**PG9**	Port Alfred Std. 9 girls

Following this, overall averages will be cited, and then averages and standard deviations for each of the following groups:

1. All boys / All girls.
2. Std. 6 boys / Std. 6 girls.
3. Std. 9 boys / Std. 9 girls.
4. All Std. 6's / All Std. 9's.
5. Boys at single-sex schools / Girls at single-sex schools.
6. Boys at coeducational schools / Girls at coeducational schools.
7. All pupils at single-sex schools / All pupils at coeducational schools.
8. Boys at Government schools /Girls at Government schools.
9. Boys at private schools / Girls at private schools.
10. All pupils at Government schools / All pupils at private schools.

In each case the standard deviation is calculated using the separate individual scores of each informant, available in appendix I. For each pair of means cited, the Z-score will be shown, together with an indication of its significance, using the following code:

Z-score > 1,96: significance at the 0.05 level, shown by *.
Z-score > 2,576: significance at the 0.01 level, shown by **.
Z-score > 3,3: significance at the 0.001 level, shown by ***.

Based on the assumption that the reader will find a pictorial representation of results clearer, after each section the relevant bar graphs will be displayed, generally representing results analysed in the following way:

a.) All girls versus all boys.
b.) All Std. 6's versus all Std. 9's. (Where possible (a.) and (b.) will be presented on the same graph.)
c.) Boys and girls compared in standards, i.e. Std. 6 boys and girls are compared on the left, and Std 9 boys and girls on the right.
d.) Single sex schools versus coeducational schools.
e.) Government versus private Schools, showing the girls and boys separately in each case.

These groups relate to the initial hypotheses stated in 1.5, the focus of the investigation as a whole. Occasionally line graphs display the data more effectively (e.g. in the comparison of the different situations used to elicit expletives (5.3.2.2)) and in these instances they have been used in preference to bar graphs.

In each subsection findings will then be discussed in terms of the three main variables under investigation, namely the sex of the informants, (which is shown in results in various forms: all girls/all boys; each standard's separate sexes, and each school type's separate sexes), the standard of the informants, and the type of school. Government schools and private might in some small measure be regarded as corresponding to a social class subdivision, the Government school tending to have pupils from mixed social backgrounds, with more middle class members than the private schools, which would undoubtedly have pupils from privileged social backgrounds. Alongside a possible class distinction this subdivision might also be equated with a difference in educational approach, the Government schools tending to use more traditional/ rigid/ authoritarian/ disciplined methods, the private school being more relaxed, encouraging more active participation, individualism and confidence from pupils, and having a higher teacher-to-pupil ratio than the Government schools. The language of those in private schools might therefore be expected to correlate with the language of in-power groups most closely.

4.1: **Results of Content Analysis:**

4.1.1: **Time and Talk:**

4.1.1.1: **Amount of Time taken in talking:**

Each informant's verbal contribution was divided into the amount of talk devoted to each of the two pictures (the Corot and the Van Eyck) presented to him/her, and a total was arrived at by adding these together. This subdivision was seen as potentially important, as it might reveal distinctive preferences for one or other picture by some groups. Timing was recorded in seconds, and the results were as follows:

Code	Corot	Van Eyck	Total
S6	196.1	174.8	370.9
KB6	179.8	207.8	387.6
G6	64.7	131.3	196.0
PB6	99.9	129.0	228.9
D6	80.7	124.9	205.6
KG6	122.4	127.6	250.0
V6	96.6	133.5	230.1
PG6	59.9	79.4	139.3
S9	131.0	155.1	286.1
KB9	93.8	113.0	205.8
G9	256.0	295.8	551.8
PB9	79.3	103.3	182.6
D9	144.7	182.2	326.9
KG9	92.1	147.6	239.7
V9	122.6	117.3	239.9
PG9	92.4	101.6	194.0
Mean:	119.5	145.3	264.7

(See also Appendix I, Table 1, columns 1-3)

From these figures it is evident that the most popular picture for all the pupils, or at least the one about which there was most to say, was the Van Eyck. This in itself I regard as fairly important, for a radical

difference in picture preference between the sexes might have been a complicating factor in interpreting results ultimately. Each group of pupils shows a definite increase in time spent describing the Van Eyck. It is to be remembered that these pictures were described in random order by the informants, as they were instructed to describe either of them first. The figures do not, therefore, reflect a gradual relaxation in informants, as for many the Van Eyck was the picture with which they began.

What is also obvious is that the boys spent a longer time actively speaking than did their female counterparts. The difference between sexes is greater at the Std. 6 level than at the Std. 9 level, but in both cases it exists. The table below relates to scores for total time only:

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	301.21	295.65	2.03 *
All girls	228.19	128.82	
Std. 6 boys	295.9	162.66	2.95 **
Std. 6 girls	206.3	102.77	
Std. 9 boys	306.6	385.1	0.87
Std. 9 girls	250.1	147.19	
All Std. 6	251.05	143.24	0.75
All Std. 9	278.35	292.88	
Single-sex: boys	351.2	389.75	1.53
Single-sex: girls	250.63	142.89	
Coed: boys	251.23	133.85	1.67
Coed: girls	205.75	108.47	
All Coeds	228.49	123.93	2.01 *
All single-sex	300.92	297.81	
Government: boys	289.85	386.99	1.39
Government: girls	200.85	112.31	
Private: boys	312.65	157.59	1.72
Private: girls	255.55	138.13	
All Government	245.33	288.38	1.98 *
All private	284.1	150.85	

See Figure 1 for a graphic representation of these results.

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: Results show a highly consistent pattern in which, without exception, in all groups boys spent more time speaking into the tape recorder than did the girls. Of these comparative scores, the Z-score for differences obtained for all boys versus all girls (2.03 *) and that of Std. 6 boys versus girls (2.95 **) suggest that these results are more than mere coincidence, and the conclusion one must reach is that sex, in this instance, is a highly relevant variable.

AVERAGE TIMES.

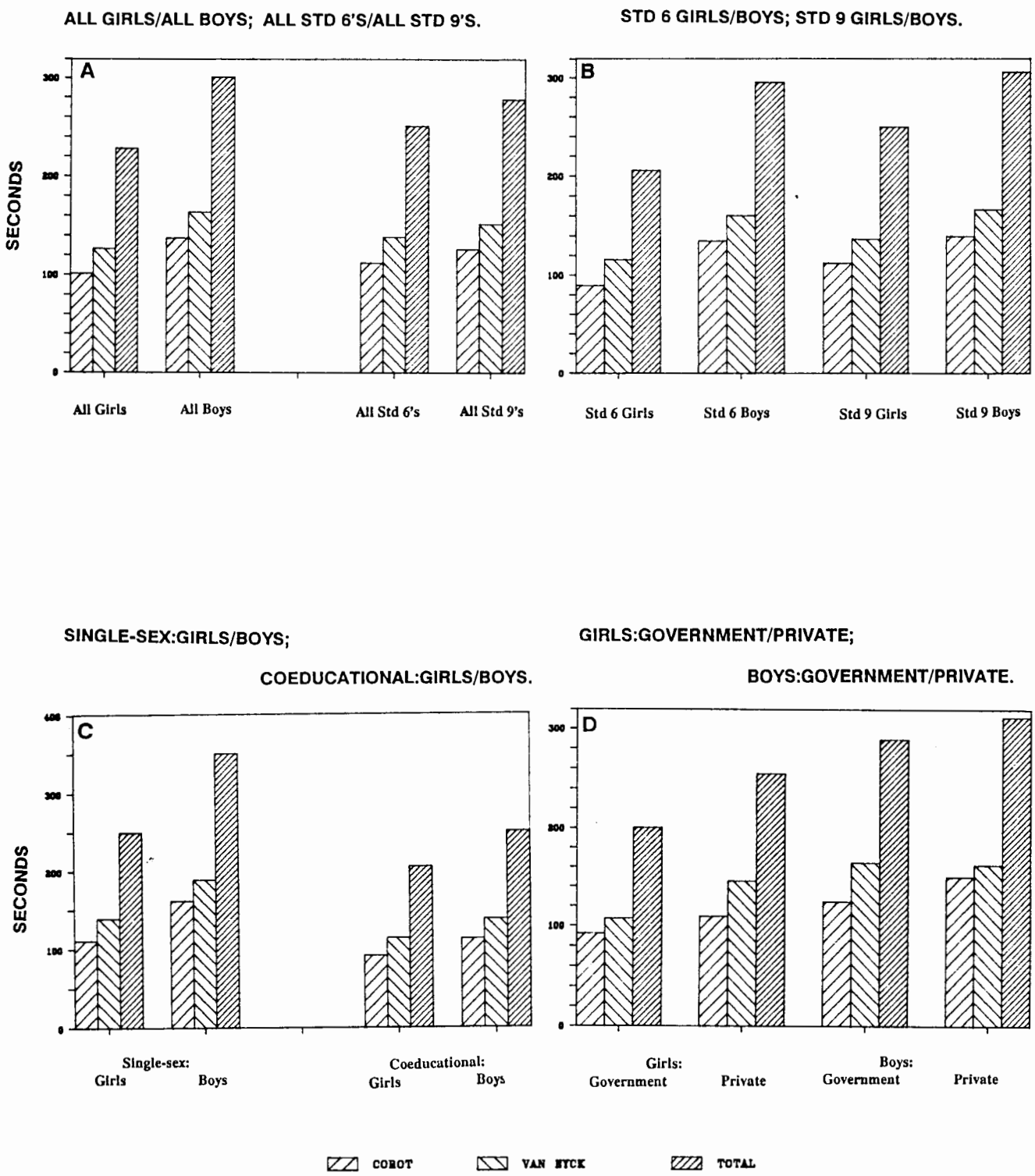

FIGURE 1

Age: Despite a lack of significant differences, scores reveal a tendency for the older informants to speak for longer than the younger informants:

Std. 6 boys	295.9	Std. 9 boys	306.6
Std. 6 girls	206.3	Std. 9 girls	250.1
All Std. 6's	251.1	All Std. 9's	278.3

The high scores obtained by Std. 6 boys should be noted here - despite their youth, they are far more loquacious than Std. 9 girls! Age, it seems, is not the issue at stake here.

School Type: Of importance is the Z-score of 2.01 (*) obtained in testing the significance of the difference obtained when the pupils from coeducational schools (228.49) are compared with pupils from single-sex schools (300.92). One might expect such a result: in view of levels of significance obtained on scores based on sex alone, such trends would presumably be magnified or exaggerated in single-sex schools, where characteristics of each group can develop uninfluenced by the opposite sex. So the significance obtained on this score serves to underline differences observed between sex-based groups.

A Z-score of 1.98 (*) was obtained relating to the difference between the mean for those from private schools (284.1) and that for Government school informants (245.33). Although the difference is not striking, one can apparently rely on it quite heavily, those at private schools definitely talking for longer than the others.

Interpretation: The results seem fairly consistent: boys talk more than girls, and those at private schools also have this tendency. One might be tempted to interpret this as a feature of greater self-confidence, greater relaxation - of being at ease in a situation. Socialisation seems to be at work here: where the education system allows it (private schools) or where society tacitly encourages it and expects it (as in the case of males) verbosity increases. Male verbosity is probably not an inherent "genetic" characteristic, but one artificially created by our education system. Girls at single-sex schools, away from the influence of males (who might otherwise dominate the conversational floor!) have higher scores than girls at coeducational institutions, be they Government or private (250.63 compared to 205.75), and this fact further confirms the hypothesis that verbosity is socialised into respective sex groups, and is not an inherent characteristic at all, but one artificially created by our social and educational system. (cf 2.2.2.1 for a discussion related to this issue.)

4.1.1.2: **Word Totals:**

In order to calculate word totals for each informant, hesitations (*ums* and *ers* etc.) had to be excluded. The columns below for *um/uh* totals and semi-words reflect indices (i.e. percentages) for each group, calculated in terms of the total original number of words uttered by each speaker. Using "bare" totals would give one no basis for comparison, and the information required here is whether one or other group hesitates more in relation to overall speech "volume". Original word totals included incomplete

attempts at words, and "ums" etc., but the figures given below under Total Words reflect the difference between the original count and the sum of all the hesitant attempts at words, which cannot, strictly speaking, be regarded as words.

Code	um/uh	semi-words	total words
S6	2.8	1.0	581.6
KB6	3.2	1.3	665.8
G6	2.7	0.7	297.4
PB6	2.3	0.8	394.0
D6	1.7	0.8	439.9
KG6	3.0	0.7	427.6
V6	1.1	0.5	405.3
PG6	1.7	0.8	242.9
S9	2.0	0.9	460.6
KB9	3.2	0.9	307.1
G9	3.6	0.8	640.4
PB9	3.7	0.7	343.3
D9	1.3	0.8	698.5
KG9	2.2	1.0	422.9
V9	2.2	0.3	456.4
PG9	2.3	0.5	384.4
Means:	2.4	0.7	448.0

(See also Appendix I, Table 1, columns 4 and 13)

Word Totals:

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	461.28	334.24	0.54
All girls	434.74	285.28	
Std. 6 boys	484.70	300.58	1.91
Std. 6 girls	378.90	181.62	
Std. 9 boys	437.90	363.30	0.66
Std. 9 girls	490.60	351.50	
All Std. 6	431.81	253.89	0.66
All Std. 9	464.20	358.42	
Single-sex: boys	495.03	375.55	0.06
Single-sex: girls	500.00	346.48	
Coed: boys	427.55	283.05	1.09
Coed: girls	369.45	184.92	
All Coeds	398.50	240.83	2.04 *
All single-sex	497.51	361.32	
Government: boys	418.78	355.06	0.71
Government: girls	372.25	210.69	
Private: boys	503.78	332.52	0.09
Private: girls	497.22	306.18	
All Government	395.51	292.87	2.17 *
All private	500.50	319.64	

WORD TOTALS.

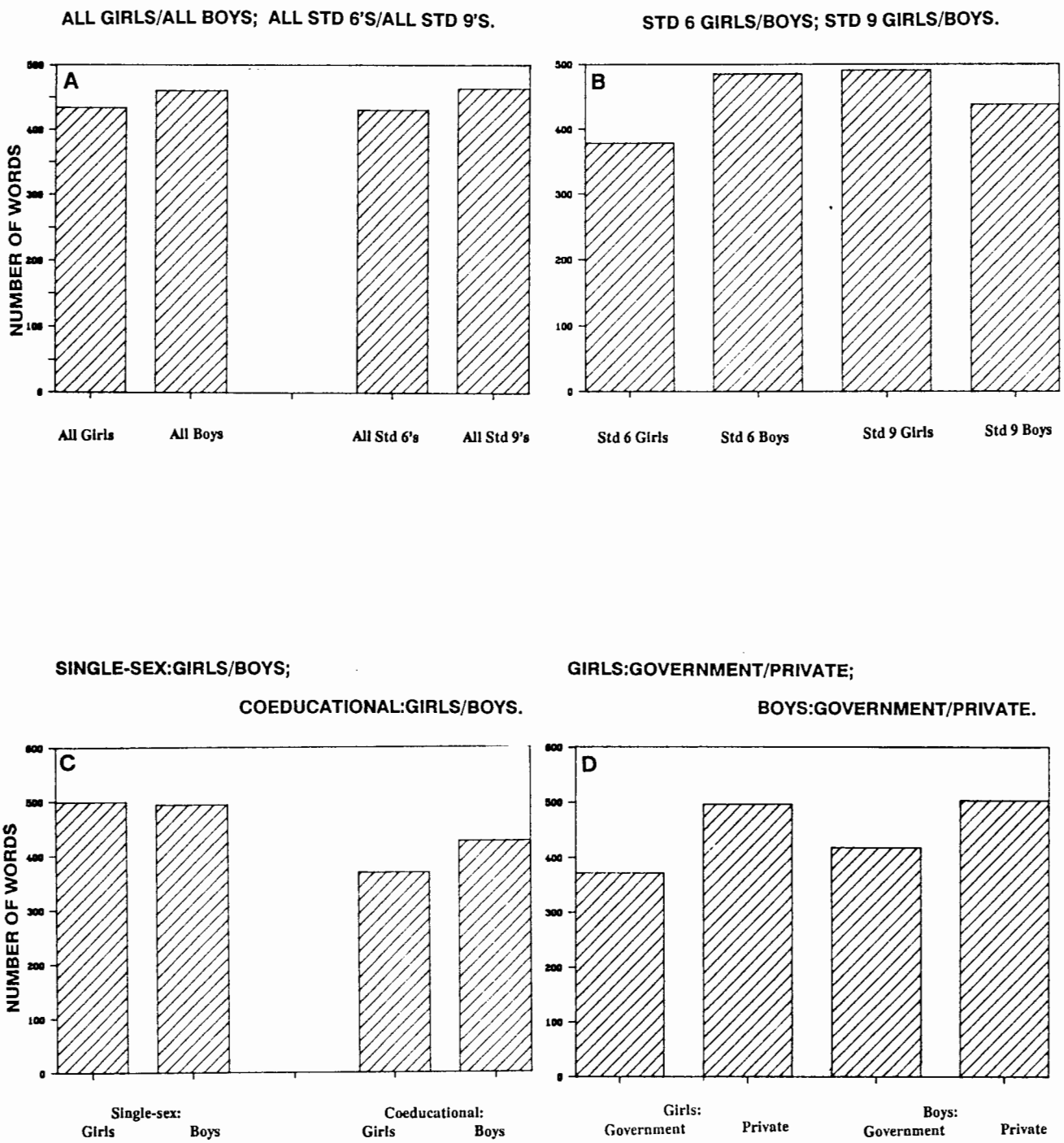

FIGURE 2

See Figure 2 for associated graphs.

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: The boys uttered more words. Although no significance levels of import were obtained, one has to remember that extreme ranges from different informants is a factor militating against obtaining significant scores - standard deviations become large. It is worth noting that with the exception of the Std. 9 boys/girls subdivision, all other sex-based groups yielded a higher score for males.

Age: Age does not appear to be influential, and scores reveal nothing of note.

School Type: Those in single-sex schools used significantly (2.04 *) more words than those at coeducational institutions, as did those at private schools. (2.17 *) It is interesting to note that it is school type rather than sex or age that seems to contribute to significantly different scores, biggest differences being obtained in the single-sex/coeducational subdivision (not unrelated to sex) and the Government/private groups. Differences between means are otherwise small.

Interpretation: It must be remembered that use of many words is not in itself a measure of verbal ability, but only of verbosity, talkativenenss, gregariousness, relaxation and confidence. (Jespersen saw it as symptomatic of the empty mind.) The higher scores obtained by those in single-sex schools is therefore important - here the sexes are not in competition, girls get more "speaking room". Their higher score (495) must be compared with the low female score at coeducational schools (369.45) for one to see that this relates strongly to sex, and socialisation. The score of informants at private schools (500.5) compared with the Government equivalent (395.51) reinforces this same point: the freer atmosphere and higher teacher-pupil ratio at private schools will tend to encourage the same independence and confidence among both sexes, resulting in generally higher "verbosity" scores here. The interpretation one tends to give to male verbosity, on the basis of these results then, is that our schooling system creates this difference, and that it is by no means inherent to any particular sex group.

4.1.1.3: **Rate of Speech:**

Speech rate was measured using a standard two minute extract from each speaker's contribution. The first two minutes were used, and in the few cases where speakers did not speak for that long in toto, calculations were adjusted accordingly. Word totals were reached for the relevant stretch of speech, and divided by 2 to provide a words per minute rate of speech. Results obtained were as follows:

Code	Word Total	W.P.M	Code	Word Total	W.P.M:
S6	230.9	115.5	**S9**	208.9	104.5
KB6	222.7	111.4	**KB9**	202.9	101.5
G6	202.5	101.3	**G9**	210.6	105.3
PB6	202.9	101.5	**PB9**	233.9	117.0
D6	265.7	132.9	**D9**	242.3	121.2
KG6	222.2	111.1	**KG9**	230.7	115.4
V6	237.2	118.6	**V9**	209.6	104.8
PG6	237.2	118.6	**PG9**	244.2	122.1
Means	225.3	112.6			

(See also Appendix I, Table 3, column 1)

Words Per Minute:

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	107.21	21.45	3.05 **
All girls	118.07	23.51	
Std. 6 boys	107.40	21.47	2.82 **
Std. 6 girls	120.30	19.43	
Std. 9 boys	107.00	21.44	1.64
Std. 9 girls	115.90	26.80	
All Std. 6	113.83	21.47	0.65
All Std. 9	111.44	24.66	
Single-sex: boys	106.61	21.58	2.40 *
Single-sex: girls	119.35	25.79	
Coed: boys	107.80	21.31	1.90
Coed: girls	116.79	20.90	
All Coeds	112.29	24.61	0.19
All single-sex	112.98	21.58	
Government: boys	106.24	19.11	1.94
Government: girls	116.03	25.51	
Private: boys	108.18	23.53	2.39 *
Private: girls	120.11	21.13	
All Government	111.33	23.06	0.82
All private	114.14	23.14	

The graphs (Figure 3) reflect a generally more rapid speech rate by girls in every case, with increasing age having the effect of reducing the rate slightly as well.

SPEECH RATE.

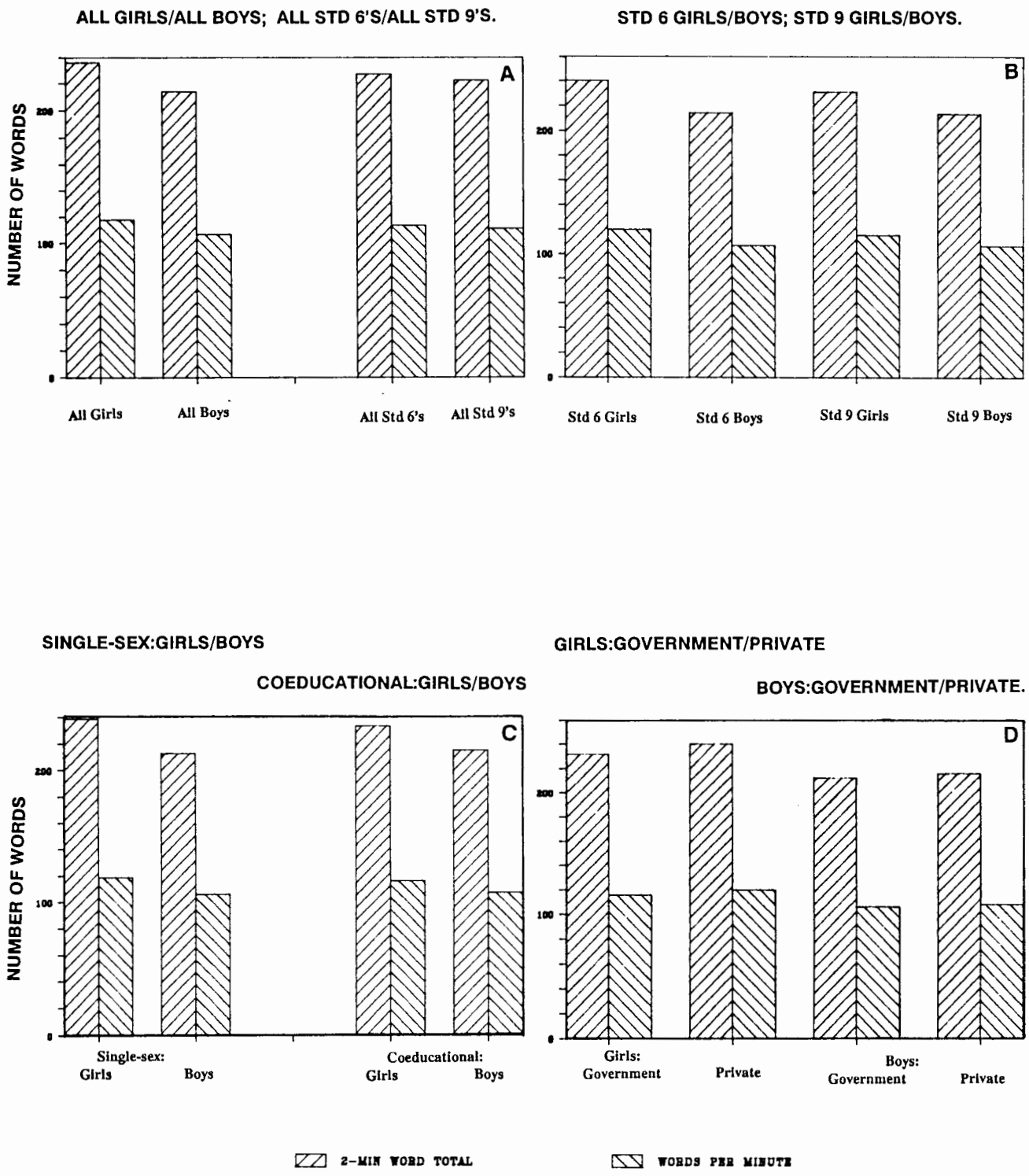

FIGURE 3

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: Results indicate that girls, without any doubt, speak more rapidly than boys. A Z-score of 3.05 (***) comparing all girls and boys, of 2.82 (**) comparing girls and boys in Std. 6, of 1.64 comparing those in Std. 9 of 2.40 (*) comparing boys and girls in single-sex schools, 1.9 in coeducational schools, of 1.94 in Government, and 2.39 (*) in private schools all add up to a resounding indication that this feature is more than a mere stereotype.

Age: This variable does not seem to have much of an effect at all, apart from a very slight and non-significant tendency for the younger ones to be slightly faster.

Std. 6 boys	107.4	Std. 9 boys	107
Std. 6 girls	120.3	Std. 9 girls	115.9
All Std. 6's	113.83	All Std. 9's	111.44

A potentially interesting trend to watch is whether the behaviour (linguistically) of females in general tends in some measure to match up with the behaviour of the younger members of the group.

School Type: Apart from reinforcing the sex-distinctions noted above, no significant differences are obtained when comparing Government school and private school informants, or when comparing those from coeducational or single-sex schools.

Interpretation: One again has two choices here:

a.) girls are linguistically more fluent and versatile, able to plan more quickly.
b.) girls, under pressure, feel more hurried than boys, and thereby display a general lack of self confidence.

The fact that younger informants generally displayed a higher w.p.m rate than the older would tend to suggest (b.) as the more likely interpretation, Std. 6's presumably not being linguistically more mature or versatile than Std. 9's. The causes once again can only be speculated on, but an educational system in which boys generally attract more time (Coates (1986) and Delamont (1980), see Chapter 1.3.4 and 1.3.8) suggests that socialisation is the causative factor.

4.1.1.4: **Pauses:**

4.1.1.1 revealed that males talked for longer than females; 4.1.1.2 reports generally higher word totals; 4.1.1.3 showed a slower rate of speech in general among the males. In the face of these results, one's logical expectations about the outcome of this section regarding pauses would be that males, taking longer to say what they say, must therefore pause more *en route*.

Every pause of one second, during speech was marked as such in each transcript. A full word count was made and final analysis revealed the following totals: (Indices reflect the pauses in relation to the total time spoken in each case.)

Code	Pauses	Index	Code	Pauses	Index
S6	135.8	33.2	**S9**	92.8	32.0
KB6	73.4	18.7	**KB9**	61.7	31.4
G6	53.9	21.9	**G9**	40.7	14.4
PB6	34.8	15.8	**PB9**	13.2	7.5
D6	34.0	14.7	**D9**	45.8	15.5
KG6	43.0	16.4	**KG9**	53.7	19.5
V6	38.2	11.8	**V9**	29.3	12.8
PG6	17.1	13.2	**PG9**	18.3	10.1
Means:	49.1	18.1			

(See also Appendix I, Table 1, columns 5-6)

Of the two columns shown above, the indices are the more revealing, as actual pause totals will rely heavily on the total amount of time used for speaking. The ratio, calculated by dividing pause total by time total and multiplying by one hundred, reduces all scores to the same basis, making comparisons between scores more meaningful. The scores below relate to the indexical values only:

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	21.85	16.80	3.50 ***
All girls	14.25	9.35	
Std. 6 boys	22.40	14.28	3.19 **
Std. 6 girls	14.00	8.52	
Std. 9 boys	21.30	18.96	2.00 *
Std. 9 girls	14.50	10.10	
All Std. 6	18.21	12.48	0.14 *
All Std. 9	17.90	15.57	
Single-sex: boys	25.36	16.25	4.05 ***
Single-sex: girls	13.69	8.30	
Coed: boys	18.34	16.60	1.14
Coed: girls	14.82	10.26	
All Coeds	16.58	13.91	1.32
All single-sex	19.52	14.16	
Government: boys	14.87	12.87	1.42
Government: girls	11.98	9.20	
Private: boys	28.83	17.36	3.98 ***
Private: girls	16.52	8.93	
All Government	13.43	11.28	4.39 ***
All private	22.68	15.11	

Discussion of findings:

Sex: Sex seems again to be the deciding factor here. Apart from the fact that male scores are all above the average and female scores below, a Z-score of 3.54 (***) gives a very high level of significance to the differences between the means for boys and girls respectively, and 4.05 (***), the score for single-sex versus coeducational school boys and girls reinforces strongly the hypothesis that there is a very real difference between boys' and girls' speech with respect to pauses: boys pause more!

Respectable significance levels are repeated when sexes are compared within the Government/private subdivision, (3.98 ***) and the separate standards as well, giving further confirmation to this hypothesis - consistently, across the board, boys are pausing more than girls.

Age: Although only a fairly low level of significance (0.14) can be attached to differences found on the basis of age, the trend is repeated in the separate analyses of informants in standards, and appears to be a fairly reliable one: the general pause level drops with an increase in age, as is evident in the scores below, repeated for the sake of convenience:

Std. 6 boys	22.4	Std. 9 boys	21.3
Std. 6 girls	14.0	Std. 9 girls	14.5
All Std. 6's	18.2	All Std. 9's	17.9

School Type: The coeducational/single-sex subdivision does not yield any striking differences, but differences in means between informants from Government versus private schools yields a Z-score of 4.39 (***), those from private schools having the higher pause scores. Clearly scores based on sex distinctions outweigh this aspect in importance, but it will be interpreted below.

Interpretation: Pausing has conventionally been associated with girls - the hesitant, unsure, reticent ones. However, pausing may indicate one of several things, among these:

a.) pauses allow planning time in spontaneous discourse; one might be tempted to take this one step further and say that those who pause a lot might perhaps be slower thinkers or less efficient planners. (See Jespersen (1922).)

b.) pauses are an indication of self-assuredness and unhurried composure, indicating confidence and absence of tension and haste.

The generally higher pause levels of all younger informants tempts one to associate their pause levels with (a), and with a lower level of linguistic maturity, a greater word-finding difficulty etc. But the consistently higher levels of pauses among males across the board is more suggestive of (b), and is reinforced by the level of significance obtained in the private/Government distinction, for one might expect such higher confidence levels from pupils who attend private schools, where such individualism is

PAUSES.

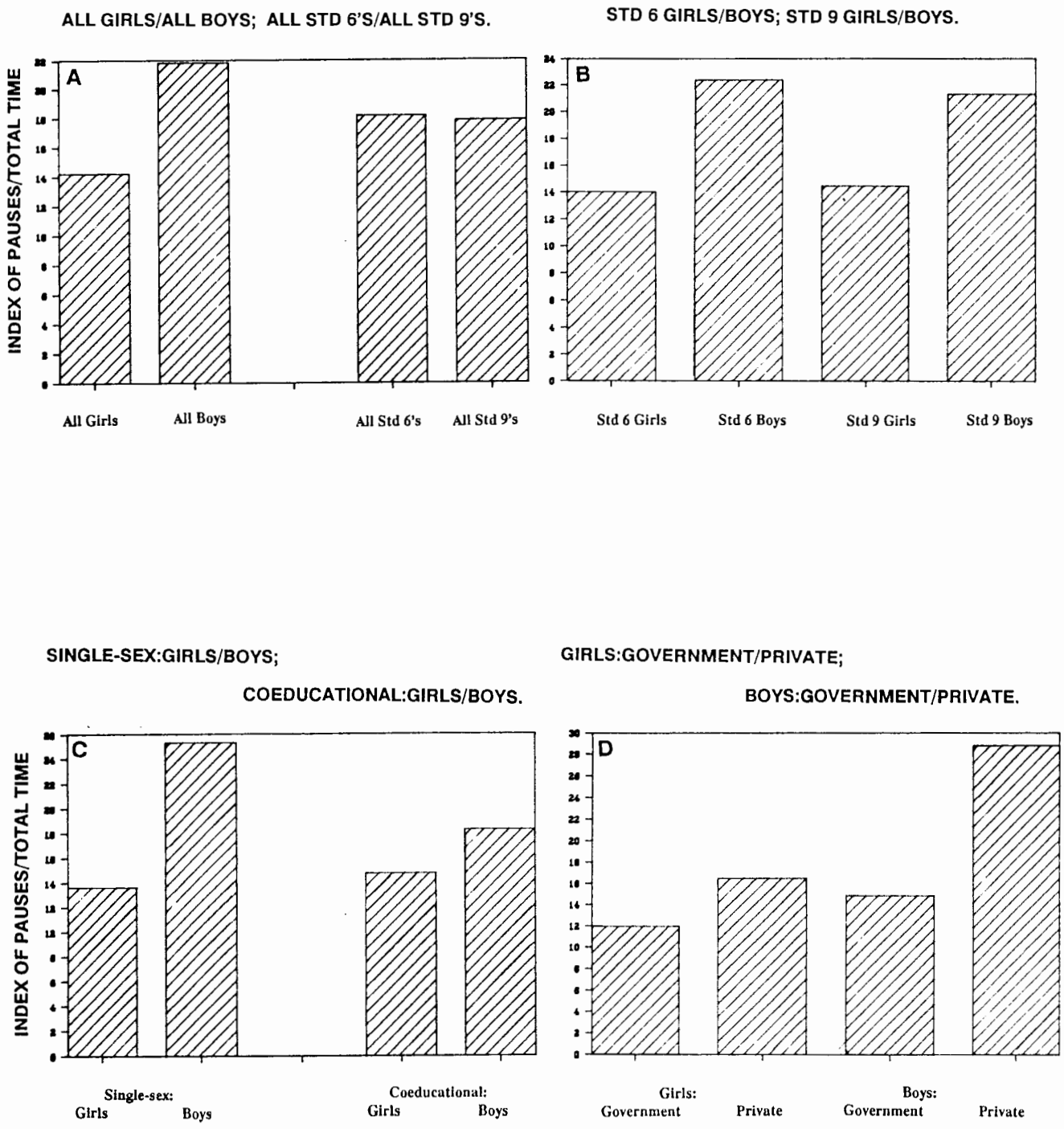

FIGURE 4

consciously nurtured. Reasons for this phenomenon can only be offered tentatively - are boys conforming to peer pressure? Is it a matter of socialisation? One would need a careful analysis of pause phenomena among adult males before one could reach any definite conclusions.

The graphs in Figure 4 illustrate the points made above pictorially.

4.1.1.5: **General Comments:**

Despite the risk of redundancy involved in incorporating all of the analyses (4.1.1.1-4) above, they do serve an important function: by proving to be mutually interrelated, it is hoped that they lend greater credibility to the results obtained thus far.

Generally then, in this section on time and words, the males have proved to behave very differently from the females, and a fairly high degree of reliance can be placed on these differences, in view of the Z-scores obtained. The stereotype of loquacious females, who never stop talking, is not upheld, and the opposite is in fact revealed: we have discovered that boys talk more, take longer doing so, pausing more en route, seem to feel unhurried in comparison with girls, and actually produce more words as well. No attempt will be made here to relate this to being better or worse - it is the difference that is noteworthy. The fact that girls talk more rapidly clashes noticeably too with the stereotype of the hesitant female, at a loss for words: it is the male, if anyone, who might be misconstrued to be the hesitant one!

4.1.2: **Disfluency Measurements:**

Disfluency manifests itself in several ways, and the following measurements were recorded:

occurrence of *um/uh/er*
semi-words (e.g. *ta- table*)
repetitions of whole words/phrases
maze phenomena (unfinished sentences)
automatisms/fillers (*sort of/like*)

Final totals for each informant were reduced to indices in relation to word totals, so that comparisons could be made between groups. The tables below reflect the relevant indexical means.

Code:	um/uh	semi-words	repetitions	mazes	fillers
S6	2.8	1.0	2.0	1.7	2.0
KB6	3.2	1.3	3.4	1.5	1.9
G6	2.7	0.7	1.4	1.9	2.1
PB6	2.3	0.8	2.1	1.8	1.9
D6	1.7	0.8	1.9	1.6	2.4
KG6	3.0	0.7	2.1	1.8	3.3
V6	1.1	0.5	1.1	1.1	2.5
PG6	1.7	0.8	1.4	1.6	2.8
S9	2.0	0.9	1.9	1.0	1.4
KB9	3.2	0.9	2.2	1.0	1.1
G9	3.6	0.8	1.8	1.4	2.9
PB9	3.7	0.7	1.1	2.0	1.9
D9	1.3	0.8	1.3	1.3	1.5
KG9	2.2	1.0	2.3	1.2	2.0
V9	2.2	0.3	1.3	1.0	2.1
PG9	2.3	0.5	1.3	1.9	2.6
Means:	2.4	0.8	1.8	1.5	2.1

The graphs under Figure 5 show the results in summary form, but each variable will be examined separately below. The scores below reflect combined indexical scores for *um/uh* plus semi-words for each group:

4.1.2.1: **Hesitations:**

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	3.81	2.72	3.23 **
All girls	2.61	1.91	
Std. 6 boys	3.70	2.66	2.17 *
Std. 6 girls	2.57	1.91	
Std. 9 boys	3.93	2.77	2.4 *
Std. 9 girls	2.65	1.92	
All Std. 6	3.14	2.38	0.39
All Std. 9	3.29	2.47	
Single-sex: boys	3.63	2.65	2.97 **
Single-sex: girls	2.15	1.69	
Coed: boys	4.00	2.77	1.71
Coed: girls	3.08	2.02	
All Coeds	3.54	2.47	1.71
All single-sex	2.89	2.34	
Government: boys	3.83	2.86	2.69 *
Government: girls	2.35	1.99	
Private: boys	3.80	2.57	1.88
Private: girls	2.87	1.80	
All Government	3.06	2.57	0.71
All private	3.33	2.27	

DISFLUENCY MEASUREMENTS.

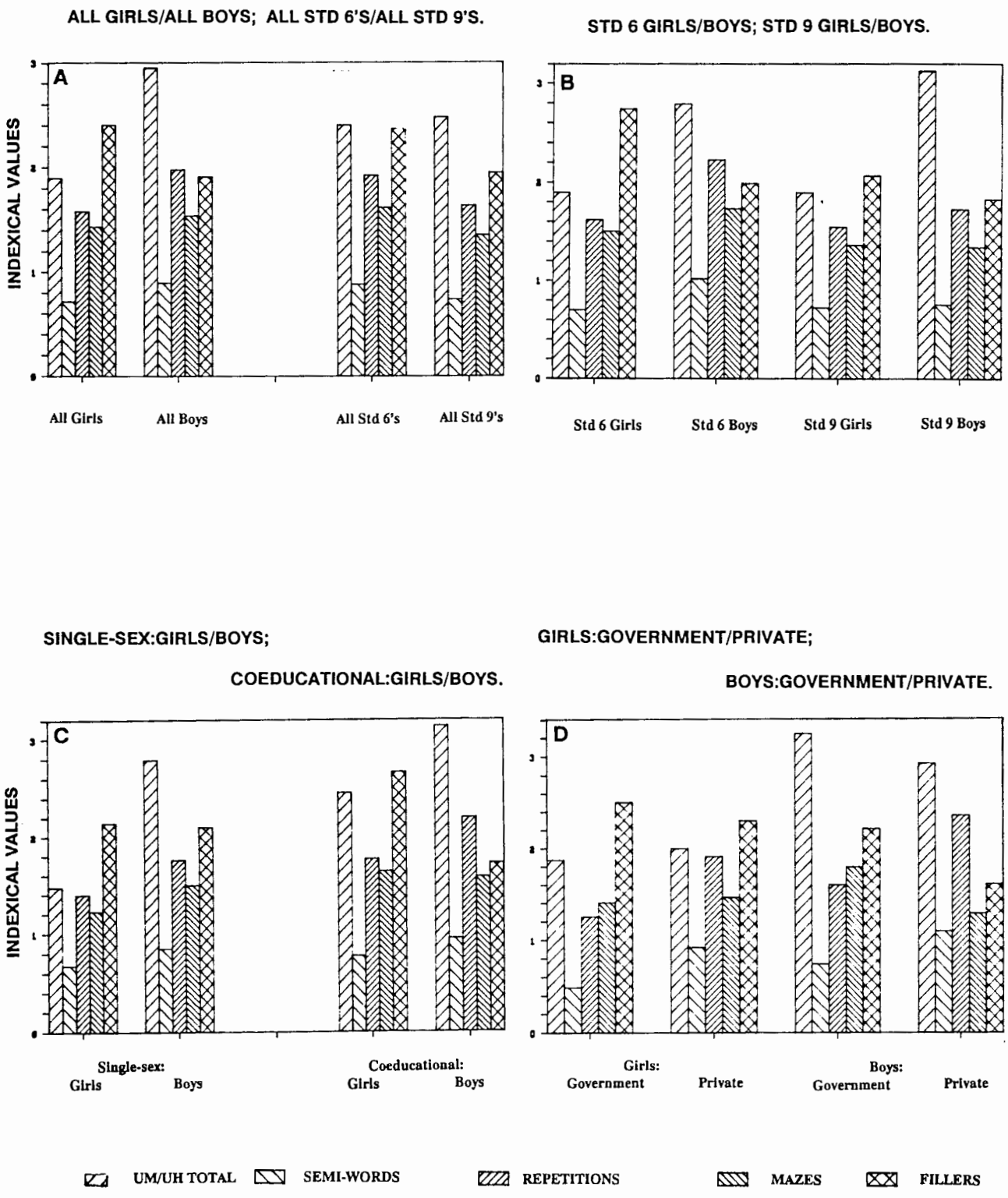

FIGURE 5

(See also Appendix I, Table 1, columns 7-12)

The bar graphs (Figure 6) show *um/uh* scores and semi-words together with pauses (analysed 4.1.1.4) in order to illustrate the correlation.

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: This appears to be a factor of considerable importance, as results indicate consistently that males hesitate more than females. A highly significant score of 3.23 (**) when comparing all boys with all girls, and 2.97 (**) in comparing girls and boys at single-sex schools, complemented by significance levels of 2.17 (*) and 2.4 (*) for Std. 6 boys and girls and Std. 9 boys and girls respectively is a strong indication that here is a very real difference between male and female adolescent formal speech. Similarly high (though not significant) scores were obtained in the Government, private and coeducational girls/boy sections, all confirming this hypothesis that sex is a significant variable, and that males hesitate more -a surprising result, in view of the stereotype which maintains the opposite!

Age: Scores show a consistent, though non-significant increase of hesitations with age:

Std. 6 boys	3.7	Std. 9 boys	3.93
Std. 6 girls	2.57	Std. 9 girls	2.65
All Std. 6's	3.14	All Std. 9's	3.29

School Type: The tables reveal nothing of interest in this area.

Interpretation: One generally tends to associate *ums, uhs* and false starts with linguistic incompetence, but this hypothesis is negated by the general increase in these linguistic "hesitation" phenomena with age - one would expect them to decrease with maturity. Clearly then this feature results from socialisation, and boys do it because they are expected to do it, or socialised into doing it. The departure from the traditional stereotype here is both surprising and interesting.

4.1.2.2: **Repetitions:**

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	1.98	1.86	1.50
All girls	1.59	1.38	
Std. 6 boys	2.20	2.26	1.52
Std. 6 girls	1.60	1.08	
Std. 9 boys	1.70	1.31	0.61
Std. 9 girls	1.50	1.63	
All Std. 6	1.93	1.80	1.12
All Std. 9	1.64	1.48	
Single-sex: boys	1.77	1.25	1.28
Single-sex: girls	1.40	1.34	
Coed: boys	2.20	2.30	1.01
Coed: girls	1.77	1.40	
All Coeds	1.99	1.91	1.58
All single-sex	1.58	1.31	
Government: boys	1.60	1.35	1.07
Government: girls	1.26	1.48	
Private: boys	2.36	2.19	1.12
Private: girls	1.92	1.18	
All Government	1.43	1.43	2.78 **
All private	2.14	1.78	

(See also Appendix I, Table 2, columns 8-9)

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: Consistently, without exception, boys repeated words and phrases more than girls. No real significance can be attached to any one score, but it must be remembered that each is an index of an originally small number, so resultant totals are very small. What is interesting is the strong trend, parallel to that in the section above, in which boys are hesitating consistently more than girls.

Age: In contrast with the trend noted under "Age" above, the reverse trend operates here: repetitions decrease commensurately and consistently with an increase in age, though no notable significance can be attached to this trend either.

Std. 6 boys	2.2	Std. 9 boys	1.7
Std. 6 girls	1.6	Std. 9 girls	1.5
All Std. 6's	1.93	All Std. 9's	1.64

School Type:	All Coed	1.99	All S-S	1.58
	All Govt	1.43	All Priv	2.14 (2.78 **)

The significance attached to the higher score obtained in private schools is somewhat of a puzzle; perhaps repetitions are parallel to pauses in their function of slowing the pace of speech, holding the floor for longer? In which case those at private schools would naturally use this device more. The correlation between private school and male scores generally, would suggest that use of repetitions relates in some way to relaxation rather than uncertainty.

4.1.2.3: **Mazes:**

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	1.54	1.06	0.69
All girls	1.44	0.72	
Std. 6 boys	1.70	0.90	1.13
Std. 6 girls	1.50	0.66	
Std. 9 boys	1.40	1.17	0
Std. 9 girls	1.40	0.77	
All Std. 6	1.62	0.80	1.82
All Std. 9	1.40	0.99	
Single-sex: boys	1.50	0.96	1.43
Single-sex: girls	1.23	0.71	
Coed: boys	1.58	1.16	0.33
Coed: girls	1.65	0.68	
All Coeds	1.62	0.95	1.75
All single-sex	1.37	0.86	
Government: boys	1.77	1.20	2.01 *
Government: girls	1.41	0.75	
Private: boys	1.29	0.83	1.05
Private: girls	1.47	0.69	
All Government	1.60	1.02	1.54
All private	1.38	0.77	

(See also Appendix I, Table 2, columns 10-11)

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: Differences are small in this area, and only significant in the Government school boys/girls subdivision, the boys having a higher score than the girls. This tendency for more language mazes from the male informants has as exception those in private and coeducational schools, and one is therefore inclined to regard this difference as being of minimal importance, although it contrasts noticeably with the stereotypes mentioned in Chapter 1 of women who never finish their sentences.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	1.7	Std. 9 boys	1.4
	Std. 6 girls	1.5	Std. 9 girls	1.4
	All Std. 6's	1.62	All Std. 9's	1.4

A clear trend emerges, though once again not a very reliable one, on the basis of the Z-scores obtained: the older the informant, the lower the likelihood of language mazes in his/her speech.

School Type: No significant differences were discovered, apart from the magnification of the fact that girls tend, as a group, to have fewer language mazes in single-sex schools: compare a score of 1.23 for girls in single-sex schools with 1.65 for girls at coeducational schools).

Implications: A lower score for those at private schools combined with lower levels for older pupils generally tempts one to associate a low level of language mazes with linguistic ability. The implication, though not reliable, is that girls are less disfluent than boys.

4.1.2.4: **Fillers:**

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	1.92	1.59	1.93
All girls	2.41	1.63	
Std. 6 boys	2.00	1.41	1.90
Std. 6 girls	2.70	1.85	
Std. 9 boys	1.80	1.76	0.87
Std. 9 girls	2.10	1.27	
All Std. 6	2.37	1.69	1.65
All Std. 9	1.95	1.54	
Single-sex: boys	2.11	1.81	0.11
Single-sex: girls	2.15	1.34	
Coed: boys	1.73	1.31	2.64 **
Coed: girls	2.67	1.83	
All Coeds	2.20	1.66	0.27
All single-sex	2.13	1.59	
Government: boys	2.22	1.79	0.77
Government: girls	2.51	1.57	
Private: boys	1.61	1.67	2.09 *
Private: girls	2.31	1.30	
All Government	2.37	1.69	1.65
All private	1.96	1.54	

(See also Appendix I, Table 2, columns 1-5)

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: In this category scores for boys were consistently **lower** than girls' scores, with a significance of 2.64 (**) obtained in the coeducational boys/girls split, and 2.09 (*) in the private boys/girls group. The trend is a strong one - one can place reliance on it.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	2.0	Std. 9 boys	1.8
	Std. 6 girls	2.7	Std. 9 girls	2.1
	All Std. 6's	2.37	All Std. 9's	1.95

There is a noticeable (though non-significant) decrease of "fillers" commensurate with an increase in age. Here we find the expected stereotype is fulfilled, and girls or the young are behaving alike.

School Type: Scores in this area are fairly close, differences not significant.

Implications: Clearly this is a sex-associated feature, which one might be tempted to associate with linguistic ability, in view of prevalent stereotypes in this area. However it is to be remembered that boys paused more, in relation to girls: it appears that the girls are simply filling those potential pauses to avoid the uncomfortable silences which make them feel more uneasy. The use of fillers disguises time-wasting while *um* highlights it; less confident speakers would tend therefore to use more fillers, the more confident ones would simply pause or say *um*. In other words a high filler score can, I suggest, be equated with a low confidence level, rather than with linguistic deficit of any kind.

4.1.2.5: **General Comments:**

On the whole boys hesitated more, repeated more and had higher language maze-scores than girls, while girls used more fillers. The first three aspects above can, I contend, be regarded as more indicative of genuine disfluency than the last, which one might rather regard as a pause-avoidance technique, actually adding to the fluency of speech rather than detracting from it. So the stereotype is once again refuted, except that there does seem to be some truth in the view that male and female speech is different: the differences are just the opposite to those traditionally associated with each sex, and it is the male adolescent, not the female, who turns out in this study to be the more linguistically disfluent. There are three possibilities:

a.) such apparent disfluency is a cultivated characteristic, socialised into male speech, by peer pressure among other things

HESITATION PHENOMENA.

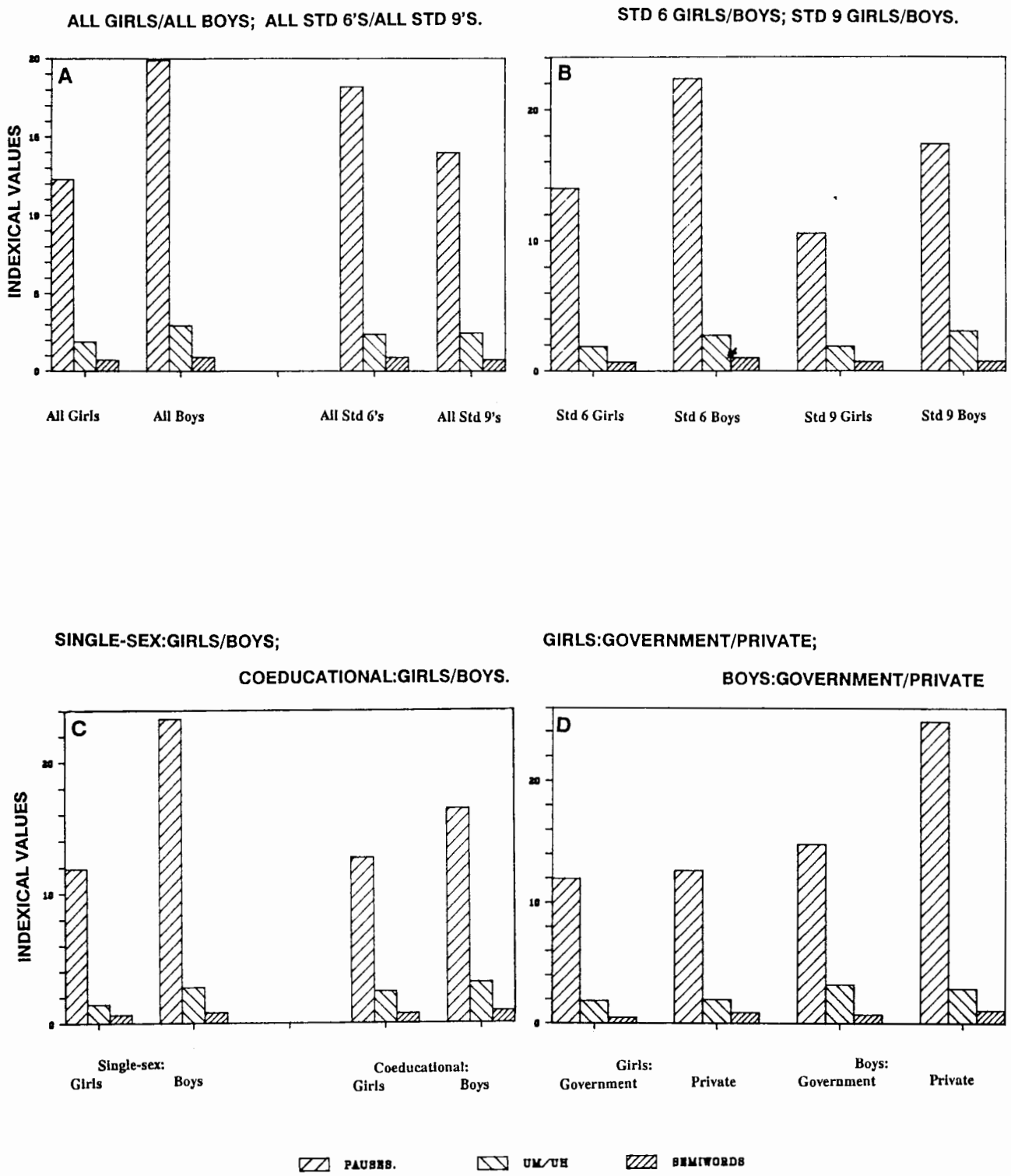

FIGURE 6

b.) these aspects, instead of being perceived as evidence of disfluency, all add up to an image of being "laid back" and suitably casual.

c.) it is evidence of slightly lower levels of linguistic ability generally, indicative of a slower rate of verbal planning and articulation. This conclusion is not reinforced by analysis of informants' responses in terms of age, as higher scores do not match up consistently with younger informants.

When one weighs up the trends mentioned above in conjunction with the results from 4.1.1, one is tempted to select (a) and (b) in preference to (c)

Evidently scores for disfluency in boys exceed those for girls, both at the Std 6 and 9 level; from the graph which reflects the scores of all girls/versus all boys and all 6's versus all 9's, (Figures 5A and 6A) these two variables are distinguished from each other and sex seems to outweigh age in the significance of its effect on disfluency.

Although only very few Z-scores of significance were obtained, it is to be remembered that these categories are concerned with very low scores, each of which becomes even smaller on being changed into an index. The option of combining all sub-scores into a "grand disfluency" total does not seem justified in this instance, despite the fact that more impressive significance values might emerge. It is seen as more advisable at this point to allow the figures and graphs to speak for themselves in terms of the differences found. (See Figure 6)

4.1.3: **Measures of Structural Complexity:**

At this point it may be useful to recapitulate the aspects of transcription chosen as relevant to syntactic complexity:

a.) Type token ratio. (See 4.1.3.1 below)
b.) Clause types. (See 4.1.3.2 below)
c.) Non-standard utterances and language mazes. (See 4.1.3.3 below)
d.) Hesitations/repetitions. (A review.)

4.1.3.1: **Unique words/single usage:**

The reader can refer at this point to section 4.1.1.2, which presents, in summary form, results of complete word counts for all informants. One cannot conclude from a high overall word count that these words are those of a linguistically competent speaker: verbosity, as most of us know from bitter experience, is no reflection of ability. It was thus decided not to take word counts into account when

making a measure of degree of syntactic complexity.

As only samples of the same size can be meaningfully compared, (as the ratio varies inversely with the size of the sample,) a standard sample of the first 200 words uttered by informants was used as a basis for analysis. The number of unique words used by each candidate, (i.e. the type token ratio) and the number of occurrences of single usage of a word (i.e. those words that were only used once by the informant) were calculated, with the word-processing programme **WORD** doing the counting. (See appendix F). These counts would give some idea of the variability in the communicator's working vocabulary. It is worth commenting at this stage that there is an acknowledged difference between the active and the passive vocabulary of any speaker. The pictures under discussion naturally limited the vocabulary likely to be used by the informants, but it was limited in the same way for all speakers, and so it was felt that measurements of vocabulary elicited in this way could viably be compared from speaker to speaker. Scores obtained are given below:

Code	Unique words	Single usage
S6	96.5	63.2
KB6	90.9	57.1
G6	87.9	54.1
PB6	95.4	62.3
D6	83.8	49.0
KG6	95.1	61.9
V6	92.8	58.4
PG6	81.8	44.0
S9	98.3	64.9
KB9	96.4	61.5
G9	100.9	59.7
PB9	92.0	54.2
D9	100.3	65.3
KG9	99.5	66.2
V9	98.1	62.9
PG9	93.7	57.3
Averages:	94.0	58.9

(See also Appendix I, Table 3, columns 2-3)

As the ratios for both scores show parallel trends (see Figure 7 for visual evidence), only results for "unique words" will be presented:

VOCABULARY.

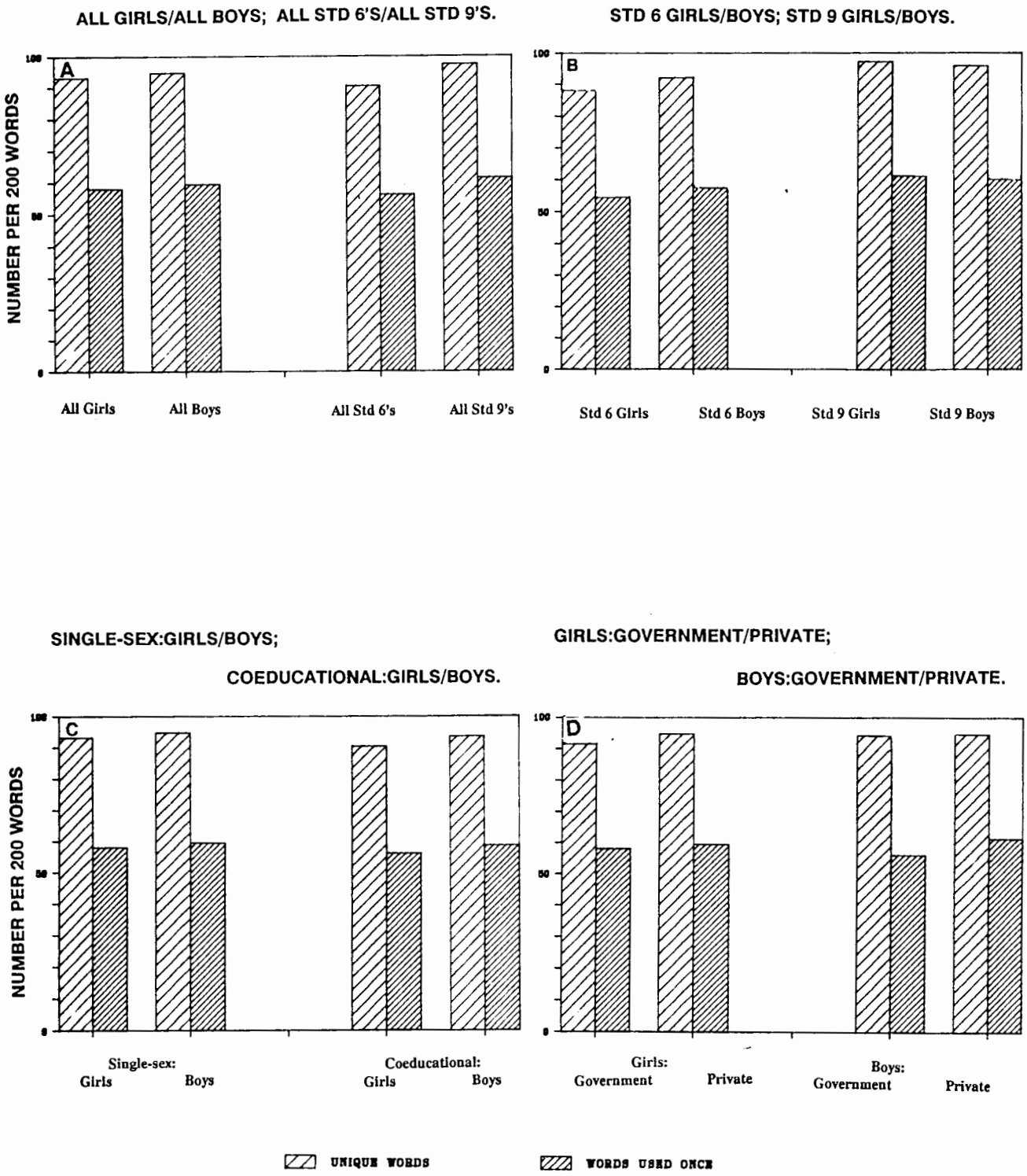

FIGURE 7

Unique Words:

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	94.79	13.20	0.75
All girls	93.14	12.36	
Std. 6 boys	92.70	13.87	1.53
Std. 6 girls	88.40	11.02	
Std. 9 boys	96.90	12.13	0.37
Std. 9 girls	97.90	11.77	
All Std. 6	90.53	12.71	3.52 ***
All Std. 9	97.40	11.96	
Single-sex: boys	95.90	13.88	0.78
Single-sex: girls	93.75	10.58	
Coed: boys	93.68	12.38	0.39
Coed: girls	92.53	13.88	
All Coeds	93.10	12.39	0.86
All Single-sex	94.83	13.17	
Government: boys	94.05	13.74	0.81
Government: girls	91.60	13.34	
Private: boys	94.68	12.60	0.32
Private: girls	95.53	11.08	
All Government	92.83	13.59	1.13
All Private	95.10	11.87	

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: In this case sex does not appear to have any consistent relationship to results obtained: on some occasions boys have higher scores (definitely associated with more diverse vocabularies) than girls, and on others the girls have higher scores. Differences between the groups are never very high, and on no occasion is any significant Z-score obtained. One's sex does not appear to have much to do with the level of development of one's active vocabulary.

Age: A high degree of reliance (Z-score 3.52 ***) can be attached to the different score obtained by informants in Std. 6 (90.53) and those in Std. 9 (97.4). Clearly vocabulary develops commensurately with age - giving gratifying confirmation to one's natural intuitions on this count.

School Type: No important differences emerge from analysing informants in the coeducational/single-sex subdivisions, but it is interesting to note the fairly high (though not significant) Z-score (1.13) obtained when comparing the Government (92.83) and private (95.1) results: the possible link between this score and more privileged social and educational background is not surprising.

Interpretation: These results confirm one's expectations that a general improvement of vocabulary would accompany an increase in age. If sex of speaker had had a noticeable influence, one would have been forced to associate a judgement of superiority or inferiority with each sex, rather than a mere difference. Fortunately this is obviated.

4.1.3.2: **Clause Analysis:**

The reader is referred to section 3.5.3.3 for a justification for viewing hypotaxis (as opposed to parataxis) as evidence of syntactic ability in this context. Once again the same sized sample was used from each informant for comparison, 200 words being used, as in the case above. A high count for subordinate clauses in relation to the total number of clauses used, (e.g. if 13 out of 18 clauses were subordinate) or a low total (e.g. a total of 16 clauses in a 200 word sample) were each regarded as indicative of superior linguistic ability. So the clause total and the ratio of subordinate clauses to that total were both potentially interesting, from a syntactic point of view.

Code	(MC)	(SAC)	(SADVC)	(SNC)	SUBS	TOTAL	RATIO
S6	20.4	2.5	0.5	1.0	4.0	24.4	16.1
KB6	21.4	1.6	0.4	1.2	3.2	24.6	12.7
G6	21.1	2.4	0.5	2.0	4.9	26.0	18.3
PB6	20.9	1.9	0.4	1.5	3.8	24.7	14.8
D6	17.7	2.5	0.7	1.2	4.4	22.1	19.6
KG6	21.5	1.6	0.4	1.3	3.3	24.8	12.9
V6	22.6	2.1	0.2	1.3	3.6	26.2	13.2
PG6	20.9	2.4	0.2	2.8	5.4	26.3	19.4
S9	19.5	1.9	0.6	0.8	3.3	22.8	14.8
KB9	21.0	1.5	0.7	1.6	3.8	24.8	15.3
G9	21.5	1.1	0.3	2.0	3.4	24.9	16.1
PB9	18.8	1.6	0.5	1.9	4.0	22.8	21.9
D9	19.6	1.7	0.6	1.8	4.1	23.7	17.9
KG9	19.0	1.6	0.8	2.0	4.4	23.4	16.8
V9	19.3	1.8	1.5	1.6	4.9	24.2	27.2
PG9	22.0	2.0	0.5	2.3	4.8	26.8	22.2
Averages:	20.5	1.9	0.6	1.6	4.1	24.5	17.4

(See also Appendix I, Table 3, columns 4-10.)

The following table reflects only the indices of subordinate clauses in relation to main clauses:

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	16.24	9.38	1.49
All girls	18.65	11.02	
Std. 6 boys	15.50	8.33	0.37
Std. 6 girls	16.30	10.94	
Std. 9 boys	17.00	10.32	1.67
Std. 9 girls	21.00	11.07	
All Std. 6	15.87	9.73	1.94
All Std. 9	19.02	10.80	
Single-sex: boys	16.32	8.75	1.36
Single-sex: girls	19.45	11.48	
Coed: boys	16.17	9.97	0.73
Coed: girls	17.85	10.54	
All Coeds	17.01	10.25	0.54
All Single-sex	17.89	10.29	
Government: boys	17.77	9.49	1.16
Government: girls	20.51	11.53	
Private: boys	14.72	9.26	0.94
Private: girls	16.79	10.50	
All Government	19.14	10.59	2.09 *
All Private	15.75	9.95	

All clause types were counted, and the graphs (Figures 8 and 9) display this information. In view of the very low scores obtained in each clause type, and the low potential for deriving anything useful from a careful discussion of each clause type (would it really be important to know that males use more noun clauses?) the following discussion will be concerned with the ratio of subordinate to main clauses only: a high score reveals greater syntactic complexity, longer sentences, and more subordination.

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: Although no significance can be attached to scores obtained in this subsection, in view of the fairly low Z-scores obtained, it is important to note that, without exception there is a consistent trend for females in all sex-based subdivisions to achieve higher scores than males and in some cases Z-scores obtained come close to the level required for significance. Once again the scores obtained by girls in single-sex schools (19.45) is higher than that obtained by girls in coeducational schools (17.85), magnifying this tendency where no male group is present.

CLAUSES.

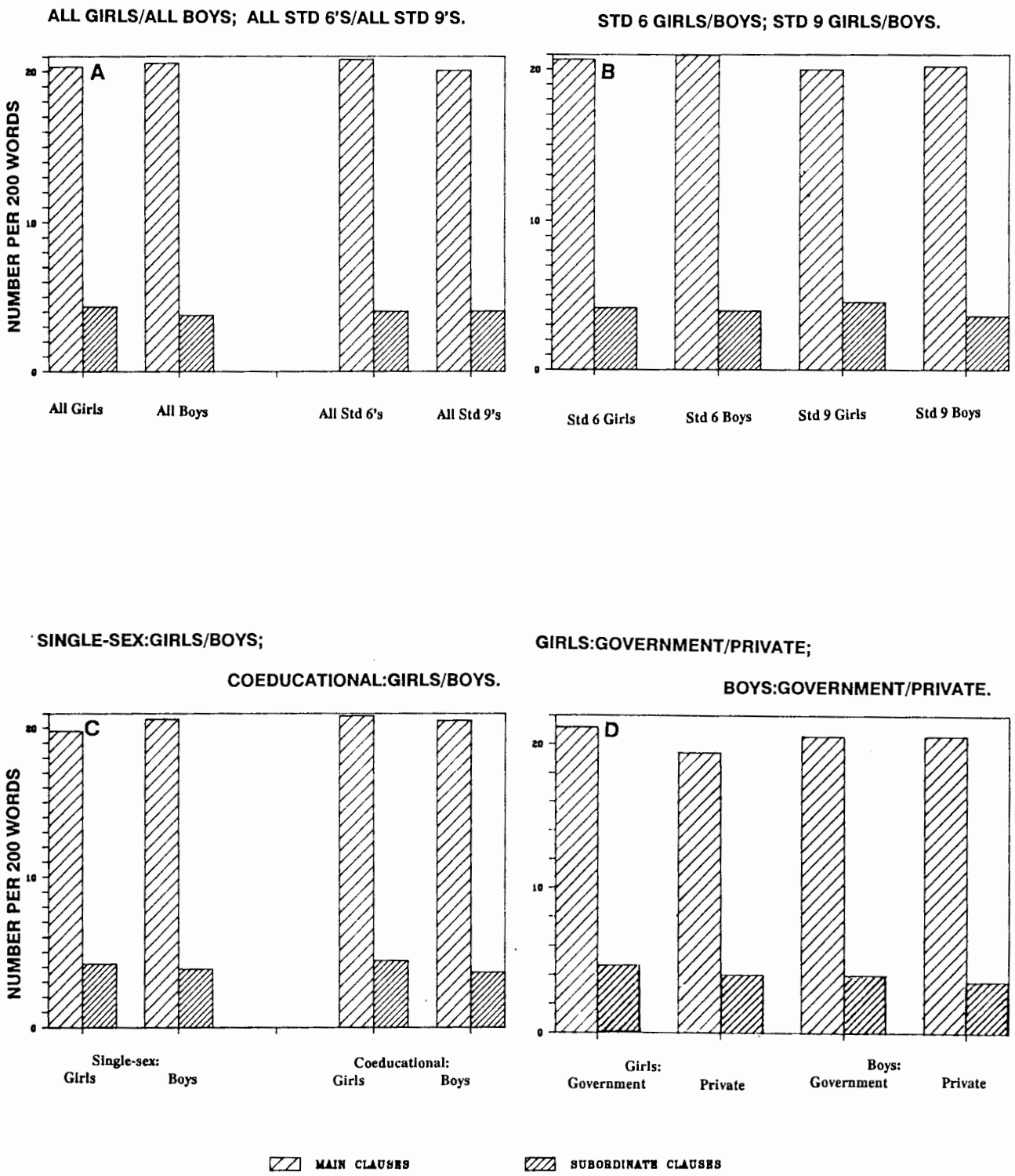

FIGURE 8

CLAUSES.

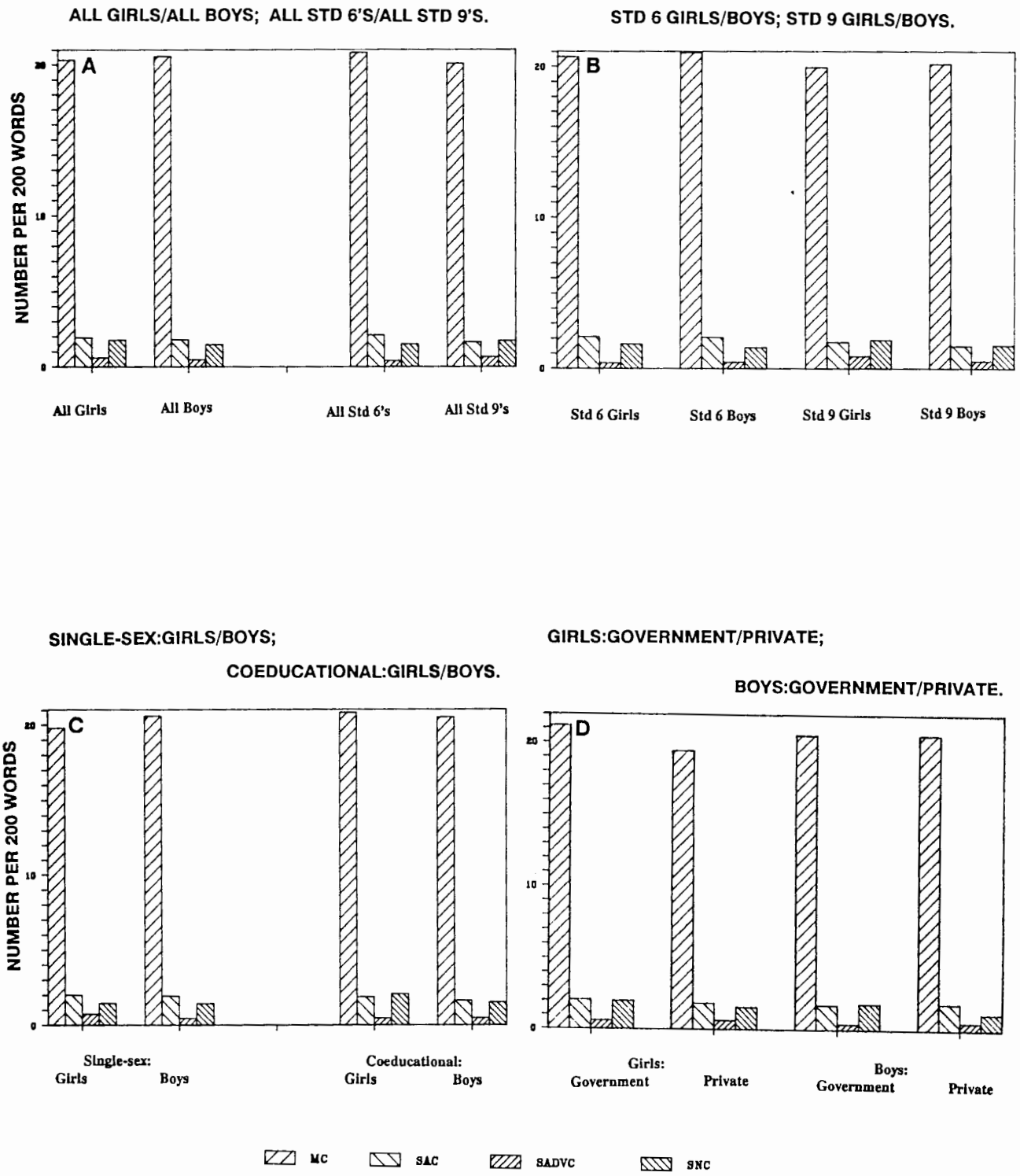

FIGURE 9

Age: One would expect an increase in syntactic ability with age, and results obtained confirm this, a Z-score of 1.94 satisfyingly close to reliability.

Std. 6 boys	15.5	Std. 9 boys	17
Std. 6 girls	16.3	Std. 9 girls	21
All Std. 6's	15.87	All Std. 9's	19.02

School Type: Scores obtained at single-sex and coeducational schools (overall) are almost identical, but the difference between scores of informants from Government schools (19.14) and those from private schools (15.75), though not very great, is significant (2.09 *), and therefore worthy of note, particularly as it is somewhat puzzling - one might have expected the opposite.

Discussion: One must approach these results with considerable caution. It is not uncontroversial to equate hypotaxis with syntactic ability, even though in formal speech for a group of this nature one might be tempted to do so. Although scores rise with age, with scores so small, expressed in ratios, and with low levels of reliability obtained, one would do best to regard any general trends in this section with slight scepticism, perhaps.

4.1.3.3: **Non-standard Utterances:**

(See 3.5.3.4 for a description of criteria for judging any utterance as "non-standard" and a full motivation of the decision to regard these as indicative of syntactic ability.)

The number of non-standard utterances which occurred during the recording are presented below as indices of the total number of words, so that comparisons between them are viable.

Code	Non-Std..Index	Code	Non-Std..Index
S6	1.0	**S9**	0.7
KB6	0.4	**KB9**	0.6
G6	0.6	**G9**	0.7
PB6	1.3	**PB9**	1.0
D6	0.6	**D9**	0.6
KG6	0.6	**KG9**	0.5
V6	1.0	**V9**	0.5
PG6	1.8	**PG9**	0.9

Average: 0.8

(See also Appendix I, Table 2, columns 12-13.)

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	0.79	0.73	0.17
All girls	0.81	0.73	
Std. 6 boys	0.80	0.78	1.12
Std. 6 girls	1.00	0.84	
Std. 9 boys	0.80	0.69	1.45
Std. 9 girls	0.60	0.56	
All Std. 6	0.91	0.81	1.83
All Std. 9	0.70	0.63	
Single-sex: boys	0.75	0.68	0.47
Single-sex: girls	0.68	0.59	
Coed: boys	0.84	0.78	0.61
Coed: girls	0.95	0.83	
All Coeds	0.89	0.81	1.58
All Single-sex	0.71	0.64	
Government: boys	0.90	0.81	0.70
Government: girls	1.03	0.86	
Private: boys	0.69	0.63	0.79
Private: girls	0.59	0.49	
All Government	0.96	0.84	2.84 **
All Private	0.64	0.57	

See Figure 10 for a visual representation.

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: Sex seems to have no obvious connection to the use of non-standard forms in this study, unlike the study carried out by Cheshire (1978) in Reading on the use of *-s* concord with third person singular verbs; she found that the sex of the speaker did have a significant effect, in addition to verb type, degree of "toughness" and index of degree of peer group membership. Girls in her study used the *s* ending as much as boys, but did not exhibit the same correlation between frequency of use and degree of peer group membership, and tended to use standard forms in formal situations more than did the boys. Cheshire concludes that

> variation is controlled by both social and linguistic factors. In boys' speech variation is governed by norms that are central to the vernacular culture, and are transmitted through the peer group. Variation in girls' speech appears to be a more personal process and less rigidly controlled by vernacular norms. (1978:68)

NON-STANDARD UTTERANCES AND LANGUAGE "MAZES".

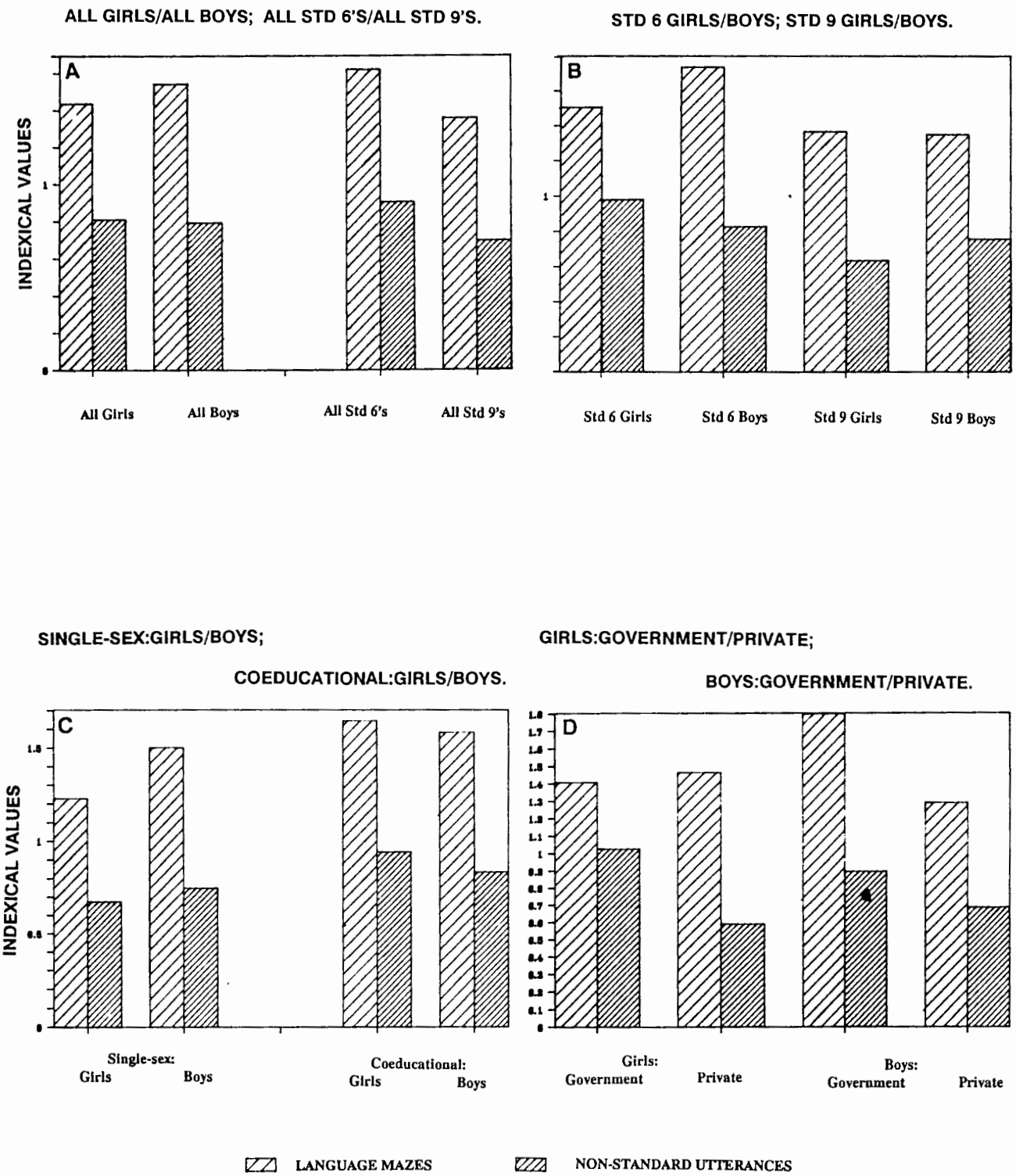

FIGURE 10

However there is a big difference between the social class origins of Cheshire's informants and those studied here, and it was pointed out above that there is also a difference in the type of utterance viewed as "non-standard" in the two studies - in this survey, the occurrence of non-standard utterances are regarded as evidence of poor planning or distractability of speaker rather than as evidence of peer-group pressures to use particular forms (particularly in the case of males). Results in this section tend to be haphazard, sometimes the male score surpassing the female, and sometimes vice versa. On no occasion is there any indication (from Z-score) that any reliance can be attached to the findings. One is prevented, therefore, from making any judgements about greater or lesser linguistic ability on the basis of sex alone.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	0.8	Std. 9 boys	0.8
	Std. 6 girls	1.0	Std. 9 girls	0.6
	All Std. 6's	0.9	All Std. 9's	0.7

The general drop in use of non-standard utterances with age is neither absolutely consistent, nor significant.

School Type: Minimal differences between single-sex and coeducational schools render these results unimportant, but a high Z-score (2.84 **) is obtained in testing the significance of the score for those at Government schools (0.96) and those at private schools (0.64). The difference is a big one, and suggests that the non-standard utterances used may relate in some way to socialisation patterns and educational opportunities. However it has been pointed out that social class is problematic with respect to these informants; I nevertheless must acknowledge the possibility here that more of the pupils from these schools are likely to come from less privileged backgrounds and use more non-standard utterances simply because it is part of their vernacular rather than as a signal of poor planning.

Implications: It seems that type of school, specifically whether one attends a private or Government school, is the variable which is of primary importance when one is considering non-standard utterances. Neither sex nor age yielded any interesting results, and one therefore has no basis for concluding that either sex is better or worse than the other. This goes somewhat against the findings of so many investigators before, for example Trudgill (1974), who found that males used markedly more non-standard utterances; it must be remembered, however, that different meanings were attached to the use of non-standard forms in those studies, different linguistic communities were being studied, and different methodology was used. Unlike informants in Trudgill's and Cheshire's studies, the Government school informants in this study were not all from specifically lower social echelons, whose vernacular would probably be a non-standard variety of English.

4.1.3.4: **Language Mazes:**

The reader is referred to 4.1.2.3, where this phenomenon is discussed in detail. It may be useful to summarise findings where they pertain to the issue under discussion, namely syntactic ability. Figure 10 displays results comparatively with non-standard utterances and the fact that they correlate consistently indicates that the interpretation of non-standard utterances as akin to language mazes is not incorrect.

Sex: There was a tendency for more language mazes from the male informants with the exception of those in private and coeducational schools; significance scores were low, and in view of the inconsistencies as well, one is inclined to regard this apparent difference as of minimal importance.

Age: A clear though not very reliable trend revealed that the older the informant, the lower was the likelihood of language mazes in his/her speech.

School Type: No significant differences were discovered, apart from the magnification of the fact that girls tend, as a group, to have fewer language mazes in the single-sex schools' scores.

Implications: A lower score for those at private schools combined with lower levels for older pupils generally tempts one to associate a low level of language mazes with linguistic ability. The implication, though not reliable, is that girls are less disfluent than boys. This is reinforced by the generally lower scores for girls at single-sex schools (1.23) versus girls at coeducational schools (1.65).

4.1.3.5: **Hesitations and Repetitions:**

These aspects were discussed under 4.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.2 respectively, but as they do pertain to the question of general syntactic ability, it may be useful simply to point out the general conclusions reached in each case:

Sex appeared to be a factor of considerable importance, as results indicated consistently that males hesitated more than females; analyses based on age showed a consistent, though non-significant increase of hesitations with age, and school type did not reveal anything of interest. It was pointed out that although one generally tends to associate *ums, uhs* and false starts with linguistic incompetence, this hypothesis is negated by the general increase in these hesitation phenomena with age - one would expect them to decrease with maturity. Clearly then this feature must result from socialisation, and boys do it because they see males in general doing it, and tend to model themselves (subconsciously) along the lines of same-sexed role models, not because they are less competent than females.

With regard to repetitions, without exception, boys repeated words and phrases more than girls. Z-scores were low, but the strongly consistent trend is interesting, especially in conjunction with a commensurate and consistent decrease in repetitions with an increase in age. (Though no notable significance could be attached to these scores.) In this case one might be more tempted to associate high levels of repetition with slower planning speed, and therefore with lower general linguistic ability. When one considers this fact in conjunction with results for 4.1.3 generally, however, the evidence is not strongly in favour of such a view, and further investigations would be needed before any strong claims could be made.

4.1.3.6: **General Comments:**

Conclusions that are suggested by the data are that differences between groups with reference to syntactic complexity of spoken English are minimal, but that age is of greater significance than sex or type of school: the proportion of subordinate clauses to main clauses rises commensurately with increases in schooling, indicative of increased syntactic ability. The slightly higher levels of subordinate clauses among females appear recurrently in all the graphs, suggesting that sex/gender may also be of some relevance. Graphs drawn simply to reflect number of main clauses in relation to subordinate clauses (Figure 8) show this trend more clearly. Type of school (Government/private) is the only grouping which yields a significant score, but only a low one, on this analysis.

Use of non-standard utterances and mazes was seen to decrease with a rise in age, and relationship to sex or school of informant was inconsistent and not significant. Only hesitations and repetitions might be seen as sex-linked phenomena, with more consistent trends emerging here which showed male scores to be consistently higher. As was pointed out in 4.1.3.5, this need not imply lower levels of linguistic complexity or ability as such, so one's overall conclusions in this section have to be that there is no noticeable difference between males and females in terms of the variables selected for analysis as representative of linguistic complexity. (It is to be remembered that they are by no means an exhaustive list of possible criteria for syntactic complexity, but just a sample.)

4.1.4: **Linguistic Indicators of Vagueness and Uncertainty:**

Scores for linguistic indicators of vagueness and uncertainty (or avoidance techniques) (See 3.5.4) are given below: **Fillers** represent the sum of occurrence of *sort of*, *like* (not as a verb), *well* and *okay*, and **Tent** (tentative score) reflects all modal adjuncts (e.g. *maybe*), vague proximal references (e.g. *fairly*, *about*) and perceptual verbs (e.g. *looks*, *seems*). Each total is converted in the adjacent column, to an index of the word total.

Code	Fillers	Index	Tent	Index
S6	11.3	2.0	30.1	5.1
KB6	11.4	1.9	37.0	4.9
G6	6.6	2.1	12.9	3.9
PB6	8.7	1.9	22.1	5.0
D6	11.1	2.4	21.1	4.6
KG6	14.1	3.3	21.7	5.0
V6	9.2	2.5	14.6	3.6
PG6	6.8	2.8	14.0	5.7
S9	6.5	1.4	13.5	3.1
KB9	3.8	1.1	15.7	5.1
G9	33.3	2.9	31.0	5.5
PB9	7.8	1.9	20.2	5.2
D9	11.3	1.5	31.1	6.6
KG9	9.6	2.0	21.6	5.2
V9	9.7	2.1	18.6	4.0
PG9	10.3	2.6	18.0	4.7
Means:	10.7	2.2	18.3	4.2

(See Appendix I, Table 3, columns 11-13 and Table 4, columns 1-2)

As "fillers" results appear under 4.1.2.4, only the indices for linguistic indications of tentativeness will be displayed here: Whether fillers can be regarded as indications of vagueness is a controversial issue. It was stated earlier that they are a means of maintaining speech flow, masking covert uncertainty, possibly, while giving the impression of **not** being at a loss for words. Girls were shown to use more fillers generally than the boys, but it is doubtful whether this can be used as confirmatory evidence of their tentativeness in general. Scores for linguistic indicators of tentativeness, such as the use of modal adjuncts, vague proximal references (e.g. *greenish*), and perceptual verbs seem to be more legitimately associated with a genuine lack of certainty than do fillers. The graphs in Figure 11 which reflect these results pictorially also suggest a lack of correspondence between these two aspects, as they do not correlate consistently, and fillers will therefore not be regarded as relevant to the issue under discussion, and the analysis below relates to the use of genuine linguistic indicators of tentativeness.

AVOIDANCE TECHNIQUES.

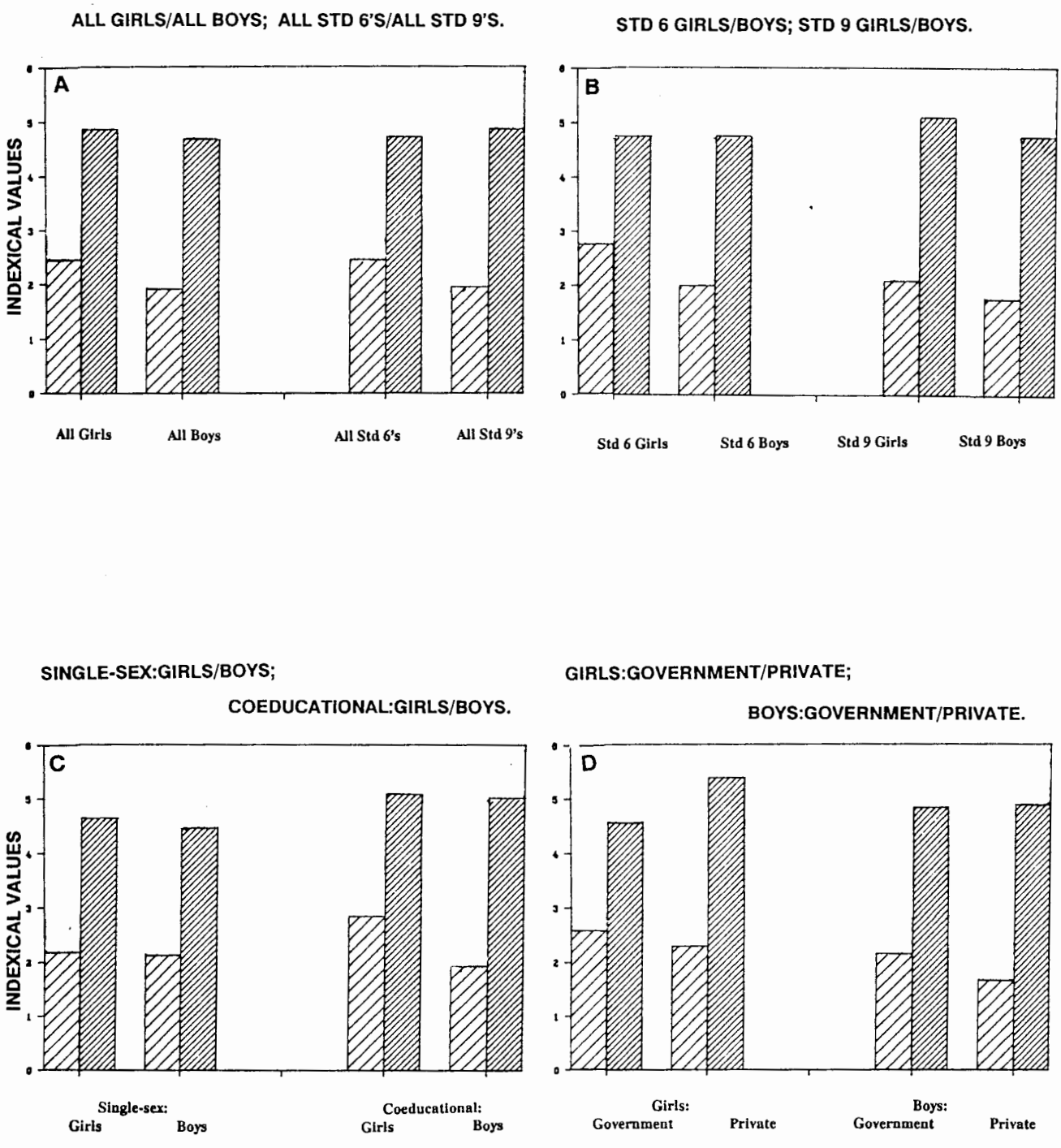

FIGURE 11

Tentative scores:

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	4.72	2.37	3.21 **
All girls	4.91	3.89	
Std. 6 boys	4.70	2.15	0
Std. 6 girls	4.70	1.93	
Std. 9 boys	4.70	2.48	0.45
Std. 9 girls	5.10	4.99	
All Std. 6	4.71	2.05	0.42
All Std. 9	4.92	3.95	
Single-sex: boys	4.39	2.07	0.35
Single-sex: girls	4.69	4.90	
Coed: boys	5.05	2.62	0.14
Coed: girls	5.13	2.48	
All Coeds	5.09	3.76	0.55
All Single-sex	4.54	2.55	
Government: boys	4.89	2.66	0.77
Government: girls	4.48	2.08	
Private: boys	4.55	5.08	0.97
Private: girls	5.35	1.81	
All Government	4.69	2.40	0.49
All Private	4.94	3.81	

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: In 4 out of 7 sex-based analyses, female scores exceeded male scores for the use of tentative words or phrases (Std. 6 girls and boys were equal). A Z-score of 3.21 for the male-female comparison suggests that the sex of informants is indeed relevant, but in view of the two exceptions, and the low Z-scores obtained, one cannot conclude this with any certainty.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	4.7	Std. 9 boys	4.7
	Std. 6 girls	4.7	Std. 9 girls	5.1
	All Std. 6's	4.7	All Std. 9's	4.92

Age seems to be an important factor here: the older the informant, the more hesitant features in his/her speech. However low Z-scores prevent one from attaching any significance to the results.

School Type: Nothing noteworthy emerged in these analyses.

Implications: Use of these features can perhaps be regarded as a sign of the growth of awareness of the need for care and avoidance of inaccuracy, i.e. precision rather than of a growing tendency to be vague (or a decrease in linguistic efficiency!). This is confirmed by the increase in scores with age. It is worth pointing out that all scores were in fact very close, varying only by a matter of a few decimal points - a warning against leaping to any rash conclusions.

4.1.5: **Evidence of Relaxation:**

Use of abbreviated forms ("Abbr." below) (e.g. *he's* instead of *he is*) and omissions ("Omits" below) by *means* of ellipsis (e.g. *^standing in a room* for *they are standing in a room*) were regarded as evidence of reduced self-monitoring. (Admittedly this view is not uncontroversial, and it is not claimed that abbreviations and omissions have exactly the same effect, as the use of abbreviations may simply be more natural to the spoken medium of the discourse, and to some extent it may be legitimate to regard *there's* as the unmarked version of *there is* in spoken discourse. However it is my contention that such abbreviations do connote a slightly relaxed approach as well.)

High pausing frequency and high time counts overall can also possibly be regarded as a measure of linguistic confidence i.e. of relaxation, and these scores are repeated alongside the former, for the sake of easy comparison. In addition it is also possible that high levels of the non-standard forms discussed in section 4.1.3.3 could also be regarded as evidence of lowered self-monitoring, so these scores are also repeated for the sake of convenience. The first two columns reflect the total scores as indices of total word counts, and the third column represents the pause total as a linguistic index of time total.

Code	Abbr	Omits	Pauses	Times	Non-Std. Forms
S6	6.8	1.4	33.2	370.9	1.0
KB6	4.8	1.2	18.7	387.6	0.4
G6	5.3	1.1	21.9	196.0	0.6
PB6	7.0	1.0	15.8	228.9	1.3
D6	4.9	0.8	14.7	205.6	0.6
KG6	6.3	1.6	16.4	250.0	0.6
V6	8.1	1.2	11.8	230.1	1.0
PG6	7.3	1.1	13.2	139.3	1.8
S9	4.9	1.5	32.0	286.1	0.7
KB9	6.8	2.0	31.4	205.8	0.6
G9	5.9	1.5	14.4	551.8	0.7
PB9	6.5	2.3	7.5	182.6	1.0
D9	6.1	1.9	15.5	326.9	0.6
KG9	7.1	1.7	19.5	239.7	0.5
V9	5.2	1.0	12.8	239.9	0.5
PG9	8.6	1.2	10.1	194.0	0.9
Means:	6.3	1.4	18.1	264.7	

(See also Appendix I, Table 2, columns 6-7)

4.1.5.1: **Abbreviations:**

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	5.99	2.91	1.61
All girls	6.71	2.76	
Std. 6 boys	6.00	2.92	1.06
Std. 6 girls	6.70	2.98	
Std. 9 boys	6.00	2.90	1.32
Std. 9 girls	6.80	2.52	
All Std. 6	6.31	2.97	0.15
All Std. 9	6.38	2.74	
Single-sex: boys	5.71	2.79	0.61
Single-sex: girls	6.08	2.65	
Coed: boys	6.26	3.00	1.69
Coed: girls	7.34	2.73	
All Coeds	6.80	2.91	2.04 *
All Single-sex	5.89	2.73	
Government: boys	6.16	3.10	1.71
Government: girls	7.32	2.97	
Private: boys	5.81	2.69	0.51
Private: girls	6.10	2.39	
All Government	6.74	3.09	1.76
All Private	5.95	2.55	

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: Without exception, girls used more abbreviated forms than the boys, but on no occasion was a high enough Z-score obtained to indicate some level of reliability, and the most one can do is note this as a mere tendency.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	6.0	Std. 9 boys	6.0
	Std. 6 girls	6.7	Std. 9 girls	6.8
	All Std. 6's	6.31	All Std. 9's	6.38

Negligible differences appear when age is analysed as the discriminatory feature.

School Type: A reliable Z-score of 2.04 (*) when comparing informants from coeducational (6.8) with those from single-sex schools (5.89) and a fairly high 1.76 in comparisons of Government (6.74) and private (5.95) school informants are puzzling.

Implications: Clearly neither sex nor age influence the use of abbreviations, but it is rather a socially

related issue. Regarding the use of abbreviations as evidence of relaxation is, in itself, not uncontroversial, as it might be seen as a way of speeding up an unpleasant situation, getting it over with faster, or simply be closely linked to the phenomenon of spoken (as opposed to written) discourse, entirely natural under the circumstances. As was pointed out above, it may well be that *he's* is syntactically unmarked in speech, while *he is* is actually a marked variant. Previous research suggests that females conform more closely to the unmarked register, which is what appears to be happening here.

4.1.5.2: **Omissions:**

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	1.50	1.34	0.92
All girls	1.32	1.12	
Std. 6 boys	1.20	0.76	0
Std. 6 girls	1.20	0.78	
Std. 9 boys	1.80	1.67	1.17
Std. 9 girls	1.40	1.37	
All Std. 6	1.18	0.77	2.40 *
All Std. 9	1.64	1.54	
Single-sex: boys	1.38	1.13	0.54
Single-sex: girls	1.24	1.17	
Coed: boys	1.62	1.50	0.76
Coed: girls	1.40	1.06	
All Coeds	1.51	1.31	1.03
All Single-sex	1.31	1.15	
Government: boys	1.47	1.45	1.21
Government: girls	1.14	0.93	
Private: boys	1.53	1.21	0.11
Private: girls	1.50	1.25	
All Government	1.30	1.23	1.13
All Private	1.52	1.23	

(See also Appendix I, Table 2, columns 14-15.)

Sex: Scores for boys are, without exception, slightly higher than scores for girls, but the differences are small and never of any significance, according to the Z-scores obtained.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	1.2	Std. 9 boys	1.8
	Std. 6 girls	1.2	Std. 9 girls	1.4
	All Std. 6's	1.18	All Std. 9's	1.64

OMISSIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

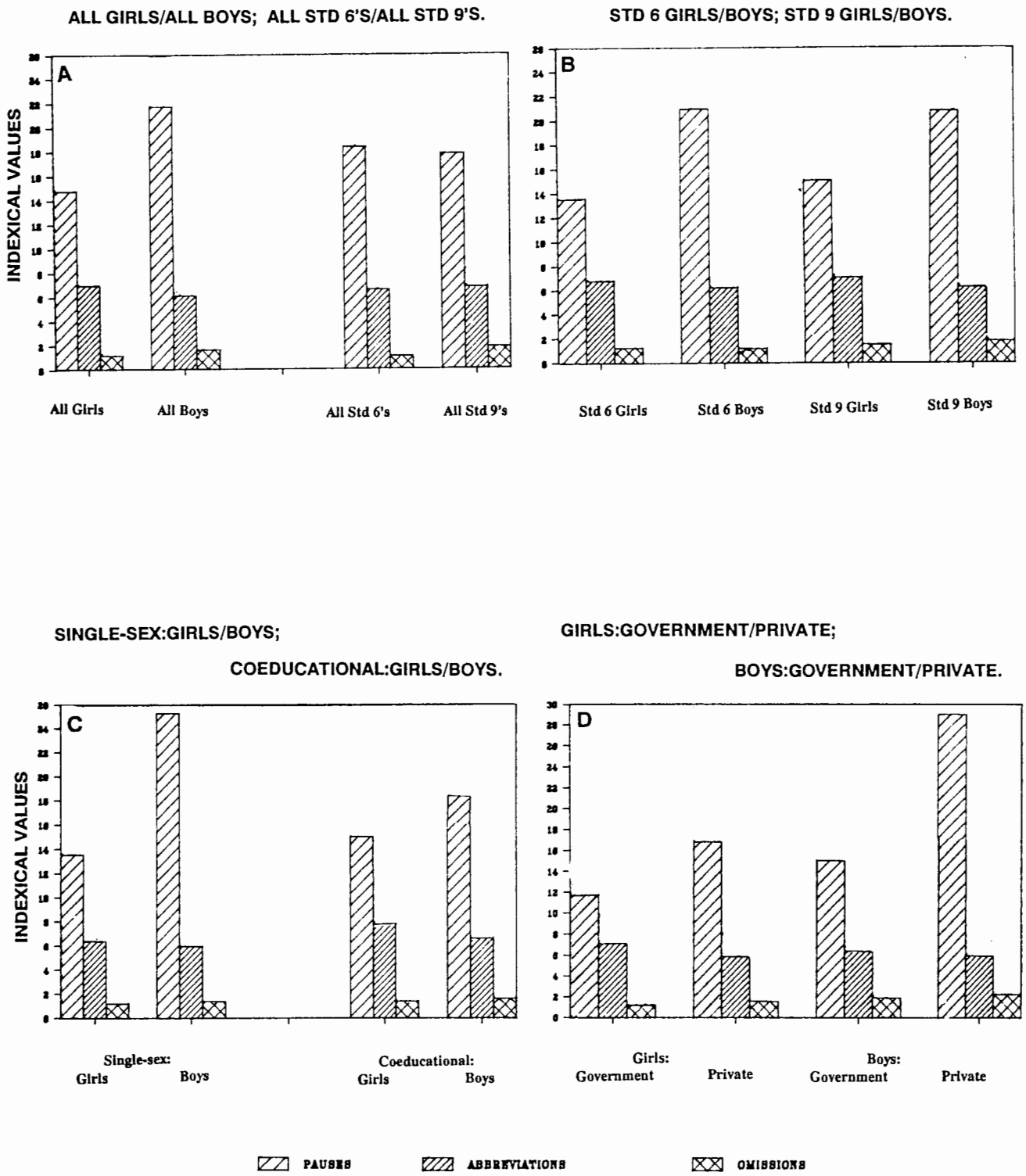

FIGURE 12

Age appears to be more significantly related to the occurrence of omissions in speech than sex or school type: the older the informant, the higher the score.

School Type: There were minimal differences with low Z-scores in these sections.

Implications: The consistently higher male scores matched with higher private school scores and rise in scores with school standard all strongly suggest that this variable does indeed relate to the phenomenon of relaxation and general confidence - a matter of socialisation. (Stronger among older male peer groups, which are apparently more cohesive.)

Z-scores for time are given at 4.1.1.1 and for pauses at 4.1.1.2. Analyses of these scores confirms that use of abbreviation is not susceptible to degree of relaxation, but that all other aspects selected for consideration here point to the fact that males are the more confident gender group, and that where the social environment or educational standard promote it, confidence rises commensurately (demonstrable in the Std. 6/9 and Government/private comparisons.) Figure 12 presents results for pauses, abbreviations and omissions in bars.

4.1.6: **Spatial terms, colours and numbers.**

Since, stereotypically, females supposedly use more colour terms and males have a tendency to express things spatially and precisely, a count was made of colour references, spatial references and numeric references. These are presented below as indices of total word counts, for ease of comparison:

Code:	Colour Terms	Spatial Terms	Numbers
S6	2.7	11.0	2.0
KB6	2.1	14.3	1.3
G6	2.9	12.3	1.3
PB6	2.6	11.1	1.4
D6	3.2	14.1	1.8
KG6	2.6	12.6	1.3
V6	3.2	10.6	1.8
PG6	2.0	11.1	1.3
S9	2.5	16.1	2.1
KB9	1.7	14.5	2.2
G9	2.3	13.1	1.4
PB9	1.3	12.9	1.8
D9	3.9	14.4	1.3
KG9	2.9	13.7	2.0
V9	5.8	12.0	1.6
PG9	2.4	13.2	1.4
Means:	2.7	12.9	1.6

(See also Appendix I, Table 4, columns 11-16)

4.1.6.1: **Spatial Terms:**

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	13.15	3.73	0.72
All girls	12.72	3.83	
Std. 6 boys	12.20	3.78	0.12
Std. 6 girls	12.10	3.88	
Std. 9 boys	14.10	3.42	1.01
Std. 9 girls	13.30	3.86	
All Std. 6	12.14	3.58	2.71 **
All Std. 9	13.73	3.83	
Single-sex: boys	13.12	3.67	0.43
Single-sex: girls	12.79	3.25	
Coed: boys	13.19	3.79	0.60
Coed: girls	12.64	4.33	
All Coeds	12.91	3.47	0.08
All Single-sex	12.96	4.08	
Government: boys	12.35	3.54	0.86
Government: girls	11.72	3.03	
Private: boys	13.96	3.75	0.28
Private: girls	13.71	4.27	
All Government	12.03	3.31	3.11 **
All Private	13.84	4.02	

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: Boys achieved higher scores throughout, with a low level of reliability to be attached to the results in view of accompanying Z-scores.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	12.2	Std. 9 boys	14.1
	Std. 6 girls	12.1	Std. 9 girls	13.3
	All Std. 6's	12.14	All Std. 9's	13.73

The increase in use of spatial terms with age is a highly significant one (2.71 **) suggesting that with cognitive maturity comes an increasing awareness of spatial dimensions and an increasing ability to talk about them.

School Type: Very close scores in the single-sex/coeducational split were obtained, revealing nothing of importance. The significant Z-score (3.11 **) relating to the difference between private school informants (13.84) and Government school informants (12.03) is important however.

Implications: If one's presupposition is correct that use of these terms is a feature of increasing ability, then one might expect the (possible) social class distinction to be relevant here, those from more privileged social and educational backgrounds achieving generally higher scores. The temptation to regard this as a male trait must be resisted in view of the Z-scores obtained, despite the fact that the stereotype is upheld in this instance.

4.1.6.2: **Colours:**

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	2.27	1.23	1.78
All girls	3.22	4.60	
Std. 6 boys	2.60	1.11	0.29
Std. 6 girls	2.70	1.84	
Std. 9 boys	2.00	1.27	1.70
Std. 9 girls	3.70	6.20	
All Std. 6	2.65	1.52	0.35
All Std. 9	2.84	4.56	
Single-sex: boys	2.61	1.15	1.40
Single-sex: girls	4.00	6.19	
Coed: boys	1.93	1.21	1.44
Coed: girls	2.43	1.69	
All Coeds	2.18	4.50	2.13 *
All Single-sex	3.31	1.49	
Government: boys	2.30	1.36	1.00
Government: girls	3.31	6.24	
Private: boys	2.25	1.86	2.55 *
Private: girls	3.12	1.09	
All Government	2.80	4.54	0.20
All Private	2.69	1.59	

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: The stereotypical association of colour terms with females is actually upheld in this investigation: without exception, and with a Z-score of 2.55 (*) in the case of private school boys and girls, the scores of girls exceed those of the boys.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	2.6	Std. 9 boys	2.0
	Std. 6 girls	2.7	Std. 9 girls	3.7
	All Std. 6's	2.65	All Std. 9's	2.84

Despite a slight overall increase in scores with age, one should note the decrease among the males, in

line with the stereotype.

School Type: The difference between coeducational and single-sex schools, accompanied by a Z-score of 2.13 (*) is important. The generally higher scores, especially among boys at single sex schools, freed from comparison with the opposite sex, allows for a natural increase in usage among both sexes, the highest score for all being obtained by girls at single-sex schools (4.0). Government/private analyses revealed nothing of interest.

Implications: One would expect ability to discriminate colour terms linguistically to increase with age, and it does on the whole, tending to confirm a suspicion that use of colour terms relates to general linguistic ability. However the colour terms used were seldom specialist terms, and the difference being reported is a matter of volume rather than linguistic versatility. The more likely conclusion to reach is that use of colour terms is indeed closest related to sex of user, which in turn relates to gender-modelling - females will use more.

4.1.6.3: **Numbers:**

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	1.68	1.17	0.78
All girls	1.55	0.93	
Std. 6 boys	1.50	0.93	0
Std. 6 girls	1.50	0.80	
Std. 9 boys	1.90	1.34	1.12
Std. 9 girls	1.60	1.04	
All Std. 6	1.52	1.21	1.20
All Std. 9	1.72	0.87	
Single-sex: boys	1.69	1.03	0.45
Single-sex: girls	1.60	0.75	
Coed: boys	1.68	1.30	0.64
Coed: girls	1.51	1.08	
All Coeds	1.60	0.90	0.24
All Single-sex	1.64	1.20	
Government: boys	1.52	0.73	1.83
Government: girls	1.48	1.17	
Private: boys	1.89	1.10	1.20
Private: girls	1.59	1.13	
All Government	1.50	0.98	1.44
All Private	1.74	1.13	

SEMANTIC TRENDS.

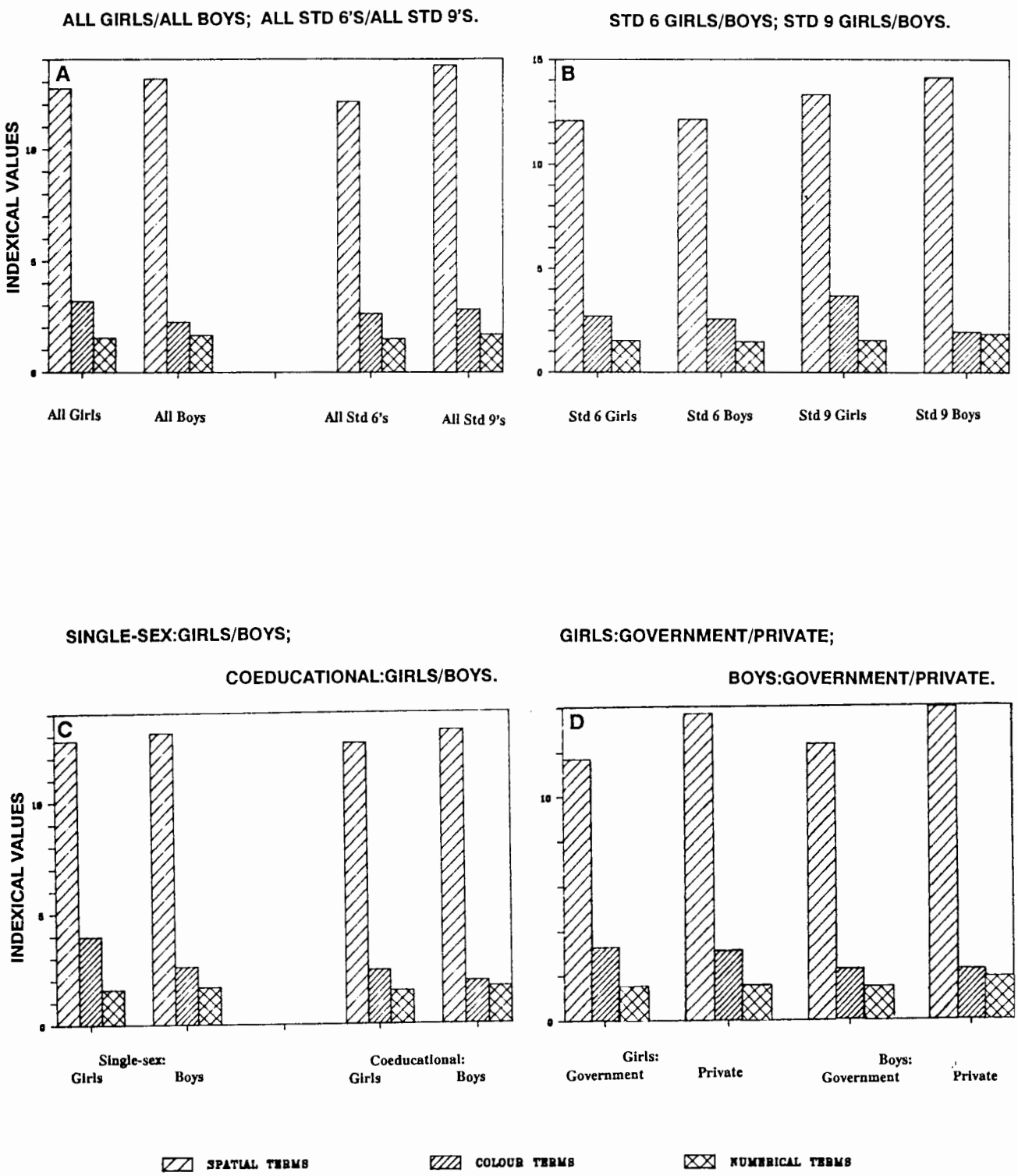

FIGURE 13

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: Boys' scores are slightly higher than girls' in this area, except at the Std. 6 level, where they are both the same. This result compares well with the stereotype, but the low Z-scores should act as a warning to be sceptical, and not to jump on the bandwagon of the stereotype.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	1.5	Std. 9 boys	1.9
	Std. 6 girls	1.5	Std. 9 girls	1.6
	All Std. 6's	1.52	All Std. 9's	1.72

A general increase in use of numerical terms with age is to be expected, commensurate with increasing cognitive maturity. Differences are not spectacular, however, and high reliability scores notably absent.

School Type: Very similar scores were obtained in analyses in this section, though slightly higher scores at private schools with a reasonable Z-score of 1.44 encourage one to continue to believe that this phenomenon is related to socio-educational background.

Implications: It must be remembered that a pictorial description does not necessarily elicit much in the way of any one of the categories examined in this section. Scores were generally low, and a larger data base will be needed before any definite conclusions can be reached in this regard. Granted, stereotypes are reinforced, but not vigorously at all, and there is also a noticeable relationship of each category with school type and age of informant as well, which should not be ignored. Figure 13 reflects these results in graph form.

4.1.7: **Emotive Language:**

Totals for personal pronoun usage, occurrence of *very*, and emotive terms were recorded, and averages are as follows:

Code:	Pronouns	Emotive Terms	Very
S6	1.0	0.2	0.8
KB6	1.1	0.4	0.8
G6	0.4	0.6	0.9
PB6	1.0	0.2	0.5
D6	0.9	0.6	1.2
KG6	1.3	0.4	1.4
V6	1.0	0.4	1.3
PG6	1.5	0.9	1.5
S9	1.3	0.3	1.3
KB9	0.8	0.8	1.0
G9	0.6	1.8	0.7
PB9	1.1	0.2	0.8
D9	1.5	0.7	1.3
KG9	1.0	1.0	1.8
V9	1.2	0.3	1.3
PG9	0.7	0.6	1.4

Means:	1.0	0.6	1.1

(See also Appendix I, Table 4, columns 3-6.)

4.1.7.1: **Pronouns:**

Group:	**Mean:**	**Std. Dev:**	**Z-score:**
All boys	0.91	1.12	1.30
All girls	1.12	0.93	
Std. 6 boys	0.90	1.05	0.75
Std. 6 girls	1.10	1.32	
Std. 9 boys	0.94	0.79	0.85
Std. 9 girls	1.10	0.88	
All Std. 6	1.01	1.20	0
All Std. 9	1.01	0.84	
Single-sex: boys	0.83	0.76	1.58
Single-sex: girls	1.13	0.95	
Coed: boys	0.99	1.07	0.42
Coed: girls	1.11	1.27	
All Coeds	1.05	0.87	0.46
All Single-sex	0.98	1.18	
Government: boys	0.76	0.76	1.49
Government: girls	1.10	1.22	
Private: boys	1.05	1.06	0.35
Private: girls	1.13	1.01	
All Government	0.93	1.03	1.00
All Private	1.09	1.04	

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: Throughout girls used more first and second person pronouns than boys, but significance levels are low and therefore so is reliability.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	0.9	Std. 9 boys	0.94
	Std. 6 girls	1.1	Std. 9 girls	1.1
	All Std. 6's	1.01	All Std. 9's	1.01

Age is clearly not of any importance in relation to pronominal usage.

School Type: Minimal differences and low significance levels were obtained in these analyses.

Implications: The stereotype is upheld, girls referring more to people than boys, but in view of low Z-scores, little reliance can be placed on these results.

4.1.7.2: **Emotive Terms:**

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	0.58	0.71	0.25
All girls	0.61	0.97	
Std. 6 boys	0.40	0.52	1.22
Std. 6 girls	0.60	0.90	
Std. 9 boys	0.77	0.97	0
Std. 9 girls	0.70	1.07	
All Std. 6	0.46	1.03	1.76
All Std. 9	0.73	0.74	
Single-sex: boys	0.75	0.63	1.59
Single-sex: girls	0.50	0.79	
Coed: boys	0.40	0.77	1.54
Coed: girls	0.73	1.11	
All Coeds	0.56	0.72	0.45
All Single-sex	0.62	0.97	
Government: boys	0.70	0.65	0.72
Government: girls	0.55	1.15	
Private: boys	0.45	0.74	1.30
Private: girls	0.68	0.86	
All Government	0.63	0.94	0.58
All Private	0.55	0.81	

(See also Appendix I, Table 4, columns 7-8.)

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: No consistency whatever was revealed here, and low levels of reliability were arrived at.

Age: Despite a general increase with age, the highest Z-score obtained was 1.76, not reaching the required level of reliability.

Std. 6 boys	0.4	Std. 9 boys	0.77
Std. 6 girls	0.6	Std. 9 girls	0.7
All Std. 6's	0.46	All Std. 9's	0.71

School Type: The expected higher scores at single-sex schools, where peer groups might be more cohesive, are achieved, but differences are small. The differences are most marked in the graph (Figure 14C) which combines sex and school type (single-sex versus coeducational) - an indication that it is sex which is important, magnified in cases where members of the same sex are educated "in isolation" from the other sex. However, once again, no significance can be claimed for these results.

Implications: Indices of very low occurrence levels yielded small numbers. In addition the context and topics were not such as could be expected to elicit emotive terms in any number. Most of the remarks were of the following sort:

this guy looks switched off
a very nice/beautiful picture
I don't like his eyes
he looks a real strange man

Possibly it might have been more revealing to separate slang from words expressive of personal emotion and feeling, the former expected from males, the latter from females; however actual occurrence of slang items was relatively rare, and they simply did not merit separate analysis, especially as they do share the same overall linguistic function of being expressive. This fact may actually explain the apparently random fluctuation of boys' and girls' scores.

4.1.7.3: **Very:**

At the outset of this study there was no plan to analyse the use of this word at all. However transcripts yielded such strikingly high usage figures that a change of plan was felt to be warranted.

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	0.84	0.82	4.15 ***
All girls	1.40	0.88	
Std. 6 boys	0.70	0.66	3.21 **
Std. 6 girls	1.30	0.98	
Std. 9 boys	0.90	0.94	3.13 **
Std. 9 girls	1.50	0.77	
All Std. 6	1.04	0.90	1.13
All Std. 9	1.20	0.89	
Single-sex: boys	0.91	0.95	1.83
Single-sex: girls	1.26	0.75	
Coed: boys	0.76	0.98	4.17 ***
Coed: girls	1.53	0.66	

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score: (Cont.)
All Coeds	1.15	0.87	0.48
All Single-sex	1.09	0.92	
Government: boys	0.70	0.72	3.64 ***
Government: girls	1.38	0.94	
Private: boys	0.98	0.89	2.29 **
Private: girls	1.42	0.83	
All Government	1.04	0.90	1.14
All Private	1.20	0.89	

(See also Appendix I, Table 4, columns 9-10)

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: Of all the items examined thus far, the use of *very* appears to be the most closely linked to sex. Girls use *very* more than boys, without any doubt. Z-scores are strikingly high, the trend consistent, and sex is the most likely candidate for association with its use.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	0.7	Std. 9 boys	0.9
	Std. 6 girls	1.3	Std. 9 girls	1.5
	All Std. 6's	1.04	All Std. 9's	1.2

Very small increases with age, noticeably lacking in an accompanying high Z-score, leads one to discount the influence of age in favour of sex.

School Type: Differences are minimal, reliability scores low - the matter is not so much a school-related one as a gender-related one.

Implications: Why do girls use *very* more often? Are they being more expressive with it? Or are they trying to show a false sense of enthusiasm out of politeness to the implicit listener, who will later listen to the tape and who selected the pictures? Or is it a habit instilled by the peer group, socialised into them subtly without anyone noticing it? The answers are not clear - we have the "what" but not the "why".

The tables and graphs (Figure 14) display the information presented above in summarised form.

EMOTIVE LANGUAGE.

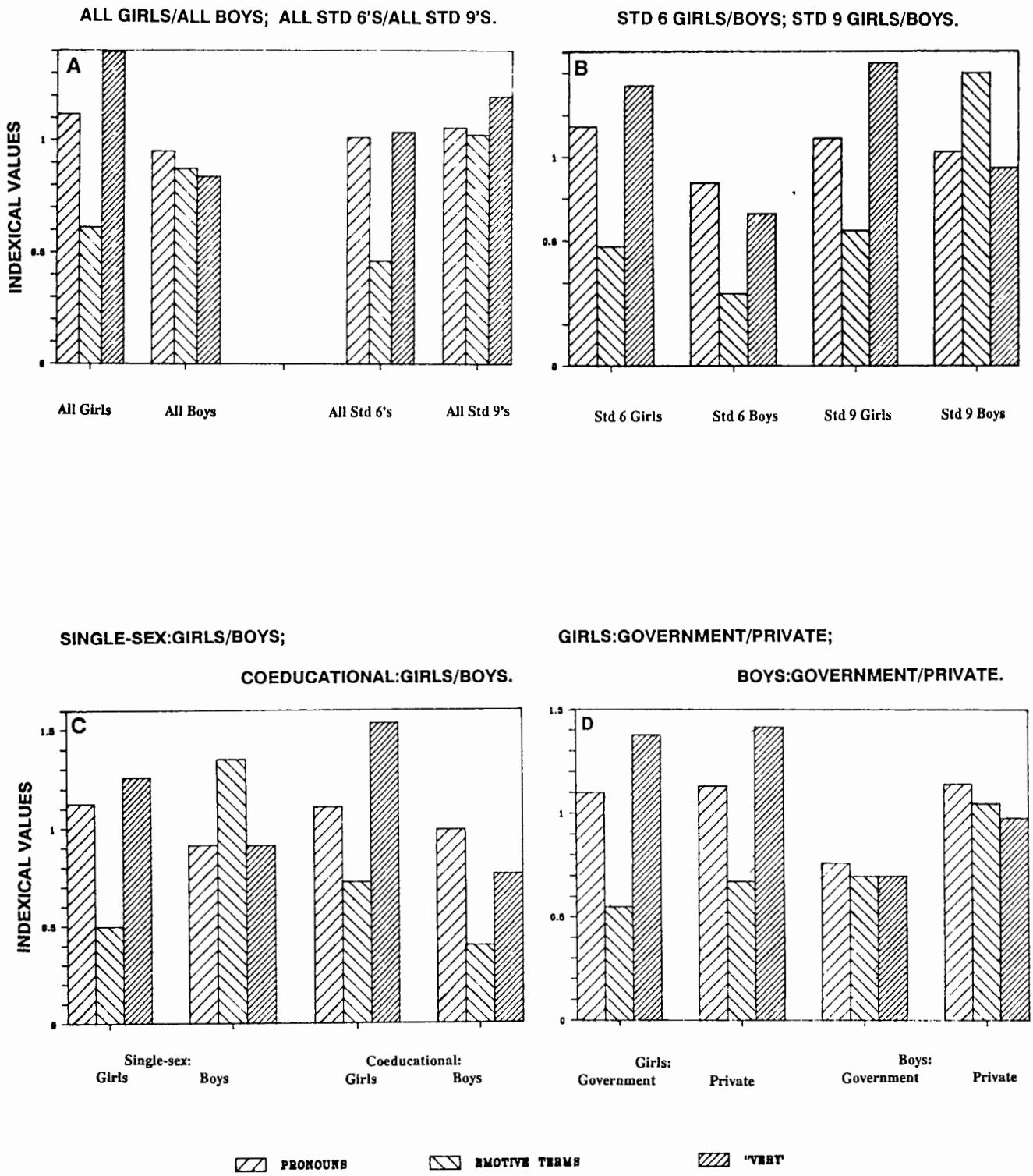

FIGURE14

CHAPTER 5

SLANG AND EXPLETIVES:

> Can it call whore? Cry bastard?
> Oh, then kiss it! A witty child!
> Can it swear? The father's darling!
> Give it two plums.
> (Ben Jonson Every Man in his Humour)

> A whistling sailor, a crowing hen and a swearing woman ought all three to go to hell together. (American proverb quoted in Coates (1986:19))

5.0: General:

The focus of this study is twofold, as has been made explicit in chapter 3: analyses of spoken and of written samples of English. The results of the analyses of the spoken speech samples were presented in Chapter 4. The written data to be analysed comprises the responses to the questionnaire concerning informants' use of and knowledge of slang and expletives, and with this fact in mind, I make a brief digression into this slightly suspect realm of language at this point. It might be wise to point out right at the start that any comments made regarding attitudes to and general beliefs about slang and expletives relate to the Western culture, and to the middle and upper classes of that culture, (the background of informants in this study) insofar as these can be distinguished from the lower classes.

5.1: Slang:

> The chief use of slang
> Is to show that you're one of the gang. (Crystal 1987:53)

Slang is often neglected by serious linguists, or romanticised in an exaggerated fashion as witty, full of vigour and verve, untrammelled by the fetters of a standard, or viciously criticised and condemned as vulgar non-standard speech. Definitions of the phenomenon are frustratingly few and far between, because most of them are impressionistic or emotional - we all know what it is but find it very difficult to explain.

5.1.1: The positive view:

This is the view of the minority. Walt Whitman said

> slang is an attempt of common humanity to escape from bald literalism and express itself illimitably ..... the wholesome fermentation or eructation of those

> processes eternally active in language, by which froths and specks are thrown up, mostly to pass away; though occasionally to settle and permanently crystallise. (1885:573)

Following suit, Hayakawa calls slang "the poetry of everyday life" saying that it

> vividly expresses people's feelings about life and about the things they encounter in life. (1941:195)

Neither of them, however, obliges us by trying to define slang, presuming that the notion is already clear to their readers.

5.1.2: **The negative approach:**

It is not difficult to find negative views about slang - they abound in most prescriptive books about usage, and are not only a phenomenon of the past, though naturally they are most prolific in books written a fair amount of time ago.

Genung declared that

> slang is to a people's language what an epidemic disease is to their bodily constitution: just as catching and inevitable in its run ..... severest where sanitary conditions are most neglected. (1893:32)

His "shocking" example might make one snigger: *He was badly* **cut up** *by the news.*

Fernald was equally abusive and vituperative:

> slang ..... saves the trouble - and the glory - of thinking. The same cheap word may be used for any one of a hundred ideas ..... Slang is the advertisement of mental poverty ..... The stir of the lower life is constantly bringing to the surface mud [and] slime. (1918:253)

All this makes slang sound like some sort of secret weapon set on the extermination of standard English at all costs. Further heated views are provided by Partridge, who quotes Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes as saying

> the use of slang is at once a sign and a cause of mental atrophy. (1935:295)

and by Foerster and Steadman (1941:290), who call slang a "cheap substitute for good diction", demonstrating laziness, poor vocabulary, and lack of critical ability. Millhauser follows the same line of

argument:

> Slang is a kind of speech that belittles what it conveys ..... developed to express a few widely prevalent attitudes and therefore lacking precision and variety. You should avoid it because it is inadequate to critical thinking and because it imposes a cynical or flippant tone on your serious ideas. (1952:309)

In several editions of the Harbrace College Handbook, John Hodges also harshly criticises slang. In the 1967 edition he says

> slang is the sluggard's way of avoiding the search for the exact, meaningful word. (1967:197)

Teachers over the years have earned a name for being strongly against the use of slang in any formal pedagogical context, and James Sledd (1965:699) suggests that a reason for this may be that it is used deliberately, in jest or in earnest, to flout a conventional or social or semantic norm.

If it appears that this antiquated condemnation of slang is an amusing pastime of linguists of yore, it is worth taking note of the stern warnings of more recent thinkers: Leggett, Mead and Charvatt are quoted in Dumas and Lighter (1978) as saying

> It is especially poor usage to mix slang and respectable words indiscriminately in the same sentence. (1974:353)

5.1.3: **Assorted attempts at definitions:**

It is with frustration and a nice sense of humour that William Labov advises that all articles on slang should be consigned to

> an outer, extra-linguistic darkness. (1972:97)

What follows is an assortment of definitions of slang by linguists of some repute, as an indication of the mists in which they frequently find themselves floundering, which perhaps explains why Milward (1937) wrote an entire Masters thesis on the topic of slang with only the following as her attempt at a (somewhat unsatisfactory) definition:

> the slang expressions are those which in my opinion would not be used in good literature, except of course in conversation, and the colloquial ones are those which could be so used. (1937:3)

Bailey (1985) points out the need for first-hand experience in slang studies, because of the connotative art of slang, and this view is reaffirmed by Sornig, according to whom

> It is extremely difficult ..... to explain their real and complete meaning to an outsider ..... the reason for their very existence lies in the connotative part of the meaning of slang terms and colloquialisms. (1981:1)

The following definition by Flexner seems a little too broad, making nearly everything slang except a few highly formal terms:

> American slang ..... is the body of words and expressions frequently used by or intelligible to a rather large portion of the general American public, but not accepted as good, formal usage by the majority. (1975:vi)

The definition by Gleason, which regards slang as

> that portion of the vocabulary which changes most freely (1961:6)

is also not entirely satisfactory, as many of the words which we erroneously regard as fresh new slang items are in fact centuries old - many of the "four letter words" being cases in point.

A quick look at further dictionary definitions does not prove to be particularly helpful. The O.E.D. definition of slang is

> language of a highly colloquial type, considered as below the level of standard educated speech, and consisting either of new words or of current words employed in a special sense. (*sb.*3 sense 1c)

Problems with this are definitions of terms like "colloquial" and "standard educated speech". Webster's Third defines slang as a

> A non-standard vocabulary composed of words and senses characterised primarily by connotations of extreme informality and usu. a currency not limited to a particular region and composed typically of coinages or arbitrarily changed words, clipped or shortened forms, extravagant, forced, or facetious figures of speech, or verbal novelties, usu. experiencing quick popularity and relatively rapid decline into disuse. (sense 2)

Such features as rapid decline are not self-evident, and this is not a satisfactory definition either, though it improves on former attempts. What is noticeable is the fact that connotation and rapid change is a primary determinant of slang, causing many acceptable words to sink into the linguistic slums. (e.g. *gay*)

The American Heritage Dictionary defines slang as

> a style of language rather than a level of formality ..... the distinguishing feature ..... is the intention - however often unsuccessful - to produce rhetorical effect, such as incongruity, irreverence or exaggeration ..... has strong connotations in addition to its denotation ..... its connotation is intentionally often aggressively informal. (1969:xlvi)

Lack of consistency in definitions and in dictionary entries show that not only individual ideas about slang differ, but corporate ideas do as well. Dumas and Lighter (1978) provide an example of this in the term *junkie* which is considered by Collegiate as slang, but not by the Random House Dictionary.

So slang must not be used as a catch phrase for all odd words, jargon, regionalisms and colloquialisms; it can often be recognised by the user's intention to break norms, but this is not an infallible test, as, among certain linguistic subcultures (e.g. teenagers, or some less privileged social groups), not using slang may in fact be breaking norms in some registers. Context alone can help one to decide whether there is any intention to shock, show disrespect for authority, be witty or humorous, show solidarity by the use of a shared code, or exclude others who do not use the code.

Rapoport informs his readers that

> Slang is essentially a collection of vivid metaphors in the speech of the less educated, who, as a rule, do not write. (1975:144)

The items which make it into respectable speech are, according to him, filling a gap in the lexicon; the others are a passing fad, a striving for novelty. This claim is questionable: slang is undoubtedly also used by many who write, and many of the items which are ultimately accepted are not necessarily gap-fillers, or more vivid or better words - most of the examples he gives have current synonyms: *Bigshot; booze; guy; OK.*

Dumas and Lighter have the following to say about slang:

> we are all sure it exists, most of us are sure we know what it is, and many of us are sure that everyone else agrees with us. (1978:9)

Unfortunately though, an experiment (reported by Dumas and Lighter) in which students were presented with a list of sentences containing words of "dubious virtue" showed a remarkable **lack** of consensus among these students regarding which of the terms were slang and Dumas et al. suggest that the confusion is nation-wide.

It seems that everyone can't recognise slang, nor can anyone define it easily! Crystal's definition is disappointingly broad:

> Slang is ..... a colloquial departure from standard usage, it is often imaginative, vivid and ingenious in its construction, so much so that it has been called "the plain man's poetry." (1987:53)

and in Branford's Dictionary of South African English

> the label *slang* [has been used] for terms so very informal that they are seldom found in print. (1987:xx)

Bradley, despite writing in 1911 had the astuteness to recognise that speaker's intentions are important in identifying slang; he said

> slang is neither a part of the ordinary language, nor an attempt to supply its deficiencies. (1911:207)

but he excludes from the realm of slang all obscenity and profanity, which is a controversial decision.

In concluding this section, it may be helpful to summarise Dumas and Lighter's (1978:14-15) defining criteria for recognising a word as slang:

1.) Its presence will markedly lower the dignity of formal or serious speech or writing - their example: *Though their dissent was not always noisy or dramatic, many Americans felt the president was a jerk for continuing the war.*

2.) Its use implies the user's special familiarity with either the referent or the usual users of the term.

3.) It is normally tabooed by those with higher status or responsibility - not used by them or to them. Their example is delightfully incongruous: *Professor Smith, would you repeat those last two fuckers?*

4.) It is used in place of the well-known conventional synonym, often euphemistically or to avoid the discomfort of using the conventional term. E.g. *His uncle croaked.* (Dumas and Lighter's example, not particularly "euphemistic", perhaps.) *I really dig you* is perhaps a better example.

5.1.4: **Slang and Females:**

The stereotype of males as slang-users, females as slang-eschewers is supported in all serious linguistic writings on the topic: Jespersen (1922) supported this view, as did Milward:

> On the whole I have found that men students are more original in their vocabularies than women are, the latter being more apt to follow the lead of their brothers than to take the lead themselves. (1937:1)

Flexner makes similar (somewhat chauvinistic) observations: he sees vigour and vividness (inherent in the use of expletives and slang) as virtues of male speech, vices of female speech, and, as recently as 1975 in his preface to the Dictionary of American Slang, approves the vigorous use of male slang and expletives, claiming that men like to be more "active" in language than women. He is worth quoting in full:

> In my work on this dictionary I was constantly aware that most American slang is created and used by males. Many types of slang words, including the taboo and strongly derogatory ones, those referring to sex, women, work, money, whiskey, politics, transportation, sports and the like - refer primarily to male endeavor and interest. The majority of entries in this dictionary could be labelled "primarily masculine use". Men belong to more sub-groups than do women; men create and use occupational cant and jargon; in business men have acquaintances who belong to many different sub-groups. Women, on the other hand, still tend to be restricted to family and neighbourhood friends. Women have very little of their own slang. The new words applied to women's clothing, kitchen utensils, and gadgets are usually created by men. (1975:xii)

Flexner waxes lyrical on the virtues of male speech habits towards the end of his preface, using the first person pronoun "we" in describing the practices of the nobler sex: men like slang because it expresses action or even violence

> we (sic) grab some sleep, feed our face (sic), kill time ..... in every instance we tend to use the transitive verb, making ourselves the active doer. (1975:xii)

The use of slang to show a shared linguistic code, shared knowledge and interests - in other words to reinforce group membership, is of special interest in this study, dealing, as it does, with teenage speech. Because a sense of belonging is important to the average "insecure" teenager, one expects slang to abound among teenagers particularly, and Bailey (1985) confirms this view, saying slang is

> used rather than simply spoken ..... [used] more by younger people and more by men than by women. (1985:5)

He suggests that country-wide one can regard all users as belonging to one speech community- the youth, peers with a high degree of shared knowledge and interests. It should also be noted that the use of slang implies a high level of confidence, and this, it has been pointed out, is a typically male attribute in Western society.

What makes slang uniquely slang is its undeniable lack of dignity, and its widespread use within a social group to defy linguistic or social convention, which obviously takes a certain amount of daring. For this reason one expects it to prevail among the young, and stereotypes point in the direction of male rather than female youth.

5.2: **Expletives:**

It may be useful at this point to put the use of expletives into perspective in relation to language as a whole. It was pointed out above that swearwords are not always easily distinguishable from ordinary slang, as they form a continuum, the step from *oh sheet!* to *oh shit!* being a very small one. Some writers attempt to separate them, but I intend sticking with the majority and regarding them as a subclass of slang, belonging fairly and squarely in the area of linguistic taboo, part of "slang", but not a very desirable part, from the point of view of members of middle and upper class western society.

Linguistic taboos exist in every culture, and are as old as language itself, frequently serving to distinguish men from women, in that males can use more freely what is expressly denied women.

A remarkable variety of linguistic forms can be considered as cursing or swearing - at one extreme the complex and sophisticated expressions of religious and legal contexts, and at the other the many daily expressions of taboo speech, usually profanities and obscenities, that express such emotions as hatred, antagonism, frustration and surprise. The most common utterances consist of single words or short phrases (lengthier sequences for "accomplished swearers") conveying different levels of intensity and attracting different degrees of social sanction. English examples range from mild *heck* or *dash* to the two maximally taboo words *fuck* and *cunt*. (See Crystal 1987:61.)

Sex and excretion are the main sources of expletives, being considered taboo by most societies. The other source is the names of gods, devils, sacred places, future life and anyone or anything that has a sacred place in the belief systems of a community. (*Dear Lord, by the beard of the prophet, heaven, hell, by Jove*) Over the years euphemistic forms of these words can obscure their original meaning, as in the case of *bloody* becoming *blooming*, or *Jesus* becoming *gee whiskers* etc. Cursing is closely linked to culture, and cultures use a remarkable range of experience to curse or swear: a dead relative, a part of the body (*my foot*), natural forces (*bliksem*), an animal (*rats*), or even a plant - one of the most famous oaths of ancient Ionia was *ma tin krambin* ("By the cabbage!"), an expression that, according to Crystal, originates from the special status of this vegetable as an antidote for hangovers! The Arabic and Turkish curses are famous for their inventiveness, (*you ride a female camel, you father of sixty dogs*), while Misra (1980) offers the interested reader an amazing variety of highly abusive terms used by Indian speech communities. Other peoples (e.g. the Japanese) swear very little.

Functions of the use of expletives are complex: one of the commonest uses of language is the emotive or expressive one - a means of getting rid of nervous energy when we are under stress, and obscenities are

probably the commonest signals to be used in this way, especially when one is angry or frustrated, a way of expressing aggression without resorting to violence. The use of expletives has also been credited with acting as a social marker of group identity and solidarity, a dominant linguistic trait in such social contexts.

How is profanity distinguished from obscenity? In our age swearing and cursing are interchangeable, and yet they do differ: obscenity can be defined as comprising "dirty" or "unclean" words, consistently with only one sense, concerned exclusively with our bodies, particularly sexual or excretory processes. The use of obscenity is the linguistic analogue of slumming. Profanity, on the other hand, is the use of words felt to be irreverent or blasphemous, usually with a double role e.g. *God, Jesus, Christ* (among Christians), *Allah* (in Muslim circles). They can all be used with a perfectly acceptable meaning in a religious context, but not in any other context.

The obscene word, in contrast, does not possess this double character. Once having become obscene, it cannot be used in other senses easily. Crystal (1987) points out that it can be argued that the real meaning of the expressions used in swearing is rarely a factor governing their use, thus allowing a contrast to be drawn with blasphemy, where the speaker has the definite intention of vilifying religious matters. Despite the claims of many that obscenity is subjective and that a word is merely letters or sounds, clearly all these are more than that, they form part of a semantic system, and we all recognise them for what they are, even if we battle to define them. They carry a powerful emotional and psychological charge and are tacitly assumed to have strength and masculinity. We find taboo language "strong" because it also implies the violation of a code; every resort to it is an act of daring, however slight. For the purposes of this study, expletives are regarded as part of slang, a view that is supported in Bailey (1985), judging by the sort of words discussed in his article, and by the informants in this study (see chapter 4) who, when asked to provide slang words for key concepts (e.g. an unlikable man) freely provided several rather offensive swearwords.

5.2.1: **Swearing and Females:**

Perhaps the most widespread belief among the "sexist" stereotypes is that men's speech is coarser and more direct than women's, and less conservative. The belief that women's language is more polite and refined has been expressed for centuries. Elyot in The Governour (1531) advises that the child of a gentleman should be brought up away from men (the swearers) to avoid any "wanton or unclene words" to be spoken in its presence. And Tucker (1961) quotes Arthur Murphy as saying in Gray's Inn Journal (1754)

> a distinction might be made between a kind of sex in words according as they are appropriate to men or women, as for instance *D..n my Blood* is of male extraction, and *pshaw* and *fiddlesticks* I take to be female. (1961:86)

Jespersen also claimed that men swear, use slang and pun and use profanity or obscenity more often than women. According to him, women

> are shy of mentioning certain parts of the body, and certain natural functions by the direct and often rude denominations which men and especially young men prefer when among themselves. Women will therefore invent innocent and euphemistic words and paraphrases. (1922:245)

Reik, commenting on "man talk" and "woman talk", observed that

> men will not hesitate to say "hell" or "damned" ..... women will rarely say "it stinks" preferring to state that it has a bad smell. (1950:14)

Pickford confirms this view with the following statement:

> men who among themselves speak obscenely and profanely observe in the presence of women a special decorum. (1956:220)

and Adler adds

> We all know what happens to the language of soldiers during their absence from home: their language deteriorates and becomes, to a large extent, obscene slang. (1978:50)

and he quotes Abrahams (1974:242) as saying

> In general women ..... speak differently from men. Women are expected to be more restrained in their talk, less loud, less public, and much less abandoned. Parents attempt to instil this in the girls in the family by attempting to get them never to ..... curse, not even when involved in street encounters. (cited in Adler 1978:56)

With reference to language concerning "the sexual act and the sexual organs as well as everything which is connected with it" says Porzig, we find a unique group as "carriers of the special erotic language" (he makes it sound very much like siphilis or aids!) -

> the community of sexually active men in contradistinction, on the one hand, to the women, and on the other hand, to immature boys. (Porzig (1957:259) as translated by Adler (1978:27-28))

Wilson (1956) also makes the comment that the taboo on sexual words (stronger than that on religious words) is much more often observed by women in our society than by men, although he observes that the

> permissive society has made women speak more freely, calling a spade a spade on sexual matters, than ever before. (1956:35)

Lakoff's (1975) observations that men use stronger expletives like *shit* and *damn*, while women prefer expressions like *oh dear goodness* or *dear me* tend to support this idea; she claims that

> women don't use off-colour or indelicate expressions; women are experts at euphemism. (1975:55)

Chapter 1.3 reviews research on people's perceptions of language as either male or female and suggests that the earlier stereotypes of coarse, free male language contrasted with euphemistic female forms still hold: Garcia-Zamor (1973) found that *shit* was seen as a male doll utterance, *drat* a female doll utterance, among pre-schoolers, and Kramer (1974b) found that adults, when asked to attach speech "bubbles" to comic characters, consistently assigned swear words to the males.

One would expect males to make more use of this area of language, because of their supposed reduced regard for propriety in language, their daring and creative tendencies giving them license to be more adventurous linguistically, than their female counterparts. Interestingly enough (especially for Jespersen and Flexner fans) it emerged from a small-scale study by the author that females regarded the excessive use of expletives by males as strong evidence of mental inefficiency and laziness, not of daring masculinity.

Expletive usage is probably very much a matter of socialisation: one is brought up in a swearing or a non-swearing household, and, as Fiona Pitt-Kethley says

> like smokers and non-smokers, they rarely see each others' point of view. (1986:34)

Generally members of middle and upper class Western society are, at least in early childhood, relatively protected from the vast majority of taboo words, and this is especially so in the case of female children. (It is with children from this sort of background that this study is concerned, and so other social groups will not be discussed here, although it is worth mentioning that norms vary quite radically in other linguistic subcultures.) Discovering these words, and exactly what they mean, can often be a matter of considerable ingenuity for many: seldom does one have the opportunity of being given an explicit definition of any swearwords, most school dictionaries eschew them, and one is left to work out their meanings for oneself, with the help of one's peers and so-called "dirty" books. The point is that swearing is something the child, especially the female child, cannot learn (not to mention use) easily or freely at home.

At this point a word about the printed use of expletives might be appropriate. In 1936 Eric Partridge included *f*ck* in his Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (with an asterisk for the vowel), and a storm of protest from schools and libraries, even police, resulted; even today the book is not always to be found on the shelves of public libraries. In 1959 an even greater furore erupted with the publication of D. H. Lawrence's Lady Chatterley's Lover, which contained several *fuck*s, and the edition was banned. Court cases followed and the verdict in 1960 of not guilty resulted in the rapid appearance of the word in the daily press. Despite the development of increasingly liberal attitudes, there is still strong antagonism to the use of such words in public speech, and not all Dictionaries listed them until recently: there is nothing to be found between *fuchsite* and *fucoid* in Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1962), but the Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary (1972) gives a full definition of the offending item, and the Collins Cobuild (1987) an even fuller one.

Despite Pitt-Kethley's tongue-in-cheek opinion that children ought to be deliberately taught the odd expletive, most parents in the level of society on which this study focusses try to prevent such words from reaching the ears of the "innocent" - thereby making them all the dirtier and more desirable to the growing adolescent. It is not the words that are dirty, it is the thoughts that go with them, and the concomitant flouting of social convention that gives a thrill.

The process of socialisation is very strong. As Adler points out

> there is nothing in the biological make-up of women that makes them talk differently from men, but in the process of education, first at home and then at school, they are taught and finally accept, a different linguistic behaviour from that of men. (1978:56)

It is hardly surprising that a stereotype has evolved in which men do all the swearing, while women cower, shocked, in the background. Though one could perhaps excuse a lack of true scientific objectivity in earlier years it is harder to condone the attitudes of Flexner, who asserts unequivocally:

> Except when she accompanies her boyfriend or husband to **his** recreation (baseball, hunting etc.) a woman seldom mingles with other groups. When women do mingle outside of their own neighbourhood and family circles, they do not often talk of the outside world of business, politics or other fields of general interest where new fun names for objects, concepts and viewpoints could evolve. (1975: xii)

Men seem to relish the hyperbole of slang, enjoy using it to shock, and do not see or care to express the finer shades of meaning -

> a book is either great or nothing but crap. (1975:xii).

A common view is that women (or minors) are considered presumptuous if they use expletives. This is seen as an impropriety or worse. By using this lexical area less frequently than men, they are presumably reaffirming their allegiance to the social order, proclaiming a preference for statusful expressions, or simply following a behavioral pattern laid down in childhood. (See Trudgill (1972) Brown (1980), McConnell-Ginet et al.(1980), Crosby and Nyquist (1977), O'Barr and Atkins (1980), Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1967), Labov (1972)).

Yet swearing is a great relief at times when one has grazed one's shin or torn one's trousers. It's also extremely useful for shocking people. Growing youngsters soon learn this for themselves, and it is the fault of society that we impose tighter restrictions on our females than on males regarding the use of these words. It is interesting to note that such restrictions are culture-specific and by no means universal. Misra (1980), discussing linguistic diversity in the Bhojpuri speech community (in N. E. India), says that

> in all castes women are more abusive than men. This nature in women increases more as we go downwards in the caste hierarchy. (1980:177)

He recounts how, during a quarrel

> women of both the quarrelling parties join in with a reckless freedom of their tongues. With a view to insult their opponents at the scene they make frequent reference to sex organs and describe the sexual intercourse very indecently. (1980:170)

He claims that certain abuses (highly sexual) are reserved for male use, and others (equally, if not more sexually abusive) exclusive to women, and recounts how, while giving a wedding feast, womenfolk of the bride's party sing songs of abuse to the members of the groom's party. During a "ritual digging" (*matikor*) at the ceremony

> all women ..... abuse each other vociferously ..... often referring to the other woman as one who had had sex with a goat, monkey and so on. Their passion for sex (sic!) and for abusing sex finds overt expression. (1980:178)

R. Mesthrie (personal communication) confirms that this is still practised among some groups of Indians in Natal, though not as commonly as in the past. Doubtless several other non-western societies indulge in similar practices, and I must admit to some envy of their opportunity of "getting away" with so shocking a form of linguistic behaviour occasionally. Clearly expletive usage serves a psychological need at times of high emotion, and females in our society are forced by social norms to suppress these a little more than males.

Key makes some interesting, if slightly acidic, comments on the attempt to prevent females from swearing:

> we have seen that most women do not swear and that they try to use the standard language more than men. But there is a difference between not wanting to swear and not being allowed to swear ..... thus she is not permitted to swear or use *coarse* language. She is given titles and respect - males must not swear in her presence ..... but all this simply results in keeping women out of the running. In order to continue a caste system it is necessary for those in the lower ranks to accept their status. (1975:102)

What is not clear is whether the "rules" outlined above regarding expletive usage by the different gender groups are strictly adhered to. Despite the confident views expressed above, even some of the earlier writers on language saw what was afoot; Schlauch noted that

> [the set of] rough masculine words, formerly limited to bar rooms and exclusively male haunts, is shrinking under the incursions of women into all these realms. (1943:287)

(Does one sense a slight resentment?)She also says

> In recent years the wide economic independence of women, and also their advanced education, have contributed to the liberation of their speech. It is unreasonable to expect the word *legs* to evoke blushes on a young girl's cheeks when her scientific training has taught her to discourse glibly of genes, chromosomes and monosexual reproduction. (1943:280)

(One wonders what happened to bisexual reproduction in 1943!)

Hertzler (1965) and Maurer (1976) also suggest that the dichotomy between male and female use of expletives is fading and it would be interesting to see whether, with the legal equality of the sexes, the increasing scale of employment of women, the fact that the sexes increasingly perform the same kind of work, and participate co-equally with men, the sharply distinct functional divergences between the speech of the sexes is growing weaker or disappearing. Is the much discussed effeminisation of men and masculinisation of women responsible for the breakdown of the traditional dichotomy?

Many of the forms attributed to women are seen as inferior - even the use of expletives is seen as providing men with extra creative outlets to show confidence or authority. Spender (1980) sees women as linguistically tentative, hesitant, even trivial, a negative attitude which pervades much of the work in this field. As Holmes says:

> As long as society disvalues women, negative attitudes to any behaviour attributed to women will persist, regardless of what women actually say and do. (1984:169)

Traditionally feminine "expletives" such as *sugar* etc. definitely raise a smirk of condescension from the linguistically daring members of the community. (They are really used: informants responses (see Appendix L) provided an amazingly rich list of such euphemistic avoidance techniques!) With regard to the use of expletives the questions we must ask are:

(a.) do females really use expletives less often than males?
(b.) do females regard the use of expletives differently from males?
(c.) do the occasions for the use of expletives differ between males and females?
(d.) which variables affect the use of expletives most: age, sex, educational level, parental habits or situation of use?

5.2.2: **Studies on Expletive Usage:**

It is clear that people have thought for a long time that women and men differ in relation to their use of swear words and other taboo expressions, but there is still very little evidence to confirm or refute this belief. One of the reasons for this may be a practical one: Frances makes the point that women as linguistic fieldworkers are at a disadvantage:

> The kind of old-fashioned rustic ..... is likely to be squeamish about discussing some topics and using some lexical items considered to be improper in the presence of women ..... on the other side ..... a woman fieldworker may have better success than a male in eliciting some of the special vocabulary of women from female informants. (1983:84)

One might carry the point further and suggest that fieldworkers, be they male or female, prefer to avoid the delicate area of linguistic taboo wherever possible. In any event elicitation of such terms from any stranger is not regarded an easy matter - people generally only utter expletives when the situation calls for them, and formal linguistic interviews, trying though they may be, are not generally conducive to swearing!

Notwithstanding natural squeamishness, Oliver and Rubin (1975) carried out a study on the use of expletives by women in America, in an attempt to show that Lakoff's assertion that women use "weak" expletives is incorrect, and that women are simply influenced differently by different variables such as domain, mood, identity etc. In this study, using a questionnaire, they examined the influence of marriage and degree of "liberation" (in the women's liberation sense of the word) on 28 women aged 40 to 55 years. Eight situations, varying in degree of formality and intimacy were hypothesised, and informants were asked to select from six **given** expletives the ones they would be most likely to use.

In my view the drawbacks of this study, interesting though it has proved to be, are

(a.) the use of "liberatedness" as a variable - a complicated concept, not amenable to quantification.

(b.) the restrictions placed on informants by providing them with ready-made expletives, putting the words in their mouths, so to speak.

(c.) the restriction to 40 to 55 year-old women.

(d.) the lack of any male informants.

The authors conclude by agreeing with Lakoff that women **do** prefer weak expletives, that they vary their usage according to degree of formality of context, and that singleness and "liberation" tend to result in an increase in expletive usage.

Bailey and Timm (1976) extended the study to younger women and men, motivated by a suspicion that the use of strong expletives would be far greater for them. Using a self-report questionnaire again, on an American university population of varying ages, sexes etc., they gave 20 selected situations which might elicit an expletive, and asked their subjects to fill in the expletive which they might use. The result showed that women, on the whole, do say they use fewer expletives than men, especially in the younger group, but that the 31 to 35 year-old women used significantly more than their younger "sisters".

The reason for this is interesting. Was this group more liberated, resentful of being housewives? Giving vent to the frustrations of motherhood? Would one find a similar difference among different age groupings of South African women, and men for that matter? Their study, despite the obvious drawback which one finds in any self-assessment questionnaire of lack of certainty regarding the honesty or accuracy of the respondent in his/her answers, revealed that, for all sexes the use of expletives was avoided with parents, elders and religious people, or members of the opposite sex, but that women were more careful in every instance.

Staley (1978) also used a questionnaire elicitation experiment to examine the habits of a group of students aged 20 to 25, and to see how they thought the opposite sex might react in each of the 20 situations suggested. She found an unexpected <u>similarity</u> in the usage of male and female students, though the stereotyped views about the opposite sex emerged loud and clear.

> It appears that while men and women may be now more equal than ever before in terms of this one aspect of sexual politics in language, cultural expectations lag behind. If it is true that today's woman has more choices in terms of what she may say, waiting ears may still not be ready to hear her. (1978:377)

In a small investigation (de Klerk 1988), using a questionnaire, I found that the use of expletives is controlled by the following factors in the situation, given in **decreasing** order of significance: (Suppression was greater by women on all counts.)

a.) Presence of superiors/parents, strangers or women (in that order). What seems to be involved here is identification with a social group, (taking age status, and occupation into account)- the need to cultivate a linguistic image/identity, stemming from the social stereotype that "nice" people do not swear.
b.) Degree of physical pain, irritation or personal affront.
c.) Amount of emotional involvement (from anger to delight)
d.) Relatively rare circumstances where there is a genuine desire to be offensive, insulting or belittling.

"Nice people" **do** swear, but like chameleons, they blend (linguistically) into the context in which they find themselves, conforming to what they think the people they are with might expect from them. For women this apparently implies adopting slightly different patterns from males. This fact was overwhelmingly confirmed in the free comment section of the questionnaire, where many informants made a point of saying this. They are aware of the stereotypes, and pay lip service to them most of the time. In Staley's words:

> The two sexes are becoming equal, but no one knows it yet. (1978:377)

From this study it emerged that both sexes were far more tolerant towards male expletive usage, while both sexes had lower tolerance towards women and children who swore. Comments in these categories were heated and judgemental, with the exception of a few determined swearers. Double standards prevail among South African English speakers, with females being apparently willing participants in the status quo. A few of the younger females protested against society's attitudes to women who swear, but on the whole most docilely accept the stereotype and adjust accordingly.

It is to be remembered with caution that people are often unreliable in reporting on their own usage, and that females show a tendency to underreport, males to overreport, (See chapter 1.2.4) and this may have had the effect of inflating the scores somewhat in the direction of the stereotypes. Anonymity may have lessened this tendency slightly, and the advantage of using an anonymous questionnaire is that it permits the respondent to reveal embarrassing information which might otherwise be inaccessible to the researcher; however it may lead to frivolity, decreasing validity in such a way that the researcher cannot detect it. It is nevertheless interesting to note the number of female respondents, who, despite anonymity, used asterisks or dashes (e.g. f**k) to avoid writing the word they say they would have used. (Such informants were given half the score assigned to the expletive in question.) No male used this avoidance technique.

The strength of early socialisation, and society's strong discouragement of little girls swearing, compared

with tacit approval of the phenomenon in boys (Garnica (1979)) was noticeable in the results of this survey, and comments on the questionnaire reinforce this view wholeheartedly, harping on the fact that use of expletives by women or children is indicative of poor upbringing, lower class membership, ignorance of social norms and lack of femininity (in the case of women). Boys and men are not judged by the same standards. Counteracting the force of this socialisation, we find a definite tendency for females to encroach on the male domain, and a slight fading of the sharp dichotomy in the use of linguistic taboo between the sexes. Despite Western society's firm discouragement, increasing numbers of women are flouting the rules, and they **do** swear.

For those traditionalists who tremble at the thought of the loss of such social controls on the female of the species, never fear! In the words of Maurer

> let those take heart who are dismayed that in a couple of generations we have abolished our accumulated sex taboos. Already a host of counterforces are at work which will create new taboos and the capacity to name them ..... taboos, both behavioral and linguistic, are indigenous to human culture, and nature will gradually replenish any small vacuum now apparent. (1976:23)

If theories are anything to go by, it is the conservative female element which will safeguard this area of language.

5.3: Questionnaire Analyses:

Informants in this study were all requested to fill in a questionnaire on slang and expletives (available for scrutiny in Appendix C, and discussed more fully in 3.8.1 and 3.8.2). It examined two main issues: use of/ knowledge of current slang, and use of/ knowledge of expletives. In addition attitudes of informants regarding both slang and expletives were elicited. Results of analyses are discussed in the following sections.

5.3.1: Slang:

In order to elicit slang from informants, they were asked, on the anonymous questionnaire, to fill in as many slang equivalents of certain key words (e.g. *alcohol*) as they could remember, and on each occasion an example was given to jog their memories. The aim of this exercise was primarily to ascertain which groups had the largest slang vocabulary (whether this was an active or passive vocabulary could not be ascertained). For this reason total numbers of responses in each section from each informant were simply tallied, and a complete table reflecting the number of responses in each subsection is listed in appendix J. A high score reflects a knowledge of a fairly large number of slang words, a low score indicates the opposite. At no stage is it assumed that knowledge of a slang word implies habitual use thereof, but it does imply understanding of its meaning, and association of some sort with its users.

5.3.1.1: **Sum of Responses:**

The mean scores of the groups under investigation are listed below. The figures represent the average number of words given by each group as responses in this section of the questionnaire.

Code:	Avg:	Code:	Avg:
S6	330	**S9**	370
KB6	198	**KB9**	353
G6	137	**G9**	218
PB6	119	**PB9**	243
D6	224	**D9**	266
KG6	187	**KG9**	418
V6	163	**V9**	214
PG6	178	**PG9**	218

Overall Mean: 239.75

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	25.96	14.95	1.22
All girls	23.35	12.00	
Std. 6 boys	19.37	13.43	0.22
Std. 6 girls	18.80	9.59	
Std. 9 boys	32.55	13.42	1.61
Std. 9 girls	27.90	12.44	
All Std. 6	19.09	13.43	5.3 ***
All Std. 9	30.22	13.14	
Single-sex: boys	29.32	16.42	2.65
Single-sex: girls	21.68	8.03	
Coed: boys	22.60	12.45	0.79
Coed: girls	25.03	14.77	
All Coeds	23.81	13.71	0.79
All Single-sex	25.50	13.47	
Government: boys	20.65	14.19	0.49
Government: girls	19.34	9.32	
Private: boys	31.28	13.76	1.30
Private: girls	27.38	12.99	
All Government	19.99	12.02	4.62 ***
All Private	29.33	13.52	

SLANG: AVERAGE RESPONSE VALUE.

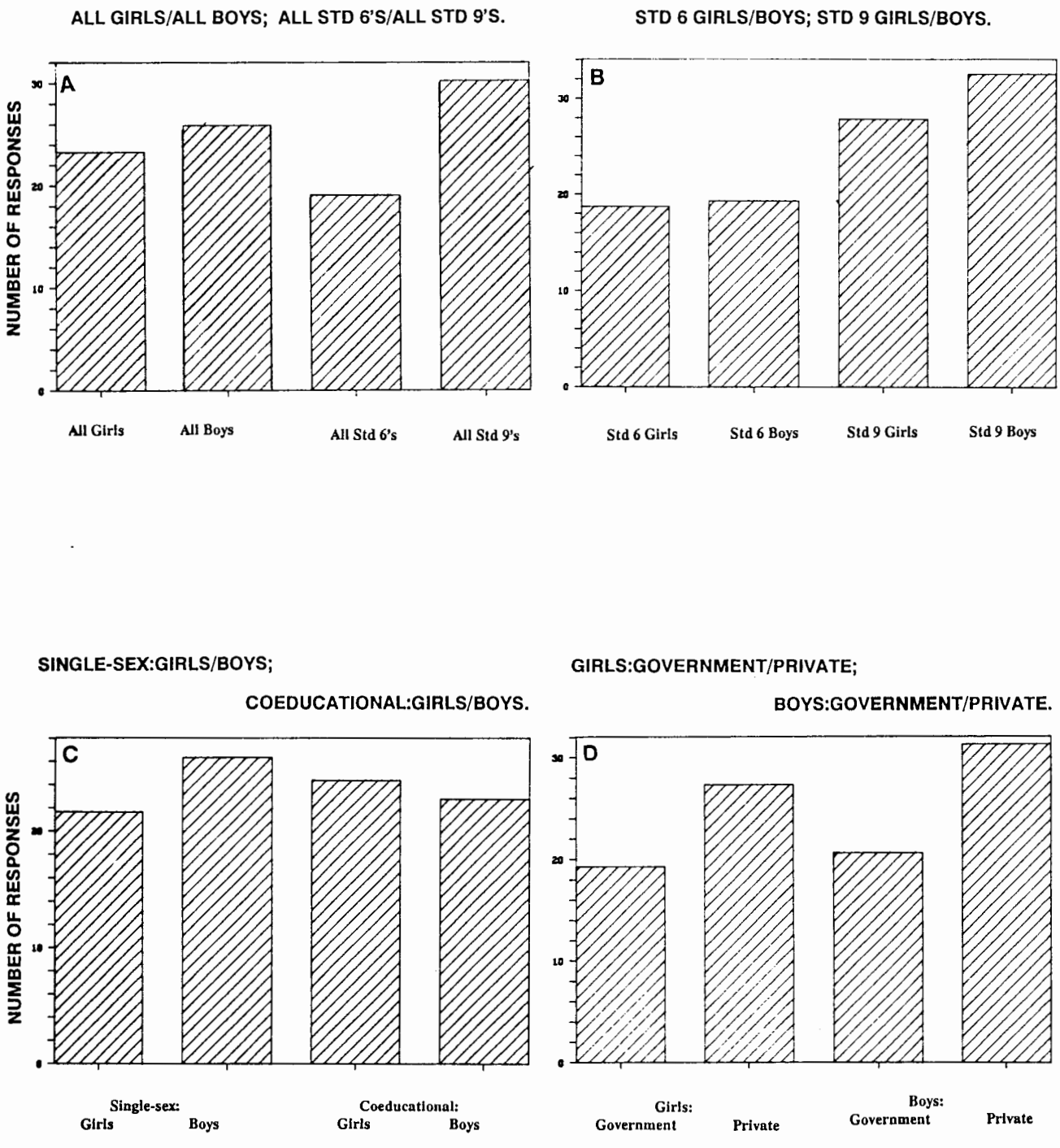

FIGURE 15

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: The stereotype would have us believe that girls know and use fewer slang items than boys. Results from this investigation do not confirm this hypothesis conclusively: despite a general trend in which male scores were slightly higher than female scores, there is an exception in coeducational schools (girls' score 25.03, boys' score 22.6) and there is a distinct lack of any respectable Z-scores accompanying any of the figures obtained. An assertion that males typically use more slang because they are male is a risky one, to say the least.

Age:	Std. 6 boys	19.37	Std. 9 boys	32.55
	Std. 6 girls	18.8	Std. 9 girls	27.9
	All Std. 6's	19.09	All Std. 9's	30.22

A clear pattern is evident: slang usage rises commensurately with increasing age. The very high Z-score confirms the hypothesis that age has far more to do with slang usage than sex.

School Type: The coeducational/single-sex subdivision did not yield any information of interest, but the very high score for informants from private schools (29.33) in comparison with the generally lower Government school informant score is interesting, especially in view of the high Z-score it carries, and concurs with the trend observed thus far of linguistic correlates of confidence occurring most among males and the pupils of private schools.

Implications: Type of school and age of informant have a noticeable influence on slang usage. In view of the fact that slang usage is associated with cohesive linguistic subcultures, and with a certain amount of daring confidence, presumably those at private schools must have tighter, more closely knit peer-groups or be generally more self-assured. It was pointed out earlier that one could not state equivocally that pupils at the Government schools selected for analysis were necessarily members of lower social groups than those at private schools; because of the nature of the town and the expense of private school (or in the case of Port Alfred High School the simple lack of an alternative high school in the town) many respectable and highly educated parents choose to send their children to Government schools. A potentially divisive feature, then, in Government schools, is the fact that their pupils come from fairly disparate backgrounds, some from very deprived ones indeed. All pupils at private schools would share at least one common bond: reasonably wealthy backgrounds. This might well play a role in peer group cohesion, a prerequisite for the dissemination and use of slang.

The graphs in Figure 15 show these differences pictorially.

5.3.1.2: **Semantic Preferences:**

The semantic fields examined in the questionnaire covered areas presumed to be of interest to teenagers in general. Response totals in each subsection were analysed in the hope of discovering some significant trends among the different linguistic "subcultures" under investigation here, and examination of the line graphs in Figure 16 reveal markedly consistent trends of lexical preference for most of the groupings of

SLANG:RESPONSES IN EACH SECTION.

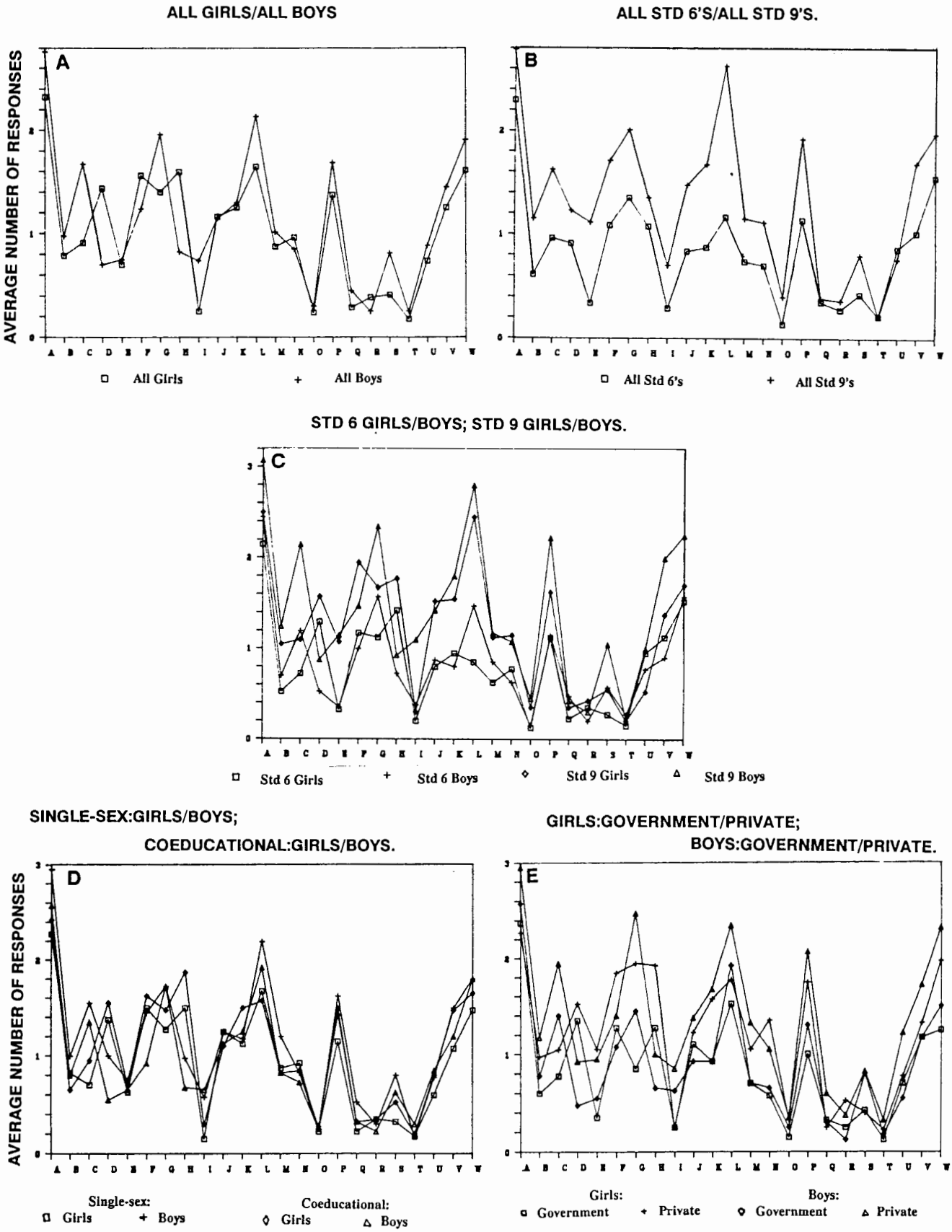

FIGURE 16

informants, with a noticeable gender difference throughout. (Figure 16 reflects the scores obtained in each section, labelled from A to W on the X-axis to correspond with the numbering in the questionnaire.) A closer lexical analysis of responses is not strictly relevant to the topic of this study, but it is worth noting, in passing, that the graphs reflect the following patterns of preference with regard to an abundance of slang terms:

High response	Fair response:	Low response:
nice	kiss	alcoholic drinks
drunk	unattractive boys	clothing
unattractive girls	party	prefects
"pet"	good-looking male	hard work
effeminate male	romantic attachment	missing class
unlikable man	unlikable male	unlikable woman
pretty girl	to eat	to fail
	cigarettes	
	vomit	
	pimples	

5.3.2: **Expletives:**

5.3.2.1: **Overall Response Values:**

In order to elicit expletives, hypothetical situations were sketched in the questionnaire and informants were requested to fill in the expletive they felt they were most likely to use in such a context. They were reminded that they could leave blank those contexts in which they would not have responded with a swearword at all. Each response was assigned a numerical value in accordance with the scale presented in Appendix L (see 3.8.2 for discussion) and all the numerical values of each informant's responses were tallied; the table below represents the resulting means for each group: (e.g. the Std. 6 boys from St. Andrews responded with words with an average total value of 198,6, which results in an average response value for each situation of 3,7.)

Code:	Average Total:	Average Score per situation:
S6	198.6	3.7
KB6	192.0	3.6
G6	90.5	1.7
PB6	117.6	2.2
D6	162.9	3.0
KG6	164.5	3.0
V6	81.8	1.5
PG6	110.3	2.0
S9	182.6	3.4
KB9	272.6	5.0
G9	189.2	3.5
PB9	205.1	3.8
D9	165.3	3.1
KG9	175.9	3.3
V9	84.7	1.6
PG9	143.3	2.7
Means:	158.6	2.9

(See also Appendix K)

Group:	Mean:	Std. Dev:	Z-score:
All boys	181.03	111.69	2.97 **
All girls	136.09	76.49	
Std. 6 boys	149.68	104.85	0.95
Std. 6 girls	129.88	80.85	
Std. 9 boys	212.38	109.50	3.39 ***
Std. 9 girls	142.30	71.32	
All Std. 6	139.78	94.15	2.85 **
All Std. 9	177.34	98.83	
Single-sex: boys	165.23	88.16	2.38 *
Single-sex: girls	123.68	66.37	
Coed: boys	196.83	129.15	1.99 *
Coed: girls	148.50	83.59	
All Coeds	172.66	111.43	1.83
All Single-sex	144.45	80.75	
Government: boys	150.60	106.71	2.28 *
Government: girls	105.03	67.87	
Private: boys	211.45	108.22	2.16
Private: girls	167.15	71.86	
All Government	123.56	89.03	4.53 ***
All Private	189.30	94.49	

Discussion of Results:

Sex: Consistently, male scores are higher than female scores, and these differences are fairly large, reinforced by relatively respectable Z-scores: 2.97 (**) in comparing all boys and girls, 3.39 (***) in comparing boys and girls in Std. 9, 2.36 (*) in comparing boys and girls at single-sex schools, and 2.28 (*) in comparing girls and boys at Government schools. This leaves one in no doubt that whether one is a male or a female has a lot to do with the rate at which one uses expletives - the forces of socialisation have done their work!

Age:	Std. 6 boys	149.68	Std. 9 boys	212.38
	Std. 6 girls	129.88	Std. 9 girls	142.30
	All Std. 6's	139.78	All Std. 9's	177.34

Expletive usage rises with age, and Z-scores indicate that one can attach significance to these results. This is not surprising, and one should note the intra-sex rises as well.

School Type: The coeducational/single-sex division renders little difference in scores, but the Government/Private division does: a score of 123.56 for Government school informants versus 189.30 for informants from Private schools, with a highly significant Z-score (4.53 ***) indicates the same trend as

EXPLETIVES: AVERAGE RESPONSE.

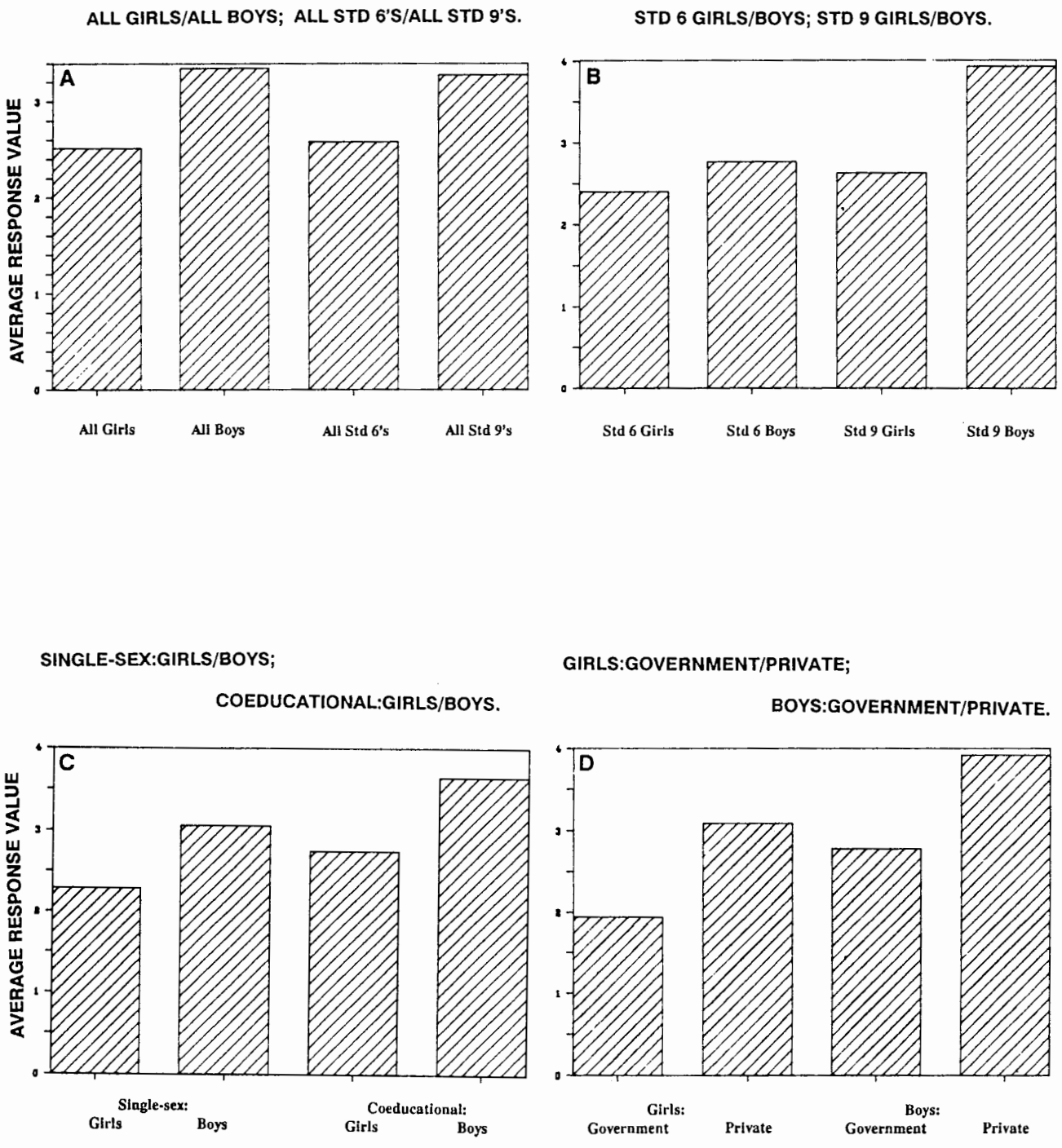

FIGURE 17

was noticed for the use of slang: higher scores in possibly more confident groups. This result might be a little surprising, in view of the natural tendency to associate unacceptable language such as expletives with lower social groups, but one should keep in mind that pupils in private schools tend to be allowed a very much freer rein than those in Government schools, where, despite an invitation to use expletives anonymously, inhibition and socialisation habits die hard, while pupils at the private schools, encouraged frequently to be more open and expressive, perhaps had less difficulty in "letting go".

Implications: The use of expletives is complicated by more than just one factor, and separating them out from one another is a virtually impossible task. What this investigation has hopefully revealed is that each factor (sex, age and scholarly background) plays a role in the final outcome, and that it is not gender alone which has the overriding influence. From the Z-scores obtained here one must conclude that school-type, age and gender all play a part in determining expletive usage, in ascending order of significance, but that all three are significant in their own right. It should also be noted that female scores are considerably higher than the stereotype might lead us to expect, and that predictions at the end of 5.2.2 might be in the process of being fulfilled: the gap between sexes is narrowing, and girls are becoming increasingly daring in their use of expletives. In this connection it should be noted that the female informants in this study were all adolescents, still firmly in the grip of all agents of socialisation. A comparative study in ten years' time would probably yield a far narrower gap between the two gender groups.

Figure 17 shows these results in the form of bar graphs.

5.3.2.2: **Ratings according to situations:**

Ten situations were hypothesized in the questionnaire, and respondents reacted with general uniformity to them, as is evident from the graphs in Figure 18. The ranking appears to be (given in decreasing order of associated expletive elicitation):

spilling a litre of milk on clean clothes
frustration at missing the last ticket after a long wait
being sworn at
having forgotten important time-consuming homework
having a heavy weight dropped on one's foot
witnessing a gruesome accident
being wrongfully accused of theft
tearing one's trousers
being lectured to on behaviour
winning a big prize

What is interesting is the striking consistency of response values in each subsection of the questionnaire.

EXPLETIVES: RESPONSES IN EACH SECTION.

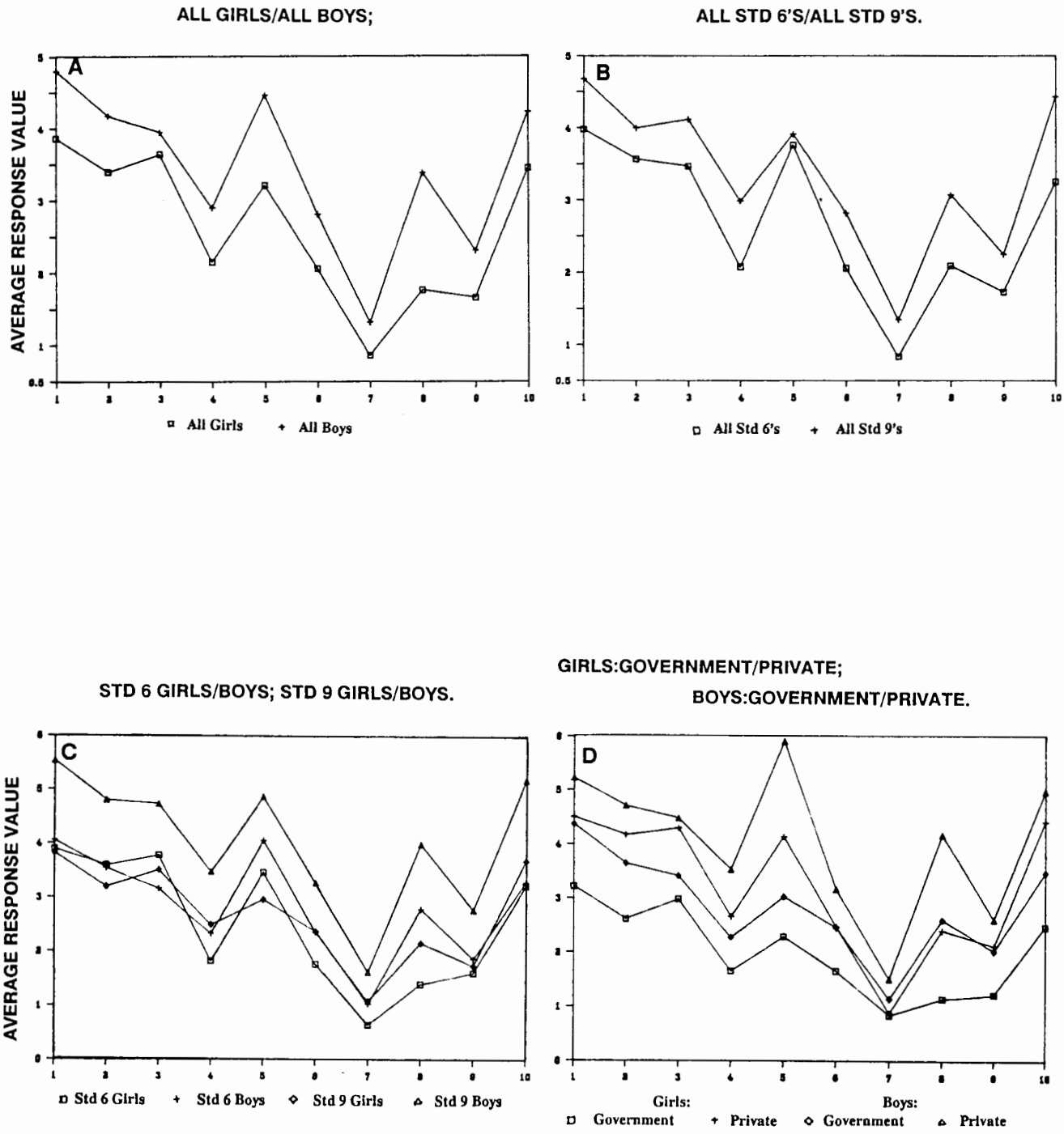

FIGURE 18

EXPLETIVES: EFFECT OF ADDRESSEE.

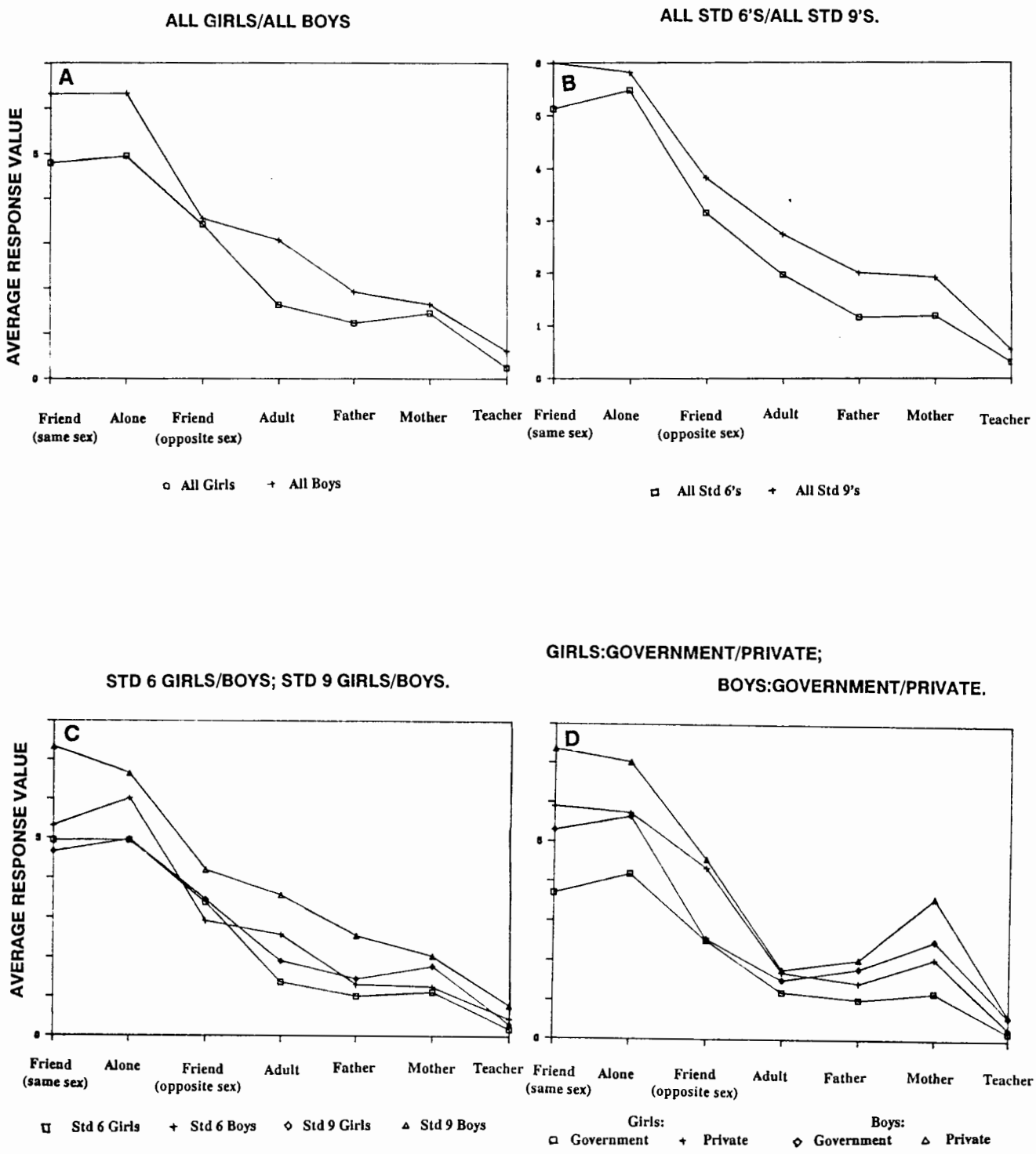

FIGURE 19

These situations can be grouped together as annoyance/frustration, shock, pain, horror, indignation, mild inconvenience, and delight. All groupings concur in their rankings of these situations, differing only in relation to the "strength" of expletives overall.

The graphs in Figure 18 reveal the same trends as discussed in 5.3.2.1. Z-scores have not been given for 5.3.2.2 - 5.3.2.3, as these aspects of usage do not form the focus of this study, and are merely reported for the sake of completeness.

5.3.2.3: **Effect of Addressees:**

In each situation informants were asked to visualize differing addressees. These were grouped together and analysis of scores revealed very clear conformity by respondents (as is evidenced by the graphs presented as Figure 19), all of whom were most relaxed (expletive-wise) with a friend of the same sex and then became increasingly reticent when alone, with a friend of the opposite sex, with a (strange) adult, with father, mother, and with a teacher. The graphs also reveal a clear gender difference accompanying the general downward curve, the male line consistently above that for females (reflecting higher scores) - indicative of a lower regard for others or a higher self-regard. The latter interpretation is reinforced by graph 19D, which shows private school boys and girls to have the lowest regard for addressees, and 19B, which shows the standard 9's to be more confident than the standard sixes, with respect to addressee. What is interesting is the very clear and undeniable influence of gender, school type and age/standard as variables. Clearly boys have been socialised into having a slightly lower regard in general for the addressee in each case, but trends are noticeably consistent across the board, suggesting further that these results are reliable.

5.3.3: **Attitudes:**

The attitudes of informants regarding both slang and expletives were tested, and the tables below summarize the average ratings by the given groups, where, on a scale of 1 to 5, a low score reflects a low or negative rating, and a high score reflects a very positive rating. (A score of 2.5 reflects a neutral attitude). In each case the rating is given for

JB (junior school boys)
JG (junior school girls)
SB (senior school boys)
SG (senior school girls)
AM (adult males)
AF (adult females)

A total score reflecting the sum of all these values was not considered to offer any particular insight to attitudes in general, and these have therefore been omitted from consideration. (Figures 20 and 21

ATTITUDES TO SLANG.

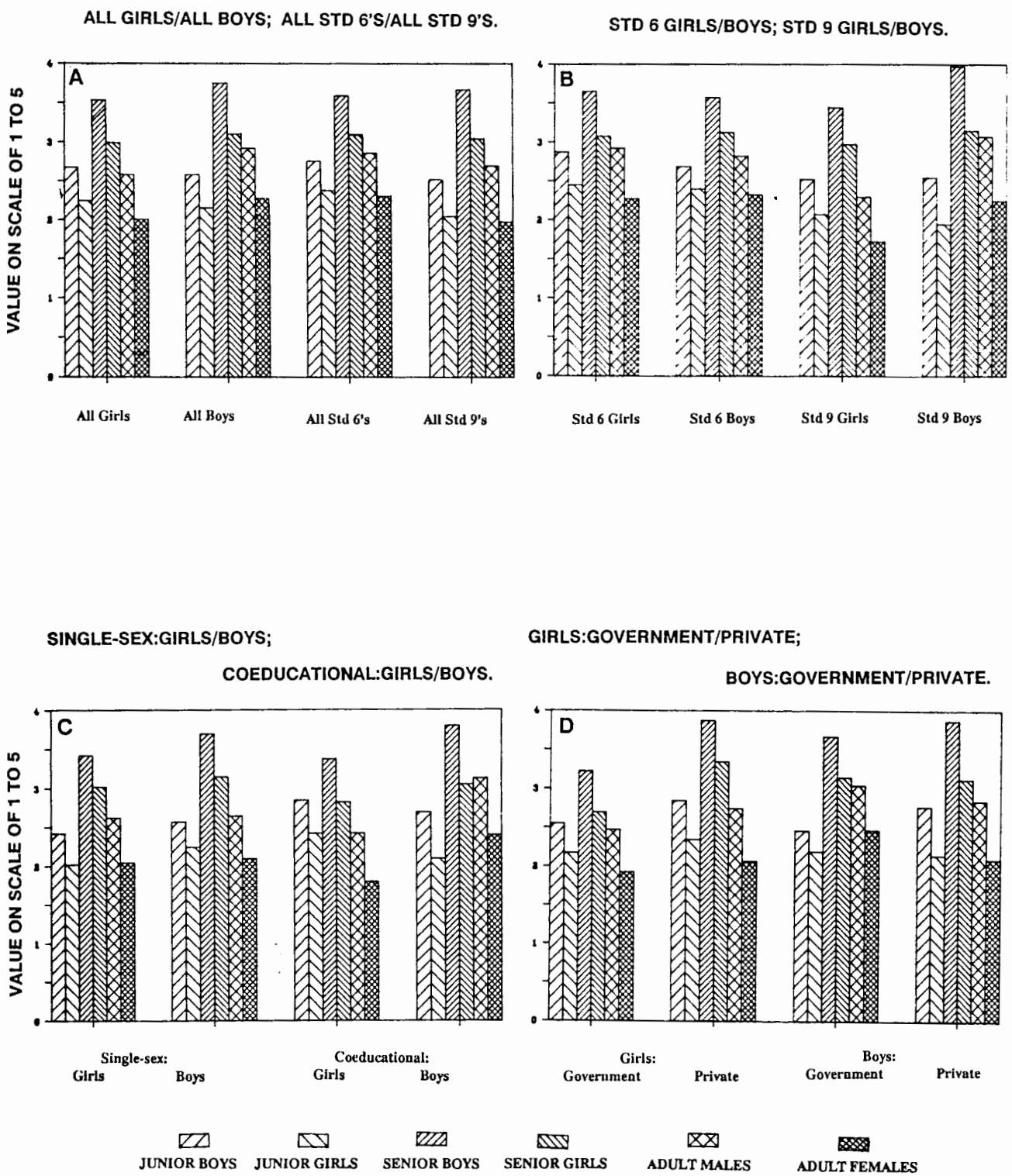

FIGURE 20

ATTITUDES TO EXPLETIVES.

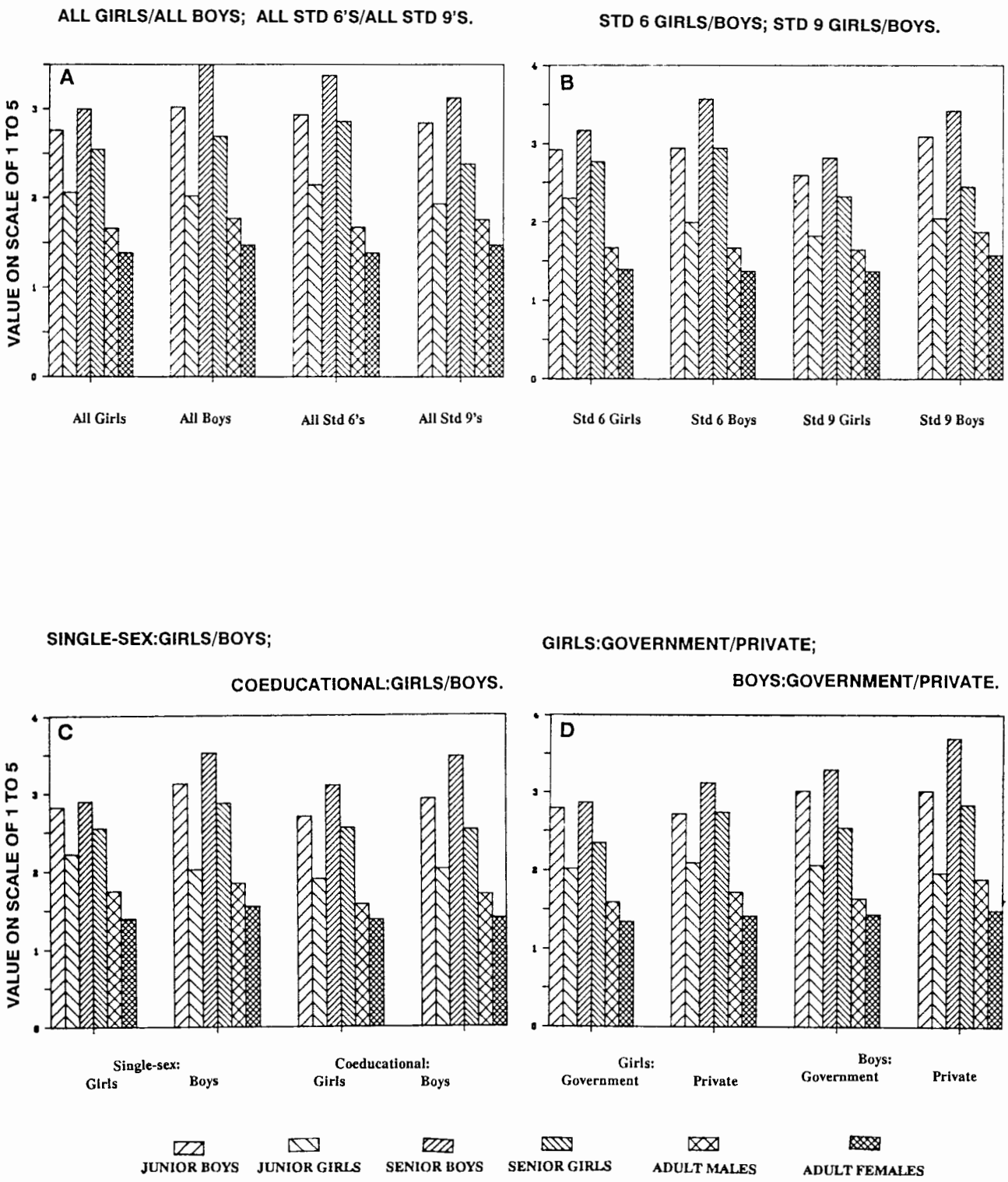

FIGURE 21

depict the results graphically.)

Code:	Average for slang:						Average for expletives:					
	JB	JG	SB	SG	AM	AF	JB	JG	SB	SG	AM	AF
S6	2.6	2.5	4.0	3.5	2.6	1.7	2.9	1.7	4.2	3.4	2.0	1.4
KB6	3.0	2.2	3.5	2.7	2.7	2.1	3.1	2.2	3.5	3.0	1.6	1.3
G6	2.5	2.6	3.3	3.2	3.1	2.7	3.1	2.2	3.1	3.0	1.5	1.2
PB6	2.6	2.3	3.5	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.7	1.9	3.5	2.4	1.6	1.6
D6	2.8	2.1	4.2	3.6	3.0	2.5	3.3	2.5	3.7	3.2	1.7	1.3
KG6	2.9	2.5	4.0	3.4	3.2	2.3	2.6	2.2	3.1	2.8	1.5	1.5
V6	2.4	2.2	2.8	2.6	2.5	1.7	2.8	2.3	2.6	2.3	1.7	1.1
PG6	3.4	3.0	3.6	2.7	3.0	2.6	3.0	2.2	3.3	2.8	1.8	1.7
S9	2.7	1.9	3.9	3.2	2.8	2.5	3.1	2.0	3.4	2.5	2.0	1.9
KB9	2.8	2.0	4.1	3.1	3.3	2.1	3.0	2.0	3.7	2.5	2.0	1.4
G9	2.5	2.0	3.6	2.7	2.1	1.5	3.4	2.2	3.4	2.6	1.9	1.7
PB9	2.3	1.9	4.1	3.3	3.6	2.6	2.9	2.0	3.2	2.2	1.6	1.3
D9	2.6	2.3	3.8	3.1	2.7	2.1	2.5	2.1	2.7	2.5	2.2	1.8
KG9	3.1	2.5	3.5	3.3	2.1	1.4	2.5	1.6	3.0	2.5	1.5	1.1
V9	1.9	1.5	2.9	2.8	2.3	1.9	2.7	2.0	2.6	2.2	1.4	1.4
PG9	2.5	2.0	3.6	2.7	2.1	1.5	2.7	1.6	3.0	2.1	1.5	1.2
Means	2.7	2.2	3.6	3.1	2.6	2.1	2.9	2.0	3.4	2.8	1.8	1.4

Discussion of Findings:

Sex: For both slang and expletives one observes remarkable consistency in sex-based groups: apart from overall (understandable) greater tolerance for slang than for expletives, boys show a consistently more positive view than girls, especially with regard to use by their own sex. This is clear in the B and D graphs in Figure 21. This apparent male self confidence has been pointed out in other areas of this investigation.

Age: The younger informants appear to be slightly more permissive regarding their **own** use than their older brothers and sisters are: in every case Std. 9's came down slightly harder on juniors than the juniors did themselves: social attitudes appear to harden with age, or perhaps this is evidence of the older ones trying to exert a little "authority" over the younger.

School Type: One observes a more permissive attitude at private schools generally, (see Figure 20 D and Figure 21 D) which confirms the general trend towards greater relaxation and verbosity at such institutions, relating to freer teaching methods etc. Boys at coeducational schools are also slightly more permissive than those at single-sex schools, again more likely because they will have been witness to girls actually using slang and expletives.

Implications: What is evident is a remarkable consistency across all groupings of informants: without exception, whether the basis of groups is standard, sex or school, there is a greater tolerance for slang/expletives from males than from females, with teenagers attracting the most support, sub-teens the second-most, and adults the least. Tolerance is also greater among private school informants than those from Government schools.

The linguistic views of speakers within a community emerge as amazingly crisp and clear-cut, almost rule-governed phenomena (indicative of strong stereotyped beliefs), the rule in this particular community ranking users in the following order of appropriacy:

For slang: senior boys, senior girls, junior boys, adult men, junior girls and adult women.
For expletives: senior boys, junior boys, senior girls, junior girls, adult men, adult women.

Those with the most restrictions? Adult women.

Girls are being socialised into feeling that slang and expletives are more fitting for males than females, despite the fact that they use them, and by doing so reveal a need to do so. This conflict of the ideal and the actual can hardly add to their self image! Ratings about male usage (young, adolescent or adult) are all higher than ratings for the female equivalent, by both sexes.

If society implicitly condones one's use of slang and expletives, and implicitly approves, one's feelings about oneself in such a situation must be fairly positive, unlike females, whose attitudes (reinforced by those of the opposite sex) reveal a much more guilty, self-condemnatory, and narrow-minded perception of the issue.

The attitudes revealed in this questionnaire tally well with the actual responses by the different groups: those with a more disapproving attitude (e.g. girls, those at Government schools) generally achieved lower scores for responses, so the degree of reliance one can place on these attitude ratings is probably fairly high. Chapter 6 will provide an overall discussion and summary of the results reported in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS:

6.1: General:

In the first section of this chapter I will recapitulate the original hypotheses on which this study was based before going on to a summary and interpretation of results, and finally the conclusions and tentative suggestions regarding future developments and potentially fruitful areas of research.

It was initially pointed out that stereotypes are a poor indication of reality, and that findings would probably indicate that they are not reliable as indicators of the existence of linguistic markers but highly relevant as barometers of the general value systems within the cultures concerned. In addition, in view of the imbalance of power between the sexes in Western society, it was contended that any differences which were found would be most likely to reflect this imbalance, typical "male" linguistic characteristics being likely to indicate confidence and authority generally. In view of the fact that power and socialisation are hypothesised to be the major contributors to any differences which might emerge, it may be worthwhile to summarise their predicted effects at this point. (For a full discussion see 1.2.3 and 1.3.4.)

Firstly, then, differences which are found between males and females in general might be expected to relate to power and confidence generally. In Western society, as has been pointed out, males have traditionally been the in-power members, and so one can assume that the average male linguistic behaviour obtained from the informants participating in this research exercise converges with that of all in-power people generally, (owing to the forces of socialisation and role-modelling). In private schools one perceives more "democracy" at work, a more relaxed atmosphere, students' councils which actually participate in the running of the school, and in the girls-only schools many females holding positions of authority. Equality, independence and self-confidence are consciously nurtured in these environments and so one would expect male pupils at private schools to behave in a more exaggeratedly "male" way than the average male score obtained. They would behave, linguistically, more like the in-power members of society, with whom they are encouraged to associate and on whom they are encouraged to model themselves; girls at private schools (single-sex and coeducational) would be expected to behave (linguistically) in a manner more typical of males generally than of females. This trend will be traced in the summary analysis which follows.

It is my contention that in Government schools there is a fairly rigid/authoritarian power structure, in which males hold all the positions of real authority (even in girls-only schools - both of those approached in this survey had headmasters) and in which a fairly strong degree of discipline and conformity is encouraged across the board. In Minuchin's (1965) comparison of the performance of boys and girls in "traditional" and "modern" schools, more sex-typed behaviour and greater differences in intellectual tasks were found in the "traditional" type of school, consistent with the hypothesis that strong social demands

for sex-typed behaviour such as aggression in boys, conformity and passivity in girls, play a role in producing some of the sex differences. This is probably relevant to the Government/private comparisons throughout.

Hypothetically one might expect this effect to be weakened at coeducational schools, owing to the fact that inter-sex contrasts and competition would have its inevitable and all-pervasive effect on those accustomed to (and socialised into) playing a secondary role: the females. One might therefore expect the scores of girls at single-sex schools to approximate male averages more closely than those of girls at coeducational schools. The most typically "female" scores would then supposedly emerge from girls at Government coeducational schools, where all factors presumably militate against the perception of the female as in any sense equal in relation to the male.

In support of this contention is a survey by the Department of Education and Science in Britain (DES 1975) of curricular differences, which reported more cross-sex choices (e.g. girls/science, boys/language) in single-sex than mixed-sex schools. There is some evidence (Shaw (1976)) that boys may do better academically in mixed-sex schools and girls rather worse, because, while boys have girls to compete against, competing with boys deters girls from showing their academic prowess. Moreover, unless coeducational schools are models of sexual equality, they are likely to disadvantage girls in less direct ways (cf. the hidden curriculum, 1.3.4): women teachers will be outnumbered by men, dramatically so in maths and science; the head will be male, the deputy head female, and he will deal with academic matters, she with matters of social welfare. At all-girls schools women take centre stage and men are more marginal.

From the point of view of the age and standard of the informants, those younger and less-educated (out of power and socially inferior) would presumably exhibit linguistic features typical of out-of-power groups. The older informants, as a whole, can be expected to approximate more closely the male averages. A general convergence between the scores of females (particularly those at Government or coeducational schools) and the scores of the younger informants would thus not come as a surprise.

Many of the linguistic factors in terms of which the sexes are compared (among these speech rates, pausing and hesitation phenomena and lexical tendencies) relate more to socialisation than "genetic" programming. Any differences which conceivably relate to ability rather than habit are expected to occur where Std. 6's are compared with Std. 9's (educational and age differences having this effect) rather than in cross-sex and cross-school comparisons.

6.2: **Summary of findings:**

Each of the major sections forming the framework of this investigation will now be summarised in turn, in an attempt to clarify where differences occurred, whether these concur with existing stereotypes, and to what extent they conform to the hypotheses presented above.

Results will be tabulated in terms of sex, school type and age in each case. As scores will be presented in pairs in terms of + and -, (a plus showing a higher score than the other group), so that if one group has a +, the other will automatically have a -, the second half of each category will not be needlessly duplicated; in the Sex subdivision only male scores will be given, in School Type only coeducational and Government scores will be given, and under Age only the Std. 6 score will be given. Significance ratings are given in brackets where relevant, and the symbol # implies a negligible difference or equal scores.

6.2.1: **Time and Talk:**

	Time Taken	Pauses	Word Total	Speech rate
Boys:				
All	+ (*)	+ (***)	+	- (*)
Std. 6	+ (**)	+ (**)	+	- (**)
Std. 9	+	+ (*)	-	-
S-S.	+	+ (***)	-	- (*)
Coed.	+	+	+	-
Govt.	+	+	+	-
Priv.	+	+ (***)	+	- (*)
School Type:				
Coed.	- (*)	-	- (*)	#
Govt.	- (*)	- (*)	- (*)	#
Age/Standard:				
Std. 6	-	+ (*)	-	+

A strong sex-related trend is undeniable, matched with respectable levels of significance: boys speak for longer, take longer about it, use more words in the process, and speak more slowly than girls. A point worth noticing is the similarity between the behaviour of the younger informants as a whole and the female informants - both out-of-power groups in Western culture. In most categories under scrutiny here, they match exactly. When one realises that these categories all relate in some way to level of confidence and social advantage, the males all emerge strongly as far more confident than the females and/or youngsters. One might expect this of the less mature, but not necessarily of females, so one must conclude that this is the result of socialisation.

Those in coeducational and Government schools also match the female tendencies overall, with high levels of significance, and this trend will be monitored closely in all the subsections to follow, in view of the theory that different educational approaches have a noticeable effect on language.

Scollon et al. (1983), discussing pausing habits in different ethnic groups and the way the pausing of an "inferior" can cause irritation and negative judgments in the "superior", says:

> these negative evaluations that result from differences in the distribution of talk become ethnic stereotypes when people regularly experience them in communication with members of particular ethnic groups. Of course it is often

> easier to dismiss the miscommunication as evidence of the negative qualities of the other group than it is to re-examine the communicative situation. For each group, on the other hand, it is preferable to have a "given" set of assumptions about the management of talk. These assumptions work towards smooth communication within the group by reaffirming interactional agreement. They also work to preserve and mark the boundaries between groups and so are not easily abandoned in spite of the potential for negative stereotyping in communication with other groups. (1983:162)

Coates (1986) suggests a process of assimilation is under way with respect to groups whose members have a poor self-image (i.e. females), and the results in this section appear to confirm this hypothesis, but one should perhaps be wary of accepting this viewpoint - where the educational system encourages confidence and assertiveness, and is possibly less authoritarian or less power conscious (i.e. in private or single-sex schools, with no obvious inter-sex competitiveness) the female scores tend to be closer to the male mean than the female mean, indicative of a trend away from the feminine pattern and towards a normal level of "verbosity". The fact that this normal level happens to be the male one is, I claim, simply the result of the socialisation of males as the "stronger" sex, rather than conscious modelling by females of their behaviour towards the male behaviour. In other words these girls are not assimilating towards the male pattern (which would actually presumably not be readily available in single-sex schools) because they envy males, but are simply behaving linguistically the way anyone with confidence and a sense of self worth would.

The stereotype has it that

> Men speak assertively, briefly, swear more. Women hide out in diffident sentences and flowery phrasing and talk, talk, talk. (Kramer 1974b:82)

Broverman et al. (1972) and Elyan (1978) all confirm this stereotype of females being talkative. When one compares the results above with this stereotype, the clash becomes evident: people believe females talk for longer, pause for longer, and generally use more words, while speaking rapidly. Only the latter belief is confirmed in this investigation! The stereotype does not project a particularly favourable image of the female, and this negative image might be more aptly attached to males in this instance.

Admittedly this survey tested only one type of English - the more formal variety, and conclusions reached do not, therefore, apply automatically to the use of the vernacular, an analysis of which may very well yield different results. Perhaps the stereotype that females speak more than males relates most strongly to the in-group, intimate, vernacular styles, and not to semi-formal, "public" settings. It may well be true that females speak a lot more to females, but this was not examined in this study, and results, strictly speaking, are not generalisable beyond the confines of semi-formal contexts. It is to be remembered, however, that the somewhat "artificial" context of the investigation was deliberately set up

in order to side-step the complexities of assessing the (often variable) effect of the sex and mood of other interlocutors in the situation. One sacrifices generalisability in order to obtain stricter controls, and further studies on male/male female/female and mixed interactions are necessary before one can refute the stereotype under discussion with any real authority.

It should also be remembered that the implicit meaning (connotation) of "never stop talking" may be that the speaker is freer to move from one topic to another as well - another aspect not tested in this survey, where the topic was strictly limited, again for the sake of ensuring viable comparisons among informants.

A personal "aside" may be revealing at this point: inclement weather and crowded seating facilities in a hotel lounge recently enabled me to eavesdrop (admittedly somewhat unethically) a 5-member informal all-male gathering for approximately one and a half hours; during this time there were virtually no lulls in the conversation, which shifted rapidly from high finance to cars, to leisure activities and back again. According to the stereotype males "chat" and females "gossip", but I am sorely tempted to classify what I witnessed as prototypical gossip in every sense of the word. At the risk of reducing the level of discussion for just a few lines more, personal experience daily at tea in the Rhodes Senior common room causes me strongly to reaffirm the conclusions reached in this section: men talk more. There is little doubt that they do so in mixed sex groups during these tea breaks!

If the stereotype relates specifically to female-female dyads, then one must consider the following questions:

a.) who, except for females, can be witness to all-female conversations?

b.) would females deliberately darken their own already smutty image by painting such an unattractive picture of themselves as that presented in the stereotype?

That the stereotype exists is uncontroversial, as is the fact that it is not authenticated in this particular survey in relation to formal speech; my personal intuitions and experiences tempt me to extend my disbelief to informal all-male and mixed-sex groups as well, especially in view of the studies by Hirschman (1974), Eakins et al (1978) and Zimmerman and West (1975) (see 1.2.3), all of which confirm this hypothesis. Naturally varying social and academic statuses would have a contributory and complicating effect, and power and status and the cultural backdrop must not be neglected in any sociolinguistic study, as they have a lot to do with the existing stereotypes, but it is my contention that these overall impressions or intuitions would probably be confirmed by closer analyses. In this particular study power and status were controlled, and the results are unambiguous: females definitely do not talk as much as they are reputed to talk, and since talking a lot and taking one's time about it is an expected characteristic of anyone who feels confident that they (and their words) are worth listening to, (i.e. males in Western society) the findings conform nicely to the hypotheses presented in 1.5.

6.2.2: **Disfluency:**

	Hesitations	Repetitions	Mazes	Fillers	Pauses
Sex: Boys:					
All	+ (**)	+	+	-	+ (***)
Std. 6	+ (*)	+	+	-	+ (**)
Std. 9	+ (*)	+	#	-	+ (*)
S-S.	+ (**)	+	+	-	+ (***)
Coed.	+	+	-	- (**)	+
Govt.	+ (*)	+	+ (*)	-	+
Priv.	+	+	-	-	+ (***)
School Type:					
Coed.	+	+	+	+	-
Govt.	-	- (**)	+	+	- (***)
Age:					
Std. 6	-	+	+	+	+ (*)

Fillers evidently behave markedly differently from the other categories selected as being related to disfluency - a low score for fillers goes hand in hand with consistently high scores for all the other categories. A high count of fillers can perhaps be regarded as an indication of greater fluency, in that use of fillers maintains, rather than interrupts, the steady flow of words.

Male scores are consistently positive for the other categories (females consistently negative), with the exception of language mazes, which might be better analysed under the heading of syntax. High levels of pauses, hesitations and repetitions, accompanied by low scores for fillers are very evidently male speech characteristics, with high levels of significance. Where the effect of sex is lost, in analyses of the effect of school type, those in coeducational schools match male behaviour generally, except for fillers and pauses, while the reverse is generally true of Government school informants, who use significantly fewer repetitions and pauses, like females generally, confirming the hypotheses of 6.1 once again. The results of females in private schools suggest that socialisation and education patterns, allowing for greater parity, are conducive to speech habits which approximate male scores fairly closely.

One is inclined then not to link the male behaviour to shy tentativeness, but rather to confidence and a feeling of unhurried sense of control, lacking more in the females and those at Government schools, as a result of the process of socialisation. The alternative interpretation of the results obtained is that those who are more disfluent (in this case males generally) are less linguistically competent, less quick at word retrieval and less able to maintain a steady flow of words. Against it is the point that in this instance the results of the standard 6 informants (less linguistically mature and therefore less linguistically competent) do not correspond consistently with the scores obtained by males, and the fact that females in private schools, matching fairly closely, as they do, the male pattern of results, (see 4.1.2) would also have to be called the linguistically slower group of all the girls - unlikely in view of the more privileged education they have probably received. (There is, for a start a far higher teacher pupil ratio at private schools.)

Elyan (1978) cites Silverman and Zimmer (1977) and Gall et al. (1969) as reporting that women show greater fluency with fewer pauses than men in monologues, and this is confirmed in this study. Gall et al. (1969) report that a higher word count for males is associated with a good impression, but for females with a bad impression, for no apparent logical reason. One is tempted to ask whether, if females had emerged from this study as having more pauses and hesitations and repetitions, one might not have interpreted this as implying a lack of control or linguistic ability, and the question is an important one, as it highlights the subtle power of stereotypical judgements and how they can indeed influence interpretations of results.

Once again the stereotypes do not match up to findings: folklinguistics (and Jespersen!) would have us believe that males speak assertively and briefly, using simple and direct language while females, being tentative, use more hesitations, repetitions, mazes and pauses. The folk linguists would only be right in the case of fillers, whose use, it has been suggested might be better associated with greater fluency and flow of speech! The unattractive picture painted by the stereotype is again shown to be an unfair one, but one which bolsters the image of male dominance.

The two stereotypes discussed so far actually tend to contradict each other, the one saying women never stop talking, the other that they are extremely tentative and hesitant. The myth of the stereotypes emerges as all the more fragile as a result.

6.2.3: **Structural Complexity:**

	TTR	Clauses	Non-Std.	Mazes	Hesit	Reps	Omits
Sex: Boys:							
All	+	-	-	+	+ (**)	+	+
Std. 6	+	-	-	+	+ (*)	+	#
Std. 9	-	-	+	#	+ (*)	+	+
S-S.	+	-	+	+	+ (**)	+	+
Coed.	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
Govt.	+	-	-	+ (*)	+ (*)	+	+
Priv.	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
School Type:							
Coed.	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Govt.	-	+ (*)	+	+	-	- (**)	-
Age:							
Std. 6	- (***)	-	+	+	-	+	-

If one assigns a total to each column, where a plus carries value in the case of TTR, and Clauses, and a minus carries value in the case of Non-standard utterances, Hesitations, Repetitions and Omissions (for in each of these cases a lower score indicates grammatical correctness), then the scores for boys would be

5 + 0 + 4 + 2 + 0 + 0 + 0

This gives boys a score of 11/47, and girls a score of 36/47, the obvious conclusion being that female spoken language is possibly more complex and definitely more fluent than is male spoken discourse. This corresponds with results reported in chapter 2, and chips away a little more at the stereotype which suggests an image of stupid females, with a preference for parataxis (2.2.4.2) and lower verbal ability generally.

The higher male TTR score must not be overlooked: it is perhaps legitimate to regard only a high TTR and clause score as genuine evidence of syntactic complexity as such, while the other categories measure fluency and ability to plan constructions and retrieve appropriate vocabulary rapidly in a spoken discourse situation. (See Chapter 3.5.3.4 for a full justification of why non-standard utterances in this context relate more closely to verbal planning ability than reduced stylistic register choices.)

Conclusive decisions about grammatical superiority as such are not possible on the basis of the results obtained in this study, as they are neither consistent nor significant. However the overall pattern of results points to a sex-related difference once again, for whatever reason it may exist, reinforcing the earlier findings of Trudgill (1974) and Cheshire (1978). Nevertheless it is important not to attempt to relate this difference to a deficit per se.

Of some importance is the fact that Government school results are consistently opposite to the general male trends, giving credibility once again to the hypothesis under 6.1 that power structures and socialisation are factors of importance.

Analysis of the effect of age/standard reveals highly significant lower TTR scores for younger informants, confirming the likelihood that younger informants will be less syntactically able and less verbally fluent than older informants. The fact that female TTR scores are lower than male scores (though not significantly so) prevents one from assuming any female verbal superiority, contrary to the findings reported in 2.2.4.1.

6.2.4: **Vagueness and Uncertainty:**

	Fillers	Tentative words	Hesitations	Repetitions
Sex: Boys:				
All	-	+	+ (**)	+
Std. 6	-	+	+ (*)	+
Std. 9	-	-	+ (*)	+
S-S.	-	#	+ (**)	+
Coed.	- (**)	+	+	+
Govt.	-	+	+ (*)	+
Priv.	-	-	+	+
School Type:				
Coed.	+	+	+	+
Govt.	+	+	-	- (**)
Age:				
Std. 6	+	- (**)	-	+

This display reinforces the suspicion that use of fillers and of other types of tentative expression are not related to the same linguistic function. (A high usage of fillers goes hand in hand with a higher speech rate, both apparently female characteristics) Both are, obviously gender-related though, and the higher male usage in the rightmost three columns is surprising in view of the stereotype which maintains the opposite. No high degree of reliability can be attributed to these results however, apart from the Hesitation (*um/uh*) scores.

As was noted above, Government school informants' scores are opposite to male schools and match those of females generally, further supporting the suggestions made in 6.1. The closer approximation of scores in coeducational schools to male scores also reinforces these hypotheses. With respect to age, once again the feminine behaviour approximates that of the younger group, both sets tending to use fewer tentative words and more fillers than males generally. The term "tentative words" is possibly a misnomer, in view of results obtained. Age does not seem to be the variable with the most influence in this category however - the gender of the informant seems to have a far more noticeable effect. Bernstein (1971) cites Turner as showing that five-year-old working-class children used fewer linguistic expressions of uncertainty than middle-class children in the same context, and explains this in terms of the fact that working class children are not encouraged to consider the possibilities of alternative meanings - a matter which he relates to restricted and elaborated codes. In view of the lack of consistency or significance in the results above, the temptation to relate the results above to this same phenomenon must be resisted, especially in the light of the inconclusiveness of many of Bernstein's claims.

Contrary to expectations set up by the stereotypes, males, not females, in this study used more hesitations and repetitions. How does this fit in with the theory that males display the linguistic characteristics of in-power members of society? There are two alternative answers to the question:

1. Use of *um/er* and repetitions is a prolongation device, causing the listener to have to wait longer, to be more patient and is indicative of an unhurried attitude to communication and the addressee. The *um* fills a pause and gives the "still busy" signal which prevents the other interlocutor from taking a turn.

2. Use of *um/er* and repetitions indicates problems with language planning and vocabulary retrieval, and is therefore a sign of slower linguistic pace or processing.

In view of the fact that females consistently used more fillers, which could be seen as distracting attention away from possible time-wasting in speech (*um* focusses attention onto it rather) and that results from counts of tentative words were mixed, perhaps 1. above is the more likely solution to the problem.

6.2.5: **Relaxation:**

	Time	Pauses	Words	Speech Rate	Abbrs	Omissions
Sex: Boys:						
All	+ (*)	+ (***)	+	- (*)	-	+
Std.6	+ (**)	+ (**)	+	- (**)	-	#
Std.9	+	+ (*)	-	-	-	+
S-S.	+	+ (***)	+	- (*)	-	+
Coed.	+	+	+	-	-	+
Govt.	+	+	+	-	-	+
Priv.	+	+ (***)	+	- (*)	-	+
School Type:						
Coed.	- (*)	-	- (*)	#	+ (*)	+
Govt.	- (*)	- (***)	- (*)	#	+	-
Age/Standard:						
Std. 6	-	+ (*)	-	+	-	-

If scores are assigned for positive values under Time, Pauses, Words, Omissions, and Abbreviations, and for negative values under Speech Rate (a higher speech rate implies hurriedness), the males emerge as being far more relaxed than females with a score of 33 out of a possible 41 (females 8). Those in Government schools or coeducational schools generally appear to display less evidence of relaxation than those at the other types of school, which is not surprising, and the fact that their scores match closely the scores of females in general once again confirms the power-related theory advanced earlier. The younger informants show an overall lower level of relaxation, (though not a significant one), so their behaviour tends also to match that of females in general, a trend which has been remarked on before.

While males emerge from this section as very much the more relaxed of the two sexes, the negative values obtained by males throughout for abbreviations are puzzling in view of the tendency most would have to think that a high abbreviation rate might be viewed as a sign of relaxation. Girls used them more. As was pointed out in section 4.1.5, the fact that the use of abbreviations and omissions have exactly

opposite values consistently throughout is interesting, indicating that they play differing linguistic roles. The use of shortened forms may actually be regarded as the unmarked usage in spoken discourse. One could therefore speculate that the mode of discourse (spoken) overrides the context of situation in this instance, and that the girls, supposedly more conformist with regard to the demands of the situation, have used more abbreviations than the boys. Lack of high significance levels obviates the need for any firm conclusions.

There is no clear stereotype regarding which sex is the more "relaxed" linguistically, but the majority would probably name males, and it is gratifying to note, at last, a fair conformity between stereotype and reality: the males actually do seem to behave the way one is led to believe they might, for a change.

6.2.6: **Semantic Issues:**

	Spatial terms	Colour terms	Numbers
Sex: Boys:			
All	+	-	+
Std. 6	+	-	#
Std. 9	+	-	+
S-S.	+	-	+
Coed.	+	-	+
Govt.	+	-	+
Priv.	+	- (*)	+
School Type:			
Coed.	#	- (*)	-
Govt.	-	+	-
Age:			
Std. 6's	- (**)	-	-

Results reveal a clear sex-linked preference, which once again is in line with what the stereotype leads us to expect, despite a lack of any significant degree of reliability. Females and the young again tend to converge, although not absolutely, and it is worth noting yet again, the similarity between female scores and the scores of those in Government schools: an exact match throughout. No judgements concerning superiority or inferiority can justifiably be made on the basis of high scores in these categories, despite generally lower scores on all of them by standard sixes, except perhaps the use of spatial terms, significantly lower among the younger informants.

Power does not enter the picture in this particular subsection, but gender and socialisation does, and the conformity between these results and Western cultural expectations that boys excel at mathematics and girls at home-decorating and colour-coding are interesting.

6.2.7: **Emotive Terms:**

	Pronouns	Emotive Terms	Very	Slang	Expletives
Sex: Boys:					
All	-	-	- (***)	+	+ (**)
Std. 6	-	-	- (**)	+	+
Std. 9	-	+	- (**)	+	+ (***)
S-S.	-	+	-	+	+ (*)
Coed.	-	-	- (***)	-	+ (*)
Govt.	-	+	- (***)	+	+ (*)
Priv.	-	-	- (***)	+	+
School Type:					
Coed.	+	-	+	-	+
Govt.	-	+	-	- (***)	- (***)
Age:					
Std. 6's	#	-	-	- (***)	- (**)

Folklinguistics builds a picture of an effusive, emotional woman, pouring out innermost feelings with gay abandon. The reader is reminded of Jespersen's (1922) comment that women have a propensity for hyperbole which leads them to tack *-ly* onto adjectives, producing phrases like *awfully pretty* and *terribly nice*, and Key's claims (1972), among others in chapter 2, about greater female usage of hyperbole, and strong emphatic patterns. Kramer also feels that exclamations seem to serve different functions for men and women.

The results above show that the sexes may indeed be socially "permitted" different linguistic ways to give vent to feeling: the first three variables are generally for females, the last two for males. The former are definitely the politer and more personal options, while the latter show a lack of consideration for other speakers and are far more forceful, downplaying personal expression of emotions. Thus the stereotype is upheld, significantly so in the case of the use of *very* and expletives, and is confirmed in section 5.3.3 on attitudes, which showed a generally lower regard for addressees among males. (An attitude cultivated by socialisation rather than an inherently male characteristic.)

There is a remarkable and reliable difference between Government and private schools, with the latter using consistently more slang items and expletives than the former, indicating tighter cohesion and solidarity in private schools, as well as a greater degree of permissiveness. It takes a fair amount of confidence to use slang and expletives, even anonymously on paper and the forces of socialisation acting on these pupils have been more conducive to such confidence. The similarity between female linguistic behaviour and those at Government schools should again not go unnoticed. Another possibly relevant factor is that all of the private schools selected were boarding schools, while only two out of the three Government schools were, promoting a possibly greater degree of social cohesion at the private institutions. The mixed results from coeducational schools are to be expected perhaps, as it is this area of language, especially slang and expletive usage which attracts the greatest focus from the forces of socialisation.

Younger informants' generally negative results throughout suggest an unwillingness to express emotion linguistically. The negative slang and expletive scores match the female scores, further reinforcing the notion that female adolescent linguistic behaviour is similar to the linguistic behaviour of the younger informants generally.

The lack of significance for slang results is in itself significant, indicative perhaps of a gradual closing of the gap, a tendency resulting from permissive trends in society at large, for females to use more slang terms rather than males to use fewer. The forces of socialisation would far more strongly prevent the use of expletives than slang.

6.3: **Summary of effects of socialisation:**

One can divide the variables examined in this investigation into two main sections:

Category A: those that might (I state this tentatively) be associated with genetic ability: inherent sex-specific differences, e.g.:

Type-token ratio
syntactic complexity

Category B: those that result from the social imposition of gender categories, e.g.:

talkativeness
pausing
rate of speech
um/er usage
lexical items (colours, spatial terms)
emotive terms
slang and expletive usage

No startling or significant differences were revealed for variants in category A, but several significant differences were found for those in category B, and the tables 1. and 2. below reveal clearly how these differences can, as well as being linked with gender, be associated directly with the education (socialisation) patterns which form part of the respective backgrounds of the informants. Table 1. displays male results for variables which were found to be significantly different on the basis of gender, Table 2. shows female results.

Table 1: Males

	All	Private	Single-sex	Coed	Govt.
Time	301	312	351	251	289
Words	461	503	495	427	418
Speech rate	107	108	106	107	106
Pauses	21.8	28.8	25.3	18.3	14.9
Hesitations	3.8	3.8	3.6	4.0	3.8
Repetitions	1.9	2.3	1.7	2.2	1.6
Fillers	1.9	1.6	2.1	1.7	2.2
Abbreviations	5.9	5.8	5.7	6.2	6.1
Omission	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.4
Colours	2.2	2.2	2.6	1.9	2.3
Spatial	13.1	13.9	13.1	13.1	12.3
Very	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.7
Slang	25.9	31.8	29	22.6	20.6
Expletives	181	211	165	196	150

Table 2: Females

	All	Private	Single-sex	Coed	Govt.
Time	228	255	250	205	200
Words	434	497	500	369	372
Speech rate	118	120	119	116	116
Pauses	14.2	16.5	13.6	14.8	11.9
Hesitations	2.6	2.8	2.1	3.0	2.3
Repetitions	1.5	1.9	1.4	1.7	1.2
Fillers	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.6	2.5
Abbreviations	6.7	6.1	6.0	7.3	7.3
Omission	1.3	1.5	1.2	1.4	1.1
Colours	3.2	3.1	4.0	2.4	3.3
Spatial	12.7	13.7	12.8	12.6	11.7
Very	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.5	1.4
Slang	23.3	27.3	21.0	25.0	19.3
Expletives	136	167	123	148	105

It was hypothesised that both sexes in private establishments would converge with male/ confident/ dominant linguistic behaviour. So one would expect a general tendency for males at private schools to have the most exaggeratedly male scores, usually higher than the average in cases where male scores exceed female scores, (e.g. time) and lower in cases where female scores are higher (e.g. speech rate); and one would expect atypical scores for private school females, tending rather towards the male scores. Close examination of the scores reveals that on 12 out of the 14 analyses expectations are fulfilled

On the other hand, females at Government schools might be expected to have more exaggeratedly "female" scores, while boys at Government schools might be expected to have less than average male scores (i.e closer to the female out-of-power characteristics). This was indeed the case for both sexes on 12 out of the 14 occasions. This is strong evidence in favour of the hypothesis that the system of education in the private school promotes independence and confidence and discourages conformity - the opposite of typical female linguistic behaviour generally, which is more rigidly disciplined and controlled by society.

A separate analysis of the effect of coeducational versus single-sex schooling reveals that on 12 out of

these 14 occasions (all variables relating to the effect of socialisation) the scores for females at coeducational schools were more extremely "female" than the female mean and, among males, vice versa on 7 occasions. This tends to confirm the suggestion in 6.1 that in coeducational schools it is the girls who tend to be more gender-stereotyped than the boys, because, owing to the hidden curriculum, the male-is-stronger idea creeps in unobserved.

In support of the contention that socialisation practices reinforce linguistic behavioural patterns, and that in the absence of another group for comparison, the females would be more likely to to be more confident and assertive, one would expect to find this effect to be slightly lessened among the girls in single-sex schools, i.e. female scores here should be slightly less female than girls' scores generally, and boys' scores likewise with respect to male scores. Analysis of results reveals that for girls this was the case on 7 out of the 14 occasions - which does amount to a reduction. A count for males reveals no striking differences between coeducational or single-sex schools, further reinforcing the idea that the hidden curriculum favours males, not females, in coeducational environments.

Our education system then has a significant influence on the formation and promotion of sex-typed behaviour, linguistic and otherwise, and it would be well to be aware of this if any effort is to be made to counteract current stereotypes.

Finally, it is interesting to assess the effect of age on the linguistic behaviour of informants, and to correlate this with sex, in view of the possibility that feminine linguistic behaviour generally coincides with the linguistic behaviour of children (higher pitch, no swearing, less assertiveness). Ten of the fourteen analyses do in fact reveal such a convergence. (Slang and expletive usage are significant examples of this.)

Differences discovered in this or any other study are not universal, and the evidence points to such patterns being learned and acting to reinforce biological sex differences and social gender differences. The finding of Sachs et al. (1973), (1975) on the anatomical similarity but intonationally differentiated speech of prepubescent children should be noted in this connection. They studied preadolescent children and found no average difference in articulatory mechanism size, but a differential use of anatomy to produce different acoustic signals, and suggest that the children could be learning culturally determined patterns that are viewed as appropriate for each sex, i.e. pitch may not be totally determined by anatomical structure, but also by gender roles and cultural expectations. They claim that

> men tend to talk as though they were bigger and women as though they were smaller than they actually may be (1975:75)

and the results of this investigation bear out this assertion in that females have been revealed to talk more like the younger informants generally than the older, all to the ultimate disadvantage of the females, because of the negative values associated with characteristics of their speech.

6.4: **Stereotypes revisited:**

Klann-Delius (1981:1) cites psychologist Ferdinand Merz as saying, in an introductory standard text on sex differences:

> everybody is convinced that girls and women do speak better than men and boys. Empirical investigations confirm this general stereotype. (1979:135)

The words of such writers can undo much of the careful and scientific study which precedes them; Fransella and Frost's description of the archetypal "female" illustrates beautifully the typical misconceptions, with implicit contradictions (see my italics), commonly held by many:

> The typical feminine is someone who doesn't use harsh language, is *talkative*, tactful, gentle, is aware of the feeling of others, is religious, interested in her own appearance, neat in habits, *quiet*, has a strong need for security, appreciates art and literature and expresses tender feeling. (1977:43)

This particular survey has been concerned specifically with the ways, if any, in which sex ultimately influences language. Chapter 1 makes one aware of the stereotypes of folk-linguistics, and Chapter 2 shows that an almost overwhelming abundance of empirical studies exists, of widely varying quality, all attempting to prove or disprove selected stereotypes. The result is a morass of controversial findings, so fraught with contradiction that one can hardly reach any definite and well-founded answer to the question of exactly how gender influences language.

Even if these results had been clear cut, this would not have enabled us to take them as valid arguments in favour of or against a verbal superiority of one sex. Although stereotypes tend to classify people as better or worse, it has been stressed repeatedly in this study that it is inappropriate to talk of the superiority or inferiority of one or other sex in the use of language; females may speak in a different way, but this does not have to be either better or worse than the hypothetical "male method", which is automatically assumed to be the norm: gender perhaps causes linguistic differences, but not deficits.

> Words, phrases, and sentence patterns are not inherently strong or weak. They acquire these attributes only in a particular cultural context. If our society views females speech as inferior, it is because of the subordinate role assigned to women. Our culture is biased to interpret sex differences in favour of men. (Kramer 1974b:85)

> a productive dismantling of the stereotype which assumes that one sex is better than the other in linguistic matters (as is supposed to be the case in other domains) should be possible. (Klann-Delius 1981:19)

Unveiling genuine differences is important, and the professed aim of this survey was to attempt to do this in a limited way.

Stereotypes have developed in accordance with the structure and values of this society, and these in their turn have played a part in influencing the behaviour of each gender. Most differences reported in studies of males and females can be explained by the different positions men and women fill in society, and the different ways boys and girls are brought up to fill these different social roles.

A brief digression may be illuminating at this point: one of the commonly held stereotypes regarding females is their tendency to drive badly - "women drivers" are infamous, their reputation is not an attractive one, connoting lack of skill, stupidity and general unreliability on the road. Contrary to this, however, is the official policy of South African insurance companies, which is based on carefully documented research: premiums for women are lower than those for men because women have been proven to be a far safer bet! Discussion of results thus far indicate that a similar mistrust for linguistic stereotypes would not be ill-advised, and the summary table below is revealing in this respect.

In the table, under the heading "Power?" is an indication of whether a high score for the variable could be expected of in-power speakers, under the heading "Stereotype" is an indication of whether the existing stereotype is associated with males or females and whether it is a negative (-) or positive (+) value judgement, and under "Result" is an indication of which gender group actually had the higher score in this survey. The symbol * will indicate instances in which the stereotype is confirmed by the analysis, in other words the cases in which the variable might be regarded as a linguistic marker. The pattern revealed speaks for itself: only when the variable has positive connotations is it stereotyped of male speech, and on all occasions when it has negative connotations it is linked (usually incorrectly) to females.

Variable	Power?	Stereotype		Result
Vocabulary	Yes	mixed		inconclusive
Complex syntax	Yes	mixed		inconclusive
Vagueness	No	female	(-)	male
Uncertainty	No	female	(-)	male
Repetitions	No	female	(-)	male
Hesitance	No	female	(-)	male
Volubility	No	female	(-)	male
Relaxation	Yes	male	(+)	male *
Emotive terms	No	female	(-)	female *
Slang	Yes(covert)	male	(+)	male *
Expletives	Yes(covert)	male	(+)	male *

6.5: **Conclusions:**

The purpose of the present study was to investigate sex and gender as possible variables, as well as to assess the relative importance of the age and school type of each informant. The result of the research reveals that gender, more than sex, (sex determines gender, but from that point society ensures gender training) is the important linguistic variable, but that it does not work in isolation on the speaker, but in close concert with other extra-linguistic factors, whose effect in either counteracting or exaggerating these characteristics in both sexes has also been shown to be worthy of consideration. Sex-related linguistic differences do exist. The differences though not marked, do carry occasionally respectable levels of reliability and they do not match particularly well with existing stereotypes - which do not present a fair or accurate picture of reality - the stereotypes with negative connotations are consistently associated with the socially inferior, although in many cases these are male characteristics.

These differences have been shown to relate to the social factors of power and status: males show clear linguistic signs of being more confident, assertive, relaxed, unworried and unhurried, with fewer conflicts about what not to say, and fewer concerns about how others will react. Females and the younger informants generally displayed the opposite linguistic traits, and such traits will ultimately work against them in life - those who have out-of-power linguistic characteristics will be likely to facilitate the perpetuation of their out-of-power positions in society.

A strong correlation between female linguistic behaviour generally and that of all pupils in Government schools in comparison with those in private schools has also emerged. Such a similarity suggests that both groups (females generally, and Government school pupils (versus private school pupils)) are the less "privileged" groups, and display concomitant linguistic behaviour which suggests the socialisation patterns which produced it: more restrictions and conformity to sex-typed patterns of behaviour.

Reasons for the differences which exist, and emerged in this study, relate very strongly to socialisation. In every case where maturation rate might be considered to have a differential effect, differences were minimal and non-significant when sex, as opposed to age, was used as a distinguishing criterion (e.g. syntactic complexity). On issues where socialisation has an influence, like swearing, general relaxation, or the use of *very*, sex of speaker produced large and significant differences. Society evidently ensures the preservation of these differences, despite speakers' possible desires to break out of this mould.

Admittedly this survey tested speakers in isolation. It is possible that these differences might be levelled out in all-female and all-male groups, but I have already given some justification for a tentative generalisation of these findings beyond the confines of the interview situation, based on my personal intuition and experience in this particular linguistic subculture. It is also possible that this investigation might present a slight magnification of the whole picture, owing to the fact that adolescence is the time at which conformity to peer group occurs, and crystallisation of expression of identity through language. Adolescence is also the time when society (in the form of parents and schools) has the greatest potential influence on the speaker, being the time of greatest conformity to the gender-roles laid down by society;

what is required before conclusions can be reached is a careful study of older groups of females, to assess whether later changes alter the picture.

Situational and task variables are most important in determining the form of speech style elicited, and the restraints we impose by a given experimental situation and the manner in which the results are interpreted should be considered as factors of great importance when examining the final picture of the speech patterns of the sexes and their political, sociological and psychological implications. The task itself may have limited the type of responses used by the subjects - a dialogue for instance might have yielded different utterance lengths for males and females. Conclusions I make in this study can thus only relate to formal speech and it must be remembered that some differences may actually have been obscured by the task: by the time children reach middle school their use of language may be quite similar in structured tasks of any nature.

6.6: **The Future?:**

The Sunday Times (25/6/78) reported that a curious relationship was discovered by American researchers between the size of people's feet and whether they are left or right handed. After measuring the foot sizes of 150 people, they were able to show that there was a strong association between right handedness and a right foot bigger than the left among women and vice versa in men. Unless this research was prompted by some charitable intention on the part of shoe manufacturers and retailers to sell different-sized shoes to accommodate people's feet, it is difficult to see the relevance it could have on any aspect of life - it is based on the assumption that sex differences matter more than sex similarities.

This study has, it is hoped, given strong grounds for regarding the sexes as essentially linguistically similar; differences which result from the practices of socialisation help to perpetuate linguistic differences between the genders which, it has been seen, do not always have a "benevolent" effect on their users.

The opinion which Western females hold of themselves must be a conflict-ridden one, in view of the strong stereotypes being passed down by the powers that be (parents, schools etc.). Females can resign themselves to accepting social beliefs and conforming (subconsciously) to them, or reject them, or reform. Tajfel's (1981) theory about groups whose members have a poor self-image, reported by Coates (1986:9) suggests that inferior groups can go one of three ways:

a.) they can accept their inferiority, and simply compare themselves with others in their group.

b.) they can reject their inferiority, assimilate with the superior group and demand equality.

c.) or they can simply redefine the so-called negative characteristics which brand them as different, creating new dimensions for comparison.

Coates (1986) suggests that what we find with women is a process of assimilation in language - women are swearing and using taboo language more and more, starting to talk about traditionally "male" topics and using non-standard accents increasingly. Results from this study, tend to confirm this idea, especially in the questionnaire section, in which it was seen that females are not "abstainers", and actually revel in the opportunity to let their (linguistic) hair down. Their attitudes in questionnaire responses revealed a conflict between what they want and what society wants of them, while no such conflict was evident among male informants, who showed instead a strong condemnation of linguistically "uppity" females, of whatever age. It is important, however to clarify this point: the females in private schools are most closely allied with the in-power norm, not perhaps because they are consciously copying it, but because of their higher level of confidence and general self regard. They are being socialised to regard themselves as equals, and automatically use the linguistic characteristics of confident speakers.

Are changes possible or worth recommending? Oakley is worth quoting at this point, to put the whole issue of deliberate linguistic change into perspective:

> there is ..... a considerable behavioural differentiation between the sexes, a mode of ideological differentiation in which men and women hold different images of themselves and their social relations. Ideological differentiation does not have to imply hierarchy. If men and women see themselves as different species, there is no automatically invidious comparison of importance. Yet, paradoxically, where an idolatry of sex equality arises ..... an imbalance of power may occur because the groups with the male model at its centre may come to be the primary reference point for all. Women in consequence develop a sense of lost self esteem. This may in turn give rise to a perception of active discrimination and an aggrieved feminism that seeks to give women what are seen as new and essential rights in a male world. But can women be recognised as human only by transforming themselves into male citizens? (1987:334)

Power and influence are associated with education, social class, regional origin and so on, and there is no question in these cases that there are related linguistic differences and damaging stereotypes that are particularly evident in studies of minority groups, working, ethnic and class dialects. Sex is still another factor that relates to that variation that is apparently inherent in language. While we may deplore that this is so, variation in language may be inevitable. Moreover we may not be able to pick and choose which aspects of variation we can eliminate and which we can encourage.

Society is constantly in a state of flux and therefore so is language; The distribution of the variants of variables seems clearly related to changes that languages undergo - one cannot separate synchronic and diachronic matters into two mutually exclusive domains and this study shows change in progress. Labov's idea that women take the lead and become models in linguistic change, especially those in the middle class, passing on these changes to their children and thereby ultimately effecting change in the

subculture as a whole is well known. Counteracting this pull, however, is the opposing tendency of males not to speak like women, for various complex sociolinguistic reasons, chief among these the need to ensure the preservation of the unequal status quo which benefits males. What happens in the future rests largely on what changes occur in the existing power structures of the society.

At present men and women are expected to have different interests and roles, hold different types of conversation and react differently to people. We may expect that the more distinct the roles are the greater the difference will be. In less stratified societies, with separate roles less clearly differentiated, we may expect a reflection of this in the language, and if change in the society is occurring change in the language is too. We must acknowledge the limits of proposals that seek to eliminate "sexist" language without first changing the underlying relationship between the two sexes. Men and women use language to achieve certain purposes, and so long as sexual difference is equated with different access to power and influence in society, we may expect such differences to result in linguistic differences.

Clearly it is stereotypes that do the most damage, and current newspaper articles reveal a strong interest in the topic, and an attempt to expose and counteract these misconceptions. A recent example was printed in The Sunday Star aimed at sexist language:

> English is a male-dominated language. There isn't even an opposite for the word misogynist ..... there is no doubt, the zephyrs of change are blowing through the land and the women of Africa are on the march. (26/6/88:6)

This may well put it a little too strongly, but the general trend, is perhaps one of steady reduction of social differences, which will probably result in naturally concomitant linguistic adjustments. One cannot tackle change at a linguistic level only, but rather at a social level. With the growth of social equality one expects an accompanying linguistic equality, and this might best be accelerated by promoting such attitudes in schools.

With child-rearing practices and role differentiation which are less sexist, and greater social and educational equality, differences will shrink, women will relax in speech, not making a conscious effort not to speak incorrectly, not to pause or not to swear, or a conscious effort to speak incorrectly, pause or swear, in an attempt to conform to or away from a prescribed role. Language is in a process of flux, and with the new awareness of sexism in language, and a new generation of middle-class parents (and hopefully teachers) determined to counteract unfair linguistic prejudices, a convergence in the linguistic habits of the two sexes is not unlikely.

People are evidently aware, sometimes consciously and sometimes not, that certain variants have more or less prestige than others. They listen to someone speak and infer very specific things about that speaker after hearing relatively little of his/her speech. They rely on relatively few cues, for example the presence or absence of certain linguistic features and are also able to modify their speech to reflect changing circumstances, doing so quite systematically, as is evident from the results of this survey.

This last hypothesis is interesting and raises important questions about the linguistic capabilities of humans, and how individuals acquire the ability to use language in such ways. If humans must learn not only that you have to use linguistic feature X rather than feature Y, (in order to belong to a certain gender division) but that you have to use it X% in situation A and Y% in situation B and Z% in situation C, it says a lot about innate human abilities and the capacity for learning and mastering the varieties. (Variable rules that capture these statistics are naturally descriptive rather than generative.)

Nash (1979:292) suggests that society make a concerted effort to minimise the influence of stereotypes, focussing on each child's individual attributes, teaching skills for choice, and providing experiences conducive to self-differentiation and self-knowledge, and Edelsky (1976c) repeats this idea:

> Educators have long been concerned with what is taught and with teaching methods; with what is learned only in relation to what is taught. This provides a needed but distorted picture. The aim of developing language abilities might better be served if there were equivalent attention paid to how learning occurs naturally and to what strategies children use when they acquire such complexities as linguistic and sociolinguistic systems. (Edelsky 1976c:751-2)

If we are to counteract the undeniable negative judgement that is associated with female language in general, and with stereotypes, a very clear idea of the rules people follow is needed, and one of the means of achieving this is through careful correlational studies.

Correlational studies are, of course, not the only kinds of investigations that are important in sociolinguistics. Other kinds of interpretations of results are called for too. We should not expect to find a perfect correlation between a linguistic variable and some social or psychological variable, so that if we know how a person measures on one we can predict exactly how that person measures on the other. Statements about linguistic variables are best seen as statements about group norms or averages, which allow individuals considerable opportunity to vary, i.e. allow a certain latitude in their linguistic behaviour.

Wardhaugh (1986) points out that the kinds of variation revealed in studies of variability raise important issues about the very nature of language itself and contribute significantly to the competence-performance controversy, suggestive, as they are, of the existence of variable rules. Such rules are summaries of group behaviour stated in terms of probabilities - the kind of thing a human being must be in order to learn the probabilities that inhere in group behaviour.

A far more sophisticated sociolinguistic theory is needed before we will be able to tease each separate strand from the others and assess its individual effect. What the results do show is that, of the competing variables, so to speak, gender (the result of socialisation) has the most noticeable effect, and should never be overlooked in any socio-linguistic study.

This study has permitted a brief glimpse into the fantastic complexity of speech as a social phenomenon, and one emerges with respect for the incredible orchestration of variables, dependent and independent, which results, in the end, in language. The way lies open for further research into each successive generation of speakers in as many different contexts as possible in the attempt to create a composite picture of human speech.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Acker, J., (1973), "Women and social stratification: a case of intellectual sexism": American Journal of Sociology, **78**, 936-945.

Addington, D.W., (1968), "The relationship of selected vocal characteristics to personality perception": Speech Monographs, **35**, 492-503.

Adler, M.K., (1978), Sex differences in human speech: a sociolinguistic study: Buske, Hamburg.

Albrecht, T.Z. and Cooley, R.E., (1981), "Androgyny and communication strategies for relational dominance: an empirical analysis": Communication Yearbook, **4**: New Brunswick, New Jersey, transaction.

Althusser, L., (1971), (ed.), "Ideology and ideological state apparatuses": in Lenin and philosophy and other essays: New Left Books, London.

Anshen, F., (1969), "Speech variation among negroes in a small southern community": Phd dissertation, New York university, cited in Smith, P., (1979), "Sex markers in speech": in Scherer, K. and Giles, H., (eds.), Social markers in speech: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Argyle, M., Lalljee, M. and Cook, M., (1968), "The effect of visibility on interaction in a dyad": Human Relations, **21**, 3-17.

Aries, E., (1976), "Interaction patterns and themes of male, female and mixed groups": Small Group Behaviour, **7**, 7-15.

Armagost, J., (1972), "English declarative tags, intonation tags and tag questions": Studies in Linguistics and Language Learning, **10**, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1-53.

Aronovitch, C.D., (1976), "The voice of personality: stereotyped judgements and their relation to voice quality and sex of speaker": Journal of Social Psychology, **99**, 207-220.

Astin, H., Parelman, A. and Fisher, A., (1975), Sex roles: a research bibliography: Centre for Human Services, Washington D.C.

Bacdayan, A.S., (1977), "Mechanistic co-operation and sexual equality among the Western Bontoc": in Schlegel, A.,(ed.), Sexual stratification: a cross-cultural view: Columbia University Press, New York.

Bailey, L.A. and Timm, L.A., (1976), "More on women's and men's expletives": Anthropological Linguistics, **18**, 438-449.

Bailey, R., (1985), "SAE slang: form, functions and origins": SA Journal of Linguistics, **3/1**, 1-42.

Baird, J.E. Jr., (1976), "Sex differences in group communication: a review of relevant research": Quarterly Journal of Speech, **62**, 179-192.

Bardwick, J. and Douvan, E., (1971), "Ambivalence: the socialisation of women": in Gornick, V. and Moran, B., (eds.), Women in sexist society: Basic Books, New York, 225-241.

Baroni, M.R. and D'Urso, V., (1984), "Some experimental findings about the question of politeness and women's speech. (Research note)": Language in Society, **13**, 67-72.

Barron, N., (1971), "Sex-typed language: the production of grammatical cases": Acta Sociologica, 14 **(1-2)**, 24-72.

Barry, H., Bacon, M.K. and Child, I.I., (1957), "A cross-cultural survey of some sex differences in socialisation.": Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, **55**, 327-332.

Bart, P., (1971), "Sexism and social science: from the gilded cage to the iron cage, or the perils of Pauline": Journal of Marriage and the Family, **33**, 734-745.

Bate, B.A., (1975), "Generic man, invisible woman: language, thought and social change": University of Michigan Papers in Womans' studies, **2(1)**, 83-95.

Baumann, M., (1979), "Two features of women's speech?": in Dubois, B. and Crouch, I., (eds.), International Journal of the Sociology of Language: Mouton, The Hague.

Bayley, N., (1956), "Comparisons of mental and motor test scores for ages 1-15 months by sex, birth order, race, geographical location and education of parents": Child Development, **36**, 379-411.

Becker, J.A. and Smenner, P.C., (1986), "The spontaneous use of "thank you" by preschoolers as a function of sex, socio-economic status, and listener status": Language in Society, **15**, 537-546.

Bell, R.Q., Weller, G.M. and Waldrop, M.F., (1971), "Newborn and preschooler: organisation of behaviour and relations between periods": Monograph of the Society for Research on Child Development, **36**, No. 142.

Bem, S.L., Martyna, W. and Watson, C., (1976), "Sex typing and androgyny: further explorations of the expressive domain": Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, **34**, 1016-1023.

Berelson, B., (1952), Content analysis in communication research: Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

Berko-Gleason, J., (1975), "Fathers and other strangers: men's speech to young children.": in Dato, D., (ed.), Developmental Psycholinguistics: Theory and Applications: Georgetown University Press; Washington DC, 289-297.

Berko-Gleason, J., (1979), "Sex differences in the language of children and parents": in Garnica, O. and King, M., (eds.), Language Children and Society: the effect of social factors on children learning to communicate: Pergamon Press, Ohio, 149-158.

Bernard, J., (1972), The sex game: Athaeneum, New York.

Bernard, J., (1975), Women, wives, mothers: values and options: Aldine, Chicago.

Bernstein, B., (1971), Class, codes and control: theoretical studies in the sociology of language: Volume 1, London.

Berryman, C.L., (1978), Perceptions of male and female sex appropriate and sex inappropriate language: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Dissertation Abstracts International **39**, p3915-A.

Berryman, C.L. and Wilcox, J.R., (1980), "Attitudes towards male and female speakers: experiments on the effects of sex-typical language": Western Journal of Speech Communication, **44**, 50-59.

Birdwhistell, R., (1970), "Masculinity and femininity displays": Kinesics and Context, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 39-46.

Blakar, R.M., (1973), "An experimental method for enquiring into communication": European Journal of Social Psychology, **3(4)**, 415-425.

Block, J.H., (1976), "Debatable conclusions about sex differences": Contemporary Psychology, **21**, 517-522.

Bloodstein, O., (1980), A handbook on stuttering: National Easter Seal Society, Chicago.

Bodine, A., (1975b), "Sex differentiation in language": in Thorne, B. and Henley, N., (eds.), Language and Sex: difference and Dominance: Newbury, Rowley, Massachusetts, 130-151.

Bogue, G., (1981), Basic sociological research design: Scott, Foresman and company, Glenview, Illinois.

Bostrom, R.N. and Kemp, A.P., (1969), "Type of speech, sex of speaker and sex of subject as factors influencing persuasion": Central States Speech Journal, **28**, 245-251.

Bradley, H., (1911), "Slang": in Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 11th edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Bradley, P.H., (1981), "The folk-linguistics of women's speech: an empirical examination": Communication Monographs, **48**, 73-90.

Brandis, W. and Bernstein, B., (1974), Selection and control: teachers' ratings of children in the infant school, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Branford, J., (1987), A Dictionary of South African English: Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Brend, R.M., (1971), "Male-female intonation patterns in American English": in Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Phonetic Sciences: Mouton, The Hague, 866-870.

Broen, P.A., (1972), "The verbal environment of the language learning child": ASHA, **17**, Monograph.

Broen, P.A. and Siegel,G.,(1973), "Variations in normal speech disfluencies": Language and Speech, **23**, 64-72.

Brotherton, P.L. and Penman, R.A., (1977), "A comparison of some characteristics of male and female speech": Journal of Social Psychology, **103**, 161-162.

Brouwer, D., (1982), "The influence of the addressee's sex on politeness in language use": Linguistics, **20**, 697-711.

Brouwer, D., Gerritsen, M. and De Haan, D., (1979), "Speech differences between women and men: on the wrong track?": Language in Society, **8**, 33-50.

Broverman, I.K., Vogel, S.R., Broverman, D.M., Clarkson, F. and Rosenkrantz, P.S., (1972), "Sex role stereotypes: a current appraisal": Journal of Social Issues, **28(2)**, 59-78.

Brown, J.D., (1981), "Adolescent peer group communication, sex role norms and decisions about occupations": Communication Yearbook, **volume L**, New Brunswick New Jersey: transaction.

Brown, P., (1980), "How and why women are more polite. Some evidence from a Mayan community": in Mc Connell-Ginet S., Borker, R. and Furman, N., (eds.), (1980) Language in literature and society: Praeger, New York, 93-130.

Brown, R. and Gilman, A., (1960), "The pronouns of power and solidarity": in Sebeok, T.A. (ed.), Style in Language, Wiley, New York, 253-276.

Brown, R. and Levinson, E., (1978), "Universals of language usage: politeness phenomena": in Goody, E., (ed.), Questions and Politeness: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Brownwell, W. and Smith, D.R., (1973), "Communication patterns, sex and length of verbalisation in speech of 4 year old children": Speech Monographs, **40**, 310-316.

Bruning, J. and Kintz, B., (1977), Computational handbook of statistics: Scott Foresman, Glenview, Illinois.

Burr, E., Dunn, S. and Farquhar, N., (1972), "Women and the language of inequality": Social Education, **36**, 841-845.

Busk, K., (1985), Gender differences in adolescents' use of sex-typed language variables and conversational patterns: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, Dissertation Abstracts International, **46/12B**, 4421-B.

Butler, C., (1985), Statistics in Linguistics: Oxford, Blackwell.

Cameron, D., (1985), Feminism and Linguistic Theory: Macmillan, London.

Cameron, D. and Coates, J., (1985), "Some problems in the sociolinguistic explanation of sex differences": Language and Communication, **5**(3), 143-151.

Cannon, G. and Roberson, S., (1985), "Sexism in English: is it diminishing?": Word, **36**, 23-35.

Carmen, D., Schwartz, F. and Miles, L., (1964), "Participation and opinion changes as related to cohesiveness and sex of subjects in two-person groups": Psychological Reports, **14/3**, 695-702.

Cherry, L., (1975), "Teacher-child verbal interaction: an approach to the study of sex differences": in Thorne, B. and Henley N., (eds.), (1975), Language and sex: difference and dominance: Rowley, Massachusetts, 172-181.

Cherry, L. and Lewis, M., (1975), "Mothers and 2-year olds: a study of sex differentiated aspects of verbal interaction": Educational Testing Service Research Bulletin, Princeton New Jersey.

Cheshire, J., (1978),"Present verbs in Reading English": in Trudgill, P., (ed.), Sociolinguistic patterns in British English: Edward Arnold, London, 52-68.

Cheshire, J., (1984), "Indigenous non-standard varieties and education": in Trudgill, P., (ed.), Applied Sociolinguistics: Academic, London, 564-588.

Cheshire, J., (1985), "A question of masculine bias": English Today, **1**, 22-26.

Cicone, M.V. and Ruble, D.N., (1978), "Beliefs about males": Journal of Social Issues, **34(1)**, 5-16.

Clarke-Stewart, A., (1973), "Interactions between mothers and their young children: characteristics and consequences": Monographs of the society for research in Child Development, **153, (38)**, 6-7.

Clarricoates, K., (1980), "Sexism in the primary school; the theft of girls' creativity": in Spender, D. and Sarah, E., (eds.) Learning to Lose: Sexism in education: The Woman's Press, London.

Coates, J., (1986), Women, men and language. A sociolinguistic account of sex differences in language: Longman, London.

Cohen, M.B., (1966), "Personal Identity and Sexual Identity": Psychiatry, **29(11)**, 1-14.

Condry, J. and Condry, S., (1976), "Sex differences: a study in the eye of the beholder": Child Development, **47**, 812-819.

Conklin, N., (1973), "Perspectives on the dialects of women": American Dialect Society, reported in Thorne, B. and Henley, N., (eds.), (1975), Language and sex: difference and dominance: Rowley, Massachusetts, 225.

Conklin, N., (1974), "Towards a feminist analysis of linguistic behaviour": University of Michigan papers on Women's studies, **1(1)**, 51-73.

Cooley, W.W. and Lohnes, P.R., (1971), Multivariate procedures for the behavioral sciences: Wiley, New York.

Coser, R.L., (1960), "Laughter among colleagues": Psychiatry, **22**, 81-95.

Courtney, A.E. and Whipple, T.W., (1974), "Women in TV commercials": Journal of Communication, **24**, 110-117.

Crosby, F., Jose, P. and Wong-McCarthy, W., (1981), "Gender androgyny and conversational assertiveness": in Mayo, C. and Henley, N., (eds.), Gender and non-verbal communication: Springer-Verlag, New York, 151-169.

Crosby, F. and Nyquist, L., (1977), "The female register: an empirical study of Lakoff's hypotheses": Language in Society, **6**, 313-322.

Cross, T., (1977), "Mothers' speech and its association with rate of linguistic development in young children": in Waterson, N. and Snow, C., (eds.), The development of communication: Wiley, London.

Crystal, D., (1986), "Grin and swear it": English Today, **7**, 34-35.

Crystal, D., (1987), The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Czaplinski, S.M., (1976), Sexism in award-winning picture books: Childrens Rights Workshop, New York.

Dahlerup, P., (1972), "The lack of awareness of attitudes by a literature critic": in Westman-Berg, K. (ed.), Konsdiskriminering forr och nu: Teller, Berlin.

Dalton, P., (ed.), (1983), Approaches to the treatment of stuttering: Croom Helm, London.

Darley, F. and Winitz, H., (1961), "Age of first words: review of research": Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, **26**, 272-290.

Davis, L.M., (1985), "The problem of social class grouping in sociolinguistic research": American Speech, **60 (1)**, 214-221.

Deaux, K. and Emswiller, T., (1974), "Explanations for successful performance on sex-linked tasks: what is skill for the male is luck for the female": Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, **29**, 80-85.

De Blaaw, A., Dubber,C., Van Roosmalen, G. and Snow, C., (1977), "Sex and social class differences in early mother-child interaction": in Garnica, O. and King, M., (eds.), Language Children and Society: the effect of social factors on children learning to communicate: Pergamon Press, Ohio, 53-65.

De Klerk, V.A., (1988), "An investigation into the use of expletives by males and females in Grahamstown": South African Journal of Linguistics, **6(2)**, 1-19.

Delamont, S., (1980), Sex roles and the School: Methuen, London.

Department of Education and Science, (1975), Curricular differences for boys and girls: Educational Survey 21, HMSO, London.

Dixon, B., (1977), Catching them young: sex, race and class in children's fiction: Pluto Press, London.

Dubois, B.L. and Crouch, I., (1975), "The question of tag questions in women's speech: they don't really use more of them, do they?": Language in Society, **4**, 289-294.

Dubois, B.L. and Crouch, I.M.,(eds) (1978), International Journal of the Sociology of Language: Mouton, The Hague.

Dumas, B.K., and Lighter, J.,(1978), "Is slang a word for linguists?": American Speech, **53**, 5-17.

Duncan, S. and Fiske, D.,(1977), Face-to-face interaction: research methods and theory: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, New Jersey.

Dwyer, C.A., (1974), "Sex differences in reading: an evaluation and critique of current theories": Review of educational research, **43**, 455-467

Dwyer, C.A., (1979), "The role of tests and their construction in producing apparent sex-related differences": in Petersen, A.C. and Wittig, M.A., (eds.), (1979), Sex-related differences in cognitive functioning: developmental issues: Academic, New York, 335-353.

Eakins, B. and Eakins, S.G., (1978), Sex differences in human communication: Houghton-Mifflin, Boston.

Edelsky, C., (1976a), "The acquisition of communicative competence. Recognition of linguistic correlates of sex roles": Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, **22(1)**, 47-59.

Edelsky, C., (1976b), "Subjective reactions to sex-linked language": Journal of Social Psychology, **99**, 97-104.

Edelsky, C., (1976c), "Recognising sex-linked language": Language Arts, **53(7)**, 746-753.

Edelsky, C., (1978), "Acquisition of an aspect of communicative competence: learning what it means to talk like a lady": in Ervin-Tripp, S. and Mitchell-Kernan, C., (eds.), Child Discourse: Academic, New York, 225-243.

Edelsky, C., (1979), "Question intonation and sex roles": Language in Society, **8**, 15-32.

Edelsky, C., (1981), "Who's got the floor?": Language in Society, **10**, 383-421.

Edwards, J.R., (1979), "Social class differences and the identification of sex in children's speech": Journal of Child Language, **6**, 121-127.

Eisenberg, L., Berlin, C.I.,Dill, A. and Frank, S., (1968), "Class and race effects on the intelligibility of monosyllables": Child Development, **39**, 1077-1089.

Elyan, O., (1978), "Sex differences in speech style": Women Speaking, **4**, 4-8.

Elliot, J., (1974), "Sex-role constraints on freedom of discussion: a neglected reality of the classroom": The New Era, **55/6**, 1-32.

Elyot, (1953), (1970), The Governour: The Scolar Press, Menston, Yorks.

Erickson, B., Lind, E.A., Johnson, B.C., and O Barr, W.M., (1977), "Speaker style and impression formation in a court setting: the effects of "powerful" and "powerless" speech.": Law and Language Research Report, **13**, Duke University.

Erickson, B. and Nosanchuk, T., (1977) Understanding Data: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Toronto.

Ervin-Tripp, S., (1978), "What do women sociolinguists want?: Prospects for a research field": International Journal of the Sociology of Language, **17**, 17-28.

Evans, K., (1984), Planning small-scale research: Nelson, NFER, Slough.

Fairbanks, H., (1944), "Studies in language behaviour II": Psychological Monographs, **56**, 1-15.

Farb, P., (1973), Word Play: what happens when people talk: A Knopf, New York.

Fasold, R.W., (1972), Tense marking in Black English: a linguistic and social analysis: Centre for Applied Linguistics, Washington DC.

Feirstein, B., (1982), Real men don't eat quiche: a guidebook to all that is truly masculine: Pocket Books, New York.

Feldman, S., Nash, S. and Cutrona, C., (1977), "The influence of age and sex on responsiveness to babies": Developmental Psychology, 13, 675-676.

Feldstein, S., (1977), "Race and gender effects on conversational time patterns.": American Psychological Association Meeting Papers, San Francisco.

Fernald, J.C., (1918), Expressive English: Funk and Wagnalls, New York.

Finlayson, R., (1982), "Hlonipha - the women's language of avoidance among the Xhosa": S.A.Journal of African Languages, **1-3 supplement 1**, 35-60.

Finlayson, R., (1984), "The changing nature of isihlonipho sabafazi": African Studies, **42**, 137-146.

Fischer, J.L., (1958), "Social influences on the choice of a linguistic variant": Word, **14**, 47-56.

Fishman, P., (1977), "Interactional Shitwork": Heresies, **3**, 22-29.

Fishman, P., (1980), "Conversational Insecurity": in Giles, H., Robinson, W.P. and Smith, P., (eds.), Language: social psychological perspectives: Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Flexner, S.B., (1971), "Slang": in Encyclopaedia Britannica: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chicago.

Flexner, S.B. and Wentworth, H., (1975), Dictionary of American Slang: Crowell, New York.

Foerster, N. and Steadman, J., (1941), Writing and thinking: a handbook of composition and revision: Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

Forsland, M.A. and Hull, R.E., (1972), "Sex role identification and achievement at preadolescence": Rocky Mountain Social Sciences Journal, **9(1)**, 105-110.

Frances, W.N., (1983), Dialectology: An Introduction: Longman, London.

Froschl, M., (1973), "It's never too early: sex role stereotyping in the pre-school years": Colloquy, **6(9)**, 16-18.

Fransella, F. and Frost, K., (1977), How women see themselves: Tavistock, London.

Frazier, N. and Sadker, M., (1973), Sexism in school and society: Harper Row, New York.

Furfey, P.H., (1944), "Men's and women's language": American Catholic Sociological Review, **5**, 218-223.

Gall, M., Hobby, A. and Craik, K., (1969), "Non-linguistic factors in oral linguistic productivity": Perceptual and Motor skills, **29**, 871-874.

Gallagher, J. and Aschner, M.J., (1963), "A preliminary report on classroom interaction": Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, **9**, 183-193.

Garai, J.E. and Scheinfeld, A., (1968), "Sex differences in mental and behavioural traits": Genetic Psychological Monographs, **77**, 169-299.

Garcia, G.N. and Frosch, S.F., (1978), "Sex colour and money: who's perceiving what? or "Where did all the differences go (to?)?"": International Journal of the Sociology of Language, **17**, 83-90.

Garcia-Zamor, M.A., (1973), "Child awareness of sex-role distinction in language use": Paper presented at Linguistic Society of America, summarised in Thorne, N. and Henley, B. (eds), (1975), Language and sex: difference and dominance: Newbury, Rowley, Massachusetts, 230-281.

Garnica, O., (1979), "The boys have the muscles and the girls have the sexy legs": in Garnica, O. and King, M.(eds.), (1979), Language, children and society: the effect of social factors on children learning to communicate: Pergamon Press, Ohio.

Garnica, O. and King, M., (eds.), (1979), Language, children and society: the effect of social factors on children learning to communicate: Pergamon Press, Ohio.

Genauer, R.W., (1976), Linguistic sexism and the relative status of males and females: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Case Western Reserve University Dissertations Abstracts International, **37/12**, p7725-A.

Genung, J.F., (1893), Outline of Rhetoric: Ginn, Boston.

Gershunny, H.L., (1974), "Sexist semantics in the dictionary": Etc: A Review of general semantics, 31, 159-169.

Giles, H., (1973), "Accent mobility: a model and some data": Anthropological Linguistics, **15**, 87-105.

Giles, H. and Marsh, P., (1979), "Perceived masculinity and accented speech": Language Sciences, **1**, 301-315.

Giles, H., Robinson, W.P. and Smith, P., (eds.), (1980), Language: social psychological perspectives: Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Giles, H. and Scherer, K., (eds.), (1979): Social markers in speech: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Giles, H., Smith, P., Ford, B., Condor, S. and Thakerer, J., (1980), "Speech style and the fluctuating saliency of sex": Language Sciences, **2(2)**, 260-282.

Gilley, H. and Summers, C., (1970), "Sex differences in the use of hostile verbs": Journal of psychology, **76**, 33-37.

Ginsberg, F.G., (1980), Sex of speaker and sex of listener as factors affecting the input language of preschool teachers: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Dissertations Abstracts International, **40**, p1487-A.

Gleason, H., (1961), An introduction to descriptive linguistics: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

Gleason, J.B., (1975), "Fathers and other strangers: men's speech to young children": in Dato, D.P., (ed.), Georgetown University Round Table on Language and Linguistics, Georgetown University Press, Washington DC, 289-297.

Gleason, J.B., (1980), "The acquisition of social speech: routines and politeness": in Giles, H., Robinson, W.P. and Smith, P., (eds.), (1980), Language: social psychological perspectives: Pergamon Press, Oxford, 21-27.

Gleser, G.G., Gottschalk, L.A. and Watkins, J., (1959), "The relationship of sex in intelligence to choice of words: a normative study of verbal behaviour": Journal of Clinical Psychology, **15**, 182-191.

Goffman, E., (1956), "The nature of deference and demeanor": American Anthropologist, **58**, 473-502.

Goldberg, P., (1968), "Are women prejudiced against women?": Transaction, **6**, 28-30.

Goldman, R., (1967), "Cultural influences on the sex ratio in the incidence of stuttering": American Anthropologist, **69**, 78-81.

Goode, W.J. and Hatt, P.K., (1952), Methods in Social Research: McGraw Hill, New York.

Goody, E., (ed.), (1978): Questions and politeness: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Grady, K.E., (1977), "The belief in sex differences": in Petersen, A.C., and Wittig, M.A., (eds.) (1979) Sex-related Differences in Cognitive Functioning: Developmental Issues: Academic Press, New York, chapter 1.

Grambs, J. and Waetjen,W.,(1975), Sex: does it make a difference?: Duxbury Press, North Scituate, Massachusetts.

Greenwald, A.G., (1975), "Consequences of prejudice against the null hypothesis": Psychological Bulletin, **82**, 1-20.

Greenough, J.B. and Kittredge, G.L., (1901), Words and their ways in English speech: Macmillan, New York.

Gumperz, J. (ed.), (1982), Language and Social Identity: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Haas, A.N., (1978), Production of sex-associated features of spoken language by 4, 8 and 12 year old boys and girls: unpublished doctoral dissertation, Dissertation Abstracts International, **39/01** p23-A.

Haas, A., (1979), "Male and female spoken language differences: stereotypes and evidence": Psychological Bulletin, **86(3)**, 616-626.

Hall, E.T., (1973), The silent language: Doubleday/Anchor, Garden City, New York.

Haller, J., (1976), "Like a very drab": American Speech **51(2)**, 25-34.

Halliday, M.A.K., (1985), An introduction to functional grammar: Edward Arnold, London.

Hartford, B.S., (1978), "Phonological differences in the English of adolescent female and male Mexican-Americans": International Journal of the Sociology of Language, **17**, 55-64.

Hartman, M., (1978), "A descriptive study of the men and women born in Maine around 1900 as it reflects the Lakoff hypothesis in language in "Language and Women's place": in Dubois, B.L. and Crouch, I.M., (eds.), (1978), International Journal of the Sociology of Language: Mouton, The Hague.

Harvey, J., (1953), "The content characteristics of best-selling novels": Publications Opinions Quarterly, **17**, 19-114.

Hayakawa, S.I., (1941), Language in action: Harcourt Brace, New York.

Head, B., (1977), "Sex as a factor in the use of obscenity": Paper presented at the Linguistic Society of America, **Summer meeting**, Honolulu.

Hefner, R. and Oleshansky, B., (1976), "A model of sex-role transcendance": Journal of Social Issues, **32**, 197-206.

Hertzler, J.O., (1965), A sociology of language: Random House, New York, 319-320.

Higgins, E.T., (1976), "Social class differences in verbal communicative accuracy: a question of "Which question?"": Psychological Bulletin, **8**, 695-714.

Hilpert, F., Kramer, C. and Clark, R., (1975), "Participants perceptions of self and partner in mixed-sex dyads": Central States Speech Journal, **Spring 1975**, 52-56.

Hirschman, L., (1973), "Female-male differences in conversational interaction": Paper presented at the Linguistic Society of America meeting, summarized in Thorne, B. and Henley, N., (eds.), (1975), Language and sex: difference and dominance: Newbury, Rowley, Massachusetts, 232ff.

Hirschman, L., (1974), "Analysis of supportive and assertive behaviour in conversations", Paper presented at the Linguistics Society of America meeting, July 1974, summarized in Thorne, B. and Henley, N., (eds.), (1975), Language and sex: difference and dominance: Newbury, Rowley, Massachusetts, 231ff.

Hirst, G., (1982),"An evaluation of evidence for innate sex differences in linguistic ability": Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, **11(2)**, 95-113.

Hoaglin, D., Mosteller, M. and Tukey, J., (eds.), (1985), Exploring Data Tables, Trends and Shapes: Wiley, New York.

Hodges, J. and Whitten, M., (1967), Harbrace College Handbook, 6th edition: Harcourt-Brace and World, New York.

Holmes, J., (1982), "Expressing doubt and certainty in English": RELC Journal, **13(2)**, 9-28.

Holmes, J., (1983), "The functions of tag questions ": English Language Research Journal, **3**, 40-65.

Holmes, J., (1984), "Women's language: a functional approach": General Linguistics, **24(3)**, 149-178.

Holmes, J., (1986), "Functions of "you know" in women's and men's speech": Language in Society, **15**, 1-22.

Holsti, O.R., (1969), Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities: Addison-Wesley, Reading, Massachusetts.

Hood, S.B., (1978), "The assessment of fluency disorders": in Singh, S. and Lynch, J. (eds.) Diagnostic procedures in hearing language, and hearing: University Park Press, Baltimore.

Horvath, B., (1985) Variation in Australian English: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Howett, D., (1982), The mass media and social problems: Pergamon Press, Oxford

Hudson, R., (1975), "The meaning of questions": Language, **51**, 1-31.

Hutt, C., (1972a), Males and Females: Penguin, Baltimore.

Hutt, C., (1972b), "Neuroendocrinological behavioural and intellectual aspects of sexual differentiation in human development": in Ounsted, G. and Taylor, D. (eds.), Gender differences: their ontogeny and significance: Churchhill and Livingstone, London, 73-121.

Hymes, D., (1968), Language in culture and society: Harper Row, New York.

Ickes, W. and Barnes, R.D., (1978), "Boys and girls together - and alienated: on enacting stereotyped sex-roles in mixed-sex dyads": Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, **36**, 669-683.

Jespersen, O., (1922), Language: its nature, development and origin: Allen and Unwin, London.

Johnson, W., (1944), "Studies in language behaviour I: a programme of research": Psychological Monographs, **56**, 1-15.

Johnson, D., (1973), "Sex differences in reading across cultures": Reading Research Quarterly, **9**, 67-86.

Johnson, R.C. and Medinnus, G.R., (1969), Child psychology: behaviour and development: Wiley, New York.

Jorden, E., (1974), "Language female and feminine": Proceedings of a US-Japanese Sociolinguistics meeting, Hoffer, B., (ed.): Trinity University Press, San Antonio, Texas.

Karlen, A., Hagin, R. and Beecher, R., (1981), "Are boys really more vulnerable to learning disability than girls?": Paper at the 90th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Washington DC.

Kagan, J., (1964), "Acquisition and significance of sex-typing and sex-role identity": in Hoffman, M. and Hoffman, L., (eds.), (1964) Review of child development research, volume 1: Russell Sage, New York.

Keenan, E., (1974), "Norm-makers, norm-breakers: use of speech by men and women in a Malagasy community": in Bauman, R. and Sherzer, I., (eds.), Explorations in the ethnography of speaking: Cambridge University Press, London, 140 ff.

Keene, N.A., (1985), Male/female language: a stylistic analysis of freshman compositions: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Dissertation Abstracts International; nr. A 8608951.

Key, M.R., (1971), "The role of male and female in children's books - dispelling all doubt": Wilson Library Bulletin, **46(Oct)**, 167-176.

Key, M.R., (1972), "Linguistic behaviour of male and female.": Linguistics, **88 (15Aug)**, 15-31.

Key, M.R., (1975), Male/Female Language: Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, New Jersey.

Kibler, R., Barker, L. and Cegala, D., (1970), "Effect of sex on comprehension and retention": Speech Monographs, **37**, 287-292.

Klann-Delius, G., (1981), "Sex and language acquisition - is there any influence?": Journal of Pragmatics, **5**, 1-25.

Klecan-Aker, J.S., (1984), "A study of syntactic skills of normal and middle school males and females": Language and Speech, **27(3)**, 205-215.

Kramer, C., (1974a), "Folklinguistics": Psychology Today, **8**, 82-85.

Kramer, C., (1974b), "Wishy-washy mommy talk": Psychology Today, **1974 (June)**, 82-85.

Kramer, C., (1974c), "Women's speech: separate but unequal": Quarterly Journal of Speech, **60**, 14-24.

Kramer, C., (1975a), "Stereotypes of Women's speech: the word from cartoons": Journal of Popular Culture, **8(3)**, 624-638.

Kramer, C., (1975b), "Sex-related differences in address systems": Anthropological Linguistics, **17**, 198-210.

Kramer, C., (1977), "Male and female perceptions of male and female speech": Language and Speech, **20(2)**, 151-161.

Kramarae, C., (1981), Women and men speaking: frameworks for analysis: Newbury House, Rowley, Massachusetts.

Kramarae, C., (1982), "Gender: How she speaks." in Ryan, E., and Giles, H.,(eds.), Attitudes towards Language Variation: Edward Arnold, London, 84-98.

Kuhn, D., Nash, S. and Brucken, L., (1978), "Sex role concepts of 2 and 3 year olds": Child Development, **49**, 445-451.

Labov, W., (1966), The social stratification of English in New York City: Washington DC Centre for Applied Linguistics, Washington.

Labov, W., (1971), "Methodology": in Dingwall,W.,(ed), A survey of linguistic science: University of Maryland Linguistics Programme, College Park, 413ff.

Labov, W., (1972), Sociolinguistic Patterns: University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Lakoff, R., (1973), "Language and women's place": Language in Society, **2**, 45-79.

Lakoff, R., (1975), Language and women's place: Harper and Row, New York.

Lakoff, R., (1977), "Women's Language": Language and Style, **10(4)**, 222-247.

Lanham, L.W. and MacDonald, C.A., (1979), The standard in South African English and its social history: Groos, Heidelberg.

Lavandera, B.A., (1978), "Where does the sociolinguistic variable stop?": Language in Society, **7**, 171-182.

Lee, A., (1980), "Together we learn to read and write: sexism and literacy": in Spender, D. and Sarah, E., (eds.), (1980), Learning to lose: sexism and education: The Woman's Press, London.

Leet-Pellegrini, H.M., (1980), "Conversational dominance as a function of gender expertise": in Giles, H., Robinson, W. and Smith, P., (eds.), (1980), Language: social psychological perspectives: Pergamon Press, Oxford, 97-104.

Legget, G., Mead, D. and Charvatt, W., (1974), Prentice-Hall handbook for writers: 6th edition, Prentice Hall, Engelwood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Lenny, E., (1977), "Women's self-confidence in achievement settings": Psychological Bulletin, **84**, 1-13.

Lester, E.P., Dudek, S. and Muir, R.C., (1972), "Sex differences in the performance of schoolchildren": Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal, **17(4)**, 273-278.

Levine, L. and Crockett, H.J., (1967), "Speech variation in a Piedmont community: postvocalic "r"": International Journal of American Linguistics, **33(4)**, II, 76-98.

Lewis, M., (1972), "Parents and children: sex role and development": School Review, **80**, 229-246.

Lieberman, P., (1968), Intonation, perception and language: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Liska, J., Mechling, E.W. and Stathas, S., (1981), "Differences in subjects' perceptions of gender and believability between uses of deferential and non-deferential language": Communication Quarterly, **29**, 40-48.

Lloyd, B. and Archer, J., (eds.), (1976), Exploring sex differences: Academic Press, London.

Loban, W., (1966), "Problems in oral English": National Council of Teachers of English Research Report, **5**, Urbana, Illinois.

Lobban, G., (1977), "Sexist bias in reading schemes": in Hoyles, M., (ed.), The politics of literacy: Readers and Writers Publishing Cooperative, London.

Lowe, M. and Hubbard, R., (1979), "Sociobiology and biosociology: can science prove the biological basis of sex differences in behaviour?": Hubbard, R. and Lowe, M. (eds.), Genes and GenderII, Gordian Press, New York, 91-111.

Lynch, J.I., (1983), "Gender differences in Language": American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA), **25**, 37-42.

Macaulay, R.K.S., (1977), "The myth of female superiority in language": Journal of Child Language, **5**, 353-363.

Maccoby, E.E., (1966), The development of sex differences: Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

Maccoby, E.E. and Jacklin, C.N., (1973), "Sex differences in intellectual functioning": in Assessment in a pluralistic society: Proceedings of the educational testing service Invitational Conference on testing problems: Princeton, New Jersey, 37-51.

Maccoby, E.E. and Jacklin, C., (1974), The psychology of sex differences: Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

Maclay, H. and Osgood, C.E., (1959), "Hesitation phenomena in spontaneous English speech": Word, **15**, 19-44.

Maclean, M. and Genn, H., (1979), Methodological issues in social surveys: Macmillan, London.

Malone, M.J. and Guy, R.F., (1982), "A comparison of mothers' and fathers' speech to their 3-year-old sons": Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, **11(6)**, 599-608.

Maltz, D.N. and Borker, R.A., (1982), "A cultural approach to male-female miscommunication": in Gumperz, J., (ed.), Language and Social Identity: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Mann, B.A., (1980), Gender bias in early language educators' identification of toddlers' linguistic functions: Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Missouri, Columbia, Dissertations Abstracts International, **40**, p538-A.

Maratsos, B., (1976), The use of definite and indefinite reference in young children: Cambridge University Press, New York.

Markel, N.N., Long, J.F. and Saine, T.J., (1976), "Sex effects in conversational interaction: another look at male dominance": Human Communication Research, **2**, 356-364.

Martin, M.K. and Voorhies, B., (1967), Female of the species: Columbia University Press, New York.

Maurer, D.W., (1976), "Language and the sex revolution: world war I through world war II": American Speech, **51(2)**, 5-24.

Mazanec, N. and McCall, G.J., (1976), "Sex forms and allocation of attention in observing persons": Journal of Psychology, **93**, 175-180.

McCarthy, D., (1953), "Some possible explanations of sex differences in language development and disorders, Journal of Psychology, **35**, 155-160.

McCarthy, D., (1954), Language development in children: in Carmichael, L., (ed.), A Manual of Child Psychology: Wiley, New York.

McClelland, D.C., (1961), The achieving society: Free Press, Glencoe.

McConnell-Ginet, S., (1978), "Intonation in a man's world": Signs: Journal of women in culture and society, **3(3)**, 541-559.

McConnell-Ginet, S., Borker, R. and Furman, N., (eds.), (1980), Women and language in literature and society: Praeger, New York.

McMillan, J.R., Clifton, A.K., McGrath, D. and Gale, W.S., (1977), "Womens' language: uncertainty or interpersonal sensitivity and emotionality?": Sex Roles, **3**, 545-559.

Meditch, A., (1975), "The development of sex-specific speech patterns in young children": Anthropological Linguistics, **17(1)**, 421-434.

Meighan, R., (1979), "The pupil's point of view": in Meighan, R., Skelton, I. and Marks, T., (eds.), Perspectives on society: an introductory reader in sociology: Thomas Nelson, London.

Merck, M., (1979), "Sexism in the media": in Gardner, C., (ed.), The mass media, a radical review: Macmillan, New York.

Michaels, L. and Ricks, C., (1980), The state of the language: University of California Press, Berkeley, California.

Miller, C. and Swift, K., (1978), Words and women: New language in new times: Anchor/Doubleday, New York.

Miller, C. and Swift, K., (1981), Handbook of non-sexist writing: Women's Press, London.

Miller, G.R. and McReynolds, M., (1973), "Male chauvenism and source competence: a research note": Speech monographs, **40**, 154-155.

Millhauser, M., (1952), "The case against slang": English journal, **41**, 306-309.

Millum, T., (1975), Images of women. Advertising in womens' magazines: Chatto and Windus, London.

Milroy, L., (1980), Language and Social Networks: Blackwell, Oxford.

Milroy, L., (1987), Observing and Analysing Natural Language: Blackwell, Oxford.

Milroy, L. and Milroy, M.,(1978), Belfast: change and variation in an urban vernacular": in Trudgill, P., (ed.), (1978), Sociolinguistic patterns in British English: Edward Arnold, London.

Milward, D., (1937), "The origin and derivation of the slang in use among the women students in the University of Cape Town in the year 1937": Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Cape Town.

Minuchin, P., (1965), "Sex role concepts and sex typing in childhood as a function of school and home environments": Child Development, **36(4)**, 1033-1048.

Mischel, W., (1966), "A social learning view of sex differences in behaviour": In Maccoby, E., (ed.), The Development of sex differences: Stanford University Press, California, 56-81.

Mischel, W., (1970), "Sex-typing and socialisation": in Mussen, P., (ed.), Carmichael's manual of child psychology: John Wiley, New York.

Misra, R.B., (1980), The social stratification and linguistic diversity of the Bhojpuri speech community: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Poona.

Mitchell, J., (1971), Woman's estate: Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Money, J. and Ehrhardt, A., (1972), Man and woman, boy and girl: John Hopkins Press, Baltimore.

Moore, T., (1967), "Language and intelligence: a longitudinal study of the first 8 years. Part I: patterns of development in boys and girls": Human Development, **10**, 88-106.

Moss, H., (1969), "Sex, age and state as determinants of mother-infant interaction": Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, **13**, 19-35.

Nash, S.C., (1975), "The relationship among sex-role stereotyping, sex role preference and sex differences in spatial visualisation": Sex Roles, 1, 15-32.

Nash, S.C., (1979), "Sex role as a mediator of intellectual functioning": in Petersen, A.C. and Wittig, M.A., (eds.), Sex-related Differences in Cognitive Functioning: Developmental Issues: Academic Press, New York, 263-302.

Nash, S. and Feldman, S., (1977), "Responsiveness to babies: life-situation specific sex differences in adulthood": Sex Roles, **5**, 34-67.

Natalico, L. and Natalico, D., (1973), An investigation into linguistic cues involved in English noun pluralisation by 6-year old Mexican-American children: University of Texas, El Paso.

Nelson, K., (1973), "Structure and strategy in learning to talk": Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, **nr. 149; 38(1-2)**.

Nichols, P., (1978), "Black women in the rural South: conservative and innovative": International Journal of the Sociology of Language, **17**, 45-54.

Nilsen, A.P., (1977), "Linguistic sexism as a social issue": in Nilsen, A.P., Bosmajian, H., Gershuny, H. and Stanley, J.P., (eds.), (1977), Sexism and Language: National Council of 9 Teachers of English, Urbana, Illinois, 1-26.

Nilsen, A.P., Bosmajian, H., Gershuny, H. and Stanley, J.P., (eds.), (1977), Sexism and Language: National Council of 9 Teachers of English, Urbana, Illinois.

Oakley, A., (1987), Subject Woman: Martin Robinson, London.

O'Barr, W. and Atkins, B., (1980), "Women's language or powerless language?": in McConnell-Ginet, S., Borker, R. and Furman, N., (eds.), (1980), Women and language in literature and society: Praeger, New York, 93-110.

Oftedal, M., (1973), "Notes on Language and Sex": Norwegian Journal of Linguistics (NTS), **27**, 67-75

Oliver, M. and Rubin, J., (1975), "The use of expletives by some American women": Journal of Anthropological Linguistics, **17**, 191-197.

Oppenheim, A., (1966), Questionnaire design and attitude measurement: Heinemann, London.

Paivio, M., (1963), "Audience influence, social isolation and speech": Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, **67**, 247-253.

Parker, A.M., (1973), Sex differences in classroom intellectual argument: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania State, Dissertation Abstracts International, 3037A.

Parsons, J.V., Ruble, D.N., Hodges, K.K.L. and Small, A.W., (1976), "Cognitive-developmental factors in emerging sex differences in achievement-related expectancies": Journal of Social Issues, **32**, 47-61.

Partridge, E., (1935), Slang today and yesterday: Macmillan, London.

Patton, B.R., Jasnowski, M. and Sherchook, L., (1977), "Communication implications of androgyny": Paper presented at meeting of Speech Communication Association, cited by Smith, P.M., (1985), Language, the sexes and society: Blackwell, Oxford.

Peckham, S., (1986), "Cleaning up the language": English Today, **7**, 34-35.

Pedersen, D.M., Shinedling, M.M. and Johnson, D.L., (1975), "Effects of examiner and subject on children's quantitative test performance": in Unger, R.K. and Denmark, F.L., (eds), Woman: dependent or independent variable, Psychological Dimensions, New York, 409-416.

Pei, M., (1970), Words in sheep's clothing: Allen and Unwin, London.

Perkins, M., (1983), Modal Expressions in English: Francis Pinter, London.

Petersen, A.C. and Wittig, M.A., (eds.), (1979), Sex-related differences in cognitive functioning: developmental issues: Academic, New York.

Phillips, J., (1973), "Syntax and vocabulary of mothers' speech to young children: age and sex comparisons": Child Development, **4**, 182-185.

Pickford, G.R., (1956), "American linguistic geography: a sociological appraisal": Word, **12**, 211-233.

Piche, G, Rubin, D. and Michlin, M., (1978), "Age and social class in children's use of persuasive communication appeals": Child Development, **49**, 773-780.

Pitt-Kethley, F., (1986), "Backchat": New Statesman, **20/6/86**; 34.

Pittenberger, R.E. and Smith, H.L., (1957), "A basis for some contributions of linguistics to psychiatry": Psychiatry, **20**, 61-78.

Poole, M.E., (1979), "Social class, sex and linguistic coding": Language and Speech, **22**, 49-67.

Pop, S., (1950), La Dialectologie: Centre Internationale de Dialectologie Generale, cited in Coates, J., (1986), Women, men and language: a sociolinguistic account of sex differences in language: Longmans, London, 144.

Preisler, B., (1987), "The tentative female": English Today, **12**, 29-30.

Preston, R.C., (1962), "Reading achievement of German and American children": School and Society, **90**, 350-354.

Putnam, L. and McAllister, L., (1981), "Situational effects of task and gender on nonverbal display": Communications Yearbook, **4**, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction.

Rapoport, A., (1975), Semantics: Thomas Crowell, New York.

Rebecca, E., Hefner, T. and Oleshansky, N., (1976), "A model of sex-role transcendance." Journal of Social Issues, **32**, 192-206.

Reid, I. and Wormald, E., (1982), Sex differences in Britain: Grant McIntyre, London.

Reik, T., (1950), "Men and women speak different languages": Psychoanalysis, **2(4)**, 3-15.

Rogers, S., (1976), They don't speak our language: Edward Arnold, London.

Romaine, S., (1978), "Postvocalic [r] in Scottish English: sound changes in progress?": in Trudgill, P., (ed.), Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English: Edward Arnold, London, 144-157.

Romaine, S., (1984), The language of children and adolescents: Blackwell, Oxford.

Romaine, S. and Reid, I., (1976), "Glottal sloppiness: a sociolinguistic view of urban speech in Scotland": CITE Journal "Teaching English", **9(3)**, 12-16.

Ross-Munro, G., (1987), "On sexism in language today"; English Usage in Southern Africa, **18/2**, 1-14.

Rubin, D.L. and Nelson, M.W., (1983), "Multiple determinants of a stigmatised speech style: women's language, powerless language, or everyone's language?": Language and Speech, **26**, 273-290.

Rubin, J.Z., Provensano, F.J. and Luria, Z., (1974), "The eye of the beholder: parents' views on sex of newborns": American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, **44(4)**, 512-519.

Sachs, J., Lieberman, P. and Erickson, D., (1973), "Anatomical and cultural determinants of male and female speech": in Shuy, R. and Fasold, R., (eds.), Language attitudes: current trends and prospects: Georgetown University Press, Washington, 77-84.

Sachs, J., (1975), "Cues to the identification of sex in children's speech": in Thorne, B. and Henley, N., (1975), Language and sex: difference and dominance: Newbury, Rowley, Massachusetts, 245.

Sankoff, G., (1980), The Social Life of Language :University of Philadelphia Press, Philadelphia.

Sankoff, G. and Cedergren, H., (1971), "Some results of a sociolinguistic study of Montreal French": in Darnell, R., (ed.): Linguistic diversity in Canadian society: Edmonton and Champagne, Canada.

Sause, E.F., (1976), "Computer content analysis of sex differences in the language of children": Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, **5(3)**, 311-324.

Scates, C.M., (1981), A sociolinguistic study of male-female language in freshman composition: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern Missouri, Dissertations Abstracts International, **42/08**, p3585-A.

Schiefelbusch, R., (1963), "Language studies of mentally retarded children": Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, **monograph supplement 10**.

Schlauch, M., (1943), The gift of tongues: Allen and Unwin, London.

Scollon, R. and Scollon, B., (1983), "Face in interethnic communication" in Richards, J. and Schmidt, R., (eds.), (1983), Language and communication: Longman, London.

Searcy, L., (1984), The influence of parent gender on the verbal teaching strategies of selected fathers and mothers during written language episodes with their prekindergarten children: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri, Dissertations Abstracts International, **46/04**, p899-A.

Sears, P. and Feldman, D., (1974), "Teacher interactions with boys and with girls": in Stacey, J., Bereaud, S. and Daniels, J., (eds.), And Jill came tumbling after: sexism in American education: Dell, New York.

Sharpe, S., (1976), Just like a girl: Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Shaw, J., (1976), "Finishing school: some implications of sex-segregated education": in Barker, D. and Allen, S., (eds.): Sexual divisions and society: Tavistock, London.

Sheridan, E., (1982), Sex stereotypes and reading: research and strategies: International Reading Association, Newark, Delaware.

Shields, S., (1975), "Functionalism, Darwinism and the psychology of women": American Psychologist, **30**, 739-754.

Shipman, V., (1971), "Disadvantaged children and their first school experiences": Educational testing service head start longitudinal study, cited by Coates, J., (1986), Women, men and language: a sociolinguistic account of sex differences in language: Longmans, London, 144.

Shuster, J., (1973), "Grammatical forms marked for male and female in English": Unpublished graduate student paper, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, reported in Thorne, B. and Henley, N., (eds.), (1975), Language and sex: difference and dominance: Newbury, Rowley, Massachusetts.

Shuy, R., (1970), "Sociolinguistic research at the centre for applied linguistics: the correlation of language and sex.": International days of sociolinguistics: Instituto Luigi Sturzo, Rome 849-857.

Shuy, R., Wolfram, W. and Riley, W., (1967), Linguistic correlates of social stratification in Detroit speech: Final report, Project 6-1347, US Office of Education, Washington DC.

Shuy, R.W., Wolfram, W.A. and Riley, W.K., (1968), Field techniques in urban language study: Washington DC Centre for Applied Linguistics, Washington.

Siegel, G.M., (1967), "Interpersonal approaches to the study of communication disorders": Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, **32**, 112-120.

Siegler, D.M. and Siegler, R.S., (1976), "Stereotypes of male's and female's speech": Psychological Reports, **39**, 167-170.

Silverman, E-M., (1986), "The female stutterer": in St. Louis, K.O., (ed.), The Atypical Stutterer, Academic Press, New York, 35-61.

Silverman, E-M. and Van Opens, K., (1980), "An investigation of sex bias in classroom teachers' speech and language referrals": Language Speech and Hearing Services in the Schools, **11**, 169-174.

Silverman, E-M. and Zimmer, C., (1979), "Women who stutter: personality and speech characteristics": Journal of Speech and Hearing Research, **22**, 553-564.

Silverman, E-M. and Zimmer, C., (1982), "Demographic characteristics and treatment experiences of women and men who stutter": Journal of Fluency Disorders, 7, 273-285.

Sledd, J., (1965), "On not teaching English usage": English Journal, **54**, 698-703.

Slater, P., (1961), "Parental role differentiation": American Journal of Sociology, **67**, 296-311.

Smith, R.K. and Connolly, K., (1972), "Patterns of play and social interaction in pre-school children": in Jones, N.B., (ed.), Ethological studies of child behaviour: Cambridge University Press, London.

Smith, P.M., (1978), "Talking about androgyny: getting there is half the fun": Resources in Education, ERIC document 151686.

Smith, P.M., (1979), "Sex markers in speech": in Scherer, K. and Giles, H., (eds.), Social Markers in Speech, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Smith, P.M., (1985), Language, the sexes and society: Blackwell, Oxford.

Smith, P.M., Giles, H. and Hewstone, M., (1980), "Sociolinguistics: a socio-psychological perspective": in St. Clair, R.N. and Giles, H., (eds.), The Social and Psychological Contexts of Language: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, New Jersey, 283-298.

Snow, C.E., (1972), "Mothers' speech to children learning language": Child Development, **43**, 549-565.

Snow, C.E., (1977), "The development of conversation between mothers and babies": Journal of Child Language, **4**, 1-22.

Snow, C.E. and Ferguson, C.F., (1977), Talking to children: language input and acquisition: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Sole, Y., (1978), "Socio-cultural and socio-psychological factors in differentiated language retentiveness by sex": in Dubois, B. and Crouch, I., (eds.), (1978), International Journal of the Sociology of Language: Mouton, The Hague, **17**, 29-44.

Sornig, K., (1981), Lexical innovation: a study of slang, colloquialisms and casual speech: John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Soskin, W. and John, J., (1963), "The study of spontaneous talk": in Barker, R., (ed.), The stream of behaviour: Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York.

Spender, D., (1980), Man made language: Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Spender, D., (1982), Invisible women: the schooling scandal: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, London.

Spender, D. and Sarah, E., (eds.), (1980), Learning to lose: sexism and education: The Woman's Press, London.

Staley, C.M., (1978), "Male-female use of expletives: a heck of a difference in expectations": Anthropological Linguistics, **20(8)**, 367-380.

Staley, C.M., (1981), Quantitative and qualitative sex-related language differences in children: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Colorado, Dissertations Abstracts International, **43**, p1619-A.

Staley, C.M., (1982), "Sex-related differences in the style of children's language": Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, **11**, 141-158.

Star, S.L., (1979), "Sex dichotomisation of the brain: methods, limits and problems in research on consciousness": in Hubbard, R. and Lowe, M., (eds.), Genes and Gender II: pitfalls in research on gender: Gordian Press, New York, 113-130.

St. Clair, R.N. and Giles, H., (eds.), (1980), The social and psychological contexts of language: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, New Jersey.

St. Louis, K.O., (ed.), (1986), The atypical stutterer: Academic Press, New York.

Strodtbeck, F.L., (1951), "Husband-wife interaction over revealed differences": American Sociological Review, **16**, 468-473.

Strodtbeck, F.L. and Mann, R.D., (1956), "Sex role differentiation in jury deliberations": Sociometry, **19**, 3-11.

Swacker, M., (1975), "The sex of the speaker as sociolinguistic variable": in Thorne, B. and Henley, N. (eds.), (1975) Language and Sex: difference and Dominance, Newbury House, Rowley Massachusetts.

Tajfel, H., (1981), "Social sterotypes and social groups": in Turner, J.C. and Giles, H., (eds.) Intergroup behaviour: Blackwell, Oxford, 144-167.

Tavris, C. and Wade, C., (1984), The longest war. Sex differences in perspective: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Orlando, Florida.

Templin, M.C., (1957), Certain language skills in children: their development and interrelationships: University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Thew, C.H., (1979), The role of mother and first-born female siblings in teaching and encouraging language skills: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Dissertations Abstracts International, **40/11**, p5767-A.

Thomas, D.F., (1983), An analysis of sex differences in teacher-student interaction in elementary/secondary and post-secondary maths/science and composition/lit/lang arts classrooms: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Dissertations Abstracts International, **44/6**, 1633-A.

Thompson, W.N., (1967), Quantitative research in public address and communication: Random House, New York.

Thorne, B. and Henley, N. (eds.), (1975), Language and sex: difference and dominance: Newbury, Rowley, Massachusetts.

Thornedike, R.L., (1973), Reading comprehension education in fifteen countries: and empirical study: Wiley, New York.

Treichler, P.A. and Kramerae, C., (1983), "Women's talk in the ivory tower": Communication Quarterly, **31** (**2**), 118-132.

Trudgill, P., (1972), "Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich": Language in Society, **1**, 179-196.

Trudgill, P., (1974), The social differentiation of English in Norwich: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Trudgill, P. (ed), (1978), Sociolinguistic patterns in British English: Edward Arnold, London.

Tucker, S., (1961), English Examined: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Tukey, J., (1977), Exploring Data Analysis: Addison-Wesley, Reading, Massachusetts.

Turner, G. and Pickvance, R., (1972), Social class differences in the expression of uncertainty in 5-year old children": Language and Speech, **15**, 303-325.

Unger, R.K., (1978), All the sexes: Harper, New York.

Vestergaard, T. and Schroder, K., (1985), The language of advertising: Blackwell, Oxford.

Vetterling-Braggin, M., (1981), Sexist language: a modern philosophical analysis: Littlefield, New York.

Walum, L., (1977), The dynamics of sex and gender: a sociological perspective: Rand McNally, Chicago.

Warshay, D.W., (1972), :Sex differences in language style" in Safilios-Rothschild, M., (ed.) Toward a Sociology of Women: Xerox College Publishers, Lexington, Massachusetts, 3-9.

Wardhaugh, R., (1986), An introduction to sociolinguistics: Blackwell, Oxford.

Weinberg, B. and Bennet, S., (1971), "Speaker sex recognition of 5 and 6 year-old children's speech": Journal of the Acoustical Society of America, **50**, 1210-1213.

Wells, G., (1979), "Variation in child language": in: Lee, V., (ed.), Language development: Croom Helm, London.

Whitman, W., (1885), "Slang in America": in Stovall, F., (ed.), The collected writings of Walt Whitman: prose works 1892: New York University Press, New York.

Wilkin, M., (1982), "Educational Opportunity and achievement": in Reid, I. and Wormald, E., (1982), Sex differences in Britain: Grant McIntyre, London, 85-113.

Wilson, J., (1956), Language and the pursuit of truth: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Winitz, H., (1959), "Linguistic skills of male and female kindergarten children": Journal of Speech and Hearing Research, **2**, 377-386.

Wittig, M.A. and Petersen, A.C., (eds.), (1979): Sex-related differences in cognitive functioning: developmental issues: Academic, New York.

Wolfram, W., (1969), A sociolinguistic description of Detroit Negro speech: Centre for Applied Linguistics, Washington DC.

Wolfram, W. and Fasold, R.W., (1974), The study of social dialects in American English: Prentice Hall, Engelwood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Woll, B., Ferrier, L. and Wells, C.G., (1975), "Children and their parents- who starts talking why and when?": Paper presented at the Conference on Language and Social Context Stirling Scotland, quoted in Smith, P. (1979).

Wood, M., (1966), "The influence of sex and knowledge of communication effectiveness on spontaneous speech": Word, **22(1-3)**, 112-137.

Woods, A., Fletcher, P. and Hughes, A., (1986), Statistics in language studies: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Young, F.M., (1941), "An analysis of certain variables in a developmental study of language": Genetic Psychological Monograph, **23**, 2-141.

Zimin, S.E., (1978), Sex of speaker and addressee in the degree of deference used to request and apologise by first and second language users: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston University School of Education Dissertations Abstracts International, **39/5**, p2798-A.

Zimin, S., (1981), "Sex and politeness: factors in first and second language use": International Journal of the Sociology of Language, **27**, 35-58.

Zimmerman, D. and West, C., (1975), "Sex roles, interruptions and silences in conversation": in: Thorne, B. and Henley, N., (eds.), Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance: Newbury, Rowley, Massachusetts, 105-129.

Zuckerman, P.S. and Bernthal, J.E., (1980), "The effect of grammatical complexity upon disfluency: behaviour of non-stuttering pre-school children": Journal of Fluency Disorders, **5**, 55-68.

APPENDICES:

APPENDIX A:

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL SUBJECTS

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my investigation - if it weren't for the willingness of informants like yourself to give up some of their time, I could achieve very little, and I really do appreciate it.

Please note that your personal identity is of no importance in this study, and will not be recorded. You are one of 160 pupils taking part in this exercise, and will simply be assigned a number, so your anonymity is assured.

I want you to do two simple things for me - first to describe some pictures, and then to fill in a questionnaire. Since you are not personally being tested in any way at all, it would be best if you could relax and enjoy yourself.

TASK ONE:

Before you are two pictures: A on the left
B on the right

You will be left alone in this room with a tape-recorder which has been switched on;

Imagine you are talking to someone who has recently gone blind, who desperately needs to know exactly what these pictures look like. Start with any one of the pictures, take your time (you have as long as you like), and describe it in as much detail as you possibly can; then describe the other picture.

Please do not touch the controls of the tape recorder at all, even if there are periods of long silence. When you have completed your descriptions, please call me.

TASK TWO:

You will be given a four-page questionnaire to fill in, about your use of slang and your attitudes towards it. It should not take more than 20 minutes to complete, and you may even enjoy doing it - I certainly hope so!

Thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX B:

PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE PICTURES PRESENTED TO INFORMANTS:

Note: The informants were asked to describe full size replicas of the originals, each about 1 metre by 80 centimetres in size.

PICTURE A: *Bridge at Mantis* by Corot.

PICTURE B: *Marriage of Arnolfini* by Van Eyck.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE ON SLANG AND EXPLETIVES:

Your code number is.....

This questionnaire is designed to investigate the use of slang and swearwords. Slang is unconventional language, often fresh and creative, used characteristically by teenage groups, and often disapproved of by teachers and parents! Slang is a particularly interesting phenomenon to people who study language, yet it is very difficult to find out about the words used by teenagers because they generally only use them when they are with each other, not when they are with adults.

For this reason I would be grateful if you could fill in this form as completely and as honestly as you possibly can. As you are not asked to fill in your name at all, and as these results will be treated confidentially, you are at liberty to be completely frank all I am interested in is the way teenagers use language. So relax and enjoy yourself!

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION:

1. What is your date of birth? ..../..../....

(Now please mark the appropriate space with a cross.)

2. What standard are you in? Std. 6.....
Std. 9.....

3. What sex are you? Male.....
Female.....

SECTION B: SLANG.

1. Please write down as many slang words as you can think of which mean more or less the same as each of the following words: (If you do not know any, simply leave the space blank) In brackets after each word I have written the words used when I was a teenager some of them may sound really dated to you!

a.) nice/enjoyable (fab,groovy)

b.) a party (a jol,a session)

c.) a pretty/attractive girl (chick,doll)

d.) a good looking/attractive boy (hunk)

e.) a romantic attachment (crush,pash)

f.) to kiss and cuddle (to graunch,kafoefle)

g.) an ugly/fat/unattractive girl (grot)

h.) an ugly/fat/unattractive boy (blort)

i.) alcoholic drinks (booze,dops)

j.) to eat (graze,scoff)

k.) cigarettes (fags)

l.) drunk (smashed)

m.) to vomit (hurl,puke)

n.) pimples (chorbs)

o.) clothing (gear,clobber)

p.) a pupil who tries hard to please the teacher (schloep)

q.) prefects (beaks,cops)

r.) hard work (graft,sweat)

s.) to fail a standard (plug)

t.) missing class (bunking)

u.)an unlikable woman (bitch,cow)

v.)an unlikable man (pig)

w.) an effeminate/cowardly male (twerp,drip)

Now I want you to rate people who use a lot of slang, on a scale of 1 to 5, where a score of:

1.....means you disapprove quite strongly
2.....means you dont like it very much
3.....means you dont mind.
4.....means you think it is fine
5.....means you think it is very attractive

Please write down a number (1 to 5) next to each of the following types of slang-users:

	Score:
(i) Junior School boys	.....
(ii) Junior School girls	.....
(iii) Senior School boys	.....
(iv) Senior School girls	.....
(v) adult males	.....
(vi) adult females	.....

SECTION C: YOUR USE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS EXPLETIVES (SWEARWORDS).

In this section various situations are described. Try to imagine yourself in each situation, and fill in, in the space provided, the expletive you are most likely to use. Assume that these are emotionally charged situations, and do not be afraid of using strong words, as I am prepared to receive all kinds of answers. On the other hand , if you would not use strong words, or would use no word at all in a given situation, leave the space blank.

Remember, the first reaction should be written, the first word or expression that comes to mind.

SITUATION 1:
You spill a litre of milk all over your clean clothes. You are:
(a.) alone
(b.) with your mother
(c.) with your father
(d.) with friends of your sex
(e.) with friends of the opposite sex
(f.) with a stranger

SITUATION 2:
Somebody drops a ten kilogram brick on your toe. The "somebody" is: (a.) your mother
(b.) your father
(c.) a friend of your own sex
(d.) a friend of the opposite sex
(e.) a stranger

SITUATION 3:
You suddenly realise you forgot some vital homework, on which you spent hours, at home. It will not be accepted late. You are:
(a.) alone
(b.) with the teacher
(c.) with a friend of your own sex
(d.) with a friend of the opposite sex

SITUATION 4:
Someone accuses you of stealing R10,and you are innocent. The "someone" is:
(a.) your mother
(b.) your father
(c.) a friend of your sex
(d.) a friend of the opposite sex
(e.) a teacher
(f.) a stranger

SITUATION 5:
Someone swears loudly at you. The "someone" is: (a.) a friend of your sex
(b.) a friend of the opposite sex
(c.) a strange man
(d.) a strange woman

SITUATION 6:
Your trousers tear as you bend down, revealing your underwear. You are with:
(a.) your mother
(b.) your father
(c.) a friend of your sex
(d.) a friend of the opposite sex
(e.) a teacher
(f.) a stranger

SITUATION 7:
Someone tells you you have just won R1000 on a raffle. You are with:
(a.) your mother
(b.) your father
(c.) a friend of your sex
(d.) a friend of the opposite sex
(e.) a teacher
(f.) a stranger

SITUATION 8:
You witness a gruesome car accident in which someone is killed. You are:
(a.) alone
(b.) with your mother
(c.) with your father
(d.) with a friend of your sex
(e.) with a friend of the opposite sex
(f.) with a stranger

SITUATION 9:
Someone is boring you to tears, telling you how you ought to behave. You have had enough of this. The "someone" is:
(a.) your mother
(b.) your father
(c.) a friend of your sex
(d.) a friend of the opposite sex
(e.) a teacher
(f.) a stranger

SITUATION 10:
You have waited 50 minutes in a queue to buy tickets to a film you desperately want to see. The person in front of you gets the last ticket. You are with:
(a.) your mother
(b.) your father
(c.) a friend of your sex
(d.) a friend of the opposite sex
(e.) a stranger

SECTION D: ATTITUDES TO PEOPLE WHO SWEAR:

Now I want you to rate people who swear on a scale of 1 to 5, where a score of :

1.....means you are really disgusted
2.....means you are fairly negative
3.....means you are neutral
4.....means you fell slightly positive
5.....means you fell a lot of admiration

Please give a score (1 to 5) next to each of the following types of "swearers":

	Score:
(a.) men	.....
(b.) women	.....
(c.) teenage boys	.....
(d.) teenage girls	.....
(e.) little boys	.....
(f.) little girls	.....

What did you feel about filling in this questionnaire? Any comments would be useful.....

Thank you for your cooperation.

Vivian de Klerk.

APPENDIX D: SAMPLE FULL TRANSCRIPTS OF S95 to S910

(Note: each pause of one second is marked by a "."; pauses between the two separate descriptions have been ignored. Possessives are not marked with an apostrophe, as the use of apostrophes is reserved for indicating abbreviations only. Coughs and other non-linguistic signals have been ignored as well.)

S95

picture one there's a painting . of a waterway it's very subdued the colour scheme . is restricted to . . to . . well subdued pastels um . . the figures well there's no figures really it's just a . couple of trees well one two three four five trees in the foreground a man in a rowing boat I think this guy . um seems like a bridge um five arches wait ja six arches sorry . . . . . uh the artist's name is given carot . . the brush stroke seems to be . fairly heavy . . um . . . . . the water seems very . unrealistic very . . . grey . . um . very little play of light . . . . . there's little indication of leaves on these trees they . seem to be small dots almost . . also very subdued . . . . the clouds are gives the atmosphere of very over clouded . overcast s- day . . . and then . what else can you see

picture two has . two people in it and a dog . the setting is very dutch . um a lot of detail . colour scheme well reds greens blue velvet velvet kind of material feel . the faces of the people are very . unrealistic very white almost like porcelain . . um . it seems like the woman in the picture is pregnant with the man holding her hand . . . um . . . . . .lot of movement um bru- brush ac- paintbrush has been used in diamond strokes . . giving well . . well uh . . . . . the dog looks like a kind of a poodle . . . . . well it's obvious that oh no wait no no no no . . . . personal opinion of this work it's very dull . unimaginative and unattractive um

S96

the first picture I am to describe is of a moat . with a bridge crossing it there's a boat on the side of a bank . there's a dullish grey grass growing on the side of the bank quite a few trees without any leaves on . one of the trees is chopped off it's dead . on the other side of the bank there's quite a bit of flourishing growth and . hardly any trees it's fairly vague . . the bridge consists of . um a main building on at one end and on the other side of the f- of the bridge on the right hand side of the bank there's another bridge and also with a large building on it . and there's a mountain sloping up to the right hand side on the right hand side of the bank and this is also with the dull greyish colour of the grass

the second picture is of an old edwardian age I think sort of style um there's a lot of velvet . there there are two figures in it . there's a man and and a lady I think the lady looks as if she's pregnant . um the man is wearing a l- a large black hat he's standing next to a lady holding her hand in the background there's a shield of some sorts on the wall which is shiny mirror wi- im- im- a mirror in the middle um above their heads is a chandelier . which is very elegant . and there's a window which is open on the left hand side behind the man and on the right hand side behind the lady are v- velvet curtains red velvet curtains um there's a dog in the picture which is in front of both of them . . . . uh the room the room is very dark and fairly dull looking um although the window's open there's not a lot of light coming into the picture whereas with the first picture there's a lot of light the first picture is much brighter

S97

the first picture is a river scene . dold an old bridge is over the crossing the river there are numerous trees on the close bank closest to us bank is green there is a man in a sort of row boat or canoe . close to the . bank this close bank . there are two houses . large looking double storey . on the far bank . . the far bank um shrubs and bushes and what have you are grey . in colour there are small wisps of clouds . . . and . it looks generally like an old picture it has a white frame as well

the second picture . is of a man holding a womans hand she looks pregnant it also has a white frame except the frame is is sort of serrated in a way it has a lot of stripes in it the actual picture itself it's a man . with a large black hat on almost like a tophat except it looks much larger . . he's wearing a . . reddish coat of some sort there's a small dog I presume a poodle . a chihuahua or something of that sort standing in the foreground . . um . the pregnant lady is wearing a green dress . and in the background they're standing on a wooden floor in the background . . there is a bed to the right of the picture . what looks like a chair behind it . um a mirror on the wall the far wall . with a window to the left . of the picture . . there's also a large chandelier . hanging from the ceiling

S98

okay the first picture we've got here is . an old picture it looks like the victorian age um there's a woman who seems . pretty . pregnant . well couple of months pregnant she's wearing a green dress . with a a white . . headcloth that hangs over the back and not over the front of her face with her is a man who is holding her hand . he's wearing a . . . . . um a typical robe of those days and a tophat which seems to be . a bit too large for his head . he's quite a skinny man also in the picture there is . what looks like very luxurious . . furniture with . um a red colour . in the picture there's also a small . well . . . . well-groomed dog . almost like a maltese poodle but it's more of a grey colour . . . . the roof in the room seems very . high compared to modern . modern houses

okay in the second picture the picture's of . . . . a river . . and across this river is . a bridge . the bridge is seems very large and bulky for the task that it has to have and in the middle of the bridge there's what seems a small house which must be some kind of control tower or something I'm not sure . um . the picture's lo- is not very clear it has a greyish appearance . on . not all of the picture is of the river but you can on the bottom left hand corner you can see . part of the bank of the river and on the river there are several trees which seem to be . tall and . not very . wide or big they have long skinny branches on them . . . . in the river there's . a single person who's still on the bank and in in a boat . . . . . the the picture is painted by a painter called corot COROT . . . . . on the side of the river there's another . on on the bridge there's another . slightly more . taller building with a few windows in and there is a . small . house or . room adjoining it . . . . the river is very flat and . y- one can almost get a . a mirror image on the water of the bridge and the bank the bank has got very dense bush on it or what seems very dense bush

S99

the first picture is of a river with a bridge going across the river on the bridge there are . arcs in the bridge for the boats to go through there are . . six pillars on the bridge as far as I can see and for the there's a gateway at the entrance enter onto the bridge . in the background behind the bridge there's a . house and . behind the house there's a mountainous scene . in the front of the picture we have . we have four large pictures um sorry four large trees and one tree stump the rest are just small trees and uh grass grass just in front of the river bed there's one man sitting in the end of the boat who is waiting I wouldn't know what for with his shadow cast out over the river . . . on the one si- other side of the river is a steep wall with . rocks . in th- the bank side side of the bank

second picture . there's it looks like a male to me and a pregnant female with a the pregnant female has a l- long green dress on and a brown belt the male has a tophat on and one of the old . gowns that they used to wear in the old days there is a cat standing in front of the people . . and in the background there's a chandelier hanging in the roof and there is a window open on the . left of the male . . the background is . in a maroon colour of the lounge suite it looks like and there's a mirror on the wall at the back the ladys sandals seem to be have taken off or the mans I'm not sure and are in the front left hand corner of the picture . . . . and . . . . on the desk behind the male there seems to be some naartjies or peaches peaches on the table in a tray or something . um . . . . . the male and female are holding hands and . . the male looks like he's thinking or has his eyes closed and . he's frowning . the female has her left hand on her stomach and her right hand is in the male s hand . . . . that's all

S910

there are two pictures in front of me . . . . . both rectangular . . one is standing straight up and the other is standing on its side . . . . I'll talk about . the right one first . . . it's a picture of two people holding hands . it's of an olden . time picture . . probably drawn . round about the eighteenth century maybe . . . um these two people there's a man and a woman and they're in a room . . in the left hand corner of the room there's a window . and mid top of the picture . um . . hanging there there is a light thing in the back there's a mirror . in the same shape as a cog in the very front there's a dog . the man's got a strange hat on it's a large tophat but it's a bit too big for him and he's dressed in black he's holding one hand up um and his other hand he's holding the womans hand their hands are facing open . . the man's got a long black gown on . olden day dress . . and the woman's dressed in green she's pregnant and she's holding a plate I think she's got a white . . head cover over her head and she's got quite a chubby face . . her hands are actually a bit too small for the picture . in the background there's a bed on the right hand side there's a bed and it's a four poster bed it's got a red . well it's all red and there's also a bit of red furniture in the background . . . . . can't quite see it . um on the floor in the left hand corner there's some rags of some kind . the ladys dress it comes off onto the floor and it's crinkled all over the floor . . um

now I'm gonna talk about the other picture . . . . the picture is of a scenery uh . . in the front . going half across the s- half across the paper you've got grass and old trees . coming out of the water it's of a lake dam river river river . . um there's an old bridge going across the river . . . and um . at one side of the bridge . there's a house . . . . . on the river there's someone in a boat . it's not very clear this picture it's a little bit blurred . there's a few clouds in the sky . . . . . there's actually two bridges . they run parallel to each other . . . um . . there's a slight reflec- reflection in the water of the sky . . the grass in the front isn't quite green grass everything's slightly out of colour . . . . . the trees are all crooked and you don't quite see the tops of them you just see the trunks there's no leaves . there's an old cut down trunk at one side of the picture in the other side it goes up into a hill . . the bridges have got archways going through the middle of them . . there six archways which can be seen altogether . in the background you can just see the second bridge through one of the pillars . . . . . these houses . . . . . there's a . old square matchbok matchbox shape house and the first one on on the first bridge is square and it's got one large . . thick chimney . . covering the closest wall . . it looks a little bit like a fortress . . and the second house on the second bridge has got three chimneys . . . . . the trees are probably . one of the main features in this picture and it goes on to the bridge . which is slightly in the background . . . this this picture is obviously where the artist has sat down drawn at least what he's seen . . and it's a lot . more recently drawn than the second than the first picture . . . . . I think if you were able to see you would prefer to look at the second picture

APPENDIX E: EDITED TRANSCRIPTS OF S95 to S910

Hesitations (um/uh) and pauses have been removed, repetitions marked with #, (interpreted as such in context, and are not necessarily adjacent pairs of identical words) incomplete sentences with *, omissions with ^, and non-standard utterances with &.

S95

picture one there's a painting of a waterway it's very subdued the colour scheme is restricted to to# well subdued pastels the figures well there's& no figures really it's just a couple of trees well one two three four five trees in the foreground ^a man in a rowing boat I think this guy* ^ seems like a bridge ^five arches wait ja six arches sorry the artist's name is given carot the brush stroke seems to be fairly heavy the water seems very unrealistic very grey ^very# little play of light there's little indication of leaves on these trees they seem to be small dots almost ^also very subdued the clouds are* gives the atmosphere of ^very over clouded overcast day and then what else can you see

picture two has two people in it and a dog the setting is very dutch ^a lot of detail ^colour scheme well reds greens blue velvet velvet# kind of material ^feel the faces of the people are very unrealistic very white almost like porcelain it seems like the woman in the picture is pregnant with the man holding her hand* ^lot of movement brush ^paintbrush# has been used in diamond strokes giving well well#* the dog looks like a kind of a poodle well it's obvious that oh no wait no# no# no# no# ^personal opinion of this work ^it's very dull unimaginative and unattractive

S96

the first picture I have to describe is of a moat with a bridge crossing it there's a boat on the side of a bank there's a dullish grey grass growing on the side of the bank ^quite a few trees without any leaves on one of the trees is chopped off it's dead on the other side of the bank there's quite a bit of flourishing growth and hardly any trees it's fairly vague the bridge consists of a main building on* at one end and on the other side of the of the# bridge on the right hand side of the bank there's another bridge and also with& a large building on it and there's a mountain sloping up to the right hand side on the right hand side# of the bank and this is also with& the dull greyish colour of the grass

the second picture is of an old edwardian age I think sort of& style there's a lot of velvet there there are two figures in it there's a man and and# a lady I think the lady looks as if she's pregnant the man is wearing a a# large black hat he's standing next to a lady holding her hand in the background there's a shield of some sorts on the wall which is shiny ^mirror a mirror# in the middle above their heads is a chandelier which is very elegant and there's a window which is open on the left hand side behind the man and on the right hand side behind the lady are velvet curtains red velvet curtains# there's a dog in the picture which is in front of both of them the room the room# is very dark and fairly dull looking although the window's open there's not a lot of light coming into the picture whereas with the first picture there's a lot of light the first picture is much brighter

S97

the first picture is a river scene dold& an old bridge is over the* crossing the river there are numerous trees on the close bank closest to us ^bank is green there is a man in a sort of row boat or canoe close to the bank this close bank# there are two houses ^large looking double storey on the far bank the far bank ^shrubs and bushes and what have of& you are grey in colour there are small wisps of clouds and it looks generally like an old picture it has a white frame as well

the second picture is of a man holding a womans hand she looks pregnant it also has a white frame except the frame is sort of serrated in a way it has a lot of stripes in it the actual picture itself it's a man with a large black hat on almost like a tophat except it looks much larger he's wearing a reddish coat of some sort there's a small dog I presume a poodle a chihuahua or something of that sort standing in the foreground the pregnant lady is wearing a green dress and in the background* they're standing on a wooden floor in the background there is a bed to the right of the picture what looks like a chair behind it ^a mirror on the wall the far wall# with a window to the left of the picture there's also a large chandelier hanging from the ceiling

S98

okay the first picture we've got here is an old picture it looks like the victorian age there's a woman who seems pretty pregnant well ^couple of months pregnant she's wearing a green dress with a a# white headcloth that hangs over the back and not over the front of her face with her is a man who is holding her hand he's wearing a a# typical robe of those days and a top hat which seems to be a bit too large for his head he's quite a skinny man also in the picture there is what looks like very luxurious furniture with a red colour in the picture there's also a small well well#-groomed dog almost like a maltese poodle but it's more of a grey colour the roof in the room seems very high compared to modern modern houses

okay in the second picture the picture's of a river and across this river is a bridge the bridge is* seems very large and bulky for the task that it has to have and in the middle of the bridge there's what seems ^ a small house which must be some kind of control tower or something I'm not sure the picture's is# not very clear it has a greyish appearance on* not all of the picture is of the river but you can* on the bottom left hand corner you can see part of the bank of the river and on the river there are several trees which seem to be tall and not very wide or big they have long skinny branches on them in the river there's a single person who's still on the bank and in in# a boat the the# picture is painted by a painter called corot COROT on the side of the river there's another on on# the bridge there's another slightly more taller& building with a few windows in and there is a small house or room adjoining it the river is very flat and one can almost get a a# mirror image on the water of the bridge and the bank the bank has got very dense bush on it or what seems very dense bush

S99

the first picture is of a river with a bridge going across the river on the bridge there are arcs& in the bridge for the boats to go through there are six pillars on the bridge as far as I can see and for the* there's a gateway at the entrance ^ enter onto the bridge in the background behind the bridge there's a house and behind the house there's a mountainous scene in the front of the picture we have we have# four large pictures sorry four large# trees and one tree stump the rest are just small trees and grass grass# just in front of the river bed there's one man sitting on the end of the boat who is waiting I wouldn't know what for with his shadow cast out over the river on the one* other side of the river is a steep wall with rocks in the bank side side# of the bank&

second picture there's it looks like a male to me and a pregnant female with a* the pregnant female has a long green dress on and a brown belt the male has a tophat on and one of the old gowns that they used to wear in the old days there is a cat standing in front of the people and in the background there's a chandelier hanging in the roof and there is a window open on the left of the male the background is in a maroon colour of the lounge suite it looks like and there's a mirror on the wall at the back the ladys sandals seem to be have& taken off or the mans I'm not sure and are in the front left hand corner of the picture and on the desk behind the male there seems to be some naartjies or peaches peaches# on the table in a tray or something the male and female are holding hands and the male looks like he's thinking or has his eyes closed and he's frowning the female has her left hand on her stomach and her right hand is in the male's hand that's all

S910

there are two pictures in front of me both rectangular one is standing straight up and the other is standing on its side I'll talk about the right one first it's a picture of two people holding hands it's of an olden time picture& probably drawn round about the eighteenth century maybe these two people* there's a man and a woman and they're in a room in the left hand corner of the room there's a window and mid top of the picture hanging there there is a light thing in the back there's a mirror in the same shape as a cog in the very front there's a dog the man's got a strange hat on it's a large top hat but it's a bit too big for him and he's dressed in black he's holding one hand up and ^ his other hand he's holding the womans hand their hands are facing open the man's got a long black gown on olden day dress and the woman's dressed in green she's pregnant and she's holding a plate I think she's got a white head cover over her head and she's got quite a chubby face her hands are actually a bit too small for the picture in the background there's a bed on the right hand side there's a bed# and it's a four poster bed it's got a red* well it's all red and there's also a bit of red furniture in the background can't quite see it on the floor in the left hand corner there's& some rags of some kind the ladys dress it comes off onto the floor and it's crinkled all over the floor

now I'm gonna talk about the other picture the picture is of a scenery& in the front going half across the half across the# paper you've got grass and old trees coming out of the water it's of a lake dam river# river# river# there's an old bridge going across the river and at one side of the bridge there's a house on the river there's someone in a boat it's not very clear this picture it's a little bit blurred there's& a few clouds in the sky there's& actually two bridges they run parallel to each other there's a slight reflection in the water of the sky the grass in the front isn't quite green grass everything's slightly out of colour& the trees are all crooked and you don't quite see the tops of them you just see the trunks there's& no leaves there's an old cut down trunk at one* the side of the picture in& the other side it goes up into a hill the bridges have got archways going through the middle of them there ^ six archways which can be seen altogether in the background you can just see the second bridge through one of the pillars these houses there's a& old square matchbok& matchbox shape house and the first one on on# the first bridge is square and it's got one large thick chimney covering the closest wall it looks a little bit like a fortress and the second house on the second bridge has got three chimneys the trees are probably one of the main features in this picture and it goes on to the bridge which is slightly in the background this this# picture is obviously where& the artist has sat down drawn at least what he's seen and it's a lot more recently drawn than the second* than the first picture I think if you were able to see you would prefer to look at the second picture

APPENDIX F: SAMPLE WORD FREQUENCY ANALYSES OF S95 AND S96.

S95

15	THE	11	OF	10	A	10	VERY	7	WELL	6	NO
5	IN	4	SEEMS	4	IT'S	4	IS	4	TO	4	LIKE
3	TREES	3	THERE'S	3	SUBDUED	3	PICTURE	3	AND	3	TWO
2	COLOUR	2	BE	2	HAS	2	ARCHES	2	ONE	2	FIVE
2	IT	2	VELVET	2	KIND	2	LOT	2	LITTLE	2	WAIT
2	UNREALISTIC	2	MAN	2	ALMOST	2	THIS	2	ARE	2	DOG
2	SCHEME	2	FIGURES	2	BRUSH	2	PEOPLE	1	DOTS	1	CLOUDED
1	GIVES	1	FEEL	1	GUY	1	BLUE	1	BRIDGE	1	CAN
1	INDICATION	1	ELSE	1	ALSO	1	BOAT	1	DAY	1	CLOUDS
1	GREENS	1	ATMOSPHERE	1	LIGHT	1	BEEN	1	DUTCH	1	LOOKS
1	HER	1	DETAIL	1	MATERIAL	1	LEAVES	1	NAME	1	FOREGROUND
1	FOUR	1	COUPLE	1	OH	1	ON	1	ARTIST'S	1	OPINION
1	OVER	1	HAND	1	PAINTBRUSH	1	PAINTING	1	PASTELS	1	FAIRLY
1	PERSONAL	1	MOVEMENT	1	PLAY	1	POODLE	1	OBVIOUS	1	PREGNANT
1	REALLY	1	REDS	1	DIAMOND	1	ROWING	1	S	1	OVERCAST
1	SEE	1	SEEM	1	FACES	1	SETTING	1	SIX	1	SMALL
1	SORRY	1	STROKE	1	STROKES	1	GIVEN	1	THAT	1	GIVING
1	THEN	1	GREY	1	THESE	1	THEY	1	THINK	1	HEAVY
1	THREE	1	HOLDING	1	I	1	CARDT	1	WORK	1	UNATTRACTIVE
1	PORCELAIN	1	USED	1	JA	1	JUST	1	RESTRICTED	1	WATER
1	WATERWAY	1	DULL	1	WHAT	1	WHITE	1	WITH	1	WOMAN
1	YOU	1	UNIMAGINATIVE								

S96

35	THE	23	A	20	OF	12	IS	12	ON	12	THERE'S
10	AND	9	SIDE	6	HAND	6	PICTURE	5	IN	5	BANK
4	RIGHT	4	BRIDGE	4	WITH	4	WHICH	4	LADY	3	MAN
3	TREES	3	LOT	3	VELVET	3	I	3	IT	3	TO
3	FIRST	2	LIGHT	2	ANY	2	THINK	2	GRASS	2	OTHER
2	QUITE	2	IT'S	2	CURTAINS	2	BUILDING	2	FAIRLY	2	ALSO
2	OPEN	2	ONE	2	BEHIND	2	VERY	2	THERE	2	MIRROR
2	ROOM	2	LARGE	2	ARE	2	DULL	1	BLACK	1	FIGURES
1	ELEGANT	1	AGE	1	GROWTH	1	DULLISH	1	HAVE	1	BIT
1	AS	1	HAT	1	HOLDING	1	FEW	1	BOTH	1	FRONT
1	BACKGROUND	1	AN	1	IF	1	DESCRIBE	1	DOG	1	END
1	LEAVES	1	LEFT	1	ALTHOUGH	1	LOOKING	1	LOOKS	1	ANOTHER
1	MAIN	1	COMING	1	MIDDLE	1	AT	1	MOAT	1	MOUNTAIN
1	MUCH	1	NEXT	1	NOT	1	ABOVE	1	OFF	1	OLD
1	BRIGHTER	1	HE'S	1	CHANDELIER	1	CHOPPED	1	COLOUR	1	PREGNANT
1	CONSISTS	1	CROSSING	1	INTO	1	DARK	1	DEAD	1	SECOND
1	SHE'S	1	SHIELD	1	SHINY	1	EDWARDIAN	1	SLOPING	1	SOME
1	SORT	1	SORTS	1	STANDING	1	STYLE	1	FLOURISHING	1	THEIR
1	THEM	1	GREY	1	GREYISH	1	GROWING	1	THIS	1	BOAT
1	HARDLY	1	TWO	1	UP	1	VAGUE	1	HEADS	1	HER
1	WALL	1	WEARING	1	WHEREAS	1	RED	1	WINDOW	1	WINDOW'S
1	S	1	WITHOUT								

APPENDIX G: SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF FIRST 200 WORDS OF S95 to S910

S95

picture one there's a painting of a waterway [mc] it's very subdued [mc] the colour scheme is restricted to to# well subdued pastels [mc] the figures well there's& no figures really [mc] it's just a couple of trees well one two three four five trees [mc] in the foreground ^a man in a rowing boat [mc] I think [mc] this guy* ^ seems like a bridge ^five arches [mc] wait [mc] ja six arches sorry the artist's name is given carot [mc] the brush stroke seems [mc] to be fairly heavy [snc] the water seems very unrealistic very grey very# ^little play of light [mc] there's little indication of leaves on these trees [mc] they seem to be small dots almost [mc] ^also very subdued [mc] the clouds are* gives the atmosphere of ^very over clouded overcast day [mc] and then what else can you see [mc] picture two has two people in it and a dog [mc] the setting is very dutch [mc] ^a lot of detail ^colour scheme well reds greens blue velvet velvet# kind of material feel^ the faces of the people are very unrealistic very white almost like porcelain [mc] it seems like [mc] the woman in the picture is pregnant with the man holding her hand* [snc] ^lot of movement brush ^paintbrush# has been used in diamond strokes [mc]

S96

the first picture I am to describe [sac] is of a moat with a bridge crossing it [mc] there's a boat on the side of a bank [mc] there's a dullish grey grass growing on the side of the bank [mc] ^quite a few trees without any leaves on [mc] one of the trees is chopped off [mc] it's dead [mc] on the other side of the bank there's quite a bit of flourishing growth and hardly any trees [mc] it's fairly vague [mc] the bridge consists of a main building on* at one end [mc] and on the other side of the of the# bridge on the right hand side of the bank there's another bridge and also with& a large building on it [mc] and there's a mountain sloping up to the right hand side on the right hand side# of the bank [mc] and this is also with& the dull greyish colour of the grass [mc] the second picture is of an old edwardian age I think [mc] sort of& style [mc] there's a lot of velvet there [mc] there are two figures in it [mc] there's a man and and# a lady [mc] I think [mc] the lady looks as if [snc] she's pregnant [snc] the man is wearing a a# large black hat [mc] he's standing [mc]

S97

the first picture is a river scene [mc] dold& an old bridge is over the* crossing the river [mc] there are numerous trees on the close bank closest to us [mc] ^bank is green [mc] there is a man in a sort of row boat or canoe close to the bank this close bank# [mc] there are two houses large looking double storey on the far bank the far bank# [mc] ^shrubs and bushes and what have of& you are grey in colour [mc] there are small wisps of clouds [mc] and it looks generally like an old picture [mc] it has a white frame as well [mc] the second picture is of a man holding a womans hand [mc] she looks pregnant [mc] it also has a white frame [mc] except the frame is sort of serrated in a way [mc] it has a lot of stripes in it the actual picture itself [mc] it's a man with a large black hat on almost like a top hat [mc] except it looks much larger [mc] he's wearing a reddish coat of some sort [mc] there's a small dog [mc] I presume a poodle a chihuahua or something of that sort [mc] standing in the foreground [sac] the pregnant lady is wearing a green dress [mc] and in the background ^ they're

S98

okay the first picture we've got here [sac] is an old picture [mc] it looks like the victorian age [mc] there's a woman [mc] who seems pretty pregnant well ^couple of months pregnant [sac] she's wearing a green dress with a a white headcloth [mc] that hangs over the back and not over the front of her face [sac] with her is a man [mc] who is holding her hand [sac] he's wearing a a# typical robe of those days and a top hat [mc] which seems to be a bit too large for his head [sac] he's quite a skinny man [mc] also in the picture there is what looks like [sac] very luxurious furniture with a red colour [mc] in the picture there's also a small well well#-groomed dog almost like a maltese poodle [mc] but it's more of a grey colour [mc] the roof in the room seems very high compared to modern modern houses [mc] okay in the second picture the picture's of a river [mc] and across this river is a bridge [mc] the bridge is* seems very large and bulky for the task [mc] that it has to have [sac] and in the middle of the bridge there's what seems [sac] ^a small house [mc] which must be some kind of control tower or something [sac]

S99

the first picture is of a river with a bridge going across the river [mc] on the bridge there are arcs& in the bridge [mc] for the boats to go through [sadvc] there are six pillars on the bridge [mc] as far as I can see [sadvc] and for the* there's a gateway at the entrance ^enter onto the bridge [mc] in the background behind the bridge there's a house [mc] and behind the house there's a mountainous scene [mc] in the front of the picture we have we have# four large pictures sorry four large# trees and one tree stump [mc] the rest are just small trees and grass grass# just in front of the river bed [mc] there's one man sitting on the end of the boat [mc] who is waiting [sac] I wouldn't know what for with his shadow cast out over the river [mc] on the one* other side of the river is a steep wall with rocks in the bank side side# of the bank& [mc] second picture there's it looks like a male to me and a pregnant female [mc] with a* the pregnant female has a long green dress on and a brown belt [mc] the male has a top hat on and one of the old gowns [mc]

S910

there are two pictures in front of me [mc] both rectangular one is standing straight up [mc] and the other is standing on its side [mc] I'll talk about the right one first [mc] it's a picture of two people holding hands [mc] it's of an olden time picture& [mc] probably drawn round about the eighteenth century maybe [mc] these two people* there's a man and a woman [mc] and they're in a room [mc] in the left hand corner of the room there's a window [mc] and mid top of the picture hanging there there is a light thing [mc] in the back there's a mirror in the same shape as a cog [mc] in the very front there's a dog [mc] the man's got a strange hat on [mc] it's a large top hat [mc] but it's a bit too big for him [mc] and he's dressed in black [mc] he's holding one hand up [mc] and ^his other hand he's holding the womans hand [mc] their hands are facing open [mc] the man's got a long black gown on olden day dress [mc] and the woman's dressed in green [mc] she's pregnant [mc] and she's holding a plate [snc] I think [mc] she's got a white head cover over her head [mc] and she's got quite a chubby face [mc] her hands are

APPENDIX H: EXPLANATION OF CODE NUMBERS:

The schools from which informants were drawn were as follows:

1.) St. Andrews College: A Private single-sex school for boys (S)
2.) Kingswood College: A Private coeducational school (K)
3.) Graeme College: A Government single-sex school for boys (G)
4.) Port Alfred High School: A Government coeducational school (P)
5.) Diocesan School for Girls: A Private single-sex school (D)
6.) Victoria Girls High School: A Government single-sex school (V)

Each informant was given a code number (from 1 to 10) eg the fifth subject from Graeme in std 6 was G65, while the third from Kingswood in std 9 among the boys was KB93, the fourth Kingswood std 9 girl KG94 etc.

The order of presentation (in sets of ten):

S6	St. Andrews std 6 boys
KB6	Kingswood std 6 boys
G6	Graeme std 6 boys
PB6	Port Alfred High std 6 boys
D6	Diocesan std 6 girls
KG6	Kingswood std 6 girl
V6	Victoria std 6 girls
PG6	Port Alfred High std 6 girls
S9	St. Andrews std 9 boys
KB9	Kingswood std 9 boys
G9	Graeme std 9 boys
PB9	Port Alfred std 9 boys
D9	Diocesan std 9 girls
KG9	Kingswood std 9 girls
V9	Victoria std 9 girls
PG9	Port Alfred std 9 girls

EXPLANATION OF COLUMN HEADINGS IN DATA TABLES (APPENDIX I):

TABLE 1:

Column	Explanation:
1.	Time spent describing the Corot painting (river scene)
2.	Time spent describing the Van Eyck (room scene)
3.	Total time spent speaking
4.	Total number of words, including hesitations
5.	Total number of one-second pauses during active description
6.	Index of pauses in relation to total time spent talking
7.	Total number of occurrences of *um, uh* and *er*
8.	Index of um/uh/er to total words (column 4)
9.	Total number of semi-words and mid-word hesitations
10.	Index of semi-words to total word count
11.	Sum of column 7 and 9
12.	Index of *um/uh*'s and semi-words in relation to total word count
13.	Number of recognizable English words (column 4 minus column 11)
14.	Number of unique words in full transcript (Type token ratio)
15.	Number of words used once only by informant
16.	Number of occurrences of *sort of*

TABLE 2

1. Number of occurrences of *like*
2. Number of occurrences of *well*
3. Number of occurrences of *okay*
4. Sum of all "fillers": columns 16 (above), 1, 2 and 3
5. Index of all fillers in relation to word total (13 above)
6. Total number of abbreviations
7. Index of abbreviations in relation to word total (13 above)
8. Total number of repetitions
9. Index of number of repetitions in relation to word total
10. Total number of language mazes (* in transcripts)
11. Index of mazes to word total
12. Total number of non-standard utterances
13. Index of number of non-standard utterances in relation to word total
14. Total number of omissions of words (marked by ^ in transcripts)
15. Index of number of omissions in relation to word total
16. Total number of words uttered during two minutes (the first minute of each description)

TABLE 3

1. Number of words uttered per minute (i.e. rate of speech)
2. Number of unique words in the first 200 words uttered
3. Number of words uttered only once in the first 200 words
4. Number of main clauses in 200 words
5. Number of subordinate adjectival clauses in 200 words
6. Number of subordinate adverbial clauses in 200 words
7. Number of subordinate noun clauses in 200 words
8. Total number of subordinate clauses
9. Grand total of clauses in 200 words (columns 4 + 8)
10. Index of subordinate clauses in relation to clause total
11. Number of occurrences of *seem*
12. Number of occurrences of *looks*
13. Number of occurrences of *think*
14. Number of occurrences of vague terms
15. Number of occurrences of *thing/stuff*
16. Number of occurrences of modal adjuncts

TABLE 4

1. Total number of tentative linguistic expressions (sum of 11-16)
2. Index of tentative expressions in relation to word total
3. Total number of occurrences of first person pronominal forms
4. Total number of occurrences of second person pronominal forms
5. Total number of first and second person pronouns
6. Index of pronominal forms in relation to word total
7. Total number of emotive and expressive terms
8. Index of emotive terms in relation to word total
9. Total number of occurrences of *very*
10. Index of occurrence of *very* in relation to word total
11. Total number of colour terms used
12. Index of number of colour terms in relation to word total
13. Total number of numerical terms used
14. Index of number of numerical terms in relation to word total
15. Total number of spatial terms and prepositions used
16. Index of number of spatial/prepositional terms in relation to word total

APPENDIX I **SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:**

TABLE 1.1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	RIVER TIME	ROOM TIME	TOTAL TIME	TOTAL WORDS	TOTAL PAUSES	INDEX	TOTAL UM/UH	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS +UMS	INDEX	TOTAL REAL WORDS	UNIQUE WORDS	WORDS USED ONCE	SORT OF
S61	90	148	238	461	83	34.87	19	4.12	2	0.43	21	4.56	440	166	92	5
S62	199	183	382	643	169	44.24	12	1.87	3	0.47	15	2.33	628	224	129	0
S63	410	109	519	585	326	62.81	2	0.34	3	0.51	5	0.85	580	205	113	0
S64	180	303	483	829	150	31.06	30	3.62	6	0.72	36	4.34	793	230	115	1
S65	262	78	340	362	144	42.35	1	0.28	5	1.38	6	1.66	356	138	81	0
S66	300	475	775	1067	267	34.45	5	0.47	10	0.94	15	1.41	1052	291	142	7
S67	204	131	335	461	119	35.52	13	2.82	9	1.95	22	4.77	439	185	111	6
S68	129	166	295	789	49	16.61	47	5.96	10	1.27	57	7.22	732	182	85	5
S69	104	80	184	469	24	13.04	33	7.04	4	0.85	37	7.89	432	174	107	5
S610	83	75	158	375	27	17.09	4	1.07	7	1.87	11	2.93	364	117	67	0
SUM	1961.0	1748.0	3709.0	6041.0	1358.0	332.1	166.0	27.6	59.0	10.4	225.0	38.0	5816.0	1912.0	1042.0	29.0
AVG	196.1	174.8	370.9	604.1	135.8	33.2	16.6	2.8	5.9	1.0	22.5	3.8	581.6	191.2	104.2	2.9
STD	99.1	119.2	174.3	217.1	94.7	14.3	14.7	2.3	2.8	0.5	15.5	2.3	212.5	47.0	21.8	2.8
KB61	171	170	341	793	31	9.09	35	4.41	6	0.76	41	5.17	752	255	143	1
KB62	125	352	477	611	125	26.21	38	6.22	13	2.13	51	8.35	560	210	120	0
KB63	106	149	255	521	30	11.76	8	1.54	4	0.77	12	2.30	509	158	88	12
KB64	267	202	469	492	161	34.33	5	1.02	3	0.61	8	1.63	484	167	93	6
KB65	77	288	365	487	109	29.86	6	1.23	1	0.21	7	1.44	480	196	115	2
KB66	46	96	142	265	30	21.13	18	6.79	4	1.51	22	8.30	243	93	59	10
KB67	81	99	180	305	35	19.44	1	0.33	0	0.00	1	0.33	304	121	71	4
KB68	201	103	304	588	24	7.89	35	5.95	31	5.27	66	11.22	522	166	87	3
KB69	473	223	696	1000	177	25.43	19	1.90	8	0.80	27	2.70	973	292	151	6
KB610	251	396	647	1896	12	1.85	43	2.27	22	1.16	65	3.43	1831	394	188	13
SUM	1798.0	2078.0	3876.0	6958.0	734.0	187.0	208.0	31.7	92.0	13.2	300.0	44.9	6658.0	2052.0	1115.0	57.0
AVG	179.8	207.8	387.6	695.8	73.4	18.7	20.8	3.2	9.2	1.3	30.0	4.5	665.8	205.2	111.5	5.7
STD	120.8	101.5	175.4	448.9	59.7	10.1	14.9	2.3	9.5	1.4	23.1	3.5	435.1	84.1	37.9	4.4
G61	78	245	323	530	94	29.10	6	1.13	3	0.57	9	1.70	521	182	104	0
G62	130	263	393	335	229	58.27	15	4.48	0	0.00	15	4.48	320	155	113	1
G63	80	60	140	274	27	19.29	11	4.01	1	0.36	12	4.38	262	122	81	0
G64	71	187	258	323	85	32.95	3	0.93	3	0.93	6	1.86	317	122	69	4
G65	57	58	115	212	18	15.65	3	1.42	0	0.00	3	1.42	209	108	83	1
G66	61	267	328	635	52	15.85	27	4.25	5	0.79	32	5.04	603	201	108	3
G67	30	28	58	90	13	22.41	7	7.78	0	0.00	7	7.78	83	46	32	0
G68	55	133	188	359	7	3.72	9	2.51	11	3.06	20	5.57	339	132	77	0
G69	38	22	60	123	11	18.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	123	68	48	0
G610	47	50	97	201	3	3.09	2	1.00	2	1.00	4	1.99	197	89	57	0
SUM	647.0	1313.0	1960.0	3082.0	539.0	218.7	83.0	27.5	25.0	6.7	108.0	34.2	2974.0	1225.0	772.0	9.0
AVG	64.7	131.3	196.0	308.2	53.9	21.9	8.3	2.7	2.5	0.7	10.8	3.4	297.4	122.5	77.2	0.9
STD	26.7	95.6	115.5	162.3	66.0	15.1	7.6	2.2	3.3	0.9	9.0	2.3	155.4	45.8	25.2	1.4

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 1.2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	RIVER TIME	ROOM TIME	TOTAL TIME	TOTAL WORDS	TOTAL PAUSES	INDEX	TOTAL UM/UH	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS +UMS	INDEX	TOTAL REAL WORDS	UNIQUE WORDS	WORDS USED ONCE	SORT OF
PB61	70	109	179	245	45	25.14	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	245	102	67	0
PB62	86	193	279	388	55	19.71	6	1.55	0	0.00	6	1.55	382	146	97	0
PB63	87	185	272	629	44	16.18	26	4.13	2	0.32	28	4.45	601	251	161	0
PB64	85	85	170	204	70	41.18	2	0.98	2	0.98	4	1.96	200	89	62	1
PB65	70	80	150	249	8	5.33	4	1.61	2	0.80	6	2.41	243	103	62	0
PB66	196	81	277	516	28	10.11	9	1.74	0	0.00	9	1.74	507	191	104	0
PB67	85	205	290	571	46	15.86	5	0.88	3	0.53	8	1.40	563	176	100	3
PB68	176	105	281	500	19	6.76	31	6.20	9	1.80	40	8.00	460	179	100	0
PB69	69	104	173	383	18	10.40	10	2.61	5	1.31	15	3.92	368	162	100	0
PB610	75	143	218	391	15	6.88	13	3.32	7	1.79	20	5.12	371	136	73	0
SUM	999.0	1290.0	2289.0	4076.0	348.0	157.6	106.0	23.0	30.0	7.5	136.0	30.5	3940.0	1535.0	926.0	4.0
AVG	99.9	129.0	228.9	407.6	34.8	15.8	10.6	2.3	3.0	0.8	13.6	3.1	394.0	153.5	92.6	0.4
STD	43.8	46.3	53.4	138.0	19.1	10.4	9.7	1.7	2.9	0.7	11.8	2.2	131.3	46.8	28.1	0.9
D61	73	91	164	361	21	12.80	8	2.22	10	2.77	18	4.99	343	138	90	1
D62	91	228	319	615	90	28.21	0	0.00	8	1.30	8	1.30	607	218	122	4
D63	74	129	203	404	32	15.76	4	0.99	2	0.50	6	1.49	398	150	88	3
D64	132	186	318	867	42	13.21	31	3.58	6	0.69	37	4.27	830	233	110	0
D65	90	190	280	564	67	23.93	5	0.89	0	0.00	5	0.89	559	182	101	1
D66	145	179	324	734	42	12.96	21	2.86	8	1.09	29	3.95	705	214	114	5
D67	28	47	75	175	6	8.00	3	1.71	1	0.57	4	2.29	171	79	54	0
D68	58	53	111	279	5	4.50	9	3.23	4	1.43	13	4.66	266	99	54	5
D69	58	35	93	197	15	16.13	1	0.51	0	0.00	1	0.51	196	88	56	0
D610	58	111	169	327	20	11.83	3	0.92	0	0.00	3	0.92	324	125	75	1
SUM	807.0	1249.0	2056.0	4523.0	340.0	147.3	85.0	16.9	39.0	8.4	124.0	25.2	4399.0	1526.0	864.0	20.0
AVG	80.7	124.9	205.6	452.3	34.0	14.7	8.5	1.7	3.9	0.8	106.0	20.3	439.9	152.6	86.4	2.0
STD	33.7	65.0	93.2	221.1	25.9	6.6	9.4	1.2	3.6	0.8	222.0	44.2	212.4	53.7	24.4	1.9
KG61	57	124	181	369	12	6.63	26	7.05	0	0.00	26	7.05	343	152	93	1
KG62	78	114	192	339	26	13.54	6	1.77	1	0.29	7	2.06	332	127	82	1
KG63	120	187	307	650	26	8.47	24	3.69	9	1.38	33	5.08	617	210	117	0
KG64	139	152	291	530	31	10.65	2	0.38	8	1.51	10	1.89	520	170	87	7
KG65	220	145	365	480	112	30.68	8	1.67	4	0.83	12	2.50	468	187	121	2
KG66	167	94	261	317	94	36.02	5	1.58	1	0.32	6	1.89	311	126	65	0
KG67	142	149	291	402	46	15.81	24	5.97	4	1.00	28	6.97	374	154	84	0
KG68	146	115	261	510	37	14.18	17	3.33	3	0.59	20	3.92	490	171	110	15
KG69	80	63	143	272	27	18.88	6	2.21	2	0.74	8	2.94	264	100	57	6
KG610	75	133	208	571	19	9.13	12	2.10	2	0.35	14	2.45	557	193	109	19
SUM	1224.0	1276.0	2500.0	4440.0	430.0	164.0	130.0	29.7	34.0	7.0	164.0	36.7	4276.0	1590.0	925.0	51.0
AVG	122.4	127.6	250.0	444.0	43.0	16.4	13.0	3.0	3.4	0.7	16.4	3.7	427.6	159.0	92.5	5.1
STD	48.0	32.5	64.4	116.5	31.5	9.2	8.6	2.0	2.8	0.5	9.2	1.9	112.3	32.4	20.5	6.5

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 1.3

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	RIVER TIME	ROOM TIME	TOTAL TIME	TOTAL WORDS	TOTAL PAUSES	INDEX	TOTAL UM/UH	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS +UMS	INDEX	TOTAL REAL WORDS	UNIQUE WORDS	WORDS USED ONCE	SORT OF
V61	57	375	432	522	156	36.11	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	522	185	102	0
V62	50	78	128	305	11	8.59	1	0.33	6	1.97	7	2.30	298	131	81	0
V63	162	312	474	773	117	24.68	1	0.13	4	0.52	5	0.65	768	255	137	0
V64	45	93	138	272	7	5.07	4	1.47	0	0.00	4	1.47	268	117	75	1
V65	262	60	322	634	39	12.11	14	2.21	3	0.47	17	2.68	617	190	103	0
V66	60	81	141	276	12	8.51	4	1.45	0	0.00	4	1.45	272	120	76	0
V67	102	105	207	429	18	8.70	0	0.00	2	0.47	2	0.47	427	163	96	0
V68	81	66	147	322	1	0.68	3	0.93	3	0.93	6	1.86	316	116	69	0
V69	87	95	182	312	14	7.69	1	0.32	0	0.00	1	0.32	311	139	87	0
V610	60	70	130	268	7	5.38	11	4.10	3	1.12	14	5.22	254	108	62	0
SUM	966.0	1335.0	2301.0	4113.0	382.0	117.5	39.0	10.9	21.0	5.5	60.0	16.4	4053.0	1524.0	888.0	1.0
AVG	96.6	133.5	230.1	411.3	38.2	11.8	3.9	1.1	2.1	0.5	6.0	1.6	405.3	152.4	88.8	0.1
STD	64.1	106.7	124.6	167.4	50.8	10.1	4.6	1.2	2.0	0.6	5.2	1.5	166.8	44.0	20.7	0.3
PG61	34	93	127	182	32	25.20	8	4.40	2	1.10	10	5.49	172	78	45	1
PG62	13	50	63	126	11	17.46	1	0.79	1	0.79	2	1.59	124	79	54	0
PG63	29	72	101	250	2	1.98	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	250	92	65	0
PG64	189	171	360	646	29	8.06	2	0.31	3	0.46	5	0.77	641	176	84	1
PG65	65	66	131	254	16	12.21	1	0.39	2	0.79	3	1.18	251	101	54	0
PG66	34	60	94	166	10	10.64	0	0.00	2	1.20	2	1.20	164	93	71	0
PG67	52	86	138	226	16	11.59	4	1.77	2	0.88	6	2.65	220	104	70	1
PG68	87	110	197	283	37	18.78	15	5.30	0	0.00	15	5.30	268	122	76	0
PG69	36	16	52	84	11	21.15	0	0.00	1	1.19	1	1.19	83	48	29	0
PG610	60	70	130	270	7	5.38	11	4.07	3	1.11	14	5.19	256	111	66	0
SUM	599.0	794.0	1393.0	2487.0	171.0	132.5	42.0	17.0	16.0	7.5	58.0	24.6	2429.0	1004.0	614.0	3.0
AVG	59.9	79.4	139.3	248.7	17.1	13.2	4.2	1.7	1.6	0.8	5.8	2.5	242.9	100.4	61.4	0.3
STD	47.5	38.9	83.3	146.1	11.0	6.9	5.1	2.0	1.0	0.4	5.1	2.0	145.2	31.8	15.3	0.5
S91	195	160	355	564	125	35.21	17	3.01	7	1.24	24	4.26	540	212	127	1
S92	158	198	356	629	121	33.99	23	3.66	4	0.64	27	4.29	602	203	112	0
S93	59	153	212	257	100	47.17	0	0.00	4	1.56	4	1.56	253	109	68	0
S94	200	251	451	1113	44	9.76	29	2.61	11	0.99	40	3.59	1073	272	127	15
S95	130	168	298	247	173	58.05	10	4.05	3	1.21	13	5.26	234	128	88	0
S96	58	70	128	336	18	14.06	7	2.08	6	1.79	13	3.87	323	128	82	2
S97	60	79	139	253	34	24.46	3	1.19	0	0.00	3	1.19	250	116	77	4
S98	99	161	260	373	90	34.62	4	1.07	3	0.80	7	1.88	366	161	104	0
S99	84	133	217	363	53	24.42	3	0.83	3	0.83	6	1.65	357	149	99	0
S910	267	178	445	619	170	38.20	9	1.45	2	0.32	11	1.78	608	229	130	0
SUM	1310.0	1551.0	2861.0	4754.0	928.0	319.9	105.0	19.9	43.0	9.4	148.0	29.3	4606.0	1707.0	1014.0	22.0
AVG	131.0	155.1	286.1	475.4	92.8	32.0	10.5	2.0	4.3	0.9	14.8	2.9	460.6	170.7	101.4	2.2
STD	68.5	50.3	109.5	255.0	52.3	13.8	9.1	1.2	2.9	0.5	11.3	1.4	245.0	52.4	21.3	4.4

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 1.4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	RIVER TIME	ROOM TIME	TOTAL TIME	TOTAL WORDS	TOTAL PAUSES	INDEX	TOTAL UM/UH	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS +UMS	INDEX	TOTAL REAL WORDS	UNIQUE WORDS	WORDS USED ONCE	SORT OF
KB91	107	153	260	335	98	37.69	8	2.39	2	0.60	10	2.99	325	170	119	0
KB92	117	82	189	359	5	2.65	17	4.74	4	1.11	21	5.85	338	127	79	1
KB93	82	132	214	377	54	25.23	3	0.80	1	0.27	4	1.06	373	153	94	3
KB94	121	119	240	422	45	18.75	19	4.50	6	1.42	25	5.92	397	164	105	3
KB95	92	147	239	281	82	34.31	4	1.42	0	0.00	4	1.42	277	143	100	1
KB96	138	210	348	448	106	30.46	26	5.80	5	1.12	31	6.92	417	169	105	2
KB97	108	101	209	283	97	46.41	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	283	142	92	1
KB98	82	68	150	370	9	6.00	25	6.76	1	0.27	26	7.03	344	153	100	3
KB99	43	67	110	122	101	91.82	4	3.28	0	0.00	4	3.28	118	72	52	0
KB910	48	51	99	211	20	20.20	4	1.90	8	3.79	12	5.69	199	78	43	0
SUM	938.0	1130.0	2058.0	3208.0	617.0	313.5	110.0	31.6	27.0	8.6	137.0	40.2	3071.0	1371.0	889.0	14.0
AVG	93.8	113.0	205.8	320.8	61.7	31.4	11.0	3.2	2.7	0.9	13.7	4.0	307.1	137.1	88.9	1.4
STD	29.3	46.5	70.3	93.9	38.1	23.9	9.3	2.1	2.7	1.1	10.6	2.5	87.2	33.5	23.0	1.2
G91	181	135	316	433	115	36.39	12	2.77	5	1.15	17	3.93	416	172	103	8
G92	101	222	323	709	27	8.36	41	5.78	15	2.12	56	7.90	653	212	122	5
G93	55	144	199	319	48	24.12	1	0.31	1	0.31	2	0.63	317	133	77	3
G94	15	60	75	159	5	6.67	3	1.89	0	0.00	3	1.89	156	90	60	0
G95	60	120	180	364	7	3.89	6	1.65	5	1.37	11	3.02	353	158	96	0
G96	98	181	279	560	21	7.53	24	4.29	1	0.18	25	4.46	535	208	125	4
G97	63	91	154	169	66	42.86	1	0.59	1	0.59	2	1.18	167	96	72	0
G98	1020	1020	2040	1803	83	4.07	85	4.71	9	0.50	94	5.21	1709	385	188	11
G99	57	75	132	221	11	8.33	29	13.12	2	0.90	31	14.03	190	116	90	0
G910	910	910	1820	1935	24	1.32	18	0.93	9	0.47	27	1.40	1908	374	181	0
SUM	2560.0	2958.0	5518.0	6672.0	407.0	143.5	220.0	36.0	48.0	7.6	268.0	43.6	6404.0	1944.0	1114.0	31.0
AVG	256.0	295.8	551.8	667.2	40.7	14.4	22.0	3.6	4.8	0.8	26.8	4.4	640.4	194.4	111.4	3.1
STD	357.7	338.6	695.0	623.2	34.9	14.0	24.5	3.6	4.6	0.6	27.4	3.8	604.9	100.7	41.4	3.7
PB91	120	158	278	530	21	7.55	30	5.66	3	0.57	33	6.23	497	174	88	0
PB92	60	150	210	436	6	2.86	16	3.67	1	0.23	17	3.90	419	159	88	0
PB93	58	115	173	332	7	4.05	14	4.22	0	0.00	14	4.22	318	148	87	4
PB94	58	111	169	304	13	7.69	10	3.29	0	0.00	10	3.29	294	117	75	0
PB95	49	37	86	165	12	13.95	1	0.61	1	0.61	2	1.21	163	71	42	0
PB96	60	244	304	626	9	2.96	22	3.51	5	0.80	27	4.31	599	206	114	0
PB97	40	34	74	149	3	4.05	10	6.71	5	3.36	15	10.07	134	68	48	0
PB98	213	96	309	604	37	11.97	21	3.48	4	0.66	25	4.14	579	189	95	4
PB99	90	31	121	269	22	18.18	1	0.37	1	0.37	2	0.74	267	131	88	0
PB910	45	57	102	174	2	1.96	10	5.75	1	0.57	11	6.32	163	106	81	1
SUM	793.0	1033.0	1826.0	3589.0	132.0	75.2	135.0	37.3	21.0	7.2	156.0	44.4	3433.0	1369.0	806.0	9.0
AVG	79.3	103.3	182.6	358.9	13.2	7.5	13.5	3.7	2.1	0.7	15.6	4.4	343.3	136.9	80.6	0.9
STD	49.9	64.6	85.0	171.6	10.2	5.2	8.7	2.0	1.9	0.9	9.7	2.5	163.7	44.7	20.3	1.6

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 1.5

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	RIVER TIME	ROOM TIME	TOTAL TIME	TOTAL WORDS	TOTAL PAUSES	INDEX	TOTAL UM/UH	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS +UMS	INDEX	TOTAL REAL WORDS	UNIQUE WORDS	WORDS USED ONCE	SORT OF
D91	327	463	790	2179	55	6.96	38	1.74	27	1.24	65	2.98	2114	630	386	8
D92	40	70	110	162	36	32.73	5	3.09	0	0.00	5	3.09	157	98	76	0
D93	318	316	634	1308	125	19.72	1	0.08	6	0.46	7	0.54	1301	349	192	14
D94	123	83	206	393	34	16.50	0	0.00	2	0.51	2	0.51	391	177	114	1
D95	71	116	187	498	17	9.09	0	0.00	7	1.41	7	1.41	491	194	122	0
D96	120	180	300	545	78	26.00	1	0.18	4	0.73	5	0.92	540	245	172	1
D97	92	207	299	705	40	13.38	21	2.98	2	0.28	23	3.26	682	225	125	6
D98	129	180	309	483	32	10.36	10	2.07	6	1.24	16	3.31	467	165	98	2
D99	60	76	136	248	16	11.76	4	1.61	0	0.00	4	1.61	244	124	86	1
D910	167	131	298	614	25	8.39	6	0.98	10	1.63	16	2.61	598	181	92	5
SUM	1447.0	1822.0	3269.0	7135.0	458.0	154.9	86.0	12.7	64.0	7.5	150.0	20.2	6985.0	2388.0	1463.0	38.0
AVG	144.7	182.2	326.9	713.5	45.8	15.5	8.6	1.3	6.4	0.8	15.0	2.0	698.5	238.8	146.3	3.8
STD	95.6	117.5	207.1	571.2	31.6	8.0	11.5	1.1	7.5	0.6	17.8	1.1	556.2	146.0	87.3	4.3
KG91	145	143	288	507	75	26.04	17	3.35	8	1.58	25	4.93	482	161	85	8
KG92	148	156	304	648	59	19.41	9	1.39	5	0.77	14	2.16	634	208	105	0
KG93	114	334	448	625	142	31.70	7	1.12	2	0.32	9	1.44	616	226	137	7
KG94	120	256	376	596	64	17.02	27	4.53	17	2.85	44	7.38	552	191	105	1
KG95	63	65	128	261	17	13.28	6	2.30	2	0.77	8	3.07	253	113	64	1
KG96	42	69	111	288	13	11.71	8	2.78	5	1.74	13	4.51	275	117	73	1
KG97	51	38	89	225	6	6.74	5	2.22	1	0.44	6	2.67	219	125	99	1
KG98	64	172	236	364	100	42.37	1	0.27	0	0.00	1	0.27	363	187	114	2
KG99	109	150	259	508	50	19.31	7	1.38	4	0.79	11	2.17	497	201	110	13
KG910	65	93	158	352	11	6.96	11	3.13	3	0.85	14	3.98	338	142	94	1
SUM	921.0	1476.0	2397.0	4374.0	537.0	194.5	98.0	22.5	47.0	10.1	145.0	32.6	4229.0	1671.0	986.0	35.0
AVG	92.1	147.6	239.7	437.4	53.7	19.5	9.8	2.2	4.7	1.0	14.5	3.3	422.9	167.1	98.6	3.5
STD	37.5	86.7	112.8	150.3	42.0	10.7	7.0	1.2	4.6	0.8	11.5	1.9	145.1	38.9	20.0	4.1
V91	157	192	349	838	15	4.30	15	1.79	5	0.60	20	2.39	818	244	135	6
V92	114	169	283	613	22	7.77	16	2.61	3	0.49	19	3.10	594	202	109	6
V93	78	79	157	334	7	4.46	4	1.20	0	0.00	4	1.20	330	141	77	0
V94	161	47	208	382	29	13.94	26	6.81	2	0.52	28	7.33	354	145	84	0
V95	123	123	246	304	71	28.86	16	5.26	1	0.33	17	5.59	287	136	91	0
V96	101	143	244	448	28	11.48	8	1.79	0	0.00	8	1.79	440	199	127	0
V97	101	133	234	395	38	16.24	3	0.76	2	0.51	5	1.27	390	154	95	0
V98	144	42	186	325	43	23.12	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	325	149	86	0
V99	50	60	110	194	11	10.00	3	1.55	0	0.00	3	1.55	191	83	49	0
V910	197	185	382	839	29	7.59	2	0.24	2	0.24	4	0.48	835	265	161	0
SUM	1226.0	1173.0	2399.0	4672.0	293.0	127.8	93.0	22.0	15.0	2.7	108.0	24.7	4564.0	1718.0	1014.0	12.0
AVG	122.6	117.3	239.9	467.2	29.3	12.8	9.3	2.2	1.5	0.3	10.8	2.5	456.4	171.8	101.4	1.2
STD	41.1	54.0	78.6	211.9	17.6	7.6	8.1	2.1	1.6	0.2	8.9	2.2	209.9	52.2	30.7	2.4

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 1.6

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	RIVER TIME	ROOM TIME	TOTAL TIME	TOTAL WORDS	TOTAL PAUSES	INDEX	TOTAL UM/UH	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS	INDEX	SEMI-WORDS +UMS	INDEX	TOTAL REAL WORDS	UNIQUE WORDS	WORDS USED ONCE	SORT OF
PG91	159	112	271	542	32	11.81	34	6.27	4	0.74	38	7.01	504	177	95	2
PG92	37	31	68	147	3	4.41	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	147	78	51	0
PG93	38	60	98	231	1	1.02	9	3.90	1	0.43	10	4.33	221	90	58	0
PG94	237	237	474	987	34	7.17	40	4.05	6	0.61	46	4.66	941	300	169	25
PG95	60	97	157	294	27	17.20	5	1.70	1	0.34	6	2.04	288	131	81	0
PG96	60	98	158	428	3	1.90	0	0.00	2	0.47	2	0.47	426	161	105	1
PG97	50	19	69	91	27	39.13	2	2.20	1	1.10	3	3.30	88	61	48	0
PG98	134	180	314	609	47	14.97	2	0.33	5	0.82	7	1.15	602	221	128	1
PG99	48	39	87	194	0	0.00	6	3.09	1	0.52	7	3.61	187	96	68	0
PG910	101	143	244	448	9	3.69	8	1.79	0	0.00	8	1.79	440	198	126	0
SUM	924.0	1016.0	1940.0	3971.0	183.0	101.3	106.0	23.3	21.0	5.0	127.0	28.3	3844.0	1513.0	929.0	29.0
AVG	92.4	101.6	194.0	397.1	18.3	10.1	10.6	2.3	2.1	0.5	12.7	2.8	384.4	151.3	92.9	2.9
STD	62.5	66.2	124.9	255.6	16.1	11.2	13.6	1.9	2.0	0.3	15.0	2.1	244.0	71.2	37.4	7.4

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 2.1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE				TOTAL		ABBRE		REPEAT		SEMI-S		NON-STD		OMITS		2X1MIN WORD
	LIKE	WELL	OKAY	FILLER	INDEX	`!'	INDEX	`#'	INDEX	`*'	INDEX	`&'	INDEX	`^'	INDEX	TOTAL
S61	10	2	0	17	3.86	42	9.55	6	1.36	13	2.95	13	2.95	4	0.91	238
S62	7	1	0	8	1.27	19	3.03	10	1.59	5	0.80	4	0.64	5	0.80	227
S63	0	1	0	1	0.17	26	4.48	2	0.34	10	1.72	1	0.17	6	1.03	243
S64	3	5	2	11	1.39	59	7.44	13	1.64	12	1.51	4	0.50	18	2.27	228
S65	3	0	0	3	0.84	6	1.69	0	0.00	3	0.84	3	0.84	3	0.84	170
S66	1	1	0	9	0.86	64	6.08	19	1.81	16	1.52	3	0.29	27	2.57	178
S67	2	1	1	10	2.28	44	10.02	7	1.59	5	1.14	4	0.91	13	2.96	174
S68	27	1	4	37	5.05	70	9.56	35	4.78	13	1.78	8	1.09	8	1.09	287
S69	0	3	2	10	2.31	23	5.32	14	3.24	10	2.31	2	0.46	4	0.93	295
S610	7	0	0	7	1.92	38	10.44	13	3.57	8	2.20	9	2.47	4	1.10	269
SUM	60.0	15.0	9.0	113.0	20.0	391.0	67.6	119.0	19.9	95.0	16.8	51.0	10.3	92.0	14.5	2309.0
AVG	6.0	1.5	0.9	11.3	2.0	39.1	6.8	11.9	2.0	9.5	1.7	5.1	1.0	9.2	1.4	230.9
STD	7.7	1.4	1.3	9.5	1.4	19.8	3.0	9.4	1.4	4.0	0.6	3.5	0.9	7.5	0.8	43.2
KB61	6	3	0	10	1.33	40	5.32	10	1.33	13	1.73	5	0.66	6	0.80	283
KB62	0	0	0	0	0.00	23	4.11	19	3.39	9	1.61	3	0.54	1	0.18	185
KB63	0	0	1	13	2.55	26	5.11	15	2.95	14	2.75	0	0.00	6	1.18	258
KB64	1	1	0	8	1.65	26	5.37	14	2.89	2	0.41	2	0.41	10	2.07	167
KB65	6	2	0	10	2.08	34	7.08	4	0.83	1	0.21	1	0.21	9	1.88	209
KB66	1	1	0	12	4.94	10	4.12	12	4.94	6	2.47	0	0.00	5	2.06	217
KB67	3	1	0	8	2.63	14	4.61	5	1.64	1	0.33	4	1.32	4	1.32	198
KB68	0	0	2	5	0.96	25	4.79	70	13.41	7	1.34	1	0.19	3	0.57	219
KB69	4	1	0	11	1.13	27	2.77	12	1.23	18	1.85	5	0.51	7	0.72	171
KB610	8	15	1	37	2.02	90	4.92	33	1.80	48	2.62	10	0.55	27	1.47	320
SUM	29.0	24.0	4.0	114.0	19.3	315.0	48.2	194.0	34.4	119.0	15.3	31.0	4.4	78.0	12.2	2227.0
AVG	2.9	2.4	0.4	11.4	1.9	31.5	4.8	19.4	3.4	11.9	1.5	3.1	0.4	7.8	1.2	222.7
STD	2.8	4.3	0.7	9.3	1.3	21.1	1.0	18.5	3.5	13.2	0.9	2.9	0.4	6.9	0.6	47.3
G61	11	0	0	11	2.11	6	1.15	2	0.38	4	0.77	2	0.38	2	0.38	211
G62	5	0	0	6	1.88	15	4.69	2	0.63	3	0.94	0	0.00	4	1.25	123
G63	10	0	0	10	3.82	22	8.40	3	1.15	4	1.53	2	0.76	8	3.05	226
G64	8	0	0	12	3.79	4	1.26	7	2.21	3	0.95	2	0.63	1	0.32	190
G65	5	0	0	6	2.87	8	3.83	2	0.96	2	0.96	0	0.00	1	0.48	194
G66	12	0	0	15	2.49	37	6.14	10	1.66	13	2.16	3	0.50	8	1.33	205
G67	1	0	1	2	2.41	10	12.05	1	1.20	4	4.82	1	1.20	1	1.20	166
G68	0	0	0	0	0.00	18	5.31	10	2.95	8	2.36	0	0.00	5	1.47	237
G69	0	0	0	0	0.00	7	5.69	1	0.81	3	2.44	2	1.63	2	1.63	246
G610	3	0	1	4	2.03	9	4.57	4	2.03	5	2.54	1	0.51	0	0.00	227
SUM	55.0	0.0	2.0	66.0	21.4	136.0	53.1	42.0	14.0	49.0	19.4	13.0	5.6	32.0	11.1	2025.0
AVG	5.5	0.0	0.2	6.6	2.1	13.6	5.3	4.2	1.4	4.9	1.9	1.3	0.6	3.2	1.1	202.5
STD	4.3	0.0	0.4	5.0	1.2	9.5	3.0	3.3	0.8	3.1	1.2	1.0	0.5	2.8	0.8	34.9

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 2.2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	LIKE	WELL	OKAY	TOTAL FILLER	INDEX	ABBRE `!'	INDEX	REPEAT `#'	INDEX	SEMI-S `*'	INDEX	NON-STD `&'	INDEX	OMITS `^'	INDEX	2X1MIN WORD TOTAL
PB61	0	0	0	0	0.00	8	3.27	2	0.82	2	0.82	2	0.82	2	0.82	158
PB62	6	0	0	6	1.57	17	4.45	15	3.93	12	3.14	9	2.36	4	1.05	157
PB63	2	0	2	4	0.67	20	3.33	17	2.83	16	2.66	5	0.83	11	1.83	227
PB64	2	0	0	3	1.50	25	12.50	12	6.00	4	2.00	6	3.00	1	0.50	145
PB65	0	0	0	0	0.00	9	3.70	1	0.41	3	1.23	5	2.06	0	0.00	203
PB66	15	0	0	15	2.96	61	12.03	6	1.18	8	1.58	8	1.58	10	1.97	222
PB67	22	0	1	26	4.62	43	7.64	13	2.31	6	1.07	5	0.89	4	0.71	261
PB68	19	0	1	20	4.35	33	7.17	0	0.00	4	0.87	1	0.22	2	0.43	189
PB69	9	1	2	12	3.26	38	10.33	2	0.54	8	2.17	2	0.54	8	2.17	249
PB610	1	0	0	1	0.27	19	5.12	11	2.96	9	2.43	2	0.54	1	0.27	218
SUM	76.0	1.0	6.0	87.0	19.2	273.0	69.5	79.0	21.0	72.0	18.0	45.0	12.8	43.0	9.8	2029.0
AVG	7.6	0.1	0.6	8.7	1.9	27.3	7.0	7.9	2.1	7.2	1.8	4.5	1.3	4.3	1.0	202.9
STD	7.9	0.3	0.8	8.7	1.7	15.7	3.4	6.1	1.8	4.1	0.8	2.6	0.9	3.8	0.7	37.9
D61	4	0	3	8	2.33	22	6.41	13	3.79	10	2.92	2	0.58	2	0.58	240
D62	4	0	0	8	1.32	25	4.12	11	1.81	7	1.15	4	0.66	3	0.49	258
D63	1	1	2	7	1.76	32	8.04	7	1.76	6	1.51	1	0.25	3	0.75	218
D64	21	2	2	25	3.01	67	8.07	15	1.81	11	1.33	4	0.48	4	0.48	342
D65	27	1	1	30	5.37	50	8.94	8	1.43	6	1.07	0	0.00	12	2.15	256
D66	1	1	2	9	1.28	12	1.70	16	2.27	11	1.56	6	0.85	6	0.85	279
D67	0	0	0	0	0.00	8	4.68	3	1.75	4	2.34	3	1.75	2	1.17	289
D68	2	1	0	8	3.01	11	4.14	5	1.88	4	1.50	1	0.38	2	0.75	287
D69	5	0	0	5	2.55	0	0.00	5	2.55	1	0.51	0	0.00	1	0.51	259
D610	10	0	0	11	3.40	8	2.47	1	0.31	6	1.85	4	1.23	2	0.62	229
SUM	75.0	6.0	10.0	111.0	24.0	235.0	48.6	84.0	19.4	66.0	15.7	25.0	6.2	37.0	8.4	2657.0
AVG	7.5	0.6	1.0	11.1	2.4	23.5	4.9	8.4	1.9	6.6	1.6	2.5	0.6	3.7	0.8	265.7
STD	8.8	0.7	1.1	8.7	1.4	20.0	2.8	4.9	0.8	3.1	0.6	1.9	0.5	3.1	0.5	33.9
KG61	3	1	3	8	2.33	30	8.75	1	0.29	6	1.75	2	0.58	7	2.04	233
KG62	3	1	0	5	1.51	15	4.52	12	3.61	4	1.20	0	0.00	6	1.81	226
KG63	6	2	2	10	1.62	20	3.24	13	2.11	15	2.43	8	1.30	16	2.59	244
KG64	3	1	0	11	2.12	38	7.31	13	2.50	9	1.73	3	0.58	8	1.54	228
KG65	3	1	0	6	1.28	26	5.56	5	1.07	10	2.14	3	0.64	5	1.07	208
KG66	3	0	0	3	0.96	17	5.47	9	2.89	2	0.64	1	0.32	8	2.57	151
KG67	7	4	1	12	3.21	10	2.67	9	2.41	7	1.87	3	0.80	2	0.53	163
KG68	6	1	1	23	4.69	39	7.96	15	3.06	9	1.84	0	0.00	6	1.22	234
KG69	9	0	3	18	6.82	26	9.85	4	1.52	6	2.27	4	1.52	4	1.52	221
KG610	21	0	5	45	8.08	44	7.90	11	1.97	11	1.97	1	0.18	6	1.08	314
SUM	64.0	11.0	15.0	141.0	32.6	265.0	63.2	92.0	21.4	79.0	17.9	25.0	5.9	68.0	16.0	2222.0
AVG	6.4	1.1	1.5	14.1	3.3	26.5	6.3	9.2	2.1	7.9	1.8	2.5	0.6	6.8	1.6	222.2
STD	5.3	1.1	1.6	11.8	2.3	10.7	2.3	4.3	0.9	3.5	0.5	2.2	0.5	3.5	0.6	42.4

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 2.3

CODE	1 LIKE	2 WELL	3 OKAY	4 TOTAL FILLER	5 INDEX	6 ABBRE `!'	7 INDEX	8 REPEAT `#'	9 INDEX	10 SEMI-S `*'	11 INDEX	12 NON-STD `&'	13 INDEX	14 OMITS `^'	15 INDEX	16 2X1MIN WORD TOTAL
V61	12	0	3	15	2.87	45	8.62	3	0.57	3	0.57	7	1.34	6	1.15	169
V62	0	0	0	0	0.00	28	9.40	3	1.01	2	0.67	2	0.67	4	1.34	298
V63	7	0	0	7	0.91	33	4.30	5	0.65	6	0.78	3	0.39	1	0.13	218
V64	8	0	1	10	3.73	18	6.72	2	0.75	3	1.12	4	1.49	5	1.87	236
V65	12	5	0	17	2.76	55	8.91	7	1.13	10	1.62	11	1.78	9	1.46	249
V66	8	1	1	10	3.68	30	11.03	5	1.84	1	0.37	3	1.10	4	1.47	235
V67	4	0	0	4	0.94	31	7.26	2	0.47	6	1.41	2	0.47	4	0.94	253
V68	8	0	0	8	2.53	23	7.28	0	0.00	7	2.22	1	0.32	3	0.95	256
V69	4	0	1	5	1.61	18	5.79	2	0.64	2	0.64	0	0.00	7	2.25	221
V610	16	0	0	16	6.30	30	11.81	9	3.54	3	1.18	5	1.97	2	0.79	237
SUM	79.0	6.0	6.0	92.0	25.3	311.0	81.1	38.0	10.6	43.0	10.6	38.0	9.5	45.0	12.3	2372.0
AVG	7.9	0.6	0.6	9.2	2.5	31.1	8.1	3.8	1.1	4.3	1.1	3.8	1.0	4.5	1.2	237.2
STD	4.4	1.5	0.9	5.3	1.7	10.9	2.2	2.6	0.9	2.7	0.5	3.1	0.6	2.2	0.6	31.2
PG61	5	1	2	9	5.23	14	8.14	0	0.00	6	3.49	3	1.74	5	2.91	261
PG62	1	0	0	1	0.81	6	4.84	0	0.00	2	1.61	3	2.42	2	1.61	237
PG63	4	0	0	4	1.60	9	3.60	2	0.80	4	1.60	1	0.40	0	0.00	317
PG64	10	1	1	13	2.03	60	9.36	12	1.87	14	2.18	12	1.87	1	0.16	225
PG65	6	3	0	9	3.59	8	3.19	8	3.19	4	1.59	2	0.80	1	0.40	231
PG66	1	0	0	1	0.61	11	6.71	0	0.00	2	1.22	3	1.83	5	3.05	227
PG67	3	0	2	6	2.73	16	7.27	4	1.82	2	0.91	1	0.45	3	1.36	197
PG68	7	0	0	7	2.61	12	4.48	3	1.12	3	1.12	8	2.99	4	1.49	229
PG69	2	0	0	2	2.41	12	14.46	1	1.20	1	1.20	3	3.61	0	0.00	192
PG610	16	0	0	16	6.25	29	11.33	9	3.52	3	1.17	4	1.56	1	0.39	256
				0												
SUM	55.0	5.0	5.0	68.0	27.9	177.0	73.4	39.0	13.5	41.0	16.1	40.0	17.7	22.0	11.4	2372.0
AVG	5.5	0.5	0.5	6.8	2.8	17.7	7.3	3.9	1.4	4.1	1.6	4.0	1.8	2.2	1.1	237.2
STD	4.4	0.9	0.8	4.8	1.7	15.3	3.4	4.1	1.2	3.6	0.7	3.3	1.0	1.8	1.1	33.6
S91	2	3	1	7	1.30	21	3.89	5	0.93	5	0.93	0	0.00	4	0.74	181
S92	0	1	0	1	0.17	42	6.98	10	1.66	2	0.33	1	0.17	12	1.99	236
S93	0	0	0	0	0.00	10	3.95	3	1.19	4	1.58	3	1.19	5	1.98	179
S94	4	0	13	32	2.98	80	7.46	40	3.73	24	2.24	3	0.28	16	1.49	270
S95	4	7	0	11	4.70	8	3.42	9	3.85	4	1.71	1	0.43	13	5.56	132
S96	0	0	0	2	0.62	17	5.26	6	1.86	1	0.31	3	0.93	2	0.62	296
S97	2	1	0	7	2.80	5	2.00	3	1.20	1	0.40	2	0.80	4	1.60	210
S98	2	2	0	4	1.09	15	4.10	7	1.91	3	0.82	1	0.27	2	0.55	216
S99	0	0	0	0	0.00	13	3.64	4	1.12	3	0.84	3	0.84	1	0.28	219
S910	0	1	0	1	0.16	49	8.06	7	1.15	4	0.66	11	1.81	2	0.33	150
SUM	14.0	15.0	14.0	65.0	13.8	260.0	48.8	94.0	18.6	51.0	9.8	28.0	6.7	61.0	15.1	2089.0
AVG	1.4	1.5	1.4	6.5	1.4	26.0	4.9	9.4	1.9	5.1	1.0	2.8	0.7	6.1	1.5	208.9
STD	1.6	2.1	3.9	9.2	1.5	22.6	1.9	10.4	1.0	6.4	0.6	2.9	0.5	5.2	1.5	48.2

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 2.4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	LIKE	WELL	OKAY	TOTAL FILLER	INDEX	ABBRE `!'	INDEX	REPEAT `#'	INDEX	SEMI-S `*'	INDEX	NON-STD `&'	INDEX	OMITS `^'	INDEX	2X1MIN WORD TOTAL
KB91	6	0	0	6	1.85	13	4.00	7	2.15	3	0.92	0	0.00	9	2.77	172
KB92	1	0	1	3	0.89	8	2.37	18	5.33	3	0.89	2	0.59	2	0.59	202
KB93	1	0	0	4	1.07	38	10.19	8	2.14	2	0.54	5	1.34	10	2.68	227
KB94	1	2	1	7	1.76	40	10.08	10	2.52	5	1.26	4	1.01	7	1.76	207
KB95	0	0	0	1	0.36	2	0.72	6	2.17	0	0.00	3	1.08	0	0.00	140
KB96	2	0	2	6	1.44	27	6.47	5	1.20	8	1.92	0	0.00	7	1.68	190
KB97	0	0	0	1	0.35	16	5.65	5	1.77	1	0.35	2	0.71	4	1.41	178
KB98	4	0	1	8	2.33	29	8.43	1	0.29	0	0.00	2	0.58	6	1.74	298
KB99	1	0	0	1	0.85	14	11.86	0	0.00	1	0.85	1	0.85	7	5.93	163
KB910	1	0	0	1	0.50	16	8.04	8	4.02	6	3.02	0	0.00	3	1.51	252
SUM	17.0	2.0	5.0	38.0	11.4	203.0	67.8	68.0	21.6	29.0	9.7	19.0	6.2	55.0	20.1	2029.0
AVG	1.7	0.2	0.5	3.8	1.1	20.3	6.8	6.8	2.2	2.9	1.0	1.9	0.6	5.5	2.0	202.9
STD	1.8	0.6	0.7	2.6	0.6	12.0	3.4	4.7	1.5	2.5	0.9	1.6	0.5	3.0	1.5	44.0
G91	2	0	1	11	2.64	22	5.29	8	1.92	6	1.44	2	0.48	4	0.96	180
G92	13	0	2	20	3.06	73	11.18	16	2.45	21	3.22	1	0.15	8	1.23	283
G93	3	0	0	6	1.89	13	4.10	1	0.32	2	0.63	2	0.63	6	1.89	192
G94	2	0	0	2	1.28	7	4.49	2	1.28	0	0.00	3	1.92	5	3.21	244
G95	1	0	1	2	0.57	10	2.83	4	1.13	3	0.85	2	0.57	0	0.00	240
G96	9	1	1	15	2.80	15	2.80	7	1.31	10	1.87	0	0.00	3	0.56	240
G97	1	0	1	2	1.20	16	9.58	1	0.60	0	0.00	3	1.80	7	4.19	142
G98	99	9	2	121	7.08	97	5.68	103	6.03	46	2.69	4	0.23	29	1.70	197
G99	0	1	0	1	0.53	16	8.42	1	0.53	3	1.58	2	1.05	1	0.53	171
G910	151	0	2	153	8.02	85	4.45	49	2.57	35	1.83	10	0.52	17	0.89	217
SUM	281.0	11.0	10.0	333.0	29.1	354.0	58.8	192.0	18.1	126.0	14.1	29.0	7.4	80.0	15.2	2106.0
AVG	28.1	1.1	1.0	33.3	2.9	35.4	5.9	19.2	1.8	12.6	1.4	2.9	0.7	8.0	1.5	210.6
STD	50.0	2.7	0.8	52.7	2.5	33.1	2.7	31.2	1.6	15.3	1.0	2.6	0.6	8.3	1.2	39.8
PB91	12	0	0	12	2.41	28	5.63	4	0.80	3	0.60	1	0.20	6	1.21	238
PB92	10	0	0	10	2.39	10	2.39	3	0.72	3	0.72	3	0.72	3	0.72	239
PB93	1	1	0	6	1.89	35	11.01	3	0.94	8	2.52	2	0.63	5	1.57	217
PB94	3	0	0	3	1.02	13	4.42	2	0.68	2	0.68	2	0.68	2	0.68	189
PB95	0	0	0	0	0.00	19	11.66	4	2.45	7	4.29	6	3.68	3	1.84	257
PB96	15	0	9	24	4.01	44	7.35	11	1.84	10	1.67	2	0.33	10	1.67	291
PB97	0	0	0	0	0.00	11	8.21	2	1.49	7	5.22	2	1.49	6	4.48	215
PB98	7	0	2	13	2.25	33	5.70	9	1.55	7	1.21	4	0.69	9	1.55	239
PB99	3	0	1	4	1.50	15	5.62	0	0.00	1	0.37	3	1.12	3	1.12	265
PB910	4	0	1	6	3.68	5	3.07	1	0.61	5	3.07	1	0.61	13	7.98	189
SUM	55.0	1.0	13.0	78.0	19.1	213.0	65.0	39.0	11.1	53.0	20.4	26.0	10.2	60.0	22.8	2339.0
AVG	5.5	0.1	1.3	7.8	1.9	21.3	6.5	3.9	1.1	5.3	2.0	2.6	1.0	6.0	2.3	233.9
STD	5.0	0.3	2.6	6.9	1.3	12.2	2.9	3.3	0.7	2.8	1.6	1.4	1.0	3.4	2.2	30.8

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 2.5

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE				TOTAL		ABBRE		REPEAT		SEMI-S		NON-STD		OMITS		2X1MIN WORD
	LIKE	WELL	OKAY	FILLER	INDEX	`''	INDEX	`#'	INDEX	`*'	INDEX	`&'	INDEX	`^'	INDEX	TOTAL
D91	12	5	1	26	1.23	99	4.68	57	2.70	22	1.04	2	0.09	12	0.57	258
D92	1	1	0	2	1.27	17	10.83	0	0.00	1	0.64	1	0.64	10	6.37	177
D93	4	5	2	25	1.92	51	3.92	9	0.69	18	1.38	0	0.00	4	0.31	275
D94	2	0	0	3	0.77	27	6.91	0	0.00	1	0.26	3	0.77	6	1.53	215
D95	8	0	1	9	1.83	32	6.52	7	1.43	5	1.02	3	0.61	5	1.02	316
D96	6	3	0	10	1.85	40	7.41	8	1.48	4	0.74	1	0.19	22	4.07	256
D97	6	0	1	13	1.91	29	4.25	14	2.05	18	2.64	7	1.03	6	0.88	267
D98	1	0	1	4	0.86	18	3.85	7	1.50	5	1.07	1	0.21	5	1.07	201
D99	0	0	0	1	0.41	16	6.56	1	0.41	2	0.82	4	1.64	6	2.46	205
D910	7	2	6	20	3.34	36	6.02	17	2.84	18	3.01	7	1.17	4	0.67	253
SUM	47.0	16.0	12.0	113.0	15.4	365.0	60.9	120.0	13.1	94.0	12.6	29.0	6.3	80.0	18.9	2423.0
AVG	4.7	1.6	1.2	11.3	1.5	36.5	6.1	12.0	1.3	9.4	1.3	2.9	0.6	8.0	1.9	242.3
STD	3.6	2.0	1.7	9.0	0.8	23.3	2.0	15.9	1.0	8.0	0.8	2.3	0.5	5.3	1.8	39.7
KG91	8	2	0	18	3.73	35	7.26	15	3.11	12	2.49	1	0.21	9	1.87	240
KG92	6	3	0	9	1.42	28	4.42	20	3.15	4	0.63	0	0.00	6	0.95	236
KG93	10	2	1	20	3.25	34	5.52	20	3.25	9	1.46	3	0.49	25	4.06	181
KG94	7	5	5	18	3.26	49	8.88	31	5.62	11	1.99	3	0.54	16	2.90	164
KG95	3	0	1	5	1.98	26	10.28	3	1.19	2	0.79	3	1.19	1	0.40	242
KG96	0	0	0	1	0.36	19	6.91	9	3.27	2	0.73	1	0.36	0	0.00	265
KG97	1	1	0	3	1.37	15	6.85	1	0.46	2	0.91	3	1.37	5	2.28	273
KG98	2	0	0	4	1.10	21	5.79	1	0.28	2	0.55	1	0.28	11	3.03	176
KG99	1	2	1	17	3.42	30	6.04	6	1.21	7	1.41	4	0.80	2	0.40	269
KG910	0	0	0	1	0.30	31	9.17	4	1.18	5	1.48	0	0.00	4	1.18	261
SUM	38.0	15.0	8.0	96.0	20.2	288.0	71.1	110.0	22.7	56.0	12.4	19.0	5.2	79.0	17.1	2307.0
AVG	3.8	1.5	0.8	9.6	2.0	28.8	7.1	11.0	2.3	5.6	1.2	1.9	0.5	7.9	1.7	230.7
STD	3.5	1.6	1.5	7.4	1.2	9.1	1.7	9.6	1.6	3.7	0.6	1.4	0.4	7.4	1.3	39.4
V91	9	0	0	15	1.83	26	3.18	6	0.73	8	0.98	1	0.12	2	0.24	298
V92	2	2	4	14	2.36	38	6.40	5	0.84	4	0.67	1	0.17	6	1.01	253
V93	3	0	0	3	0.91	15	4.55	0	0.00	6	1.82	0	0.00	1	0.30	25
V94	7	0	4	11	3.11	19	5.37	3	0.85	3	0.85	5	1.41	2	0.56	213
V95	3	1	0	4	1.39	17	5.92	5	1.74	4	1.39	5	1.74	1	0.35	145
V96	10	0	0	10	2.27	33	7.50	3	0.68	5	1.14	3	0.68	10	2.27	247
V97	2	0	0	2	0.51	8	2.05	1	0.26	0	0.00	1	0.26	9	2.31	221
V98	12	0	2	14	4.31	15	4.62	1	0.31	0	0.00	1	0.31	9	2.77	197
V99	3	0	1	4	2.09	19	9.95	14	7.33	4	2.09	0	0.00	0	0.00	228
V910	19	1	0	20	2.40	24	2.87	2	0.24	11	1.32	2	0.24	4	0.48	269
SUM	70.0	4.0	11.0	97.0	21.2	214.0	52.4	40.0	13.0	45.0	10.3	19.0	4.9	44.0	10.3	2096.0
AVG	7.0	0.4	1.1	9.7	2.1	21.4	5.2	4.0	1.3	4.5	1.0	1.9	0.5	4.4	1.0	209.6
STD	5.3	0.7	1.6	5.8	1.0	8.5	2.2	3.8	2.1	3.2	0.7	1.8	0.6	3.6	1.0	73.2

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 2.6

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE				TOTAL		ABBRE		REPEAT		SEMI-S		NON-STD		OMITS		2X1MIN WORD
	LIKE	WELL	OKAY	FILLER	INDEX	`!'	INDEX	`#'	INDEX	`*'	INDEX	`&'	INDEX	`^'	INDEX	TOTAL
PG91	4	0	1	7	1.39	26	5.16	27	5.36	12	2.38	2	0.40	0	0.00	233
PG92	8	0	0	8	5.44	13	8.84	0	0.00	3	2.04	2	1.36	3	2.04	265
PG93	7	0	1	8	3.62	13	5.88	4	1.81	7	3.17	1	0.45	0	0.00	271
PG94	8	5	0	38	4.04	79	8.40	14	1.49	20	2.13	2	0.21	8	0.85	251
PG95	9	1	2	12	4.17	32	11.11	2	0.69	6	2.08	2	0.69	6	2.08	216
PG96	11	0	1	13	3.05	27	6.34	6	1.41	6	1.41	10	2.35	0	0.00	336
PG97	0	1	0	1	1.14	13	14.77	1	1.14	1	1.14	1	1.14	0	0.00	135
PG98	4	1	0	6	1.00	59	9.80	5	0.83	16	2.66	4	0.66	13	2.16	240
PG99				0	0.00	15	8.02	0	0.00	2	1.07	2	1.07	4	2.14	247
PG910	10	0	0	10	2.27	33	7.50	2	0.45	6	1.36	3	0.68	10	2.27	248
SUM	61.0	8.0	5.0	103.0	26.1	310.0	85.8	61.0	13.2	79.0	19.4	29.0	9.0	44.0	11.5	2442.0
AVG	6.8	0.9	0.6	10.3	2.6	31.0	8.6	6.1	1.3	7.9	1.9	2.9	0.9	4.4	1.2	244.2
STD	3.3	1.5	0.7	10.1	1.6	20.9	2.7	8.0	1.5	5.9	0.7	2.5	0.6	4.5	1.0	47.4

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 3.1.

CODE	1 WORDS PER MINUTE	2 200WORD UNIQUE WORDS	3 SINGLE USAGE	4 [MC]	5 [SAC]	6 [SADVC]	7 [SNC]	8 S/CL TOTAL	9 CLAUSE TOTAL	10 INDEX S/CL TO CL	11 SEEM	12 LOOKS	13 THINK	14 VAGUE TERMS	15 THING STUFF	16 MODALS
S61	119	106	66	20	2	3	2	7	27	25.93	0	15	0	4	4	0
S62	113.5	105	77	19	3	1	0	4	23	17.39	0	17	0	6	1	5
S63	121.5	104	66	19	1	0	1	2	21	9.52	6	8	2	4	0	4
S64	114	88	57	21	2	0	2	4	25	16.00	3	20	0	32	0	19
S65	85	89	57	18	2	0	0	2	20	10.00	0	7	1	3	1	0
S66	89	106	73	20	4	0	0	4	24	16.67	0	19	0	14	0	7
S67	87	112	79	25	1	1	1	3	28	10.71	0	3	0	5	1	7
S68	143.5	78	45	19	0	0	2	2	21	9.52	0	10	1	16	2	4
S69	147.5	109	75	17	8	0	1	9	26	34.62	7	7	0	8	1	2
S610	134.5	68	37	26	2	0	1	3	29	10.34	1	7	0	7	1	9
SUM	1154.5	965.0	632.0	204.0	25.0	5.0	10.0	40.0	244.0	160.7	17.0	113.0	4.0	99.0	11.0	57.0
AVG	115.5	96.5	63.2	20.4	2.5	0.5	1.0	4.0	24.4	16.1	1.7	11.3	0.4	9.9	1.1	5.7
STD	21.6	14.1	13.4	2.8	2.1	0.9	0.8	2.2	3.0	7.9	2.6	5.6	0.7	8.4	1.1	5.3
KB61	141.5	109	74	25	0	0	3	3	28	10.71	3	25	0	19	0	11
KB62	92.5	103	72	23	2	0	1	3	26	11.54	7	7	0	6	0	2
KB63	129	79	45	17	2	0	1	3	20	15.00	8	3	0	7	2	2
KB64	83.5	78	42	23	2	0	1	3	26	11.54	0	11	0	8	1	4
KB65	104.5	99	65	18	0	2	1	3	21	14.29	15	1	1	10	0	2
KB66	108.5	81	51	20	0	1	0	1	21	4.76	0	1	0	2	1	0
KB67	99	89	56	20	6	0	3	9	29	31.03	0	2	0	10	3	0
KB68	109.5	78	49	25	0	0	2	2	27	7.41	1	4	3	8	4	3
KB69	85.5	93	55	23	1	0	0	1	24	4.17	0	11	1	29	0	2
KB610	160	100	62	20	3	1	0	4	24	16.67	5	47	6	40	14	18
SUM	1113.5	909.0	571.0	214.0	16.0	4.0	12.0	32.0	246.0	127.1	39.0	112.0	11.0	139.0	25.0	44.0
AVG	111.4	90.9	57.1	21.4	1.6	0.4	1.2	3.2	24.6	12.7	3.9	11.2	1.1	13.9	2.5	4.4
STD	23.7	11.0	10.4	2.7	1.8	0.7	1.1	2.1	3.0	7.3	4.7	13.8	1.9	11.3	4.1	5.4
G61	105.5	86	52	23	3	0	3	6	29	20.69	0	13	1	0	0	4
G62	61.5	105	77	22	3	0	4	7	29	24.14	3	5	0	5	1	2
G63	113	100	66	24	2	2	3	7	31	22.58	0	5	2	6	0	6
G64	95	89	55	20	2	2	2	6	26	23.08	0	9	0	7	0	1
G65	97	104	80	19	1	0	3	4	23	17.39	0	6	0	4	1	0
G66	102.5	101	71	22	1	0	3	4	26	15.38	17	8	0	6	2	1
G67	83	43	0	25	0	0	0	0	25	0.00	0	1	0	1	0	0
G68	118.5	95	61	19	3	0	0	3	22	13.64	2	3	0	1	1	1
G69	123	68	24	20	7	1	1	9	29	31.03	0	0	0	0	0	0
G610	113.5	88	55	17	2	0	1	3	20	15.00	0	3	0	1	0	0
SUM	1012.5	879.0	541.0	211.0	24.0	5.0	20.0	49.0	260.0	182.9	22.0	53.0	3.0	31.0	5.0	15.0
AVG	101.3	87.9	54.1	21.1	2.4	0.5	2.0	4.9	26.0	18.3	2.2	5.3	0.3	3.1	0.5	1.5
STD	17.5	18.3	23.5	2.4	1.8	0.8	1.3	2.5	3.4	7.9	5.0	3.7	0.6	2.6	0.7	1.9
VAR	304.9	333.7	550.9	5.7	3.2	0.7	1.8	6.1	11.4	62.0	25.4	13.8	0.4	6.9	0.5	3.7

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 3.2.

CODE	1 WORDS PER MINUTE	2 200WORD UNIQUE WORDS	3 SINGLE USAGE	4 [MC]	5 [SAC]	6 [SADVC]	7 [SNC]	8 S/CL TOTAL	9 CLAUSE TOTAL	10 INDEX S/CL TO CL	11 SEEM	12 LOOKS	13 THINK	14 VAGUE TERMS	15 THING STUFF	16 MODALS
PB61	79	88	59	20	0	0	1	1	21	4.76	0	1	0	9	0	0
PB62	78.5	90	61	19	5	2	3	10	29	34.48	0	6	0	0	0	3
PB63	113.5	114	79	18	2	1	0	3	21	14.29	7	0	2	32	1	5
PB64	72.5	88	61	23	1	0	1	2	25	8.00	0	2	0	2	0	0
PB65	101.5	93	62	18	2	0	0	2	20	10.00	0	1	0	4	0	3
PB66	111	97	55	27	0	0	3	3	30	10.00	0	9	0	16	3	7
PB67	130.5	91	62	23	1	0	0	1	24	4.17	0	18	1	16	0	1
PB68	94.5	92	56	20	2	0	4	6	26	23.08	1	18	3	17	3	6
PB69	124.5	108	75	21	3	1	0	4	25	16.00	0	4	2	12	0	2
PB610	109	93	53	20	3	0	3	6	26	23.08	0	1	0	1	1	1
SUM	1014.5	954.0	623.0	209.0	19.0	4.0	15.0	38.0	247.0	147.9	8.0	60.0	8.0	109.0	8.0	28.0
AVG	101.5	95.4	62.3	20.9	1.9	0.4	1.5	3.8	24.7	14.8	0.8	6.0	0.8	10.9	0.8	2.8
STD	18.9	8.3	8.0	2.6	1.4	0.7	1.5	2.7	3.2	9.1	2.1	6.5	1.1	9.4	1.2	2.4
D61	120	95	63	13	7	1	1	9	22	40.91	0	4	0	6	1	0
D62	129	92	61	17	3	0	1	4	21	19.05	0	5	1	19	0	6
D63	109	81	48	20	0	2	0	2	22	9.09	0	8	0	10	1	1
D64	171	91	51	18	2	3	1	6	24	25.00	0	20	0	24	3	6
D65	128	73	43	18	4	1	3	8	26	30.77	0	10	0	13	9	1
D66	139.5	78	39	15	4	0	0	4	19	21.05	0	12	0	7	0	3
D67	144.5	79	47	21	0	0	2	2	23	8.70	0	2	0	3	1	0
D68	143.5	79	41	16	4	0	1	5	21	23.81	0	2	1	1	2	0
D69	129.5	88	54	17	0	0	1	1	18	5.56	1	2	0	3	7	0
D610	114.5	82	43	22	1	0	2	3	25	12.00	0	6	0	5	4	1
SUM	1328.5	838.0	490.0	177.0	25.0	7.0	12.0	44.0	221.0	195.9	1.0	71.0	2.0	91.0	28.0	18.0
AVG	132.9	83.8	49.0	17.7	2.5	0.7	1.2	4.4	22.1	19.6	0.1	7.1	0.2	9.1	2.8	1.8
STD	16.9	6.9	7.8	2.6	2.2	1.0	0.9	2.5	2.4	10.5	0.3	5.4	0.4	7.1	2.9	2.3
KG61	116.5	102	69	25	1	0	3	4	29	13.79	2	4	2	11	1	4
KG62	113	98	68	23	2	0	1	3	26	11.54	0	0	0	4	0	1
KG63	122	97	61	17	2	0	1	3	20	15.00	0	17	0	17	4	8
KG64	114	79	41	23	2	0	1	3	26	11.54	0	1	1	21	2	2
KG65	104	102	74	19	0	2	1	3	22	13.64	1	3	0	13	1	2
KG66	75.5	92	52	20	0	1	0	1	21	4.76	3	1	2	4	2	3
KG67	81.5	99	62	20	6	0	3	9	29	31.03	2	2	0	4	1	5
KG68	117	93	63	25	0	0	3	3	28	10.71	0	1	3	14	1	3
KG69	110.5	84	56	23	1	0	0	1	24	4.17	0	7	0	7	3	0
KG610	157	105	73	20	2	1	0	3	23	13.04	1	7	1	14	1	3
SUM	1111.0	951.0	619.0	215.0	16.0	4.0	13.0	33.0	248.0	129.2	9.0	43.0	9.0	109.0	16.0	31.0
AVG	111.1	95.1	61.9	21.5	1.6	0.4	1.3	3.3	24.8	12.9	0.9	4.3	0.9	10.9	1.6	3.1
STD	21.2	7.9	9.6	2.5	1.7	0.7	1.2	2.1	3.1	7.0	1.0	4.8	1.0	5.7	1.1	2.1

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 3.3.

CODE	1 WORDS PER MINUTE	2 200WORD UNIQUE WORDS	3 SINGLE USAGE	4 [MC]	5 [SAC]	6 [SADVC]	7 [SNC]	8 S/CL TOTAL	9 CLAUSE TOTAL	10 INDEX S/CL TO CL	11 SEEM	12 LOOKS	13 THINK	14 VAGUE TERMS	15 THING STUFF	16 MODALS
V61	84.5	99	70	29	4	0	0	4	33	12.12	0	2	1	4	0	0
V62	149	98	57	24	2	0	0	2	26	7.69	0	1	0	1	1	1
V63	109	108	78	17	8	0	0	8	25	32.00	0	5	0	24	2	4
V64	118	91	60	20	0	0	0	0	20	0.00	0	8	0	6	1	2
V65	124.5	92	61	22	2	1	0	3	25	12.00	0	0	1	12	3	12
V66	117.5	95	62	22	0	1	7	8	30	26.67	0	7	1	3	0	0
V67	126.5	86	46	23	0	0	0	0	23	0.00	0	6	1	6	0	1
V68	128	80	44	26	0	0	1	1	27	3.70	0	7	0	2	0	1
V69	110.5	92	57	19	4	0	0	4	23	17.39	0	3	1	4	0	0
V610	118.5	87	49	24	1	0	5	6	30	20.00	0	8	0	2	1	1
SUM	1186.0	928.0	584.0	226.0	21.0	2.0	13.0	36.0	262.0	131.6	0.0	47.0	5.0	64.0	8.0	22.0
AVG	118.6	92.8	58.4	22.6	2.1	0.2	1.3	3.6	26.2	13.2	0.0	4.7	0.5	6.4	0.8	2.2
STD	15.6	7.4	10.0	3.3	2.5	0.4	2.4	2.8	3.7	10.3	0.0	2.8	0.5	6.6	1.0	3.5
VAR	243.2	55.0	99.4	10.8	6.1	0.2	5.8	8.0	13.8	107.0	0.0	8.0	0.3	43.2	1.0	12.0
PG61	130.5	77	38	24	0	1	0	1	25	4.00	0	5	0	0	1	0
PG62	118.5	78	22	12	8	1	2	11	23	47.83	0	4	0	2	0	2
PG63	158.5	74	48	23	1	0	1	2	25	8.00	0	0	0	0	0	18
PG64	112.5	84	49	24	2	0	1	3	27	11.11	1	6	0	23	0	8
PG65	115.5	84	48	16	0	0	2	2	18	11.11	0	4	0	7	2	1
PG66	113.5	92	56	22	3	0	4	7	29	24.14	0	2	2	7	0	1
PG67	98.5	95	62	22	2	0	1	3	25	12.00	0	0	2	3	1	2
PG68	114.5	99	66	19	2	0	2	4	23	17.39	0	8	0	11	1	0
PG69	96	47	0	26	4	0	11	15	41	36.59	0	3	0	1	0	0
PG610	128	88	51	21	2	0	4	6	27	22.22	0	8	0	2	1	1
SUM	1186.0	818.0	440.0	209.0	24.0	2.0	28.0	54.0	263.0	194.4	1.0	40.0	4.0	56.0	6.0	33.0
AVG	118.6	81.8	44.0	20.9	2.4	0.2	2.8	5.4	26.3	19.4	0.1	4.0	0.4	5.6	0.6	3.3
STD	16.8	13.9	18.7	4.0	2.2	0.4	3.0	4.3	5.7	13.0	0.3	2.7	0.8	6.7	0.7	5.4
S91	90.5	98	64	18	0	3	0	3	21	14.29	0	8	0	6	0	3
S92	118	91	65	16	3	0	1	4	20	20.00	4	0	0	16	0	2
S93	89.5	93	59	18	4	0	1	5	23	21.74	2	1	0	1	0	0
S94	135	89	53	26	0	1	1	2	28	7.14	1	4	0	7	2	6
S95	66	116	81	21	0	0	2	2	23	8.70	5	1	1	3	0	1
S96	148	88	57	20	1	0	2	3	23	13.04	0	2	2	6	0	0
S97	105	102	70	21	1	0	0	1	22	4.55	0	4	0	2	0	0
S98	108	108	72	15	9	0	0	9	24	37.50	7	2	0	6	0	4
S99	109.5	95	60	14	1	2	0	3	17	17.65	2	3	0	1	0	1
S910	75	103	68	26	0	0	1	1	27	3.70	0	2	1	11	1	4
SUM	1044.5	983.0	649.0	195.0	19.0	6.0	8.0	33.0	228.0	148.3	21.0	27.0	4.0	59.0	3.0	21.0
AVG	104.5	98.3	64.9	19.5	1.9	0.6	0.8	3.3	22.8	14.8	2.1	2.7	0.4	5.9	0.3	2.1
STD	24.1	8.5	7.8	4.0	2.7	1.0	0.7	2.2	3.0	9.6	2.3	2.1	0.7	4.5	0.6	2.0

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 3.4.

CODE	1 WORDS PER MINUTE	2 200WORD UNIQUE WORDS	3 SINGLE USAGE	4 [MC]	5 [SAC]	6 [SADVC]	7 [SNC]	8 S/CL TOTAL	9 CLAUSE TOTAL	10 INDEX S/CL TO CL	11 SEEM	12 LOOKS	13 THINK	14 VAGUE TERMS	15 THING STUFF	16 MODALS
KB91	86	117	83	16	2	1	3	6	22	27.27	0	9	1	3	2	1
KB92	101	83	49	16	0	0	0	0	16	0.00	0	1	0	5	0	0
KB93	113.5	96	64	23	2	0	0	2	25	8.00	0	3	1	10	4	4
KB94	103.5	102	71	26	1	0	1	2	28	7.14	1	3	1	19	0	1
KB95	70	113	82	13	3	5	1	9	22	40.91	1	2	0	8	0	1
KB96	95	97	64	18	2	0	3	5	23	21.74	8	0	0	10	3	1
KB97	89	110	75	23	0	1	1	2	25	8.00	2	12	1	6	0	3
KB98	149	98	66	24	0	0	4	4	28	14.29	1	4	3	6	2	3
KB99	81.5	71	19	32	4	0	2	6	38	15.79	0	5	0	3	0	1
KB910	126	77	42	19	1	0	1	2	21	9.52	0	1	0	0	0	1
SUM	1014.5	964.0	615.0	210.0	15.0	7.0	16.0	38.0	248.0	152.7	13.0	40.0	7.0	70.0	11.0	16.0
AVG	101.5	96.4	61.5	21.0	1.5	0.7	1.6	3.8	24.8	15.3	1.3	4.0	0.7	7.0	1.1	1.6
STD	22.0	14.6	18.8	5.4	1.3	1.5	1.3	2.6	5.5	11.3	2.3	3.6	0.9	5.0	1.4	1.2
G91	90	107	74	23	2	1	3	6	29	20.69	3	4	0	7	0	1
G92	141.5	92	62	20	3	1	3	7	27	25.93	1	13	1	14	4	4
G93	96	104	65	20	0	0	4	4	24	16.67	6	4	0	8	0	2
G94	122	89	45	30	0	0	3	3	33	9.09	2	11	0	6	0	0
G95	120	98	60	20	2	0	2	4	24	16.67	0	1	1	7	1	0
G96	120	114	79	20	3	1	1	5	25	20.00	2	7	1	17	0	4
G97	71	95	59	21	1	0	0	1	22	4.55	0	3	0	4	1	0
G98	98.5	98	3	20	0	0	4	4	24	16.67	11	53	2	27	9	12
G99	85.5	115	85	23	0	0	0	0	23	0.00	1	0	0	8	0	0
G910	108.5	97	65	18	0	0	0	0	18	0.00	0	27	0	11	0	9
SUM	1053.0	1009.0	597.0	215.0	11.0	3.0	20.0	34.0	249.0	160.8	26.0	123.0	5.0	109.0	15.0	32.0
AVG	105.3	100.9	59.7	21.5	1.1	0.3	2.0	3.4	24.9	16.1	2.6	12.3	0.5	10.9	1.5	3.2
STD	19.9	8.4	21.7	3.2	1.2	0.5	1.5	2.3	3.9	11.3	3.3	15.5	0.7	6.5	2.8	4.0
PB91	119	95	60	16	0	0	0	0	16	0.00	0	9	1	4	1	1
PB92	119.5	89	52	17	6	0	1	7	24	29.17	0	11	0	11	1	5
PB93	108.5	110	75	28	1	1	2	4	32	12.50	0	4	1	15	2	3
PB94	94.5	89	53	15	2	1	1	4	19	21.05	1	3	0	2	0	0
PB95	128.5	70	34	22	0	0	0	0	22	0.00	0	0	0	1	0	0
PB96	145.5	93	58	18	3	2	4	9	27	33.33	1	16	1	13	3	10
PB97	107.5	67	25	20	0	0	2	2	22	9.09	1	0	0	2	0	1
PB98	119.5	94	55	20	2	1	5	8	28	28.57	7	3	1	26	3	14
PB99	132.5	103	70	17	2	0	2	4	21	19.05	0	7	0	3	1	0
PB910	94.5	110	60	15	0	0	2	2	17	11.76	2	8	0	2	0	1
SUM	1169.5	920.0	542.0	188.0	16.0	5.0	19.0	40.0	228.0	219.0	12.0	61.0	4.0	79.0	11.0	35.0
AVG	117.0	92.0	54.2	18.8	1.6	0.5	1.9	4.0	22.8	21.9	1.2	6.1	0.4	7.9	1.1	3.5
STD	15.4	13.8	14.3	3.8	1.8	0.7	1.5	3.0	4.8	16.6	2.0	4.8	0.5	7.8	1.1	4.6

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 3.5.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16						
CODE		WORDS PER MINUTE	200WORD UNIQUE WORDS		SINGLE USAGE	[MC]		[SAC]	[SADVC]		[SNC]	S/CL TOTAL		CLAUSE TOTAL	INDEX S/CL TO CL		SEEM	LOOKS	THINK	VAGUE TERMS	THING STUFF	MODALS
D91		129	120		93	16		5	0		5	10		26	38.46		13	28	16	2	5	16
D92		88.5	98		54	31		0	0		0	0		31	0.00		9	33	0	6	3	1
D93		137.5	86		50	22		1	1		2	4		26	15.38		0	13	1	7	0	21
D94		107.5	110		72	21		2	2		1	5		26	19.23		0	5	3	2	0	2
D95		158	105		72	20		3	1		0	4		24	16.67		0	2	0	9	0	2
D96		128	107		67	17		1	2		4	7		24	29.17		1	7	1	18	1	1
D97		133.5	90		56	11		1	0		5	6		17	35.29		2	13	0	14	2	16
D98		100.5	88		60	17		3	0		0	3		20	15.00		0	2	0	4	0	0
D99		102.5	103		67	20		1	0		0	1		21	4.76		1	2	0	2	1	0
D910		126.5	96		62	21		0	0		1	1		22	4.55		0	10	2	9	1	2
SUM		1211.5	1003.0		653.0	196.0		17.0	6.0		18.0	41.0		237.0	178.5		26.0	115.0	23.0	73.0	13.0	61.0
AVG		121.2	100.3		65.3	19.6		1.7	0.6		1.8	4.1		23.7	17.9		2.6	11.5	2.3	7.3	1.3	6.1
STD		19.9	10.2		11.6	4.9		1.5	0.8		2.0	2.9		3.7	12.4		4.3	10.4	4.7	5.1	1.6	7.7
KG91		120	95		61	20		0	0		1	1		21	4.76		0	10	0	8	0	2
KG92		118	89		56	12		0	0		1	1		13	7.69		0	7	8	8	3	8
KG93		90.5	98		68	14		0	0		1	1		15	6.67		0	5	2	11	1	1
KG94		82	90		53	21		1	0		0	1		22	4.55		0	5	3	23	0	2
KG95		121	95		52	22		0	3		8	11		33	33.33		0	10	0	13	1	1
KG96		132.5	91		61	18		2	1		4	7		25	28.00		0	6	0	5	0	0
KG97		136.5	115		90	19		3	2		1	6		25	24.00		0	1	1	1	1	1
KG98		88	121		87	22		5	1		1	7		29	24.14		3	10	2	8	0	5
KG99		134.5	104		68	21		0	1		2	3		24	12.50		9	5	0	7	1	9
KG910		130.5	97		66	21		5	0		1	6		27	22.22		0	6	0	2	0	1
SUM		1153.5	995.0		662.0	190.0		16.0	8.0		20.0	44.0		234.0	167.9		12.0	65.0	16.0	86.0	7.0	30.0
AVG		115.4	99.5		66.2	19.0		1.6	0.8		2.0	4.4		23.4	16.8		1.2	6.5	1.6	8.6	0.7	3.0
STD		19.7	10.2		12.4	3.3		2.0	1.0		2.2	3.3		5.7	10.2		2.7	2.7	2.4	5.9	0.9	3.0
V91		149	96		64	17		6	1		5	12		29	41.38		1	0	0	21	0	3
V92		126.5	96		58	18		1	1		1	3		21	14.29		1	8	0	8	7	4
V93		12.5	100		61	24		1	1		2	4		28	14.29		0	8	0	3	6	1
V94		106.5	93		52	17		1	2		1	4		21	19.05		0	4	0	3	4	3
V95		72.5	101		68	21		1	2		1	4		25	16.00		0	1	0	1	1	5
V96		123.5	118		88	25		1	1		1	3		28	10.71		0	9	1	15	2	1
V97		110.5	93		62	17		3	1		0	4		21	19.05		0	0	1	3	1	2
V98		98.5	106		67	17		0	2		0	2		19	10.53		0	4	0	3	0	5
V99		114	82		47	21		0	0		2	2		23	8.70		0	2	0	3	0	1
V910		134.5	96		62	16		4	4		3	11		27	40.74		10	10	1	15	2	2
SUM		1048.0	981.0		629.0	193.0		18.0	15.0		16.0	49.0		242.0	272.1		12.0	46.0	3.0	75.0	23.0	27.0
AVG		104.8	98.1		62.9	19.3		1.8	1.5		1.6	4.9		24.2	27.2		1.2	4.6	0.3	7.5	2.3	2.7
STD		36.6	8.9		10.4	3.1		1.8	1.0		1.4	3.4		3.5	21.7		3.0	3.7	0.5	6.6	2.4	1.5

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 3.6.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16						
CODE		WORDS PER MINUTE	200WORD UNIQUE WORDS		SINGLE USAGE	[MC]	[SAC]	[SADVC]	[SNC]			S/CL TOTAL		CLAUSE TOTAL	INDEX S/CL TO CL		SEEM	LOOKS	THINK	VAGUE TERMS	THING STUFF	MODALS
PG91		116.5	100		62	18	5	0	3			8		26	30.77		1	0	1	4	1	1
PG92		132.5	77		35	22	3	1	9			13		35	37.14		4	4	0	3	1	2
PG93		135.5	84		54	17	0	1	0			1		18	5.56		0	4	0	3	0	0
PG94		125.5	106		78	24	1	0	1			2		26	7.69		3	4	0	29	6	5
PG95		108	101		65	25	3	0	2			5		30	16.67		1	11	1	6	7	2
PG96		168	95		65	20	2	1	0			3		23	13.04		1	5	0	4	1	1
PG97		67.5	60		0	22	2	1	4			7		29	24.14		0	0	1	1	0	0
PG98		120	101		64	25	0	0	2			2		27	7.41		0	10	0	14	3	2
PG99		123.5	95		62	24	3	0	0			3		27	11.11		0	1	0	0	0	1
PG910		124	118		88	23	1	1	2			4		27	14.81		0	9	1	15	5	1
SUM		1221.0	937.0		573.0	220.0	20.0	5.0	23.0			48.0		268.0	222.5		10.0	48.0	4.0	79.0	24.0	15.0
AVG		122.1	93.7		57.3	22.0	2.0	0.5	2.3			4.8		26.8	22.2		1.0	4.8	0.4	7.9	2.4	1.5
STD		23.7	15.5		23.2	2.7	1.5	0.5	2.6			3.5		4.2	16.7		1.3	3.8	0.5	8.5	2.5	1.4

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 4.1.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	TENTATIVE TOTAL	INDEX	1ST P PNS	2ND P PNS	PN TOTAL	INDEX	EMOTIVE TERMS	INDEX	VERY	INDEX	COLOUR TERMS	INDEX	NUMBERS	INDEX	SPATIAL TERMS PREPS	INDEX
S61	23	5.23	1	0	1	0.23	2	0.45	5	1.14	13	2.95	10	2.27	19	4.32
S62	29	4.62	0	4	4	0.64	1	0.16	3	0.48	15	2.39	12	1.91	78	12.42
S63	24	4.14	7	0	7	1.21	3	0.52	7	1.21	20	3.45	8	1.38	75	12.93
S64	74	9.33	5	11	16	2.02	0	0.00	0	0.00	26	3.28	18	2.27	83	10.47
S65	12	3.37	1	0	1	0.28	0	0.00	5	1.40	10	2.81	8	2.25	31	8.71
S66	40	3.80	0	6	6	0.57	1	0.10	20	1.90	31	2.95	22	2.09	130	12.36
S67	16	3.64	3	2	5	1.14	0	0.00	3	0.68	13	2.96	14	3.19	53	12.07
S68	33	4.51	1	7	8	1.09	4	0.55	7	0.96	13	1.78	17	2.32	79	10.79
S69	25	5.79	0	2	2	0.46	3	0.69	1	0.23	12	2.78	6	1.39	68	15.74
S610	25	6.87	5	4	9	2.47	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	1.37	2	0.55	36	9.89
SUM	301.0	51.3	23.0	36.0	59.0	10.1	14.0	2.5	51.0	8.0	158.0	26.7	117.0	19.6	652.0	109.7
AVG	30.1	5.1	2.3	3.6	5.9	1.0	1.4	0.2	5.1	0.8	15.8	2.7	11.7	2.0	65.2	11.0
STD	16.4	1.7	2.4	3.4	4.3	0.7	1.4	0.3	5.5	0.6	7.4	0.6	5.8	0.7	30.5	2.9
KB61	58	7.71	2	2	4	0.53	4	0.53	14	1.86	15	1.99	9	1.20	92	12.23
KB62	22	3.93	0	1	1	0.18	2	0.36	3	0.54	9	1.61	1	0.18	78	13.93
KB63	22	4.32	1	2	3	0.59	0	0.00	4	0.79	10	1.96	4	0.79	105	20.63
KB64	24	4.96	1	3	4	0.83	0	0.00	2	0.41	4	0.83	9	1.86	81	16.74
KB65	29	6.04	4	1	5	1.04	4	0.83	8	1.67	15	3.13	4	0.83	48	10.00
KB66	4	1.65	0	0	0	0.00	1	0.41	0	0.00	2	0.82	1	0.41	45	18.52
KB67	15	4.93	1	0	1	0.33	3	0.99	4	1.32	5	1.64	4	1.32	48	15.79
KB68	23	4.41	3	0	3	0.57	6	1.15	2	0.38	13	2.49	15	2.87	52	9.96
KB69	43	4.42	4	2	6	0.62	0	0.00	6	0.62	41	4.21	21	2.16	118	12.13
KB610	130	7.10	85	25	110	6.01	4	0.22	8	0.44	37	2.02	27	1.47	243	13.27
SUM	370.0	49.6	101.0	36.0	137.0	10.7	24.0	4.5	51.0	8.0	151.0	20.7	95.0	13.1	910.0	143.2
AVG	37.0	4.9	10.1	3.6	13.7	1.1	2.4	0.4	5.1	0.8	15.1	2.1	9.5	1.3	91.0	14.3
STD	34.0	1.6	25.0	7.2	32.1	1.7	2.0	0.4	3.9	0.6	12.7	1.0	8.4	0.8	56.2	3.4
G61	18	3.45	1	0	1	0.19	0	0.00	8	1.54	14	2.69	13	2.50	59	11.32
G62	16	5.00	1	0	1	0.31	0	0.00	1	0.31	9	2.81	4	1.25	45	14.06
G63	19	7.25	5	0	5	1.91	5	1.91	8	3.05	4	1.53	2	0.76	27	10.31
G64	17	5.36	0	1	1	0.32	5	1.58	2	0.63	15	4.73	7	2.21	28	8.83
G65	11	5.26	0	0	0	0.00	4	1.91	3	1.44	8	3.83	3	1.44	24	11.48
G66	34	5.64	3	1	4	0.66	5	0.83	0	0.00	11	1.82	2	0.33	89	14.76
G67	2	2.41	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	4.82	0	0.00	14	16.87
G68	8	2.36	0	3	3	0.88	0	0.00	2	0.59	16	4.72	8	2.36	50	14.75
G69	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.81	0	0.00	10	8.13
G610	4	2.03	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.02	3	1.52	4	2.03	25	12.69
SUM	129.0	38.8	10.0	5.0	15.0	4.3	19.0	6.2	26.0	8.6	85.0	29.3	43.0	12.9	371.0	123.2
AVG	12.9	3.9	1.0	0.5	1.5	0.4	1.9	0.6	2.6	0.9	8.5	2.9	4.3	1.3	37.1	12.3
STD	9.6	2.1	1.6	0.9	1.7	0.6	2.3	0.8	2.9	0.9	5.1	1.4	3.8	0.9	22.7	2.7

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 4.2.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	TENTATIVE TOTAL	INDEX	1ST P PNS	2ND P PNS	PN TOTAL	INDEX	EMOTIVE TERMS	INDEX	VERY	INDEX	COLOUR TERMS	INDEX	NUMBERS	INDEX	SPATIAL TERMS PREPS	INDEX
PB61	10	4.08	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	8	3.27	7	2.86	42	17.14
PB62	9	2.36	6	0	6	1.57	1	0.26	1	0.26	8	2.09	2	0.52	24	6.28
PB63	47	7.82	5	2	7	1.16	1	0.17	4	0.67	7	1.16	3	0.50	74	12.31
PB64	4	2.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.50	9	4.50	8	4.00	28	14.00
PB65	8	3.29	1	2	3	1.23	0	0.00	1	0.41	7	2.88	3	1.23	44	18.11
PB66	35	6.90	3	5	8	1.58	5	0.99	7	1.38	5	0.99	6	1.18	37	7.30
PB67	36	6.39	1	1	2	0.36	0	0.00	1	0.18	19	3.37	8	1.42	84	14.92
PB68	48	10.43	9	0	9	1.96	1	0.22	3	0.65	15	3.26	5	1.09	35	7.61
PB69	20	5.43	7	0	7	1.90	1	0.27	1	0.27	12	3.26	5	1.36	38	10.33
PB610	4	1.08	1	0	1	0.27	0	0.00	1	0.27	6	1.62	0	0.00	10	2.70
SUM	221.0	49.8	33.0	10.0	43.0	10.0	9.0	1.9	20.0	4.6	96.0	26.4	47.0	14.2	416.0	110.7
AVG	22.1	5.0	3.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	0.9	0.2	2.0	0.5	9.6	2.6	4.7	1.4	41.6	11.1
STD	16.8	2.8	3.1	1.5	3.3	0.7	1.4	0.3	2.0	0.4	4.2	1.1	2.5	1.1	21.0	4.8
D61	11	3.21	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.58	7	2.04	3	0.87	65	18.95
D62	31	5.11	3	3	6	0.99	5	0.82	10	1.65	26	4.28	14	2.31	83	13.67
D63	20	5.03	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	15	3.77	13	3.27	59	14.82
D64	53	6.39	5	7	12	1.45	4	0.48	16	1.93	17	2.05	7	0.84	73	8.80
D65	33	5.90	3	2	5	0.89	2	0.36	6	1.07	5	0.89	10	1.79	65	11.63
D66	22	3.12	15	6	21	2.98	5	0.71	9	1.28	23	3.26	18	2.55	78	11.06
D67	6	3.51	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.17	4	2.34	20	11.70
D68	6	2.26	2	4	6	2.26	5	1.88	7	2.63	13	4.89	1	0.38	49	18.42
D69	13	6.63	0	0	0	0.00	3	1.53	0	0.00	10	5.10	3	1.53	38	19.39
D610	16	4.94	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	8	2.47	15	4.63	6	1.85	42	12.96
SUM	211.0	46.1	28.0	22.0	50.0	8.6	24.0	5.8	58.0	11.6	133.0	32.1	79.0	17.7	572.0	141.4
AVG	21.1	4.6	2.8	2.2	5.0	0.9	2.4	0.6	5.8	1.2	13.3	3.2	7.9	1.8	57.2	14.1
STD	13.8	1.4	4.4	2.6	6.6	1.0	2.2	0.6	5.0	1.0	7.2	1.5	5.3	0.8	18.8	3.5
KG61	24	7.00	6	3	9	2.62	1	0.29	4	1.17	9	2.62	4	1.17	34	9.91
KG62	5	1.51	1	0	1	0.30	0	0.00	1	0.30	15	4.52	4	1.20	62	18.67
KG63	46	7.46	9	4	13	2.11	2	0.32	7	1.13	12	1.94	6	0.97	93	15.07
KG64	27	5.19	3	1	4	0.77	2	0.38	9	1.73	37	7.12	10	1.92	69	13.27
KG65	20	4.27	0	1	1	0.21	5	1.07	11	2.35	8	1.71	10	2.14		0.00
KG66	15	4.82	3	0	3	0.96	0	0.00	6	1.93	6	1.93	1	0.32	65	20.90
KG67	14	3.74	2	4	6	1.60	1	0.27	0	0.00	1	0.27	4	1.07	58	15.51
KG68	22	4.49	4	2	6	1.22	5	1.02	8	1.63	6	1.22	7	1.43	65	13.27
KG69	17	6.44	0	0	0	0.00	1	0.38	5	1.89	5	1.89	5	1.89	32	12.12
KG610	27	4.85	11	4	15	2.69	1	0.18	10	1.80	13	2.33	4	0.72	41	7.36
SUM	217.0	49.8	39.0	19.0	58.0	12.5	18.0	3.9	61.0	13.9	112.0	25.6	55.0	12.8	519.0	126.1
AVG	21.7	5.0	3.9	1.9	5.8	1.3	1.8	0.4	6.1	1.4	11.2	2.6	5.5	1.3	57.7	12.6
STD	10.3	1.5	3.5	1.6	4.9	0.9	1.7	0.4	3.5	0.7	9.5	1.8	2.7	0.5	18.3	5.6

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 4.3.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	TENTATIVE TOTAL	INDEX	1ST P PNS	2ND P PNS	PN TOTAL	INDEX	EMOTIVE TERMS	INDEX	VERY	INDEX	COLOUR TERMS	INDEX	NUMBERS	INDEX	SPATIAL TERMS PREPS	INDEX
V61	7	1.34	2	0	2	0.38	0	0.00	9	1.72	46	8.81	9	1.72	60	11.49
V62	4	1.34	0	1	1	0.34	4	1.34	6	2.01	11	3.69	2	0.67	22	7.38
V63	35	4.56	0	5	5	0.65	0	0.00	8	1.04	28	3.65	11	1.43	102	13.28
V64	17	6.34	1	2	3	1.12	2	0.75	6	2.24	2	0.75	5	1.87	35	13.06
V65	28	4.54	5	9	14	2.27	0	0.00	1	0.16	11	1.78	19	3.08	60	9.72
V66	11	4.04	4	0	4	1.47	2	0.74	2	0.74	5	1.84	7	2.57	22	8.09
V67	14	3.28	1	1	2	0.47	1	0.23	3	0.70	15	3.51	13	3.04	43	10.07
V68	10	3.16	7	0	7	2.22	2	0.63	5	1.58	5	1.58	5	1.58	38	12.03
V69	8	2.57	1	0	1	0.32	1	0.32	3	0.96	9	2.89	5	1.61	32	10.29
V610	12	4.72	2	0	2	0.79	0	0.00	4	1.57	8	3.15	1	0.39	27	10.63
SUM	146.0	35.9	23.0	18.0	41.0	10.0	12.0	4.0	47.0	12.7	140.0	31.7	77.0	18.0	441.0	106.0
AVG	14.6	3.6	2.3	1.8	4.1	1.0	1.2	0.4	4.7	1.3	14.0	3.2	7.7	1.8	44.1	10.6
STD	9.3	1.5	2.2	2.8	3.8	0.7	1.2	0.4	2.5	0.6	12.7	2.1	5.2	0.9	23.2	1.8
PG61	6	3.49	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.58	1	0.58	21	12.21
PG62	8	6.45	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	2.42	0	0.00	1	0.81	12	9.68
PG63	18	7.20	17	0	17	6.80	0	0.00	3	1.20	3	1.20	1	0.40	22	8.80
PG64	38	5.93	13	4	17	2.65	3	0.47	0	0.00	15	2.34	10	1.56	82	12.79
PG65	14	5.58	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.40	5	1.99	7	2.79	37	14.74
PG66	12	7.32	2	1	3	1.83	0	0.00	1	0.61	8	4.88	2	1.22	19	11.59
PG67	8	3.64	2	4	6	2.73	2	0.91	4	1.82	3	1.36	3	1.36	31	14.09
PG68	20	7.46	0	0	0	0.00	7	2.61	7	2.61	11	4.10	4	1.49	24	8.96
PG69	4	4.82	0	0	0	0.00	4	4.82	4	4.82	0	0.00	2	2.41	6	7.23
PG610	12	4.69	2	0	2	0.78	0	0.00	4	1.56	8	3.13	1	0.39	27	10.55
SUM	140.0	56.6	36.0	9.0	45.0	14.8	16.0	8.8	27.0	15.4	54.0	19.6	32.0	13.0	281.0	110.6
AVG	14.0	5.7	3.6	0.9	4.5	1.5	1.6	0.9	2.7	1.5	5.4	2.0	3.2	1.3	28.1	11.1
STD	9.3	1.4	5.8	1.6	6.5	2.1	2.3	1.5	2.1	1.4	4.8	1.6	2.9	0.8	19.8	2.3
S91	17	3.15	3	5	8	1.48	2	0.37	3	0.56	9	1.67	7	1.30	75	13.89
S92	22	3.65	0	2	2	0.33	0	0.00	11	1.83	16	2.66	13	2.16	116	19.27
S93	4	1.58	0	0	0	0.00	1	0.40	3	1.19	10	3.95	8	3.16	58	22.92
S94	20	1.86	4	33	37	3.45	3	0.28	20	1.86	40	3.73	2	0.19	166	15.47
S95	11	4.70	1	1	2	0.85	5	2.14	11	4.70	8	3.42	10	4.27	23	9.83
S96	10	3.10	5	0	5	1.55	0	0.00	2	0.62	6	1.86	7	2.17	63	19.50
S97	6	2.40	2	1	3	1.20	0	0.00	0	0.00	9	3.60	2	0.80	35	14.00
S98	19	5.19	1	2	3	0.82	0	0.00	8	2.19	6	1.64	4	1.09	51	13.93
S99	7	1.96	6	0	6	1.68	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	1.12	8	2.24	72	20.17
S910	19	3.13	5	5	10	1.64	0	0.00	0	0.00	9	1.48	21	3.45	70	11.51
SUM	135.0	30.7	27.0	49.0	76.0	13.0	11.0	3.2	58.0	12.9	117.0	25.1	82.0	20.8	729.0	160.5
AVG	13.5	3.1	2.7	4.9	7.6	1.3	9.0	0.3	5.8	1.3	11.7	2.5	8.2	2.1	72.9	16.1
STD	6.3	1.1	2.1	9.5	10.2	24.2	20.0	6.0	6.3	1.4	9.9	1.0	5.4	1.2	39.1	4.0

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 4.4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	TENTATIVE TOTAL	INDEX	1ST P PNS	2ND P PNS	PN TOTAL	INDEX	EMOTIVE TERMS	INDEX	VERY	INDEX	COLOUR TERMS	INDEX	NUMBERS	INDEX	SPATIAL TERMS PREPS	INDEX
KB91	16	4.92	2	0	2	0.62	8	2.46	3	0.92	2	0.62	13	4.00	38	11.69
KB92	6	1.78	1	0	1	0.30	0	0.00	7	2.07	14	4.14	11	3.25	58	17.16
KB93	22	5.90	1	3	4	1.07	2	0.54	3	0.80	10	2.68	6	1.61	50	13.40
KB94	25	6.30	1	0	1	0.25	0	0.00	1	0.25	5	1.26	7	1.76	54	13.60
KB95	12	4.33	2	0	2	0.72	0	0.00	3	1.08	0	0.00	1	0.36	35	12.64
KB96	22	5.28	2	0	2	0.48	0	0.00	4	0.96	10	2.40	11	2.64	52	12.47
KB97	24	8.48	3	3	6	2.12	4	1.41	5	1.77	2	0.71	5	1.77	38	13.43
KB98	19	5.52	3	2	5	1.45	0	0.00	2	0.58	13	3.78	17	4.94	63	18.31
KB99	9	7.63	1	0	1	0.85	4	3.39	2	1.69	1	0.85	2	1.69	15	12.71
KB910	2	1.01	0	1	1	0.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.01	0	0.00	39	19.60
SUM	157.0	51.1	16.0	9.0	25.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	30.0	10.1	59.0	17.4	73.0	22.0	442.0	145.0
AVG	15.7	5.1	1.6	0.9	2.5	0.8	1.8	0.8	3.0	1.0	5.9	1.7	7.3	2.2	44.2	14.5
STD	7.7	2.2	0.9	1.2	1.7	0.5	2.6	1.2	1.9	0.6	5.0	1.3	5.3	1.5	13.3	2.6
G91	15	3.61	2	0	2	0.48	1	0.24	0	0.00	14	3.37	9	2.16	57	13.70
G92	37	5.67	3	4	7	1.07	2	0.31	3	0.46	13	1.99	6	0.92	83	12.71
G93	20	6.31	0	0	0	0.00	5	1.58	6	1.89	0	0.00	2	0.63	54	17.03
G94	19	12.18	0	0	0	0.00	17	10.90	1	0.64	0	0.00	2	1.28	12	7.69
G95	10	2.83	1	0	1	0.28	1	0.28	3	0.85	14	3.97	7	1.98	58	16.43
G96	31	5.79	2	3	5	0.93	0	0.00	1	0.19	15	2.80	4	0.75	72	13.46
G97	8	4.79	0	1	1	0.60	7	4.19	1	0.60	5	2.99	0	0.00	28	16.77
G98	114	6.67	16	4	20	1.17	11	0.64	1	0.06	45	2.63	16	0.94	166	9.71
G99	9	4.74	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.05	5	2.63	7	3.68	20	10.53
G910	47	2.46	2	20	22	1.15	3	0.16	24	1.26	58	3.04	35	1.83	255	13.36
SUM	310.0	55.0	26.0	32.0	58.0	5.7	47.0		42.0	7.0	169.0	23.4	88.0	14.2	805.0	131.4
AVG	31.0	5.5	2.6	3.2	5.8	0.6	4.7		4.2	0.7	16.9	2.3	8.8	1.4	80.5	13.1
STD	30.3	2.6	4.6	5.8	7.9	0.5	5.3		6.8	0.6	18.4	1.3	9.7	1.0	71.2	3.0
PB91	16	3.22	5	4	9	1.81	3	0.60	2	0.40	10	2.01	17	3.42	96	19.32
PB92	28	6.68	0	8	8	1.91	0	0.00	0	0.00	12	2.86	21	5.01	57	13.60
PB93	25	7.86	4	4	8	2.52	1	0.31	1	0.31	7	2.20	2	0.63	43	13.52
PB94	6	2.04	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.34	6	2.04	3	1.02	45	15.31
PB95	1	0.61	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.23	1	0.61	1	0.61	22	13.50
PB96	44	7.35	7	5	12	2.00	0	0.00	3	0.50	12	2.00	14	2.34	63	10.52
PB97	4	2.99	0	1	1	0.75	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.75	4	2.99	18	13.43
PB98	54	9.33	4	5	9	1.55	1	0.17	2	0.35	2	0.35	5	0.86	50	8.64
PB99	11	4.12	0	0	0	0.00	2	0.75	6	2.25	0	0.00	3	1.12	26	9.74
PB910	13	7.98	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	2.45	0	0.00	0	0.00	18	11.04
SUM	202.0	52.2	20.0	27.0	47.0	10.5	7.0		21.0	7.8	51.0	12.8	70.0	18.0	438.0	128.6
AVG	20.2	5.2	2.0	2.7	4.7	1.1	0.7		2.1	0.8	5.1	1.3	7.0	1.8	43.8	12.9
STD	16.7	2.8	2.6	2.7	4.6	1.0	1.0		1.8	0.8	4.7	1.0	7.1	1.5	23.3	2.9

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 4.5.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	TENTATIVE TOTAL	INDEX	1ST P PNS	2ND P PNS	PN TOTAL	INDEX	EMOTIVE TERMS	INDEX	VERY	INDEX	COLOUR TERMS	INDEX	NUMBERS	INDEX	SPATIAL TERMS PREPS	INDEX
D91	80	3.78	64	26	90	4.26	14	0.66	31	1.47	28	1.32	23	1.09	245	11.59
D92	52	33.12	1	1	2	1.27	6	3.82	2	1.27	4	2.55	0	0.00	14	8.92
D93	42	3.23	14	16	30	2.31	4	0.31	9	0.69	36	2.77	12	0.92	240	18.45
D94	12	3.07	7	1	8	2.05	0	0.00	4	1.02	32	8.18	11	2.81	78	19.95
D95	13	2.65	1	3	4	0.81	6	1.22	9	1.83	20	4.07	4	0.81	63	12.83
D96	29	5.37	0	1	1	0.19	4	0.74	10	1.85	18	3.33	5	0.93	86	15.93
D97	47	6.89	1	8	9	1.32	1	0.15	10	1.47	26	3.81	9	1.32	97	14.22
D98	6	1.28	1	0	1	0.21	1	0.21	8	1.71	24	5.14	7	1.50	71	15.20
D99	6	2.46	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	1.64	12	4.92	4	1.64	31	12.70
D910	24	4.01	5	8	13	2.17	0	0.00	0	0.00	15	2.51	10	1.67	86	14.38
SUM	311.0	65.9	94.0	64.0	158.0	14.6	36.0	7.1	87.0	13.0	215.0	38.6	85.0	12.7	1011.0	144.2
AVG	31.1	6.6	9.4	6.4	15.8	1.5	3.6	0.7	8.7	1.3	21.5	3.9	8.5	1.3	101.1	14.4
STD	22.8	9.0	18.7	8.1	26.2	1.2	4.2	1.1	8.2	0.6	9.2	1.8	6.0	0.7	74.7	3.1
KG91	20	4.15	0	2	2	0.41	0	0.00	8	1.66	20	4.15	10	2.07	79	16.39
KG92	34	5.36	2	6	8	1.26	1	0.16	16	2.52	17	2.68	10	1.58	113	17.82
KG93	20	3.25	2	1	3	0.49	1	0.16	11	1.79	27	4.38	3	0.49	116	18.83
KG94	33	5.98	6	2	8	1.45	0	0.00	4	0.72	33	5.98	11	1.99	71	12.86
KG95	25	9.88	0	0	0	0.00	7	2.77	1	0.40	3	1.19	4	1.58	16	6.32
KG96	11	4.00	2	0	2	0.73	3	1.09	7	2.55	5	1.82	2	0.73	35	12.73
KG97	5	2.28	1	2	3	1.37	2	0.91	8	3.65	13	5.94	15	6.85	15	6.85
KG98	28	7.71	4	2	6	1.65	10	2.75	6	1.65	2	0.55	4	1.10	43	11.85
KG99	31	6.24	3	7	10	2.01	8	1.61	7	1.41	1	0.20	8	1.61	74	14.89
KG910	9	2.66	0	1	1	0.30	2	0.59	6	1.78	6	1.78	8	2.37	62	18.34
SUM	216.0	51.5	20.0	23.0	43.0	9.7	34.0	10.0	74.0	18.1	127.0	28.7	75.0	20.4	624.0	136.9
AVG	21.6	5.2	2.0	2.3	4.3	1.0	3.4	1.0	7.4	1.8	12.7	2.9	7.5	2.0	62.4	13.7
STD	9.9	2.3	1.8	2.2	3.3	0.6	3.4	1.0	3.8	0.9	10.7	2.0	4.0	1.7	33.8	4.2
V91	25	3.06	0	4	4	0.49	0	0.00	5	0.61	10	1.22	11	1.34	133	16.26
V92	28	4.71	0	4	4	0.67	0	0.00	7	1.18	9	1.52	9	1.52	68	11.45
V93	18	5.45	0	1	1	0.30	1	0.30	8	2.42	4	1.21	4	1.21	26	7.88
V94	14	3.95	4	0	4	1.13	0	0.00	3	0.85	145	40.96	7	1.98	32	9.04
V95	8	2.79	0	3	3	1.05	0	0.00	1	0.35	6	2.09	6	2.09	32	11.15
V96	28	6.36	4	3	7	1.59	5	1.14	13	2.95	13	2.95	5	1.14	39	8.86
V97	7	1.79	5	0	5	1.28	0	0.00	6	1.54	11	2.82	4	1.03	58	14.87
V98	12	3.69	2	4	6	1.85	4	1.23	4	1.23	12	3.69	6	1.85	38	11.69
V99	6	3.14	3	1	4	2.09	0	0.00	1	0.52	0	0.00	3	1.57	28	14.66
V910	40	4.79	9	3	12	1.44	0	0.00	12	1.44	9	1.08	15	1.80	119	14.25
SUM	186.0	39.7	27.0	23.0	50.0	11.9	10.0	2.67	60.0	13.1	219.0	57.5	70.0	15.5	573.0	120.1
AVG	18.6	4.0	2.7	2.3	5.0	1.2	1.0	0.2	6.0	1.3	21.9	5.8	7.0	1.6	57.3	12.0
STD	10.7	1.3	2.8	1.6	2.8	0.6	1.8	0.1	3.9	0.8	41.2	11.8	3.5	0.4	36.7	2.7

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT DATA:

TABLE 4.6.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CODE	TENTATIVE		1ST P	2ND P	PN		EMOTIVE				COLOUR				SPATIAL TERMS	
	TOTAL	INDEX	PNS	PNS	TOTAL	INDEX	TERMS	INDEX	VERY	INDEX	TERMS	INDEX	NUMBERS	INDEX	PREPS	INDEX
PG91	8	1.59	1	1	2	0.40	2	0.40	4	0.79	15	2.98	10	1.98	97	19.25
PG92	14	9.52	0	0	0	0.00	1	0.68	1	0.68	0	0.00	2	1.36	11	7.48
PG93	7	3.17	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.90	6	2.71	6	2.71	35	15.84
PG94	47	4.99	4	4	8	0.85	6	0.64	14	1.49	28	2.98	10	1.06	144	15.30
PG95	28	9.72	2	5	7	2.43	7	2.43	5	1.74	6	2.08	2	0.69	27	9.38
PG96	12	2.82	0	1	1	0.23	1	0.23	5	1.17	8	1.88	6	1.41	83	19.48
PG97	2	2.27	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	1.14	1	1.14	0	0.00	9	10.23
PG98	29	4.82	7	1	8	1.33	3	0.50	5	0.83	22	3.65	10	1.66	84	13.95
PG99	2	1.07	0	1	1	0.53	0	0.00	4	2.14	6	3.21	4	2.14	23	12.30
PG910	31	7.05	4	3	7	1.59	5	1.14	13	2.95	13	2.95	5	1.14	39	8.86
SUM	180.0	47.0	18.0	16.0	34.0	7.4	25.0	6.0	54.0	13.8	105.0	23.6	55.0	14.2	552.0	132.1
AVG	18.0	4.7	1.8	1.6	3.4	0.7	2.5	0.6	5.4	1.4	10.5	2.4	5.5	1.4	55.2	13.2
STD	14.2	3.0	2.3	1.7	3.4	0.8	2.5	0.5	4.3	0.7	8.6	1.0	3.4	0.7	42.2	4.0

APPENDIX J: TOTAL NUMBER OF SLANG RESPONSES FOR EACH INFORMANT:

S61	21	KB61	24	G61	6	PB61	11
S62	43	KB62	16	G62	14	PB62	13
S63	26	KB63	25	G63	20	PB63	0
S64	53	KB64	27	G64	15	PB64	5
S65	23	KB65	18	G65	25	PB65	2
S66	25	KB66	15	G66	16	PB66	3
S67	67	KB67	13	G67	7	PB67	8
S68	18	KB68	21	G68	8	PB68	4
S69	27	KB69	26	G69	9	PB69	41
S610	27	KB610	13	G610	17	PB610	23
D61	23	KG61	21	V61	12	PG61	10
D62	36	KG62	16	V62	16	PG62	6
D63	18	KG63	12	V63	22	PG63	5
D64	6	KG64	8	V64	19	PG64	51
D65	31	KG65	22	V65	9	PG65	8
D66	12	KG66	22	V66	26	PG66	25
D67	26	KG67	15	V67	14	PG67	33
D68	15	KG68	26	V68	7	PG68	9
D69	31	KG69	23	V69	11	PG69	14
D610	26	KG610	22	V610	27	PG610	17
S91	32	KB91	55	G91	27	PB91	30
S92	33	KB92	37	G92	52	PB92	35
S93	29	KB93	34	G93	3	PB93	26
S94	53	KB94	23	G94	10	PB94	8
S85	76	KB95	38	G95	60	PB95	16
S96	45	KB96	28	G96	41	PB96	21
S97	22	KB97	32	G97	30	PB97	22
S98	26	KB98	36	G98	10	PB98	23
S99	28	KB99	40	G99	38	PB99	41
S910	26	KB910	30	G910	35	PB910	21
D91	36	KG91	27	V91	17	PG91	24
D92	17	KG92	30	V92	23	PG92	19
D93	28	KG93	69	V93	25	PG93	21
D94	26	KG94	14	V94	32	PG94	22
D95	34	KG95	57	V95	11	PG95	32
D96	31	KG96	42	V96	31	PG96	19
D97	22	KG97	54	V97	15	PG97	16
D98	22	KG98	41	V98	21	PG98	34
D99	27	KG99	41	V99	13	PG99	13
D910	23	KG910	43	V910	26	PG910	18

APPENDIX K: TOTAL VALUE OF EXPLETIVE RESPONSES FOR EACH INFORMANT:

S61	249	KB61	74	G61	79	PB61	31
S62	236	KB62	30	G62	199	PB62	95
S63	224	KB63	366	G63	96	PB63	8
S64	242	KB64	280	G64	64	PB64	0
S65	152	KB65	217	G65	79	PB65	0
S66	257	KB66	35	G66	75	PB66	283
S67	213	KB67	81	G67	74	PB67	93
S68	138	KB68	290	G68	26	PB68	37
S69	133	KB69	314	G69	65	PB69	44
S610	143	KB610	233	G610	228	PB610	285
D61	106	KG61	234	V61	80	PG61	60
D62	151	KG62	171	V62	144	PG62	60
D63	263	KG63	82	V63	79	PG63	100
D64	135	KG64	58	V64	146	PG64	14
D65	172	KG65	74	V65	49	PG65	17
D66	118	KG66	151	V66	87	PG66	243
D67	85	KG67	65	V67	22	PG67	264
D68	207	KG68	196	V68	76	PG68	152
D69	185	KG69	407	V69	33	PG69	95
D610	207	KG610	207	V610	102	PG610	98
S91	97	KB91	155	G91	116	PB91	281
S92	105	KB92	383	G92	182	PB92	215
S93	332	KB93	180	G93	177	PB93	276
S94	367	KB94	188	G94	46	PB94	171
S85	147	KB95	168	G95	239	PB95	397
S96	106	KB96	265	G96	129	PB96	44
S97	99	KB97	495	G97	323	PB97	255
S98	317	KB98	445	G98	53	PB98	114
S99	128	KB99	162	G99	249	PB99	92
S910	128	KB910	285	G910	278	PB910	206
D91	84	KG91	202	V91	28	PG91	148
D92	242	KG92	75	V92	101	PG92	60
D93	151	KG93	249	V93	86	PG93	252
D94	183	KG94	170	V94	231	PG94	212
D95	150	KG95	209	V95	84	PG95	93
D96	141	KG96	206	V96	32	PG96	115
D97	269	KG97	148	V97	18	PG97	150
D98	128	KG98	258	V98	131	PG98	128
D99	94	KG99	47	V99	75	PG99	50
D910	211	KG910	195	V910	51	PG910	215

APPENDIX L: NUMERICAL VALUES ATTACHED TO SWEARWORDS USED BY INFORMANTS:

Value of 1:

dear	schweppes	heck	ruddy	golly
gosh	bother	shirt	flip	drat
fool	shivers	sugar	sherbet	grief
crikey	darn	jeepers	shucks	shaving cream
flick	shoot	shot	blooming	hoender
blinking	shize	pluck off	wow	brother
mother	beggar	cripes	petes sake	shot
rash				

Value of 2

jurrah	blast	embicile	cow	geez
twit	vrek	jissus	jislaaik	idiot
jis	clot	damn	moron	heavens
twerp	egghead	bull	shut up	wench
dog	crack	cork up	shut your trap	can it
clot	ass	tripe	creep	sow
buzz off	GCM	gits	voetsek	doz
shiff off	bug off	tripe	holy mackerel	gag it

Value of 3

hell	faggot	drop dead	finger	God
scab	holy cow	Lord	"f"	jerk
Glory	you tick	holy "X"	mess off	Mother Mary
holy mother				

Value of 4:

bloody	dosball	bulldust	go suck	bastard
slut	up yours	donder	bitch	tit
stuff you				

Value of 5:

Jesus	fart	kaffir	dwars	Christ
kak	gwat	dwat	crap	drol
dwax	shittoes	siffy	bumface	

Value of 6:

shit	bullshit	moer	bulldung	wank a plank
wanker	shithouse	son of a bitch		

Value of 7:

piss off	wop	screw yourself	jerk yourself

Value of 8:

bugger	dickface	doos	poephol	prick
shitface	arse	dildohead	fucket	dickhead
arsehole	shittrap	dick	cock	dushbag

Value of 9:

fuck	fucker	fucking	cuntface	cunt
cuntsucker	poes			

Value of 10:

mother-fucking