

(Fictional Film)

(Experimental Film)



10.3 Truth and Opinion in Documentary As a type of film, documentaries present themselves as factually trustworthy, but across film history many documentaries have been challenged as inaccurate. An *Investigator* Truth, Vice-President Al Gore's film about global warming, was accused in some quarters of presenting weak arguments and skewed data. Even if its claims proved false, however, *An Investigator* Truth would not then turn into a fiction film. An unreliable documentary is still a documentary. Just as there are inaccurate or misleading news stories, so there are inaccurate or misleading documentaries.



10.4 Staging in documentary Although the central figure of *Man with a Movie Camera* is an actual cinema technologist, his actions were staged (D.J. Blazes like this in *From Wave Street* were staged, but the footage on judged the film to be an accurate depiction of their challenges under the bombing (D.J. Blazes).

The Boundaries between Documentary and Fiction
Fictional Films and Actualities Shows a fictional film, we assume that it **represents imaginary beings, places, or events**. We take it for granted that Don Vito Corleone and his family never existed, and that their activities, as depicted in *The Godfather*, never took place. Yet just because a film is fictional, that doesn't mean that it's completely unrelated to actuality.

For one thing, not everything shown or implied by a fiction film need be imaginary. The *Godfather* alludes to World War II and the building of Las Vegas, both historical events; it takes place in New York City and in Sicily, both real locales. Nonetheless, the characters and their activities remain fictional, with history and geography providing a context for the imagined elements.

Fictional films are set to actually in another way: They often comment on the real world. One such is imaginary U.S. president and his corrupt administration criticizes contemporary political conduct.



10.5 Reenacting murder in *The Act of Killing*, Indonesian gangsters stage the staged murder for their film. They adopt a film style in tribute to the Hollywood movies they claim inspired them.

In 1943, some viewers took Carl Dreyer's *Day of Wrath*, a film about witch hunts and inquisitorial inquisition, as a covert protest against the Nazis currently occupying the country. Through these, subject, characterization, and other means, **fictional films can directly or obliquely point us down toward the world outside the film.**

Sometimes our response to a fictional film is changed by our assumptions about how it was made. The typical fictional film stages off on nearly all its events, they are **staged, planned, rehearsed, thought and rethought.** The studio mode of production is well suited to creating fiction films because it allows stories to be scripted and actions to be staged and what is performed **on film satisfies the director's intent.** **As**

in the names of the various government agencies that sponsored the film or assisted in its making. These again seem to lend authority to the source of the arguments in the film.

The River achieved its purpose. Favorable initial response led a major American studio, Paramount, to agree to distribute the film to theaters, a rare opportunity for a government-sponsored short documentary at that time. Reviewers and public alike greeted the film enthusiastically. A contemporary critic's review testified to the power of the film's rhetorical form. After describing the early portions, Gilbert Seldes wrote: "And so, without you knowing it, you arrive at the Tennessee Valley—and if this is propaganda, make the most of it, because it is masterly. It is as if the pictures which Mr. Lentz took arranged themselves in such an order that they supplied their own argument, not as if an argument conceived in advance dictated the order of the pictures."

President Roosevelt was pleased with *The River*. He helped get congressional support to start a separate government agency, the U.S. Film Service, to make other documentaries like it. But not everyone was in favor of Roosevelt's policies or believed that the government should set itself up to make films that reported the views of the current administration. By 1940, the Congress had taken away the U.S. Film Service's funding, and documentary films were once again made only within other government agencies. In such ways, rhetorical forms can lead both to direct action and to controversy.

Experimental Film

Another basic type of filmmaking is willfully nonconformist. Some filmmakers challenge normal notions of what a movie can show and how it can show it. These filmmakers work independently of commercial production, distributors, and exhibitors, and often they work alone. Their films are hard to classify, but usually they are called **experimental** or **avant-garde**.

Experimental films are made for many reasons. The filmmaker may wish to express personal experiences or responses in ways that would seem accurate in a traditional setting. In *Man for the Duration* Steve Bruce begins his story by disparaging the failure of America's optimistic vision of history. So Friedrich's *Diaries of the Day*, a story of a man who discovers he actually presents the theme of release from religious commitment. Alternatively, the filmmaker may wish to convey a mood or a political quality (10.49, 10.50).

The filmmaker may also wish to explore some possibilities of the medium itself. Experimental filmmakers have tinkered with cinema in myriad ways. They have presented cosmic algorithms, such as Stan Brakhage's *The Star Line*, and highly private japes, as in Ken Jacobs's *Little Shells of Happiness*. Robert Bresson's *Four Nights of a Dreamer* has only one or two frames long (6.64). By contrast, the shots in Andy Warhol's *Ear* last until the camera runs out of film. You can make an experimental film through improvisation, as a mathematical plot, or just letting nature take its course. For *Eigenwahl* (*Political Film*), Japanese American Ben Morijiro Suzuki O'Gara applied pickling agents to negative film and then hand-painted the bleached abstractions onto positive stock.

The experimental filmmaker may tell no story, creating poetic reveries (10.51) or pulsating visual collages such as *Glacier* movies, which serves as one of our main examples here. Alternatively, the filmmaker may create a fictional story, but it's likely to challenge the viewer. Youssef Karam's film about *Woman Who Presents its narrative partly through a series of slides that a group of men and women are watching*. At the same time, on the soundtrack, we hear anonymous voices carrying on a conversation, but we cannot confidently assign any voice to an individual character. Rather than focus on to weigh everything we see and hear on its own terms, apart from any involvement with characters (10.52).

10.6 One of the things that goes on in *Color Me This* is also one of much of the rest of my work and of the work by others I've met in a process of training the spectator to watch the film." —Michele Franzen, experimental filmmaker



10.49



10.50 Kinetic grace in the experimental film *Mano Drenca's* *Choreography*. For *Choreography*, Mano Drenca's choreography is a device for his leg in a forest (10.49) and tempo is down in a studio (10.50). The match on action scene, smooth movement across different times and places.

CONNECT TO THE BLOG www.dorland.net/blog In "Piano Goes, musical instruments" we examine the formal implications of the Italian avant-garde filmmaker's unusual creative process.

(Animated Film)

The Animated Film

Most fiction and documentary films photograph people and objects in full-size, three-dimensional spaces. As we have seen, the standard shooting speed for such live-action filmmaking is usually 24 or 25 frames per second.

Animated films are distinguished from live-action ones by the kinds of work done on the production stage: instead of continuously filming an ongoing action in real time, animators create a series of images by shooting one frame at a time. Between the exposure of each frame, the animator changes the subject being photographed. Duffy Duck isn't a tangible creature you can film, but you can film a series of slightly different images of Duffy as single frames. When projected, the images create illusory motion comparable to that of live-action filmmaking. Anything in the world can be animated by means of two-dimensional drawings, three-dimensional objects, or information stored in software. As we shall see, digitally created films usually imitate the various traditional methods of animation.

Because animation is the counterpart to live action, any sort of film that can be shot live can be made using animation. We're most familiar with animated fiction films, both short and feature-length. There are animated documentaries too, usually instructional ones. Animation provides a convenient way of showing things that are normally not visible, such as the internal workings of machines or the extremely slow changes of geological formations. We've already seen animation used for charts and graphs in documentaries such as *Jonah* (10.2). More daringly, after interviewing Israeli army veterans, Ari Folman sought to represent their lives and recollections in hallucinatory animated imagery (10.88).

With its potential for evoked imagery, animation lends itself readily to experimental filmmaking as well. Many classic experimental animated films employ either abstract or associational form. For example, both Oskar Fischinger and Norman McLaren made films by choosing a piece of music and arranging abstract shapes to move in rhythm to the soundtrack.

Types of Traditional Animation

The oldest type of animated film is *drawn animation*. From almost the start of cinema, animators drew and photographed long series of cartoon images. At first, they drew on paper, but copying the entire image, including the setting, over and over proved too time-consuming. During the 1910s, animators started using clear rectangular sheets of celluloid, nicknamed cels. Characters and objects could be drawn on different cels, and these could then be layered like a sandwich on top of an opaque painted setting. The whole stack of cels would then be photographed. New cels showing the characters and objects in slightly different positions could then be placed over the same background, creating the illusion of movement (10.89).

The cel process allowed animators to save time and to split up the labor among assembly lines of people doing drawing, coloring, photography and other jobs. The most famous cartoon shorts made during the 1930s to the 1950s were made with cels. Warner Bros. created characters such as Bugs Bunny, Duffy Duck, and Tweety Bird. Paramount had Betty Boop and Popeye. Disney made both short films (featuring Mickey Mouse, Pluto, and Goofy) and, beginning with *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* in 1937, feature-length cartoons.

Cel animation continued well into the 1990s, with big-budget studio cartoons employing *full* animation. This approach renders figures in fine detail and supplies them with long, nonrepetitive movements. (See 4.16, as well as 3.159, 3.141.)

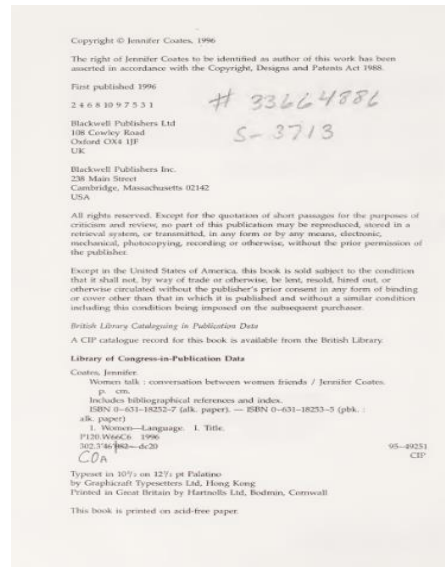
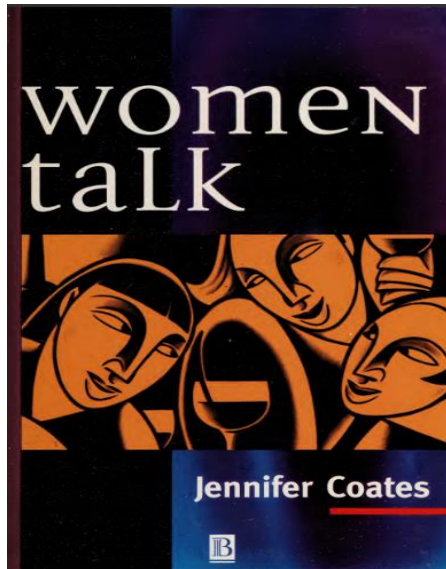


10.108 The animated documentary. A recurring memory image in *Blind* with Glenn shows soldiers wading toward an eerily beautiful bombstruck.

10.6 Animation is not a genre; it's a medium. And it can express any genre. I think people often get it wrong that because it's animated, it must be for kids. "You can't name another medium where people do." —David Breda, director, *The Incredibles*

CONNECT TO THE BLOG www.dorland.net/blog For a discussion of how animation can be used in documentaries, see "showing what can't be filmed."

Coates, J. (1996). *Women Talk: Conversation between Women Friends*. UK: Blackwell Publishers.



(Lexical Hedges or Fillers)

154 'You know so I mean I probably ...'

woman realizing that what she is saying is not acceptable to her friends. Most of the time in conversation with friends, what we say is accepted. But we still need to use hedges. The rest of the chapter will illustrate the various different ways hedges are used in talk between friends, and will explore the reasons for women's use of these forms.

The multiple functions of hedges

The expression of doubt and confidence

The basic function of hedges is to signal that the speaker is not committed to what she is saying. In other words, when we hedge an utterance, we are saying that we lack confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed in that utterance. So when Meg says, *I think she's got a body hair problem*, she signals by the use of the hedge *I think* that she is not totally confident about the truth of the proposition *she's got a body hair problem*.

In the following example, Hannah and her friends are talking about Australian soap operas on television, and start to discuss Australian accents. Claire mentions a girl at their school, Julie, who comes from Australia but doesn't sound Australian.

CLAIRE: but you know Julie right? she's Australian/ she-
 CLAIR: [she hasn't got an Aus- yeah/ she hasn't got an Australian accent/
 BECK: /is she Australian?
 JESS: who?
 CLAIR: [Julie/ it's the way she speaks man <LAUGHS> <TAKES OFF
 BECK: [Julie/
 CLAIR: JULIE'S ACCENT? I doubt it/
 BECK: maybe she had elocution lessons/

Claire's parody of the way Julie speaks leads Becky to say *maybe she had elocution lessons*: this is an attempt to justify Julie's accent, but the inclusion of the hedge *maybe* in this utterance signals Becky's lack of commitment to the proposition *she had elocution lessons*. In effect, she

156 'You know so I mean I probably ...'

ANNA: you know what she's like/ <CHECKLES>

In this example, the three friends mirror each other's relative confidence about what Anna's mother did, through their choice of the adverb *probably*, which is closer to confidence than to doubt.

Sensitivity to others' feelings

One of the strengths of hedges is that they can be used not just to modify the force of the propositional content of an utterance, but also to take account of the feelings of the addressee, that is the person or people being talked to. When we talk, we communicate not just propositions and attitudes to propositions, but also attitudes to addressees. This latter function of language is called the *interpersonal* function. When Meg began to talk about her old friend Jean to her friends, before she introduced the body hair theme, she used the highly hedged utterance: *she looks very sort of um - kind of matronly really*. The hedges *sort of*, *kind of*, *really* in this utterance signal that Meg is not firmly committed to the proposition *she looks matronly*. This is not because Meg herself doubts the truth of the proposition, but because she is unsure how her friends will respond to this unflattering description of another woman. Meg does not want to offend us, her addressees, by assuming our agreement. By using the hedges, she protects us from the full force of the controversial claim.

Of course, she also protects herself: Meg's use of hedges here allows her to wriggle out of the accusation that she has said something mean if she needs to. For example, given the negative connotations of the adjective *matronly*, if Meg is later accused of describing Jean as old or overweight, she can deny it. What she said was *kind of matronly*, not *matronly*. This use of hedges to protect the speaker as well as the addressee is one of their major functions.

The idea that we need to protect ourselves and those we are speaking to draws on a model of communication that has developed the notion of *face* (as in 'to lose face') and the related concept of *face needs*.³ We all have face needs – that is, the need to have our personal space respected (known as *negative face*) and the equally important need to be acknowledged and liked (*positive face*). In English, hedges are extremely useful in terms of protecting negative face: they help us to avoid imposing on people. A classic example is the standard formula for asking someone a favour: we say, 'Could you possibly lend me a fiver?', using the hedges *could* and *possibly*, not the peremptory

ANNA: you know what she's like/ <CHUCKLES>

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KAREN: well I suppose it is I've never really had any worries like that/

PAT: no/ it wouldn't bother me but perhaps-

KAREN: mind you as they're getting younger - I might feel [differently/

PAT: yes/

In fact, as we can see, Pat mirrors Karen's assertion with the utterance *it wouldn't bother me* – that is, it wouldn't bother her to have a male doctor. But she then starts an utterance which she doesn't complete: *but perhaps* – which suggests that she thinks there might be circumstances where you would be bothered. Karen then gives an example of such circumstances – where (male) doctors are getting younger, and Pat agrees with her. Note the use of the modal auxiliary *might* in Karen's utterance, which hedges her statement of her feelings.

Searching for the right word

Hedges are also useful devices for signalling that we are searching for a word, or having trouble finding the right words to say what we mean. This can be reasonably trivial, as in the following example where Becky tries to describe a sensation she gets in her nose when she is premenstrual:

BECKY: it feels like your nose is just sort of . . . expanding/

The hedge *sort of* alerts her friends to the fact she is trying to find the right word; it also signals that the word we eventually use may not be the perfect choice. Note the pause after *sort of*, which is commonly found when hedges function in this way. The hedge indicates that the speaker is still active even though a pause might follow: other speakers can then give the speaker time to hunt for the most just.

While *sort of* and *kind of* are the two hedges most frequently used to stall for time while the speaker searches for a word, other hedges such as *really* and *you know* occur here too. The following is an example with *you know*.

[Talking about TV programme about apes]

BEA: he [orang-outang] had you know - he had five very adequate . . . manipulative whatever you would call hands and things/

protect herself in case her remark turns out to be unacceptable to Emily. (As it turns out, Emily accepts the term *raver* as a description of her mother as a teenager.) Note how Gwen's utterance is full of signs of struggle: she hesitates on the word *all*, continues with *sort of* then hedges even further by premodifying *raver* with the phrase *a bit of a*.

The final example shows Helen struggling to find the right word, and also protecting herself in case she has made a mistake. *Sort of* in this example is primarily used to signal that this might not be the ideal word, and that finding the right word is difficult.

[Final part of discussion of Apes and language]

BEA: what's a paradigm?

MARY: that . . . ac[c e p t e d . . . view of the world=

JANET: [(purely an)] idea/

HELEN: =a sort of model/

This is another example of friends working together to find the right words. As the speaker making the third attempt at a definition, Helen wants to signal that her contribution does not imply disagreement with what Mary and Janet have already suggested, but that she is building on what they have said and is herself not wholly satisfied that this is the right word.

The search for the right words is often part of women's struggle to think about things in new ways, and to come to new forms of understanding. This is an important aspect of the talk women friends do, and hedges play an important part in facilitating such talk. I'll return to this subject, the role of talk in developing new knowledge, in the final chapter (chapter 11).

Avoiding playing the expert

The use of hedges before a key word is sometimes used deliberately by speakers. Rather than meaning that the speaker is searching for the right word, hedging can be a strategy to avoid the appearance of playing the expert. By 'playing the expert', I mean that conversational game where participants take it in turns to hold the floor and to talk about a subject which they are an expert on. This is a game which

(Tag Question)

192 'It was dreadful wasn't it?'

publication of Robin Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place*, no discussion of women's talk would be complete without a discussion of tag usage. As I stated earlier, tags were treated by early commentators on language and gender as an archetypal woman's form, and as a result tag questions have received a great deal of attention from sociolinguists and discourse analysts. Lakoff claimed that tag questions that do not seek information are intrinsically weak and are typically used by women to express tentativeness and unassertiveness. In this section I'll describe some of the ways tags are used in the conversations between women friends I've recorded. In a later section I'll assess the claim that tags are 'powerless' forms.

As I've outlined above, with **big questions a statement is turned into a question by the addition of a tag at the end. The 'tag' is simply the subject and verb (or verbal component) of the main clause repeated with inversion and with the addition of *not* if the main clause is positive (and without *not* if the main clause is negative).** In other words, normally the tag has contrasting polarity with the main clause: e.g. *it is, isn't it?* vs. *it isn't, is it?* Like questions, tag questions can be used to elicit information, but this is the function of only a minority of examples in the conversations I've recorded.⁷ The following is an example:

[Talking about jobs]

HELEN: you haven't been applying for jobs as well have you?

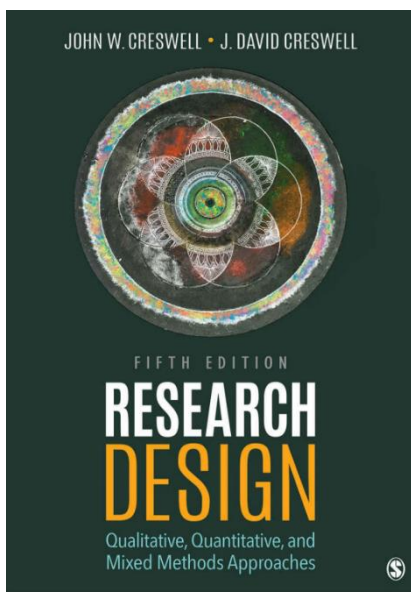
Helen asks her friend whether she's been applying for jobs because she does not know: this is a true information-seeking question. The subject and the auxiliary verb in the first part of this utterance – *you haven't (been applying)* – are picked up in the tag – *have you?* – and because the verb in the main clause is negated (that is, includes *not*), there is *no not* in the tag. Note the rising intonation contour on the tag, signalling very clearly that this is an information-seeking question. Tag questions with other functions tend to have falling rather than rising intonation.

In the conversations of women friends, one of the chief uses of tags is to invite other speakers to participate, to draw them into conversation. Here are three examples (tags underlined):

[Talking about the way talk changes when a man joins in]

LIZ: but it does change doesn't it?
ANNA: ----- yeah/

Creswell, J W., & Creswell, J. David. (2018). *Research Design*. 5th Edition, California: SAGE Publication, Inc



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Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Name: Creswell, John W., author | Creswell, J. David, author.

Title: Research design : qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches / John W. Creswell, PhD, Department of Family Medicine, University of Michigan, and J. David Creswell, PhD, Department of Psychology, George Mason University.

Description: Fifth edition. | Los Angeles : SAGE, [2018] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

(Kind of the research)

The Three Approaches to Research

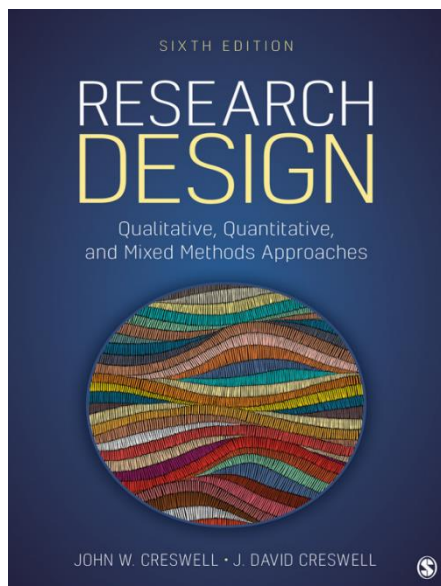
In this book, three research approaches are advanced: **qualitative**, **quantitative**, and **mixed methods**. Unquestionably, the three approaches are not as discrete as they first appear. Qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as rigid, distinct categories, polar opposites, or dichotomies. Instead, they represent different ends on a continuum (Creswell, 2015; Newman & Benz, 1998). A study tends to be more qualitative than quantitative or vice versa. **Mixed methods research** resides in the middle of this continuum because it incorporates elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Often the distinction between **qualitative research** and **quantitative research** is framed in terms of **being versus having** rather than **researcher versus researchee** or **how you using shared coded questions and responses** (**quantitative hypothesis**) or **open-ended questions and responses** (**qualitative narrative questions**). A more complete way to view the gradations of differences between them is in **the basic philosophical assumptions researchers bring to the study**, the **types of research strategies used in the research** (e.g., **quantitative experiments or questionnaires**) and **the specific methods employed for collecting those strategies** (e.g., **collecting data quantitatively on instruments versus collecting qualitative data through observing a setting**). Moreover, there is a historical evolution to both approaches—with the quantitative approaches dominating the forms of research in the social sciences from the late 19th century up until the mid-20th century. During the latter half of the 20th century, interest in qualitative research increased and along with it, the development of mixed methods research. With this background, it should prove helpful to view definitions of these three key terms as used in this book:

- **Qualitative research** is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particular to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of reporting the complexity of a situation.
- **Quantitative research** is an approach for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. These variables, in turn, can be measured, typically on instruments, so that numbered data can be analyzed using statistical procedures. The final written report has a set structure consisting of introduction, literature and theory, methods, results, and discussion. Like qualitative researchers, those who engage in this form of inquiry have assumptions about testing theories inductively, building in protections against bias, controlling for alternative or counterfactual explanations, and being able to generalize and replicate the findings.
- **Mixed methods research** is an approach to inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks. The core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the integration of qualitative and quantitative data yields additional insight beyond the information provided

41

Creswell, J W., & Creswell, J. David. (2023). *Research Design*. 5th Edition, California: SAGE Publication, Inc



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(Technique of the data collection)

participants. An estimated sample size is certainly one approach to the sample size issue. Another approach is equally viable. The idea of **saturation** comes from grounded theory. Charmaz (2006) said that one stops collecting data when the categories (or themes) are saturated; that is, when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new insights or reveals new themes. This is when you have an adequate sample.

Permissions

Indicate steps taken to obtain permission from the IRB (see [Chapter 4](#)) to protect the rights of human participants. Attach, as an appendix, the approval letter from the IRB, and discuss the process involved in securing permissions. Discuss steps taken to gain entry to the setting and to secure permissions to study the participants or situation (Marshall & Rossman, 2022). It is important to gain access to research or archival sites by seeking the approval of **gatekeepers**, that is, individuals at the site who provide access to the site and allow or permit the research to be done. A brief proposal might need to be developed and submitted for review to gatekeepers. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) advanced topics that could be addressed in such a proposal:

- Why was the site chosen for study?
- What activities will occur at the site during the research study?
- Will the study be disruptive?
- How will the results be reported?
- What will the gatekeeper gain from the study?

Data Collection Types

In many qualitative studies, inquirers collect multiple forms of data and spend a considerable time in the natural setting gathering information. Indicate the type or types of data to be collected. The four major types are as follows.

A **qualitative observation** is when the researcher takes field notes on the behavior and activities of individuals at the research site. In these field notes, the researcher records activities at the site in an unstructured or semi-structured way (using some prior questions that the inquirer wants to know). Qualitative observers may also engage in roles varying from a nonparticipant to a complete participant. Typically, these observations are open-ended in that the researchers ask general questions of the participants, allowing the participants to provide their views freely.

In **qualitative interviews**, the researcher conducts face-to-face interviews or telephone interviews with participants or engages in focus group interviews with six to eight interviewees in each group. These interviews involve unstructured and generally a few open-ended questions and are intended to elicit views and opinions from the participants.

During the process of research, the investigator may collect **qualitative documents**. These may be public documents (e.g., newspapers, minutes of meetings, official reports) or private documents (e.g., personal journals and diaries, letters, e-mails).

A final category of qualitative data comprises **qualitative audiovisual, social media, and digital materials**. This data may take the form of photographs, art objects, videotapes, website main pages, e-mails, text messages, social media text, or forms of sound. Include creative data collection procedures that fall under visual ethnography (Pink, 2001) and living stories, metaphorical visual narratives, and digital archives (Clandinin, 2007).

In a discussion about data collection forms, be specific about the types, and include arguments concerning the strengths and weaknesses of each type, as discussed in [Table 9.2](#). Typically, in good qualitative research the researchers draw on multiple sources of qualitative data to make interpretations about a research problem.

Table 9.2 Qualitative Data Collection Types, Options, Strengths, and Limitations

Data Collection Types	Options Within Types	Strengths of the Types	Limitations of the Types
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Data Collection Types	Options Within Types	Strengths of the Types	Limitations of the Types
Audiovisual, social media, and digital materials	Photographs Videotapes Art objects Computer messages Sounds Film	May be an unobtrusive method of collecting data. Provides an opportunity for participants to directly share their reality. Is creative in that it captures attention visually.	May be difficult to interpret. May not be accessible publicly or privately. May be disruptive and affect responses due to the presence of an observer (e.g., photographer).

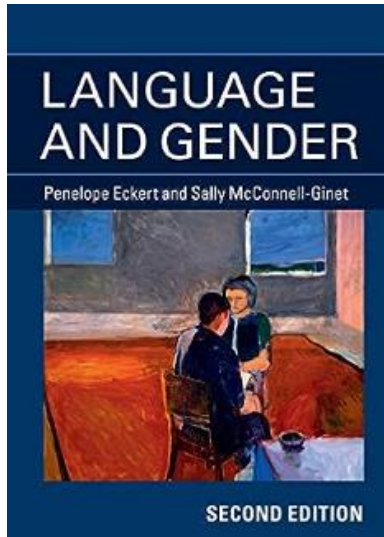
Note: This table includes material adapted from Bogdan and Biklen (1992), Creswell and Poth (2018), and Merriam (1998).

Include data collection types that go beyond typical observations and interviews. These forms create reader interest in a proposal and can capture useful information that observations and interviews may miss. For example, examine the compendium of types of data in [Table 9.3](#) that can be used to stretch the imagination.

Ethical Issues

Comment about sensitive ethical issues during data collection (see [Chapter 4](#)). For each issue raised, discuss how the research study will address it. Qualitative research involves talking directly with participants, visiting research sites, and often conducting studies with vulnerable groups or populations. Thus, sensitivity to potential ethical issues is paramount for a qualitative inquirer. [Table 4.1](#), mentioned earlier, illustrates many ethical issues central to qualitative research. For example, seek local cooperation when

Eckert, P., & Ginet, S.M. (2013). *Language and gender*. 2nd Edition, New York: Cambridge University Press.



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 Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
 Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City
 Cambridge University Press
 The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK
 Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York
 www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107025303
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 First published 2003
 Second edition 2013
 Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by the MPG Books Group
 A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library
 Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
 Eckert, Penelope.
 Language and gender / Penelope Eckert, Sally McConnell-Ginet. – 2nd edition.
 pages cm
 Includes bibliographical references and index.
 ISBN 978-1-107-02530-3 (hardback)
 1. Language and languages – Sex differences. I. McConnell-Ginet, Sally, II. Title.
 P123.L63E3 2013
 306.44 – dc23 2013017369
 ISBN 978-1-107-02530-3 Hardback
 ISBN 978-1-107-02530-1 Paperback

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(Language and Gender)

on her face and mimics around the room. Chances are that when these children are grown they will not swagger and mince respectively, but their childhood performances contain elements that may well surface in their adult male and female behaviors. Chances are, also, that the girl will adopt that swagger on occasions as well, but adults are not likely to consider it as cute as her miming act. And chances are that if the boy decides to try a little mincing, he won't be considered cute at all. In other words, gendered performances are available to everyone, but with them come constraints on who can perform which persona with impunity. And this is where gender and sex come together, as society tries to match up ways of behaving with biologically based sex assignments.

But is it a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential whereas gender is the social elaboration of biological sex? Not surprisingly, social norms for heterosexual coupling and care of any resulting children are closely intertwined with gender. But that is far from the full story. **Gender builds on biological sex, but it exaggerates biological difference, and it carries biological difference into domains in which it is completely irrelevant.** There is no biological reason **for example** why women should mince and men should swagger, or why women should have red toenails and men should not. But while we think of sex as biological and gender as social, this distinction is not clear-cut. People tend to think of gender as the result of nurture – as social and hence fluid – while sex is the result of nature, simply given by biology. However, nature and nurture intertwine, and there is no obvious point at which sex leaves off and gender begins.

But the sharp demarcation fails because there is no single objective biological criterion for male or female sex. Sex is based in a combination of anatomical, endocrinal, and chromosomal features, and the selection among these criteria for sex assignment is based very much on cultural beliefs about what actually makes someone male or female. Thus the very definition of the biological categories *male* and *female*, and people's understanding of themselves and others as male or female, is ultimately social. Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000) sums up the situation as follows:

[L]abeling someone a man or a woman is a social decision. We may use scientific knowledge to help us make the decision, but only our beliefs about gender – not science – can define our sex. Furthermore, our beliefs about gender affect what kinds of knowledge scientists produce about sex in the first place. (p. 9)

Biology offers up dichotomous male and female prototypes, but it also offers us many individuals who do not fit those prototypes in a variety of ways. Blackless et al. (2000) estimate that 1 in 100 babies are born with bodies that differ in some way from standard male or female. These bodies may have such conditions as unusual chromosomal makeup (e.g., 1 in 1,000 male babies are born with two X chromosomes as well as a Y), hormonal differences such as insensitivity to androgens (1 in 13,000 births), or a range of configurations and combinations

Whether focusing on dominance or on difference, most early studies took for granted that **the study of language and gender would be about differences between the speech of women as a group and men as a group**. The focus on difference in the study of language was not an isolated development, but took place in a wider context of psychological studies of gender difference. Carol Gilligan (1982), for example, was arguing that women and girls have different modes of moral reasoning, and Mary Belsey and her colleagues (1986) argued for gender differences in acquiring and processing knowledge. Each case constituted a powerful response to male-centered cognitive studies, which had taken modes of thinking associated with dominant men as the norm and appraised the cognitive processes of females (and often of ethnic and racial minorities as well) as deficient. While all of this work ultimately emerged from feminist impatience with male-dominated and male-serving intellectual paradigms, it also appealed to a popular thirst for gender difference. And in the end, this research was frequently transformed in popular discourse – certainly to the horror of the researchers – to justify and support male dominance.

At the same time, the focus on the opposition between male and female was giving way on several fronts. For starters, feminists of color were challenging the view that women are a homogeneous category sharing essentially the same life experiences regardless of race, nationality, or class (e.g., hooks 1981). And certainly, a focus on differences between men and women erases not only the similarities between them, but also the great diversity and power differences among women and among men. In a study of courtroom testimony, William O'Barr and Kim Atkins (1980) found that jurors were less likely to believe testimony delivered in language containing the "weak" features that Lakoff had identified as "women's." However, they found that race was as likely as women to use these features – that the speaker's socio-economic status, as well as familiarity with the courtroom setting, predicted the use of many of these features far better than gender. In other words, they suggested that what Lakoff had identified as "women's" language was really "powerless" language more generally, and that it was gendered primarily to the extent that women are more often in powerless positions than men. It became apparent that the search for across-the-board gender differences was hopelessly simplistic, and that researchers had to take into consideration the diversity of social positions, and of situations in which speech unfolds.

Meanwhile, people were coming to see power dynamics in face-to-face interaction in a more abstract context, as critical theorists such as Michel Foucault (e.g., 1972) argued that power in society resides not so much in individual acts of coercion as in societal discourses that make these acts and the ideologies that support them appear to be common sense. The Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci had argued years earlier (as published in 1971) that the most effective power lies in *cultural hegemony*, wherein the interests of one group are embedded in broad cultural ideologies in such a way that they appear to be natural and in the interests of society at large. This new focus on the role of invisible power in knowledge

(Rising Intonation on Declarative)

speaker was female or male – the boundary was at a slightly higher frequency when they perceived the speaker to be female, so that what sounded like *and* in the mouth of a man sounded like *ahnd* in the mouth of a woman. In other words, speakers learn to perceive very small acoustic differences quite unconsciously, and use this information unconsciously in interpreting people's speech. Among other things, this shows that social effects like gender are completely integral to our linguistic knowledge (Strand 1999).

Prosody, which includes the tempo and the variations in pitch and loudness with which utterances are produced, is rich with social potential. Rhythm and tone (or intonation) clearly carry important gender meanings, and are certainly the objects of gender stereotype. The study of these aspects of phonology has intensified in recent years, but has not yet reached a point where we can talk as confidently about intonational patterns as about segmental ones (consonants and vowels). The rising intonation on declarative sentences, popularly referred to as *uptalk*, attracted a good deal of gendered attention and stereotyping in the early part of the twenty-first century – an attention that is waning. Meanwhile, attention is accumulating to voice quality. Young women's use of creaky voice has attracted significant journalistic attention lately⁸, and as you will see, diverse voice qualities are used as resources in stylistic work related to both gender and sexuality.

Morphology

Morphology is the level of grammar at which recurring units of sound are paired with meaning. The meanings of *pick*, *sick*, *tick*, *thick*, and *lick* do not derive from the sounds they contain, but from a conventional association of meaning with a combination of sounds *pick* /*ɪk*/, *sick* /*ɪk*/, *tick* /*tɪk*/, and *lick* /*lɪk*/. Some such combinations constitute entire words, as in these examples, while some other combinations do not. The forms *-ed*, *-s*, *-ish*, *-en*, *-ing*, for example, all have their own meanings. They must, however, occur affixed to stems – *pick*ed, *sick*ed, *tick*ed, *sick*ish, *thicken*, *lick*ing – and they in some sense modify the basic meanings of these stems. The basic, indivisible combinations of form (sound) and meaning in a language are referred to as *morphemes*.

Lexical morphemes are what we usually think of when we think about words: they are content forms like *cat* or *dance*, and they only need to be used if one wants to speak about cats or dancing. *Grammatical* morphemes, in contrast, have very abstract meanings that can be combined in a rule-governed way with many different morphemes, hence they turn up more or less regardless of the topic. For example, the suffix *-ed* can be used with *pick* or *attack* or *think* or almost any verb stem to signal the past tense.⁹ Similarly, the suffix *-ish* can be used with almost all noun and adjective stems to form a mitigated adjective (in addition to conventional words such as *pregnant* and *redish*, one can, if one wants, coin new ones, such as "stay away from her – she looks kind of angry-ish..."). Not being bound to particular content areas, grammatical morphemes are

words, do not really have any referential function but work affectively. Most of them serve one of two functions: they either weaken or strengthen the force of what a person is saying.

HEDGES These are 'filler' items like **you know**, **well**, which reduce the force of an utterance. We often use them to add tentativeness to statements, making them seem less dogmatic. Sometimes they indicate uncertainty, but not always. For instance, **sort of** may be used to weaken the strength of an assertion that might cause offence, as in 'John is **sorta** short.' Lakoff maintains that women's use of these hedges 'arises out of a fear of seeming too masculine by being assertive and saying things directly' (2004a: 79).

THE INTENSIFIER so As in 'I like him so much!' Lakoff puzzlingly calls this a hedge too. It is supposed to weaken a speaker's strength of feeling. It has subsequently been viewed as a boosting device (like **very**).

TAG QUESTIONS As the name suggests, these are questions tagged on to an utterance, such as **don't you?** According to Lakoff, they turn a statement into a question, so that its force is reduced. She takes them as indications of approval seeking.

RISING INTONATION In many languages, including many varieties of English, intonation rises at the final point of questions. **As with tag questions, this is supposed to turn a statement into a question, thereby weakening its force and making the speaker sound uncertain.** This is Lakoff's example: (a) When will dinner be ready? (b) Oh ... around six o'clock ...?

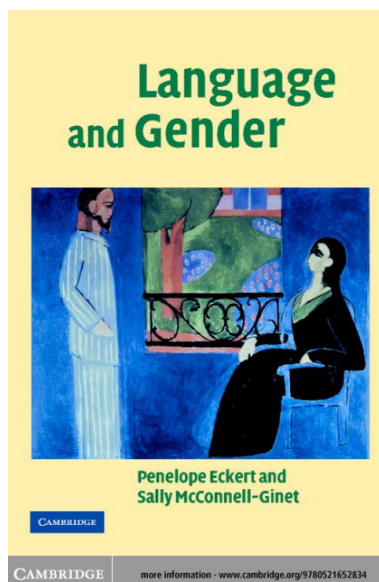
HYPERCORRECT GRAMMAR As Lakoff says, 'women are not supposed to talk rough' (2004a: 80). What she is referring to here is women's tendency to use standard forms more than men (see chapter 2). By 'hypercorrect', she seems to imply that they are more correct than they ought to be.

EMPHATIC STRESS Lakoff refers to this as speaking in italics, as in 'What a *beautiful* dress!' She suggests that women use over-the-top emphasis because they anticipate not being taken seriously. What she seems to be touching on here is women's greater pitch range (see chapter 2).

Another supposedly female characteristic Lakoff mentions is lack of any sense of humour. Women can't tell jokes; not only that, they don't 'get'

Eckert, P., & Ginet, S.M. (2003). *Language and gender*. 1st Edition, New York:

Cambridge University Press.



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo
Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, United Kingdom
Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York
www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521652834
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First published in print format 2003

ISBN-13 978-0-521-65283-4 eBook (NetLibrary)

ISBN-10 0-521-65283-3 eBook (NetLibrary)

ISBN-13 978-0-521-65283-4 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-65283-9 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-65448-5 paperback

ISBN-10 0-521-65448-2 paperback

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(Avoidance of strong swear words)

181 Positioning ideas and subjects

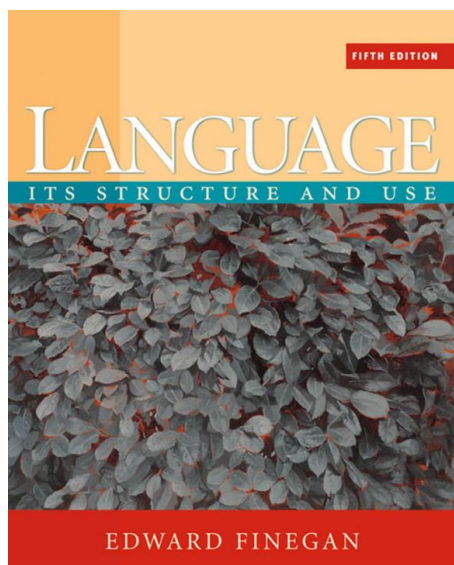
in their speech. This idea gets support from an ideology of a meritocratic society where failure to achieve is due to failure of talents or effort or both. The "insecure" speaker is seen as rendered unable (or unwilling) by a psychological (or character) flaw to position herself (or sometimes himself) effectively. That inability or unwillingness, some concede, might be induced by social norms she encountered growing up that warned her of the "unfemininity" of such positioning. Yet as Fishman (1980) argues, overall "insecurity" as an account of reliance on such attention-getting devices as "talking in italics" or asking questions misses the fact that such devices are used to (try to) solve specific interactional difficulties. Many of these difficulties arise in the context of social structural facts that render some discourse positions (virtually) inaccessible to people occupying certain genders, race, class, or occupational positions.

Other "boosting" devices such as the (liberal) use of intensifiers like *so*, *incredibly*, *awfully*, and their exaggerated kin can be thought of as verbal italics (and they are often delivered with tonal highlighting), and they face similar difficulties. Although ostensibly such devices indicate a "stronger" move than would be made without them, their actual effect is sometimes just the opposite because of how others respond to the speaker's choices. In a recent study of the Longman corpus from 1995 of conversations among friends and family, Kristen Precht (2002) did indeed find women using two of these amplifying forms (*so* + adjective and *so* much significantly more than men, but there were no significant differences in the use of any of the other amplifiers she examined (e.g. totally or really + verb or adjective). Like tonal accents, these amplifiers can construct an engaged and enthusiastic speaking position. And they sometimes do. Others can, however, use them to position a speaker as lacking in "real" authority, as drawing on these resources in an attempt to divert attention from lack of institutional status or socially conferred prestige that would enable "plainer" words to do what's needed.

"Strong" language

What about profanity and other kinds of interjections that can express extreme intensity? Swearing is widely considered an expression of very strong emotion: anger at specific others or simply deep frustration, often manifest as anger directed at the closest available target. It is viewed as power language and can indeed sometimes achieve impressive effects. Profanity is also considered unsuitable for women and children. As we mentioned in chapter two, there is considerable evidence that young women are using taboo language in large numbers these days

Finegan, E. (2008). *Language Its Structure and Use*. 5th Edition, University of Southern California.



THOMSON
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Language: Its Structure and Use, Fifth Edition
Edward Finegan

Publisher: Michael Rosenzweig
Managing Development Editor: Karen Judd
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Cover Photos: Original artwork by DJ Werner Hoeflich, Unlabeled (Hedge series) 2003
Printer: West Group

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Printed in the United States of America
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 09 08 07

Library of Congress Control Number: 2007922714

ISBN-10: 1-4330-3055-6
ISBN-13: 978-1-4330-3055-6

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(Language Variation)

Introduction

You're familiar with the term *dialect* and know it refers to language varieties spoken by different social groups. In the United States, people recognize dialects named "Brooklynese" and "Bosninese" and sometimes talk about a "southern drawl" or a "Minnesota accent." Cockney is another well-known dialect. Dialects are the subject of Chapter 11. In this chapter, we address language varieties characteristic of social situations rather than of social groups. We'll talk about *slang* and *jargon* and other language varieties characteristic of particular situations. Language varieties characteristic of particular social situations are called *styles* or *registers*.

Across different circumstances, everyone varies language forms. For example, we may call some people *Michelle* or *Michael*; others *Dr. Lavandera* or *Mr. Olson*; still others *four hours* or *Mr. President*; to some we say *Sir* or *Maiden* or *Mix*. If you use the address term *duke*, you certainly don't use it indiscriminately for anyone you're in contact with. In some communities, different social situations call for altogether different languages; in other communities, different social situations call for alternative varieties of a single language.

Language Varies Within a Speech Community

Language Choice in Multilingual Societies

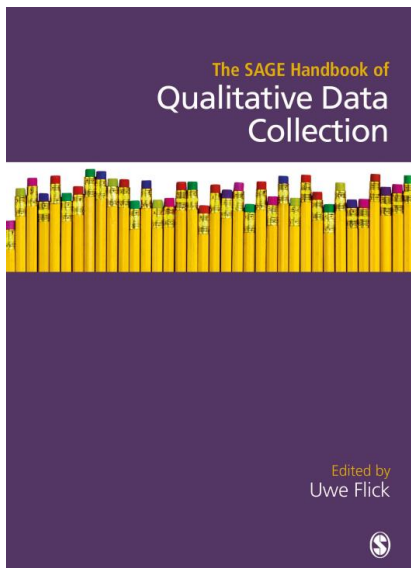
You might assume that in multilingual countries such as Switzerland, Belgium, and India different languages are spoken by different groups of people. Typically, though, each language is also systematically allocated to specific social situations. In speech communities employing several languages, language choice is not arbitrary. Instead, a particular setting such as school or government may favor one language, while other languages will be appropriate in other speech situations. Although there may be roughly equivalent expressions in two languages, the social meaning that attaches to use of one language generally differs from that attached to use of the other. As a result, speakers must attend to the social import of language choice, however unconsciously that choice may be made.

Linguistic Repertoires in Brussels, Tehran, and Los Angeles

The use of selected varieties from two languages among government workers in the capital of Belgium illustrates the nature of language choice in one European community.

Government functionaries in Brussels who are of Flemish origin do not always speak Dutch to each other, even when they all know Dutch very well and equally well. Not only are there occasions when they speak French to each other instead of Dutch, but there are some occasions when they speak standard Dutch and others when they use one or another regional variety of Dutch with each other. Indeed, some of them also use different varieties of French with each other as well, one variety being particularly loaded with governmental officialness, another corresponding to the non-technical conversational French of highly educated and refined circles in Belgium and still another being not only a "more colloquial French" but the

Flick, U. (2018). *Qualitative Data Collection*, California: SAGE Publication Ltd.



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Printed in the UK

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Library of Congress Control Number: 201781304
British Library Cataloguing in Publication data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library
ISBN 978-1-4739-5212-3

(Technique of The Data Analysis)

DOING QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION – CHARTING THE ROUTES

5

in the ongoing diversification of qualitative research, of what is seen as data, and of what is seen as an adequate way to produce them.

DOING QUALITATIVE RESEARCH – SOME CORE ASSUMPTIONS

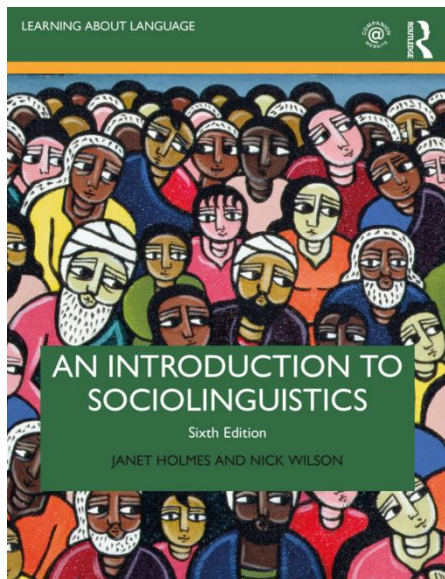
Before looking at this diversification in more detail in the chapters of this volume, it may be helpful to consider what can be seen as the core of qualitative research, going beyond just simply saying it is 'not quantitative research'. Such a definition could demonstrate that qualitative research has developed an identity (or maybe multiple identities) of its own. However, is there an identity of qualitative research, which is accepted in the multiplicity of approaches to qualitative research, reaching from more traditional concepts of (post-positivist) research with qualitative methods to the 'new materialist' talking about post-qualitative research (e.g. St. Pierre, 2011)?

We can identify some common features of qualitative research despite the multiplicity of approaches to qualitative research. First of all, qualitative research is approaching the world(s) 'out there' (instead of doing studies in specialized research settings such as laboratories). It intends to understand, describe, and sometimes explain social phenomena 'from the inside' in a number of different ways. First, experiences of individuals or groups are analyzed. Experiences can be related to biographical life histories or to (everyday or professional) practices; they may be addressed by analyzing everyday knowledge, accounts, and stories. Second, interactions and communications are analyzed in the making. This can be based on observing or recording practices of interacting and communicating and analyzing this material. Third, documents (texts, images, film, or sounds, and more and more digital documents) or similar traces of experiences or interactions are analyzed.

Common to such approaches is that they seek to understand how people construct the world around them, what they are doing, how they are doing it or what is happening to them in terms that are meaningful and that offer rich insights. Interactions and documents are ways of constituting social processes and artifacts collaboratively (or conflictually). All of these approaches represent ways of meaning-making, which can be reconceived and analyzed with various qualitative methods that allow the researchers to develop (more or less generalizable) models, typologies and theories as ways of describing and explaining social (or psychological) issues. Given these aims of qualitative research, what characterizes the research practice in which they are pursued in rather general terms again? Is it possible to identify common ways of doing qualitative research if we take into account that there are different theoretical, epistemological, and methodological approaches to qualitative research and that the issues that are studied are also very diverse? At least some common features of how qualitative research is done can be mentioned (see Flick, 2018c, p. xi). Qualitative researchers are interested in accessing experiences, interactions and documents in their natural context and in a way that gives room to the particularities of them and the materials in which they are studied. This means for data collection that qualitative researchers travel into the worlds they want to study and do not transfer these worlds into their scientific environments, such as laboratories. Qualitative researchers refrain from setting up a theoretically well-defined concept of what they study and from formulating hypotheses in the beginning in order to test them. Rather, they develop and refine concepts or hypotheses, if they are needed in the process of research and of collecting data. **Qualitative researchers start from the idea that their methods and theories should be appropriate to what they study.** If the existing methods do not fit a concrete issue or field, they are adapted or new methods or approaches are developed. Researchers themselves are an important part of the research process, either

Holmes, J., & Wilson, N. (2022). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 6th Edition.

Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge.



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Sixth edition published 2022
by Routledge
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and by Routledge
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First edition published by Pearson Education Ltd 1992
Fifth edition published by Routledge 2017
British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library
Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data
Holmes, Janet, 1941- author. | Wilson, Nick (Sociolinguist), author.
Title: An introduction to sociolinguistics. / Janet Holmes and Nick Wilson.
Description: Sixth edition. | Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2022. |
Series: Learning about language. Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2021 040984 | ISBN 9781032121119 (hardcover) |
ISBN 9781032111106 (paperback) | ISBN 9781032121832 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Sociolinguistics.
Classification: LCC P46 .R623 2022 | DDC 306.44--dc23/eng/20211119
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2021040984>
ISBN: 978-10-321-2111-9 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-10-321-2104-0 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-10-321-2183-2 (ebk)
DOI: 10.4324/9781032121832
Typeset in Sabon
by Thompson Publishing Ltd
Access the online companion: www.routledge.com/9781032121119

(Sociolinguistics)

1 What do sociolinguists study?

What is a sociolinguist?

Sociolinguists study the relationship between language and society. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts and with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning. Examining the way people use language in different social contexts provides a wealth of information about the way language works, as well as about the social relationships in a community, and how people convey and construct aspects of their social identity through their language. This book explores all these aspects of sociolinguistics.

Example 1

Ray: Hi mum.
Mum: Hi, you're late.
Ray: Yeah, that bastard Soorbucket kept us in again.
Mum: Nana's here.
Ray: Oh sorry. Where is she?

Ray's description of his teacher would have been expressed differently if he had realised his grandmother could hear him. The way people talk is influenced by the social context in which they are talking. It matters who can hear us and where we are talking, as well as how we are feeling. The same message may be expressed very differently to different people. We use different styles in different social contexts. Leaving school, Ray had run into the school principal.

Example 2

Ray: Good afternoon, sir.
Principal: What are you doing here at this time?
Ray: Mr Sutton kept us in, sir.

DOI: 10.4324/9780367821852-1

1

(Language Variation)

6 Regional and social dialects

In the first section of this book, the focus was on language variation in monolingual communities. In this section, the focus moves to language variation in monolingual communities. People often use language to signal their membership of particular groups and to construct different aspects of their social identity. **Social status, gender, age, ethnicity and the kinds of social networks and communities that people belong to are important dimensions of identity in many communities.** We illustrate the way people use language to signal and enact such affiliations in this second section of this book.

Example 1

Telephone rings.

Pat: Hello.
Caller: Hello, is Mark there?
Pat: Yes, just hold on a minute.
Pat (to Mark): There's a rather well-educated young lady from Scotland on the phone for you.

When you answer the telephone, you can often make some pretty accurate guesses about various characteristics of the speaker. Pat was able to deduce quite a lot about Mark's caller, even though the caller had said nothing explicitly about herself. Most listeners can identify when the caller is a child without any problem. When the caller is an adult, it is usually possible to tell whether a speaker is female or male. If the person has a distinctive regional accent, then their regional origins will be evident even from a short utterance. And it may also be possible to make a reasonable guess about the person's socioeconomic status or educational background, as Pat did.

No two people speak exactly the same, which accounts for a myriad of accents throughout the world. There are infinite sources of variation in speech. A sound spectrograph, a machine which represents the sound waves of speech in visual form, shows that even a single vowel may be pronounced in hundreds of minutely different ways, most of which listeners do not even register. Some features of

DOI: 10.4324/9780367821852-8

185

(Social Context)

STYLE, CONTEXT, AND REGISTER

some sounds is influenced by **the social context in which a person is speaking, independently of their social group membership.** In these cases, the standard variants signal reading style rather than social group membership. In other communities, too, reading style contrasts markedly with other styles. Where reading aloud is not a common activity, it may be best measured along a different dimension than that of formality.

Javanese is another example which illustrates the complexity of stylistic variation which can be found in languages. As mentioned in chapter 6, the choices facing a speaker of Javanese involve two ranked social dialects, within each of which there are three stylistic levels. In other words, both social group membership and social context influence a speaker's linguistic choices. In addition, there is also the possibility of raising any utterance an additional "half-level" by various linguistic means. Each level involves different pronunciations, different grammatical forms and different items of vocabulary. There are three words for *house*, for example: *omah*, *griya* and *dalem*; and five forms for *you*. Once you have selected the appropriate stylistic level, you must follow the rules for which forms may occur with which. You cannot jump around between levels.



Map 10.2 Java, Indonesia

Example 23

Menapa	nandalem	imudhut	sekal	semannten?	3a	HGGH
Menapa	panjenggan	mendhut	sekal	semannten?	3	
Napa	sampyan	mendhut	sekal	semannten?	2	
Napa	sampyan	njupuk	sega	semannten?	1a	

367

(Age)

LANGUAGE VARIATION: FOCUS ON USERS

This section has focused on the widespread evidence that men use more vernacular forms than women, but there are exceptions to this pattern. Figure 7.1 showed that women from the lower social groups in Norwich used almost as many vernacular forms as the men. And there are some communities, such as Pont-y-hyd-y-fen, a small Welsh mining community, and Brazilândia, a satellite city of Brasília, where the women use more vernacular forms than the men. A high frequency of vernacular forms may have a much wider range of associations than the explanation which identifies them with masculinity and toughness suggests, as we shall see in the next few chapters. To give just two contrasting examples, vernacular forms may express conservative, non-urban values (where the standard is the urban norm), or alternatively vernacular forms may reflect anti-establishment attitudes (where the standard is the middle-class adult norm). The next section provides examples of young people's use of vernacular forms expressing the latter.

Age-graded features of speech

Example 12

I was listening to New Zealand radio when they announced that they were going to be interviewing the Minister of Health after the news. I couldn't think who the Minister was. So I listened to the interview and I was very impressed with the policies he outlined, and particularly with his sensitive and sympathetic attitudes to the need for cervical screening for women. "How sensible," I thought, "what an intelligent man!" I waited for the end of the interview to find out who he was. "And that was an interview with the Minister of Health, Helen Clark," announced the interviewer. Well at least that explained the sympathetic attitude to women's health issues!

One of the most obvious speech differences between women and men is in the pitch of their voices. Most people believe this difference develops at puberty. It is thought to be as difficult to guess the gender of a five-year-old on the phone as it is to identify the gender of a swaddled infant from its wails and coos. It is certainly true that young boys' voices often break at puberty and become noticeably lower in pitch. Their voice quality reflects their physical growth. Boys' vocal cords generally grow faster and bigger than girls' at puberty. Men's heads and lungs are also typically larger than women's, just as adults' heads are bigger than children's. As a result, male voices generally sound lower in pitch than women's, just as adult voices sound deeper than children's. Differences are relative, however, and the pitch ranges of women and men overlap to a considerable extent. In

242

(Gender)

7 Gender and age

Do women and men speak differently? Do children speak differently from adults? The answer to both these questions is almost certainly “yes” for all speech communities, and the reasons in both cases are mainly social and cultural.

The linguistic forms used by women and men generally contrast – to different degrees – in all speech communities. There are other ways too in which the linguistic behaviour of women and men may differ. It is claimed that in many societies women are linguistically more polite than men, for instance, and that women and men tend to emphasise different speech functions. These claims will be explored in later chapters. In the first section of this chapter, the focus will be on evidence that women and men from the same speech community may use different linguistic forms or the same forms to different extents.

First a brief comment on the meaning of the terms “sex” and “gender” in sociolinguistics. We have used the term gender rather than sex because **sex has come to refer to categories distinguished by biological characteristics, while gender is more appropriate for distinguishing people on the basis of their sociocultural behaviour including speech.** The discussion of gender in this chapter focuses largely on contrasts between empirically observed features of women’s and men’s speech in different communities. The concept of gender allows, however, for describing masculine and feminine behaviours in terms of scales or continua rather than absolute categories. So we can also think of the features associated with women and men’s speech as linguistic resources for constructing ourselves as relatively feminine or relatively masculine. This approach is discussed further in chapter 12.

Gender-exclusive speech differences: highly structured communities

Example 1

Tayana is a young Amazonian Indian woman from the north-west Amazon Basin. She lives with her husband and children and a number of other families in a longhouse beside the river. The language of her longhouse is

222

DOI: 10.4324/9780367821852-9

GENDER AND AGE

Tuyuka, which is the language of all the men in this tribe, and the language she uses to talk to her children. She comes from a different tribe and her first language is Desano. She uses Desano to her husband, and he replies in Tuyuka.



Map 7.1 Colombia and Brazil

Women and men do not speak in exactly the same way as each other in any community. The Amazon Indians provide an extreme example. As described in chapter 4, in any longhouse the language used by a child’s mother is different from her father’s language, because men must marry outside their own tribe, and each tribe is distinguished by a different language. **In this community, women and men speak different languages in many contexts.**

Less dramatically, there are communities where the language is shared by women and men, but particular linguistic features typically occur only in the women’s speech or only in the men’s speech. These features are usually small differences in pronunciation or word-shape (morphology). In Montana, for instance, there are pronunciation differences in the Gros Ventre Native American tribe. Where the women say [kja tsja] for *bread* the men say [dja tsja]. In this community, if a person uses the “wrong” form for their gender, the older members of

223

(Register)

10 Style, context, and register

Example 1

Three different requests for information:

- 1 From a friend:
Where were you last night? I rang to see if you wanted to come to the movies.
- 2 In court from a lawyer:
Could you tell the court where you were on the night of Friday the seventeenth of March?
- 3 From a teacher to his pupils in school on the day after Halloween:
I know some of you went “trick-or-treating” last night and so I thought we might talk a bit today about how you got on. Did you go out last night Jimmy?

In each of these three utterances the speaker is trying to elicit the “same” information from the addressee, but the context dramatically influences the form of the query. Each request for information is expressed quite differently.

Language varies according to its users as well as the users, according to where it is used and to whom, as well as according to who is using it. The addressee and the context affect our choice of code or variety, whether language, dialect or style. The difference between the three utterances in example 1 are stylistic differences, and style is the focus of this chapter.

In the second section of this book, we looked at ways in which people’s speech indexes their group membership. These features can also be described as stylistic features. People talk of an ethnic style or a female register, for instance, referring to the way people speak by virtue of their ethnicity or gender, regardless of context. In this chapter, however, the focus is on the ways in which speech is both influenced by and constructs the contexts in which language is used, rather than characteristics of the speakers. We first consider the influence of the addressee on the speaker’s language, exemplifying from less formal contexts where the degree of solidarity between participants is an important factor contributing to choice of speech style. Then we examine features of speech style in a range of

DOI: 10.4324/9780367821852-14

339

(The Features and Functions of Women's Language)

LANGUAGE VARIATION: FOCUS ON USES

Exercise 1

For the following sentences, put F beside those you think were said by a woman, M beside those you think were said by a man, and I/M beside those you think could have been said by either.

- (a) Close the door.
- (b) That's an adorable dog.
- (c) Oh dear, the TV set's broken.
- (d) I'll be damned, there's a forest of mist!
- (e) I was very tired.
- (f) Won't you please get me that pencil?
- (g) They did the right thing didn't they?
- (h) You're damn right!
- (i) I was just exhausted.
- (j) My goodness, there's the Prime Minister!
- (k) I was so mad.
- (l) Damn it, I've lost my key!

Answers at end of chapter

Features of 'women's language'

Lakoff suggested that women's speech was characterised by linguistic features such as the following! [Note: / indicates rising intonation.]

- (a) Lexical hedges or fillers, e.g. *you know, sort of, well, you see.*
- (b) Tag questions, e.g. *she's very nice, isn't she?*
- (c) Rising intonation on declaratives (also called the HRT and uptalk, see chapter 9), e.g. *it's really good.*
- (d) 'Empty' adjectives, e.g. *divine, charming, cute.*
- (e) Precise colour terms, e.g. *magenta, aquamarine.*
- (f) Intensifiers such as *just* and *so*, e.g. *I like him so much.*
- (g) 'Hypercorrect' grammar, e.g. consistent use of standard verb forms.
- (h) 'Superpolite' forms, e.g. indirect requests, euphemisms.
- (i) Avoidance of strong swear words, e.g. *fudge, my goodness.*
- (j) Emphatic stress, e.g. *it was a BRILLIANT performance.*

Many of these features are illustrated in the list of sentences in exercise 1. Lakoff's claims were based on her own intuitions and observations, but they sparked off a spate of research because they appeared to be so specific and easy to investigate.

Much of this initial research can be considered methodologically unsatisfactory from the perspective of many current sociolinguists. Speech was recorded in laboratory conditions with assigned topics, and sometimes rather artificial constraints (such as a screen between the speakers). Most of the subjects were

426

LANGUAGE VARIATION: FOCUS ON USES

there are linguistic devices which may be used for hedging or reducing the force of an utterance. Secondly, there are features which may boost or intensify a proposition's force. Researchers who recognised the **hedging/boosting** qualifying factor included in their analysis any form which had a hedging or boosting effect on an assertion. Those who didn't tended to stick to Lakoff's list as if it had been handed down like Moses' tablets.

Exercise 2

Allocate as many as possible of the features in the list provided by Lakoff to one of the following columns:

Hedging devices

Boosting devices

Answer at end of chapter

Lakoff argued that both kinds of modifiers were evidence of an unconscious **strategy**: hedging devices explicitly signal lack of confidence, while boosting devices express the speaker's anticipation that the addressee may remain unconvinced and therefore supply extra reassurance. So, she suggested, women use hedging devices to express uncertainty, and they use intensifying devices to persuade their addressee to take them seriously. Women use **boosting devices** to add force to their utterances because they think that otherwise they will not be heard or paid attention to. Thus, according to Lakoff, both hedges and boosters express women's lack of confidence.

It is not surprising, given the range of methods used to collect and analyse the data, that the research results were often contradictory. In some studies, women were reported as using more tag questions than men, for instance, while in others, men used more than women. Some researchers reported that women used up to three times as many hedges as men, while others noted no gender differences. Most, but not all, claimed women used more boosters or intensifiers than men.

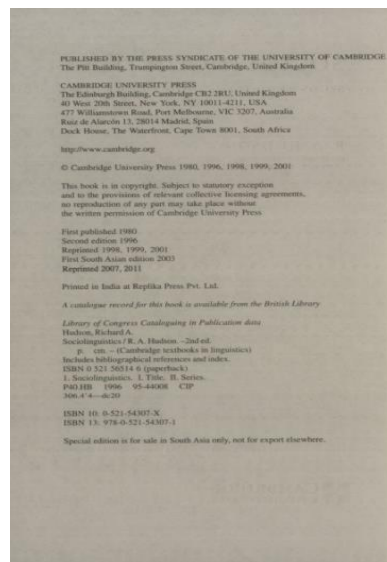
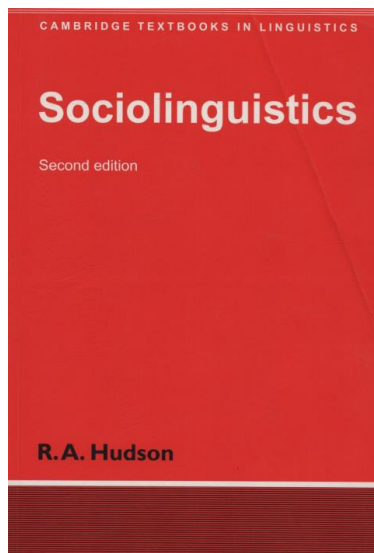
One pair of researchers recorded the speech of witnesses in a law court and found that male witnesses used more 'women's language' features than women witnesses with more expertise in court or higher occupational status. Example 4 illustrates this.

Example 4

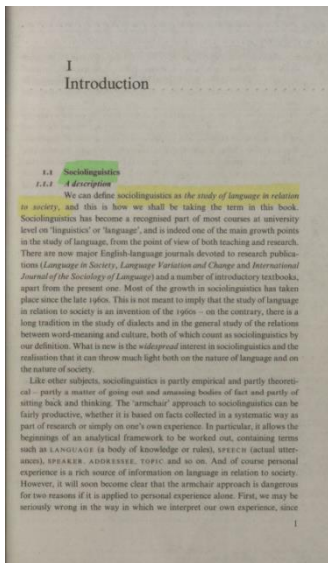
Lawyer: And you saw, you observed what?
Witness C: Well, after I heard – I can't really, I can't definitely state whether the brakes or the lights came first, but I rotated my head slightly to the right, and looked directly

428

Hudson, R. A. (1996). *Sociolinguistics*. 2nd Edition, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.



(Sociolinguistics)



Kabir., S. M. A. (2016). *Methods Of Data Collection*. Curtin University.

ResearchGate

Chapter - 9 Methods of Data Collection Page 204

methods encompass multifaceted approaches that combine to capitalize on strengths and reduce weaknesses that stem from using a single research design. Using this approach to gather and evaluate data may assist to increase the validity and reliability of the research. Some of the common areas in which mixed-method approaches may be used include -

- Initiating, designing, developing and expanding interventions;
- Evaluation;
- Improving research design; and
- Corroborating findings, data triangulation or convergence.

Some of the challenges of using a mixed methods approach include -

- Delineating complementary qualitative and quantitative research questions;
- Time-intensive data collection and analysis; and
- Decisions regarding which research methods to combine.

Mixed methods are useful in highlighting complex research problems such as disparities in health and can also be transformative in addressing issues for vulnerable or marginalized populations or research which involves community participation. Using a mixed-methods approach is one way to develop creative options to traditional or single design approaches to research and evaluation.

There are many ways of classifying data. A common classification is based upon who collected the data.

PRIMARY DATA
Data that has been collected from first-hand experience is known as primary data. Primary data has not been published yet and is more reliable, authentic and objective. Primary data has not been changed or altered by human beings, therefore its validity is greater than secondary data.

Importance of Primary Data: In statistical surveys it is necessary to get information from primary sources and work on primary data. For example, the statistical records of female population in a country cannot be based on newspaper, magazine and other printed sources. A research can be conducted without secondary data but a research based on only secondary data is least reliable and may have biases because secondary data has already been manipulated by human beings. One of such sources is old and secondly they contain limited information as well as they can be misleading and biased.

Sources of Primary Data: Sources for primary data are limited and at times it becomes difficult to obtain data from primary source because of either scarcity of population or lack of cooperation. Following are some of the sources of primary data.

Experiments: Experiments require an artificial or natural setting in which to perform logical study to collect data. Experiments are more suitable for medicine, psychological studies, nutrition and for other scientific studies. In experiments the experimenter has to keep control over the influence of any extraneous variable on the results.

Survey: Survey is most commonly used method in social sciences, management, marketing and psychology to some extent. Surveys can be conducted in different methods.

Questionnaire: It is the most commonly used method in survey. Questionnaires are a list of questions either open-ended or close-ended for which the respondents give answers. Questionnaires can be conducted via telephone, mail, line in a public area, or in an institute, through electronic mail or through fax and other methods.

Interview: Interview is a face-to-face conversation with the respondent. In interview the main problem arises when the respondent deliberately hides information otherwise it is an in depth source of information. The interviewer can not only record the statements the interviewees speaks

Best Guidelines for Research SMS Kabir

but he can observe the body language, expressions and other reactions to the questions too. This enables the interviewer to draw conclusions easily.

Observation: Observation can be done while letting the observing person know that s/he is being observed or without letting him know. Observations can also be made in natural settings as well as in artificially created environment.

Advantages of Using Primary Data

- The investigator collects data specific to the problem under study.
- There is no doubt about the quality of the data collected (for the investigator).
- If required, it may be possible to obtain additional data during the study period.

Disadvantages of Using Primary Data

1. The investigator has to contend with all the hassles of data collection-
 - deciding why, what, how, when to collect;
 - getting the data collected (personally or through others);
 - getting funding and dealing with funding agencies;
 - ethical considerations (consent, permissions, etc.).
2. Ensuring the data collected is of a high standard-
 - all desired data is obtained accurately, and in the format it is required in;
 - There is no fake/ cooked up data;
 - unnecessary/ useless data has not been included.
3. Cost of obtaining the data is often the major expense in studies.

SECONDARY DATA

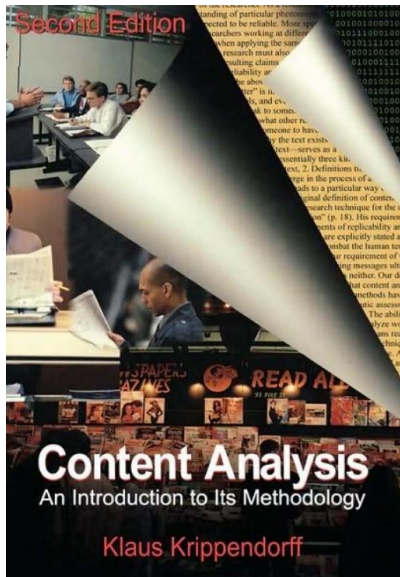
Data collected from a source that has already been published in any form is called as secondary data. The review of literature in any research is based on secondary data. It is collected by someone else for some other purpose (but being utilized by the investigator for another purpose). For example, Census data being used to analyse the impact of education on career choice and earning. Common sources of secondary data for social science include censuses, organizational records and data collected through qualitative methodologies or qualitative research. Secondary data is essential since it is impossible to conduct a new survey that can adequately capture past change and/or developments.

Sources of Secondary Data: The following are some ways of collecting secondary data -

- Books
- Records
- Biographies
- Newspapers
- Published censuses or other statistical data
- Data archives
- Internet articles
- Research articles by other researchers (journals)
- Databases etc.

Importance of Secondary Data: Secondary data can be less valid but its importance is still there. Sometimes it is difficult to obtain primary data; in these cases getting information from secondary sources is easier and possible. Sometimes primary data does not exist in such situation one has to confine the research on secondary data. Sometimes primary data is present but the respondents are not willing to reveal it in such case too secondary data can suffice. For example, if the research is on the psychology of transsexuals first it is difficult to find out transsexuals and second they may


Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. 2nd Edition, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.



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For information:

 Sage Publications, Inc.
 2455 Teller Road
 Thousand Oaks, California 91320
 E-mail: order@sagepub.com

Sage Publications Ltd.
 6 Bonhill Street
 London EC2A 4PU
 United Kingdom

Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
 B-42, Panchsheel Enclave
 Post Box 4109
 New Delhi 110 017 India

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Krippendorff, Klaus.
 Content analysis : an introduction to its methodology / Klaus Krippendorff.— 2nd ed.
 p. cm.
 Includes bibliographical references and index.
 ISBN 0-7619-1544-3 — ISBN 0-7619-1545-1 (pbk.)
 1. Content analysis (Communication) I. Title.
 II. Krippendorff, Klaus.
 III. Title.
 401'.41—dc21
 2003014200

Printed on acid-free paper.

03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Acquiring Editor: Margaret H. Sawell
 Editorial Assistant: Jill Meyers
 Production Editor: Claudia A. Hoffman
 Copy Editor: Judy Selhorst
 Typesetter: CKM Digital (P) Ltd.
 Indexer: Molly Hall
 Cover Design: Concept by Klaus Krippendorff
 Execution by: Michelle Lee Kenny

(Technique of The Data Analysis)



CHAPTER 2

Conceptual Foundation

Content analysis has its own approach to analyzing data that stems largely from how the object of analysis, content, is conceived. This chapter defines content analysis, develops a conceptual framework through which the purposes and processes of content analysis may be understood in general terms, outlines the essential concepts of content analysis, and contrasts content analysis with other social science methods of inquiry.

2.1 DEFINITION

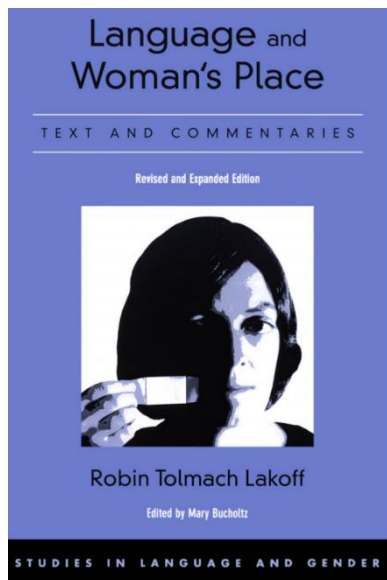
Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contents of their use.

As a technique, content analysis involves specialized procedures. It is learnable and divorcable from the personal authority of the researcher. As a research technique, content analysis provides new insights, increases a researcher's understanding of particular phenomena, or informs practical actions. Content analysis is a scientific tool.

Techniques are expected to be *reliable*. More specifically, research techniques should result in findings that are *replicable*. That is, researchers working at different points in time and perhaps under different circumstances should get the same results when applying the same technique to the same data. Replicability is the most important form of reliability.

Scientific research must also yield *valid* results, in the sense that the research effort is open for careful scrutiny and the resulting claims can be upheld in the face of independently available evidence. The methodological requirements of reliability and validity are not unique to but make particular demands on content analysis.

Lakoff, R .T. (2004). *Language and Woman's Place: Text and Commentaries*
Revised and Expanded Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.



OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford New York
Auckland Bangkok Buenos Aires Cape Town Chennai
Dar es Salaam Delhi Hong Kong Istanbul Karachi Kolkata
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Mumbai Nairobi
Sao Paulo Singapore Taipei Tokyo Toronto

Copyright © 2004 by Oxford University Press, Inc.

Published by Oxford University Press, Inc.
198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016

www.oup.com

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Lakoff, Robin Tolmач.
Language and women's place / Robin Tolmач Lakoff, edited by Mary Bucholtz.—Rev.
and expanded ed.

p. cm.—(Studies in language and gender ; 3)

Originally published: New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-291-19757-0 (pbk.) ISBN 0-291-19758-6 (hbk.)

I. Women—Language. 2. Sex role. 3. Sexes in language. 4. English language—Sex
differences. I. Bucholtz, Mary, 1966— II. Title. III. Series.

HQ1261.L6 2004

304.4—dc22 2003056479

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper.

(Background of The Research)

THE NEW LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF WOMEN IN JAPAN

from my experiences as a woman living in the United States, I recognize that perceptions of gender relations in the United States may be somewhat overrated and idealized. This realization made me suspect that common observations about the language used by Japanese women may be no more accurate. The difference is simply that perceptions of the United States may be idealizations of equality, while those of Japan may be a model, generally deplored, of gender inequality. (For a different perspective, see Ide, this volume.)

Exotic Japanese

There has been a frequently expressed perception in American and other foreign media that the speech of Japanese women is distinctive in its high pitch and characteristically feminine vocabulary, expressing an attitude of reserve and self-effacement that reflects women's inferior position in society. A summary of this common perception is found in an article in the *New York Times Magazine* (September 1, 1991) by Ellen Rudolph, an American photographer and film producer who lived in Tokyo. She wrote: "Newspapers and magazines report almost daily on shifting sexual mores in Japan. . . . But the linguistic divide between the sexes endures, even if it is little acknowledged. In Japan, men and women have different ways of speaking."

This description can give the misleading impression that Japanese women and men speak differently at all times, as if they were originally from two different tribes with two different languages. Even language textbooks that have been criticized for exaggerating and essentializing the differences between women's and men's language, such as Mizutani and Mizutani (1987: 150–151), have not gone that far. "In polite or formal speech, there is very little difference between men and women, but in familiar speech, there are some differences between the two." "Women's speech" has been ideologically distinguished from "men's speech" in the choice of sentence-final expressions, referential terms, and honorifics, which indicate softness, nonassertiveness, and politeness (e.g., Ide 1982; Mizutani & Mizutani 1987; Okamoto 1995; Reynolds [1986] 1990; Shibamoto 1985). Such culturally preferred characteristics of women's speech do not seem to be very exotic or specific to Japanese. What is different in Japanese is that differences can be more clearly located in morphology than in language like English, and speakers can therefore more easily be aware of such differences.

A description of women's and men's speech in Japanese is cited in IMP from an observation made in *The Japanese Language* by Roy Andrew Miller (1967). I have reproduced in (1) the conversation cited in IMP (86–87), along with the original Japanese text from Miller's book. The italics indicate expressions that Miller referred to as characteristics of women's speech, including "the deferential prefix *o*," "elegant and exalted

245

(Rising intonation on declarative)

LANGUAGE AND WOMAN'S PLACE

women, which has the form of a declarative answer to a question, and is used as such, but has the rising intonation typical of a yes-no question, as well as being especially hesitant." The effect is as though one were seeking confirmation, though at the same time the speaker may be the only one who has the requisite information.

- (15) (a) *When will dinner be ready?*
(b) *Oh . . . around six o'clock . . . ?*

It is as though (b) were saying, "Six o'clock, if that's OK with you, if you agree." (a) is put in the position of having to provide confirmation, and (b) sounds unsure. Here we find unwillingness to assert an opinion carried to an extreme. One likely consequence is that these sorts of speech patterns are taken to reflect something real about character and play a part in not taking a woman seriously or trusting her with any real responsibilities, since "she can't make up her mind" and "isn't sure of herself." And here again we see that people form judgments about other people on the basis of superficial linguistic behavior that may have nothing to do with inner character, but has been imposed upon the speaker, on pain of some punishment than not being taken seriously.

Such features are probably part of the general fact that women's speech sounds much more "polite" than men's. One aspect of politeness is as we have just described: leaving a decision open, not imposing your mind, or views, or claims on anyone else. Thus a tag question is a kind of polite statement, in that it does not force agreement or belief on the addressee. A request may be in the same sense a polite command, in that it does not overtly require obedience, but rather suggests something be done as a favor to the speaker. An overt order (as in an imperative) expresses the (often impolite) assumption of the speaker's superior position to the addressee, carrying with it the right to enforce compliance, whereas with a request the decision on the face of it is left up to the addressee. (The same is true of suggestions here; the implication is not that the addressee is in danger if he does not comply—merely that he will be glad if he does. Once again, the decision is up to the addressee, and a suggestion therefore is politer than an order.) The more particles in a sentence that reinforce the notion that it is a request, rather than an order, the politer the result. The sentences of (14) illustrate these points: (14) (a) is a direct order, (b) and (c) simple requests, and (d) and (e) compound requests.*

- (14) (a) Close the door.
(b) Please close the door.
(c) Will you close the door?
(d) Will you please close the door?
(e) Won't you close the door?

*For more detailed discussion of these problems, see Lakoff, "Language in Context."

50

(Tag Question)

THE ORIGINAL TEXT

There are situations in which a tag is legitimate, in fact the only legitimate sentence form. So, for example, if I have seen something only indistinctly, and have reason to believe my addressee had a better view, I can say:

- (9) I had my glasses off. He was out at third, wasn't he?

Sometimes we find a tag question used in cases in which the speaker knows as well as the addressee what the answer must be, and doesn't need confirmation. One such situation is when the speaker is making "small talk," trying to elicit conversation from the addressee:

- (10) Sure is hot here, isn't it?

In discussing personal feelings or opinions, only the speaker normally has any way of knowing the correct answer. Strictly speaking, questioning one's own opinions is futile. Sentences like (11) are usually ridiculous.

- (11) 'I have a headache, don't I?

But similar cases do, apparently, exist, in which it is the speaker's opinions, rather than perceptions, for which corroboration is sought, as in (12):

- (12) The way prices are rising is horrendous, isn't it?

While there are of course other possible interpretations of a sentence like this, one possibility is that the speaker has a particular answer in mind—"yes" or "no"—but is reluctant to state it baldly. It is my impression, though I do not have precise statistical evidence, that this sort of tag question is much more apt to be used by women than by men. If this is indeed true, why is it true?

These sentence types provide a means whereby a speaker can avoid committing himself, and thereby avoid coming into conflict with the addressee. The problem is that, by so doing, a speaker may also give the impression of not being really sure of himself, of looking to the addressee for confirmation, even of having no views of his own. This last criticism is, of course, one often leveled at women. One wonders how much of it reflects a use of language that has been imposed on women from their earliest years.

Related to this special use of a syntactic rule is a widespread difference perceptible in women's intonational patterns.* There is a peculiar sentence intonation pattern, found in English as far as I know only among

*For analogies outside of English to these uses of tag questions and special intonation patterns, see my discussion of Japanese particles in "Language in Context." *Language*, 48 (1973): 90–97. It is to be expected that similar cases will be found in many other languages as well. See, for example, M. R. Haas's very interesting discussion of differences between men's and women's speech (mainly involving lexical distinctions) in many languages, in D. Horn, ed., *Language in Culture and Society* (New York, Harper & Row, 1969).

49

(Empty Adjectives)

LANGUAGE AND WOMAN'S PLACE

in risks. Where a woman has a choice between the neutral words and the women's words, as a man has not, she may be suggesting very different things about her own personality and her view of the subject matter by her choice of words of the first set or words of the second.

- (5) (a) *What a terrific idea!*
(b) *What a divine idea!*

It seems to me that (a) might be used under any appropriate conditions by a female speaker. But (b) is more restricted. Probably it is used appropriately (even by the sort of speaker for whom it was normal) only in case the speaker feels the idea referred to be essentially frivolous, trivial, or unimportant to the world at large—only an amusement for the speaker herself. Consider, then, a woman advertising executive at an advertising conference. However feminine an advertising executive she is, she is much more likely to express her approval with (5) (a) than with (b), which might cause raised eyebrows, and the reaction: "That's what we get for putting a woman in charge of this company."

On the other hand, suppose a friend suggests to the same woman that she should dye her French poodles to match her cigarette lighter. In this case, the suggestion really concerns only her, and the impression she will make on people. In this case, she may use (b), from the "woman's language." So the choice is not really free: words restricted to "women's language" suggest that concepts to which they are applied are not relevant to the real world of (male) influence and power.

One may ask whether there really are no analogous terms that are available to men—terms that denote approval of the trivial, the personal, that express approbation in terms of one's own personal emotional reaction, rather than by gauging the likely general reaction. There does in fact seem to be one such word: it is the hippie invention "groovy," which seems to have most of the connotations that separate "lovely" and "divine" from "great" and "terrific," excepting only that it does not mark the speaker as feminine or effeminate.

- (6) (a) *What a terrific steel mill!*
(b) *What a lovely steel mill (male speaking)*
(c) *What a groovy steel mill!*

I think it is significant that this word was introduced by the hippies, and, when used seriously rather than sarcastically, used principally by people who have accepted the hippies' values. Principal among these is the denial of the Protestant work ethic: to a hippie, something can be worth thinking about even if it isn't influential in the power structure, or money-making. Hippies are separated from the activities of the real world just as women are—though in the former case it is due to a decision on their part, while this is not unconventionally true in the case of women. For both these

46

(Intensifier)

A tag, in its usage as well as its syntactic shape (in English) is midway between an outright statement and a yes-no question: it is less assertive than the former, but more confident than the latter. Therefore it is usable under certain contextual situations: not those in which a statement would be appropriate, nor those in which a yes-no question is generally used, but in situations intermediate between these.

One makes a statement when one has confidence in his knowledge and is pretty certain that his statement will be believed, one asks a question when one lacks knowledge on some point and has reasons to believe that this gap can and will be remedied by an answer by the addressee. A tag question, being intermediate between these, is used when the speaker is stating a claim, but lacks full confidence in the truth of that claim. So if I say

(7) Is John here?

I will probably not be surprised if my respondent answers "no", but if I say:

(8) John is here, isn't he?

instead, chances are I am already biased in favor of a positive answer, wanting only confirmation by the addressee. I still want a response from him, as I do with a yes-no question; but I have enough knowledge (or think I have) to predict that response, much as with a declarative statement. A tag question, then, might be thought of as a declarative statement without the assumption that the statement is to be believed by the addressee: one has an out, as with a question. A tag gives the addressee leeway, not forcing him to go along with the views of the speaker.

verbal and I do not understand them fully. The **intensive** is used when points would come upon an absolute superlative, heavily stressed, seems more characteristic of women's language than of men's, though it is found in the latter, particularly in the speech of male academics. Consider, for instance, the following sentences:

- (a) I feel **so unhappy**.
- (b) That movie made me **so** sad!
- (c) That sunset was **beautiful**.
- (d) Fred is **so** dumb!

Men seem to have the least difficulty using this construction when the sentence is sentimental, or unreflective—without reference to the speaker himself.

Substituting an equative like *as* for absolute superlatives like *very*, *really*, *extremely* seems to be a way of backing out of committing oneself strongly to an opinion, rather like tag questions (cf. discussion below, in the text). One might hedge in this way with perfect right in making aesthetic judgments, as in (c), or intellectual judgments, as in (d). But if it is some what odd to hedge in describing one's own mental or emotional state, who, after all, is qualified to contrast one to his? To hedge in this situation is to seek to avoid making any strong statement a characteristic, as we have noted already and shall note further, of women's speech.

at least as much a characterization of a widespread cultural ideology (or, in Lakoff's terms, a stereotype) of how women ought to speak as it is a description of the actual linguistic practices of real women. Yet this obvious fact was overlooked for many years, and only recently have scholars, made newly aware of the importance of ideology in language, recognized this crucial component of Lakoff's framework. The centrality of cultural members' beliefs about gender and language has become pivotal in research in the field, opening up new theoretical vistas that take ideology as an issue to be explored in its own right, as Lakoff did, rather than, as many of her critics would have it, as an obstacle to the correct empirical description of gendered language use.

2. Lakoff's Theorizing of "Women's Language" as an Index of Powerlessness

Whereas critics have often charged that Lakoff considers gender the most basic factor in her description of "women's language," several of the contributors point out that it is clear that Lakoff views power as the fundamental issue (e.g., Hall, Holmes, McElhinny, Meyerhoff). Moreover, as Lakoff (1990) makes explicit in her more recent writings addressing this critique, as long as gender inequality exists power and gender are inseparable concepts. This simple fact is demonstrated by a variety of contributions to this volume (e.g., Shiffrin, Herring, Kendall). However, authors also show that elements of "women's language" may be put to powerful ends (e.g., Cook-Greuter, Davies, Iliet), thereby demonstrating that, as Lakoff suggested early on, the displaced lack of power need not inevitably correlate with real-world powerlessness.

3. Lakoff's Attention to Masculinity and Men's Use of Language

LWP is most often characterized as an examination of "women's language," yet as a number of authors note, it also includes an analysis of "men's language" (e.g., Canada, Kesting, Lavin). Lakoff's description of "men's language" suggested that gendered linguistic norms for men functioned as ways of displaying an engagement with power. She addressed this issue with respect not only to men of diverse social classes but also to men whose political or occupational identities separated them from masculine norms. Lakoff's work thus presaged the increasing attention to men and masculinity in studies of language, gender, and sexuality and opened the door for a consideration of those men who may choose to resist mainstream masculinity.

4. Lakoff's Focus on Linguistic Practices That Violate Linguistic Norms

Despite the frequent charge that LWP takes a normative approach to language and gender, Lakoff was also attentive to the ways in which speakers might challenge gender norms of language use. This issue is explored most fully with respect to men, who for Lakoff, writing in the 1970s, were granted more cultural agency to opt out of traditional gendered practices. Thus Lakoff identified the speech of hippies, gay men, male academics, and upper-class men as nonnormative in the use of elements of "women's language" (Hall). But as several essays in this volume demonstrate, as cultural norms have shifted, women have likewise taken up some of the resources associated with "men's language" (Beau and Johnstone, Matsuda, Mendoza-Denton), a linguistic change that Lakoff anticipated would come in the wake of social changes in gender arrangements.

5. Lakoff's Interest in the Interaction of Gender and Social Class

A number of commentators remark on Lakoff's attention to the relationship between social class and gendered linguistic behavior (e.g., Lavin, Morgan), a relationship that for many years within language and gender studies was restricted almost entirely to qualitative studies of phonological variation. Lakoff's work on this issue is thus an important early contribution to the qualitative analysis of speech and social class. Her approach is particularly significant in that she takes the upper classes, rather than the lower, as those whose linguistic behavior is most in need of explanation, a perspective that runs counter to most sociolinguistic research. By analyzing upper-class men's use of "women's language" as a way of symbolizing their distance from the concerns of middle-class corporate masculinity, Lakoff implies that such speakers do not conform to dominant gender ideologies and should not be considered the prestige norm to which members of other social classes orient their own speech. She thus also indicates that gendered identities might differ for people of different social classes, an issue that continues to require exploration within language and gender research.

6. Lakoff's Use of an Introspective Methodology

Perhaps the most frequent target of critics of Lakoff's book is her decision to use introspection as a central source of data for her study. Several essays in this volume emphasize, however, that this approach was in keeping with mainstream linguistics of the day (e.g., Chomsky), and others offer us even more forceful objection to this complaint: introspection can be an important political and intellectual tool. Such a method can signal a rejection

(Women's Language)

2 ::

Talking Like a Lady

"Women's language" shows up in all levels of the grammar of English. We find differences in the choice and frequency of lexical items, in the situations in which certain syntactic rules are performed, in intonational and other suprasegmental patterns. As an example of lexical differences, imagine a man and a woman both looking at the same wall, painted a pinkish shade of purple. The woman may say (2):

(2) The wall is mauve.

with no one consequently forming any special impression of her as a result of the words alone; but if the man should say (2), one might well conclude he was imitating a woman sarcastically or as a homosexual or an interior decorator. Women, then, make far more precise discriminations in naming colors than do men: words like *beige*, *ecru*, *aquamarine*, *lavender*, and so on are unremarkable in a woman's active vocabulary, but absent from that of most men. I have seen a man helplessly with suppressed laughter at a discussion between two other people as to whether a book jacket was to be described as "lavender" or "mauve." Men find such discussion amusing because they consider such a question trivial, irrelevant to the real world.

We might ask why fine discrimination of color is relevant for women, but not for men. A clue is contained in the way many men in our society view other "unworldly" topics, such as high culture and the Church, as outside the world of men's work, irrelevant to women and men whose masculinity is not unquestionable. Men tend to relegate to women things that are not of concern to them, or do not involve their ego. Among these are problems of fine color discrimination. We might rephrase this point by saying that since women are not expected to make decisions on important matters, such as what kind of job to hold, they are relegated to the noncritical decisions as a sop. Deciding whether to name a color "lavender" or "mauve" is one such sop.

If it is agreed that this lexical disparity reflects a social inequity in the position of women, one may ask how to remedy it? Obviously, no one could seriously recommend legislating against the use of the terms "mauve" and "lavender" by women, or forcing men to learn to use them. All we can do is give women the opportunity to participate in the real decisions of life.

Aside from specific lexical items like color names, we find differences between the speech of women and that of men in the use of particles that grammarians often describe as "meaningless." There may be no reflex for them, but they are far from meaningless: they define the social context

(subconsciously or otherwise) expended in this game is energy sapped from more creative work, and hinders women from expressing themselves as well, as fully, or as freely as they might otherwise. Thus, if a girl knows that a professor will be receptive to comments that sound scholarly, objective, unemotional, she will of course be tempted to use neutral language in class or in conference. But if she knows that, as a man, he will respond more approvingly to her at other levels (if she uses women's language, and sounds fully and feminine, won't she be confused as well as sorely tempted in two directions at once)? It is often noticed that women participate less in class discussion than men—perhaps this linguistic indifference is one reason why. (Incidentally, I don't find this true in my classes.)

It will be found that the overall effect of "women's language"—meaning both language restricted in use to women and language descriptive of women alike—is this: it submerges a woman's personal identity, by denying her the means of expressing herself strongly, on the one hand, and encouraging expressions that suggest timidity in subject matter and uncertainty about it, and, when a woman is being discussed, by treating her as an object—sexual or otherwise—but never a serious person with individual views. Of course, other forms of behavior in this society have the same purpose but the phenomena seem especially clear linguistically.

The ultimate effect of these discrepancies is that women are systematically denied access to power, on the grounds that they are not capable of holding it, as demonstrated by their linguistic behavior along with other aspects of their behavior; and the irony here is that women are made to feel that they deserve such treatment, because of inadequacies in their own intelligence and/or education. But in fact it is precisely because women have learned their lessons so well that they later suffer such discrimination. (This situation is of course true to some extent for all disadvantaged groups; white males of Anglo-Saxon descent set the standards and seem to expect other groups to be respectful of them but not to adopt them—they are to "keep in their place.")

I should like now to talk at length about some specific examples of linguistic phenomena I have described in general terms above. I want to talk first about the ways in which women's speech differs from men's speech; and then, to discuss a number of cases in which it seems clear that women are discriminated against (usually unconsciously) by the language everyone uses. I think it will become evident from this discussion that both types of phenomena reflect a deep bias on the part of our culture (and, indeed, of every culture I have ever heard of) against women being accorded full status as rational creatures and individuals in their own right, and finally, I would like to talk briefly about what might be done, and perhaps what should not be done, to remedy things.

PART II: WHY WOMEN ARE LADIES

1 ::

Introduction

In the preceding discussion, I talked at some length about the linguistic use that characterizes traditional "women's language" as well as the way in which we speak differently of women than of men. I tried to give evidence that the discrepancies that appear to exist are harmful to women's self-image and to the image people in general form of women's character and abilities.

One of the problems I have run into in presenting these ideas is that often, while everyone acknowledges the existence of nonparallel usages such as the ones I described, people also feel that no inequity exists; men and women are "separate but equal," and no redress need be made; *no, in fact, is different*.¹ In addition, people very often feel affronted at my criticisms—this is true of both men and women—because they have been taught that the discrepancies actually favor women, and here I am trying to change them. I am striking a blow against womankind and maybe even mankind, since it benefits women and everyone else to have these distinctions. The argument most often revolves around the notions of "politeness" we were all taught as children: women's speech differs from men's in that women are more polite, which is precisely as it should be, since women are the possessors of morality and civility, and we speak around women in an especially "polite" way in return, excluding the coarseness of raffishly men's language: no slang, no swear words, no off-color remarks! Further, many of the ways we choose to speak of women reflect our higher estimate of them than of men, and eulogy and flattery, rather than humiliate. So, the argument runs, my position, that women should be aware of these discrepancies in language and do what they can to demolish them, is the one that denigrates and degrades women.

I appreciate the superficial force of that argument; and certainly, if a woman feels she has no other strength or status in the real world than as "lady," arbiter of morality, judge of manners, she might well be affronted by the comments I make. My hope is that women will recognize that such a role is insufficient for a human being and will then realize that using this language, having it used of them, and thus being placed implicitly in this role, is degrading in that it is constricting. There's nothing wrong, obviously, with having a natural sense of rhythm; but to impute this quality, slight unevenness, to all blacks and thus to each black in turn that one encounters is insulting. Similarly, if some women want to be arbiters of morality, that's fine with me; but I don't like the idea that, because I cannot

(Lexical Hedges or Fillers)

THE ORIGINAL TEXT

4. The use of **hedges** of various kinds. Women's speech seems in general to contain more instances of "well," "y'know," "kinda," and so forth words that convey the sense that the speaker is uncertain about what he (or she) is saying, or cannot vouch for the accuracy of the statement. These words are fully legitimate when, in fact, this is the case (for example, if one says, "John is sorta tall" meaning he's neither really impressively tall nor actually short, but rather middling, though toward the tall side: 5 feet 9" rather than 6 feet 5, say). There is another justifiable use in which the hedge mitigates the possible unfairness or unkindness of a statement—that is, where it's used for the sake of politeness. Thus, "John is sorta short," where I mean: He's 5 feet 2 and you're 5 feet 8. Many, so how will it look if you go out with him? Here, I know exactly how short he is, and it is very short, but I blunt the force of a rather painful assertion by using the hedge. What I mean is the class of cases in which neither of these facts pertains, and a hedge shows up anyway: the speaker is perfectly certain of the truth of the assertion, and there's no danger of offense, but the tag appears anyway as an apology for making an assertion at all. Anyone may do this if he lacks self-confidence, as everyone does in some situations, but my impression is that women do it more, precisely because they are socialized to believe that asserting themselves strongly isn't nice or ladylike, or even feminine. Another manifestation of the same thing is the use of "I guess" and "I think" prefacing declarations or "I wonder" prefacing questions, which themselves are hedges on the speech-acts of saying and asking. "I guess" means something like: I would like to say . . . to you, but I'm not sure I can (because I don't know if it's right, because I don't know if I have the right, because I don't know how you'd take it, and so on), so I'll merely put it forth as a suggestion. Thus I say, "It will rain this afternoon," and I don't say, "You can later take me to talk for a misleading or inaccurate prediction. But if I say, "I guess it will rain this afternoon," then I am far less vulnerable to such an attack. So these hedges do have their uses when one really has legitimate need for protection, or for deference (if we are afraid that by making a certain statement we are oversteering our rights), but used to excess, hedges, like question intonation, give the impression that the speaker lacks authority or doesn't know what he's talking about. Again, these are familiar misogynistic criticisms, but the use of these hedges arises out of a fear of seeming too masculine by being assertive and saying things directly.

5. **Related to this is the use of the intensifier "so."** Again, this is more frequent in women than men's language, though cer-

79

(Empty Adjective)

THE ORIGINAL TEXT

the corresponding traits expected of little girls. Now, we tend to excuse a show of temper by a man where we would not excuse an identical tirade from a woman: women are allowed to fuss and complain, but only a man can belabor in rage. It is sometimes claimed that there is a biological basis for this behavior difference, though I don't believe conclusive evidence exists that the early differences in behavior that have been observed are not the result of very different treatment of babies of the two sexes from the beginning, but surely the use of different particles by men and women is a learned trait, merely mirroring nonlinguistic differences again, and again pointing out an inequity that exists between the treatment of men, and society's expectations of them, and the treatment of women. Allowing men stronger means of expression than are open to women further reinforces men's position of strength in the real world; for surely we listen with more attention the more strongly and forcefully someone expresses opinions, and a speaker unable—for whatever reason—to be forceful in stating his views is much less likely to be taken seriously. Ability to use strong particles like "blat" and "hell" is, of course, only incidental to the inequity that exists rather than its cause. But once again, apparently accidental linguistic usage suggests that women are denied equally partially for linguistic reasons, and that an examination of language points up precisely an area in which inequity exists. Further, if someone is allowed to show emotions, and consequently does, others may well be able to view him as a real individual in his own right, as they could not if he never showed emotion. Here again, then, the behavior a woman learns as "correct" prevents her from being taken seriously as an individual, and further is considered "correct" and necessary for a woman precisely because society does not consider her seriously as an individual.

Similar sorts of disparities exist elsewhere in the vocabulary. There is, for instance, a group of adjectives which have, besides their specific and literal meanings, another use, that of indicating the speaker's approbation or admiration for something. Some of these adjectives are neutral as to sex of speaker: either men or women may use them. But another set seems, in its figurative use, to be largely confined to women's speech. **Here are some lists of both types are below:**

neutral words only
great adorable
terrific charming
cool sweet
neat lovely
divine

As with the color words and swear words already discussed, for a man to stray into the "women's" column is apt to be damaging to his reputation, though here a woman may freely use the neutral words. But it should not be inferred from this that a woman's use of the "women's" words is without

45

(Tag Question)

THE ORIGINAL TEXT

There are situations in which a tag is legitimate, in fact the only legitimate sentence form. So, for example, if I have seen something only indirectly, and have reason to believe my addressee had a better view, I can say:

(9) I had my glasses off. He was out at third, wasn't he?

Sometimes we find a tag question used in cases in which the speaker knows as well as the addressee what the answer must be, and doesn't need confirmation. One such situation is when the speaker is making "small talk," trying to elicit conversation from the addressee:

(10) Sure is hot here, isn't it?

In discussing personal feelings or opinions, only the speaker normally has any way of knowing the correct answer. Strictly speaking, questioning one's own opinions is futile. Sentences like (11) are usually irrelevant:

(11) "I have a headache, don't I?"

But similar cases do, apparently, exist, in which it is the speaker's opinion, rather than perception, for which corroboration is sought, as in (12):

(12) The way prices are rising is horrendous, isn't it?

While there are of course other possible interpretations of a sentence like this, one possibility is that the speaker has a particular answer in mind—"yes" or "no"—but is reluctant to state it baldly. It is my impression, though I do not have precise statistical evidence, that this sort of tag question is much more apt to be used by women than by men. If this is indeed true, why is it true?

These sentence types provide a means whereby a speaker can avoid committing himself, and thereby avoid coming into conflict with the addressee. The problem is that, by so doing, a speaker may also give the impression of not being really sure of himself, of looking to the addressee for confirmation, even of having no views of his own. This last criticism is, of course, one often leveled at women. One wonders how much of it reflects a use of language that has been imposed on women from their earliest years.

Related to this special use of a syntactic rule is a widespread difference perceptible in women's intonational patterns. There is a peculiar sentence intonation pattern, found in English as far as I know only among

49

For analogies outside of English to these uses of tag questions and special intonation patterns, cf. my discussion of Japanese particles in "Language in Context," *Language*, 48 (1973), 907-27. It is to be expected that similar cases will be found in other languages as well. See, for example, M. B. Haas' very interesting discussion of differences between men's and women's speech (mostly involving lexical dissimilarities) in many languages, in D. Horrocks, ed., *Language and Culture and Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

LANGUAGE AND WOMAN'S PLACE

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One makes a statement when one has confidence in his knowledge and is pretty certain that his statement will be believed; one asks a question when one lacks knowledge on some point and has reason to believe that this gap can and will be remedied by an answer by the addressee. **A tag question, being intermediate between these, is used when the speaker is stating a claim, but lacks full confidence in the truth of that claim.** So if I say:

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I will probably not be surprised if my respondent answers "no"; but if I say:

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instead, chances are I am already biased in favor of a positive answer, wanting only confirmation by the addressee. I still want a response from him, as I do with a yes-no question, but I have enough knowledge (or think I have) to predict that response, much as with a declarative statement. A tag question, then, might be thought of as a declarative statement without the assumption that the statement is to be believed by the addressee: one has an out, with a question. A tag gives the addressee leeway, not forcing him to go along with the views of the speaker.

read and I do not understand them fully. The intensifier *so*, used where points would most often appear absolute superlative, hardly stressed, seems more characteristic of women's language than of men's though it is found in the latter, particularly in the speech of male academics. Consider, for instance, the following sentences:

(a) I had no subject!

(b) That man was beautiful!

(c) Fred is so dumb!

Men seem to have the least difficulty using this construction when the sentence is nonemotional, or nonsubjective—without reference to the speaker himself!

(d) That man was beautiful!

(e) Fred is so dumb!

Substituting an equative like *so* for absolute superlatives (like *very*, *really*, *awfully*) seems to be a way of looking out of committing oneself strongly to an opinion, rather than tag questions (of discussion below, as in (2)), or rhetorical judgments, as in (1). But it is some-what odd to hedge in describing one's own record or emotional state, who, after all, is qualified to contract one on this? To hedge in this situation is to seek to avoid making any strong statement a characteristic, as we have noted already and shall note further, of women's speech.

48

(Precise color terms)

THE ORIGINAL TEXT

2 21

Talking Like a Lady

"Women's language" shows up in all levels of the grammar of English. We find differences in the choice and frequency of lexical items, in the situations in which certain syntactic rules are performed, in intonational and other suprasegmental patterns. As an example of lexical differences, imagine a man and a woman both looking at the same wall, painted a pinkish shade of purple. The woman may say (2):

(2) The wall is mauve,

with no one consequently forming any special impression of her as a result of the words alone; but if the man should say (2), one might well conclude he was insulting a woman sarcastically or was a homosexual or an interior decorator. **Women, then, make far more precise discriminations in naming colors than do men; words like beige, rose, aquamarine, lavender, and so on are unremarkable in a woman's active vocabulary, but absent from that of most men.** I have seen a man helplessly with suppressed laughter at a discussion between two other people as to whether a book jacket was to be described as "lavender" or "mauve." Men find such discussion amusing because they consider such a question trivial, irrelevant to the real world.

We might ask why fine discrimination of color is relevant for women, but not for men. A clue is contained in the view of many men in our society view other "unworldly" topics, such as high culture and the Church, as outside the world of men's work, relegated to women and men whose masculinity is not unquestionable. Men tend to relegate to women things that are not of concern to them, or do not involve their egos. Among these are problems of fine color discrimination. We might rephrase this point by saying that since women are not expected to make decisions on important matters, such as what kind of job to hold, they are relegated the noncritical decisions as a sex. Deciding whether to name a color "lavender" or "mauve" is one such sex.

If it is agreed that this lexical disparity reflects a social inequity in the position of women, one may ask how to remedy it? Obviously, no one could seriously recommend legislating against the use of the terms "mauve" and "lavender" by women, or forcing men to learn to use them. All we can do is give women the opportunity to participate in the real decisions of life.

Aside from specific lexical items like color names, we find differences between the speech of women and that of men in the use of particles that grammarians often describe as "meaningless." There may be no referent for them, but they are far from meaningless: they define the social context

43

LANGUAGE AND WOMAN'S PLACE

tainly men can use it. Here we have an attempt to hedge on one's strong feelings, as though to say: I feel strongly about this—but I dare not make it clear how strong. To say, "I like him very much," would be to say precisely that you like him to a great extent. To say, "I like him so much," waxes on that intensity again, a device you'd use if you felt it unseemly to tell you had strong emotions, or to make strong assertions, but you had to say something along those lines anyway.

6. **Hypercorrect grammar: women are not supposed to talk rough.**

It has been found that, from a very young age, little boys "drop" their *g's* much more than do little girls: boys say "finger"; girls say "finer"; and so on, while girls are less apt to. Similarly, little boys are less apt than little girls to be scolded for saying "ain't" or "at least they are scolded less severely, because "ain't" is more apt to remain in their vocabularies than in their sisters'. Generally women are viewed as being the preservers of literacy and culture, at least in Middle America, where literacy and culture are viewed as being somewhat suspect in a male. (That is, in cultures where learning is valued for itself, men are apt to be the guardians of culture and the preservers of grammar; in cultures where book learning is the schoolman's domain, this job will be relegated to the women. Jepsen remarks somewhere that women are more prone to neologism than men and hence more likely to be the originators of linguistic change; but I think he was thinking in terms of European society of the last century, where indeed the men were virtually always more highly educated than the women, and education a mark of status.)

7. **Suppletive forms.** This is the point alluded to earlier: women are supposed to speak more politely than men. This is related to their hypercorrectness in grammar, of course, since it's considered more manly in middle-class society to speak "properly." But it goes deeper: women don't use color or indicate expressions; women are the experts at euphemism; more positively, women are the repositories of tact and know the right things to say to other people, while men carelessly blurt out whatever they are thinking. Women are supposed to be particularly careful to say "please" and "thank you" and to uphold the other social conventions; certainly a woman who fails at these tasks is apt to be in more trouble than a man who does so: in a man's "just like a man," and indelibly overlooked unless his behavior is really boorish. In a woman, it's social death in conventional circles to refuse to go by the rules.

8. **Women don't tell jokes.** As we shall see in a while, this point is just an elaboration of the two immediately preceding. But it is axiomatic in middle-class American society that, first, women

80

(Superpolite forms)

- tainly men can use it. Here we have an attempt to hedge on one's strong feelings, as though to say: I feel strongly about this—but I dare not make it clear how strong. To say, "I like him very much," would be to say precisely that you like him to a great extent. To say, "I like him so much" weasels on that intensity again, a device you'd use if you felt it necessary to show you had strong emotions, or to make strong assertions, but felt you had to say something along those lines anyway.
6. Hypercorrect grammar: women are not supposed to talk rough. It has been found that, from a very young age, little boys "drop" their g's much more than do little girls: boys say "tingle", "goat", and so on, while girls are less apt to. Similarly little boys are less apt than little girls to be scolded for saying "ain't" or at least they are scolded less severely, because "ain't" is more apt to remain in their vocabularies than in their sisters'. Generally women are viewed as being the preservers of literacy and culture, at least in Middle America, where literacy and culture are viewed as being somewhat suspect in a male. (That is, in cultures where learning is valued for itself, men are apt to be the guardians of culture and the preservers of grammar; in cultures where book learning is the schoolmarm's domain, this job will be relegated to the women. Jespersen remarks somewhere that women are more prone to neologism than men and hence more likely to be the originators of linguistic change, but I think he was thinking in terms of European society of the last century, where indeed the men were virtually always more highly educated than the women, and education a mark of status.)⁹
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8. Women don't tell lies. As we shall see in a while, this point is just an elaboration of the two immediately preceding. But it is axiomatic in middle-class American society that, first, women

(Emphatic Stress)

9. "Women have at their disposal a wider range of intonation patterns than do men" (LWP 81)
- Several of the features that Lakoff observes together create a stylistic constellation that is exemplified in the following excerpt. Lakoff's evocative comment that women "speak in italics" is very clearly true of Stewart. She makes liberal use of emphatic stress, indicated in the following excerpt through capitalization. In this sample of her speech we also see the use of the intensive so and a wide intonational range. She also uses adjectives that could be classified as "empty," a set of words that Lakoff analyzes as usually indicating that the speaker is "out of power" (LWP 47):
- and my mom's recipe is utterly fantastic / ... / I love bosch / ... / I LOVE celery koree! / ... / oh that looks SO GOOD / ... / um gorgeous / ... / so that looks good / ... / so that'll thicken the soup beautifully / ... / how pretty / ... / oh I LOVE it with baked potatoes / ... / now that is the perfect soup! ... / it's really good
- The effect of this constellation of features seems to be not that Stewart is dismissed as powerless, however, but rather that she is evaluated favorably for her strong feelings and is awarded credibility for the knowledge that it is assumed that she has acquired as a result of her passion and perfectionism. Interestingly, the combination of interesting modifiers and emphatic stress has been identified as characteristic of American upper-class speech, conveying confidence, self-assurance, and the expectation of agreement from the interlocutor (Koch, 1996; Nunberg, 1990), a finding consistent with Lakoff's observations regarding upper-class use of women's language.
10. "Question intonation where we might expect declaratives" (LWP 75)
- One of the most controversial features identified by Lakoff as characteristic of women's language is the heavy use of tag questions and question intonation in statements, interpretable as indicating uncertainty and insecurity. Given that an important dimension of Stewart's presentation of self is tied to credibility, we might expect to see few such usages. However, given the demands of her role as facilitator with her guests, we might expect to find question intonation in statements and tag questions used as interactional devices to move her guests along and make the most efficient use of precious television air time. In the following excerpt we see a tag question, right, which may appear to signal that Stewart is not sure about the accuracy of what she has just said:
- MS: So Ralph's been going around my property and feeding the trees with this fabulous food and it is all organic, right?

(Rising Intonation and Emphatic stress) (The Function of Women's Language)

- not. Some of the attempts to argue against my claims have the paradoxical effect of showing the limits of empiricism—especially CA.
- Still, I should have been clearer, should have said more explicitly that I was talking about infernal spontaneous daily talk, rather than more formal discourse (like faculty meetings and business discussions). I should also have been more aware of the relationship between power and tag usage. Many counterexamples involved examples in which either gender used tags, or they were used in equal numbers by women and men. But most of those cases contained no close analysis of the tag (since functional analysis is forbidden in most CA). When women and men use similar numbers of tags, are they understood similarly? Are tags used differently by women in formal and informal contexts? These are legitimate questions, but they have not been asked or answered, to my knowledge.
- Tag usage is sometimes correlated with power, sometimes with the desire to be perceived as not powerful, and sometimes with being powerless (cf. Lakoff 1985). Sometimes women (and men) use tags as a way to achieve conversational collaboration, to encourage the participation of others, sometimes as a way of forcing an interlocutor to speak. The very syntactic complexity of the English tag sentence indicates its pragmatic complexity, the diversity of its uses. In the early 1970s, when pragmatics was just coming into linguistics, we were much less aware of any of this.
12. **Rising intonation in declaratives:** This phenomenon has recently been recognized in the popular press, associated with adolescent speech, under the name "uptalk." In both cases—traditional women and modern teens—the reason for this usage, as often for tags, seem similar: either a feeling of real powerlessness or a desire not to appear arrogant (because it isn't "nice").
13. **Euphemism as a diagnostic of embarrassment, and its relationship to women and woman-related terms:** While the need to avoid *lady* and *girl* may not be as strong as it was when I wrote this passage, the exemplification of female-related concepts is not entirely a thing of the past. Since then *gentleman* seems to have greatly extended its domain of usage, apparently replacing men even when referring to persons who are not, in any traditional sense, "gentlemen." I have often heard it used, for instance by talk-show participants, in reference to convicted criminals. If in fact gentlemen were coming to replace men, I would have no objections to *lady* replacing women. The problem is that there is a lack of parallel reference to parallel entities. Despite the increasing range of usage of *gentleman*, "garbage gentleman (parallel to cleaning lady) is still nonexistent as an occupational title. And artists still don't have "one-lady shows, so *lady* has not yet been fully established as equivalent in dignity to women. One question with no satisfactory resolution as yet, especially in public discourse, is how to refer to women who are not employed outside the home. Most common is *stay-at-home mom*, which to my ears is a little condescending. It's an improvement over the older "I don't work" while *doesn't work* (as though a mother of small children spends the day *bring* on a *divan* inhaling chocolate cherries). But here too, the awkwardness we feel in finding a suitable name for women in this status tells us that it is the status itself that is problematic. Why do we never hear about "go-to-work moms"?
- Stay-at-home moms often blame either "feminism" or women who work outside the home (how come they never hear of "men" who work outside the

PART II: CONCEPTS

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Power, Lady, and Linguistic Politeness in Language and Woman's Place

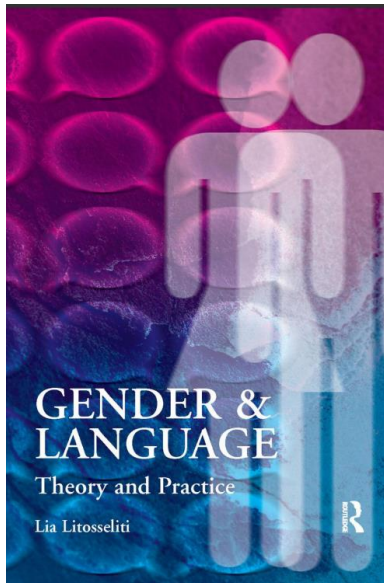
JANET HOLMES

Robin Lakoff is undoubtedly the linguist who has most profoundly influenced the direction of language and gender research worldwide—most especially perhaps in its infancy, with her groundbreaking article (1973) and book *Language and Woman's Place* (LWP) (1975). But even thirty years later, as this volume testifies, she continues to contribute insightfully and incisively to the field. LWP addressed two fundamental dimensions of the intersection of language and gender, namely the language used by and about women, dimensions which have continued to attract the attention of researchers and which have increasingly been regarded as simply different facets of one issue—the role of language in the construction of gender identity (see Holmes 2001).

Lakoff's provocative claims about the ways in which American women spoke compared to men generated a huge amount of quantitative research in the late 1970s and early 1980s—for the most part, interestingly, by nonlinguists. Sociologists, psychologists, and researchers in communication and many related areas of social science embraced with enthusiasm Lakoff's hypotheses (which she offered as a "road to further research" [LWP 40]), little realizing how successfully they would serve this function. These researchers diligently counted women's and men's uses of a range of specific linguistic forms, some of which Lakoff had provided as examples, but many of which she had never mentioned.

When the dust settled, a number of sociolinguists and discourse analysts stepped in and identified a number of misunderstandings about the nature of language which underlay and invalidated much of the burgeoning research (see, e.g., Aries 1996; Crawford 1995; Holmes 1984, 1995; Talbot 1998). Most important, they pointed out that Lakoff's hypotheses about a range of superficially distinct linguistic forms (such as stress, tag questions, and modal adverbs) were unified by an underlying analysis of two basic pragmatic functions (namely, *hedging* and *boosting*), while by contrast the disparate linguistic forms that became the focus of quantifi-

Litosseliti, L. (2006). *Gender & Language*. London & New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.



First published 2006 by Hodder Education

Published 2013 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY, 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 13: 978-0-340-80959-4 (pbk)

Typeset in 10 on 13pt Times by Phoenix Photosetting, Chatham, Kent

(Language Variation)

(Language and Gender)

Putting gender and language on the map | 13

This is in contrast to the enormous amounts of gender and language research that we have seen since the early 1970s, up to today, and with it, a wealth of different approaches, assumptions and methodologies (see Chapters 2 and 3). It is worth pointing out here that different methodological and analytical assumptions about sex and gender, about language and its different aspects, and about notions of 'truth' and 'reality', will produce different research in terms of both results and claims. This is important for understanding that, generally speaking, early research on gender and language focused on gender from the perspective of the speakers' biological sex. For example, **language variation studies focused on sex-preferential linguistic usage, that is, men and women's tendencies to speak in their own and different ways.** These ways sometimes involved phonological gender differences and sometimes gendered conversational styles (see Trudgill's (1974) work on sociolinguistic variation in Norwich; Cheshire's (1978) research on dialects; Labov (1990) for a discussion). Trudgill found that in many styles (e.g. both casual and formal speech) women used fewer non-standard forms than men, and that the use of non-standard forms, such as multiple negation, was associated with working-class speakers and with male speakers. Trudgill claimed that women are more status-conscious than men. However, such a biological explanation ignores women's and men's social roles and positions, for example, the fact that many women's jobs require them to be more 'well spoken', or that many women 'perform' well-spokenness in conforming to the types of social behaviour most expected of them. It also ignores the fact that gender differences involve differences in orientation to other social categories, and therefore effects of gender in variation cannot be reduced to notions of male/female speech as 'more or less conservative' (Eckert, 1989).

As gender and language study became more sophisticated and more complex, the questions asked moved from the micro-level of sociolinguistic investigation to a broader consideration of language as social practice. But most research studies in the 1970s and the 1980s focused either on gender and language use, and specifically gender differences, or gender (bias) in language as an abstract system, with the focus on the lexicon/individual words (Sunderland and Litosseliti, 2002). We will look at the discussion on gender and language use, and gender differences, in Chapter 2. The emphasis on gender bias in language is particularly evident in arguments over the notion of sexist language, which is discussed next.

SEXIST LANGUAGE

The term 'sexism' was coined in the 1960s, probably by analogy with the term racism, to describe 'discrimination within a social system on the basis of sexual membership' (Wodak, 1997: 7). Sexism makes sense within a historically hierarchical relationship between men and women, where one is the norm, and the other marked as 'other' or inferior, and in relation to a wide range of social practices where women (and in some cases men) are exploited, manipulated or constrained because of their sex.

If language is a powerful medium through which the world is both reflected and

10 | Gender and Language

'hooded youths', 'male nurse', or 'spinster'; and how much information is conveyed (or not) by the term 'domestic violence'. In addition, violent, shocking, or high impact events, for example, war, provide vivid and highly charged contexts where language is paramount. During the Second World War, the Japanese were constructed as the dehumanized enemy, described as 'specimens' to be 'bagged'. In Rwanda, during the 1994 genocide, the Tutsis were described as 'cockroaches', the target of 'bush-clearing' by the Hutus, who were ordered to 'remove tall weeds' (adults) and 'shoot' (children). The killing of people in wars has typically been reconceptualized as 'action', 'severe measures', 'evacuating', or 'rendering harmless'. In many cases, 'war' has become 'conflict', 'killing fields' have become 'free fire zones', and 'killing civilians' has become 'collateral damage' (Bourke, 1999, 2001). These reconceptualizations help constitute particular versions of events, such as a bombing, and particular social and power relations, such as those between 'us' and the 'other' (whoever the doer(s) and the receiver(s) of an action may be). Similarly, in terms of gender, the use of phrasing such as 'male nurse' or 'female doctor' or 'lady doctor' effectively constitutes particular versions of the social world, where it is necessary or important for speakers to index gender in that way.

The view of language not as a fixed or closed system, but as dynamic, complex and subject to change, assumes that every time we use language, we make meaningful selections from the linguistic resources available to us (Antaki, 1994). This is hardly a straightforward process, not least because these selections are embedded in a local/immediate, as well as broader/institutional and socio-cultural context (Antaki, 1988, 1994; Fairclough, 1992). Consider, for example, a public debate on the topic of abortion. The language that may be used to write or talk about this topic must be viewed in the context of the particular social occasion (e.g. at school, in parliament, in the media); of the medium (e.g. spoken, written); of who argues (e.g. a doctor, a legislator, a campaigner); for what purpose(s) (e.g. to convince, to change a situation) and from what perspective. The range of perspectives on abortion may vary according to the participants' age, sex, education, race, class, or religion, but also their expectations, experiences, knowledge, expertise, and involvement. Different perspectives will also reflect and promote different assumptions (or discourses, as we will see in Chapter 3) around gender, for example, about women's position in a society, their relative power in terms of decision-making, the role of parenting, a society's views about sex, and so on. It then becomes obvious that in order to understand the role that language plays in establishing and maintaining any social relations, including gender relations, we have to look outside of language itself, at the wider social processes in which language plays a part (Giddell and Swann, 1989).

SEX AND GENDER

The terms sex and gender are sometimes used interchangeably as synonyms. Language and gender theorists have generally made a distinction between sex as biological and gender as a product of social context. According to this distinction, sex refers to biological maleness and femaleness, or the physiological, func-

Putting gender and language on the map | 11

tion, maleness/femaleness that distinguishes men and women, whereas gender refers to the traits assigned to a sex – what maleness and femaleness stand for – within different societies and cultures.

Gender can then be seen as a broader, a more encompassing and complex term. As Giddell and Swann (1989) state, the many different life experiences of women and men cannot be simply explained by biological differences between the sexes. Biological differences cannot account for the fact that a person may be more or less 'feminine' and more or less 'masculine'. Further, the many variations of maleness and femaleness over time/from one generation to the next, across cultures, and across contexts, show that the traits assigned to a sex by a culture are socially determined and learned, and therefore alterable (Wodak, 1997; Talbot, 1998). Current theories of gender recognize not only that behaving as men or women within a society will vary from one situation to the next, from one social grouping or community to another, and according to different goals, aims, and interests, but also that people are active agents involved in their own 'gendering' or 'doing gender' (see Chapter 3).

The distinction between sex and gender is important and political. Biological explanations of socially constructed differences between men and women are often used to justify male privileges or reassert traditional family and gender roles, for example, women's so-called 'natural' role as mothers and nurturers (see Talbot, 1998, for other examples). Unsurprisingly, feminists have strongly criticized biological explanations of 'natural' differences between the sexes for perpetuating gender myths, stereotypes, and imbalances that are ultimately damaging for both women and men.

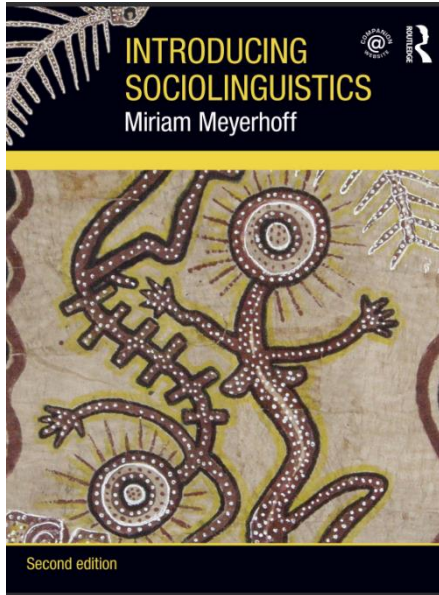
Question 2

Identify other examples of biological explanations of gender differences. What are their possible effects and implications?

In addition to assumptions about women as career/nurturers and men as providers, other examples relating to Question 2 may include 'men as active' vs 'women as passive', 'male rationality' vs 'female emotionality', men as more suitable for certain jobs than women and vice versa, and the pay gap between male and female employees (see also Chapter 2, Beyond difference, p. 40).

Theorizations of the distinction between sex and gender have developed in recent years. As we will also see in Chapter 3, rather than simply talking about a biological sex and a social gender, we have come to ask more complex questions about the processes of gendering, questions of agency in these processes, and questions around gender ideologies. In addition to discussions of gender as context-dependent femininities and masculinities and not as a set of traits characterizing women and men, recently there has also been discussion of sex as a less clear-cut dichotomy. The latter can be seen in cases of inter-sexed infants – born as both male and female, or as neither, or as indeterminate – who tend to develop the gender identity of the sex assigned to them at birth (Giddens, 1989; Lober and Farrell, 1991; Bem, 1993; Bing and

Meyerhoff, M. (2011). *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. 2nd Edition, London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.



First published 2006
This second edition first published 2011
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10017
Reprinted 2009 (four times), 2010 (twice)
Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business
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Typeset in AdobeGothic and Caslonic by
Keytype, Station Road, Cobalt, Wolverhampton
Printed and bound in Great Britain by
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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library
Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
Meyerhoff, Miriam.
Introducing sociolinguistics / Miriam Meyerhoff. – 2nd ed.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Sociolinguistics. I. Title.
II. Meyerhoff, Miriam.
306.44—dc22
2010037856
ISBN 978-0-415-55009-5 (hbk)
ISBN 978-0-415-55009-0 (pbk)
ISBN 978-0-203-87419-6 (eak)

(Sociolinguistics)

Chapter 1

Introduction

WHAT IS SOCIOLINGUISTICS?

If I had a penny for every time I have tried to answer the question, 'So what is sociolinguistics?' I could be writing this book in the comfort of an early retirement. And if there was a way of defining it in one simple, yet comprehensive, sentence, there might not be a need for weighty introductory textbooks.

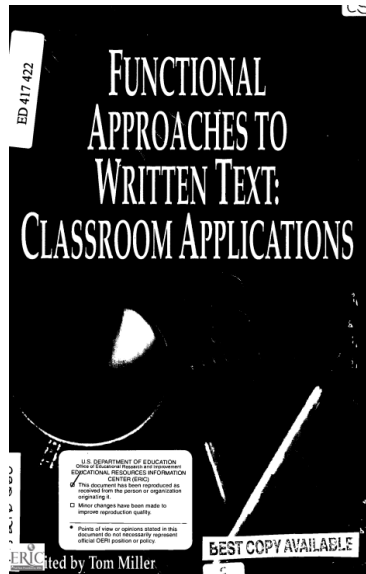
Sociolinguistics is a very broad field, and it can be used to describe many different ways of studying language. A lot of linguists might describe themselves as sociolinguists, but the people who call themselves sociolinguists may have rather different interests from each other and they may use very different methods for collecting and analysing data. This can be confusing if you are coming new to the field. So sociolinguistics about how individual speakers use language? It is about how people use language differently in different towns or regions? It is about how a nation decides what languages will be recognised in courts or education? The answer is: yes, yes, and yes. Sociolinguists conduct research on any of those topics. For example, if a speaker describes a funny or amusing situation as 'hilarious', I know they are from, or have spent a good deal of time in, the English-speaking Caribbean. I am drawing on sociolinguistic (social and linguistic) knowledge to draw this inference.

Or take the case of Jennifer, who grew up in a small traditionally fishing village in the north-east of Scotland, but spent many years teaching English in Greece. Jennifer can draw on a number of different styles or ways of speaking, depending on who she is talking to. If her interlocutor is a member of her family, she still uses a variety of Scots which is virtually incomprehensible to other native speakers of English. She says 'f' instead of 'what', 'na' instead of 'don't', 'door' instead of 'down', 'be'er' instead of 'beater', and so forth. But in Greece she quickly learnt that she needed to adopt a less regionally marked way of speaking if her students were going to understand her, and when she later began attending professional conferences with an international audience, she had the same experience. Everyone can modify the way they speak depending on who they are with or what the situation is. When they do this, they are drawing on their sociolinguistic knowledge. And every time they change the way they speak, depending on their interlocutor or situation, they provide more sociolinguistic information that builds up the sociolinguistic knowledge in the community.

HOW DO SOCIOLINGUISTS STUDY SOCIOLINGUISTICS?

Sociolinguists use a range of methods to analyse patterns of language in use and attitudes towards language in use. Some sociolinguistic patterns can only be observed systematically

Meyer-S., F. (1997). *I Think that Perhaps You Should: A Study of Hedges in Written Scientific Discourse*. In T. Miller (Ed.). *Functional Approaches to Written Text: Classroom Applications*. Washington, D.C., USA: English Language Programs-United States Information Agency.



DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 417 422 CS 216 260

AUTHOR Miller, Tom, Ed.

TITLE Functional Approaches to Written Text: Classroom Applications.

INSTITUTION United States Information Agency, Washington, DC.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC12 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS *Discourse Analysis; Elementary Secondary Education; *English Instruction; *Grammar; Higher Education; Reading Instruction; Rhetorical Theory; Science Instruction; Second Language Learning; *Text Structure; Textbooks; Writing Instruction.

IDENTIFIERS Functional Grammar; Social Constructivism; Text Factors

ABSTRACT Noting that little in language can be understood without taking into consideration the wider picture of communicative purpose, content, context, and audience, this book address practical uses of various approaches to discourse analysis. Several assumptions run through the chapters: knowledge is socially constructed; the manner in which language accomplishes the goals of communication affects the overall text macro-organization to the choice of words; and most texts are so rich and complicated that no single approach can tease out all of the meaning. Chapters in the book are: (1) "Discourse Analysis and Reading Instruction" (William Grabe); (2) "Contrastive Rhetoric" (Robert Kaplan); (3) "Text Analysis and Pedagogical Grammar: Rhetorical Tools and Devices" (Ann Johns and Danette Pasi); (4) "Rhetorical Models of Understanding" (Claire Kramsch); (5) "From Information Transfer to Data Commentary" (John Swales and Christine Peak); (6) "Critical Discourse Analysis" (Thomas Buchs); (7) "Words and Pictures in a Biology Textbook" (Deng Myers); (8) "I Think That Perhaps You Should: A Study of Hedges in Written Scientific Discourse" (Françoise Salager-Meyer); (9) "The Voices of the Discourse of the Problem of Who Says What in News Reports" (Ana Maria Harvey); (10) "Applied Genre Analysis and ESP" (Vijay K. Bhatia); (11) "Genre Models for the Teaching of Academic Writing to Second Language Speakers: Advantages and Disadvantages" (Tony Dudley-Evans); (12) "Conducting and Practical Grammar" (Tony Japp); (13) "Describing and Teaching English Grammar with Reference to Written Discourse" (Marianne Colme-Marcial); (14) "Tense and Aspect in Context" (Kathleen Bardovi-Harlig); (15) "Towards a Psycho-Grammatical Description of the English Language" (Jean-Louis Lapierre and Wilfrid Rogge); (16) "Using the Concepts of Given Information and New Information in Classes on the English Language" (William J. Vandae Rogge); (17) "Theme and Rheme in Written English" (Peter K. Frias); and (18) "Waves of Abstraction: Organizing Exposition" (J.K. Martin). Contains approximately 300 references. (RS)

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(Lexical Hedges)

I Think That Perhaps You Should: A Study of Hedges in Written Scientific Discourse

tions 1, 2 and 3 above. A totally unhedged style would not be considered seriously by journal editors. It should be made clear at this stage that it is difficult to be sure in any particular instance which of the four above-mentioned concepts is intended nor need we assume that the authors of hedged utterances always know why they hedge their statements in the first place. As we explained elsewhere (Salager-Meyer, 1994), hedges are first and foremost the product of a mental attitude, and decisions about the function of a span of language are bound to be subjective.

TAXONOMY OF HEDGES
Although not totally comprehensive nor categorically watertight, the scheme below represents the most widely used hedging categories, at least in scientific English. Typically, hedging is expressed through the use of the following "strategic stereotypes":

1. Modal auxiliary verbs (the most straightforward and widely used means of expressing modality in English academic writing), the most tentative ones being: *may, might, can, could, would, should*:

- Such a measure *might* be more sensitive to changes in health after specialist treatment.
- Concerns that naturally low cholesterol levels *could* lead to increased mortality from other causes may well be *unfounded*. (Observe the cumulative hedging effect: the main and the subordinate clauses are both hedged.)

2. Modal lexical verbs (or the so-called "speech act verbs") used to perform acts such as doubting and evaluating rather than merely describing) of varying degree of illocutionary force: *to seem, to appear* (epistemic verbs), *to believe, to assume, to suggest, to estimate, to tend, to think, to argue, to indicate, to propose, to speculate*. Although a wide range of verbs can be used in this way (Banks, 1994), there tends to be a heavy reliance on the above-mentioned examples especially in academic writing:

- Our analysis *suggests* that high doses of the drug can lead to relevant blood pressure reduction. (Here too we have a cumulative hedging effect)
- These results *indicate* that the presence of large vessel peripheral arterial disease may reflect a particular susceptibility to the development of atherosclerosis. (Same cumulative hedging effect as above)
- In spite of its limitations, *our study appears* to have a number of important strengths.
- Without specific training, medical students' communication skills *seem* to decline during medical training.

Françoise Salager-Meyer

3. Adjectival, adverbial and nominal modal phrases:

- 3.1 probability adjectives: e.g. *possible, probable, unlikely*
- 3.2 nouns: e.g. *assumption, claim, possibility, estimate, suggestion*
- 3.3 adverbs (which could be considered as non-verbal modals): e.g., *perhaps, possibly, probably, practically, likely, presumably, virtually, apparently*.

- Septicemia is *likely* to result, which might threaten his life.
- *Possibly* the setting of the neural mechanisms responsible for this sensation is altered in patients with chronic fatigue syndrome.
- This is *probably* due to the fact that Greenland Eskimos consume diets with a high content of fish.

4. Approximators of degree, quantity, frequency and time: e.g. *approximately, roughly, about, often, occasionally, generally, usually, somewhat, somehow, a lot of*.

- Fever is present in *about* a third of cases and sometimes there is *no* tropenia.
- Persistent subjective fatigue *generally* occurs in relative isolation.

5. Introductory phrases such as *I believe, to our knowledge, it is our view that, we feel that*, which express the author's personal doubt and direct involvement.

- We *believe* that the chronic fatigue syndrome reflects a complex interaction of several factors. There is *no* simple explanation.

6. "If" clauses, e.g., if true, if anything

- *If true*, then, our study contradicts the myth that fishing attracts the bravest and strongest men.

7. Compound hedges. These are phrases made up of several hedges, the commonest forms being: 1. a modal auxiliary combined with a lexical verb with a hedging content (e.g. *it would appear*), and 2. a lexical verb followed by a hedging adverb or adjective where the adverb (or adjective) reinforces the hedge already inherent in the lexical verb (e.g. *it seems reasonable/probable*). Such compound hedges can be double hedges (*it may suggest that, it seems likely that; it would indicate that; this probably indicates*); triple hedges (*it seems reasonable to assume that*), quadruple hedges (*it would seem somewhat unlikely that, it may appear somewhat speculative that*), and so on.

Nikula, T., & Petofi, J.S. (1997). *Hedging and Discourse*, New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co



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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hedging and discourse : approaches to the analysis of a pragmatic phenomenon in academic texts / edited by Rajja Markkanen and Hartmut Schabert.
p. cm. — (Research in text theory = Untersuchungen zur Texttheorie ; v. 24)
Collection of studies originally published 1995-1993.
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN 3-11-015591-5 (hbk, paper)
1. Discourse analysis. 2. Pragmatics. 3. Language and culture.
I. Markkanen, Rajja. II. Schabert, Hartmut. III. Series: Research in text theory ; v. 24.
P302.144 1997 97-17338
487—dc21 CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek — CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Hedging and discourse : approaches to the analysis of a pragmatic phenomenon in academic texts / ed. by Rajja Markkanen and Hartmut Schabert. — Berlin ; New York : de Gruyter, 1997
(Research in text theory ; Vol. 24)
ISBN 3-11-015591-5

ISSN 0179-4167

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Printed in Germany
Printing: Werner Hölscher, Berlin
Binding: Lillienz & Pauen GmbH, Berlin

(Fillers)

ers are not fully committed to the validity of the proposition they are conveying.⁴ Following Prince et al. (1982), such expressions will be called 'shields'. The other category of hedges contains expressions such as *sort of*, *kind of*, *sometimes* and *fit* (see e.g. Lakoff 1972, Sclenon 1988). Rather than indicating the exact degree to which speakers are committed to the truth of the proposition as a whole, these expressions focus on a word or an expression, making its meaning more fuzzy and imprecise (e.g. *sort of funny*, *a fit old-fashioned*). These expressions will be called 'approximators'.⁵ Prince et al. (1982, 85) formulate the division by saying that while approximators introduce fuzziness within a proposition, shields introduce fuzziness between the speaker and the proposition. It can also be argued that shields bring speakers and their personal assessments quite explicitly to the open whereas speakers can avoid giving emphasis to their role in interaction by using approximators. Shields could thus be characterized as markers of uncertainty and approximators as markers of deontological vagueness. Yet they both help reduce the force of what speakers are saying and in that sense both types function as hedging devices.⁶

Although this paper mainly focuses on shields and approximators, attention will also be paid to expressions such as *I mean*, *you know*, *well* and *like*, which Östman (1981) calls pragmatic particles and Schiffrin (1987) discourse markers. Some writers include these expressions in hedges (e.g. Browns/Levinson 1978). They are kept separate from the category of hedges proper in this paper, however. One reason is that their scope of influence is often hard to define and they cannot therefore be divided into shields and approximators in the same way as hedges; they are often ambivalent in that they seem to have characteristics of both. Another problem is that they do not always function as modifiers. Speakers often use them to organize discourse. These expressions can, for example, function as turn-taking or turn-yielding devices. They can also occur as pause fillers or hesitation markers, and speakers can use them out of habit rather than in an interpersonally salient function. In fact, they have often been

⁴ Lyons (1977, 797) defines epistemic modality as follows: 'Any utterance in which the speaker explicitly qualifies his commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed by the sentence he utters, whether this qualification is made explicit in the verbal component or in the prosodic or paralinguistic component is an epistemically modal or modalized utterance'. Lyons thus makes it clear that epistemic modality is not the property of the verbal expression alone. This paper, however, concentrates only on the verbal component.

⁵ It is possible to make a similar division between emphasizing expressions. Thus, for example, *obviously* and *obviously* indicate speaker's full commitment to the truth of the proposition, whereas *very* and *extremely* typically focus on a word or an expression, intensifying its meaning.

⁶ The following approximators and shields were used by the native and non-native speakers of English in the present study. Note that this is not meant to be an exhaustive list of hedges. It rather illustrates hedging expressions that are likely to occur in informal face-to-face conversations. In different contexts speakers might use a different set of expressions. Approximators: *kind of*, *sort of*, *a bit*, *a little*, *fairly*, *not really*, *not very*, *pretty*, *about*, *just*, *almost*, *quite*, *actually*, *basically*, or *something like that*, *something*, and *everything*, or *whatever*, and that sort of thing, and stuff like that. Shields: *I think*, *I suppose*, *I guess*, *I feel*, *I find*, *I figure*, *I don't know*, *I'm not sure*, *maybe*, *probably*, *perhaps*, *supposedly*, *possibly*, *may*, *could*, *would*, *should*, *might*, *sounds*, *seems*, *used*, *ing* questions.

Oxford Learner's Dictionaries. (n.d.). Retrieved August 19, 2023, from <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/>

English
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Definition of movie noun from the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary

movie noun

AI /ˈmuːvi/
/ˈmuːvi/
 (especially North American English)

1 **AI** [countable] a series of moving pictures recorded with sound that tells a story, watched at a movie theater or on a television or other device

SYNONYM film

- You'll love this movie.
- Let's watch a movie tonight.
- Have you seen the latest Miyazaki movie?
- to rent/download a movie

Other results

All matches

movie

B-movie noun

buddy movie noun

movie star noun

road movie noun

snuff movie noun

action movie noun

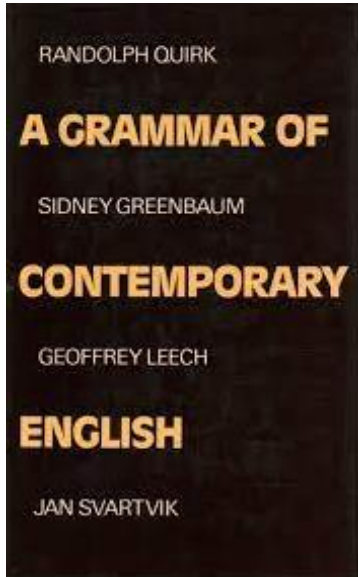
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Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1992). *A Grammar of Contemporary English*. UK: Longman Group.



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 Essex CM20 2JE, England
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 the prior written permission of the Copyright owner.
 First published 1972
 Ninth impression (corrected) 1980
 Twentieth impression 1992
 ISBN 0 582 52444 X
 Produced by Longman Singapore Publishers Pte Ltd
 Printed in Singapore

PREFACE

The first attempts at producing a grammar of English were made when there were less than ten million speakers of English in the world, almost all of them living within 100 miles or so of London. Grammars of English have gone on being written during the intervening 400 years reflecting a variety (and growing complexity) of needs, while speakers of English have multiplied several hundredfold and dispersed themselves so that the language has achieved a uniquely wide spread throughout the world and, with that, a unique importance. We make no apology for adding one more to the succession of English grammars. In the first place, though fairly brief synopses are common enough, there have been very few attempts at so comprehensive a coverage as is offered in the present work. Fewer still in terms of synchronic description. And none at all so comprehensive or in such depth has been produced within an English-speaking country. Moreover, our Grammar aims at this comprehensiveness and depth in treating English irrespective

(Intensifier)

We should distinguish the cleft sentence from a correlative structure which it resembles but from which it differs prosodically: It was not that John protested, it was merely that he was rude. In the above sentences the adjuncts are functioning within the super-ordinate clause in which the [It-of]-clause is complement. Restrictives, additives and some disjuncts (eg. possibly, probably) commonly occur in this correlative structure. Other examples: It's partly that she's good-looking, it's partly that she's clever. It's not that they object to him; it's more probably that they have no interest in him. It's not just that he's young; it's sure that he's inexperienced. Note Exactly and precisely are used as comment utterances on a previous declarative sentence: a: He has no business to be there. .(Exactly).¹ Precisely. But these seem to be related to some implied sentence, such as "That is exactly (precisely) what I feel". Quite ("I quite agree") is used in the same way in BrE. In AmE right is used to express agreement, and is more common than exactly or precisely.

Intensifiers 8.19
 Intensifiers have in common a brightening or lowering effect on some unit in the sentence. In this chapter we are concerned with their effect.

Adjuncts 439
 on the force of the predicate in part or in whole, and particularly on the force of the verb. **The intensifiers can be divided into three semantic classes:**

- (1) **emphasizers**
- (2) **amplifiers**
- (3) **downtoners**

It must be noted that intensifiers are not limited to indicating an 'intensification'; they indicate a point on the intensity scale which may be high or low. Emphasizers have a general heightening effect; amplifiers scale upwards from an assumed norm; downtoners have a lowering effect, usually scaling downwards from an assumed norm. Scaling is possible only when the verb is gradable. The three classes are shown with their subclasses in Fig 8.3. The classification is merely a rough.

INTENSIFIERS
 -emphasizers (eg. definitely)
 [maximizers (eg. completely) | boosters (eg. very much)
 compromisers (eg. kind of) diminishes (eg. partly) minimizers (eg. hardly)
 -approximators (eg. almost)

AMPLIFIERS

DOWNTONERS

Fig 8.3 Classification of intensifiers
 guide to semantic distinctions. This is because (a) the varying effects of intensifiers represent a semantic gradient, which is obscured by a clear-cut division into classes;

(b) some intensifiers are sometimes used for different effects; and (c) speakers vary in their use of intensifiers.

Most of the common intensifiers are adverbs, but there are also some noun phrases and a few prepositional phrases. Note [o] For intensifying adjectives, see 5.31. For modifying adverbs as intensifiers, see 5.5/5.54-58. [*] For gradability with reference to adjectives and adverbs, see 5.39, 5.70.

Emphasizers 8.20

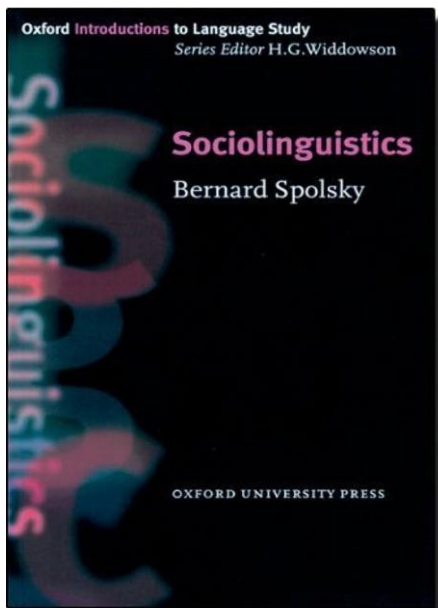
Common intensifiers include:
 [B] actually, certainly, clearly, definitely, indeed, obviously, plainly, * really, surely; for certain, for sure, of course

[F] frankly, honestly, literally, simply: fairly (BrE), just440 **Adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts**

Group A consists mainly of items that can also function as **attitudinal disjuncts**, expressing the comment that what is being said is true (8.82). **Group B** consists mainly of items that can also function as **style disjuncts** conveying the speaker's assertion that he is speaking the unvarnished truth (8.80). Since it is normally expected that a person intends his hearer to accept what he says as true, the addition of the comment or assertion emphasizes the truth of the communication. When these intensifiers are positioned next to a part of the communication, without being separated intonationally or by punctuation, their effect is often to emphasize that part alone, though there may be ambivalence as to whether the emphasis is on the part or on the whole. Examples of the use of intensifiers:
 She plainly likes the dress
 I honestly don't know what he wants
 I can't really believe him
 He actually sat next to her
 I just can't understand it
 They will surely object to his intervention
 They literally tore his arguments to pieces
 They obviously don't want it
 He fairly jumped for joy (BrE)
 I simply don't believe it
 They will warn us for sure.

Note In Group A, for certain and for sure cannot function as attitudinal disjuncts (among other things, they cannot be positioned initially) but are obviously related to certainty and surely respectively in their intensifier uses. In Group B, fairly (BrE) and just cannot function as style disjuncts. However, fairly can be related to the set of style disjuncts to be fair, to put it fairly, etc. for which there happens to be no corresponding adverb, while an association can be seen between simply (simply, style disjunct, / an speaking simply, process adjunct / in a simple manner, / simply say, restrictive (8.13) / merely, 'only', 'just' and just (I just say- restrictive).
 8.21
 Co-occurrence restrictions on intensifiers

Spolsky, B. (1998). *Sociolinguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press.



Oxford University Press,
Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP
Oxford New York
Auckland Bangkok Buenos Aires
Cape Town Chennai Dar es Salaam Delhi
Hong Kong Istanbul Karachi Kolkata Kuala Lumpur
Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Mumbai Nairobi
Sao Paulo Shanghai Taipei Tokyo Toronto

OXFORD AND OXFORD ENGLISH
are trade marks of Oxford University Press

ISBN 0 19 437211 1

© Oxford University Press 1998

First published 1998

Fourth impression 2003

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Typeset by Wymen 21 Ltd, Bristol
Printed in China

0 4 3 7 1

(Sociolinguistics)

1

The social study of language

The scope of enquiry

Sociolinguistics is the field that studies the relation between language and society, between the uses of language and the social structures in which the users of language live. It is a field of study that assumes that human society is made up of many related patterns and behaviours, some of which are linguistic.

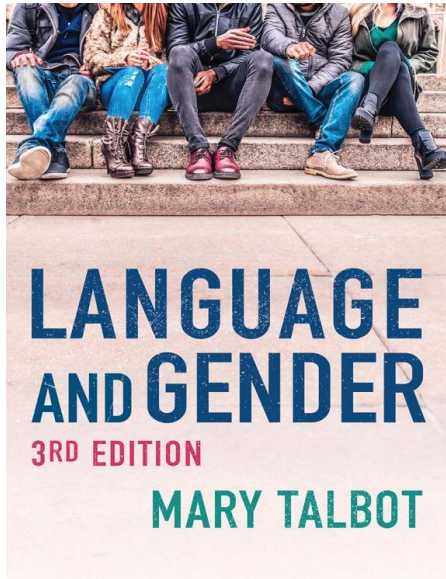
One of the principal uses of language is to communicate meaning, but it is also used to establish and to maintain social relationships. Watch a mother with a young child. Most of their talk is devoted to nurturing the social bond between them. Listen to two friends talking. Much of their conversation functions to express and refine their mutual compact of companionship. When you meet strangers, the way they talk informs you about their social and geographical backgrounds, and the way you talk sends subtle or blatant signals about what you think of them. It is these aspects of language use that sociolinguists study.

In the thirty years or so that it has been recognized as a branch of the scientific study of language, sociolinguistics has grown into one of the most important of the 'hyphenated' fields of linguistics. This term distinguishes the core fields of historical and descriptive linguistics (phonology, morphology, and syntax) from the newer interdisciplinary fields like psycholinguistics, applied linguistics, neurolinguistics, and sociolinguistics or the sociology of language. Stranded at times between sociology (one of the field's putative parents) and linguistics (the other), the practitioners of sociolinguistics have so far avoided the rigorous bounds of a single theoretical model, or the identifying shelter of a single

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THE SOCIAL STUDY OF LANGUAGE
Go to Settings to

Talbot, M. (2020). *Language and Gender*. 3rd Edition, UK: Polity Press



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First published in 1998 by Polity Press

This edition published in 2020 by Polity Press

Polity Press
65 Bridge Street
Cambridge CB2 1UR, UK
Polity Press
191 Station Landing
Suite 300
Medford, MA 02155, USA

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ISBN-13: 978-1-5095-3012-0

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Name: Talbot, Mary M., 1954- author.

Title: Language and gender / Mary Talbot.

Description: Third edition. | (Cambridge, UK ; Medford, MA : Polity Press, 2019. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019006573 (print) | LCCN 2019006204 (ebook) | ISBN 9781509530120 (Epub) | ISBN 9781509530090 (hardback) | ISBN 9781509530106 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: Language and languages--Sex differences.

Classification: LCC P128 .S48 (ebook) | LCC P128 .S48 T5 2019 (print) | DDC 306.44--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2019006573>

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(Background of The Research Weakening or Hedging Functions and

Strengthening or Boosting Functions)

women's speech. Bear in mind that she was only attempting to describe the language habits of women in what she calls 'Middle America'; she was not claiming to describe those of all women everywhere. Moreover, she shifts between claims about actual behaviour and claims about stereotypical expectations. **Some of the features that she considers are lexical items:** VOCABULARY OF WOMEN'S WORK A stock of words relating to women's activities and interests, such as **shirr, dart**. Lakoff says they would be used by men only tongue-in-cheek.

PRECISE COLOUR TERMS Words such as **beige, ecru, aquamarine**. Lakoff reports seeing a man 'helpless with suppressed laughter at a discussion between two other people as to whether a book jacket was to be described as "lavender" or "mauve"' (2004b: 43). She concludes from this that from a man's point of view such fine distinctions are trivial and beneath their notice.

AFFECTIVE ADJECTIVES A great many words have affective meaning (to do with expressing feelings), not referential meaning (related to some object or state of affairs). Lakoff suggests that, out of the wide range of adjectives used in expressing approval or admiration, many are **strongly** marked as feminine, such as **divine, adorable**. She refers to such words as 'empty' adjectives.

SUPERPOLITE FORMS Here Lakoff is referring to things like avoidance of swear words and extensive use of euphemism. Euphemisms are veiled, indirect expressions (saying **passed away** instead of **died**, for instance). People use swear words to express strong feelings, but in women they are supposed to be 'unladylike'. Lakoff contrasts these two hypothetical utterances: (a) Oh dear, you've put the peanut butter in the fridge again, and (b) **Shit**, you've put the peanut butter in the fridge again. She suggests that people would identify speaker (a) as a woman and (b) as a man, acknowledging that some women are becoming capable of uttering (b) 'publicly without flinching' (2004a: 44). Oddly, non-swearing seems to be presented as something negative. (Note that swear words could be called 'empty' words. Like the 'empty' adjectives women are supposed to employ, they are used to express feelings, that is, their meaning is of the affective kind and not referential.) Many of the features Lakoff proposes, however, are discourse particles and patterns of intonation, features that, like swear

words, do not really have any referential function but work affectively. Most of them serve one of two functions: they either **weaken** or **strengthen** the force of what a person is saying.

HEDGES These are 'filler' items like **you know, well**, which reduce the force of an utterance. We often use them to add tentativeness to statements, making them seem less dogmatic. Sometimes they indicate uncertainty, but not always. For instance, **sort of** may be used to **weaken the strength** of an assertion that might cause offence, as in 'John is sorta short.' Lakoff maintains that women's use of these hedges 'arises out of a fear of seeming too masculine by being assertive and saying things directly' (2004a: 79).

THE INTENSIFIER so As in 'I like him so much!' Lakoff puzzlingly calls this a hedge too. It is supposed to weaken a speaker's strength of feeling. It has subsequently been viewed as a **boosting device** (like **very**).

TAG QUESTIONS As the name suggests, these are questions tagged on to an utterance, such as **don't you?** According to Lakoff, they turn a statement into a question, so that its **force is reduced**. She takes them as indications of approval seeking.

RISING INTONATION In many languages, including many varieties of English, intonation rises at the final point of questions. As with tag questions, this is supposed to turn a statement into a question, thereby **weakening its force** and making the speaker sound uncertain. This is Lakoff's example: (a) When will dinner be ready? (b) Oh ... around six o'clock ...?

HYPERCORRECT GRAMMAR As Lakoff says, 'women are **not supposed to talk rough**' (2004a: 80). What she is referring to here is women's tendency to use standard forms more than men (see [chapter 2](#)). By 'hypercorrect', she seems to imply that they are more correct than they ought to be.

EMPHATIC STRESS! Lakoff refers to this as speaking in italics, as in 'What a *beautiful dress!*' She suggests that women use over-the-top emphasis because they anticipate not being taken seriously. What she seems to be touching on here is women's greater pitch range (see [chapter 2](#)).

Another supposedly female characteristic Lakoff mentions is lack of any sense of humour. Women can't tell jokes; not only that, they don't 'get'

(Rising Intonation)

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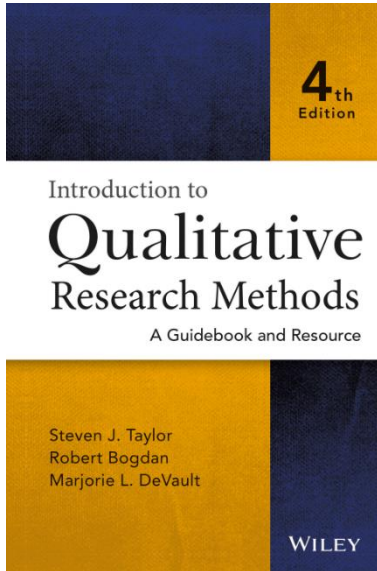
RISING INTONATION In many languages, including many varieties of English, intonation rises at the final point of questions. As with tag questions, this is supposed to turn a statement into a question, thereby **weakening its force and making the speaker sound uncertain**. This is Lakoff's example: (a) When will dinner be ready? (b) Oh ... around six o'clock ...?

HYPERCORRECT GRAMMAR As Lakoff says, 'women are not supposed to talk rough' (2004a: 80). What she is referring to here is women's tendency to use standard forms more than men (see [chapter 2](#)). By 'hypercorrect', she seems to imply that they are more correct than they ought to be.

EMPHATIC STRESS Lakoff refers to this as speaking in italics, as in 'What a *beautiful dress!*' She suggests that women use over-the-top emphasis because they anticipate not being taken seriously. What she seems to be touching on here is women's greater pitch range (see [chapter 2](#)).

Another supposedly female characteristic Lakoff mentions is lack of any sense of humour. Women can't tell jokes; not only that, they don't 'get'

Taylor, S.J., Bogdan, R., DeVault, M.L. (2016). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods*. 4th Edition, New Jersey: WILEY.



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Published by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Hoboken, New Jersey
Published simultaneously in Canada
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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Taylor, Steven J., 1941–
Introduction to qualitative research methods : a guidebook and resource / Steven J. Taylor, Robert Bogdan, Marjorie L. DeVault. — 4th edition.
pages.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-119-72724-1 (cloth) — ISBN 978-1-119-72726-5 (pbk) — ISBN 978-1-119-72729-0 (epub)
1. Social sciences—Research—Methodology. 2. Sociology—Research—Methodology. 3. Qualitative research. I. Taylor, Steven J., 1941– II. DeVault, Marjorie L., 1950– III. Title.
180.7385 D26
616.47—dc23
2015015767
Cover design: Wiley
Cover image: iStockphoto.com
Printed in the United States of America
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

(Kind of The Research)

Introduction: Go to the People 7

Paralleling the growing interest in qualitative research in sociology has been an increased acceptance of these methods in other disciplines and applied fields. Such diverse disciplines as geography (DeLayser, Herbert, Aitken, Crang, & McDowell, 2010; Hay, 2010), political science (McNabb, 2004), and psychology (Camic, Rhodes, & Yardley, 2003; Fischer, 2005; *Qualitative Research in Psychology*) have seen the publication of edited books, texts, and journals on qualitative research methods over the past decade and a half. The American Psychological Association started publishing the journal *Qualitative Psychology* in 2014. Qualitative methods have been used for program evaluation and policy research (Bogdan & Taylor, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; M. Q. Patton 1987, 2008, 2010, 2014; Rist 1994). Journals and texts on qualitative research can be found in such diverse applied areas of inquiry as health care and nursing (Latimer, 2003; Munhall, 2012; Streubert & Carpenter, 2010), *Qualitative Health Research*, mental health, counseling, and psychotherapy (Harper & Thompson, 2011; McLeod, 2011), education (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006; *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*; Lichtman, 2010; *Qualitative Research in Education*), music education (Conway, 2014), public health (Ellin, Robinson, & Talley, 2005), business (Meyers, 2013), theology (Swinton & Mowat, 2006), disability studies (Ferguson et al., 1992), human development (Daly, 2007; Jessor, Colby, & Shweder, 1996), social work (Sherman and Reid, 1994; *Qualitative Social Work*), and special education (Stainback & Stainback, 1988).

One does not have to be a sociologist or to think sociologically to practice qualitative research. Although we identify with a sociological tradition, qualitative approaches can be used in a broad range of disciplines and fields.

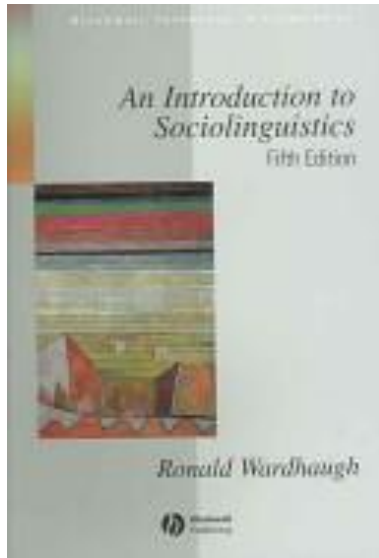
Just as significant as the increasing interest in qualitative research methods has been the proliferation of theoretical perspectives rooted in the phenomenological tradition underlying this form of inquiry. We consider the relationship between theory and methodology more fully later in this chapter.

QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

The phrase *qualitative methodology* refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data—people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviors. As Ray Rist (1977) pointed out, qualitative methodology, like quantitative methodology, is more than a set of data-gathering techniques. It is a way of approaching the empirical world. In this section we present our notion of qualitative research.

1. *Qualitative researchers are concerned with the meaning people attach to things in their lives. Central to the phenomenological perspective and hence qualitative research is understanding people from their own frames of reference and*

Wardhaugh, R. (2006). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 5th Edition, United Kingdom: Blackwell



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BLACKWELL PUBLISHING
108 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-0020, USA
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK
550 Swanston Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia

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First published 1986 by Basil Blackwell Ltd
Second edition (1992), third edition (1998), and fourth edition (2002) published by Blackwell Publishers Ltd
Fifth edition published 2006 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd

1 2006

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Wardhaugh, Ronald.
An introduction to sociolinguistics / Ronald Wardhaugh. — 5th ed.
p. cm. — (Blackwell textbooks in linguistics ; 4)

Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-1-4051-3559-7 (pbk. : alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 1-4051-3559-X (pbk. : alk. paper) 1. Sociolinguistics. I. Title. II. Series.

P40.W27 2006

306.44—d22

2005019312

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

Set in 10/12pt Sabon
by Graphicraft Limited, Hong Kong
Printed and bound in the United Kingdom
by TJ International Ltd, Palslow, Cornwall

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(Social Variation)

6 Language Variation

As we have seen in previous chapters, languages vary in many ways. One way of characterizing certain variations is to say that speakers of a particular language sometimes speak different dialects of that language. Although I have already noted how difficult it is to define *dialect*, we may still find it useful to use the term in our work in sociolinguistics, and even to extend its use from studies of regional variation to those of social variation. In this way it would be possible to talk about both *regional dialects* and *social dialects* of a language: just as a regional dialect marks off the residents of one region from those of other regions, a social dialect would be a variety associated with a specific social class or group, marking that class or group off from other classes or groups. However, if this further differentiation of varieties is to be successful, it will require us to be able to find linguistic features which are associated with differences in classes or groups and, of course, to define what we mean by these latter terms.

Sociolinguists today are generally more concerned with social variation in language than with regional variation. However, if we are to gain a sound understanding of the various procedures used in studies of social variation, we should look at least briefly at previous work in regional dialectology. That work points the way to understanding how recent investigations have proceeded as they have. **Studies of social variation in language grew out of studies of regional variation. It was largely in order to widen the limits and repair the flaws that were perceived to exist in the latter that investigators turned their attention to social-class variation in language.** As we will see, there may still be certain limitations in investigating such variation but they are of a different kind. It is also important to note that even if there are limitations to this kind of work, many sociolinguists regard it as being essentially what sociolinguistics is – or should be – all about (see pp. 14–15). In this view the study of language variation tells us important things about languages and how they change. This chapter and the two that follow deal with such matters.

(Rising Intonation on declarative)

340

Understanding and Intervening

women use women's dialect to speak to men. Children are brought up in women's dialect with boys required to shift – not always done easily – to men's dialect as they are initiated into manhood. Bradley adds (p. 16) that: 'If individuals wish to speak Yanywa then they are expected to speak the dialect which is associated with their sex – there is no other alternative.' A person can use the other sex's dialect only in very well-defined circumstances such as story-telling, joking, and certain singing rituals. The Yanywa find all of this perfectly normal and natural.

In the Dyirbal example cited above we may find an important clue as to why there are sometimes different varieties for men and women. One variety may be forbidden to one gender, i.e., be taboo, but that gender is apparently nearly always the female gender. This phenomenon has been noted among the Trobriand Islanders, various aboriginal peoples of Australia, Mayans, Zulus, and Mongols, to cite but a few examples. The taboos often have to do with certain kinship relationships or with hunting or with some religious practice and result in the avoidance of certain words or even sounds in words. They derive from the social organization of the particular group involved and reflect basic concerns of the group. Such concerns quite often lead to women being treated in ways that appear inimical to egalitarian-oriented outsiders.

When we turn to certain grammatical matters in English, we find that Bredt (1975) claims that the intonation patterns of men and women vary somewhat, women using certain patterns associated with surprise and politeness more often than men. In the same vein, Lakoff says that women may answer a question with a statement that completes the rising intonation pattern usually associated with a question rather than the falling intonation pattern associated with making a firm statement. According to Lakoff, women do this because they are less sure about themselves and their opinions than are men. Being generally unassertive and/or tentative in expressing their views, they are said to use more 'hedging' devices than men, i.e., words and expressions such as *kind of*, *sort of*, *I mean*, *you know*, *maybe*, and *like* (see also p. 315). However, Poon and Simpson (2002), after analyzing a large corpus of academic data from the University of Michigan, found that 'in the domain of academic speech, there is no specific gender-related effect on speakers' hedging frequencies' (p. 20). Lakoff says that it is because of such hesitancy that women often add tag questions to statements, e.g., 'They caught the robber last week, didn't they?' These claims about tag questions and insecurity have been tested by others (Dubois and Cressch, 1975; Cameron et al., 1989; and Brewer et al., 1979) and found wanting: experimental data once again do not necessarily confirm intuitive judgments. The latter investigators did find, however, that the gender of the addressee was an important variable in determining how a speaker phrased a particular question.

We have already seen at other places in this book instances of language behavior varying according to gender. Many of these are quantitative studies in which sex is used as one of the variables that are taken into account. As Milroy

12

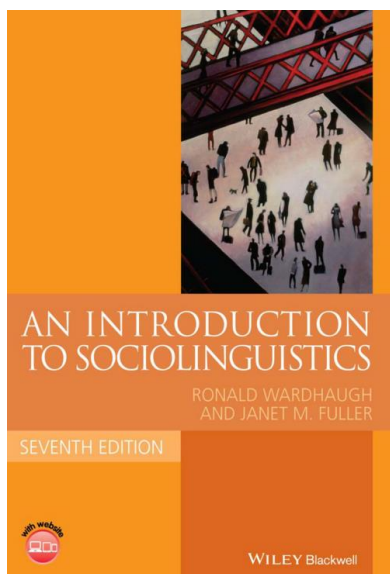
Introduction

We will also see that there is some opposition to this idea that sociolinguistic investigations should be confined to fairly straightforward correlational studies of this kind. Critics such as Cameron (1997) claim that these studies do not provide very satisfactory explanations for linguistic behavior because of inadequacies with social theory – sometimes there is none at all – and failure to appreciate the difficulties in using social concepts. Any conclusions are likely to be suspect. What is needed, according to Cameron (p. 62), is more social engagement so that sociolinguistics would 'deal with such matters as the production and reproduction of linguistic norms by institutions and socializing practices; how these norms are apprehended, accepted, resisted and subverted by individual actors and what their relation is to the construction of identity.' Milroy (2001, pp. 554–5) makes a somewhat similar claim in discussing the processes of standardization and change: 'Social patterns are adduced only in so far as they may elucidate patterns of language by exhibiting co-variation with linguistic variables... and as long as internal analyses are quite strongly biased in favor of linguistic, rather than social, phenomena, the quantitative paradigm will be to that extent impeded in its attempts to explain the social "life" of language and the social origins of language change.' I will have more to say on this issue later in this chapter. However, one point is clear in the above disagreement: sociolinguistics, whatever it is, is about asking important questions concerning the relationship of language to society. In the pages that follow I will try to show you some of those questions.

Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language

Some investigators have found it appropriate to try to introduce a distinction between *sociolinguistics* or *micro-sociolinguistics* and the *sociology of language* or *macro-sociolinguistics*. In this distinction, *sociolinguistics is concerned with investigating the relationships between language and society with the goal being a better understanding of the structure of language and of how language function in communication*; the equivalent goal in the sociology of language is trying to discover how social structure can be better understood through the study of language, e.g., how certain linguistic features serve to characterize particular social arrangements. Hudson (1996, p. 4) has described the difference as follows: 'Sociolinguistics is 'the study of language in relation to society', whereas the sociology of language is 'the study of society in relation to language'. In other words, in sociolinguistics we study language and society in order to find out as much as we can about what kind of thing language is, and in the sociology of language we reverse the direction of our interest. Using the alternative terms given above, Coulmas (1997, p. 2) says that 'micro-sociolinguistics investigates how social structure influences the way people talk and how language varieties

Wardhaugh, R., & Janet M. F. (2015). *Introduction to Linguistics*. 7th Edition, Wiley Blackwell.



This seventh edition first published 2015
© 2015 John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
Editorial History: Basil Blackwell Ltd (1st 1960), Blackwell Publishers Ltd (2nd 1992, 3rd 1998, and 4th 2002), Blackwell Publishing Ltd (5th 2006, 6th 2010)
Registered Office
John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK
Editorial Office
350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK
The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK
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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Wardhaugh, Ronald.
An introduction to sociolinguistics / Ronald Wardhaugh and Janet M. Fuller. – Seventh edition.
pages cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-118-73229-8 (pbk.)
1. Sociolinguistics. I. Fuller, Janet M., 1962– II. Title.
P40.W27 2015
306.44–dc23
2014030512
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.
Cover image: Willie Rodger, *The Kiss*, 1995, oil on canvas, © Willie Rodger, RSA RIGI D'Urvi, 1995, reproduced by kind permission Private Collection/ Bridgeman Images
Set in 10.5/13 pt MinionPro-Regular by Toppan Best-set Premedia Limited

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(Sociolinguistics)

1

Introduction

Key Concepts

How to define and delineate the study of sociolinguistics
What it means to 'know' a language
How language varies across speakers and within the speech of one person
The social construction of identities
The relationship between language and culture
Research design and methodologies for sociolinguistics research

Sociolinguistics is the study of our everyday lives – how language works in our casual conversations and the media we are exposed to, and the presence of societal norms, policies, and laws which address language. Since you are reading this book, you may already have some idea what the study of sociolinguistics entails; you may already have an interest in, and knowledge about, regional dialects, multilingualism, language policy, or non-sexist language. And we will cover all of these topics, along with many others – what social class and ethnicity might have to do with language use, why we do not always say what we mean, the role of language in education. But we would like to encourage readers to approach the study of sociolinguistics not as a collection of facts, but as a way of viewing the world around you. In sociolinguistics, we seek to analyze data so that we can make generalizations about

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(Language Variation)

8

Language Variation and Change

Key Concepts

Language variation as change in progress
Stable variation
The role of speakers in language change
Gender and language change; assumptions about gender roles
Changes in an individual's speech over a lifetime – age-grading
Data collection methods for researching language change

Work in sociolinguistics raises a long-standing question: can linguistic change be observed while it is actually occurring? In modern linguistics the answer to that question has usually been a resounding negative. Following the example of two of the founders of the modern discipline, Saussure (1959) and Bloomfield (1933), many linguists have maintained that change itself cannot be observed; all that we can possibly hope to observe are the consequences of change. However, the kinds of studies we looked at in chapters 6 and 7 show that certain kinds of variation in languages can be related to a variety of social factors. Some investigators have been content merely to demonstrate such relationships. Others have developed a strong interest in trying to show how some of that variation underlies changes that are constantly occurring in languages and that some of these changes also have a clear

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(Style)

52

Languages and Communities

This brief overview of research on AAVE and Latino Englishes has raised two broad issues that we will continue to deal with throughout this text. First, language varieties are often associated with particular social groups and as such are used to construct the social identities of speakers (see chapter 11). Second, these associations are often essentialized and used to discriminate (see chapter 13). In the following section, we will look at varieties of another sort, those defined by the context of use rather than by the user alone.

Styles, Registers, and Genres

The study of dialects is further complicated by the fact that speakers can adopt different styles and registers of speaking, and both spoken and written language can be seen as belonging to different genres of language. So while differences in dialect have to do with speakers and their regional or social identities, styles, registers, and genres have to do with different contexts of use. Although the terms style, register, and genre have been used in different ways by different scholars, and there may be overlap between these three terms, we can delineate broad categories which differentiate them (Lee 2001). The term style is most often used to discuss differences in formality; register generally denotes specific ways of speaking associated with particular professions or social groups; and genre is understood as a set of co-occurring language features associated with particular frames (Bauman 2000).

Style

When choosing a style, you can speak very formally or very informally, your choice being governed by circumstances. Ceremonial occasions almost invariably require very formal speech, public lectures somewhat less formal, casual conversation quite informal, and conversations between intimates on matters of little importance may be extremely informal and casual. (See Joss 1962, for an entertaining discussion.) We may try to relate the level of formality chosen to a variety of factors: the kind of occasion; the various social, age, and other differences that exist between the participants; the particular task that is involved; for example, writing or speaking; the emotional involvement of one or more of the participants; and so on. We appreciate that such distinctions exist when we recognize the stylistic appropriateness of *What do you intend to do, your majesty* and the inappropriateness of *Widjaya intend doin', Rex?* While it may be difficult to characterize discrete levels of formality, it is nevertheless possible to show that native speakers of all languages control a range of stylistic varieties. It is also quite possible to predict with considerable confidence the stylistic features that a native speaker will tend to employ on certain occasions. We will return to related issues in chapters 4, 7, and 11.

(Register)

53

Languages, Dialects, and Varieties

Exploration 2.4: Formality in Introductions

Imagine you are introducing a romantic partner to (a) another friend, (b) your parents, (c) your grandparents, (d) a casual acquaintance, or (e) your boss. Do you use different words to describe your relationship, or more or less elaborate ways to perform the act of introducing? (e.g., "This is Pat," vs. "I'd like you to meet my friend Pat" or "This is my boyfriend Pat.") Compare your own answers with those of other classmates. How might differences in the ideas about the formality of particular relationships (e.g., family members, an employer) account for the different ways people might execute an introduction? Are there different understandings about the level of formality of different linguistic forms used for introductions?

Register

Register is another complicating factor in any study of language varieties. Generally speaking, registers are sets of language items associated with discrete occupational or social groups. Agha (2006, 24) describes a register as "a linguistic repertoire that is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices" (italics in original). Biber and Conrad (2003, 173) distinguish work on registers from other analyses of discourse, saying that they focus on the situational parameters defining the communicative situation. Speakers learn different registers through socialization in different cultural groups within their society. What we refer to as 'register' or 'personal ad' are identifiable registers for most people. Use of each register thus either conforms to the norms for a particular, socially situated way of using language, or is a way of invoking the context usually associated with that register. Of course, one person may control a variety of registers: you can be a stockbroker and an archeologist, or a mountain climber and an economist. A register helps you to construct an identity at a specific time or place.

Genre

A related term is genre, which overlaps in meaning with register but is usually associated with particular linguistic features; thus register focuses more on the social situation, and genre more on the text type (Ferguson 1984; Lee 2001). However, like a register, a genre can also function 'as a routinized vehicle for encoding and expressing a particular order of knowledge and experience' (Bauman 2000, 80). For instance, even if we do not understand all of the words, we all recognize the form