Language and Gender: Biological, Social, and Other Determinants in Interviews

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ABSTRAKT

Bakalářská práce se zabývá jazykem a genderem, konkrétně používáním lingvistických prvků u mužů a žen. V první kapitole teoretické části jsou definovány pojmy gender a jeho vytváření, pohlaví a rozdělení práce podle genderu a pohlaví. Druhá a třetí kapitola stručně shrnuje vztah mezi jazykem a třídou a jazykem a rasou. Ve čtvrté kapitole jsou rozebrány lingvistické prvky, definice jazyka a rozhovoru a popis ženského jazyka podle Robin Lakoff. Analytická část se skládá z rozborů 15 rozhovorů pro časopis Vanity Fair a z porovnání používání lingvistických prvků u mužů a žen na základě biologických, sociálních a ostatních determinantů.

Klíčová slova: jazyk, gender, lingvistický prvek, pohlaví, třída, rasa, rozhovor, ženský jazyk

ABSTRACT

The bachelor thesis deals with language and gender, specifically the usage of particular linguistic features by men and women. In the first chapter of the theoretical part, the terms gender and its creation, sex and division of labour according to gender and sex are defined. The second and third chapters briefly summarise the relation between language and class, and language and race. The fourth chapter analyses the selected linguistic features, provides the definitions of language and interview and the description of women's language by Robin Lakoff. The analytical part consists of 15 interviews for the magazine Vanity Fair and of a comparison of the usage of certain linguistic features by men and women based on their biological, social and other determinants.

Keywords: language, gender, linguistic feature, sex, class, race, interview, women's language

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CONTENTS

IN	NTRODUCTION10		
ı	THEO	RY	11
1	BIOLO	OGICAL DETERMINANTS	12
	1.1 Ex ₁	planation of terms gender and sex	12
	1.2 Cre	eation of gender	12
	1.2.1	Childhood	13
	1.2.2	Relationship between men and women	15
	1.2.3	Division of jobs	16
2	LANG	UAGE AND CLASS	19
3	LANG	UAGE AND RACE	21
4	LINGU	USTIC FEATURES	22
	4.1 Lar	nguage	22
	4.2 Lin	guistic system	22
	4.2.1	Phonology	23
	4.2.2	Morphology	23
	4.2.3	Syntax	23
	4.3 Spe	eech activities	24
	4.4 Spe	eech acts	25
	4.5 Wo	omen's language and gendered positioning	25
	4.5.1	Tag questions	27
	4.5.2	Rising intonation on declaratives	27
	4.5.3	Speaking in italics and profanities	27
	4.5.4	Speaking indirectly	28
	4.5.5	Compliments	28
	4.6 Dec	coding	28
	4.7 Me	taphors	29
	4.8 Lex	xicon	29
	4.9 For	mal versus informal language	29
	4.10 Sty	le and future	30
	4.11 Inte	erview	30
II	ANALY	YSIS	32
5	INTRO	DUCTION	33
6	INTER	VIEWS	35

6.1	Speaker 1	35				
6.2	Speaker 2	35				
6.3	Speaker 3	36				
6.4	Speaker 4	36				
6.5	Speaker 5	36				
6.6	Speaker 6	37				
6.7	Speaker 7	37				
6.8	Speaker 8	37				
6.9	Speaker 9	38				
6.10	Speaker 10	38				
6.11	Speaker 11	39				
6.12	Speaker 12	39				
6.13	Speaker 13	40				
6.14	Speaker 14	40				
6.15	Speaker 15	40				
6.16	Summary	41				
CONC	LUSION	45				
BIBLIC	OGRAPHY	46				
LIST OF FIGURES51						
					APPEN	APPENDIX

INTRODUCTION

Are men from Mars and women from Venus? Is their language usage different? Is their behaviour like from different planets? Many researches have been trying to find out how gender influences one's use of language. One of the first linguists who studied this relation was linguist Otto Jespersen. He was the first one to come with differences between female and male language use and he also coined the term women's language, i.e. the powerless language. The turn arrived with the publication of a book by Robin Lakoff called Language and Woman's Place in which she developed the theory about women's language. This book has been the basis for many studies in this particular field from 1975 up to nowadays.

Countless books, articles and research studies mainly deal with differences between male and female. The research in the area of gender and linguistics is based on certain stereotypes regarding behaviour, sex, speaking strategies and it either tries to confirm or disprove the stereotypes. Most of the prominent research was done in the last century, however, the society is constantly changing and it is becoming more and more obvious that women and men no longer follow such stereotypes.

This bachelor thesis is divided into two parts. The first one is theoretical and it describes the main related terms and topics such as language, gender, sex, division of labour, relation between language and class, and language and race as well as given linguistic features, speech acts, women's language and the definition of an interview. The theoretical part is to make it easier to understand the second part which is analytical. The second part of the thesis provides an analysis of fifteen interviews by Julie Miller from the famous American magazine Vanity Fair. The main aim of the study is to confirm or disprove the stereotypical notion of language and gender.

I. THEORY

1 BIOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS

The first chapter provides a description of gender which is understood as a social determinant and a description of sex which is a biological determinant.

1.1 Explanation of terms gender and sex

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) say that gender is everywhere around us from the time of birth. Because of this, it is often thought that gender is natural and is based on common sense – it is connected with behaviour, ambitions, social power, clothes, ideas, humour, beliefs and desires. It is important to know that people are not born with gender, they are born with sex. Sex (traditionally either the male or the female one, or neither or both) is a set of biological indicators such as reproductive organs and a body structure. Sex is usually visible without speaking or doing much. However, gender can be defined as performances that people give and also as exaggeration of differences of the biological sex. In other words, gender is not given; it is an accomplishment of deleting similarities and emphasizing differences of the biological determinant - sex. It is done both, by the individuality, and community which a person is a part of. Aries (1996) asserts that gender is culturally and socially constructed and men's and women's roles have been stereotyped for a long time.

However, it cannot be strictly thought about sex as biological and gender as social, because there is not a strict line where one ends and the other one starts. Often, it is the biological differences between males and females that usually lead to our determination of one's gender capabilities and dispositions. For example men have higher levels of testosterone which makes them supposedly more aggressive than women. It is argued that left-brain dominance leads men to be more rational and straightforward and on the other hand, women's brain hemispheres are more interconnect so women are more emotional and can solve problems globally and intuitively (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) claim that gender is based on binary oppositions such as man versus woman, sympathy versus problem-solving, rapport versus report, intimacy versus independence. This gender binary opposition also means that there is no grey area between being a woman and being a man.

1.2 Creation of gender

This subchapter describes the moment when gender starts.

1.2.1 Childhood

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) claim, that the creation of gender starts from pregnancy when parents find out the sex of their baby. It is only due to modern technology, while in the past parents only found out the sex at the child birth. If it is boy, it is expected that we buy clothes and equip their room in blue or green colours. On the other hand, if it is a girl parents choose pink, flowered patterns or yellow. This colour coding is so integral to our thinking about gender that we even perceive some colours as soft and girlish.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) assert that the adults treat a child as a boy or as a girl and later the child will create its own gender (notion of self, of their own sex). "Parents use more diminutives (kitty, doggie) and more inner state words (happy, sad) when speaking to girls than to boys. They use more direct prohibitive (don't do that!) and more emphatic prohibitive (no! no! no!) to boys than to girls." (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003, 17) This approach of different treatment is a cause of different behaviour. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) mention Eleanor Maccoby's research in which she found out that children realize their gender when they are approximately 3 years old. Before that stage children do not show gender stereotypical features. The creation of gender does not only come from the outside because when children start to be social beings, they start to take their own role in their development.

It was suggested in several experiments, for example by Condry and Condry (1976), that if adults know the baby's sex, they interpret baby's behaviour and even their size differently; if adults think that the baby is a boy, his cry is considered as aggressive and also they think about him as bigger.

Moving on to upbringing a little boy often tries to behave like his father, like a man, for example he tries not to cry, he swaggers, sticks out his chest and does not play with dolls. A little girl does the same. She sees her mother as a female role model and puts on makeup, and behaves like a woman. If children followed their parents in the opposite direction, they would be defined as strange or unusual, but there is not a biological reason for this prejudice. These are gendered actions which are available for both sexes, but certain constraints come with them, e.g. playing with dolls unsuitable for boys, aggressive play style unsuitable for girls. This exampled situation shows that society tries to match up one's behaviour with their biological sex determinants (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

When it comes to choosing toys, it is men who highly appreciate gender-appropriate toys. Males are more interested in gender differences than females, especially in case of their own sons and daughters. Also small boys are more concerned with toy preferences and play styles than girls (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). Maccoby and Jacklin in 1974 (in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003) found out that boys' play styles are more physically aggressive than in girls. This behaviour may show an effort to be dominant (Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003). Langlois and Downs (1980) made a study on the behaviour of children from three to five years old. According to this study, girls are more tolerant and neutral about other girls' choices than boys and on the other hand boys are not satisfied when other boys choose feminine toys or girls' play styles and tend to punish them. It is visible how adults and society influence children's behaviour. The conclusion of the study was that activities, behaviour and toys labelled as male are appropriate for both sexes and seen as unmarked or normal but those labelled as female are appropriate only for females and are seen as marked. Langlois and Downs interpret their study as contribution to the androcentric view of gender.

This asymmetry is supported by our learning since childhood that male activities, opinions and functions are more highly valued than female ones. Due to this fact it is not surprising that boys do not take interest in female activities. The asymmetry is visible in these examples: females may wear clothes (trousers, jeans) which were originally designated only for males, however males may not; some females' names are derived from males' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) claim, that also many men in their adult years call themselves with their official names; they try to avoid diminutives but women do not object to diminutives. It is also more usual that men have their nick names usually connected with greatness and bravery.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) say that children learn the gender dichotomy also in school, every time a teacher says that girls and boys are the opposites and every time a teacher greets them as "girls and boys" the differentness strengthens. Another research by Ronald Macaulay (in Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003) shows that girls' progress with their language skills is faster than boys'.

Joan Swann and David Graddol (1988) did research on behaviour in school classes. They found out that teachers tend to call out boys more often. Also Eckert and McConell-Ginet (2003) claim, when children move to the preadolescent age, girls do not take part in public clowning and consider it childish. This is one of the first signs that men are

appreciated for their actions. However, parents often label sons as troublesome and argumentative and daughters as nice and cooperative.

1.2.2 Relationship between men and women

The nowadays image of a perfect couple in most cultures (especially European and American) is approximately the same. A heterosexual couple, the male is taller, bigger, i.e. the female is physically smaller than him. Due to this picture, a girl tends to look for a man who will protect her, dry her tears and lend her his shirt in order to emphasize her smaller physique. Because of this image, males want to feel big and strong in comparison with females who want to feel small and delicate. The emotions and desires are not innate because both of them are learnt. A good example is teaching men not to cry or not to show fear in contrast with women. However, there are some situations when it is possible for men to cry and it is not judged, for example a death of a close friend, a family member, etc. On the other hand women also learn when and how to show emotions, as the society perceives crying and scared female as absolutely normal. These illustrations show that certain reactions to dangerous or emotive situations are acquired by both genders, who keep then their roles. However this does not take place only in childhood and adolescence. It is an ongoing process throughout people's lives (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) say that every occupation has its set of behaviour and its own role which the employees should observe. Also every family status requires different manners. Gender is not influenced only by society but also by class, age, ethnicity and race. It has been a tradition; people look for a partner who is of the same race or class. It is similar with age, where the main reason is the potential to start a family. From the case above it seems likely that gender is learned, taught and it may be enforced and as such it is interconnected with the individuality and society.

Due to conventions and customs, which are embedded in the specific culture or country, a lot of people do not recognize that most manners and actions are learned and we do it so naturally that the majority does not look for any reasons behind them. For instance, it is common to say "Mr. and Mrs. Smith" not vice versa. This convention of putting female name second appeared around the 16th century to support male superiority (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). Also for example, the Czech female surnames have suffixes – ová which show male suppropriation of females.

The dominant gender ideology says that men and women are different (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). Valdrová (2006) says that every gender identity have cognizance about being male or female. This distinction is defined as bipolar or negative; it means that there is no other option between male and female. In western industrial societies it is possible to assemble a list of opposition which males and females should have, for example men are strong, brave, more aggressive, sex-driven, impassive, rational, direct, competitive, practical, rough and on the other hand, women are weak, timid, passive, relationship-driven, emotional, irrational, indirect, cooperative, nurturing, and gentle. This imaged view is frequently seen in media, movies and books but is not based on facts because women's height is on average only a little smaller than men's average.

In English, and in other languages, there is a way to refer to the "the opposite/other/another sex". These oppositions can be also used to differentiate among the same sex. If a man is weak, he is considered as less masculine and even second-rate, if a woman is strong, she is considered as less feminine and but sometimes struggling. There, we can see again the asymmetry between genders (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

1.2.3 Division of jobs

Valdrová (2006) talks about gender contract which is defined as a set of rules and orders, duties and jobs and the term also relates to gender roles. The gender contract is divided into three parts – the social norms and importance, institutional norms and importance and familiar norms and importance. The labour market generally values men more. It follows that women's positions on the labour market are less valued based on their prestige as well as salary, which on average is lower than male salary. It is mainly due to the contracted obligation of having to take care about household and children, which means that a woman will leave the labour market at some point to follow her family duties. On the other hand, women are more appreciated regarding family. At these times this contract is not absolutely observed.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) present the dominant gender ideology oppositions are closely related to the division of physical, mental and emotional labour. Every labour is connected with certain power and status and in most countries it is the man who has easier access to more valued and influential positions (public sphere). On the contrary, the woman has her power at home; she often takes care of children, husband and household (private sphere). As for some kinds of physical works, i.e. labourer, woodcutter or fire fighter,

where strength is expected, men's dominance is clearly visible, but there can be also women who have the same kind of physical strength, however they are a minority. While the physical force can be comparable, the sexual division of labour is still visible. However, what can be considered men's work in one culture can be women's work in another.

What is mentioned in the next paragraph is a stereotypical division of labour which is still observable in nowadays' job occupation. Women are usually employed in jobs which are connected with fulfilment of people's everyday needs such as selling clothes, cooking and serving food, cleaning, looking after and teaching children, nursing. The most frequent women's jobs are basically extensions of their domestic roles. Regarding selling, it is men who can sell clothes and shoes for men, electronics and car equipment and components, but fewer men sell women's dresses, lingerie, etc. Women, on the other hand, can sell almost everything. As time goes by, these stereotypes are changing, more men work as cooks (they are even valued as more prestigious and professional compared to women), i.e. men exceed women in this area, however more women are able to do small repairs on cars and home, but it is still hard to be employed as a mechanic or repairperson for women. One of the most important eras for women's occupation of originally men's job was during and after World War II because a lot of men had to be involved in war and women had to take their positions. For example working in a bank was primarily a men's job which was highly valued and prestigious and when women started to work there, it suddenly happened to be low-valued and some men derisively called it women's job (Eckert and McConnel-Ginet 2003).

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) present that women rights and jobs positions have changed over the years. Until 1919 women could not vote in the US, but their positions in high management and government is still on a low level regarding the numbers. In 2001 only four of the fifty Chief Executive Officers of America's properties were women. This gender asymmetry is still seen in nowadays corporations and in governments. It is seen as a standard that men are in managerial positions, because they are supposedly more rational and impassive, however, women are praised for their cooperative aspects and new views to solving problems. We can see that usually in preschools and lower primary schools the teachers are women, and in upper primary schools, secondary schools and universities the number of men increases. The reasons why women teach small children are that the society considers them supposedly more nurturing and more natural with children. In higher level

of education there is another division of gender – women teach humanities and social sciences and men teach hard sciences, mathematics and technology.

2 LANGUAGE AND CLASS

"Class is one of the groups into which people in a society are divided according to their family background, education, job, or income" (Macmillan dictionary 2015). Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) assumed that people in the same class behave similarly or the same. "People's beliefs and views of the world are based on their position in society: a woman born into the black working class has a very different life experience from, for example, a man born into the white upper middle class" (Eckert and McConnel-Ginet 2003 41, 42). The position in society goes hand in hand with different upbringing, different life situations, different interests, different vocabulary and also different opportunities. Usually, people are in contact with people from same class who use same expressions, phrases and also grammar and dialect (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) claims that a patriarchal concept of social class means that man is considered as the head of the family and his job position determines the social class for whole family. However, this tradition is quite outdated with more women taking up high career jobs.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) claim that it is logical that people from working class more often solve problems regarding money, and that most members of working class are not highly educated so their conversations are on a lower level in contrast with the highly educated ones from the upper class.

Robert Connel (1987) defined two kinds of masculinities from the class view; the first one is the physical masculinity which is associated with working class and with physical power and technical masculinity which is associated with upper-middle-class and with technical power, such as scientific and political. It does not mean that the physical power is not important for men from other classes but it is highly necessary for working class job positions. Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) claim, that one's regional dialect is more tied with working class' way of speaking, if working class uses some attribute, this one will be used by all classes in informal speech. The least standardly speaking are supposedly working class men in casual speaking, on the other hand middle class women speaking in formal conversation use the most standard language. The biggest paradox is that women from every class speak more standardly while they have generally a less prestigious and less powerful status and a job position. One of the theories by Chambers' mentioned by Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) is that women have naturally better verbal abilities. The reason might be greater effort of women as men have easier access to highly valued positions, women must naturally try and sound more prestigious and standard language equals

prestige. Another similar theory by Lakoff mentioned in Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) is that women are powerless and try to gain power with standard language. Especially in the Victorian era, speaking like a lady was an obligation to women who wanted to be socially accepted. A notorious example of how the use of language and position in society are connected is George Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion.

3 LANGUAGE AND RACE

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) claim that the white girls from middle-class are educated to be somehow dependent on men, be more assertive but on the other hand African American girls are taught to be fully responsible for themselves and for their children and be female effective. This approach is seen in women's different use of language.

According to Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) in some Asian languages (e.g. Japanese, Chinese) there are words or forms which show respect and deference, and many Asian speakers with different native language or origins than English, tend to speak more respectfully than for example Europeans and Americans. Women from African American descend generally do not pay too much attention to language which is androcentric, because in the past their main issue was to fight against racism. For example, African American women use more direct speech than Caucasian ones (Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003). It is rather hard to find information about different class and race than white middle-class, as a lot of studies only focus on this particular class and race (because of its supposed dominance) or focus on a small sample (such as nation) which cannot be applied more generally.

4 LINGUISTIC FEATURES

4.1 Language

"Language is the method of human communication using spoken or written words" (Macmillan dictionary 2015). "A language is a highly structured system of signs, or combinations of form and meaning" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003, 60). In these signs the gender is rooted and used in communication in myriad of ways (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) say that linguists define language as the ability to produce and recognize a sentence, but sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists define it as the ability to understand pursuant conventions. People learn how to utilize linguistic systems in social situations. Language and society are not stable; they both change and involve each other.

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, women have not always worked on a higher level position and it follows that in some cases there are not even terms available for female managers, and in some other kinds of professions there are only male ways of addressing (for example female police officers are sometimes called "sir", and in Czech "sestra" is used for men, which shows that the profession has been predominantly feminine). Eckert and McConnel-Ginet (2003) also point out that the term ma'am used by people in the south of The United States of America is also used in the army as an expression of respect to female police officers. The US feminists in the late sixties came with a new social term Ms. which enables to address women without knowing if she is married or not. It is to correspond with Mr. which also shows only gender not the marital status. It was a big step for the feminists because before this change women were judged on the basis of their marital status. In the past it was expected that married women were at home and did not work or study, older single women were regarded as strange and as women who did not fulfil their life roles. However, single women who had children were seen as wicked or adulterous. At present a lot of official documents include three possibilities – Mrs., Miss, or Ms. It is not a rule but a lot of single and divorced women use Ms. and married ones use Mrs.

4.2 Linguistic system

The linguistic system is divided into parts which will be listed below.

4.2.1 Phonology

This part of the linguistic system is mentioned here briefly as people immediately associate voices of different people with different accents and what we can or cannot hear from them. Joan Rubin (in Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003) made a test in which students listened to the same tape-recorded lecture. When the students thought that the lecturer was an Asian woman they thought of her accent as foreign and they understood worse. In the situation when they thought that the lecturer was a white woman they did not find anything strange with her accent and understood very well (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). McGurk and MacDonald (1976) found out that people use visual information to judge speakers' speeches.

4.2.2 Morphology

In Chinese, the gender is not visible, for *he* and *she* there is only one word. There are grammatical morphemes which are gendered, for example when speaking about someone in the third person singular in English; the speaker is coerced to mention the referent's sex. In French, a speaker is forced to mention sex also in the first person singular because there has to be a grammatical agreement, i.e. French articles and adjectives have to agree in gender.

Regarding inanimate words, the grammatical gender is not connected to the social gender because in one language a word can have a different gender than in other one, for instance in French the word *lune* (moon) is feminine and in German *Mond* (moon) is masculine. In English the morpheme —ess transforms a male noun into a feminine one. Forms of male nouns can be used universally but the feminine forms cannot. Other morpheme which indicate female is —ette, which apart from femininity shows also smallness and cuteness (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

4.2.3 Syntax

"Syntax combines words into sentences – linguistic structures that express thoughts or propositions. Sentences describe events or situations and syntax indicates something about relations among the participants in those events or situations" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003, 72). A sentence can contain the same words but they can be in different positions. Syntactic relations such as subject and object are defined regarding their positions in the sentence. In sentences the subject is often agent and object is often the patient/theme. In English-language text it is often men who are subject/agents. Passive

sentences where agent is hidden/overt are sometimes used to turn aside male blame or tyranny. In the article about woman's rape the rapist was not mentioned and the blame was put on the woman whose clothes were considered provocative. Another example is from the British newspapers the Sun where men killed a child when her mother was in the pub, the emphasis was put on the mother drinking in the pub and the killer was not mentioned (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

4.3 Speech activities

Different cultures have different customs; in one, children can talk anytime they want, in others they have to be silent. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) state that in Araucanian culture of Chile men can talk every time they want, it is the sign of intelligence and leading ability but women are expected to be silent or speak whisperingly. The right to speak is closely tied to a job position and social position as well. The gender asymmetry in formal institution has an impact on who leads the official discourse. The situation is getting better and there are more women who are in influential positions and in politics but they still have worst access to the public speeches.

Gossiping is typically ascribed to women and is explained negatively but men also do the same speech activities but it is not typically called gossiping, it is friends' talk. Conversational conventions of English speaking countries of the northern hemisphere is that speakers take turns in speaking with a minimum amount of silence or long monologues, this type of conversational convention is called turn-taking. This is learned in childhood when children are reprimanded when they interrupt or talk for a long time. It is also a custom to show that the listener is listening to the speaker, usually with nods and vocalisms. This is called backchanneling. It assures the speaker in her/his speech. More studies shows that women are better in backchanneling. Interruptions are attributed to men more than to women; it means that men interrupt more to show their power over the conversation or knowledge of the subject. But this conversational act needs both interrupter and interruptee, one who is interrupted may not continue the speech. In one culture this can be a dominant act which disparages the interrupted speaker, in other one it can be a sign of interest in a topic. This situation has two sides – the one in which the interrupter wants to show dominance, but the ones with the highest power and dominance do not have to interrupt. An overlap is a kind of interruption when the listening one starts to speak when the speaker is saying the last word of the sentence (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

Kollock (1985) discovered that if in heterosexual pair a woman is more educated and has a better job, men tend to speak more than her. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) contend that in western societies by stereotypical perception women are more talkative and use less difficult sentences than men. But this talkativeness depends on the situation. In discussions in same-sex groups, males switch topic quickly and usually they tell jokes, females talk longer on one topic and are more emotional and personal.

4.4 Speech acts

Deborah Tannen suggested that men's language represents prestige, self-sufficiency and power and on the other hand women's one represents association, friendship and understanding. She distinguishes different "genderlects" which can be understood as different cultures between men and women. It can also mean that different communicative practices can last the whole life not only childhood and may appear in everyday communication (Tannen 1990). Generally women are more cooperative and other-oriented (displaying care and interest in others) in contrast with men who are more competitive and individualistic.

Every identity is also created by face-to-face interaction and communication which is connected to one's social life. Every human being has its own positive and negative face. Positive face is the need to be liked, to be a part of some group, while negative face is the need to be respected, have own freedom. Eckert and McConnel-Ginet (2003) mention that Janet Holmes found out that women usually are more linguistically polite, compliment other women, and apologize more than men. Men use polite speech acts more often in direction toward women than to men, because they believe women can appreciate it more and also to show men's protectiveness. On the other hand, Brouwer (1982) did a research in which people were observed when buying train tickets. When the seller was a man, both sexes were more polite than when the seller was a woman, which is in contrast with the theory of gender.

4.5 Women's language and gendered positioning

In the early 1970s Robin Lakoff (2004) presented the language devices which are connected to or associated with women's language. These are listed below and completed with my own examples:

- Tag questions (*This food is delicious, isn't it?*)
- Rising intonation on declaratives (A: When will you be prepared? B: In 10 minutes?)
- The use of various kinds of hedges (*That's kind of sweet*.)
- Boosters or amplifiers (*I am so happy that you came.*)
- Indirection (I wouldn't mind staying a little longer.)
- Diminutives (*kitty*, *doggie*, *little boy*)
- Euphemism (go to the bathroom, passed away)
- Conventional politeness, especially forms that mark respect for the addressee (please, be so kind)

However, this kind of language, referred to as women's language, can also be considered as powerless and uncertain. Almost every bias about women's language is based on language of white middle-class women (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). Also the language of homosexuals can be viewed by some as women's language (Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003).

According to Eckert and McConnel-Ginet (2003) Lakoff's division of gender has often been criticised, but it had an important effect in following foci of researches. For example William O'Barr and Kim Atkins (in Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003) connected these devices to those who have little power, but they did not found them gendered, i.e. gender specific. Showing respect can usually be construed in two ways – it can be a positive move to other's negative face or it can be a sign of deference. For example, addressing can show respect or deference. Addressing someone Mr., Ms. Followed by a surname shows respect; addressing someone by their first name shows familiarity but also disrespect.

Eckert and McConnel-Ginet (2003) also claim that women use more amplifying devices/intensifiers such as so, so much, totally, really, incredibly, awfully, very, truly, clearly, extremely than men. The authors also state that it was Lakoff (in Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003) who claimed that women use discourse particles and hedges and by doing so they weak their speech as discourse particles are syntactically empty. The most used hedges are probably, sort of, kind of, fairly, somewhat, somehow and discourse particles as you know, of course.

Generally people use hedges, intensifiers, softeners such as *maybe*, *probably*, *generally speaking*, *well*, vague language such as *could be*, *may*, *might*, *maybe*, *I think*, emotive language such as *I feel like*, *I like*, *I hate*, *I love* (Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003). They are

supposedly not gender specific and therefore all these speech variables will be studied in the analytical part.

4.5.1 Tag questions

Eckert and McConnel-Ginet (2003) claim that tag questions are made from the main clause auxiliary and a pronoun and they are inverted in tags, for example "isn't it", "aren't they". The other types of tags are invariant tags which are not connected to main clause and stay the same, for example "right", "okay".

Betty Lou Dubois and Isabel Crouch (in Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003) disapproved of Lakoff's theory of tags, on the basis of their research. They found out that men use tag questions more times than women and they do not show uncertainty. Holmes (1982) distinguishes three types of tag questions – facilitative, softening, or challenging. A facilitative tag appeals to an addressee to get them involved in the talk and is an opener of the conversation. A softening tag weakens potential criticism. A challenging tag interrupts the silence or forces to confess the guilt. Holmes and Cameron (in Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003) discovered that women use more facilitative tags (which can be understood as cooperative) and men use more confirmation-seeking. Cameron also found out that people without power use tags in order to seek affirmation and people with power use them to sum things up. Using tags can be also understood as a sign of non-arrogance, respect towards others (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

4.5.2 Rising intonation on declaratives

This language device is defined as a part of women's language and also as language of powerless and weak people. Rising intonation at the end of the sentence which is not a question can be called uptalk (especially in the media) (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). Also Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) believe that women ask more questions than men.

4.5.3 Speaking in italics and profanities

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) claim that Lakoff said that women are more emotional in conversation and speak in italics and on the other hand men swear and use profanities more. Speaking in italics is defined as a changing pitch of voice, which can be also defined as a singsong type of speaking. Men who speak lively and in italics are considered feminine. Profanities often show great emotion, especially anger or frustration which is

seen especially in men behaviour. It is inappropriate for women and children to swear. Kristen Precht (in Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003) found out that men use profanity openly (e.g. *shit*), while women often disguise profanity (e.g. *gosh*). Using taboo language primarily shows power and tries to intimidate, secondary it can be willingness to fit in some group or break the rules (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). For example in Czech, the expression "to speak like a paver" which refers to using "a dirty language" is associated with men from working class, not women.

Men are expected to use profanity and taboo words more often than women, but there is a difference based on age and education. Younger boys and girl swear about equally; older men swear more than women, less educated women swear more than educated men (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

4.5.4 Speaking indirectly

In the United States of America direct language is considered as a virtue and indirect as a waste of time or as a tool of ineffective language. Indirect language is polite and the main aim is not to hurt others face and feelings and that is the reason why it is mostly used by women. The best example is that men do not understand why women tell a lot of unimportant things, signifying and not getting to the point immediately. Direct language can pose a threat to the addressee's negative face as the main parts of direct language are request and commands (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). Men generally use straight language more than women (Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003).

4.5.5 Compliments

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) claim that when being paid a compliment, we are expected to accept it which equals being polite on both sides. Regarding compliments, women are complimented on their appearance, men on their actions. This can support the notion that men are more active and women are more passive.

4.6 Decoding

"It is useful to distinguish three aspects of linguistically conveyed content: what is encoded, what is said, and what is implied" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003, 195). What is encoded relies on the linguistic meaning and syntactical combination of the words but it does not carry social meaning. What is said depends on contextual specification.

What is implied is simply implicit. Speakers' actions are decoded by the listener and conclusion is deduced from speakers' words based not on the linguistic code but on social feeling and on context (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

4.7 Metaphors

A linguistic metaphor connects languages from two or more fields. One of the most used fields are sport, war and sex. The sport metaphors are usually mainly used by men along with political and war issues (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). Men also use more metaphors and double entendre regarding sex (Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003).

4.8 Lexicon

Vocabulary is dependent on class and society which surrounds us. Higher middle class or upper class have broader vocabulary, for example more words to cutlery. Especially women are considered to be more precise when speaking about table manners. Women generally have more words in their vocabularies regarding colours. It is interpreted due to bigger contact with home decorations and clothes (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

Women who are at home (private sphere) have different vocabulary than whose that work (public sphere). Their hobbies and activities differ so they use different words and phrases (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

4.9 Formal versus informal language

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) state that people can change the type of language – i.e. register (formal vs. informal) in one conversation which is called code-switching. It is done to attract attention or to change the speaker's position from respectful to more sympathetic. The standard or official language is the one used by upper class (socioeconomically the best), also used in government, schools and business. Local language is used by communities and is called vernacular. Vernaculars can be different from standard languages or there can be many varieties of the same language. Local markets and global institution and also class are markedly connected to language which people use. Language usage is dependent on knowledge and authority. Usually more educated people have a better theoretical knowledge and less educated have a practical one. We can change the type of languages, switch the code according to the situation, listener, different place and job position. For example, each person has their roles, in the job, the boss can speak authoritatively and at home he can speak in a more informal and friendlier way. The

urbanization has had effect on language as well, because a lot of people move houses to cities and thus change the language. It is said that women language and grammar is more standard than men's one. Walt Wolfram (1969) found out that women speak more standardly in every socioeconomic class; they are more precise in pronunciation and grammar points.

One of speculation about the reason why women speak so, is that it is a sign of discipline and obedience and also because it is less acceptable to them to speak nonstandardly in schools, but for boys using nonstandard grammar in school is a sign of rebelliousness. The distinction between male and female standard speaking is shrinking with class, i.e. at the bottom of the hierarchy (working-class) the distinction is almost negligible. These statements may be seen as stereotyped, however, the way how people talk is indeed dependent on cultural and local traditions and practices (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

4.10 Style and future

We distinguish certain linguistic landscapes which are dependent on regions, some on society, but all are dependent on time. Not everyone can choose own style, including the speaking style, clothes, hairdo, etc. In some societies such as the royal family, it is obligatory to follow certain styles, e.g. wear specific clothes, to speak more formally, etc. Fifty years ago almost nobody could imagine that in twenty first century women would work and men would stay at home with children, gay marriage and adoption would be possible, women would be the bosses of men. However, there are a lot of states where women's independence from men is not accepted, homosexuals are still on the margins of society and women have to stay at home caring for children. Therefore, it is impossible to even anticipate how society, language and gender will change in the future (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

4.11 Interview

"An interview is a meeting in which someone asks another person, especially a famous person, questions about themselves, their work, or their ideas, in order to publish or broadcast the information" (Macmillan dictionary 2015). In other words, interview with a person shows that the person has the knowledge or is of interest to the public. As for a

linguistic genre, I choose an interview as it is spontaneous and not stylised and it therefore seems most appropriate to reveal possible gender differences.

II. ANALYSIS

5 INTRODUCTION

The main focus of the analytical part is to accept or disprove the stereotypes of language and gender. A research has been done on fifteen interviews done by Julie Miller from a magazine Vanity Fair which according to Condé Nast (2015) engages in popular culture, fashion trends and celebrities. Available literature about language and gender mentions linguistic features which men and women use differently. Table 1 shows the most common features. In my work, only those most frequently featuring ones will be analysed.

Linguistic feature	Examples		
Softener	Maybe, probably, generally speaking, well		
Vague language	Could be, may, might, maybe, I think		
Emotive language	I feel like, I like, I love, I hate		
Polite forms	Please, be so kind		
Tag questions	It is isn't it?, ok?, right?		
Hedge	Kind of, sort of, probably, fairly, you know,		
	of course, somewhat, somehow		
Taboo word	Shit, Gosh, Idiot		
Amplifier	So (much), totally, really, incredibly,		
	awfully, very, truly, clearly, extremely		
Diminutive	Kitty, doggie, little		
Compliment	Men – action, women – appearance		
Euphemism	Pass away, put to sleep		

Table 1: Linguistic features (own creation)

Table 2 provides a description of the analysed interviewers including participants' sex, age, and race.

Speaker	Sex	Age	Race
1	female	39	mixed
2	female	34	white
3	male	58	mixed
4	female	33	white

5	male	33	white
6	male	37	mixed
7	female	50	white
8	male	58	white
9	female	30	black
10	male	32	black
11	male	46	white
12	female	44	white
13	male	30	white
14	female	45	white
15	female	41	white

Table 2: Brief description of the participants (own creation)

6 INTERVIEWS

6.1 Speaker 1

Rashida Jones is an American actress, an author of books, screenwriter, singer, and producer. In the interview with Julie Miller they spoke about her comedy Celeste & Jesse Forever (VF Hollywood, 2014).

It can be said Rashida Jones fulfilled the given stereotypes about women's language as she used amplifier five times (*very* lucky, *really* good, *too much*, *very* close, *so much*), softener used two times (*maybe*), hedges six times (*probably*, *kind of*), rising intonation (*I was used to playing likable, affable-sounding boards?*), emotive language used four times (*I feel*), vague language used three times (*I think, couldn't be, could*).

The interview had optimal turn-taking; neither Julie Miller nor Rashida Jones spoke for too long. It can be considered as friendly, one of the reasons is that they spoke about Rashida's family and she did not show disinterest of answering.

When Rashida spoke about Steve Carrel, the star of her films, she complimented on his actions (sense of humour, easy cooperation, talent). In one answer she positioned her colleague Nick Frost at the first place (*Nick and I*).

6.2 Speaker 2

Eva Green is a French actress and model (Eva Green Web, 2015). In the interview they spoke about horror drama Penny Dreadful where Green plays a crazy woman (VF Hollywood, 2014).

Eva Green used amplifiers many times, fifteen times approximately (*extremely, very, too much, really*), hedges used six times (*kind of*), emotive language four times (*I love, I feel like, I like*), diminutives (*little*), taboo word (*my God*).

When she spoke about difficulties of actors and actresses she used general or male name *actor*. She complimented on J. A. Bayona's action, who helped her to handle difficult scenes in the film. Also she spoke about him as about a *very Spanish* person; this statement expressed her admiration and is based on general expectation about a nation and specific behaviour.

6.3 Speaker 3

John Turturro is an American actor, writer, and director with Italian roots. The main topic of the interview was Turturro's new comedy Fading Gigolo (VF Hollywood, 2015).

John Turturro sometimes used what Lakoff defined as women's language or powerless language. For example he used emotive language three times (*I love, I like*), vague language two times (*maybe, I think*), hedge two times (*you know, kind of*), softener three times (*probably, well*), amplifier six times (*very, really*).

In his answers he used direct citation, he did not paraphrase, he used taboo word (*fuck*), also he told a joke and when he spoke about Sofia Vergara and Sharon Stone he commented only on their appearance, not their actions.

6.4 Speaker 4

Michelle Dockery is an English actress and (jazz) singer (IMDb, 2015). They speak about her film Non-Stop and Downton Abbey (VF Hollywood, 2014).

In the interview she used amplifiers about eleven times (so much, really, very), emotive language six times (I love), hedge (kind of) and tag (you know).

It is visible that Julie Miller and Michelle Dockery are friends or acquaintances because they used informal language and were on first name terms since the beginning (Hi Michelle!). Turn-taking was fast, both spoke at the same time, but given their status, it is not seen as rude. When she spoke about a flight attendant who prepared her to the film role she called her with her first name (Debbie) and on the other hand she called her stunt coordinator with his full name (Mark Vanselow), which either shows respect or distance. When she spoke about the stunt coordinator she complimented on his action such as doing choreography and his sense of humour, so it is possible to deduce that she respects him rather than expresses distance by using his full name. Michelle Dockery also spoke about flight attendants uniforms and a dress (beautiful purple dress). Speaking about clothes and appearance is connected to women's hobby or focus of discussions. Gossiping is also ascribed to women; Ms. Dockery said that Julianne Moore wants her to go through all of the gossip.

6.5 Speaker 5

Seth Rogen is an actor, comedian and writer with Russian Jewish roots (IMDb, 2015). He discussed with Julie Miller his role in the comedy Neighbors (VF Hollywood, 2014).

Mr. Rogen used hedges five times (kind of, you know), amplifiers six times (really, very, pretty much), softener two times (probably, maybe), vague language two times (I think). When Ms. Miller asked a personal question about his family he reacted with a joke and avoided answering which hints at men's attempt to avoid personal issues.

6.6 Speaker 6

Cary Fukunaga is an American director, producer and writer with Japanese and Swedish origins (IMDb, 2015). In Vanity Fair's interview they discussed True Detective which is directed by Fukunaga (VF Hollywood, 2014).

In his answers he used amplifiers most often (so much, really) about five times, and only once he said taboo word (badass), hedge (kind of), invariant tag (right). Four times he did a pause in his answering.

6.7 Speaker 7

Courteney Cox is an American actress, producer, and director who is famous as Monica Geller from the sitcom Friends (IMDb, 2015).

Cortney Cox used amplifiers five times (*really*, *very*), hedges four times (*kind of*), vague language three times (*I think*), emotive language two times (*I love*) and only once taboo word (*fuck*). In her answer she used paraphrase. When reporter asked something about Cox's ex-husband, she reacted only to the second part of the question which concerned her daughter, avoiding an unpleasant issue.

6.8 Speaker 8

Larry Charles is an American sitcom writer (the best known is Seinfeld), director (Borat, The Dictator), and producer (IMDb, 2015). In the interview for Vanity Fair he spoke about his cooperation with Billy Crystal, Nicolas Cage and about controversial episodes of the sitcom Seinfeld (VF Hollywood, 2015).

Larry Charles used vague language ten times (*I might, I think, maybe, I love*), amplifiers fifteen times (*very, really*), hedges thirteen times (*sort of, kind of, somehow, probably*). He used direct citation of another person three times. When he talked about Josh Gad he lifted up his improvising skills – actions. Also when he talked about Billy Crystal he complimented on his art skills such as singing, making drama and ability to show emotions and compare these abilities to weapons (metaphor).

6.9 Speaker 9

Gina Rodriguez is an American actress known for her roles in film Filly Brown, soap opera The Bold and the Beautiful and Jane the Virgin. Her parents are Puerto Ricans (IMDb, 2015). The main topics of the interview are her Golden Globe nomination, Jane the Virgin series which break racial and gender stereotypes.

She used amplifiers twelve times (very, really, so much, very much), emotive language four times (I love, I feel like), vague language three times (I don't think so, I think, might) and only once hedge (kind of). In her answer to the first question she used polite form (Thank you.). She mentioned that she took care of her boyfriend when he was ill and considered it natural. Ms. Rodriguez about three times used direct citation. She described her father as an ultimate man with physical power who does not cry at all, she saw him cry only once when her grandmother died. Also she used euphemism when talking about her grandmother's death (passing). On the other hand she mentioned her costume designer, named her by only first name and talked about pretty dresses. Rodriguez compared herself to Blake Lively when she was in that dress. There is certain interest in clothes visible and compliment on Blake Lively's appearance. In the second part of the interview she compliment on Jaime Camil's action and behaviour and later she compliment on Jenifer Lopez's appearance. She used both paraphrase and direct citation too. Once she used informal language when she reacted to Julie Miller question with "Oh girl!", suggestion rather an embarrassing question or a personal issue or addressing the even relationship between them. The series in which she plays one of the main roles is connected to ethnic and gender stereotypes, she spoke about stereotypes about Latinos as actors (who they usually play nannies or landscape artists) and was quite angry that this perception of this ethnic is so wide spread. She was concentrated more on racial problems not gender.

6.10 Speaker 10

Aziz Ansari is an American actor and comedian with parents from Tamil Nadu, India. He is known for his high pitch voice (IMDb, 2015). In the interview he discussed his role in Buried Alive and about marriage proposal and about food club which he is a member of (VF, 2013).

Aziz Ansari used amplifiers twelve times (really, totally, very, pretty), softeners five times (well, probably, maybe, generally), and vague language (I think), taboo expressions three times (fuck, pussy), hedges four times (sort of, kind of), diminutive one time(puppies)

and tag one time (*right*). He used direct citations many times. The last question that Julie Miller asked was personal; she was interested in Aziz Ansari's cousin. Mr. Ansari answered directly and did not show any distrust. When he spoke about his cousin he complimented on his appearance, which is associated with female language and it is unusual for a man to compliment on another man's looks.

6.11 Speaker 11

Hugh Jackman is an Australian actor, producer and singer with English parents. He is best known for his role in X-men (IMDb, 2015). In the interview with Julie Miller he spoke about his role in X-men, The Wolverine, and about the expectations of people about him (VF Hollywood, 2013).

He used amplifiers seven times (*really, very*), hedges four times (*kind of, sort of*), softeners three times (*generally, probably*). To the very first question asked, he answered with an incomplete sentence (*No, the opposite.*), he used direct citation about five times. When he paraphrased his wife he said that she used euphemism (*you are classic Libra so it means that you are boring*). The last question was personal, Ms. Miller asked about his relation with Rupert Murdoch and he answered directly and he also complimented on Rupert's behaviour very positively, which seems appropriate to evaluate another man's actions.

6.12 Speaker 12

Sarah Silverman is an American actress, comedian, writer and producer. She has Polish and Russian Jewish ancestors. She is sarcastic and engages in controversial topics such as racism, sexism and religion (IMDb, 2015). In the interview she spoke about jokes on Twitter, about Hillary Clinton and about reality television (VF Hollywood, 2013).

She used amplifiers seven times (pretty much, really, very, totally), vague language six times (I think, might), emotive language six times (I feel like, I love), softeners three times (probably, maybe) and taboo words three times (shit, crap, idiot). Sarah Silverman paused twice, which can be understood as thinking but also trying to avoid answering. To one of the question she answered one word sentence (No.), showing disrespect or the fact that there is not anything else to add on the matter. She used direct citation only once, and used paraphrases more often. She talked about the connection of age and dressing, and that she cannot dress like a younger woman. When she told her most favourite joke it was sexual

and it shows that she was at ease with the situation and did not feel inhibited by being inappropriate. She satirically spoke about girl's competing for a stranger's love and about their appearance. She answered a question with a metaphor, and spoke about the Christmas colour palette and how she likes it, which is rather a neutral topic, compared to the sexual joke.

6.13 Speaker 13

Emile Hirsch is an American actor with German and English ancestors and often plays character in difficult life situation (IMDb, 2015). In interview for Vanity Fair he talked about his experience in Reno, his project Bonnie & Clyde and about John Belushi biopic (VF Hollywood, 2013).

He used amplifiers thirteen times (*really*, *very*), hedges eight times (*kind of*, *probably*, *sort of*) and emotive language once (*I feel like*), softener once (*maybe*), vague language once (*I think*), and taboo word also once (*badass*).

6.14 Speaker 14

Nadja Swarovski is the great-granddaughter of the founder of Swarovski Company (Crystal Empire) Daniel Swarovski. Her ancestors are from Germany. She is a member of the Swarovski executive board and the chair of the Swarovski foundation (Swarovski, 2015). In the interview Nadja Swarovski spoke about how the company progresses in the film business, about making of Romeo & Juliet and about the progress of this family company in general (VF Hollywood, 2013).

She used amplifiers five times (*so much, really, very*) and softener once (*well*). She said that film Romeo & Juliet has the same idea as Swarovski Foundation – love and beauty, which shows how her personal life and business life are connected.

6.15 Speaker 15

Kelly Marcel is a British actress and writer, her father is well-known director Terry Marcel, her career started in musical theatre (IMDb, 2015). In the interview she spoke about her research, her mentoring on screenwriting and about crossing over erotic fiction in Fifty Shades of Grey (VF Hollywood, 2013).

Kelly Marcel used amplifiers five times (*absolutely, very, really*), vague language three times (*I think*) and hedges three times (*kind of*).

6.16 Summary

Fifteen interviews from the famous magazine Vanity Fair done by Julie Miller were analysed four linguistic features were chosen to compare the analysed speakers.

Linguistic feature	Women		omen Men	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
		[%]		[%]
Vague Language	18	16	20	15
Hedge	21	19	37	27
Amplifier	65	60	64	48
Softener	6	5	14	10
Total	110	100	135	100

Table 3: Comparison of usage of linguistic features by women and men

Women

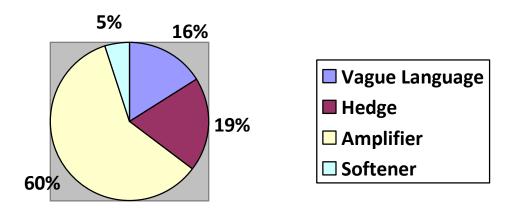


Figure 1: Women's usage of linguistic features



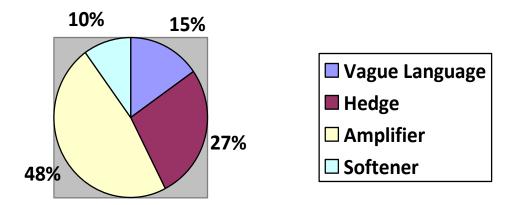


Figure 2: Men's usage of linguistic features

In Table 3 (also more precisely in Figure 1 and 2) it can be seen which linguistic features were used by women and which by men. Women and men applied vague language roughly the same, women used 16%, men 15% which shows the same degree of informality.

Men used hedges more often than women, (men 27%, and women 19%) which goes against the Lakoff theory about women's language.

Men also used softeners more often (men 10%, women 5%). On the other hand women used amplifiers more often than men (women 59%, men 47%).

Linguistic	Women		Men	
feature				
	Number	Percentage [%]	Number	Percentage [%]
Vague Language	12	15	13	14
Hedge	14	17,5	30	33
Amplifier	48	60	41	46
Softener	6	7,5	6	7

Total	80	100	90	100

Table 4: Comparison of usage of linguistic feature between white women and men

Women

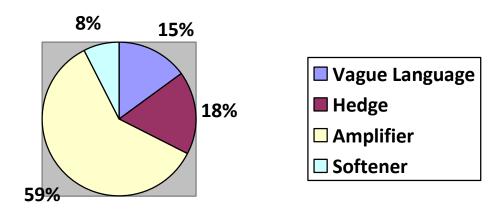


Figure 3: Caucasian women's usage of linguistic features



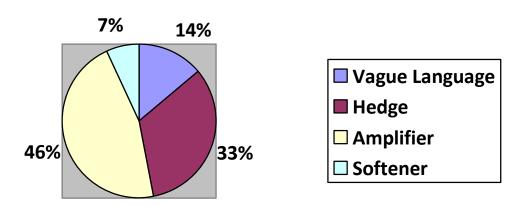


Figure 4: Caucasian men's usage of linguistic features

In Table 4 and in Figures 3 and 4 are shown linguistic features used by Caucasian women and men. This comparison was made purely as a lot of literature sources dealing with language and gender introduce stereotypes based on white race and comparing other races would be more demanding, possibly more suitable for a master thesis.

As for the selected features, women and men used vague language approximately the same, women used it 15%, men 14%. Men used hedges more often than women (men 33%, women 17, 5%). Women applied amplifiers more often than men, women 60%, men 46%. And usage of softener was also roughly the same, women 7, 5%, men 7%. This copies the general comparison of men and women regardless of their race done previously in this chapter. So no significant differences were found between the speakers of mixed and Caucasian origin.

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this bachelor thesis was to provide a study of language and gender, and their determinants, focusing especially on the linguistic features which women and men use. It was necessary to define and explain the main terms such as language, gender, sex, division of labour, relation between language and class and language and race and lastly linguistic features, speech acts, women's language and definition of interview in order to understand the analytical part.

The analytical part was based on an analysis of fifteen interviews from the famous American magazine Vanity Fair. I analysed written interviews with celebrities, their usage of linguistic features and comparison of men and women. The number of speakers is quite low for an objective study, yet at the same time it can still demonstrate if gender stereotypes are true for this particular sample.

The main aim of the research was to confirm or disprove the stereotypical opinions about language and gender. It has been proved that gender stereotypes do not work every time. It was also observed that race does not influence the use of linguistic features. All of the analysed linguistic features are considered as powerless and as a part of women's language, however they are used by both men and women from middle and upper class without significant differences.

I am aware that the research sample was rather small and it is therefore inappropriate to generalise. Further studies into the matter are recommended on a wider sample.

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LIST	OF	FIG	URES
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Figure 1: Women's usage of linguistic features	41
Figure 2: Men's usage of linguistic features	42
Figure 3: Caucasian women's usage of linguistic features	43
Figure 4: Caucasian men's usage of linguistic features	43

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Linguistic features (own creation)	.33
Table 2: Brief description of the participants (own creation)	.34
Table 3: Comparison of usage of linguistic features by women and men	41
Table 4: Comparison of usage of linguistic feature between white women and men	.43

APPENDIX

All interviews are made available in the Appendix in the electronic version (on the CD enclosed).