

PEERING THROUGH THE GENDERLECT MIRAGE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

"sex is a variable which strongly affects speech" (Crosby and Nyquist 1977)--or so it is believed.

Sociolinguists have spent decades analyzing the social correlates of linguistic differences among speakers. These correlates include region, time, and social class and, during the last few decades, gender. Over the years many studies have divided their subjects into groups of males and females, but only fairly recently has that division been an important focus of study. Otto Jespersen (1922) was one of the first linguists to dedicate attention to women's use of language (chapter 13 "The Woman" in his book Language: its nature, development and origin). He comments that language use differs between men and women and that these differences reflect psychological and social differences between the sexes. Jespersen points out sex differences in word choice, such as women's use of "cute," "so," and indirect speech. He says that women have both a simpler sentence structure and vocabulary than men, and he attributes the linguistic differences to social and educational differences between the two. (Fortunately, less sexist speculation has prevailed in more recent times.) Until the later 1960s, however,

the topic of gender differences in language has remained dormant. Since that time linguists have produced an abundance of studies (Eble, C. 1972, Gardner, G. 1970, Hirschman, L. 1973, Key, M. 1972, Hole, J. & Levine, E. (1971), Bernard, J. (1968), Swacker 1975, among many others) specifically analyzing women's and men's language as they relate to and differ from each other.

Among sociolinguists working in the Labovian tradition, a consensus about gender differences had emerged by the mid 1970s. Trudgill (1983) provides perhaps the clearest statement of the variationist view of gender differences. He notes that "the evidence provided by sociolinguistic studies for sex differences in language is utterly overwhelming. It is the single most consistent finding to emerge from sociolinguistic work in the past two decades. . . there is absolutely no doubt that it does exist" (p. 96). Further, Trudgill suggests that both individual identity and gender roles play a part in a speaker's language choices, he says "Using a female linguistic variety is as much a case of identifying oneself as female, and of behaving 'as a woman should' " (p. 89). Trudgill explains that gender based linguistic differences "are the result of social *difference*" [emphasis his] (p.94). He goes on to say that the differences in the way men and women use language result from their views of each sex's appropriate social roles.

Labov (1972) finds that women tend to be the leaders in language change; for example, they tend to use more innovative speech forms than men. Women also tend to use more "standard" language forms than men. Labov notes that "In careful speech, women use fewer stigmatized forms than men. . . and are more

sensitive than men to the prestige pattern" (p. 243). Women have been found to "hypercorrect" their speech in an effort to use standard language.

More recent research suggests that gender differences are not limited to the use of prestige forms. Beginning in the mid 1970s, linguists working in other paradigms began to look at gender differences in the use of language. Robin Lakoff, in her 1975 book Language and Woman's Place, uses the term "women's language" to refer to the language that women but not men use. According to Lakoff, whose views, surprisingly, closely align with Jespersen's, "woman's language" reflects women's inferior social position and places women in a position to comply with their "place" in society. Lakoff's "women's language" includes features such as hedges, tag questions, phrasing statements as questions, and using "empty adjectives" (such as cute, adorable, and divine). These features, Lakoff says, cause the speaker to "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" (P. 55). Her theory, unveiled during the 1970s women's liberation movement, prompted even more attention and research into this issue.

Lakoff (1973) gathered her information "mainly by introspection: I have examined my own speech and that of my acquaintances. . . . I have also made use of the media . . . Is the educated, Anglo, middle-class group that the writer of the paper identifies with less worthy of study than any other?" (p. 46-7). "I do feel that the majority of the claims I make will hold for the majority of speakers of English; that, in fact, much may, *mutatis mutandis* , be

universal" (p. 47). A number of linguists have amplified Lakoff's work. Wolfram (1991), who provides the best synthesis, uses the term "genderlect" to describe those language features that Lakoff calls "women's language." He provides a list of commonly found features of this lect; he says, "The list highlights features of women's speech contrasted with men's speech, following the tradition in which men's language is considered as the base for comparing women's language" (p. 124). Among others, these features include the following:

1.) Specialized "Hedges" - Hedges "typically lessen the force of a statement." For example, *I think, well, kinda, andsorta* "make a statement less forceful than a statement without these qualifiers" (p. 124).

2.) "Frozen" Formal Standard Grammatical Forms - "*It is I*", "*This is she*" and "*To whom would you like to speak?*" are examples.

3.) Specialized Vocabularies - Vocabulary about typically women's areas such as cooking or fashion as in *blanch, julienne or flute, and pumps, gathers, or boning*. In addition, colors such as *mauve, lavender, and fuchsia* are more often used by women than by men. Men's vocabularies typically include sports and car topics.

4.) Expressive Adjectives and Intensifiers - "There is restricted set of expressive items that are most often found in women's speech" (p. 125). These include so called "positive," or "empty adjectives" according to Lakoff (1975), such as *cute, nice, sweet, and adorable*; as in, "*Oh, your hair looks so cute!*" This statement also includes the intensifier *so.. Such* and *really* are also intensifiers.

5.) Taboo Items - Here the euphemism enables women to avoid using those crude "manly" terms. Where a man might have to "*take a piss*", a woman would need to "*go to the ladies' room.*" Moreover, expletives differ from one gender to the other; from the ever famous "*F- word*" used by men to "*My goodness!*" and "*Oh dear!*" used by women.

6.) Indirectness - Women use indirectness as a form of politeness, using tag questions and phrasing requests in the form of a question instead of a direct statement or command. For example, instead of the straightforward "*Pass the salt*" a woman might ask, "*Would you please pass the salt?*" This request also includes the politeness convention "please". Other politeness conventions include "*thank yous*" and respect forms such as "*Mr., Mrs., Sir, and Ma'am .*"

7.) Maintaining Conversation - "Women often take responsibility for fostering conversation by using more 'backchanneling' devices than men to indicate they are following the remarks of the speaker." For example, *uhmhuh, yeah, "Is that right?"* and so on, "serve to carry along the conversation" (p. 127).

8.) Topics of Conversation - Males tend to talk more about "competition and teasing, sports, physical aggression, and 'doing things'," whereas women tend to speak "on the categories of self, feelings, affiliation with others, and home and family" (p. 127). Wolfram explains that these genderlect features reflect "the life experiences, communication networks and sociocultural values that dictate where women and men stand in relation to dialect structures" (p. 122).

Lakoff's conclusions have generated extensive research and controversy. Doubois and Crouch (1975) designed their study of women's use of tag questions in response to Lakoff's theory. Doubois and Couch question Lakoff's ideas by showing that men actually do occasionally use tag questions and not all women use tag questions when the appropriate occasion arises. Crosby and Nyquist (1977) also respond to Lakoff in their empirical study of the "female register," which is their term for the "language that embodies the female role in society" (p. 314). Here they imply the notion that this "language" is not gender exclusive but instead is a tendency of one gender more than the other. Crosby and Nyquist determine that gender differences in language use seem to revolve around culturally stereotypical roles that speakers engage in. They also note that the speakers' assertiveness and the language situation or context plays an important part in the use of this gender specific register. Also, Rosenblum, (1982) discusses the usefulness of the term "female register," as indicating the relationships of the conversational interactants, capturing attention, and commanding indirect power.

McConnell-Ginet (1988) further addresses Lakoff's notions and argues that gender is less a physiological state and more an issue of self identity. She suggests that "femininity can be a matter of degree" and further that "there might be no connection at all between agent's sex or gender and patterns of language produced" (p. 79). Gender is a matter of "actions and social relations, ideology and politics" (p. 97). She also addresses the issue that speakers are presenting more than content when they speak; attitude and a notion of self are also integrated into the message.

What Women Do With Language

A third approach to gender differences emerges in the work of discourse analysts. These analysts focus not on the formal differences between men and women's speech but on functional differences. Tannen (1991) also suggests that men and women tend to use language differently, even to different means, and she finds these differences in a variety of contexts. She says that men interact as individuals and that they "struggle to preserve independence and avoid failure" (p. 25) and that their focus is on information. Women focus on interaction to build "a network of connections" (p. 25). Women use conversation to bring out affinity, to develop a community, and to "avoid isolation". She delineates the two kinds of communication as "public" talk, that which men tend to participate in, and "private" talk, that which women tend to engage in.

Coates (1988) not only addresses the uses of women's language but questions Lakoff's views of its social status. She questions whether "women's language" is a weakness, as Lakoff implies, or a strength. She first points out the long standing tradition that "men's language is viewed as the norm, with women's language regarded as a deviation from that norm" (p. 2) and suggests that we should not give value judgments to the differences between the way women and men use language. Coates further suggests the notion, as Tannen does, that women talking among women are building a community and cohesion as they speak, she says that "speakers work together to produce shared meanings" (p. 4).

Coates addresses the function of three features of "women's language" including minimal responses (or backchanneling), hedges, and tag questions. She opposes the conventionally negative view posited by Lakoff and instead shows them to be cooperative or relational devices. She considers the context of the interaction to be a determiner of the language features' functions.

The work of Johnstone (1993) amplifies and refines some of the conclusions that Tannen and Coates reach and questions whether or not gender differences are the result of social roles. She shows that women analyze their social and psychological world to form a world of interdependence and community. To this end, women do different things with language and don't just use language differently.

Further, Johnstone (1993) points out that "individuals construct unique voices" as they talk. Speakers express their individuality, their self identity, as they talk. It seems to be the speakers' identities, not their social group membership, that influence the speaker's choice of components of their individual voices. It is these voices that allow speakers a method to present themselves as members or non-members of any particular group. This voice is an access to self presentation and self expression.

Key (1975) supports Johnstone's idea that talk is self presentation. She notes that "people are judged by language. You can dress in an indeterminate way, but once you open your mouth to speak, you have stated who you are and what you want" (p. 38). For Johnstone and Key, then, gender differences are not the main focus; gender is merely one aspect to a person's identity. All speakers,

male or female, reveal themselves and show their audience how they want to be seen through their voiced language. Through talk we establish our "unique selves" which Johnstone (1993) sums up: "In between the social and the linguistic is the individual, who selects and combines linguistic resources available in the environment to create a voice with which to be an autonomous human being."

How This Study Fits Into What Has Gone Before

Thus, while many linguists agree that gender is an important factor in language variation, they disagree considerably about what its effects are. One group of linguists sees gender as affecting the use of prestige forms, while others see the different genders' "languages" reflecting societal inequalities between the groups. Still other linguists suggest that gender is a more or less variable factor with varying influence depending on the individual person. All of these influences of gender may be seen through the individual's language, either effecting its structure, as Lakoff and Wolfram advocate, or its use, as Coates and Johnstone support.

The research here attempts to clarify one of the major issues that has emerged from this research: whether there is a particular set of linguistic features that characterizes women's speech as opposed to men's. It does so by adopting a previously existing frame, Wolfram's genderlect features, and exploring its fit (that is, the occurrence or lack of occurrence of the features) on the speech of two very different groups of speakers. The two groups of subjects in this study are both different from each other and unlike those of

most previous genderlect studies. Earlier studies of "women's language" focused primarily on the researcher's own speech or on her/his friends' and colleagues' speech. That subject selection method has tended to bias the subject pool to include mainly Anglo, educated middle-class women and men. Specifically, Lakoff (1973, 75) studies her own speech and Tannen (1989) examines her own and her friend's speech during a dinner table conversation. This study examines the speech of both subjects nearly opposite those of Lakoff's and Tannen's and somewhat similar to theirs. One group of subjects are the rural lower-class African-Americans of Springville, Texas, and the other group, who were respondents for the January 1989 Texas Poll, are from across the state of Texas.

CHAPTER II

SPRINGFIELD STUDY

It is of significance that genderlect studies thus far have been confined to speech of urban Anglo middle-class men and women. As a result, we really do not know whether genderlect is a general feature of women's speech or is restricted to some particular group of women. This study begins the process of determining how general genderlect features are by examining their occurrence (or lack of occurrence) in the speech of lower-class rural African-Americans from East-Central Texas, a group radically different from those traditionally studied.

Methods

In order to explore the occurrence or nonoccurrence of genderlect features among these lower-class rural African-Americans, I examined transcripts of tape-recorded data from an ethnographic study of African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) (Cukor-Avila, 1993). This study was a five-year examination of AAVE that includes individual interviews, group interviews, and site studies (Bailey, and Cukor-Avila, 1990) conducted in the small Texas

town of Springville. The recordings were done as a part of a larger NSF-funded project on urbanization and language change¹.

The Springville study was designed specifically to allow the researchers to assess the role of the fieldworker in influencing the speech of informants. Cukor-Avila and Bailey use Bell's (1984) model (see Figure 1) of audience design to develop an appropriate set of interview contexts. That method of field work allows the fieldworker to move out of the addressee or auditor role and into the overhearer role in order to record linguistic interaction with other members of the community instead of with the fieldworker.

Thus, in conducting individual interviews, the fieldworkers were one-on-one with subjects and were the addressees. In group interviews, one or two fieldworkers listened to a group of subjects, talking with the fieldworkers taking on the role of auditors. In site studies the fieldworkers take on the role of auditors or overhearers. The individual and group interviews were similar to those done elsewhere in sociolinguistics. The site studies, which are described in more detail in Cukor-Avila and Bailey (1990), are an innovation of this study.

The goal of the site studies was to record natural, relatively unmonitored linguistic interaction among subjects (rather than with fieldworkers) thereby ameliorating Labov's "Observer's Paradox." As a result, after fieldworkers had come to know the community well, they began to set up a recorder at the general store, the primary site of linguistic interaction in the community. The fieldworkers then

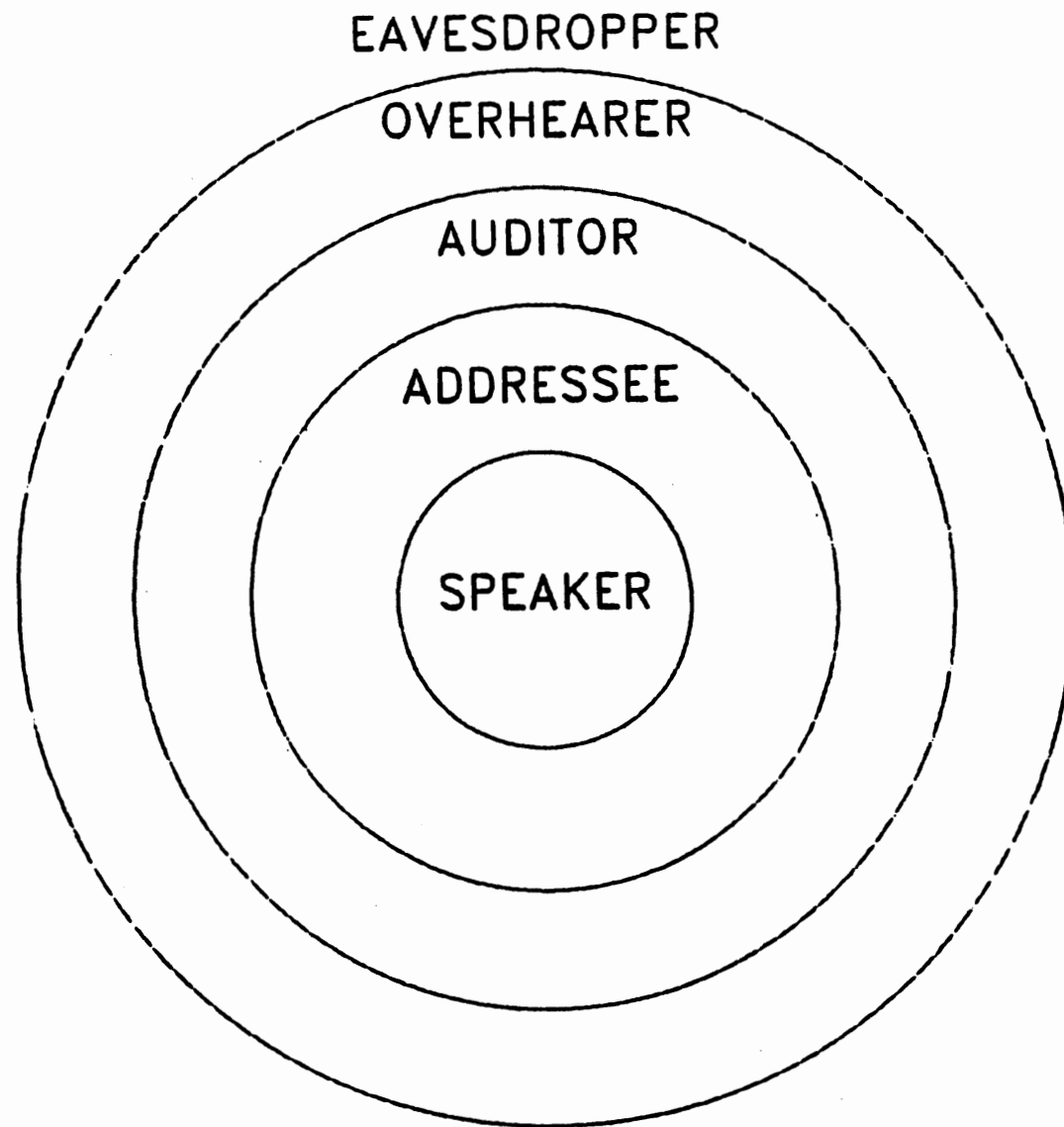


Figure 1. Model of Audience Roles
from Bell (1985)

moved in and out of the store and in and out of conversations, with the tape recorder (which sat on the counter) always visible. The practical consequences of this method is the recording of a large body of discourse that includes a wide range of speech situations, a variety of speech styles, and naturalistic speech interaction.

Because the speech is naturalistic, including false starts, muffled and mumbled speech as well as overlapping speech (especially in the site studies) one of the field workers transcribed the interview and site study tapes to insure transcription accuracy. I examined 17 transcripts: eight individual interviews, four group interviews, and five site studies, made up of 18 speakers (not including the two field workers). The transcripts total approximately 16 hours of speech. I examined each transcript to discern occurrences of Wolfram's list of genderlect features.

Subjects and the Community

Springville is a very insular rural community about 12 miles northwest of Bryan. The town has one store, one beer joint, two churches, and a school that goes through grade eight. The population of 180 is approximately one-half African-American and one-half Latino plus three Anglo families. One Anglo person owns the store and almost everything else in the community. With two exceptions the subjects in this study, 12 males and six females, are lower-class African-Americans with a grade school education or less. The exceptions include Sharon, a 40 year old lower middle-class Anglo woman (and high school graduate) who drives into Springville three

days a week from a nearby town to work at the store, and Jesse, a Latino native of the community. The informants' ages range from 22 to 76 years old.

Results

The results of my analysis of genderlect reveal that Springville residents are radically different from the results reported by Lakoff and others. While I did find some genderlect features, most of them were used by the female Anglo middle-class interviewer (whose language stood out in stark contrast to that of the subjects'). For example, the fieldworker used backchanneling such as, "Uh huh," "Oh, really," "Yeah," and "I see." She also used tag questions such as, "That was hard work, huh?" and "But you don't work in the fields any more, do you?" and hedges like, "It'd be kind of interesting, I think." (See Figure 2 below, for more examples from this field worker -- marked as "FW"-- including, "So that's really neat." "Really" is an intensifier and "neat" is an empty adjective.) These genderlect features may be subconsciously, but purposefully, used for managing interviews. For example, "that's really neat" may be said to encourage the interviewee to further explain or continue talking by showing that she is listening and is interested in, and even impressed by, what the speaker had just said. Also, the tag question may also act to further advance or in some way direct the conversation.

Key: FW = Fieldworker; F = Female interviewee

- FW So that's really neat . That's really neat that you knew her, though.
- F Yeah, I knew her.
- FW She must have been a hard worker, huh?
- F She were because. . .
- FW A strong woman.
- F Yeah, she was a strong lady because you could see the muscles on her, you know, and she was a real, she must've been real strong in order to be a hundred and one for her height so she must've been really taking it 'cause she was a little old lady. We used to have a lady here, Miss Dora White, was that her name, ain't it, Amy White. She wasn't a slave, you know, when she came here. You could still see the fresh chains they had taken off her leg and that got her down while she couldn't hardly get around and she taking it. Oh, she taken a lot of abuse she could tell us . . . and we used to sit up, look at her and just cry. And she was old lady, too.
- FW And when was this? She's obviously not living now, right?
- F No, she's dead. She died in what, sixties Walter? I believe Miss Dora died in the sixties.
- FW She must 've been old then, too?
- F She was pretty old, too. she died in the sixties, and she was telling she sure glad things had changed a whole lot better than what it was when she was coming up. And we didn't believe her when she was telling us that there was chains they had. . .

Figure 2. Group Interview Transcript Excerpt

Additionally, a few features were used by the one Anglo lower middle-class woman in the interviews. These include, a tag question, "It sure is, isn't it?" and an intensifier, "an' she's really hopin' to make money off of it." However, the African-American women did not use genderlect features at all. (See Figure 2, Figure 3, and Figure 4.) Based on this data it appears that these African-American women do not use genderlect features.

Key: M 1 = Male 1; F 2 = Female 2

M 1 I ain' hypocrick you nothin'.
 F 2 If you don' disrespect me, I won' disrespect you.
 M 1 I respect you anyway I feel like I respect. . .
 F 2 Jus' the way you sit over here in this store.
 M 1 You the one brought the hypocrick up.
 F 2 Jus' hush. Jus' the way you sit over here in this store an' you talk
 to me.
 M 1 I ain' said a word about you.
 F 2 I gonna tell you exactly to your face what I want you to know
 'cause so that way it won' sneak out behind you. Jus' the way
 you sittin' there disrespectin' me and hypocritin' me. . . How
 many times have you tried to get me to come over to your house
 to be with you. Now you tell me!
 M 1 Alright. I'll tell her.
 F 2 Now I'm through with you. From now on, you don' say nothin' to
 me.
 M 1 I through when I say (unintelligible).
 F 2 You speak to me, an' smile at me if you want to an' keep on about
 your business. 'Cause I do not play games.
 M 1 I know all about your business 'cause. See I wasn' born, I wasn'
 born yesterday. I wasn' born (unintelligible).
 F 2 I don' disrespect you. Ever since you get the age you is I always
 respected you. "How you doin'?" an' gone about my business.
 M 1 Uh huh. Uh huh. That's right.
 F 2 From now on if you wanna talk to me that way don' say anything
 to me at all. That's the way I really want. . .
 M 1 You first brought the hypocrick up. 'Cause I had never said
 anything.
 F 2 At least I'm not ashamed of nothin' I do.
 M 1 I'm not either. I tell you 'fore your face, I ain' get behind your
 back.
 F 2 That's the way I feel about it too.
 M 1 Jus' like I tell her. Jus' what I got to tell her I tell her 'fore her
 face. I ain' gonna get behin' your back.
 F 2 At least I don' Jesus an' sing an' Lord have mercy on my knees.
 Then turn aroun' five minutes later an' be a hypocrite.
 M 1 That's right. That's right. We all hypocrites.

Figure 3. Site Study Transcript Excerpt

Key: FW =Fieldworker, S=Subject (Female)

- S: One day last week I was there. I brought 'em home and put 'em in a plastic bag, and yesterday I said well, I ain't gonna fool with nothin' sweet, I cooked me some peas and bread.
- FW: Hum.
- S: I cooked those peas and bread and then I decided on a peach cobbler. I fixed that. I smother some steak. I ain't gonna cook nothin' else. 'Cause every Sunday the chi'ren, A. and the kids always come. But, they didn't, they went to the lake yesterday.
- FW: Uh huh.
- S: I didn't see 'em all day yesterday.
- FW: A. said you even went out to the lake one time with her a couple of weeks ago.
- S: Yeah, they wanted me to go by there an' look at the water and I tol' them I can't stand that water. Too much water lookin' at.
- FW: Oh.
- S: It makes me dizzy or somethin'. They wanted me to go back with them yesterday an' I sa' un ugh.
- FW: Um hum.
- S: An' the little baby said, oh big mama, say you can jus' sit in the car and I say I don't want to sit in the car. It's too hot sittin' in the car. Well, you can go sit on the benches over there? It's a swings and everythin' over there. I say I don't want to go see the water.

Figure 4. Individual Interview Excerpt

Conclusion

This study of genderlect among Springville lower-class African-American women and men casts real doubts on Lakoff's conclusions. We see that not all women use genderlect features, or "women's language." In fact, the contrast between the fieldworker and informants suggests that these language structures may be a culturally conditioned sociolect used by some undetermined percentage of middle-class, Anglo women (and perhaps some men). For the fieldworker in this study and other women of that social

group (like Lakoff), gender may be encoded into language through genderlect features. Of course, the analysis here does not rule out the fact that gender differences exist in some fashion for these women or all women. For women of other social groups, gender differences may be present, but if so they take a different form from what Lakoff and Wolfram suggest. The relationship between language and gender, then, appears to vary substantially from one culture to another. What holds for Anglo middle-class people does not necessarily hold for other groups.

Endnote

1. The fieldwork for this article was supported by a series of grants from the National Science Foundation (BNS-8812552 and BNS-900932). Patricia Cukor-Avila was the primary fieldworker.

CHAPTER III

THE TEXAS POLL STUDY

Previous genderlect studies which consider the speech of Anglo, middle-class women and men to be typical not only overlook the role of ethnicity as a vital cultural variable, but also the role other variables such as rurality. The Springville study showed that the African-American, rural women and men of that community did not use genderlect features at all. This data suggests that genderlect is not common to all women's speech. However, we do not know why this group's speech is so different from that of the groups previously studied. Since we know that some women do use these features, according to previously mentioned linguists, perhaps different groups of women need to be studied instead of women in general.

This study begins the process of examining the speech of different social groups to determine the prevalence of genderlect. In choosing specific groups of women and men to study, I decided that I needed to examine a wide array of people along the social-class continuum.

The Texas Poll

Again using a preexisting data base, I examined respondents from the January 1989 Texas Poll. The January 1989 Texas Poll was originally tape-recorded to provide data for a Phonological Survey of Texas (PST) (see Bailey and Bernstein, 1989), another component of the project on urbanization and language change. The Texas Poll, conducted through the Public Policy Resources Laboratory at Texas A&M University, is a quarterly telephone survey of 1,000 randomly selected households in Texas. Of the households in Texas, 91% have telephones, so while this method of household selection is not perfect, it is very close to a completely random selection of households in the state. The telephone numbers are selected randomly from a computer-generated list of all the possible telephone numbers in Texas. In effort to get a random mix of respondents within the selected households (and because women tend to answer phones more often than men), the poll surveys the person over 18 who has had the most recent birthday. The January 1989 Texas Poll has a total of 1006 completed surveys and provides an excellent snapshot of the state's population.

About the Interviews

Because the Texas Poll surveys are scripted and are supposed to be approximately the same length, they should provide the ideal laboratory for exploring genderlect. Most studies of genderlect, so far, have tended to overlook the type of discourse being examined.

The Texas Poll was designed to gather public opinion and public awareness about various topics concerning the residents of Texas. This discourse type, a relatively sustained question-answer exchange, provides a comparatively controlled linguistic environment encouraging some language structures, such as hedging, and discouraging others, such as topic selection and interruption practices. For example, the poll asks for the respondent's opinion about controversial and political issues as well as questions about how much a respondent knows about a certain subject. The January 1989 Texas Poll asked respondents to answer questions about their views on abortion, how well President Bush was doing (even though he had only been in office a few days at the time of the poll), how serious skin cancer is, and how much they know about the super-collider, its cost and how dangerous it is. Such difficult-to-answer questions may tend to encourage hedging. All but one of my 76 subjects hedged at least once and 75 subjects hedged four times or more during the poll. One respondent hedged 95 times.

One strength of the Texas Poll data for this research is the relative consistency of information exchange. The professional pollsters were all supposed to ask the same questions in the same way. While in reality the pollsters did vary, this data does present a fairly structured linguistic interchange from one poll to the next—certainly more structured than the research used elsewhere. This means that the subjects had roughly the same options to choose from in building their responses. In other words, all of the respondents have roughly the same opportunities to use genderlect features.

Interview Length

However, there is variation in the actual conduct of the interviews. The average interview length is 15.75 minutes; the longest is 25.63 minutes and the shortest is 11.45 minutes. This variation is due to varying speeds in response time, some bad phone connections or excessive background noise causing several questions to be repeated, occasional lengthy explanations of responses, and some other causes such as another phone call or a small child the respondent has to deal with. Although a 14.18 minute range may seem large for this speech sample, the actual variation in number of words used during that time is not as great as the time variation might suggest. For example, I examined two interviews of varying lengths to see what accounted for discrepancies in length. I found that an interview which lasts 20.59 minutes contains a total of 4432 words between both parties (215.25 words per minute): 2466 words are the interviewer's and 1966 words are the female respondent's. The second interview, lasting 14.36 minutes, contains a total of 3603 words (250.91 words per minute): 2618 from the interviewer and 985 from the male respondent. The differences between these two interviews are 6.23 minutes, and 829 total words (152 between interviewers and 677 between respondents). A calculation of the number of words per minute suggests that the difference in number of words should be 1557.5. Thus, the actual difference in number of words is only about 2/3 of what we would expect. While interview lengths do vary, the variation in number of words is not as great as might be expected. Nevertheless, in computing interviews, I have

normalized my figures to take into account differences in interview length.

Demographics of the Selected Subjects

In addition to its use for PST, the January, 1989, Texas Poll has been used for several projects on discourse analysis (see Johnstone, etc.). For these projects, roughly 10% of the interviews were transcribed in normal orthography in their entirety. These transcripts form the basis for this research, but I have amplified that corpus in order to fill cells in a quota sample that gives coverage to a wide range of Anglo respondents. I chose only Anglos because the Springville study had suggested that African-Americans do not use these features being studied and because many interviews with Hispanics are in Spanish. The Springville study suggests that rurality may be a feature that conditions the occurrences of genderlect, so I developed a quota sample of approximately 20 subjects per cell from the following four groups: urban females, rural females, urban males, and rural males. The total subject number is 76. The female urban group has 20 subjects, the female rural group has 17, the male urban group has 20, and the male rural group has 19. For the purposes of this study, urban includes residents of a city of over 70,000 people, or in bedroom communities within ten miles of these cities, and rural denotes residents living in a town or outside of a town with a population of 15,000 or below.

Method of Data Collection

In order to gather genderlect features, I examined the relevant tapes (and transcripts when they existed) and tallied the respondent's use of genderlect features in order to determine which group, if any, used more genderlect. Each occurrence of a genderlect feature was tabulated and counted separately as one feature. For example, the response, "No, ma'am, I haven't" was tabulated as one politeness convention, and "I guess I'd agree" was considered one hedge. False starts and "I don't know" replies, which stand alone as an answer, were not included as instances of genderlect features.

Method of Analyzing Data

In analyzing the data from the Texas Poll study, I first divided the respondents into all female and all male groups. Then I divided each of those categories into subgroups around axes of rurality, age, and education. I compared averages of genderlect use from the different groups, then later compared the range, median, and standard deviation of the groups. The results revealed large differences between the all female and all male groups and between subgroups of females but little between subgroups of males.

Individual Genderlect Features Used

In comparing the genderlect features in the Texas Poll interviews, I found that some respondents use some of the features, and a few use all of them, but not all of the respondents use all of the

genderlect features. (See TABLE I and TABLE II in APPENDIXES A and B) Each feature is used by a different number of respondents and each respondent uses each feature a different number of times. Thus, the respondents vary not only in the number of genderlect features they use, they also vary in the type of genderlect feature(s) they use.

Hedges are the most commonly used genderlect feature among these subjects; every speaker except one male uses at least one hedge. The males who hedge use an average of 26.81 hedges per interview, while the females, all of whom hedge, use an average of 20.28 hedges. Intensifiers are the second most common feature; only eight of the 39 males and four of the 37 females do not use intensifiers. The females who use intensifiers average 5.76 intensifiers per interview and the males average 4.42.

The least common genderlect features among the Texas Poll respondents are different for the genders. The females use expletives the least often. Those women who use expletives average 1.82 per interview; 17 women use a total of 31 expletives. The same number of men use expletives; the 17 men use 41 expletives. However, one man alone uses 15 (37%) of those. The men of this study use backchanneling the least often of all the features; only five men backchannel using 11 occurrences in all. Backchanneling among the women is the second-to-least common feature; 11 women backchannel 42 times. Tag questions for the men are relatively rare occurrences; eight men use 13 tag questions in their interviews. The women use tag questions more often; 12 women use 79 tag questions. However, two of the 12 women use 80% of the tag

questions; one woman uses 45 tag questions and the second uses 18. Politeness conventions are the only feature to rank equally in both groups; it is the third most frequently used genderlect feature. Of the men, 19 use a total of 41 politeness conventions, and 22 women use 55 of these features.

Results of Comparing Means

A comparison of the averages of the female and male groups shows that the females in this corpus do use genderlect features more often than the males. (See TABLE III.) The females use 30% more genderlect features than the men; however, the females' interview length is only 5% greater than the males'. The females, 37 in all, average 37.73 features per person per interview [these interviews average 16.3 minutes], while the group of males, a total of 39, average 26.59 features [these interviews average 15.48 minutes]. Thus even when differences in the length of the interviews are taken into account, women use genderlect features far more often than men. In fact, men only use 75% as many genderlect features per minute as women.

TABLE III
AVERAGE GENDERLECT FEATURES
PER MINUTE--FEMALES/MALES

	Minutes	Features	Features per Minute
Females	16.3	37.73	2.31
Males	15.48	26.59	1.72

Since the Springville study shows that not all women use these features equally I decided to examine their occurrence among various subgroups of women. Specifically, I explore the effects of rurality, age, and education on the use of genderlect. Dividing the women up into rural/urban groups suggests that rural females use genderlect more often than urban females. (See TABLE IV.) The rural females (N=17) average 48.76 features [in an average of 17.11 minutes], whereas the urban females (N=20) average 28.35 features [in an average of 15.97 minutes]. The male's subgroups show only small differences between the different groups; the rural males (N=19) average 28.4 features [in an average 14.47 minutes] and the urban males (N=20) average 24.85 features [in an average of 16.44 minutes]. Interestingly, the figures for urban females are quite similar to the figures for urban males; it is only the rural females who are significantly different. (See TABLE IV.) The other subgroups use only about 2/3 (61%) as many genderlect features per minute and 1/2 (56%) as many features per interview.

TABLE IV
AVERAGE GENDERLECT FEATURES
PER MINUTE--RURAL/URBAN

	Minutes	Features	Features per Minute
Rural Females	17.11	48.76	2.85
Urban Females	15.97	28.35	1.78
Rural Males	14.47	28.4	1.96
Urban Males	16.44	24.85	1.51

Age, like rurality, is an important factor in the use of genderlect features. Older women, like rural women, use more genderlect features than younger women. (See TABLE V.) I chose World War II as the dividing line for the younger/older dichotomy because of its effects on language (Bailey, Wikle, Tillery, and Sand, 1992). The older women (45 and older, N=20) average 42.60 features of genderlect [in an average of 16.13 minutes] and the younger women (44 or younger, N=17) average 32.00 features [in an average of 16.09 minutes]. Again, male respondents show little difference in their use of genderlect features, and they are quite similar to younger women. The older men (N=16) average 28.69 genderlect features [in an average of 16.24 minutes] and the younger men (N=23) average 25.57 features [in an average of 14.95 minutes]. It is important to recognize here that rurality and age are separate factors. Roughly as many older women are urban residents as rural ones; of the older women, nine are urban and 11 are rural.

TABLE V
AVERAGE GENDERLECT FEATURES
PER MINUTE—OLDER/YOUNGER

	Minutes	Features	Features per Minute
Older Women	16.13	42.60	2.64
Younger Women	16.09	32.00	1.99
Older Men	16.24	28.69	1.77
Younger Men	14.95	25.57	1.71

Unlike rurality and age, education seems to have little effect on the use of genderlect. (See TABLE VI.) I defined less educated as having a high school diploma or less, and better educated as having at least some college education. The less educated group of females (N=18) average 38.22 features [in an average of 16.40 minutes] and the better educated females group (N=19) average 37.26 features [in an average of 16.59 minutes]. The less educated group of males (N=16) average 26.69 genderlect features [in an average of 15.78 minutes] and the better educated group of males (N=23) average 26.52 features [in an average of 15.27 minutes].

TABLE VI
AVERAGE GENDERLECT FEATURES PER MINUTE--
LESS EDUCATED/BETTER EDUCATED

	Minutes	Features	Features per Minute
Less Educ. Females	16.40	38.22	2.33
Better Educ. Females	16.59	37.26	2.25
Less Educ. Males	15.78	26.69	1.69
Better Educ. Males	15.27	26.52	1.74

Analysis of Mean Results

The results of my analysis of variation among women suggest that older, rural women in this sample use genderlect most often. From these findings I hypothesized that genderlect is a feature of older, rural women's speech. Given what we know about language change, that younger women in urban areas tend to take the lead in language innovation, I further hypothesized that genderlect is probably a disappearing feature.

However, this hypothesis poses two problems. First, the groupings are questionable. I ran a series of two-by-two analysis of variance tests (a Factorial Analysis of Treatment in a Completely Randomized Design), which are designed to determine whether or not variables interact to cause an effect. These tests compared the effect of gender with the effect of each of the subgroups (rurality, age, education level) on the use of genderlect. Results show that not one

of the three subgroups interacts with gender to create an effect. That seems to say that gender alone is responsible for the differences in genderlect use between the females and males. However, because the variance between the individuals within the groups of females and males is so large, perhaps other factors are at work here. Second, the hypothesis is weak because the characterization is based on averages. Averages of this data are misleading. The averages correctly show that some groups use genderlect more often than other groups and that there is a difference among groups. However, even more difference is found among the individuals that make up the groups. In fact, the variance between individual females is greater than the variance between the groups of males and females. (See TABLE VII on page 30.)

Examining the Individuals

When I examined the individuals' uses of genderlect, the findings reveal a very wide range and a large standard deviation. (See TABLE VIII and TABLE IX in APPENDIX C.) The Female group has an extremely wide range of 147, a median of 31, and a very large standard deviation of 33.01 and the Male group have a range of 73, a median of 23, and a standard deviation of 14.82. The same analysis within the subgroups of females reveals great variation within the groups too. Thus, differences within the Urban/Rural Female groups are very large; the Urban Female group's range is 42, and the standard deviation is 12.02. The Rural Female group's range is 147 and the standard deviation is 44.45. The wide range of

variation also appears within age groups. The Older Female group has a range of 146 and a standard deviation of 35.72, while the Younger group's range is 125 and their standard deviation is 28.44. The same results appear for educational groups. The Less Educated Females' range is 145 and standard deviation is 31.80, while the Better Educated Female group has a range of 125 and standard deviation of 34.10. What all of this means is that intragroup variation is as great as intergroup variation.

TABLE VII
INDIVIDUAL VARIATION OF
GENDERLECT USE

Group	Range	Median	Standard Deviation	Mean
All Females	147	31	33.01	37.73
All Males	73	23	14.82	26.59
Urban Females	42	30	12.02	28.35
Rural Females	147	35	44.45	48.76
Older Females	146	35	35.72	42.60
Younger Females	125	28	28.44	32.00
Less Educated	145	32	31.80	38.22
Better Educated	125	31	34.10	37.26
Urban Males	43	23	12.05	24.85
Rural Males	73	23	17.07	28.40
Older Males	39	30	10.95	28.69
Younger Males	73	21	16.86	25.57
Less Educated Males	42	27	13.07	26.69
Better Educated Males	73	21	15.94	26.52

In fact, a problem arises in comparing these different groups with each other because there is really not enough cohesion within the groups to treat the collocation of individuals as groups. While

there are differences among groups, these differences must be understood in light of the wide differences among individuals within the groups.

What we see here, then, is a great deal of individual variation rather than group variation. This data supports the concept of individual voice that Barbara Johnstone has recently advanced. Johnstone (1993) points out that "individuals construct unique voices" as they talk. These voices may indeed be related to some social grouping, though that grouping may be more complicated than we realize – having to do with "social groups" the individual identifies with. It seems to be the speakers' identities that influence speakers' choice of components of their individual voices. It is these voices that allow speakers a method to present themselves as members or non-members of a group. These voices are an access to self presentation and self expression. What the great variation in the use of genderlect features points to is such differences in individual voice. Women have available to them a number of different "voices," a number of different social models that they can identify with. One such model apparently includes the use of genderlect features.

Conclusion

In summary, the data from the Texas Poll shows that females use more genderlect features than males and that among females; older rural women use genderlect most often. However, a closer look indicates that the group distinctions is not the best way to examine this data. Instead, genderlect appears to be found in the speech of

some women and some men who may not fit into a "group" based on standard demographic categories. Genderlect appears, instead, to be a component of individual voice. Genderlect has been stereotyped as "women's voice," when actually it doesn't appear to be; it seems to be only one element that some women (and some men) choose to use as part of their individual voice.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

This analysis of ethnographic data from Springville, Texas, and of survey data from the entire state of Texas has important implications for work on "women's language" or genderlect. The Springville study suggests that not all women use genderlect and implies that the use of genderlect may well be socially or culturally conditioned. The fact that these African-American women and men do not use genderlect features at all suggests that genderlect is at best a component of Anglo, middle-class female speech.

The Texas Poll study suggests that the use of genderlect may be more a matter of individual choice than of social or cultural conditioning. While some groups of women do use genderlect more than others, intragroup variation is often greater than intergroup variation. Perhaps the best way to view this data is not from the perspective of quantitative sociolinguistics, which sees variation as a consequence of social group membership, but from the perspective of interactional sociolinguistics, which focuses more on the choices that individuals make in talking. Johnstone (1993) points out that "individuals construct unique voices" as they talk. These voices may, indeed, be related to some social category, though that category may be more complicated than we realize—having to do with "social

groups" the individual identifies with rather than the social categories that the individual belongs to. It seems to be the speakers' identities, or their construction of self, that influence speakers' choice of components of their individual voices. It is these voices that allow speakers a method to show affiliation with groups, but these voices also give individuals a means to achieve uniqueness. Since people identify with a number of different groups at the same time, they have several different identities that they can present. Each identity provides alternatives to choose from. An individual voice is a collocation of features from all of these identities. For some women, but not for others, genderlect features are part of their individual voice. This voice is an access to self presentation and self expression. What the great variation in the use of genderlect points to is such differences in individual voice. Presenting a "different" voice allows speakers to show their individuality through talk.

While the data from the Texas Poll, then, shows that so-called "genderlect" features are really not typical of all women or even all women in some particular social category, the wider range of individual variation among women does suggest an interesting hypothesis. Since the Texas Poll data shows that individual variation among women is much larger than it is among men, it may be the case that women have more "voices" or options to choose from when assembling their individual voice. Perhaps the difference between men and women's speech lies not so much in the use of individual features but as the options available to each group. Proving such a hypothesis, of course, will require substantially more research.

The Great Genderlect Hoax

The data from Springville and the Texas Poll raises one other question. Lakoff identified women's use of genderlect by noting the language she uses; Tannen noted the language of the women she heard among her network of friends and colleagues, all of whom are Anglo and middle-class. Even though most genderlect studies thus far have been confined to the speech of a very limited number of urban Anglo middle-class men and women and have not examined the non-mainstream groups, linguists have over-generalized these genderlect features to the speech of all women. In fact, if Wolfram's text is taken as typical, genderlect has become a kind of linguistic stereotype of the speech of all women. My research clearly shows that this stereotype is invalid—not all or even most women use these features any more than men do.

The question, then, is how and why did genderlect features come to be the stereotype that they are? The answer lies in the methodological problem of generalizing to a group about one's own behavior. If there is any lesson in the data here, it is that sociolinguistics must actually study a representative sample of the people they talk about.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

GENDERLECT FEATURES USED BY ALL MALES

TABLE I
GENDERLECT FEATURES USED BY ALL MALES

AGE	PLACE	TOTAL	H	I	E	T	P	B
18	Electra	21	15	5	1	0	0	0
50	Rhame	9	8	0	0	0	1	0
71	Mt. Pleasant	35	34	1	0	0	0	0
60	Stevenville	26	26	0	0	0	0	0
29	Byers	46	34	3	3	6	0	0
49	Quitaque	35	31	3	0	1	0	0
50	Garwood	26	21	0	1	1	3	0
60	Bonham	46	35	9	0	1	1	0
50	Kopperl	14	14	0	0	0	0	0
60	San Antonio	29	24	5	0	0	0	0
55	Pasadena	12	12	0	0	0	0	0
61	El Paso	26	23	1	2	0	0	0
31	Deer Park	36	32	4	0	0	0	0
19	Houston	17	7	8	0	0	2	0
24	Houston	4	0	1	0	0	2	1
67	Houston	45	34	3	0	1	3	4
29	Jasper	4	4	0	0	0	0	0
70	La Martee	40	34	5	1	0	0	0
30	Llano	49	40	4	1	1	0	3
37	Hillsboro	17	11	1	1	0	4	0
24	Hereford	77	62	7	6	0	2	0
22	Center	20	13	5	0	1	1	0
24	Beeville	16	13	2	1	0	0	0
26	Tampa	14	11	2	1	0	0	0
40	Mineral Wells	21	19	1	1	0	0	0
27	Burleson	23	18	3	1	0	1	0
74	Fort Worth	33	24	6	1	1	1	0
30	San Angelo	17	13	3	0	0	1	0
22	San Antonio	24	18	5	0	0	1	0
19	Grand Prairie	47	16	12	15	0	4	0
41	San Antonio	22	13	5	0	0	4	0
61	Baytown	18	15	0	1	0	2	0
35	Midland	10	8	0	0	0	2	0
30	Richmond	18	15	3	0	0	0	0
60	Arlington	21	20	1	0	0	0	0

KEY: H= Hedge, I=Intensifier, E=Expletive, T=Tag Question, P=Politeness Conversion, B=Backchanneling

TABLE I (Continued)

AGE	PLACE	TOTAL	H	I	E	T	P	B
37	Houston	7	4	3	0	0	0	0
27	Austin	39	34	3	2	0	0	0
39	El Paso	36	19	13	0	0	3	1
53	San Antonio	34	17	10	2	0	3	2
Totals		1032	791	137	41	13	41	11
Averages per person		26.59	20.28	3.51	1.05	0.33	1.05	0.28
Number of subjects who used feature		39	38	31	17	8	19	5
Averages per subjects who used feature		26.59	20.81	4.42	2.41	1.63	2.16	2.20

KEY: H= Hedge, I=Intensifier, E=Expletive, T=Tag Question, P=Politeness Conversion,
B=Backchanneling

APPENDIX B

GENDERLECT FEATURES USED BY ALL FEMALES

TABLE II
GENDERLECT FEATURES USED BY ALL FEMALES

AGE	PLACE	TOTAL	H	I	E	T	P	B
60	Gainsville	11	8	2	1	0	0	0
49	Llano	8	7	1	0	0	0	0
77	Inglside	121	97	22	2	0	0	0
35	Granbury	132	77	25	3	18	7	2
68	Madisonville	28	22	1	1	0	4	0
28	Gainsville	7	6	1	0	0	0	0
84	Van Alstyne	75	57	17	0	0	1	0
48	Smithville	35	25	6	1	1	1	1
33	Borne	28	22	5	0	1	0	0
55	Colombus	11	5	3	0	0	3	0
53	Hillister	153	95	13	0	45	0	0
29	Fritch	52	47	0	0	4	1	0
19	Nobana	16	10	0	2	0	4	0
51	Mabank	37	35	0	1	0	1	0
69	Rio Vista	55	51	3	0	0	1	0
44	New Caney	16	12	3	0	0	1	0
63	Winters	43	37	4	1	0	1	0
34	Houston	29	20	4	1	1	3	0
31	Richardson	15	12	0	0	0	2	1
55	Fort Worth	31	20	9	0	1	1	0
27	Eules	33	23	2	0	0	3	5
34	Austin	14	9	1	0	0	4	0
60	Spring	34	29	4	0	0	1	0
27	Wichita Falls	30	24	3	2	1	0	0
20	Lubbock	34	16	7	1	2	5	3
85	El Paso	35	26	7	1	0	0	1
23	Tyler	15	8	2	0	1	0	4
27	Houston	17	4	3	2	1	0	7
76	San Antonio	38	21	11	0	0	3	3
68	El Paso	51	47	2	1	0	0	1
53	Beaumont	19	9	7	3	0	0	0
27	Houston	9	7	2	0	0	0	0
42	Houston	35	28	2	1	3	1	0

KEY: H= Hedge, I=Intensifier, E=Expletive, T=Tag Question, P=Politeness Conversion, B=Backchanneling

TABLE II (Continued)

AGE	PLACE	TOTAL	H	I	E	T	P	B
44	Houston	61	36	1	7	0	3	14
65	Grand Prairie	20	14	6	0	0	0	0
55	Texas City	29	15	10	0	0	4	0
57	Tyler	17	16	1	0	0	0	0
Totals		1396	997	190	31	79	55	42
Total Averages		37.73	26.95	5.14	0.84	2.14	1.49	1.14
Number of subjects who used feature		37	37	33	17	12	22	11
Averages per subjects who used feature		37.73	26.95	5.76	1.82	6.58	2.50	3.82

KEY: H= Hedge, I=Intensifier, E=Expletive, T=Tag Question, P=Politeness Conversion,
B=Backchanneling

APPENDIX C

**GENDERLECT FEATURES PER MINUTES OF
INTERVIEW--FEMALES/MALES**

**VARIATION IN THE LENGTHS OF THE
TEXAS POLL INTERVIEWS**

TABLE VIII
GENDERLECT FEATURES PER
MINUTES OF INTERVIEW--
FEMALES/MALES

	Mean	Median	Range	Standard Deviation
Females	2.18	1.88	6.34	1.56
Males	1.68	1.60	4.4	0.86

TABLE IX
VARIATION IN THE LENGTHS OF
THE TEXAS POLL INTERVIEWS

	Mean	Median	Range	Standard Deviation
Females	16.30	16.49	10.82	4.61
Males	15.48	15.48	14.18	2.91

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLES OF TWO TEXAS POLL TRANSCRIPTS

Tape: Texas Poll #137B, Interview #5429, Survey #0454
Name of Interviewer: Becky
Name of Transcriber: Melissa L. Jones
Date: February 11, 1991

S: Hello.

I: Hello, uh my name is Becky and I'm calling for the Texas Poll, a statewide non-partisan public opinion poll. And this month we are conducting a confidential survey of public opinion in Texas and we'd really appreciate your help and cooperation. In order to determine who to interview, could you tell me of the people who currently live in your household, who are eighteen years or older, including yourself, who's had the most recent birthday?

S: Uh, myself.

I: Okay, Uh, then I'll just go ahead and start here. Overall how would you rate Texas as a place to live, excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

S: Good.

I: What do you think is the most serious problem facing the state of Texas?

S: Economy.

I: We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. How- would you say that you and your family living there are better off or worse off than a year ago?

S: Worse.

I: Now looking ahead, do you think that a year from now you and your family living there will be better off financially, worse off, or just about the same?

S: Probably about the same.

I: Now turning to business conditions in the state as a whole. Do you think that during the re- the next twelve months we'll have good times financially, bad times, or what?

S: Oh, ((laugh)) Or what ((laugh))

I: ((laugh))

S: Uh, mediocre ((laugh))

I: Okay

S: It may improve slightly, but I don't think enough to let a lot of us know that its going to be that much better.

I: Okay, Thinking about some people involved in government. What about the job Bill Clemens has been doing as governor Texas. Would you say that Bill Clemens has been doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job?

S: Fair.

I: Okay, um Governor Bill Clemens has said that the state will not raise taxes. Do you think state taxes will or will not be raised?

S: I'm sure they probably will be.

I: How would you rate the job Ronald Reagan did as president, excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

S: Only fair.

I: How would you rate the job George Bush has done since the election, excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

S: What's he done?

I: ((laugh))

S: He hadn't had a chance to do much yet. ((laugh))

I: Okay, um President George Bush has said that the government will not raise federal taxes. Do you believe federal taxes will or will not be raised?

S: Will, hes not gonna call em' taxes though, hes gonna call em' somthin' else.

I: ((laugh)) Okay, um Now I'm going to ask you some issues being considered by the Texas Legislature this spring. First, would you agree or disagree with a law that would require a one week waiting period before a handgun could be purchased?

S: Agree.

I: Would you agree or disagree with a law that would allow individuals, in addition to police and security personnel, to obtain a license to carry a concealed gun? I'll, I'll be glad to repeat it if=

S: -Yeah please.

I: Okay, Would you agree or disagree with a law that would allow individuals, in addition to police and security personnel, to obtain a license a to carry a concealed gun?

S: Not concealed, no.

I: Do you favor or oppose a state run lottery that would produce revenue for the state?

S: I agree.

I: If a lottery is run in Texas, do you think you would buy lottery tickets often, not very often, rarely, or never?

S: Oh, often probably.

I: It is proposed that Texas pass a law requiring everyone riding on motorcycles to wear helmets. Do you agree or disagree [with require-]

S: [Agree.]

I: Which of the following methods of selection of state judges would you favor most, elections with party labels, elections without party labels, appointment by the governor and confirmation by the Senate, appointment by the governor to the ballot followed by approval or rejection by the voters?

S: The second one.

I: Okay, To keep state government functions at current levels and providing sufficient new funding for prisons will cost the state one billion dollars more than estimated revenue. I'm gonna list proposals that the Legislature is considering and I'd like you to tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each. Okay

S: Okay

I: Okay, [Mak-]

S: [It has to do with], uh this has to do with what, prisons?

I: Okay, uh, let me repeat that first statement. It says here to keep state government functions at current levels and providing sufficient new funding for prisons is gonna cost the state a billion dollars more than estimated revenue. Okay, and these are proposals that the Legislature is considering.

S: Okay.

I: Okay, Making permanent the temporary corporate franchise tax, insurance sur tax, and fees paid by professionals enacted in the last legislative session, strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?

S: I haven't the slightest.

I: Okay, Increasing corporate franchise taxes?

S: Agree.

I: Expanding the sales tax to cover more goods and services?

S: Disagree.

I: Increasing the rate of sales tax?

S: No, disagree.

I: Wi-, Build prisons with bonds that will be paid from taxes over several years rather than paying for them from current taxes?

S: No, disagree.

I: Okay, on a different topic. Wait a minute, theres still one more, I'm sorry. Cutting spending for higher education by eight percent?

S: No I disagree there too.

I: Okay, on a different topic. Texas has been chosen as the sight of the super collider. Have you heard anything about the super collider?

S: Mm hm.

I: How much, if any, economic benefit will the super collider bring to the state, a great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?

S: Oh, I would think a great deal.

I: How much danger to the environment, if any, does the super collider bring, a great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?

S: Not very much.

I: Kay, How much, scientific benefit, if any, do you think the super collider will provide, a great [deal,]

S: [Yes.]

I: some, not very much, none at all?

S: Great deal.

I: How much danger to people, if any, is involved with having the super collider in the state, a great deal, some, not very

much, or none at all?

S: I, very little I think.

I: Okay, well let me repeat those answers, a great deal, some, not very much=

S: =Not very much.

I: Okay, okay, on another subject. How important is the abortion issue to you? Would you say it is one of the most important=

S: =Yes.

I: important, not very important, or not important at all?

S: Most imporant, one very imporant.

I: Okay, do you think abortion should be legal under any circumstances, legal under certain circumstances, or not legal under any circumstances?=-

S: =Not legal under any circumstances.

I: Okay, Would you agree or disagree with passing a law in Texas requiring a person under eighteen to have parental consent or court order for an abortion?

S: Agree.

I: On another subject. Do you think people look more healthy when they have a suntan?

S: Do they look or are they?

I: No, do they look more healthy when they have a suntan?

S: Yes.

I: Okay, do you ever intentionally work on getting a tan?

S: Yes.

I: Do you regularly use a tanning booth or a sunlamp to work on your tan?

S: No.

I: Now we want to ask some questions about families. Would you say that yo- uh that your standard of living is better, worse, or about the same as the household you lived in when you were growing up?

S: Uh, About the same.

I: Do you have adult children living away from home, young children at home, or no children?

S: I have adult children living at home.

I: Okay, uh do, well lets see, would you say that your childrens families standards of living uh, is or will be better, worse, better, worse, or about the same as yours?

S: Better.

I: All right, did the family you grew up with own their own home?

S: Yes.

I: Do you own your own home or expect to do so?

S: Yes.

I: Uh, Do you expect your children to be able to own their own home?

S: Yes.

I: Did either of your parents have a college degree?

S: No.

I: Do you=

S: =Well, I, I take that back, they, um, I don't, yeah I guess they did too, yeah.

I: Okay, Uh, do your children have a college degree, or do you think that they will get a degree, college degree?

S: Yes, some of them do.

I: Okay, I have a few questions about organizations that raise money for various health problems or mental or physical disabilities.=

S: =Hold on just a second.

I: Yes mam.

S: I had to get my baby away from the electric cord.

I: Oh my, okay, okay I have a few questions about organizations that raise money for various health problems or mental or physical disabilities. Will you please tell me the names of all

the organizations you can think of?

S: That, that I support or=

I: =uh

S: are supported by=

I: =No, no let me repeat this uh organizations that raise money for various health problems or mental or physical disabilities.

S: You mean, you mean like Jerry Lewis Telethon?

I: Anything that comes to your mind.

S: Okay, the telethon for one, uh um Heart and Cancer drives here in the city, um uh United Way is another one,

I: Okay

S: um um I'm a blank, ((laugh))

I: Okay

S: I can't think of any more.

I: Okay, Now we want your rating of how good a job the American Cancer Society does. On a scale of zero to ten, with zero being poor and ten being excellent, how would you rate the American Cancer Society?

S: Probably about a six.

I: Okay, Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about health issues. First we'd like to know how much you've heard about various forms of cancer. In the past year or so, have you heard a lot about lung cancer, a little, or nothing at all?

S: Quite a bit, a lot.

I: Okay, In the past year or so, have you heard a lot about skin cancer, a little, or nothing at all?

S: A little.

I: Do you think of skin cancers as being not really all that serious, serious but not life threatening, serious and possibly life threatening?

S: Serious, but not life threatening.

I: Okay, There are three different types of skin cancers, its melanomas, sqama cell, and basil cell. Do you happen to know which is the most serious?

S: No.

I: Which is the least serious?

S: I think melanoma is, er-, yeah melanoma I think is the least serious.

I: Okay, How serious do you think sunburns are in increasing the future risk of skin cancer for children, very serious, somewhat serious, not very serious, or not serious at all?

S: Well, I think somewhat serious.

I: Okay, Uh, how serious think sunburns are in increasing the future risk of skin cancer for adults, very serious, somewhat serious, not very serious, or not serious at all?

S: The third one.

I: Not very serious?

S: Yeah, not very serious.

I: I'm going to list some things people might do and I would like you to tell me which ones, if any, significantly increases the chance that a person will contract skin cancer. Okay, working on a job in the sun?

S: Yeah, that would increase it, especially if your different of uh various nationalities.

I: Okay, using make-up?

S: I don't know what to think about that.

I: Okay, Maintaining a tan by sunbathing?

S: Yeah, that will increase it.

I: Maintaining a tan using s- tanning salons or sunlamps?

S: I think that does too.

I: Uh, Getting sunburned?

S: Yes.

I: Okay, Mm, I'm going to list some things that some people do to reduce the risk of skin cancer. Which, if any, do you do regularly? Use a sunblock when in the sun?

S: No, well no, I don't, my husband does, but I don't.

I: Okay, wear protective clothing when in the sun?

S: No.

I: Avoid spending time in the sun?

S: Yes.

I: Okay, uh Are you aware that sunscreens are rated with a number indic- indicating their effectiveness?

S: Right.

I: Okay, uh How much attention do you pay to the rating when you buy a sunscreen?

S: Great.

I: A great deal, some, little, or none at all?

S: Well, a great deal I would say, yeah.

I: Okay, Do you happen to know what is the generally accepted rating for adequate skin protection?

S: Oh Lord, I was try- I was I figuring you were gonna ask me that, its () its um oh fifteen I think, its high, its a high number.

I: Okay

S: I remember the, its five or fifteen, but anyway=

I: =Okay

S: its at the top of the scale. ((laugh))

I: Okay ((laugh))

S: ((laugh)) The higher the number the better protection.

I: ((laugh)) Thats right, okay. Um During the last year or so have you changed anything that you do in order to reduce the risk of skin cancer?

S: Probably not be out in the sun as much, yeah.
Gaurd against the sun,

I: Okay, y- uh yes [or no?]

S: Oh yes, probably yeah, less exposure, that would be the best=

I: =Ok

S: =explanation I can get.

I: Okay, uh thats a yes or no question.

S: Oh is it, I'm sorry, yes.

I: Okay

S: I'm sorry, yes, we have, I'm sorry, we didn't

I: Now heres the other one, what change did you make?

S: Yeah, okay, less exposure I think.

I: Okay, all right. Um, Have you ever gone to a doctor to see if you might have a skin cancer?

S: No.

I: Uh, To be treated for a skin cancer?

S: No.

I: Okay, Uh How likely, if at all, do you think it is that you will have a skin cancer at some time, very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not likely at all?

S: Uh, very likely.

I: Pardon me.

S: Very likely.

I: Okay, Uh During the last few months have you personally seen or heard anything on television or radio, or in newspapers or magazines discussing the dangers of skin cancer?

S: Hm, In the last six months?

I: In the last few months.

S: Few months, yeah I believe I have.

I: All right, thinkin' about an organization. Have you heard of the Texas Academic Skills Testing Program?

S: No, if I have it went in one ear and out the other. ((laugh))

I: Okay, On a different topic. There are a number of nuclear power plants that produce electricity in Texas. How knowledgeable would you say that you are about s- about the issues involved in nuclear energy? Would you say that you know a great deal, some, not very much, or nothing at all on the issue?

S: Not very much.

I: All right, uh, what do you think the most important issues are with respect to nuclear power?

S: What about nuclear power, whats the first part of it?

I: Ok- uh What do you think the most important issues are with respect to nuclear power?

S: Uh, probably their uh, their uh, uh oh well what I am I supp- what am I want to say, back up system, their what do you call it, their uh um ha uh protection uh, what do you call it, the?

I: Okay,

S: ((laugh)) I am trying to see, you know, if if something breaks inside, their, their uh the next step that would contain all the energies.

I: Okay

S: Anyway, whatever.

I: Okay, okay, okay lets see here. uh I'm going to read you a list of statements that some people have made about nuclear power plants. I would like you to tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the statements, okay?

S: Okay.

I: They do not produce air pollution the way c- coal does?

S: Nuclear does not produce pollution?

I: Let me read it. They do not produce air pollution the way coal does, strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?

S: Uh, I disagree.

I: kay, They cause health problems for those who live near them?

S: Agree.

I: Nuclear power plants produce dangerous radioactive waste?

S: Yes, strongly agree, I agree on that.

I: Okay, They maintain our independence from imported oil?

S: Um, Eventually maybe, but not yet.

I: Okay,

S: So I, I disagree.

I: Okay, They lead to higher electric bills?

S: Yeah, strongly agree.

I: Okay, They employ a lot of people and help reduce unemployment?

S: Um, no, I, I disagree.

I: All right, They produce a risk of explosion similar to an atomic bomb?

S: Well, I, I don't know that that's the case, it would be a nuclear type thing, I I guess I would agree on that, it's not

I: Okay, Nuclear power plants are a high technology industry which creates economic benefits?

S: Yeah, I agree upon that.

I: Okay, They are not really needed since there is sufficient energy available without them?

S: No, I don't, I I don't agree with that, I think they're probably needed all right, but um I think we need to have some stricter regulations on em'.

I: Okay, They subject those who work in them to health problems due to radiation?

S: Uh, to a certain extent yes.

I: Okay, strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?

S: I, I agree.

I: Okay, All in all, from what you've heard or read, how safe are nuclear power plants that produce electric power, very safe, somewhat safe, not very safe, or not safe at all?

S: Somewhat safe.

I: Could you please tell me how much danger you feel there is living near a nuclear energy plant. Do you feel there is great danger, some danger, little danger, or no danger?

S: How close are you talkin'?

I: Um It just says living near a nuclear energy plant.

S: No, um, some danger.

I: Okay, We're asking the following question of students at all grade levels and would like to compare the results to the general population. Some are easy and some are a little difficult, okay. What is the opposite of found?

S: The opposite, silence.

I: The opposite, of found, found.

S: S o u n d?

I: No mam, F.

S: Found.

I: Yes mam

S: Lost.

I: Okay, what, ((laugh)) I'm sorry, what is the opposite of day?

S: Night.

I: Children must learn to do what before they learn to run?

S: Walk.

I: Okay, The Dallas Cowboys play on a football what?

S: Field.

I: When a store offers a product at a discount, that product is said to be on what?

S: Discount.

I: Uh When it offers it at discount what is it=

S: =Clearance.

I: Uh another word for that?

S: Sale.

I: Okay

S: ((laugh))

I: Good, okay, ((laugh)) Where do students attend classes?

S: Where do they attend classes, school.

I: Okay, A Texas city larger than Dallas?

S: Larger than Dallas

I: A Texas city, mm hm

S: Oh, boy Austin, I suppose, I don't know if Austins bigger than Dallas or not.

I: Kay, Another, can you think of anything else

S: Corpus

I: Another city,

S: Corpus.

I: Another one?

S: Um, Well lets see uh, Victoria, thats not very big.

I: Anything else,

S: uh Probably Fort Worth, ((laugh))

I: Okay,

S: () not as big as Dallas though. ((laugh)) Lets see uh, ((sigh)) I don't know,

I: Okay

S: Abilene maybe.

I: Okay, it starts with an H does that help?

S: Houston,

I: Okay ((laugh))

S: I forgot about that, I was thinking H-, yeah I, I had Houston already, I was thought=

I: =thats okay

S: I'm trying to watch my kids at the same time.((laugh))

I: I really appreciate this. Okay, the capital of the United States?

S: Aus-, oh the United States, Washington D. C.

I: Okay, the number after thirty-nine?

S: Forty.

I: The number after nine hundred and ninety-nine?

S: Nine- a thousand.

I: Okay, the day after Monday?

S: Tuesday.

I: All right, and finally I'd like to ask you just a few questions about yourself so that we can see how different groups of people feel about the things that we've been talking about. Are you currently married, widowed, divorced, [seperated]

S: [Yes, married]

I: Okay, Uh including yourself how many people over the age of eighteen live in your household?

S: Two, sometimes three ((laugh)).

I: Okay, I'll, okay, okay What was the last grade in school you completed?

S: Senior, [twelvth grade.]

I: [Okay], okay, uh, last week were you working full time, part time, going to school, keeping house, or what?

S: All of the above? ((laugh)) No, ((laugh))

I: I can understand that, but we need one answer. ((laugh))

S: Uh, Keepin' house and babysitting, so I guess I was working full time. ((laugh))

I: Okay, uh well lets see, what kind of work do you normally do then, is what is the job called?

S: Babysitting.

I: Okay, okay. Okay, How many years have you lived in Texas or have you lived here all your life?

S: I've lived in Texas, uh, seventeen years.

I: All right, In what city or town do you live in or do you live outside of a town?

S: I live in Smithville.

I: Okay, And what is your current age?

S: Forty-eight,

I: All right.

S: don't tell a soul.

I: No man, this is confidential.

S: ((laugh))

I: ((laugh)) Okay

S: I really could care less, but ((laugh))

I: Oh goodness, um what is the following, what of the following best describes your racial or ethnic group, Anglo, [Black]

S: [Yep]

I: Hispanic, or something else?

S: Anglo.

I: Okay, let me move on here. Generally speaking do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or an Ind- an Independent, or what?

S: Or what, ((laugh)) I'm a registered Democrat.

I: Okay, um Do you think of yourself as closer-, well I'm sorry, do you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not a very strong Democrat?

S: No, not a very strong.

I: All right, are you registered to vote in the place in where you live?

S: Yes.

I: Would, How would you describe your views on most political matters? Generally do you think of yourself as liberal, moderate, or conservative?

S: Oh ((sigh)) probably conservative.

I: Okay, Which of the following best describes your current religious preference, Protestant, Catholic, [Jewish]

S: [Catholic]

I: or something else? Okay, okay, last year was your total income, family income before taxes under 10,000, 10,000-20,000, 20-30,000=

S: -Yep.

I: Okay, and that was the last question on my survey.

S: Oh, I'm glad, you did a good job. ((laugh))

I: Thank you so much for he- [for answering my questions.]

S: [Your welcome]

I: Have a good day.

S: You too

I: [Bye bye]

S: [Bye]

- 1) Tape #456
 - 2) Survey #191
 - 3) Tracy Petrey 8440
 - 4) Dayna Michelle Johnson
 - 5) December 5, 1989
 - 6) Sex of interviewer: Female 7) Sex of subject: Male
- SUB: Hello?

INT: Hello. This is Tracy Petrey calling for the Texas Poll? A statewide non partisan public opinion poll? And this month we are conducting a confidential survey of public opinions in Texas, and we really appreciate your help and cooperation. And in order for me to determine who to interview, could you please tell me of the people who currently live in your household, who are eighteen or older, including yourself, who had the most recent birthday. I do not mean the youngest adult, but rather who had the late- the latest birthday.

SUB: Let's see: that'll be me.

INT: That will be yourself?

SUB: Yes.

INT: OK. Um, do you have time to answer just a few questions, sir?

SUB: Sure.

INT: OK. Overall, how would you rate Texas as a place to live? Excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

SUB: Oh, I'd say excellent.

INT: OK. Um what do you think is the most serious problem facing the state of Texas?

SUB: The: uh, economy.

INT: (1) OK. Um, we're interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you and your family are better off, or worse off than a year ago?

SUB: Uh, . we are worse off.

INT: OK. Now looking ahead, do you think that a year from now, you and your family will be better off financially, worse off, or just about the same?

SUB: (1) Um, hopefully we won't slip (2) Hopefully well . the same.

INT: The same? . OK. Now turning to business conditions in the state as a whole, do you think that during the nes- next twelve months, we'll have good times financially, bad times, or what?

SUB: Um, we'll have probably good times.

INT: OK. Thinking about some people involved in government, what about the job Bill Clemments has been doing as governor of Texas? Would you say that Bill Clemments has been doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job?

SUB: Oh, boy. . Fair.

INT: OK. Governor Bill Clemments has said that the state will not raise taxes. Do you think the stat- do you think state taxes will or will not be raised?

SUB: Um, they probably will.

INT: [OK.]

SUB: [Be raised in Texas.]

INT: OK. And how would you rate the job Ronald Reagan did as president? Excellent, good, only fair or poor?

SUB: Uh, g-generally?

INT: Yes.

SUB: Uh, probably (1) good.

INT: OK. And how would you rate the job George Bush has done since the election? Excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

SUB: I didn't know he'd done anything yet.

INT: OK ((laughs)). . That is kind of true. That's . [a weird question.]

SUB: [Excellent, I guess.]

INT: Huh?

SUB: Excellent, I guess.

INT: OK. President George Bush has said that the government will not raise federal taxes. Do you believe federal taxes will or will not be raised?

SUB: I believe they will.

INT: OK. Now I'm going to ask you about some issues being considered by the Texas legislature this spring? First, would you agree-d- would you agree or disagree with a law that would require a one week waiting period before a handgun could be purchased?

SUB: I disagree.

INT: OK. Would you agree or disagree with a law that would allow individuals, in addition to police and security personnel to obtain a license to carry a c- carry a concealed gun?

SUB: Agree.

INT: OK. Do you favor or oppose a staterun lottery that will produce revenue for the state?

SUB: I favor it.

INT: OK. If a lottery is run in Texas, do you think you will buy lottery tickets often, not very often, rarely, or never?

SUB: Oh, . what was the second one?

INT: Not very often?

SUB: Not very often.

INT: OK. It is proposed that Texas pass a law requiring everyone riding on motorcycles to wear helmets. Do you agree or disagree with requiring helmets?

SUB: I agree.

INT: ((Turns page)) OK. Which of the following methods of selection of state judges would you most prefer? (1) Elections with party labels? Elections without party labels? Appointment by the governor and in confirmation by the senate? Or appointment by the governor to the ballot, followed by approval or rejection of the voters?

SUB: (2) Probably the last one.

INT: OK. To keep state government functions at current levels and providing sufficient new fundings for prisons will cost the state one billion more than estimated revenue. I'm going to list proposals. the legislature is considering. and I would like you to tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each. . Increasing corporate franchise taxes?

SUB: I would uh . disagree.

INT: OK. Expanding the sales tax to cover more goods and services?

SUB: Disagree.

INT: Increasing the rate of sales tax.

SUB: (1) The . percentage?=-

INT: =uh, yes.

SUB: I agree.

INT: Agree? OK. Build prisons with bonds that will be paid from taxes over several years, rather than paying for them from current taxes.

SUB: Yes, I agree.

INT: OK. Cutting spending for higher education by eight percent.

SUB: Disagree.

INT: Making permanent the temporary corporate franchise tax, insurance surtax, and fees paid by professionals enacted in the last . legislative session.

SUB: Uh . did you say they are temporary?

INT: Yeah, mak- they're temporary now they'r- they're saying making them permanent.

SUB: Uh:, make them temporary.

INT: You keep them temporary, you said?

SUB: Yes.

INT: OK. Now on differen- on a different topic, Texas has been chosen as the sight of the Super Collider. Have you heard anything about the Super Collider?

SUB: Yes.

INT: OK. How much danger to people, if any, is involved in having a- the Super Collider in the state? A great deal, some, not very much, none at all?

SUB: I. I'm not knowledgeable about . know of any dangers.

INT: Excuse me?

SUB: I haven't heard of any dangers.

INT: OK. So you would say:, not very much or none at all?

SUB: None at all.

INT: OK. (2) And how much . of economic benefit will the Super Collider bring to the state? A great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?

SUB: (1) Some.

INT: OK. How much danger to the environment, if any, does the Super Collider bring? A great deal, some; not very much, or none at all?

SUB: I'd say none at all.

INT: OK. And, um, how about, how much . s- scientific benefit, if any, do you think the Su- Super Collider will provide? A great deal, some, not very much or none at all?

SUB: A great deal.

INT: OK. On another subject. How important is the abort-abortion issue to you? Would you say that it is one of the most important, important . not very important, or not important at all?

SUB: I'd say it is important.

INT: OK. And do you think abortion should be legal under any circumstances? Legal under certain circumstances. Or not legal under any circumstances?

SUB: Uh, legal under (any) circumstances.

INT: Legal under any?

SUB: Yes.

INT: Circumstances?

SUB: Yes.

INT: ((Turns page)) (1) OK. (1) And would you agree or disagree with passing a law in Texas requiring a person . under eighteen to have parental consent or a court order for an abortion?

SUB: Yes, I agree.

INT: OK. On another subject. Do you think people look more healthy when they have a suntan?

SUB: (1) (Darker, oh) yes.

INT: OK. Do you ever intentionally work on getting a tan?

SUB: Sometimes.

INT: Excuse me?

SUB: Sometimes. Yes.

INT: OK. Now if, um, do you regularly use a . tanning booth or a sunlamp to work on your tan?

SUB: No.

INT: OK. Now we want to ask some questions about families. Would you say that your standard of living is better, worse, or about the same . as the household you lived in when you were growing up?

SUB: Um . better.

INT: OK. Do you have any adult children living away from home? Young children at home? Or no children.

SUB: Just one on the way.

INT: Excuse me?

SUB: Just one on the way.

INT: You have one on the way:? Really? Oh:, OK. Um, would you- well s- . well, OK. Um, did the family you grew up in own their own home?

SUB: No.

INT: OK. Do you own your own home or expect to do so?

SUB: Yes.

INT: OK. Did either of your parents have a college degree?

SUB: (1) Uh, junior college degree.

INT: OK. . Now I have a few questions about organizations that raise money for various health problems? Or, . mental and physical disabilities? Will you please tell me of the names of the organizations you can think of that does this?

SUB: (1) Uh: The: uh, Cancer . society?

INT: Uh, huh.

SUB: Lung association.

INT: Excuse me?

SUB: The Lung Association.

INT: [OK]

SUB: [And the:] Jerry Lewis telethon.

INT: The: . Muscular Dystrophy?

SUB: Yes.

INT: OK. Are there any others?

SUB: (That's about all I can) think of right now.

INT: OK. Now I want your rating of ho- of how good of a job the American Cancer Society does. On a scale of zero to ten, with zero being poor and ten being excellent, how would you rate the American Cancer Society?

SUB: Probably a nine.

INT: OK. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about health issues. First we would like to know how much you've heard . about various forms of cancer. In the past year or so . um, have you heard a lot about skin cancer, little, or nothing at all?

SUB: (Little.)

INT: OK. In the past year or so have you heard a lot about lung cancer? A little, or nothing at all.

SUB: Little.

INT: OK. Do you think of skin cancers as being not really all that serious? Serious, but not life threatening? Serious, and possibly life threatening.

SUB: (1) Uh . serious . but not necessarily life threatening.

INT: OK. There are three different types of skin cancers. Melanomas, squamous cell, and basal cell. Do you happen to know which one is the most serious?

SUB: No (ma'am.)

INT: OK. Which is the least serious?

SUB: No ma'am.

INT: Excuse me?

SUB: No ma'am.

INT: OK. . Um,. how serious do you think sunburns are in increasing the future risk of skin cancer for adults? Very serious, somewhat serious, not very serious, or not serious at all?

SUB: Very serious.

INT: OK. How serious do you think sunburns are in increasing the future risk of skin cancer for children? Very serious, somewhat serious, not very serious, or not serious at all?

SUB: Somewhat serious.

INT: OK. I'm going to list some things that people might do, . and I would like you to tell me which ones, if any, significantly increases the chance that a person will contract skin cancer. Getting sunburned?

SUB: (2) Yes.

INT: Working in a job in the sun?

SUB: (2) Um, . I'll say no.

INT: OK. Ma- using makeup?

SUB: (2) I don't know.

INT: OK. . Maintaining a tan by sunbathing?

SUB: Excuse me?

INT: Maintaining a tan by sunbathing?

SUB: Yes.

INT: OK. Maintaining a tan using tanning salons or sunlamps.

SUB: (Yes.)

INT: OK. I'm going to list some things that people do to reduce the risk of skin cancer. Which, if any, do you do regularly? Use a sunblock when in the sun?

SUB: Yes.

INT: Wear protective clothing when in the sun?

SUB: Uh, . yes.

INT: Avoid spending time in the sun?

SUB: No.

INT: ((Turns page)) (1) OK. Are you aware that sunscreens are rated with the number indicating their effectiveness?

SUB: Yes.

INT: How much attention do you pay to the ratings when you buy sunscreen? A great deal, some, little or none?

SUB: A: great deal.

INT: OK. Do you happen to know . what is the generally accepted rating for adequate skin protection?

SUB: Not at the moment.

INT: (1) OK. During the last year or so, have you changed any thing that you do in order to reduce the risk of skin cancer?

SUB: (1) Uh: no.

INT: OK. Have you ever gone to a doctor to see if you might have a skin cancer?

SUB: ()

INT: To be treated for a skin cancer?

SUB: No.

INT: OK. How likely if at all do you think . it is that you will have a skin cancer at some time? Very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not likely at all?

SUB: Uh, somewhat likely.

INT: ((Turns page)). OK. During the last few months, have you personally seen or heard anything on television or radio, or in newspapers or magazines, discussing the dangers of skin cancers?

SUB: Uh: no.

INT: OK. Thinking about an organization, have you heard of the Texas Academic Skills Testing Program?

SUB: Uh: no ma'am.

INT: OK. On a different topic, there is a- there are a number of nuclear power plants that produce electricity in Texas. How knowledgeable would you say that you are about the issues involved in nuclear energy. Would you say that you know a great deal, some, not very much, or nothing at all about the issue?

SUB: Some.

INT: OK. Do yo- what do you think is the most important issue . are the most important issues with respect to the nu- to nuclear power?

SUB: I would say . the uh: construction (ongoing operation . and follow-up procedures.)

INT: OK. Um . the construction and what else?

SUB: (The operational guidelines and the follow-up.)

INT: The o:peration:al.

SUB: (1) ()

INT: () OK, and I just have to write down what you're saying verbatim that's why I'm getting it. (1) In ((talking to herself as she writes)) (2) OK. (1) Um . anything else?

SUB: (Uh . As many times . the electricity comes through...)

INT: (5) ((Writes it down)) Through.

INT: (10) OK. I just had to get to get down everything you wer- you know, you were saying so I was writing it down. OK. I'm going to read a list of statements that some people . have made about nuclear power plants? And I would like you to tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the statements. . Um, the s- the su- they subject those who work in them to health problems due to radiation. (1) Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?

SUB: Disagree.

INT: Disagree? . OK. They do not produce air pollution the way coal does.

SUB: (2) Uh, . I don't know about that.

INT: Excuse me?

SUB: I disagree.

INT: OK. They cause health problems for those who live near them.

SUB: (1) (I guess . uh: agree.)

INT: Excuse me?

SUB: Agree.

INT: Agree? OK. Nuclear power plants produce dangerous radioactive waste.

SUB: Strongly agree.

INT: Strongly agree?

SUB: Yes.

INT: OK. They maintain our independence from imported oil.

SUB: Strongly agree.

INT: They lead to higher . electric bills.

SUB: (1) Yes, I agree.

INT: They employ a lot of people and help reduce . unemployment.

SUB: (1) (A lot of people . I: yes.)

INT: [OK.]

SUB: [I agree.]

INT: Excuse me?

SUB: Yes, I agree.

INT: Alright. They produce a risk of explosion similar to an atomic bomb.

SUB: I: 'll disagree strongly.

INT: OK- strongly disagree. (1) OK. . Um, they are not really needed since there is . sufficient energy without them.

SUB: Uh: agree.

INT: Nuclear power plants are a hig- are a high technology industry which creates economic benefits.

SUB: (1) ()

INT: Agree?

SUB: Agree.

INT: OK. All in all, . from what you've heard or read, how safe are nuclear power plants that produce electric power? Very safe, somewhat safe, not very safe, or not safe at all?

SUB: I'll say very safe.

INT: OK. Could you please tell me how much danger you feel . there is living near a nuclear power plant. Do you feel there is great danger, some danger, little danger, or no danger?

SUB: Some danger.

INT: OK. Now, we're asking the following questions of students at all grade levels and would like to compare the results to the general population. Some are very eas- easy, others may be difficult. What is the opposite of found?

SUB: Opposite of what?

INT: Found. Like you found something?

SUB: Lost.

INT: What is the opposite of day?

SUB: (Night.)

INT: Children must learn to do what before they learn to walk?

SUB: Crawl?

INT: After they learn to crawl? (1) What do they do after after they crawl?

SUB: Walk.

INT: OK. The Dallas Cowboys play on a football what?

SUB: Team.

INT: Excuse me?

SUB: Team?

INT: No, what do they play football on?

SUB: (1) On a uh . football field.

INT: OK. When a store offers a product at a . at a discount, the product is said to be on what?

SUB: On sale.

INT: OK. Where do students attend classes?

SUB: School.

INT: A Texas city larger than Dallas.

SUB: Houston.

INT: The capital of the United States.

SUB: Washington, D.C.

INT: The number after thirty-nine.

SUB: Forty.

INT: The number after nine hundred and ninety-nine.

SUB: One thousand.

INT: The day after Monday.

SUB: Tuesday?

INT: Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself, so that we can see how different groups of people feel about . the things we've been talking about. Are you currently married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have never been married?

SUB: I'm married.

INT: OK. Including yourself, how many people over the age of eighteen live in your household?

SUB: Two.

INT: What is the last grade of school you completed?

SUB: (1) Oh, . (about a hundred hours of college.)

INT: So, of college?

SUB: (Yes.)

INT: OK. Um . last week were you working full-time, part-time, going to school, keeping house, or what?

SUB: I was supposed to be working part- uh, (full-time in hours at least.) Answer that part-time, I guess.

INT: OK. Part-time?

SUB: Yes.

INT: OK. What kind of work do you normally do? That is, what is your job called?

SUB: Factory worker.

INT: (3) OK. How many years have you lived in Texas, or have you lived here all your life?

SUB: All my life.

INT: (2) OK. In what city or town do you live in, or do you live outside of a town?

SUB: Hillsboro.

INT: Excuse me?

SUB: I live just out past Hillsboro.

INT: (2) C-Can you spell "Hillsboro" for me, please?

SUB: ((Spells out "Hillsboro")) HI . LLS. BO. RO.

INT: (1) BO . RO?

SUB: Yes.

INT: Oh. I don't know what I was talking about . OK. Um, what is your current age?

SUB: Thirty-seven.

INT: Excuse me?

SUB: I'm thirty-seven.

INT: OK. What . of the following best describes your racial or ethnic group. Anglo, black, hispanic, or something else?

SUB: Anglo.

INT: ((Turns page)) (1) OK. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

SUB: (1) Uh: Democrat.

INT: OK. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat, or a not very strong?

SUB: Not very strong.

INT: OK. Are you registered to vote in a place where you live?

SUB: Yes.

INT: How would you describe yourself on most political matters? Do you think of yourself as liberal, moderate, or conservative?

SUB: Conservative.

INT: Which of the following best describes your current religious preference? Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

SUB: Protestant.

INT: What specific denomination is that, if any?

SUB: Methodist.

INT: OK. Last year, was your total family income before taxes . under ten thousand, ten to twenty, twenty to thirty, thirty to forty, forty to fifty, or fifty and above?

SUB: (It'd be) twenty to thirty.

INT: (1) OK. Well, sir, that completes all our questions and I really appreciate your cooperation and taking up the time to do this with me.

SUB: Are you in town?

INT: No, we- I'm in Bryan/College Station in Texas A & M University?

SUB: Oh=

INT: =and we're calling people all over Texas.

SUB: (Kay.)

INT: OK. Well you have a nice evening.

SUB: OK. You, too.

INT: Bye, bye.

SUB: Bye, bye.

VITA

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