

# The Effects of Gender and Ethnicity on Language Use During Collegial Interaction

A Conversation Analysis

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Speakers are mostly unaware of linguistic variables during everyday interaction. Yet, people often make generalising statements such as: ‘women aren’t funny’, ‘Black women are loud’ or ‘men only talk about women and sports’. Of course, generalising statements like these are not scientific and are not to be taken for general truths. However, when put in a sociolinguistic scope, these statements address two influential social variables, namely gender and ethnicity. Furthermore, these statements about (black) men and women address the possible effects of gender and ethnicity on people’s language use.

This research was inspired by generalising statements like the ones above. During this research, it was investigated if the male and female participants who represented the Caucasian Dutch and the Black Dutch ethnicity adopted a general gender and/or ethnicity specific conversation style, or if their communication styles were of a more individual nature.

I selected this research’s participants out of my team of colleagues for two main reasons, namely the varied composition of my work team with respect to gender and ethnicity, and because of the possibility that the familiarity between the participants could or could not affect the way the participants express a gendered and/or ethnic identity through language use, for reasons that will be elaborated on in the second chapter.

### 1.1. Theoretical Background

#### 1.1.1. Why gender and ethnicity?

The main focus of this study is to investigate the possible differences in how the Black and Caucasian male and female participants’ gender and ethnicity influence their language in conversation, and to examine if the representation of gender and ethnicity in a social (in)group influences the way social identities are expressed through language use. The methods that are used in this study to investigate gender and ethnic differences in language use are based on linguistic strategies that have become standard objects of analysis for researchers examining conversation from the perspective of language and gender (Mesthrie et al., 2009). For example, in this research the method of conversation analysis is used, which entails that conversations are recorded, transcribed and analysed for linguistic devices that, in turn, are categorised as examples of assertive (male) or tentative (female) speech. Moreover, instances of the Dutch Street language

variety will be analysed in order to determine if the participants purposely display a salient Black Dutch ethnicity.

As will become clear in the course of this study, the social variables ‘gender’ and ‘ethnicity’ do not only affect the way the participants perceive themselves, but also the way the participants express themselves and their social identities through language use. The plural ‘identities’ is used because this research’s theoretical framework is built on Tajfel and Turner’s theory on Social Identity (SIT, 1979), which states that individuals have access to *multiple* “social identities” that are often salient in the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic structures of speech (Koch, 2002). According to SIT, one of the reasons why people have access to multiple social identities is that modern day Western society provides individuals with access to a variety of feminine and masculine identities that correspond to the normative standards of different cultures. For example, both Popp et al.’s research (2003) and Filardo’s research (1997) indicate that African American gender norms differ from Caucasian gender norms with regard to the female stereotype, allowing African American females to display more assertiveness in their language use than the normatively more tentative Caucasian females.

With this being said, it seems that the notion of normative gender norms – whether they are African American or Caucasian – is outdated due to the emancipation of women and homosexuals in the West. As a result, gender norms no longer generally apply to all men and women, which entails that, at this point in time, both men and women have the option of enacting the same assertive and tentative roles in environments such as the workplace, at home, in the academic field and among friends or strangers. Because ‘gender’ has now become optional for men and women in the Western society, people continuously manipulate their gender in different social contexts by using different (assertive or tentative) communication styles. By placing the male and female participants in differently composed social contexts – with respect to the representation of gender and ethnicity – this research aims to investigate to what extent the participants’ display of gender through language varies throughout the samples and which linguistic devices are used in the process.

Furthermore, in this research the variable ‘ethnicity’ will be analysed from two different angles: for one, it is investigated if ethnicity is salient in the interactions by looking at the participants’ utterances in a language variety called ‘Dutch Street Language’. Second, it is examined if the participants’ ethnicity influences the participants’ gender display, with regard to the display of different sets of gender norms that can be detected in speech (e.g. if the Black female participants are constantly more assertive than the Caucasian female participants).

Now that the main focus of this research has been provided and it has been explained why ‘gender’ and ‘ethnicity’ are the research variables, the samples and the motivation for their composition should be briefly elaborated on.

### 1.1.2. The Samples

In this case study, the conversation analysis comprises a sample of eight participants (four men and four women) who represent the Caucasian Dutch and the Black Dutch ethnicity. Each participant will be classified into three samples on the basis of his or her sex and ethnicity, so that Caucasian Dutch and Black Dutch men and women are equally represented in each sample. This careful division of the participants in the samples is based on Brewer’s theory on Optimal Distinctiveness (1991), which states that when individual characteristics such as sex and ethnicity are equally represented in a social group, they are not salient and therefore interactants feel less inclined to put these characteristics on ‘display’ (e.g. express by means of linguistic devices). By hypothesizing Brewer’s theory, this research aims to prove that social contexts influence the way the participants express their gender and ethnicity by means of language use.

In this research it is hypothesized that the participants will not socially identify with each other on the basis of each other’s gender and ethnicity. Thus, no separate ‘competing’ groups will be formed on the basis of differing gender and ethnicity. Regarding sociolinguistics, this entails that the absence of ‘competing’ social groups will prohibit the participants to purposely use linguistic devices such as interruptions and instances of divergent speech to sabotage coherent topic progression in the interactions and to create (intra)group boundaries in the process (Öhschlegel & Piontkowski, 1997).

## 1.2. Research Variables

With respect to the variable ‘gender’, this research aims to investigate if and how the participants express various gender roles through language in different social contexts. Per sample, it is determined per participant which gender roles are displayed by analysing, categorising and counting occurrences of male and female speech forms. Examples of male speech forms are *interruptions*, *jokes* and *vernacular*, whereas examples of female speech forms have a more polite nature, such as *hedges*, *descriptions*, *narratives*, *compliments* and *discourse particles* (Meshtrie et al., 2009).

The research variable ‘ethnicity’ is measured by instances of the Dutch Street Language variety and by analysing to what extent the Black Dutch female participants are more assertive than the Caucasian Dutch female participants, in order to determine if the Black Dutch ethnicity

holds different gender norms than the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity, that is, if either ethnicity holds any gender norms at all.

### 1.3. Research Questions

A key claim in this study is that individuals have multiple “social identities” which can be salient in their speech and are most likely to become more salient in a multicultural, mixed-gender environment. Nevertheless, this research aims to prove that an absence of minority members (with respect to the members’ representation of gender and ethnicity ) in a social group prohibits members, as it were, to form groups that are solely based on a shared gender and ethnicity. In the case of this research, it is investigated how the participants display their social identity in different social contexts by means of language use. The aim of this research is therefore to answer the following questions:

- *Which linguistic devices (pragmatic, syntactic and semantic speech forms) are used by the participants in the process of social identification with group members that represent different genders and ethnicities?*
- *Will the participants form social intragroups (and therefore display social differentiation) on grounds of their shared gender and/or ethnicity, and how will this be reflected by the participants’ language use?*

This research places the participants in different social contexts (e.g. six samples). Each sample is composed differently with respect to the participants’ gender and ethnicity. In this research, it is investigated by analysing male and female speech occurrences and instances of divergent speech if the composition of the samples will influence the way the participants display their gender and/or ethnicity through language use, by adopting different communication styles in various social contexts (such as same/ mixed-sex samples and same/ mixed-ethnicity samples).

### 1.4. Thesis Overview

In the next chapter, Chapter 2, the theoretical background is discussed. In this chapter, the framework for this research is built and the reader is provided with an overview of relevant theoretical contributions that can be linked to this research’s variables. Some examples of theories that are discussed in the second chapter are *Social Identity Theory* (Turner & Tajfel, 1979), *Optimal Distinctiveness Theory* (Brewer, 1991) and Lakoff’s (1975) theory on *Gendered Language*.

In Chapter 3, the methodology of this study is explained in detail, with respect to the research tools and the participants. Next, in Chapter 4 the results are presented regarding the participants’ scores of specific speech occurrences with respect to syntactic, semantic and

pragmatic cues and scores on the occurrences of DSL. Finally, in Chapter 5 the reader is provided with a discussion and a conclusion concerning the results of this study.

## Chapter 2

### Theoretical Background

This chapter will provide a theoretical framework for this research and an overview of relevant theoretical contributions that can be linked to the variables used in this research. In addition, this chapter will chiefly discuss some relevant theories and will then elaborate on the chosen research variables, namely ‘ethnicity’ and ‘gender’. These variables form the foundation for the hypotheses regarding the possible outcomes of this study. The hypotheses will be provided at the end of this chapter.

The choice to combine the variables ‘gender’ and ‘ethnicity’ is based on gaps in earlier research that concern the intersection between language use, gender and ethnicity, with regard to the following questions (these questions concern research gaps, not the research questions for this study):

- To what extent do social contexts influence which gender roles are displayed by both men and women by means of language use?
- Are gender norms still displayed by speakers of Western languages that do not have a male/female language variety?
- If so, is the display of gender norms through language use ethnicity specific?

In addition, because the dearth of the material on gender and language use echoes the dearth of the material on Caucasian language and gender studies, this study contributes to this material by investigating the language use of Caucasian and Black (male and female) participants.

#### 2.1. Gender and Ethnicity Defined

##### 2.1.1. Gender

The term “gender” is used to refer to social, cultural and psychological constructs that are imposed upon biological differences between males and females. It is important to make a distinction between biological differences and the postnatal differences between men and women that are culturally defined. In biology there are two sexes: male and female. In sociolinguistics, however, dichotomous gender models are problematic in their conception of gender and in their assumptions about sex (Cameron, 1997). According to McElhinny (1997), one cannot simply claim that there are two genders, based on the two sexes. This assumption would “overstate

similarity within each of the categories so designated, and it understates similarities across these categories” (McElhinny, 1997, p. 108). Therefore, it is important to ask oneself *how* and *why* gender differences are being constructed, or what notion of gender is being normalized.

When we look closely at gender differences, we can see that they are constructed along the line of a social spectrum. At the ends of this spectrum, there is a female and a male prototype. Different cultures have differing, normalized versions of male and female prototypes. When men and women move away from the ends of a social spectrum, it becomes less clear to which side they belong. At this point, a “blurred” social identity can become problematic. According to McElhinny (1997), where people’s behaviour does not conform to dominant norms of masculinity or femininity, their behaviour can be rendered unintelligible or incoherent and therefore those people can be subject to social repercussions in the form of exclusion or hateful behaviour.

Sociolinguists are concerned with how people’s gender affects their language use. For instance, male speakers tend to interrupt female speakers more often than vice versa; female speakers more frequently use features that provide support and encouragement for other speakers (‘hmhm’, ‘right’); female speakers use more hedges and tag questions to weaken their utterances; and women tend to pay more compliments (Meshtrie et al., 2009). The examples above show natural tendencies of male and female speakers. However, these assertive and tentative language forms can also be uttered consciously in the negotiations of gender in a specific context.

Men and women can draw on the adoption of so called ‘speaking styles’ that are conventionally seen as masculine and feminine, while they are negotiating their gender in specific interactional contexts (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The word ‘negotiate’ is used in this context because gender is not a fixed attribute of an individual. Instead, variations (or ‘styles’) in gendered language allow men and women to adjust their gendered identities to different gender norms within different social groups. This adjustment is inevitable because men and women constantly move from one social environment to the next, on a daily basis. In certain social contexts where gender is salient, individuals have to make a decision whether to conform to the male or female gender norm. If one has a relatively low status within the speech community, this person will be most influential when he or she enacts in a tentative (female) way (Carli, 1990). In this case the individual will presumably express agreement and support of others by using affirmative utterances such as ‘yes’, ‘hmhm’ or ‘right’. Mitigated speech such as hedges or tag questions will also prove to be effective when one chooses to adopt a subordinate style.

In mixed-sex interaction, both men and women can enact assertive roles when their status is high. As far as I am aware, there has not been any research to indicate that assertive behaviour by males and females negatively affects their likability or influence within a social context, if their behaviour is congruent with the hierarchy within a social group. However, according to Carli (2001), women are required to accommodate more than men in mixed-sex interaction due to still existing gender role norms that require women to be warm and likable (communal), more so than they do males. In her research on gender and social influence (2001), Carli claims that the most productive accommodation for women is to soften their assertive language by balancing it with tentative language.

Another gender-related issue in language use is *female competence*, which is explained in Popp et al.'s research (2003, p. 318). According to Popp et al., "competent" speakers more closely resemble perceptions of women's speech than men's speech. For one, because women generally care more about being socially desirable and this reflects on their language use in a way that they pay more attention to the listener when they speak. In addition, according to Meshtrie et al. (2009), women can generally be seen as more competent speakers because they tend to use more prestige language forms.

In social interactions where gender is salient instead of, for example, education, Meshtrie et al. (2009) claim that these prestige language forms are attributed more to female statuses than they are to males'. In turn, working-class speech – which has associated qualities such as 'toughness' – connotes with masculinity and would be attributed more to men's statuses in same-sex interaction. Examples of working-class speech are obscenities and ungrammaticalities. These features are associated with 'toughness' because they display a lack of education and respect. In addition, gender norms allow men to be more verbally aggressive among other men, with respect to teasing (jokes) than they would be in mixed-sex interaction (Crick et al., 1999).

### **2.1.2. Ethnicity**

In the field of sociolinguistics, ethnicity is a social variable that separates social groups in which different language varieties are spoken. When we assign a certain ethnicity to people, we categorize people into a social group of people who identify with each other based on common ancestral, cultural, social or national experience. There have been linguists (Trudgill, 1983; Thomason, 1981; Filardo, 1997) who insist that ethnic differences are merely regional patterns which disappear when geography and social class are held constant. However, results from more recent research by Peoples and Bailey (2010) indicate that ethnic group identity has a strong

psychological or emotional component that divides the people of the world into opposing categories of “us” and “them”. Peoples and Bailey explain this phenomenon as follows:

“In contrast to social stratification, which divides and unifies people along a series of horizontal axes on the basis of socioeconomic factors, ethnic identities divide and unify people along a series of vertical axes. Thus, ethnic groups, at least theoretically, cut across socioeconomic class differences, drawing members from all strata of the population.” (Peoples & Bailey, 2010, p. 389)

Members of an ethnic group share a certain ideology and often an ethnic language variety. Some examples of characteristics of an ethnic language variety are lexicon that differs from the standard variety, phonological differences, isolated grammatical features, and conversation style (a speaker's tone of voice, his or her speech volume etc.). These characteristics might have been transferred from the speakers' first language, or from processes of second language learning. For instance, when a speaker's first language has no inflections, articles or copula, the speaker (and other native speakers of that language) might have trouble with incorporating these features while speaking the second language. As a result, when a specific group changes or leaves out certain features of a Standard language variety, the group creates a different language variety that, in turn, can characterise an ethnicity.

In the case of this study, the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity is dominant in the Dutch culture, with regard to demographics. The participants who identify with the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity either speak Standard Dutch and/or a regional variety (e.g. *Rotterdams*). The participants that (also) identify with the Black Dutch ethnicity tend strongly to incorporate features of the language variety *DSL* in their (informal) speech. According to Cornips and de Rooij (2003), an example feature of *DSL* is that speakers (usually ethnically mixed urban youth) continuously confuse the article *de* with *het*, so it's *de* meisje, *de* boek and so on [instead of the regular 'het meisje' ('the girl') and 'het boek' ('the book')]. In addition, speakers of *DSL* tend to use a lexical filler (Dutch 'dinges'/'dingens') rather than the actual noun (e.g. “I have to do 'dingens' ('things') because later I have 'dingens' ('things')”) as a symptom of a restricted lexicon. However, as was mentioned above, the lexicon of the speakers of *DSL* is not restricted in all aspects, as the lexicon contains many words that are borrowed from languages such as Sranan Tongo, Arabic and (African) American English (Nortier, 2008). Take, for instance, the following sentence: “*Wallab: school is nakkoe*” = ik zweer: school is niks ('I swear: school sucks'). The word '*wallab*' in

this example is Arabic and the word ‘*nakkoé*’ comes from Sranan Tongo (Cornips & de Rooij, 2003).

Later on in this chapter, it will be explained that the representatives of the Black Dutch ethnicity will hypothetically avoid the utterance of instances of *DSL* when they are in a mixed-ethnic context, due to the desire to socially identify with the other participants in the samples. In a mixed-ethnic context, the salience of ethnicity would obstruct the process of social identification. Contrarily, in same-ethnicity samples, the representatives of the Black Dutch ethnicity are more likely to utter features of their ethnic language variety, in order to facilitate the process of social identification.

## 2.2. Key Concepts

At this point, the reader will be provided with the key concepts of this research that form the foundation for the theoretical background that concerns the variables ‘gender’ and ‘ethnicity’. The key concepts concern both the sociological and sociolinguistic aspects of the main research question of this study. Ultimately, sociological aspects of language use are not investigated in this research and this research question will be answered with sociolinguistic arguments only. Nevertheless, by explaining which social processes lie at the basis of the participants’ language behaviour (e.g. *why* in addition to *how* the participants speak the way they do), the reader will gain an all-round perspective on the sociolinguistics aspects of language.

### 2.2.1. Social Identity and Language Use

As was mentioned in the first chapter of this research, Social Identity Theory lies at the base of this research because it explains that one cannot but express a social identity during social interaction. Of course, language is one of the most effective means to express oneself, as it is, at all times, a custom “product” that people always have at hand.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) was introduced by Tajfel and Turner (1979), who state that social behaviour (which includes language behaviour) varies along a continuum between interpersonal behaviour and intergroup behaviour. As is explained by Tajfel and Turner (1979), at one end of the continuum individuals interact on a personal level in which their behaviour is solely determined by their own characteristics. At the other end, people have no individual characteristics and their (language) behaviour is solely determined by the characteristics of their social group.

A later study that was conducted by Turner and Penny (1986) added to SIT by explaining that a social identity is the portion of an individual’s self-concept that is derived from perceived

membership in a social group. According to Turner and Penny, the membership in a social group entails certain common grounds (e.g. common goals, interests, history) but does not exclude individual characteristics in social groups. Turner and Penny call these individual characteristics *intragroup differences*. In the case of this research, the participants were selected based on specific intragroup differences that can have an impact on language use, such as gender and ethnicity.

When members of a social group deliberately opt to display their intragroup difference(s) – such as gender and/or ethnicity – interactants can use *linguistic devices* such as divergent speech style, overemphasized lexical simplicity or violations of politeness maxims and coherence toward utterances of speakers belonging to the out-group, to demonstrate what Brewer calls *optimal social distinctiveness* (1991) within a social group, thereby implying the superiority of one's own group and the inferiority of the other group (Öhschlegel & Piontkowski, 1997).

### **2.2.2. Optimal Social Distinctiveness theory (ODT)**

In addition to SIT, there is a theory on intragroup differences which states that when individual characteristics like ethnicity are equally represented in a group, they are not salient and therefore less likely to be used in the process of identification. This theory is called Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (ODT, Brewer, 1991). Brewer's theory on optimal distinctiveness explains that within a social group, the members who share relatively rare characteristics are called *minority members*. According to Brewer, minority members tend to think of themselves in terms of their rarity in the group. For instance, a white male's self-concept will be different in a group of African American men than in a group of white men. In the latter, he will tend to think of himself as being 'male', whereas in the first context, he will think of himself as being 'white' (Brewer, 1991).

As this example illustrates, ethnicity is a characteristic that can be salient when a social group is composed of minority and majority members. However, when characteristics like ethnicity are equally represented in a group, it is likely that these characteristics will not be salient and reflected by the interactants' language use. The same can be said for this research's other variable, namely 'gender'. For instance, if a single (one) woman interacts in a group that further consists of only men, she might be more aware of her gender than when she would interact in a group of women. The woman's feeling of prominent social distinctiveness from the men is, in turn, likely to reflect on her language use, as she will adapt her language according to her status (as the only woman) in a group of men (Brewer, 1991).

With regard to the research questions, ODT will be employed to the composition of the samples. Based on ODT, when the variables ethnicity and gender are equally represented in the

samples, the participants will hypothetically not make use of linguistic devices to display a salient gender and/or ethnicity.

## **2.3. Other Theoretical Contributions**

### **2.3.1. Politeness Theory**

One of the sociolinguistic theories that form the framework of this research is Politeness Theory, which was first formulated by Brown and Levinson (1978). Politeness theory is relevant for this research because it is related to this research's variable 'gender', as politeness theory can be drawn on in the interpretation of how women differ from men, linguistically (Meshtrie et al., 2009).

To find out why politeness theory can be applied to the interpretation of gendered speech, we must first look into the theory itself. In their research (1978), Brown and Levinson distinguish between two types of politeness: positive politeness, which is concerned with 'communality' (e.g. the expression of warmth and friendliness towards others); and negative politeness, which has to do with not imposing on others and one's freedom to act. The first type, positive politeness, can be manifested in people's tendency to swear less, use more tag questions and more intensifiers. The second type, negative politeness, can be manifested in people's tendency to interrupt less, to be less direct and to use more hedges.

Some researchers have claimed that women are generally more linguistically polite than men (Lakoff, 1975; Carli, 1990; Crawford, 2003). Carli acknowledges this in her research (1990, p. 941) by stating that women are not given the opportunity to express themselves as forcefully and directly as men. In her research (1990), Carli also claims that a possible reason for why women generally do not get the opportunity to express themselves forcefully might be the gender difference in the orientation that men and women have towards others. According to Carli, "a number of researchers have noted that, in general, women tend to exhibit a social-emotional or relational orientation in interactions with others, whereas men tend to exhibit a more independent and unemotional orientation" (Carli, 1990; p. 943). This difference in orientation is often attributed to the different socialisation of men and women during the upbringing (see 'difference framework': Cameron, 1990). For instance, McElhinny illustrates the (generally) different orientations of men and women in social interaction in her research by providing an example of the different interpretations of minimal responses (1996, p. 239). According to McElhinny, minimal responses such as 'umhm' and 'yes' can express agreement, which is more or less an unemotional response. Yet, women in particular would be more inclined to use these minimal responses to exhibit that they are listening and to encourage the speaker to continue.

With this being said, I would like to call for caution in relation to general claims about women's speaking styles. As Carli argues in her research (1990), men and women do not consistently exhibit the same orientations or communication styles across a variety of situations. This inconsistency in gendered behaviour implies that the different orientations are not intrinsic to male and female personalities.

### 2.3.2. 'Doing' Gender

Carli (1990), West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that men and women do not have a fixed gender (like their fixed 'sex'), and that men and women have to 'achieve' a gender for themselves in every social interaction. This concept of gender achievement was coined by West and Zimmerman (1978) as 'doing gender'. According to West and Zimmerman, 'doing gender' is playing a social role. In different social contexts, gender roles can be played out in various ways, depending on various social factors such as: the gender(s) of the person(s) with whom one is interacting; the assessment of how other people in the interaction are going to behave; how people themselves are expected to behave; or people's relative status in the interaction (Carli, 1998; p. 72). Taking these social factors into account, people can manipulate their language in such a way that they appear to be more masculine or feminine.

According to Mesthrie et al. (2009), there are specific features of conversational style that are said to differentiate between female and male speakers, and are therefore used by speakers who are 'doing gender'. Examples of these specific features are:

*Amount of talk:* male speakers have been found to talk more than females, particularly in formal or public contexts.

*Interruptions:* male speakers interrupt female speakers more than vice versa. (see *politeness theory* above)

*Conversational support:* as was mentioned above, female speakers more frequently use linguistic devices like 'minimal responses' that provide support and encouragement for other speakers.

*Compliments:* women have the tendency to pay more compliments.

*Tentativeness:* female speakers mitigate their speech more often than males to appear less direct, thereby avoiding face-threatening speech acts (see *politeness theory* above).

On the other side of the communication spectrum, there is assertive communication style ('men's style'). Assertiveness can be displayed by both men and women by using specific communication features such as interruptions, introducing topics, cracking jokes, and speaking

relatively more than other interactants. In their research (2009), Reid et al. claim that men in general do not “like” women to be overtly assertive in mixed-sex interaction, because assertive roles signal membership of the male gender group. Therefore, enacting assertive roles can put women at risk of being compromised by men on their femininity. Nevertheless, results from another study that was conducted by Carli (1989) indicate that in mixed-sex groups, men and women behave more like the opposite sex. With respect to language use, this would entail that men use more tentative language in mixed-sex interaction than they would in same-sex interaction and that women enact more assertive roles in mixed-sex interaction than in same-sex groups.

### **2.3.3. Ethnicity, Gender Norms and Language Use**

Ethnicity can become salient in social interaction when different language varieties are spoken. In the case of this research, the participants speak Standard Dutch (ABN), *Rotterdams* (vernacular), or *DSL* (Dutch Street Language). As was briefly explained in the first chapter, ABN and *Rotterdams* are language varieties that are associated with the Dutch culture, whereas *DSL* is mainly associated with street culture and the Black Dutch ethnicity, as its vocabulary consists mostly of a mixture of words borrowed from Sranan Tongo, Papiamentu, Arabic and AAE (Nortier, 2008; Cornips & de Rooij, 2003). By using DSL in a mixed-ethnicity interaction, one would create a distinction between the participants who speak and understand DSL, and the participants who do not. According to Öhlschlegel and Piontkowski (1997), creating this division between two social groups is an expression of a group’s differentiation (e.g. we versus they).

In addition, ethnicity can also be salient in people’s communication styles. This is relevant for this research because I am looking into conversation analysis. For instance, earlier research (Pop et al., 2003; Filardo, 1997; Henley, 1995) suggests that African American women generally adopt a different (more assertive/androcentric) communication style than Caucasian American women. According to Filardo (1997), African American females’ assertiveness is primarily found in the frequency of their speech forms in comparison to other interactants (both male and female) and their usage of aggravated speech forms such as threats, challenges, interruptions, direct commands and derogatory terms. This diversion from (Caucasian/white) ‘women’s style’ suggests that the two ethnicities (Caucasian American and African American) have different gender norms, which brings us to the second reason. If the same is true for the representatives of the Caucasian Dutch and the Black Dutch ethnicity in this study, the different sets of gender norms might reflect specifically on the female participants’ language use in both same-sex and mixed-sex/ mixed-ethnicity interaction.

Up to now, this chapter has elaborated upon the ways in which individuals can draw upon language to express their gender and ethnicity – which are determinants of one’s social identity – and on how one’s expression of a social identity by means of language use can be influenced by the social process of group formation. As was described at the beginning of this chapter, social identity theory (SIT) basically explains what it means to have a social identity and how people are influenced by other human beings. After explaining SIT, I opted to add ODT to this research’s framework because it builds upon SIT, as ODT states that people’s social identities derive from their conflicting social needs to belong to a group and to be unique at the same time. At this point, I would like to add communication accommodation theory (CAT) to this research’s theoretical framework because it helps to further explain the sociolinguistic process of how people do or do not form groups.

#### **2.3.4. Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)**

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) was first introduced and developed by Howard Giles (1973). One of the main principles of CAT is that individuals alter and shift their speech to resemble the speech of the other interactants within a social ingroup (e.g. a group in which the members identify with each other), or to resemble the speech of the addressee(s) one likes or wants to impress. CAT refers to this process, or strategy if you will, as *convergence*. According to CAT, individuals *converge* their speech to other members of the ingroup or to people that they like or want to impress, to display a similar social identity. This similarity of identities, in turn, facilitates the process of social identification.

An example of a situation in which speech convergence is likely to occur is provided by Ervin-Tripp in her research on gender and cultural factors (2001). According to Ervin-Tripp, mixed-gender interaction can give way to speech accommodation because men and women often want to impress each other. With this being said, Ervin-Tripp stresses that a mixed-gender context can also maximize gender marking, and thus counterwork the process of social identification. She states the following:

“If something in the context or activity evokes a different gendered reference group, we can expect that individual speakers might “monitor male,” or masculinize, speech or “monitor female,” or feminize, speech.”(Ervin-Tripp, 2001, p. 134)

According to Ervin-Tripp (2001), by “monitoring male/female speech”, the male and female interactants accentuate their gender differences. As a consequence, two different social groups are formed within the interaction.

Both of these situations might occur in this research, as four out of six samples in this research are mixed-gender interactions. The reason why both situations can occur in this research is that the male and female participants are on a friendly basis and perhaps even strive to impress one another. In addition, the equal representation of the participants in the mixed-gender interactions is likely to prevent intragroup differences (that are based on the participants’ gender) to become salient in the ingroup (see ODT). Yet, at the same time, it cannot be excluded in this research that “something” (in the case of this research, “something” regards the discussion topics) in the contexts of the samples will evoke different gendered reference groups (I will elaborate on the discussion topics in chapter three). Furthermore, with regard to the other research variable ‘ethnicity’, ethnic reference groups can also be evoked by the discussion topics in the samples of this research. In this case, the participants in the mixed-ethnicity samples might “monitor” their ethnic (Black /Caucasian) language variety with the purpose of appealing to other interactants who share the same ethnic background.

Another principle of CAT is that the uttered speech forms in a conversation will often reflect the individual with the highest social status (Giles & Smith, 1979). For this research, this principle implies that the gender that is displayed by the participants in the samples, is the gender that is determined by the interactant who displays the most masculine role (e.g. highest status) in the interaction (sample). With respect to the participants’ social identification and language use, this could entail that the composition of the sample influences how strongly one expresses the gender he or she has opted for, depending on the amount of assertive language that is uttered by the participant with the highest status in the sample.

## **2.4. Research Questions and Hypotheses**

In this study, I aim to extend previous research on gender and ethnicity-related speech by studying the effects of gender and ethnicity on language use and their relation to group formation. In addition, by looking into gender and ethnicity, this research aims to investigate how a social context (in this case mixed- and same-ethnic, mixed-gendered and same-gendered contexts) influences the social identification of the participants and how the participants’ social identity is reflected by the language that they use. The aim of this research is therefore to answer the following question:

- *Which linguistic devices (pragmatic, syntactic and semantic speech forms) are used by the participants in the process of social identification with group members that represent different genders and ethnicities?*

The reviewed theories suggest that gender and ethnicity affect language use when speakers opt to make these variables salient in social interaction. However, on the basis of Brewer's optimal distinctiveness theory (ODT, 1991) it is hypothesized that the participants will not opt to make their gender and ethnicity salient in the course of the samples, due to the participants' desire to form a social ingroup with each other. Regarding the variable gender, this entails the following hypotheses:

- the participants will display similar gender roles by uttering (roughly) the same number of male and female speech forms
- with respect to the variable ethnicity, the participants will not utter (many) speech forms from differing language varieties.
- Moreover, according to one of the main principles of communication accommodation theory (CAT, 1979), when the participants will socially identify with each other they will not only display the same gender within an interaction, but the participants will also accommodate the gender that they display to the gender that is determined by the person who has the highest status (e.g. who utters the most assertive speech forms) in the interaction.

With this being said, there is a possibility that Brewer's theory (ODT) will not apply to this research. Taking this into account, I have incorporated a second research question, namely:

- *If the participants form social intragroups (and therefore display social differentiation) on grounds of their shared gender and/or ethnicity, how will this be reflected by the participants' language use?*

When the participants decide to display social differentiation, this would entail that despite of the equal representation of gender and ethnicity in the samples, (some of) the participants still consider themselves to be minority members in the social ingroup. If the participants form intragroups based on their differing ethnicity and/or gender, the following is hypothesized:

- The participants will establish intragroups by using linguistic devices such as divergent speech style (e.g. instances of DSL), overemphasized lexical simplicity or violations of politeness maxims and coherence toward utterances of speakers belonging to the out-group (Öhlschlegel & Piontkowski, 1997).

## **Chapter 3**

### **Methodology**

The objective of this research was to discover if there were prevalent trends in the participants' ethnical and gendered behaviour in social interaction between members of the same ingroup. This case study was conducted by means of recording, transcribing and analysing the participants' speech accounts according to the principles of conversation analysis. The population of interest was represented by a small number of cases, namely four men and four women.

The data for this research were collected at a Dutch retail company (The Sting). I have opted to study eight members of The Sting's personnel for multiple reasons, one of them being that I have been working part-time at The Sting for over five years and as a result, the degree of familiarity between the participants and me, and the familiarity of the cafeteria in which the samples were recorded, has contributed to the informality and spontaneity of the speech samples and has thus facilitated the recordings.

Secondly, the management of The Sting has hired a variety of workers with different ethnic backgrounds to represent the population of Rotterdam. The composition of the work team and the fact that my colleagues were part of the same age group provided a highly suitable and yet uncontrolled environment for this research.

Finally, I have spent many hours in the presence of my colleagues, observing their social behaviour and language use. During these countless but brief moments of observation – usually during breaks – as a student of sociolinguistics I recognized certain recurring features in my colleagues' speech, which intrigued me.

#### **3.1. Conversation Analysis**

In this research, the methodology of a research tradition that is influential in interactional sociolinguistics was utilised, called 'Conversation Analysis'. This methodology was opted for because the aim of conversational analysis corresponds to the main aim of this research, namely to look for recurring patterns of interaction.

Conversation analysis focusses on inductively explicating the means and methods used for the organisation of spontaneous talk-in-interaction that participants display while they orientate to the specifics of a situation, including who they are in relation to others (ten Have, 2005). Especially the explication of the means and methods used during the orientation of individuals to others during social interaction is an aspect of conversational analysis that overlaps

with the research questions of this study that are concerned with which linguistic devices were used by the participants in the process of social identification with group members.

### **3.2. Research tools**

#### **3.2.1. Case Study**

I designed this research as a case study in which only qualitative methods were used. This research was of qualitative nature because it closely analysed and described in what way - and to what extent – a specific group of people displayed their ethnicity and/ or their gender in a limited number of settings. The participants' uttered ethnic and gendered speech forms were studied to determine how the participants made use of linguistic devices to express their social identity in differently composed social groups (with regard to the representation of gender and ethnicity). By transcribing and analysing the participants' spontaneous speech accounts from different social settings, I aimed to enhance the understanding of which linguistic devices were used by colleagues in the process of in- or intergroup formation.

I opted for a case study because the aim of this research was not to gain statistical data on gendered and ethnic language behaviour in general, but rather to provide the reader with an in-depth portrayal of how this particular group of men and women, who have different ethnic backgrounds, interacts. In the course of this research, data were collected by means of recorded group sessions. I based my choice of methods (conversational analysis) on Öhlschlegel & Piontkowski's (1997) research on social categorisation, and on Filardo's research (1996) on gender patterns in social interaction of African American and Caucasian adolescents. In both studies, data were collected from group sessions that were recorded by an observing interviewer who did not take part in the interaction. I opted for this particular interview format because the results of Filardo's and Öhlschlegel & Piontkowski's research showed that the operation of group dynamics counteracted the interviewees' tendency to simply wait for questions to which they would articulate responses.

Additionally, in order to avoid turn-taking in the group sessions, Filardo and Öhlschlegel & Piontkowski ensured that their participants got involved in a group discussion by means of introducing a game task that required every participant to contribute to the group, or by means of introducing discussion topics that applied to every participant. In this study, similar discussion topics were introduced in the group sessions to facilitate the simultaneous involvement of the participants.

### 3.2.2. Recordings

In this research, six samples of fifteen minutes were recorded. Each sample comprised the speech of four participants. The aim of the group sessions was to observe and analyse in- and intergroup behaviour with respect to spontaneous language use, according to the methodology of conversational analysis. The six samples were differently composed, as each sample (except for the mixed-gender/mixed-ethnicity samples) had to have a different representation of gender and ethnicity. The composition of the six samples was as follows:

- Sample 1: Four women (two of the Black Dutch ethnicity; two of the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity)
- Sample 2: Four men and women of the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity
- Samples 3&4: Two men (one of the Black Dutch ethnicity; one of the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity) and two women (one of the Black Dutch ethnicity; one of the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity)
- Sample 5: Four men (two of the Black Dutch ethnicity; two of the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity)
- Sample 6: Four men and women of the Black Dutch ethnicity

The samples consisted of four participants each because of two reasons: (1) there had to be enough participants in a sample to form a group, and (2) the men and/or women in the samples had to represent gender and ethnicity equally. Each participant took part in one same-sex / mixed-ethnicity interaction sample, in one mixed-sex / mixed-ethnicity interaction sample, and in one mixed-sex / same-ethnicity interaction sample. The language that was spoken by the participants during the recordings was Dutch. I opted for the Dutch language to be spoken by the participants because I aimed to record the participants' most natural speech. All the participants are fluent in Dutch, and Dutch is the only language that is allowed to be spoken at the participants' workplace (The Sting) in order to prevent social exclusion as a result of language barriers.

I applied Koch's (2002) categories to the model for analysing the speech fragments. These categories consisted of syntactic cues, semantic cues and pragmatic cues (Koch, 2002, pp. 81-95). In her research, Koch had her participants do an anonymous gender rating which depended entirely on the participants' gender-hypotheses. Strikingly, the different types of cues led Koch's participants to differential guessing success. For instance, Koch's participants were least successful in guessing each other's' gender by looking at semantic cues (success in 50% of the cases), and most successful by looking at syntactic cues (success in >88% of the cases).

In this study – as was the case in Koch's research (2002) – syntactic cues referred to speech forms and grammar, such as sentence construction, use of certain expressions, and use of certain grammatical forms such as softeners or hedges like “kind of”, “sort of”(Dutch “zeg maar”, “soort van”) and intensifiers “really, truly” (Dutch “écht”, “super”). As we have seen in the previous chapter, softeners and hedges are instances of polite speech and according to the theory (Mesthrie et al., 2009), polite speech is associated with the female gender. In addition, intensifiers are associated with the female gender because intensifiers express an emotional approach to storytelling, as opposed to the direct approach, which is associated with the male gender. A way to express oneself in a direct fashion is to speak from the first person's perspective by using so called “I-phrases” (“I think”, “I do not agree” etc.).

As for the other categories, in this research semantic cues referred to hints taken from direct content-related text parts, such as descriptions of hobbies or interests (male: women/cars/sports) and female: fashion/gossip/celebrities). Semantic cues were relevant in this research because they are often gender specific and can therefore be used by the participants to establish a particular social identity. For example, instances of vernacular/DSL were also referred to as semantic clues in this research because the denotation of instances of DSL and vernacular is often “I'm tough and/or masculine” or “I belong to a particular social group”.

Finally, pragmatic cues referred to hints from conversational behaviour, style, arguments and relational behaviour. Examples are cracking narratives, jokes, interruptions, compliments, minimal responses and discourse particles (Dutch “Dat maakt niet uit, hoor”, or “gewoon” which is an equivalent of the English “like”). Cracking jokes and interruptions were regarded as features of male speech, whereas compliments, minimal responses and use of discourse particles were regarded as features of female speech. With regard to the latter, there were certain examples of discourse particles in this research that were analysed as features of *DSL*, rather than as features of female speech (Dutch “weet je”, “of noh (niet)” or “snap je”) (Nortier, 2008).

All features (clear cases) of ethnic and male and female speech were categorised and stored in Excel, by mentioning in which category the cue was placed. Furthermore, the function

of the features was mentioned, as well as whether the speech form was prototypically male (m) or female (f). Finally, the frequency of speech occurrences (prototypical male and female speech) were counted and stored in tables.

### ***Group Sessions***

In order to maintain a free and jovial atmosphere during the recordings, the participant observer (me) did not – at any point – take part in the conversation. This allowed the participants to converse naturally without feeling directed. However, to get the conversation started, I had to introduce a topic that would engage the participants and make them yield to a casual register. To set this process into motion, I relied on Labov’s tactic (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). According to Labov, when subjects retell emotional stories in their life, they are likely to be overtaken by the memory of a significant incident, and they would therefore be less attentive to their language use (Mesthrie et al., 2009). Mesthrie et al. (2009) refer to this tactic as Labov’s ‘danger of death’ questions (p. 90). On the basis of Labov’s tactic, a small stack of propositions was placed on the table in front of the participants. In the course of the conversation, the participants were free to proceed from one proposition to the next. All the propositions were emotionally charged and generally applicable to the participants’ own experiences in life. Some examples used were the following:

- Life during high school is tougher for girls than it is for boys (Dutch: “Voor meisjes is het leven op de middelbare school moeilijker dan voor jongens”)
- When it comes to the opposite sex, you can never be “just” friends (Dutch: “Tussen mannen en vrouwen is het nooit “alleen maar” vriendschappelijk”)
- If I find out that my partner has cheated on me (also texting/calling), I will end the relationship (“Wanneer ik er achter kom dat mijn partner vreemd is gegaan (ook met bellen of smssen), maak ik het uit”)

In this study, propositions were used rather than Labov’s “danger of death” questions because the propositions allowed the speakers to interrupt each other and to spontaneously contribute to the conversation, whereas the “danger of death” questions would have encouraged the participants to await their turn in the conversation until one of the other participants finished

his or hers. As a result, the “danger of death” questions would have produced individual data instead of the opted for data that has been collected from interaction between group members.

### **3.3. Participants**

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the participants of this research belong to the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity and to the Black Dutch ethnicity. All participants are colleagues and have a similar status due to their equal function. In addition, they belong to the same age group (young adults), as their ages vary from 22 to 27. The participants were brought up in middle class environments and are in the process of graduating from college (university of applied sciences) or university. The participants’ homogeneity of social class, level of education and age decreased the variability of speech accounts in the sense that the homogeneity of these variables limited the scope of this research to the effects of gender and ethnicity on the participants’ speech accounts.

The group sessions were observed by a *participant observer* (me) who has been a colleague of the participants for several years. This helped to eliminate any discomfort on behalf of the participants in taking part in a tape-recorded session (Milroy & Gordon, 2003). In addition, a benefit of the group sessions was that these sessions facilitated the production of casual speech, as the participants did not feel like they were being scrutinised individually, and were therefore not too conscious of their language use.

## Chapter 4

### Results

In this chapter, utterances of the male and female participants were compared. The total number of occurrences refers to the number of male and female speech forms that have been uttered by each male and female participant that took part in the samples of this research. As the number of utterances differed between all the speakers, comparisons were made based on relative numbers/percentages.

#### 4.1. The Salience of Gender in Mixed-Sex Interaction (samples 2, 3, 4, 6)

As was elaborated upon in the previous chapter, results from Carli's research (1989; 1990) on gendered talk indicate that people who opt for the male or female gender in social interaction take on different communication styles. In other words, in theory, one should be able to distinguish between men and women in social interaction by looking solely at people's speech. In addition, Carli claims that women generally have a lower status than men in mixed-sex interaction, which leaves women with no other option than to opt for the female (submissive) gender in mixed-sex interaction and the associated tentative communication style. However, Carli's theory on gender inequality in mixed-sex interaction contradicts West and Zimmerman's earlier claim (1987) that gender is not 'fixed' for individuals, and that men and women are therefore able to take on both the male or the female gender in different social interactions by adopting different communication styles.

Furthermore, Brewer's (1991) theory on social distinctiveness suggests that people who want to identify with each other socially will avoid the display of status inequality in their speech, thereby adopting the communication style of the ingroup (with respect to the distribution of male and female speech forms) instead of putting a singular gender on display. For this research, the combination of Carli's (1989; 1990), West and Zimmerman's (1987) and Brewer's (1991) theories has led to the hypothesis that gender will not be salient in mixed-sex interaction.

Tables 1 and 2 below display the results of the analysis of the participants' uttered speech forms in all the samples. In table 1, the female participants' (Mylene, Sylvia, Mado and Valerie) overall scores on their production of female speech occurrences are displayed in order to provide an overview of the genders that were displayed by the individual female participants per sample. In table 2, the male participants' (Mark, Freek, Cisco and Marlon) overall scores on their production of male speech occurrences are displayed for the same purpose:

Table 1: Overall scores of the production of female speech occurrences per female speaker (in mixed-sex interaction)

Samples	Mylene (M)	Sylvia (S)	Mado (Md)	Valerie (V)
Sample 2: MIXED-SEX ( <i>Mylene</i> : Caucasian female, <i>Sylvia</i> : Caucasian female, <i>Mark</i> : Caucasian male, <i>Freek</i> : Caucasian male)	59 (73.7%)	34 (61.8%)		
Sample 3: MIXED-SEX/ ETHNICITY <i>Mylene</i> : Caucasian female, <i>Valerie</i> : Black female, <i>Freek</i> : Caucasian male, <i>Marlon</i> : Black male	57 (67.9%)			28 (68.3%)
Sample 4: MIXED-SEX/ ETHNICITY <i>Sylvia</i> : Caucasian female, <i>Mado</i> : Black female, <i>Cisco</i> : Black male, <i>Mark</i> : Caucasian male		22 (45.8%)	44 (51.2%)	
Sample 6: MIXED-SEX <i>Mado</i> : Black female, <i>Valerie</i> : Black female, <i>Cisco</i> : Black male, <i>Marlon</i> : Black male			33 (50.8%)	16 (55.2%)

Table 2: Overall scores of the production of male speech occurrences per male speaker (in mixed-sex interaction)

Samples	Mark	Freek	Cisco	Marlon
Sample 2: MIXED-SEX ( <i>Mylene</i> : Caucasian female, <i>Sylvia</i> : Caucasian female, <i>Mark</i> : Caucasian male, <i>Freek</i> : Caucasian male)	13 (24.1%)	17 (32.7%)		
Sample 3: MIXED-SEX/ ETHNICITY <i>Mylene</i> : Caucasian female, <i>Valerie</i> : Black female, <i>Freek</i> : Caucasian male, <i>Marlon</i> : Black male		26 (53.1%)		21 (47.7%)
Sample 4: MIXED-SEX/ ETHNICITY <i>Sylvia</i> : Caucasian female, <i>Mado</i> : Black female, <i>Cisco</i> : Black male, <i>Mark</i> : Caucasian male	21 (47.7%)		43 (78.2%)	
Sample 6: MIXED-SEX <i>Mado</i> : Black female, <i>Valerie</i> : Black female, <i>Cisco</i> : Black male, <i>Marlon</i> : Black male			30 (75%)	19 (65.5%)

As we can see from tables 1 and 2, the results from sample 2 (mixed-gender / Caucasian ethnicity) indicate that both the male (Mark & Freek) and the female (Mylene & Sylvia) participants uttered more instances of female speech forms than of male speech forms. Therefore, one could argue that every participant in sample 2 displayed the female gender. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that a female participant (Sylvia) uttered the most *male* speech forms (38.2% of her speech was considered to be "masculine"), which resulted in Sylvia adopting the *least feminine* version of the female genders in the interaction. Additionally, a male participant (Mark) uttered the most *female* speech forms (75.9% of his speech was considered to be "feminine") which, in turn, resulted in Mark adopting the *most feminine* version of the female genders in the interaction. When we take Brewer's theory (1991) on optimal social distinctiveness into consideration, we can argue that Mark (male) and/or Sylvia (female) were compensating for the other's display of a relatively distinctive gender, in order to facilitate social identification in the ingroup.

In sample 3, Mylene (female), Valerie (female) and Marlon (male) uttered more female than male speech occurrences. Freek (male) uttered more male speech forms (53.1%) than female speech forms in sample 3. With this being said, this majority was obtained by only three male speech forms out of a total of forty-nine speech occurrences that were uttered by Freek in this particular sample. In this case, the equal distribution of male and female speech forms made Freek's speech more *neuter* than (distinctively) gendered. The same can be said for Marlon, the other male speaker in sample 3, as he uttered only two more instances of female speech than of male speech, out of a total of forty-four speech occurrences (of which 47.7% were male speech forms against 52.3% of female speech forms).

With regard to the female participants in sample 3, both Mylene and Valerie expressed a distinctive female gender, because almost 70% of their speech occurrences were female speech forms (Mylene: 67.9%, Valerie: 68.3). In the light of the possible gender compensation in sample 2 that was addressed above, there was a relatively clearer distinction between the opted for genders of the male and female participants in sample 3. Therefore, it can be concluded that gender was salient in sample 3.

The results that are displayed in tables 1 and 2 indicate that the female participants (Sylvia, Mado) in sample 4 displayed a neuter gender by uttering an almost equal percentage of male and female speech occurrences: 45.7% of Sylvia's uttered speech forms were considered to be "feminine" (against 54.3% of "masculine" speech forms) and Mado's speech consisted for 51.2% of female speech forms (against 48.8% of male speech forms). With respect to the male participants in sample 4, results from table 2 indicate that Mark – like the female participants in

sample 4 – displayed a neuter gender, as his speech consisted of 47.7% male speech forms (against 52.3% of female speech forms). However, the other male participant in sample 4 (Cisco) displayed a distinctive male gender, as 78.2% of his speech consisted of male speech forms.

With regard to sample 6, the results from tables 1 and 2 indicate a clear distinction between the male gender that was displayed by both male participants (Cisco: 75% male speech forms, Marlon: 65.5% male speech forms) and the neuter gender that was displayed by both female participants (Mado: 50.8% female speech forms, Valerie: 55.2% female speech forms). When the Caucasian gender norms that were mentioned in the second chapter (e.g. assertive men and tentative women) are taken into consideration, the gender roles that were displayed by the participants in sample 6 resemble the Caucasian gender norms (Carli, 1990) the closest of all the samples in this research.

#### **4.2. The Communication Accommodation Hypothesis**

The results that are displayed in tables 1 and 2 indicate that four out of eight participants displayed the most assertive or “masculine” role throughout the six samples: in sample 1, Valerie (Black female) uttered the most assertive speech; in sample 2, Sylvia’s (Caucasian female) language was most assertive; and in sample 3, Freek’s (Caucasian male) language use was considered to be most “masculine”. In sample 4, 5 and 6, Cisco (Black male) was consistently the most assertive participant.

Now that the most assertive participants have been determined per sample, this research’s hypothesis that the participants will accommodate their speech to the communication style of the most dominant (assertive) participant in the interaction can be confirmed or refuted by examining if there was a relation between the percentage of assertive speech forms that was uttered by the most dominant speaker in each sample and the percentage of assertive speech forms that was uttered by the other speakers in the samples.

It can be concluded from the results above (tables 1 & 2), that there was no (distinctive) display of the male gender (e.g. relatively high status) in samples 1, 2, and 3, as the results that are displayed in tables 1 and 2 indicate that the dominant participants in these particular samples achieved a percentage of 45.3% (Valerie, sample 1), 38.2% (Sylvia, sample 2), and 53.1% (Freek, sample 3) of male speech forms. Unfortunately, due to the dominant participants’ low scores on male speech forms, the results from samples 1, 2 and 3 are not evident enough to confirm or refute that speech accommodation by any of the participants has taken place. With this being said, the results from samples 4, 5 and 6 (see table 2) indicate that Cisco (Black male) did achieve a distinctively high score on male speech forms and that he therefore displayed a remarkably

assertive role in all the samples he took part in, in comparison to the assertive roles that were displayed throughout the six samples by the other participants in this research.

When the three samples that did not include Cisco are compared to the samples that did include Cisco, particularly Mark's (Caucasian male) scores on male speech forms in samples 2, 4 and 5 clearly indicate that Mark uttered more assertive language in the samples that included both him and Cisco (e.g. sample 4: mixed-gender/ mixed-ethnicity and sample 5: males / mixed-ethnicity). For instance, in table 2 it is displayed that Mark achieved a mere percentage of 24.1% of male speech forms in sample 2 (mixed-gender / same-ethnicity), whereas Mark achieved a score of 47.7% on male speech forms in sample 4 (mixed-gender / mixed-ethnicity) and 34.1% of male speech forms in sample 5 (males / mixed-ethnicity).

The same can be concluded from Marlon's results (see table 2), as the results from the samples he took part in (sample 3: mixed-gender / mixed-ethnicity, sample 5: males / mixed-ethnicity and sample 6: mixed-gender / Black ethnicity) indicate that Marlon scored 47.7% on male speech forms in sample 3 (which excluded Cisco), whereas he achieved a score of 50% (sample 5) and 65.5% (sample 6) on male speech forms in the samples that included Cisco. As for the remaining male participant, Freek (Caucasian), the interaction with Cisco in sample 5 appears to have had an opposite effect on his verbal display of masculinity, as Freek achieved a mere score of 27.8% in sample 5 (all males, including Cisco), whereas Freek scored higher on male speech forms in sample 2 (mixed-gender / Caucasian-ethnicity: 32.7%) and in sample 3 (mixed-gender / mixed-ethnicity: 53.1%) in which Freek was the most assertive speaker.

With regard to the individual scores on male speech forms that were achieved by the female participants in this study, Mado's (Black female) score on male speech forms was 41.7% in the all-female sample (sample 1), 48.8% in sample 4 (mixed-gender / mixed-ethnicity) and 49.2% in sample 6 (mixed-gender / Black ethnicity). Like Mark (Caucasian male) and Marlon (Black male), Mado's language was more assertive in the samples that included both her and Cisco (samples 4 & 6). Another female participant, Sylvia (Caucasian female), achieved a score of 54.2% on male speech forms in the sample that included both her and Cisco (e.g. sample 5: mixed-gender / mixed-ethnicity). In sample 1 (females) and sample 2 (mixed-gender / Caucasian-ethnicity), Sylvia scored around 14% lower on male speech forms (36.7% in sample 1; 38.2% in sample 2).

Finally, results indicate that Valerie (Black female) was most dominant in the all-female sample (sample 1) with a score of 45.3% on male speech forms. Valerie was equally assertive in sample 6 (which included Cisco) with a score of 44.8% on male speech forms. Valerie was least assertive in sample 3 (mixed-gender / mixed-ethnicity), in which she achieved a score of 31.7%

on male speech forms. Unfortunately, Valerie's results are not conclusive in the case of speech accommodation because they appear to be random.

In conclusion, four out of the six participants (e.g. Mark, Marlon, Mado and Sylvia) – hence the majority – who interacted with the most assertive participant in this study (Cisco) were most assertive in the samples that included both them and Cisco. On the other hand, one out of six participants (Freek) was least assertive in the sample in which he interacted with Cisco (sample 5: males) and Valerie's results on her assertiveness throughout the samples were inconclusive with respect to speech accommodation.

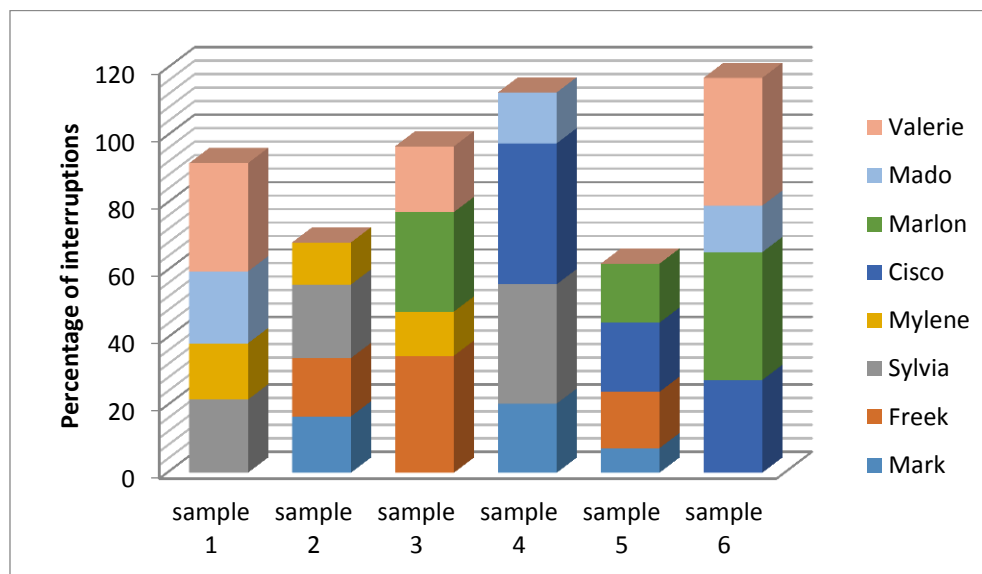
### **4.3. Linguistic Devices and Group Boundaries**

In the second chapter, it was explained that, in general, interactants predominantly perceive themselves as individuals, as members of different (inter) groups, or as members of a common group (ingroup) (Öhschlegel & Piontkowski, 1997). In the case of this research, it is hypothesized that the participants will perceive themselves as members of an ingroup, which, in turn, will cause the participants to socially identify with each other. As was elaborated upon in the previous paragraph, the results from the samples indeed indicate that this social identification has been reflected by the participants' similar language use, with regard to the (frequency of) utterances of male and female speech forms (except for the male participant Cisco, whose language was distinctively assertive).

In addition, according to Öhschlegel and Piontkowski (1997), one can determine if interactants perceive themselves as members of the same or of a different social group by looking at the interactants' utterances of specific linguistic devices that - depending on the context – could indicate an intentional display of a “superior status”. When a speaker displays a superior status, group boundaries emerge between him/her and the other interactant(s). The difference between expressing a high status and a superior status simply concerns an individual's intention to identify oneself with - or to distinguish oneself from – a certain social group.

This study focused on two linguistic devices that could have been utilised by the participants to display superiority through language use, namely interruptions and divergent speech (e.g. occurrences of DSL in mixed-ethnicity interactions). In the figure below, it is illustrated per sample which percentage of each participant's total number of (male and female) speech occurrences in that particular sample consisted of interruptions:

Figure 1: Participants' individual percentages of interruptions per sample



When we take into account that seven types of female cues (e.g. narratives, descriptions, female interests, hedges, intensifiers, politeness strategies and female discourse markers) and seven types of male cues (repetitions, “I”-phrases, male interests, male discourse markers, vernacular, DSL and interruptions) were analysed in the course of this study, it becomes apparent by looking at the results that are displayed in the figures above (1-6) that each participant uttered relatively many interruptions in relation to the other (male or female) cues that were uttered by the participants in the samples. Based on these findings alone, one could argue that every participant opted to display a superior status and that each participant created group boundaries between them and the rest in the process. However, when we take the results that were discussed in the previous section into consideration, this argument becomes invalid because all but one participant (Cisco) uttered relatively many tentative (female) speech forms as well. Note that if the participants intentionally played a superior role, it would not make sense for the participants to debunk their speech, as it were, by uttering tentative speech forms. Therefore, it is more likely to assume that the participants uttered interruptions for a different purpose.

As was explained in chapter three, Lycan states in his research (1977) that an interruption can also be a linguistic device that positively contributes to the development of a discussion. In their research, Öhschlegel and Piontkowski (1997) provide us with a condition that allows speakers to use interruptions as a supportive linguistic device in a conversation, namely that interruptions have to be coherent topic progressions in the interaction. For instance, when we look at figure 1, it becomes apparent that Valerie achieved the highest percentage of interruptions in sample 6 (37.9% of her speech in sample 6 consisted of interruptions). Yet, at the same time,

we concluded from the results in table 1 that Valerie was the most feminine speaker in that particular sample (her speech consisted for 55.2% of female speech occurrences). At this point, the nature of Valerie's interruptions has to be investigated by asking the question: did Valerie's interruptions serve as coherent topic progressions? The answer is: yes. To illustrate this, here's an example of one of the interruptions that was uttered by Valerie in sample 6:

<b>Line 74: Mado (Black female):</b>	Ja, dus we zijn het er gewoon mee eens dat mannen en vrouwen tegenwoordig geen normen en waarden
<b>Line75: Valerie (Black female):</b>	[Het is in ieder geval veranderd

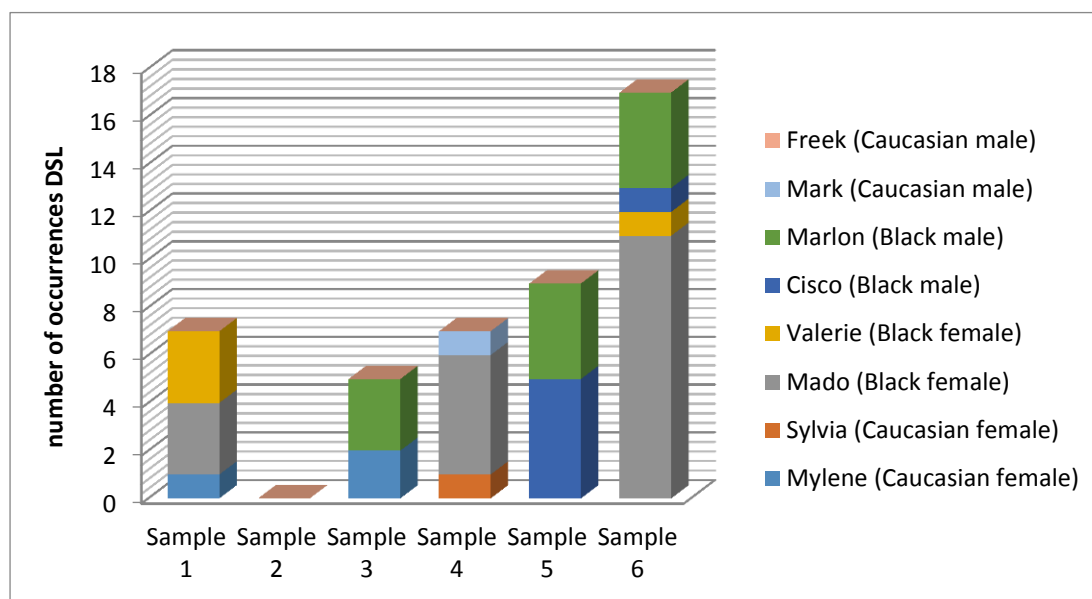
As for the other participants, their interruptions too were of a coherent nature during the conversations. Judging from the results that are displayed in figure 1, the distribution of interruptions appears to be a matter of individual communication styles. Mark (Caucasian male), Mado (Black female) and Mylene(Caucasian female) consistently used relatively few interruptions, whereas Marlon (Black male), Freek (Caucasian male), Cisco (Black male) and Sylvia (Caucasian female) uttered relatively many interruptions during the samples in which they participated.

#### 4.4. DSL and Group Identification

With regard to the participants' usage of divergent speech (e.g. instances of DSL in the case of this study) as a linguistic means to establish group boundaries that were related to ethnic group identification, the results from the samples indicated that three out of the four Caucasian participants (Mark, Sylvia and Mylene) uttered at least one instance of DSL during the mixed-ethnicity samples in which they partook. From these results, it can be concluded that DSL was not exclusively uttered by the Black participants, and therefore DSL was not divergent speech in the case of this research. Hence, DSL was not used by the participants to establish group boundaries.

In addition, it can be concluded from the results that are displayed in figure 7 below, that the *most* instances of DSL were uttered in the mixed-gender / Black-ethnicity sample (e.g. sample 6) and that the *least* (no) occurrences of DSL were found in the mixed-gender / Caucasian-ethnicity sample (e.g. sample 2). The results below disprove the hypothesis that the Black participants would avoid uttering instances of DSL in the mixed-ethnicity samples, as this was clearly not the case in this research (see sample 1, 3, 4 and 5 in figure 7).

Figure 7: Number of occurrences DSL per participant, per sample



As is displayed above (figure 7), both Marlon (Black male) and Mado (Black female) uttered DSL in all the three samples in which they partook. As for the other Black participants, both Cisco (male) and Valerie (female) uttered DSL in two of the three samples in which they partook, namely the same-sex / mixed-ethnicity samples (sample 1 & 5) and the all-Black sample (sample 6). By means of illustration, here are some examples of the instances of DSL that were uttered by the Black participants:

- **Valerie:** sample 1, line 47: “Volgens mij moet er wel een *bad guy* tussen zitten”
- **Mado:** sample 6, line 123: “Hij is een beetje *mooi-boy* enzo”
- **Marlon:** sample 3, line 107: “Seks is bijvoorbeeld een *no-go*”
- **Cisco:** sample 5, line 175: “Hij wil voor de *shine* gaan”

In addition, here are some examples of the instances of DSL that were uttered by the Caucasian participants:

- **Mark:** sample 4, line 212: “Dat is zo *nasty* gewoon”
- **Mylene:** sample 3, line 153: “*Whatever, weet je*”
- **Sylvia:** sample 4, line 232: “Dan zat hij helemaal zo *para*”

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

In this study, it was investigated what the effects of the variables gender and ethnicity were on the participants' language use during social interaction. In addition, it was hypothesized that the compilation of the samples – with regard to the representation of gender and ethnicity – would influence the way in which the participants expressed their gender and ethnicity by means of the participants' adaptation of communication styles, with respect to assertive and tentative speech and divergent speech forms. This case study was conducted by means of recording, transcribing and analysing the participants' speech accounts according to the principles of conversation analysis. The population of interest was represented by four men and four women who equally represented the Caucasian Dutch and the Black Dutch ethnicity.

#### 5.1. Main Findings

The results from the (six) conversation analyses indicated that all but one participant expressed a neuter gender throughout the three samples in which every participant partook. Technically, this entails that five out of six participants (e.g. 83%) uttered roughly the same amount of assertive and tentative speech forms in the course of the samples. This outcome was hypothesized in this research on the basis of Brewer's theory on Optimal Social Distinctiveness (1991), which claims that when individual characteristics such as people's gender are equally represented in a social group, people will try to avoid a salient display of individual characteristics, particularly by manipulating their language use.

In this research, the participants manipulated their language use by uttering an equal number of assertive (e.g. interruptions, "I"-phrases, jokes, vernacular/slang) and tentative speech forms (e.g. hedges, discourse particles, compliments, intensifiers) that are associated with the male and female gender. By doing so, the participants facilitated the process of social identification with members of the social ingroup, because none (but one) of the participants "stood out" with regard to their gender.

Since both the male and female participants expressed a neuter gender in both the mixed-sex and same-sex samples, Carli's claim (1989, 1990) that women are not given the opportunity to express themselves as assertively as men in mixed-sex interaction cannot be affirmed by the results of this study. In addition, the notion that black women generally adopt a different (more assertive/androcentric) communication style than Caucasian women (Pop et al., 2003; Filardo,

1997; Henley, 1995) was not corroborated by the results of this study, as the female representatives of the Black Dutch and the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity uttered roughly the same number of male speech forms throughout the samples.

### 5.1.1. Patterns of Communication Accommodation

In this research, it was hypothesized on the basis of Brewer's Optimal Distinctiveness theory (1991) that the representatives of the Black Dutch ethnicity would accommodate their speech to the Caucasian norm (e.g. adopting the Standard Dutch or the non-standard speech variety *Rotterdams*) in mixed-ethnicity interaction. This communication accommodation was to take place on behalf of the Black Dutch participants because the representatives of both ethnicities speak and understand *Rotterdams* and/or Standard Dutch, which is most likely not the case with Caucasian Dutch participants and *DSL*. Thus, by speaking a language variety that every ingroup member understands, the process of social identification is facilitated within the samples. Nevertheless, the results of this study indicated that the utterance of instances of the Dutch Street language variety were shunned by neither the Black Dutch participants, nor the Caucasian Dutch participants. In fact, the opposite of what was hypothesized played out in the samples, as to a certain extent the Caucasian participants accommodated their speech to the language variety of the Black Dutch participants in the mixed-ethnicity samples, by uttering instances of *DSL* (see section 4.4., figure 7). To illustrate that there was communication accommodation on behalf of the Caucasian participants, note that the participants in the all-Caucasian sample (sample 2) did not utter any instances of *DSL*.

In addition to communication accommodation regarding the avoidance of uttering different language varieties, Giles and Smith (1979) developed a theory (CAT) which is based on the principle that the language in a conversation will often reflect the individual with the highest social status (e.g. the person who utters the most assertive speech forms). For this research, this principle implied that the gender that was displayed by the participants in the samples, was the gender that was determined by the person who had the highest status in the interaction. In the case of this study, Cisco (Black male) was the only participant who consistently uttered the most assertive speech forms in the three samples in which he partook. Cisco was therefore the participant with the highest status. In order to confirm or refute the hypothesis that the participants would accommodate their gender display to the most assertive (male) gender display in the samples, the speech of the five participants (Valerie, Mado, Sylvia, Mark, Freek) who interacted with Cisco was analysed and compared to the speech of those same participants that was uttered in samples which did not include Cisco. The results from this study showed that

three (Sylvia, Mado and Mark) out of these five participants (e.g. 60%) did utter more assertive speech forms in the samples that included both them and Cisco.

### 5.1.2. Group Boundaries

According to Öhschlegel and Piontkowski (1997), speakers can make use of certain linguistic devices (e.g. speech forms such as interruptions, jokes, incoherent topic progressions ) to establish social boundaries between individuals or members of different social ingroups. These boundaries entail a form of exclusion by means of language use, and indicate one(group)'s differentiation from another. In this research, two particular speech forms were categorised as linguistic devices that could serve as means to express differentiation, namely interruptions and divergent speech (DSL). With this being said, both speech forms were primarily categorised as assertive speech forms, and only the (individual) pragmatic nature of the interruptions and the frequency of instances of DSL compared to the total number of male and female speech forms uttered per participant determined if the participants opted to merely express assertiveness or if they opted to display superiority.

The results from the conversation analyses indicated that every participant uttered relatively many interruptions in the course of the samples in which the participants partook, compared to other male and female speech forms that were uttered. However, when the pragmatic nature of each interruption was examined, it became clear that the interruptions merely served as a means of topic progression. Thus, because none of the participants expressed a superior status by uttering interruptions as a means of *incoherent* topic progression, no group boundaries were established. The same can be said about the instances of divergent speech (DSL) that were uttered by the participants in the samples, since the utterances of these instances of DSL by the representatives of both the Caucasian Dutch and the Black Dutch ethnicity were by no means used to incoherently progress on a topic in the interactions. When we take this into consideration, we can conclude that the answer to the question '*if the participants formed groups on grounds of their shared gender and/or ethnicity, how will this be reflected by the participants' language use?*' does not apply to this research.

## 5.2. Discussion

In the course of this study, it has become clear that the familiarity of the participants and the participants' membership of the same social ingroup exceeded what possible effects the social variables 'gender' and 'ethnicity' could have had on the participant's language use, had the participants established group boundaries based on their differing individual characteristics. For

instance, the female participants could have identified more with each other by uttering (many) instances of female interests in same and/or mixed-sex interaction. However, this was not the case. Moreover, the male participants could have done the same. Yet, almost no instances of male interests were uttered in the course of the samples. Furthermore, the results from this study did not indicate that the male and female participants established group boundaries based on their differing genders, as all but one of the participants adopted a neuter communication style by uttering roughly the same amount of assertive and tentative speech forms.

These results are at variance with the notion that men and women generally speak differently (Carli, 1989; Labov, 1972). In Western society, this notion seems to be outdated, as the male and female gender role are optional for display to both men and women. In the end, it is the social context that determines who opts for which gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987). With respect to this research, the social contexts were the differently compiled samples (regarding the representation of the research variables ‘gender’ and ‘ethnicity’), which determined that all but one participant opted for the same gender. From these results, we can conclude that in the process of social identification, it is apparently not beneficial for men and women to display differing genders. With this being said, when we replace “what is beneficial for men and women” with “what is acceptable to men and women” when it comes to gender display, the question is raised how assertive the language of men and women can get before it jeopardises the process of social identification. What is more, to what extent can one enact a male or female gender role before interactants become confused about if the gender role that is displayed still corresponds to the speaker’s sex?

These are all questions that concern the research variable ‘gender’. With regard to the other research variable ‘ethnicity’, the outcome that three out of the four Caucasian participants uttered instances of DSL - which is primarily a Black Dutch (street) language variety – in mixed-ethnicity interaction, was not hypothesized. It seems like the Caucasian participants wanted to facilitate the process of social identification with the Black Dutch participants by not only accepting utterances of DSL, but by producing utterances of DSL themselves, thereby, at times, accommodating a dominant language variety (ABN or *Rotterdams*) to an ethnic language variety (DSL). For further research, it would be interesting to investigate on what scale this type of communication accommodation occurs in the Netherlands, by comparing conversation analyses of representatives of the Black Dutch ethnicity and of the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity who live in rural areas to the conversation analyses of representatives of the Black Dutch ethnicity and of the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity who live in urban areas. That way, it can be examined if the compilation of the population in both areas and the degree of language contact between both

ethnicities affects the amount of DSL that is spoken by representatives of the Caucasian Dutch ethnicity.

### 5.3. Limitations

In this study, I attempted to circumvent noise variables by selecting the participants on their homogeneous social class, level of education and age. As a consequence, the scope of this research was limited to the effects of gender and ethnicity on the participants speech accounts. However, in retrospect, there could have been a social variable that might have affected the speech accounts of at least one participant, namely the participants' *sexual orientation*.

In the first chapter, it was explained in the section on ODT (Brewer, 1991) that if individuals perceive themselves as minority members of an ingroup (based on their individual characteristic(s)), individuals will tend to think of themselves in terms of their rarity in the group (Brewer, 1991). In the case of this research, this principle might have applied to Freek, who was the only *homosexual* participant. Strikingly, the results indicated that in the all-male sample, Freek was the only participant to display a distinctively female gender (72.2% of his speech consisted of female speech forms), whereas the other male participants in that sample displayed a neuter or a male gender. In addition, note that in the other samples in which Freek partook, Freek consistently displayed a neuter gender. Based on these results, we can only speculate at this point that, perhaps, Freek thought of himself as the only “female” in the all-male sample, based on his sexual orientation and therefore he accommodated his communication style to that notion.

Another limitation of this research was that the participants did not interact with people who were *not* members of their social ingroup. As we have learned, it was the familiarity of the participants that made them want to socially identify with each other, despite the participants' different sexes and ethnicities. Therefore, gender and ethnicity were not salient in the participants' language use. With respect to the salience of gender and ethnicity in the participants' language use, it would have been interesting to see if the participants of this research had adopted different communication styles within interactions with strangers who, like the participants, represented different sexes and ethnicities.

Finally, this case study dealt with a group of only eight participants. Because of the small size of the sample – as is the case with every case study – we cannot be sure if conclusions drawn from this particular case apply elsewhere, as no statistical data was attained in this research.

#### **5.4. Implications for Future Research**

For future sociolinguistic research I would imply that researchers should examine in which social contexts it is still beneficial for men and women to display a salient gender through language use. In addition, in the opening paragraph of this study I mentioned some generalising statements that concerned linguistic variables such as people's gender and ethnicity. With regard to these statements, it would be interesting to investigate on a larger scale if and why the language use of Caucasian women and Black women differs, and why it is that particularly Caucasian people make generalizing statements about Black women being "loud".

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## Appendix

### 1. Transcript

Sample 6: mixed-sex / Black Dutch ethnicity

#### Participants:

- Valerie (V)
- Mado (Md)
- Marlon (Mn)
- Cisco (C)

- 1: Md: De mannen en vrouwen van tegenwoordig kennen geen etiquette meer
- 2: Md: Jongens
- 3: C: Gaat dit meer over eten of over het algemeen gewoon?
- 4: V: Gewoon hoe ze zich gedragen toch?
- 5: Md: Ja, ja
- 6: V: Ja daar ben ik het wel mee eens
- 7: Mn: Maar wat bedoel je met etiquette?
- 8: Md: Ja de mannen en vrouwen van tegenwoordig gedragen zich niet meer, kennen geen
- 9: Mn: [Ooo
- Md: die kennen geen normen en waarden meer
- 10: C: Damn
- 11: Md: Die zijn tegenwoordig, weet je, vooral vrouwen weet je, alles is sexy, alles moet kort, alles moet bloter, weet je, "hotter than my daughter" ((laughs))
- 12: Mn: [Kan wel maar
- 13: Md: Wat vinden jullie daarvan, klopt dat?
- 14: C: Nou ik ben het er niet mee eens voor het huwelijk seks, ja kijk, dat moet iedereen
- 15: Md: [Waarom niet?
- C: gewoon individueel bekijken
- 16: Md: Hmhm
- 17: C: Ik weet het, je hebt Britney Spears op tv, je hebt Lady Gaga met die dingen, maar uiteindelijk bepaal je zelf om die rok of broek aan te doen. Of
- 18: Md: [Ja?
- C: die aandacht van jongens te trekken met een laag décolleté. Dat bepaal je zelf, dat bepaal je zelf
- 19: Md: Ja, geen invloed van werk bijvoorbeeld?
- 20: Mn: [Ja invloed heeft er ook mee te maken
- 21: C: [Wat, wat is dat voor invloed?
- 22: Mn: Dat iedereen minder
- 23: Md: [Eh, op werk. Stel je voor dat al je vrienden met allemaal Jordans lopen en

- jij bent de enige die met Vans loopt. Dan
- 24: C: [Nee dat heeft er niks mee te maken
- 25: Md: Nee maar dat je denkt van ik moet ook een beetje meedoen en Jordans halen,  
weet je
- 26: C: [Dat is lager op
- 27: Md: Nou dat is ook hetzelfde als al je vriendinnen make-up gaan dragen
- 28: C: [Dat is toch geen  
normen en waarden
- 29: V: Gewoon, om hoe ze zich nu presenteren, hoe een vrouw zich nu presenteert.  
Dat ze niet meer zo netjes is als
- 30: Md: [Ja als vroeger
- 31: C: [Ja dat een vrouw alleen als sexy wordt  
gezien, dat was, zo wordt de vrouw gezien, daar gaat het over
- 32: Md: Ja, zoiets ja vroeger waren er toch meer, als ouders toch meer  
terughoudend. En
- 33: C: [Njah, geen problemen mee ((laughs))  
Md: nu, weet je, zijn vrouwen en mannen durven meer, laat maar zeggen
- 34: C: Durven meer. Tuurlijk je hebt altijd wel negatieve kanten, maar ik vind het niet  
slecht
- 35: Md: Ja
- 35: C: Ik vind dat: “gewoon zijn wie jullie zijn, klaar.” En, iemand  
reageert
- 36: Mn: [Tv spoort ze ook aan  
enzo  
C: Ja klopt, en iedereen reageert wel op een bepaalde manier, maar dat zal je altijd  
hebben, weet je. Betekent niet dat je niet jezelf kan zijn, dat moet gewoon  
kunnen
- 37: V: Maar, ik denk niet dat die personen zichzelf zijn. Ik denk dat ze het gewoon  
doen omdat ze, omdat ze denken dat ze
- 38: C: [Dat heb je anders hoor je er niet bij
- 39: Md: Ja anders hoor je er niet bij. Ze worden ook onder druk gezet natuurlijk, weet je
- 40: C: [Bij MTV
- 41: Md: Door

- 42: V: [Iedereen is door MTV, gewoon door jongens eigenlijk gewoon, die willen  
steeds
- 43: Md: [Door iedereen,  
jongens
- 43: V: Ze willen steeds meer, grote ass, grote boobs enzo, dat is niet, misschien wel  
accentueren maar
- 44: C: [Grote poes, ohhhh  
(laughs))
- 45: Md: Nee, BOOBS ((laughs)) Oh my god, hoe bedoel je grote poes, alleen jij, zie je  
dat bedoel ik ((laughs))
- 46: Md: Ah shit is dat nu in ((laughs)), nu gaan wij denken nu gaan wij  
pompen daar weet je, worden we gelijk onder druk gezet
- 47: C: Maar heeft dat met jullie eigenwaarde te maken dat jullie gewoon
- 48: Md: [tuurlijk  
C: jullie willen aandacht van jongens. Dat jullie dat moeten doen om aandacht te  
krijgen
- 49: Mn: [Kijk, soms
- 50: V: [Ja, ja, dat is toch zo
- 51: Mn: [Kijk sommige  
meiden wel, niet iedereen maar
- 52: C: [Gewoon voor die bad boys, ja is wel zo
- 53: Md: [Nou
- 54: Mn: Als een meid niet wordt gezien en ze denkt van: “vriendinnen wel, en die  
lopen
- 55: Md: [Ja  
Mn: erbij met korte rokjes, weet je, dan ga je ook misschien meer zelfvertrouwen  
hebben, weet je
- 56: V: [Ja dan ga je doen wat nodig is om die aandacht te trekken enzo
- 57: C: Misschien is dat het
- 58: Md: Ja, je kan je eigen normen en waarden hebben, maar toch twijfel je soms
- 59: Mn: [Niet iedereen zal dat zo doen  
Md: een beetje van: “ey, misschien kan ik ook wel proberen om in een kort rokje te  
gaan lopen, misschien valt het wel mee
- 60: V: En naaktfoto’s sturen, zulke dingen

- 61: Md: Okay, ja ja
- 62: V: [Maar dat is wel zo
- 63: C: [Ja als dat nu is, vroeger toen ik jong was
- 64: Md: [Maar ik vind ook dat
- 65: V: [Precies,  
nu is het
- 66: Mn: [En ook op het eerste gezicht, weet je, pas als je een praatje maakt met  
iemand dan weet je het beste of diegene slim is
- 67: Md: [Maar ik vind ook dat mannen een beetje,  
wat grover zijn geworden en ongeduldig. Kijk, vroeger waren mannen toch iets  
meer geduldig en begripvol. Maar nu is het echt zo, van: “ik wil meer. Wil je  
me niet geven? Ik ga naar iemand anders, begrijp je?”
- 68: Mn: [hmhm  
Md: Dus als je denkt: “shit, ik wil hem niet kwijtraken, dan weet je wat, ik geef het  
wel.” Dus ik vind dat mannen nu echt wat grover zijn geworden
- 69: C: Nou
- 70: V: [Geen gentleman’s meer
- 71: Md: [Gentleman’s meer. En weet je gelijk straight to the point: “wil je  
niet, dan ga ik lekker naar iemand anders”
- 72: Mn: Ja komt allemaal door Drake, sinds hij YOLO heeft geïntroduceerd  
(laughing)
- 73: C: Komt allemaal door Drake
- 74: Md: Ja, dus we zijn het er gewoon mee eens dat mannen en vrouwen tegenwoordig  
geen normen en waarden
- 75: V: [Het is in ieder geval veranderd
- 75: Md: Ja. Maar de meesten algemeen, het komt wel meer naar buiten dan vroeger. Je ziet  
het nu wel meer
- 76: V: [Het is op zich wel logisch
- 77: Md: Ja
- 78: V: Ja okay
- 79: Md: Ik denk dat de meeste mensen als eerste van mij de indruk hebben dat ik
- 80: V: Kijken
- 81: Mn: Dat ik
- 82: Md: Dat ik, oh

- 83: C: Nederlands
- 84: V: O, zo
- 85: C: Dan moeten we dat invullen
- 86: Md: Okay, hebben we het begrepen?
- 87: Mn: Ja, ik heb het begrepen
- 88: C: De eerste indruk die mensen van mij krijgen ((laughs))
- 89: Md: Ik denk wel dat de meeste mensen dat ik
- 90: C: [Agressief ben ((laughs))
- 91: Md: Nee, het gaat natuurlijk om uiterlijk. Als je als eerste naar mij kijkt, dan denk je gelijk, weet je, ja, misschien wat een strenge dame, laat maar zeggen
- 92: C: Ja. Dat was niet zo de eerste keer dat ik jou zag. Ik weet nog, in Den Haag was dat toch met dat Sting ding
- 93: Md: O ja, nee volgens mij heb jij Ruthie gezien, niet mij
- 94: V: Nee maar jij was er ook bij
- 95: Md: Ja ik was er ook
- 96: C: [Tuurlijk, toen gingen jullie Portugees praten tegen mij van: “o misschien verstaat hij het niet, misschien is hij Surinaams ofzo”
- 97: Md: Ja? Oh ik kan me dat niet herinneren
- 98: C: Toen vond ik dat jullie juist heel, jullie waren wel opvallend gekleed, dat weet ik nog wel, maar jullie waren gewoon rustig, ik dacht wat zijn jullie aardige meiden
- 99: Md: [Ja
- 100: Md: Komt dat niet omdat je ook, laat maar zeggen, een beetje van dezelfde afkomst bent, dat je een ander beeld van mij gaat krijgen als iemand anders, laat maar zeggen een Nederlands meisje naar mij kijkt, die zou zeker zeggen: “zo, dat zal zeker een strenge tante zijn”, weet je. Want de manier waarop wij gekleed waren, wij zaten daar heel stoer, heel zelfverzekerd
- 101: C: Ja, precies
- 102: V: Misschien omdat jij heel erg opviel. Ook met de casting, je viel heel erg op
- 103: Md: Maar niet als een bitch ofzo toch
- 104: V: Nee, maar gewoon nee nee je viel gewoon op
- 105: C: [Ik vond van niet, ik vond jullie gewoon aardige meiden, totdat jullie gingen praten ((laughs))
- 106: Md: En hoe gaat dat bij jou, Marlon?

- 107: Mn: Eh, ja dat weet ik eigenlijk niet man
- 108: C: Kijk op het bord, dat helpt bij hem
- 109: Mn: Nee, ik ben een beetje bescheiden daarin hoor
- 110: Md: Ja?
- 111: Mn: Ja niet zoals Johny Bravo, zeg maar ((laughs))
- 112: Mn: Nee, ja ik weet niet man, dat zou je andere mensen misschien moeten vragen
- 113: C: Je bent heel sympathiek ook
- 114: V: [Jouw eerste indruk, je bent heel lief, heel rustig
- 115: C: [rustig
- 116: Mn: Rustig, ja dat denk ik wel. Wel aardig en rustig, behulpzaam zeg maar
- 117: Md: Ja, ook wel. Ik zei van: “aw wat een lieve jonge man”, laat maar zeggen
- 118: V: Ja
- 119: Md: Ook toen je begon te praten dacht ik echt van: “wat een nette man”
- 120: Mn: Ja dat wel, ja
- 121: C: En van mij, wat dacht je van mij? Als je mij zo ziet
- 122: Md: Ja ik dacht van Don Juan
- 123: V: Ja, ik zweer, nee echt
- 124: Md: Gelijk een black Don Juanito laat maar zeggen ((laughs))
- Md: Echt zo eentje wat ik zei, goed liggen bij de ladies, je weet toch je moet goed zijn
- 125: C: [Gewoon onbewust he
- Md: met de ladies. We moeten jou saven in het leven ((laughs))
- 126: Md: Nee maar ik had geen slechte indruk in het begin. Van: “ach, beetje mooi-boy enzo”, gespierd en
- 127: V: [Macho, heel macho, en ijdel
- 128: C: Ik, ijdel? Kijk hier ((laughs))
- 129: V: Dat dacht ik toen, dat dacht ik toen
- 130: Md: Ja?
- 131: C: Nou ik ben niet ijdel
- 132: Md: Hm, klopt het een beetje wel, dat jij
- 133: C: [Nee, ik merk wel dat ik, hoe noem je dat, dat ik, een goede vriend van me zei dat, ik ben als mensen me zien bijvoorbeeld dan is het van: “O, meer ook van”, ik kan het niet uitleggen! Hij had een heel mooi woord
- 134: C: Maar ik ben niet zoals jullie denken hoor

- 135: Md: En jij, Val? Hoe gaat het bij jou?
- 136: V: Ik weet het eigenlijk niet
- 137: Md: Wat denk je zelf als mensen jou als eerste zien?
- 138: V: [Ik denk dat ze mij wel lief vinden denk ik
- 139: Mn: Ja heel vriendelijk
- 140: Md: Ja
- 141: C: Vooral als je begint te praten, dat stemmetje ((laughs))
- 142: Md: Ik vind, toen ik je ook zag dacht ik van: "O, wat een lieve meid". Toen begon je te praten, ik dacht: "mmmm, weet je ze is lief, maar er is meer, weet je zo'n beetje, niet schijnheilig maar een beetje stout, laat maar zeggen
- 143: V: Wow!
- 144: Md: Ondeugend, ja ((laughs)) daar moet je voor oppassen ja, echt een tiggertje laat maar zeggen
- 145: C: Okay
- 146: Md: Maar denk je dat dat klopt, of?
- 147: V: Nee, niet dat ik zo lief ben als dat ik er uit zie, maar niet ondeugend ofzo
- 148: C: Nee?
- 149: Md: Nee? Niet ondeugend? Ondeugend hoeft niet per se slecht te zijn hoor
- 150: V: Nee, maar ja weet ik wel, maar, tenminste ik denk het niet
- 151: C: Okay
- 152: Md: Maar ik heb wel mensen dat als ik ze zie dat ik echt van: "zo dat is zeker een bitch" of weet je, dat heb je wel. Maar dan ga je met diegene praten en denk je van: "hey, het valt wel mee. Het komt gewoon door die make-up, door die wenkbrauwen van haar, weet je
- ((laughing))
- 153: Md: Daar komt het door weet je, die wenkbrauwen zijn gewoon te scherp getekend. En je hebt juist mensen die heel lief overkomen en dan ga je met ze praten en dan is het gelijk van: "zo ik moet die bitch slaan", of "ik moet die jongen hebben" ((laughs)). Dan denk ik van: "Wow, komt dat uit jouw mond, okay"
- 154: C: Okay, psycho

((laughing))

- 155: Md: Dus ja
- 156: Md: De persoon waar ik het meest naar op kijk is
- 157: C: Cartman ((laughs)) nee
- 159: Md: Val, persoon waar je het meest tegenop kijkt
- 160: V: Mijn ouders
- 161: Md: Gewoon omdat ze er altijd voor me zijn geweest. Voor mij en mijn broer zodat wij alles kunnen krijgen wat we nodig hebben
- 162: C: Dat ze naar het politiebureau komen om je eruit te halen
- ((laughing))
- 163: V: Ja ook ((laughs)) Niet voor mij maar
- 164: Md: [Voor je broertje ((laughs))
- 165: Md: Ja je ouders. Ik mijn moeder. Echt, daar kijk is echt heel erg tegen op. Vroeger zei ik altijd: “als ik groot ben, wil ik niet meer als jou zijn, je bent dit”, maar nu ik volwassener ben, weet je, heb ik zoiets van dat ik heel veel aan haar te danken heb. Want ik zeg echt, de manier waarop ik was, als ik mijn moeder niet had gehad zou ik nu zeker een danseres zijn van Puff Daddy ofzo, weet je, ik zou nu echt van de streets zijn. Als ik mijn ouders niet had, mijn moeder
- 166: C: [Puff Daddy, Lange Frans  
ofzo((laughs))
- 167: Md: Nee, als ik mijn moeder niet had. Zij was echt heel streng voor mij. Maar dat zeg ik, ze zag ook echt aan mij van: “die moet ik niet loslaten”. Er zijn sommige mensen of kinderen waarbij je denkt van: “haar moet ik echt goed vasthouden, want als ik haar loslaat wordt ze echt gek he”. Dus tegen haar kijk ik heel erg op, hopelijk word ik zoals haar later, weet je. Niet zo streng maar
- 168: V: [Mm, nou  
Md: Ik heb er wel zeker heel veel van meegekregen
- 169: C: Nice nice, yes
- 170: Md: En jij, Marlon
- 171: Mn: Ik ook mijn moeder. Ook gewoon, zeg maar, ze helpt me altijd overal mee, zeg maar, ook al
- 172: Md: [Hmhm

- Mn: Meestal, zeg maar, zegt ze: “ik ga dat echt niet doen”, zeg maar, en dan kom ik thuis en dan heeft ze het toch gedaan, weet je. Het is meer de liefde die zij voor mij heeft. Ook dat ze hard werkt altijd, weet je. En heel veel energie heeft voor alles
- 173: Md: Waarom altijd moeders, eigenlijk?
- 174: Mn: Ja? Ik weet niet, misschien is het van
- 175: V: [Ja?
- 176: Md: [De meesten dan
- 177: C: Ik denk dat dat bij donkere mensen is, dat de moeder degene is die er altijd is
- 178: Mn: Ja, dat is het denk ik
- 179: Md: Ja wie is bij jou, behalve Batman dan ((laughs))
- 180: C: Ik heb het eigenlijk, eerlijk gezegd, niet. Vroeger was het mijn neef. Daar keek ik tegen op
- 181: Md: Ja?
- C: Maar, weet niet, toen kwam ik er achter dat iedereen wel zijn shit heeft en
- 182: Md: [Toen werd je teleurgesteld en
- 183: C: [Nee ik werd niet teleurgesteld, ik weet niet op een gegeven moment ga je meer naar jezelf kijken
- 184: Md: Ja? Dus jij kijkt tegen jezelf op?
- 185: C: Nou, ik weet niet, ik weet niet of het zo is. Maar ik, mijn beslissingen hangen niet af van wat anderen (0.1) het komt niet, ik ben ook iets ouder dan jullie he
- 186: Md: Maar heb je niet dat iemand jou motiveert om bepaalde dingen te doen, laat maar zeggen, weet je, die jou een beetje
- 187: C: [Ja, nou hmm
- 188: V: [Je dochtertje
- 189: C: Ja mijn dochter, maar dat niet iemand, meer iemand die tegen mij op kijkt zeg maar
- 190: Md: Ja, ja
- 191: C: Nu ben ik de dingetjes waar ze tegenop moet kijken!
- 192: Md: Ja, en nee je bent niet Batman? ((laughs))
- 193: C: [En ik ben niet Batman
- 194: Md: Nee maar het is wel fijn dat we zulke mensen hebben in ons leven natuurlijk.

- Of dat wij zelf die mensen zijn
- 195: Md: Iemand verdient mijn respect als hij of zij
- 196: Mn: Standaard antwoord, als hij respect geeft
- 197: Md: Teruggeeft
- 198: Mn: Teruggeeft, zeg maar
- 199: Md: Ja? Dus jij respecteert iemand als hij jou ook respecteert of als
- 200: V: [Maar dat  
hoeft eigenlijk niet per se. Bijvoorbeeld, soms zie je zeg maar  
oudere mensen, in het openbaar vervoer. Die doen dan heel
- 201: Mn: [Ja ze verwachten altijd respect  
V: ze verwachten dat respect ook al doen zij niet respectvol tegenover jongeren
- 202: Mn: Ja
- 203: V: Maar dan zie ik zeg maar die jongeren, die ouderen niet respectvol behandelen.  
Maar dat vind ik dan op dat moment als zij jou niet met respect  
behandelen, het is toch een oudere, en ik heb meegekregen dat als  
iemand ouder dan jou is dan moet je die persoon altijd respecteren,  
ik vind dat dat wel zo hoort
- 204: C: Vind ik ook
- 205: Md: Ja dat is zeker zo maar
- 206: Mn: [En als diegene geen respect naar jou toont?
- 207: V: Ja maar ik vind dan, ik heb dat gewoon meegekregen,
- 208: Mn: [Als  
V: dat als jij mij niet respecteert, dan is dat jouw probleem zeg maar
- 209: Mn: O, op die manier
- 210: Md: Maar ik heb ook best wel respect voor mensen die voor een ander opkomen, laat  
maar zeggen. We zijn in de bus en er komt een vrouw
- 211: Mn: [In een bus  
Md: en die wordt uitgescholden en dat jij zegt: “ey, rustig”. Respect voor die jongen  
dat hij iets durft te zeggen
- 212: C: Ja, klopt
- 213: Md: Niet iedereen bemoeit zich ermee. Ik zag laats een filmpje op Facebook van

## 2. Excel Analysis

Sample 2: mixed-sex / same-ethnicity (Caucasian)

Participants:

- Mylene (M)
- Sylvia (S)
- Mark (Ma)
- Freek (F)

Sample	Participant	Line	Context	Syntactic	Semantic	Pragmatic	Function	Male/Female
2	M	3	Nou als hij een scheet laat is het voor mij			X	joke	M
2	M	3	Nou als hij een scheet laat is het voor mij		X		interest	M
2	Ma	5	Even, even over			X	interruption	M
2	Ma	5	Even, even over			X	joke	M
2	F	6	Wat ik heb meegemaakt, zeg maar			X	discourse particle	F
2	Ma	7	Hmm			X	politeness strategy	F
2	M	8	Ik denk dat het sowieso gewoon een beetje wegebt			X	discourse particle	F
2	M	8	Ik denk dat het sowieso gewoon een beetje wegebt	X			hedge	F
2	M	8	Kijk, ik heb dat natuurlijk nu	X			narrative	F
2	M	8	Omdat het gewoon niet goed gaat tussen ons			X	discourse particle	F
2	M	8	Omdat we alleen maar irritaties hebben	X			intensifier	F
2	Ma	9	hmm			X	politeness strategy	F
2	M	8	Als wij de hele dag alleen maar hebben lopen	X			intensifier	F
2	M	8	Ja dan voel ik daar gewoon niks bij			X	discourse particle	F
2	M	8	Gewoon, omdat ik op persoonlijk vlak gewoon geen			X	discourse particle	F
2	F	9	Je zit dan op dat moment			X	interruption	M
2	M	11	Ik denk dat dat ook een beetje het verschil is	X			"I" phrase	M
2	M	11	Ik denk dat dat ook een beetje het verschil is	X			hedge	F
2	M	11	Bij mannen gaat het veel meer, gewoon, via daar	X			intensifier	F
2	M	11	Bij mannen gaat het veel meer, gewoon, via daar			X	discourse particle	F
2	S	12	Ja, dat klopt			X	interruption	M
2	S	13	Daarna doet hij alsof er gewoon niks is gebeurd			X	discourse particle	F
2	S	13	Nou dan kan je me echt neerschieten			X	joke	M
2	S	13	Ik ben dan zó boos	X			intensifier	F
2	M	14	Ja			X	politeness strategy	F
2	F	15	Ik ben zo helemaal niet	X			intensifier	F
2	F	15	Ik heb zoiets van	X			narrative	F

2 F	15	Vaak vallen dingen ook gewoon niet uit te praten		X	discourse particle	F
2 M	17	Dat is echt zo'n mannen-reactie		X	interruption	M
2 M	17	Dat is echt zo'n mannen-reactie		X	interest	F
2 S	19	Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 Ma	18	Maar ik wil het altijd wel gelijk uitpraten, hoor		X	discourse particle	F
2 Ma	20	Ik kan daar niet tegen dat het zo blijft sluimeren	X		"I" phrase	M
2 Ma	20	zo, dat het zo	X		narrative	F
2 S	21	Vind je, ja		X	interruption	M
2 S	22	Alsof		X	interruption	M
2 Ma	23	Ja, ik kan het nog net gedogen, zeg maar		X	discourse particle	F
2 M	24	Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 Ma	25	Samen op de bank kunnen zitten, zeg maar		X	discourse particle	F
2 F	26	Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 Ma	27	Ik wil gewoon	X		"I" phrase	M
2 Ma	27	Ik wil gewoon		X	discourse particle	F
2 S	28	Ja, ik vind dat ook		X	politeness strategy	F
2 M	29	Dan is hij echt al lang die ruzie weer vergeten	X		intensifier	F
2 M	29	Desnoods helemaal in zijn naakie		X	interest	F
2 M	29	Dan voel ik echt niks	X		intensifier	F
2 M	31	Omdat ik daar gewoon he-le-maal niet mee bezig		X	interruption	F
2 M	31	Omdat ik daar gewoon he-le-maal niet mee bezig	X		intensifier	F
2 Ma	32	Maar het moet dus kloppen, zeg maar		X	discourse particle	F
2 Ma	34	Als je ergens mee zit, wat jij zegt		X	politeness strategy	F
2 Ma	34	Of als ze zich gierig gedragen, weet je wel		X	discourse particle	F
2 F	35	Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 F	35	Ja, maar ja aan de andere kant		X	interruption	M
2 Ma	35	Het totale plaatje klopt niet meer, zeg maar		X	discourse particle	F

2 F	37 Nee		X	politeness strategy	F
2 M	38 Die heeft dan een "one-night stand" gehad		X	interest	F
2 M	38 Zij vindt het verder echt een lul	X		intensifier	F
2 M	38 Zij vindt het verder echt een lul		X	slang/vernacular	M
2 S	40 Ja dat is dan echt een verschil		X	interruption	M
2 F	41 Dat is pure fysieke	X		intensifier	F
2 M	42 Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 S	43 Ja, precies		X	politeness strategy	F
2 M	44 Want je vindt dat blijkbaar echt belangrijk		X	interruption	M
2 M	45 Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 Ma	48 Het werkt anders ja		X	interruption	M
2 S	51 Totaal niet	X		intensifier	F
2 F	52 Ik heb het wel altijd gehad, zeg maar		X	discourse particle	F
2 F	52 Ik weet nog wel dat	X		narrative	F
2 Ma	53 hmhm		X	politeness strategy	F
2 M	54 Nee		X	politeness strategy	F
2 M	55 Het is gewoon een soort van stereotype denken	X		hedge	F
2 M	55 Denk ik altijd	X		"I" phrase	M
2 F	56 Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 M	56 En als je een beetje wat verdiend hebt	X		hedge	F
2 F	57 Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 F	59 Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 F	60 Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 S	61 En dan opeens van, bam, je gaat verhuizen	X		intensifier	F
2 S	61 Doei		X	slang/vernacular	M
2 S	64 Ik weet wel meer, maar ik was van, ja wat moet ik		X	interruption	M
2 S	64 Ten eerste	X		narrative	F
2 S	64 Want ik was helemaal alleen	X		intensifier	F

2 Ma	65 Nee		X	politeness strategy	M
2 S	65 Niemand he, echt helemaal alleen		X	repetition	M
2 Ma	67 Heel je perspectief wordt dan anders, weet je wel		X	discourse particle	F
2 Ma	67 Dan beseft je ook dat dingen heel erg veranderlijk	X		intensifier	F
2 Ma	67 In een periode van een jaar kan zó veel gebeuren	X		intensifier	F
2 Ma	67 Of weet ik veel wat	X		hedge	F
2 S	68 In een dag zelfs		X	interruption	M
2 F	69 Ik denk dat het gewoon alleen maar mis kan gaan	X		"I" phrase	M
2 F	69 Ik denk dat het gewoon alleen maar mis kan gaan		X	discourse particle	F
2 F	69 Ik denk dat het gewoon alleen maar mis kan gaan	X		intensifier	F
2 F	69 Ik denk dat het gewoon alleen maar mis kan gaan		X	interruption	M
2 Ma	70 Ja je moet wel flexibel kunnen denken		X	interruption	M
2 S	71 Ja je moet wel		X	interruption	M
2 F	72 Ja precies		X	politeness strategy	F
2 S	73 Dan kun je wel echt een klap krijgen	X		intensifier	F
2 M	74 Nou ik heb altijd gedacht dat ik juf zou worden		X	interruption	M
2 F	75 Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 M	74 Maar uiteindelijk werd ik daar zó niet gelukkig van	X		intensifier	F
2 M	74 Dat ik echt zei van	X		narrative	F
2 M	74 Dat beeld van, ik word juf	X		narrative	F
2 Ma	76 Als je dat als kind doet, zeg maar		X	discourse particle	F
2 Ma	76 Je krijgt een soort van kader mee	X		hedge	F
2 Ma	76 Dat je denkt van		X	discourse particle	F
2 Ma	76 Weet je wel		X	discourse particle	F
2 Ma	76 Dat je denkt van		X	discourse particle	F
2 Ma	76 He		X	discourse particle	F
2 Ma	76 Al die bouwstenen zelf maken, zeg maar		X	discourse particle	F

2 Ma	En je vormt het een beetje	X		hedge	F
2 F	77 klopt, klopt		X	politeness strategy	F
2 M	78 Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 S	79 Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 S	81 Wat mijn familie heel		X	interruption	M
2 S	82 Wat mijn familie heel belangrijk vindt is dat ik	X		intensifier	F
2 Ma	83 Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 S	82 Dat moet je echt gewoon afmaken	x		intensifier	F
2 S	82 Dat moet je echt gewoon afmaken		x	discourse particle	F
2 S	82 Voor mijn moeder zou het echt niet kunnen gewoon	X		intensifier	F
2 S	82 Voor mijn moeder zou het echt niet kunnen gewoon		X	discourse particle	F
2 F	84 Nee		X	politeness strategy	F
2 F	85 Ik denk dat dat echt wel iets allochtoons is	X		"I" phrase	M
2 F	85 Ik denk dat dat echt wel iets allochtoons is	X		intensifier	F
2 S	86 klopt		X	politeness strategy	F
2 F	85 Mijn moeder en vader hebben altijd heel erg	X		intensifier	F
2 S	87 Heel erg		X	politeness strategy	F
2 M	88 Dat hebben mijn ouders ook heel erg gedaan	X		intensifier	F
2 M	88 Mij daar heel erg in gepusht	X		intensifier	F
2 M	88 Dat kan natuurlijk ook helemaal verkeerd aflopen	X		intensifier	F
2 F	90 Kijk, want jij bent gestopt met je studie		X	interruption	M
2 S	91 Ik zou zo'n ruzie met mijn ouders hebben	X		intensifier	F
2 M	92 Maar dat is bij hun ook een soort toekomstbeeld		X	interruption	M
2 M	92 Maar dat is bij hun ook een soort toekomstbeeld	X		hedge	F
2 S	93 Ja		X	politeness strategy	F
2 S	94 Ze wilde heel graag	X		intensifier	F