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**Journal of
Language
and Social
Psychology**

December 2001
Volume 20, Number 4

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ENACTING GENDER IDENTITY IN WRITTEN DISCOURSE

Responding to Gender Role Bidding in Personal Ads

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This study investigated ways in which gender identity is enacted within written language. Participants first supplied a self-descriptive letter that might be filed with a dating service. Next, they responded to a fabricated personal ad posted by a potential dating partner. Contextual factors in this study were writing task (self-description or response to a personal ad) and the gender role "bid" (either instrumental or expressive) of the hypothetical personal ad writer. Individual difference variables were biological gender and measured gender role orientation. Texts were coded for frequency of seven gender-typed language features (e.g., hedges, first-person pronouns). Writers' own gender role schemata affected their language use, as did their biological sex. Contextual factors were more potent than the writers' gender in affecting these stylistic features. Overall, writers altered their styles to complement (rather than converge toward) the apparent gender role orientations of their interlocutors.

Recent theories depict social identity as enacted or constructed within interactions (see Collier & Thomas, 1988; Coupland, 1996). Individuals may choose to either emphasize or de-emphasize aspects of their identities in response to the characteristics of a situation. Communication adaptation theory (CAT) (Burgoon, Stern, & Dillman, 1995; Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991) holds that individuals vary their language choices within interactions, depending on their social goals. Thus, speakers may choose to emphasize (or de-emphasize) particular aspects of their identities as a way of aligning with (or distancing from) interaction partners. In this manner, situational influences may have a profound effect on discourse (e.g., Hogg, 1985; Hogg & Rigoli, 1996). In fact, as Meyerhoff (1998) noted, the primary value of

AUTHORS' NOTE: *Earlier versions of this article were presented at the Sixth International Conference on Language and Social Psychology (Ottawa, Canada, May 1997) and the Annual Conference of the Organization for the Study of Communication, Language and Gender (Chicago, October 1997).*

JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY,
Vol. 20 No. 4, December 2001 393-418
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CAT is that it is designed to address the interactive nature of identity construction.

Personal advertisements for dating partners offer a rich approach to understanding the processes by which individuals construct their identities within the dating context (Coupland, 1996). Here, ad writers control their initial presentations of self by means of written discourse. This written venue offers a chance to at least initially bypass some of the early uncertainty-reduction difficulties in mate selection (Ahuvia & Adelman, 1992; Coupland, 1996). However, the requirements of this genre may influence self-presentation a great deal. Writers composing personal ads must balance the need to be brief when describing themselves while presenting those aspects of their identities they consider most relevant to finding partners in as vivid a manner as possible (Bolig, Stein, & McKenry, 1984; Montini & Ovrebø, 1990; Parrott, Lemeux, Travillion, & Harris, 1997). Therefore, dating ads may be seen as a type of "distilled" social identity performance, with this written discourse as a representation of what individuals believe to be (or wish to portray as) the most relevant aspects of their personalities with respect to dating encounters.

Gender schematic information is a particularly influential aspect of social identity formation (see Bem, 1981, 1984, 1993; House, Dallinger & Kilgallen, 1998; Yaeger-Dror, 1998). Of particular interest to the current study was the way participants might use language to frame gendered identities within their writing. In her review of linguistic studies that have investigated CAT with respect to gender, Yaeger-Dror (1998) noted that message senders will often converge with, or match, the speech patterns of their interlocutors. However, Yaeger-Dror also noted that the social goal of the message sender is equally influential. Sometimes, these social goals can lead to linguistic divergence rather than convergence. In some cases, divergence may emerge because the social goal is to complement rather than match the language strategies of the other interactant. The act of matching the discourse of one's interlocutor would seem to indicate a bid for solidarity; however, if one wished to express dominance, then elements of divergence might emerge. Studies on gender-related linguistic markers demonstrate that such goals (e.g., solidarity) often override the sex of the message sender as potential influences on language style (e.g., Aries, 1996). In fact, both types of influences need to be considered (Yaeger-Dror, 1998).

For instance, Hogg (1985) suggested that at least for oral forms of discourse, the use of gender-linked linguistic markers may be subject to considerable situational influence. In fact, although gender differences in speech often occur, these are just as likely to be indicators of gender-related role behaviors as markers of biological sex. On the basis of speech accommodation theory, Hogg predicted that there would be both biological gender-related and gender role-related differences in

speakers' behavior, related to the speakers' convergence with the gender of their interlocutors. Speakers were recorded interacting in both a same-sex dyad and mixed-sex larger groups. It was expected that the dyadic situation would elicit more solidarity goals for speakers and that the group situation, being more formal, would elicit more control-oriented strategies.

Results of this study (Hogg, 1985) showed that female speakers used more "masculine" (i.e., instrumental) terms and fewer "feminine" (i.e., expressive) terms in heterogeneous group situations than when they spoke in all-female dyads. In dyads, both men and women adapted their speech to the more affiliative context of the situation, whereas in groups, both men and women used more instrumental speech, indicating an awareness of the different needs of this context. Overall, men exhibited less overall speech adaptation than women, despite the context. These results confirm Yaeger-Dror's (1998) contention that both the situation and the gender of speakers are salient influences on discourse.

The current study was conducted as a means of further investigating gender-linked use of linguistic markers in managing written identity presentation. We chose the heterosexual personal ad context as a way of obtaining cross-sex targeted discourse. In the following, we first describe a constructivist approach to social identity, followed by the implications of such an approach for research on gender and discourse. Next, we present relevant studies pertaining to gendered identity in written language. Finally, we briefly review the literature on personal ads, paying particular attention to those studies with implications for the issue of constructed gender.

CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY

Conceptualizations of social identity in the context of oral as well as written discourse have evolved considerably in recent times. Contemporary identity theory regards social identity as nonessentialist, socially constructed, and enacted (see, e.g., Bohan, 1993; Collier & Thomas, 1988; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990; Waters, 1990). Asserting that social identities are nonessentialist implies that social categories can encompass substantial variation, so that one's communication traits cannot be reliably determined on the basis of membership in a particular identity category. Bipolar categorization of gender itself has undergone considerable challenge (e.g., Bem, 1974, 1993; Freimuth & Hornstein, 1982). Likewise, many scholars within language and gender research hold that the dichotomous distinction between male and female no longer seems appropriate for describing communication behavior (see Kramarae, 1990).

The assertion that social identities are constructed implies that the meanings of gendered identities are not a given but are contingent on

history and context. Kramarae (1990) offered the example of the “strong-minded women” of the nineteenth century, who would today be constructed as “feminists.” Contextual influences may also shift the meaning of gendered identity for individuals. For example, the experience of being a woman in a room full of men may make one’s gender especially salient. Similarly, within the specific context of heterosexual mate selection, both biological and psychological gender are especially salient factors influencing discourse style.

Finally, to assert that social identities are enacted is to recognize that one creates identification through verbal performance and in negotiation with one’s interactants. Thus, one may emphasize one aspect of identity (e.g., gender) in one context and emphasize another aspect (e.g., ethnicity) in another context. In fact, as much of the literature on language code shifting reveals, one may emphasize or de-emphasize various aspects of identity even within the course of one conversation (e.g., Blom & Gumperz, 1972).

Written language serves as a vehicle for expressing and constructing many facets of social identity, no less than does speech (Rubin, 1995). Although oral discourse is accompanied by a rich array of prosody, kinesics, and other nonverbal signals, writing is more constrained by its medium and also less transactional than oral speech forms. Still, the distinctions between oral and written linguistic codes are more a matter of degree than kind (Tannen, 1982). For example, the use of punctuation in written discourse may function similarly to the use of intonation patterns in oral communication (Chafe, 1986). By the same token, written discourse may contain linguistic markers by which writers convey ethnic, role, and gender identity.

Many studies of variation in written language are consistent with this contemporary notion of social identity. For instance, studies of writing produced by high school-aged or college-aged speakers of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) show that these writers can be quite adept at manipulating sociolinguistic markers. When they deem it desirable to project a mainstream identity, they typically reduce the incidence of nonstandardisms and converge with norms for Standard Edited English (Zeni & Thomas, 1990). On the other hand, these writers may increase the frequency of AAVE ethnolinguistic markers when they wish to express alienation from mainstream norms (Balester, 1993) or when they seek to evoke solidarity with readers from their own minority ethnolinguistic backgrounds (Redd, 1995). Similar patterns of planned convergence and divergence may arise when gender identity is negotiated within discourse.

GENDER AND LANGUAGE

Early studies of gender and language (Edelsky, 1976; Kramer, Thorne, & Henley, 1978; Lakoff, 1975) associate female speakers with

features that hedge or blunt assertions (e.g., “maybe,” “sort of,” “I guess”) and avoid conflict with listeners by the use of politeness formulas (e.g., “if you don’t mind” or the use of question forms rather than bald requests). Other “markers” commonly associated with female language include the use of double-sided arguments (e.g., “It was probably Shakespeare’s sister, but then again, some people believe it was Marlowe”), expressions of uncertainty (e.g., “I don’t know, but . . .”), and the use of certain vocabulary likely to be judged as trivial (e.g., fine-grained color terms such as *fuchsia*).

Curiously, research on language and gender remains vulnerable to criticism for failing to take into account more dynamic models of identity. For instance, both Crawford (1995) and Aries (1996) specifically targeted studies aimed at establishing catalogues of discrete language features that discriminate between male and female speakers (e.g., Mulac, Lundell, & Bradac, 1986). They argued that across the literature, men’s and women’s language is more similar than different and that apparent differences are quite context specific. Rather than enumerating superficial sex differences, it would be more productive for researchers to examine features of interaction contexts that lead speakers to enact gender roles in particular ways: what West and Zimmerman (1987) called “doing gender.”

Similarly, both Freimuth and Hornstein (1982) and Kramarae (1990) challenged the tradition of dichotomizing gender differences within empirical studies. They argued, like Bem (e.g., 1981, 1993), for the expansion of gendered identity to a more continuum-based perspective. In fact, in a recent study, Grob, Meyers, and Schuh (1997) challenged the “dual cultures” model of gender. They found that male and female speakers were more similar than different in their use of previously gender-linked linguistic markers of tag questions, hedges, and interruptions. Grob et al. discussed the implications of a gender similarity model for language-related study, concluding that a more continuous or more complex view of gender is warranted. Because language use is socioculturally conditioned, where gender differences do exist, they are more likely due to differences in gender role schemata than to biological sex.

Within oral discourse, if women are found to use more standard dialect features than men, the reason may be that women are more often compelled by the terms of their employment to function in contexts demanding linguistic propriety, whereas men may be less subject to those particular workplace demands on language (Nichols, 1983). On the other hand, if women use “you know” more often than men, the reason may be that they are failing to receive the back-channel cues from their listeners, affirming that they still have their listeners’ attention (Holmes, 1986). This view receives support from studies on men’s language as well. Men who by happenstance find themselves occupying interaction roles more typically occupied by women (e.g., a powerless

witness in a trial) are likely to enact those roles using language that is stereotypically associated with women's speech (O'Barr & Atkins, 1980). Consequently, there is considerable support for a view of gender identity as dynamically constructed through language choice rather than as a static label.

GENDER IDENTITY NEGOTIATION IN WRITING

Studies of gender and written language have proliferated (for reviews, see Roulis, 1995; Rubin & Greene, 1992). Gender-linked features in writing are derived from a number of sources. For example, literary critical studies of female versus male authors yield variables such as markers of excitability (exclamation points) and nonessential digressions (parentheses) or lack of conjunctive coherence, all of which have been subsequently subject to empirical textual analysis (e.g., Hiatt, 1977). Similarly, analyses of business writing (e.g., Sterkel, 1988) have suggested that hedges and expressions of uncertainty are gender related in writing as well as in speech.

To be sure, some of these studies are guilty of a "sex difference" approach to simply cataloguing stylistic features of men's and women's writing. However, others do look at gendered writing as a function of the interaction context from which it emerges. Johnson and Roen (1992), for instance, examined politeness strategies (stereotypically associated with women's language) in comments written by members of peer-editing groups. They found that overall, male and female writers produced similar numbers of politeness strategies. However, the nature and functions of these strategies differed not only by the gender of the writer but also by the gender of the reader. Female writers tended to use politeness-framing strategies to bracket their messages, but this was done almost exclusively when writing to other women. Johnson and Roen concluded that this pattern reveals the use of politeness strategies to establish solidarity between writer and reader.

Rubin and Greene (1992) also adopted a constructivist approach to examining gender enactment in writing. In their study, individual variation within dichotomous categories of sex was acknowledged by measuring individual differences in instrumental and expressive gender role schemata (Bem, 1981). Analytic procedures evaluated these individual difference variables prior to evaluating the effects of female-male group differences. The research design examined written language produced in two contrasting contexts: (a) informal letters written to well-known readers and (b) revised essays addressed to interpersonally remote readers. A review of the literature revealed a series of written language features that have traditionally been linked with gender, including markers of excitability (e.g., the use of underlining or exclamation points), nonessentials (e.g., dashes and parentheses), connectives (a combination of illustrators, illatives, adversatives,

causals, additives, temporals, and conditionals), and hedges (e.g., a combination of intensifiers, deintensifiers, proximals, modal adjuncts, perceptual verbs and auxiliaries of possibility, audience acknowledgements, first-person markers, enumerations, and sentence length/verbosity).

Rubin and Greene (1992) found that overall, women in the study tended to use more markers of excitability (e.g., exclamation points) and a higher frequency of egocentric phrases (e.g., "I believe that . . .") within their writing than men. When asked to write in an expressive rather than argumentative context, men and women did not differ in their use of hedges. However, when writing within an argumentative context, men used far fewer hedges than women. With regard to gender role orientation rather than biological gender, writers with more instrumental (rather than expressive) orientations were more likely to use longer sentences and to refer to themselves in the first person.

However, the overall findings of Rubin and Greene's (1992) study confirmed many of the suppositions made by critics of "sex difference" research (see Aries, 1996; Crawford, 1995). Collapsed across language contexts, the writing of men and women exhibited far more similarities than differences. Gender typicality was difficult to establish. For example, even a feature such as anticipating a reader's reservations (e.g., "I know you might think that drug testing is no big deal if you have nothing to worry about, but . . ."), which was found to occur more often in women's writing than in men's, could hardly be called "gender typical." It appeared in the writing of fewer than half the female writers. Moreover, context seemed to have the greatest effect on some aspects of gender performance. For instance, women and men did not differ in their use of egocentric sequences (e.g., "I guess," "I think") when writing to a distant audience and after revision, but the invitation to write informally to intimate readers engendered a higher incidence of such subjective phrasing for women. Men's production of this particular feature was generally unresponsive to the social context of the writing task.

Rubin and Greene's (1992) study suffers from several flaws, however. From the perspective of identity theory, perhaps the most serious flaw is that nothing in the writing task was designed to accentuate the salience of gender identity in particular. The elicitation task may have called on writers to enact aspects of identity related to friendship or to subordinate status vis-à-vis the two audiences, but there was little call for writers to "do gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) in this context. Moreover, the elicitation context did not include any element of interactivity or negotiation with the intended readers of the written messages. At best, writers were ascribing identities to audiences to whom they had to construct themselves on the basis of rather scarce data (Rubin, 1998). The language elicitation context selected for the current study was designed to address these gaps.

Personal Ads

A small body of literature on personal ads reveals a precedent for considering this medium as a discourse mode representative of the mate selection process (e.g., Ayres, 1992; Parrot et al., 1997). Often, these studies conduct content analyses of newspaper ads to determine whether there are gender differences in representations in self versus other attributions (e.g., Harrison & Saeed, 1977; Willis & Carlson, 1993). The process of offering one's own set of self-descriptors while bidding for a partner who possesses another set invokes the inherent "bargaining" component that has been a theoretical cornerstone of work in this area (Bolig et al., 1984; Coupland, 1996; Deaux & Hanna, 1984; Harrison & Saeed, 1977; Montini & Ovrebrot, 1990).

Most studies of personal ads consider only the writers' and readers' biological sex, failing to consider more theory-driven issues of gender role identity (e.g., Sitton & Rippee, 1986). However, the findings of a few studies suggest that gender identity (as opposed to biological sex alone) can be an important factor for the process of identity bargaining within the context of mate selection. For instance, Willis and Carlson (1993) considered over 800 personal ads placed in newspapers. They asked college students to rate (a) which ads they would prefer if they were interested in selecting dating partners and (b) which ad was most likely to be "successful." Those ads preferred mainly by men (i.e., rated lowest by women) and those preferred mainly by women (i.e., rated lowest by men) were labeled "sexually dimorphic," meaning that the content of the ads was likely to appeal to only one gender. Those that were preferred by both men and women were considered to be more androgynous by the authors. The ads that appeared to "target" opposite-gender readers (by emphasizing the writers' own gender traits) were more likely to be successful. Thus, it appears that within this context, individuals privilege more stereotypical gender identity bids (see also Thiessen, Young, & Burroughs, 1993). The authors did not consider, however, the gender-linked linguistic markers used within the letters, so it is difficult to say to what degree readers were responding to gendered language when they made their choices.

Koestner and Wheeler (1988) employed Bem's (1981) gender role schema theory directly and examined the instrumental and expressive content within personal ads collected from local newspapers. Instrumental traits tend to be more "male valued" (e.g., assertive, independent, and goal oriented), whereas expressive traits tend to be more "female valued" (e.g., warm, caring, and family oriented). Ads that referenced educational and professional status were coded as instrumental. The authors found that both women and men were likely to write ads that offered what they apparently believed the other preferred. Women shaped their social identities in more instrumental terms, whereas men emphasized more expressive traits. At the same time,

women were more likely to describe their desired partners in expressive terms, whereas men listed more instrumental qualities in describing their ideal mates.

Consequently, the findings of Koestner and Wheeler (1988) suggest that within the discourse of personal ads, individuals are likely to base their descriptions of both themselves and their ideal partners on their beliefs about what their readers may prefer (see also Greenlees & McGrew, 1994). This is consistent with CAT (Giles et al., 1991), in which individuals are seen to adapt their language in one of two ways. Language users may adapt by converging with their interlocutors' language styles, or they may adapt by using styles that diverge in a manner that complements rather than mimics their interlocutors' styles. Koestner and Wheeler's findings suggest that personal ad writers tend to adapt by complementing rather than converging with the role identities of their intended audiences. However, because contextual comparisons were not available in this study, that conclusion is tentative at best.

It should be noted that most of the studies of personal ads use archival data (i.e., published ads found in newspapers) and thus can only infer characteristics of the language producers. However, even among those studies in which personal ad writers were indeed contacted (e.g., Ayres, 1992; Jason, Moritsugu, & DePalma, 1982), the gender identities of the writers are described in terms limited to the biological gender of the ad placer. No previous studies employ experimental manipulations to directly observe the ways in which writers shape their gendered identities within the personal ad context. Also, although it has been argued that the personal ad context performs an uncertainty reduction function for individuals (e.g., Parrot et al., 1997), little is known about the nature of self-disclosure on the affinity-seeking process between writer and reader. In other words, when attraction is the desired goal, as might be supposed in the personal ad context, writers are likely to seek affinity with their readers (Bell & Daly, 1984; Douglas, 1987). However, in a cross-sex attraction scenario, are writers likely to match (converge) or complement (a form of divergence) the perceived gender role traits of the other?

The present study was designed to examine adaptation in the gender identity of individuals as portrayed in their written discourse. As suggested by CAT, we predicted that characteristics of the hypothetical audience would influence writers' self-presentations. Therefore, we manipulated the gender role orientation (instrumentality or expressivity) of the hypothetical target audience. To maximize the chance that writers would indeed attempt to attract readers, writers were given instructions to this effect for both letter-writing tasks. Much of the research conducted within the frame of CAT indicates that attraction, or solidarity, in interpersonal relationships is often accomplished via converging language styles (e.g., Giles et al., 1991).

Alternatively, a complementary language style may occur when there is reason to believe that attraction or solidarity may best be expressed by adopting a slightly divergent language style (Burgoon et al., 1995, p. 19).

We wished to consider the possible change in language marker use due to gender and/or gender role orientation separately from those effects due to the writing task alone (i.e., addressing an indeterminate versus a specified audience; see Rubin, 1998); consequently, we posed the first two research questions below. Also, we wished to look at the gender-typed nature of the audience separately from both the gender and gender role orientation and the writing task; consequently, we posed a third research question related to this issue. Thus, our research questions were as follows:

Research Question 1: Will there be a residual difference in writers' gender-typed linguistic markers related to their biological gender after controlling for the effects of their expressive or instrumental gender role orientations, or do effects of psychological gender role schemata eliminate any residual variance due to biological sex?

Research Question 2: After controlling for the effects of expressive and instrumental gender role identities, will there be a difference in writers' gender-typed linguistic markers as a function of the writing task alone (self-description vs. responding to a specific audience)?

Research Question 3: After controlling for the effects of expressive or instrumental gender role identities, will there be a difference in writers' gender-typed linguistic markers as a function of the gender role bid (instrumental vs. expressive) issued by a personal ad?

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

A total of 84 undergraduate college students attending a large, southeastern U.S. university participated in the study. Participants were recruited from introductory communication courses and received course credit for their involvement. Participants' ages ranged between 18 and 34, with a mean age of 21.4 years. The final sample included only participants who reported that they were heterosexual and native English speakers. Thus, the responses of 4 students were not used. Twenty men and 24 women were randomly assigned to the instrumental ad condition, and 21 men and 20 women were assigned to the expressive ad condition. About half of the participants (46%) reported that they had never read a personal ad, whereas 54% reported that they had read newspaper personal ads previously. None reported that he or she had ever responded to or placed a personal ad, and most reported that they were not likely to respond to (95%) or to place (95%) a personal ad in the future.

STIMULUS MATERIALS

Two personal ads were constructed for each of the two study conditions. The first ad was intended as a bid for an expressive gender role schema companion (enjoys walking in the woods, attending art shows, and seeking a meaningful relationship). The other ad bid for a prototypical instrumental gender role schema companion (enjoys fitness training and NASCAR races and seeks a mate to “walk on the wild side”). The ad texts were otherwise comparable (equal length, physical layout, etc.). The ad texts were constructed from portions of personal ads appearing in the local newspaper. They were presented to participants in a format designed to simulate an actual newspaper ad.

Participants also completed a 20-item adaptation (Wheless & Dierks-Stewart, 1981) of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). This scale asks participants to rate themselves according to whether they tend to exhibit 10 expressive traits (e.g., caring) and 10 instrumental traits (e.g., assertiveness). Responses were rated on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*never true*) to 7 (*always true*). Finally, participants completed a brief questionnaire inquiring about their familiarity with personal ads and also about the stability and types of intimate relationships in which they were currently involved.

PROCEDURE

Participants engaged in two writing tasks. For the first, they wrote self-descriptions that could hypothetically be submitted to a dating service. Participants were instructed to represent themselves as honestly as possible so that the dating service could match them with companions who would be truly compatible. This first writing sample was intended to assess each participant’s “baseline” gender self-presentation before exposure to the stimulus ads. Participants were instructed to write letters that described themselves realistically and yet that would be most likely to attract someone to whom they would be compatible.

Following this first writing episode, participants read one of the two simulated personal ads (either instrumental or expressive). Participants were instructed to produce a second writing sample, intended to be a letter of response to the personal ad. For this second writing task, participants were asked to assume that they had chosen the particular ad and were interested in meeting this person. They were also told to “try to present yourself in a way that this person would find appealing” to maximize the chance that they would write letters designed to attract (rather than repel) the hypothetical other.

Following this, participants completed an adaptation (Wheless & Dierks-Stewart, 1981) of the BSRI. They also completed a brief questionnaire inquiring about their familiarity with personal ads, their

own sexual orientation, their native language status, and other information not used in the current study.

Language Coding

The scheme for coding features of gender-linked language closely approximated that developed by Rubin and Greene (1992; see also Rubin & Greene, 1995). These original coding features were selected on the basis of their use in prior research both in oral (e.g., Rubin & Nelson, 1983) and written (e.g., Hiatt, 1977) gender-linked language. The coding scheme is detailed rather than impressionistic. Thus, this coding strategy attempts to mitigate charges that various studies of language and gender cannot be compared because the composition of their categories is unspecified (Aries, 1996). However, individually coded features were logically clustered into a smaller number of dependent variables to make explication and statistical analyses more manageable.

The language features chosen for use in the current study were selected on the basis of results found by Rubin and Greene (1992). Specifically, those categories that revealed significant differences with respect to either the biological gender or gender role orientation of the writers were selected. These included language features traditionally associated with female writing: markers of nonessential information (dashes, parentheses), which may signal digressiveness and/or embellishment of the text; markers of excitability (exclamation points, underlining), which may signal high emotionality and also embellish the basic text; and hedges, including intensifiers, deintensifiers, proximals, modal adjuncts, and auxiliaries of possibility. Hedges may signal tentativeness or lack of assertiveness on the part of the writer. Finally, first-person pronouns (the use of "I" or "me") were considered. The use of first-person pronouns in conjunction with verbs of perception, affect, or cognition (e.g., "I guess . . ." or "I feel . . .") signals tentativeness, whereas their use in other contexts (e.g., "I went . . ." or ". . . to me") signals subjectivity. Both of these traits are associated with feminine style, though empirical findings are mixed (see Rubin & Greene, 1992).

Two coding categories that were more traditionally associated with men's writing were also included. The first of these was connectives, including adversatives, illustrators, additives, temporals, and logical connectors. Connectives signal explicit organization and hierarchical relations. Also, syntactic complexity was created by calculating words per sentence. Sentence length was related to an instrumental gender role orientation in Rubin and Greene's (1992) study.

Finally, markers of audience acknowledgements (the use of second-person pronouns and questions) were also included as a kind of manipulation check. The first writing task was intended to be written to a

generalized and nondisclosed audience. On the other hand, for the second letter, a specific audience was identified for the writers. If the writers indeed perceived a difference between the two tasks, then it was likely that they would acknowledge a specifically identified audience more frequently than they would a generalized one.

Both writing samples (self-description and response to ad) produced by each participant were coded using this coding scheme. One coder analyzed all of the texts, and a second coder independently analyzed one third of the texts. Reliabilities for the 19 specific language features coded were estimated by Pearson correlation coefficients and were typically .89 or higher, with only proximals falling below this ($r = .82$).

Data Analysis

To avoid effects due to sheer verbosity, each of the seven language indices listed above was converted to a relative frequency, with total number of words serving as the denominator (syntactic complexity was already denominated by number of words). Each of the eight relative frequencies was subjected to a 2 (Participant Gender) \times 2 (Instrumental or Expressive Ad Bid) \times 2 (Self-Description or Response to Ad-Writing Task) repeated measures ANCOVA conducted with the GLM procedure in SAS (Version 6.1).

Covariates were measured instrumental and measured expressive gender role orientations, as measured by the BSRI. A hierarchical model was employed, with covariate effects entered first, then main effects, then interactions. Participants were nested in combinations of gender by ad bid and crossed with the repeated measure (writing task). Where interactions proved statistically significant, Bonferonni's t criterion for means comparisons was used to test for preplanned but nonorthogonal post hoc contrasts. Because only the univariate results were of interest to the research questions proposed by the current study, multivariate results are not reported (see Huberty & Morris, 1989).

Covariates

The mean score on the BSRI was 5.24 for instrumental traits and 5.79 for expressive gender role traits. Scores for instrumental traits ranged from 3.1 to 7.0, with a slight negative skew ($-.12$). Similarly, scores for expressive traits ranged from 4.2 to 7.0, with a negative skew ($-.48$), indicating a tendency for more people to report having these traits than not. For instrumental gender role schema scores, the means were 5.13 for women and 5.36 for men. No significant difference between these means was indicated by t -test analysis. For expressive gender role schema scores, the means were 5.94 for women and 5.62 for

men. This constituted a statistically significant difference, $t(1, 83) = -2.29, p < .025$.

Manipulation Check 1

To address the more audience-centered nature of the letter-writing manipulation, audience acknowledgements (second-person addresses and questions) were coded for both letters. As might be expected, writing task was the sole statistically significant factor for relative frequency of audience acknowledgements, which are considered to be markers of interpersonal sensitivity, $F(1, 81) = 142.18, p < .0001, \eta^2 = 0.80$. This indicates that participants indeed produced more responses acknowledging their hypothetical audience when they responded to the personal ad ($M = 0.02749$) than when they wrote their initial self-descriptors ($M = 0.00242$).

Manipulation Check 2

To address the gender-typed nature of the stimulus ads, a post hoc manipulation check was conducted with a separate group of participants who received course credit for their participation. Twenty-four students read and responded to questions regarding the expressive ad, and 24 read the instrumental ad. All were asked to complete the adapted BSRI (Wheeless & Dierks-Stewart, 1981) with regard to their perceptions of the gender schema of the person who had written the ad. A two-tailed t test, $t(1, 46) = 7.06, p < .000$, revealed that participants indeed rated the ad intended to be instrumental as more instrumental ($M = 5.36$) than the ad intended to be expressively oriented ($M = 3.16$). Similarly, a two-tailed t test, $t(1, 46) = -5.10, p < .000$, revealed that respondents perceived the expressive ad ($M = 4.90$) as more expressive than the instrumental ad ($M = 3.57$).

RESULTS

Results are presented below for each of the six gender-related language features. The cell means for all seven coded language features (including audience acknowledgements) appear in Table 1. Results of the univariate ANCOVAs for all seven of the coded language features are summarized in Table 2.

Female/Expressive-Typed Language Features

Nonessentials. The univariate effect for gender of participants was significant for nonessential information, $F(1, 79) = 12.70, p < .001, \eta^2 =$

Table 1
Cell Means for the Seven Coded Language Features

Writing Task	Male Participants				Female Participants			
	Instrumental Ad Bid		Expressive Ad Bid		Instrumental Ad Bid		Expressive Ad Bid	
	Self-Description	Response	Self-Description	Response	Self-Description	Response	Self-Description	Response
Nonessentials	0.00181	0.00106	0.00216	0.00172	0.00368	0.00434	0.00686	0.00510
Excitability	0.00094	0.00423	0.00208	0.00056	0.00309	0.01037	0.00457	0.00407
Hedges	0.02210	0.03146	0.02332	0.02879	0.04925	0.04925	0.04504	0.05811
First person	0.10324	0.10247	0.10773	0.08788	0.02826	0.02535	0.02309	0.04118
Connectives	0.04619	0.05024	0.04521	0.04521	0.10881	0.10449	0.11266	0.09433
Syntactic complexity	12.9387	14.3715	13.2152	14.9645	13.8150	14.4815	13.0785	14.6470
Audience acknowledgment	0.00172	0.02673	0.00348	0.03062	0.00135	0.02814	0.00331	0.02418

Table 2
 Summary of Biological Gender by Ad Type by Writing Task ANCOVAs for the Seven Dependent Variables

Source	df	NE		EX		HG		FP		CN		SC		AU	
		MS	F	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F
Gender	1	.00048	12.70***	.00056	7.05**	.00012	0.47	.00094	1.31	.00209	5.01*	0.73028	0.05	.00008	0.33
Ad type	1	.00005	1.44	.00011	1.40	.00024	0.94	.00109	1.52	.00001	0.03	0.23883	0.02	.00005	0.22
G × A	1	.00003	0.86	.00001	0.07	.00014	0.56	.00004	0.06	.00145	3.47	5.09079	0.37	.00015	0.63
Error _{between}	79	.00004	—	.00008	—	.00025	—	.00072	—	.00042	—	13.9318	—	.00023	—
Task	1	.00001	0.49	.00019	5.24*	.00237	12.51***	.00494	10.77**	.00041	1.46	77.4700	14.37***	.02634	142.18***
G × T	1	.00000	0.00	.00019	1.80	.00000	0.00	.00001	0.02	.00049	1.73	2.37367	0.44	.00005	0.29
A × T	1	.00001	0.42	.00042	11.35***	.00078	4.10*	.00289	6.30	.00005	0.19	3.92723	0.73	.00004	0.21
G × A × T	1	.00002	0.68	.00002	0.64	.00164	8.65**	.00007	0.15	.00125	4.42*	0.90556	0.17	.00017	0.92
Error _{within}	81	.00003	—	.00004	—	.00019	—	.00046	—	.00028	—	5.39017	—	.00019	—

Note. NE = nonessentials, EX = excitability markers, HG = hedges, FP = first-person pronouns, CN = connectives, SC = syntactic complexity, AU = audience acknowledgements, G = gender, A = ad type, T = task.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

0.37. The means indicated that women ($M = 0.00490$) in this study were about 3 times more likely to produce markers of nonessential information (e.g., dashes and parentheses) than men ($M = 0.00169$).

Excitability. The gender of participants also exhibited a significant main effect for markers of excitability, $F(1, 79) = 7.05, p < .01, \eta^2 = 0.29$, indicating a tendency for women ($M = 0.00563$) to use about 3 times more of these excitability markers (e.g., exclamation points and underlining) than men ($M = 0.00194$). In addition, there was a significant main effect for writing task, $F(1, 81) = 5.24, p < .02, \eta^2 = 0.25$, indicating a tendency for respondents to use more markers of excitability when responding to a specific ad bid ($M = 0.00502$) than when they wrote their initial self-descriptors to a generalized audience ($M = 0.00268$).

A significant interaction between writing task and ad type also emerged for excitability, $F(1, 81) = 11.52, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.35$. Pairwise contrasts of interest between cell means indicated that for the instrumental ad condition, respondents tended to use more excitability markers when they responded to the specific ad bid ($M = 0.00758$) than when they wrote their initial self-descriptors to a general audience ($M = 0.00211$). In turn, those responding to an instrumental gender role-specific ad bid tended to produce more excitability markers than did those responding to an expressive gender role ad bid ($M = 0.00227$).

Hedges. There was a significant covariate effect for expressive gender role scheme, $\beta_{\text{Expr}} = -.01373, F(1, 78) = 5.13, p < .03$, on hedges. The negative regression weight for expressive gender role traits indicates a negative relationship between expressivity and the relative frequency of hedges. There was also a significant main effect for writing task on participants' use of hedges, $F(1, 81) = 12.51, p < .0007, \eta^2 = 0.37$. Here, participants writing their initial self-descriptors to a general audience ($M = 0.02437$) tended to use fewer hedges than when they responded to the specific audience personal ad ($M = 0.03136$).

There was a significant two-way interaction between the writing task and the type of gender role ad bid for hedges, $F(1, 81) = 4.10, p < .05, \eta^2 = 0.22$. However, there was also a significant three-way interaction between writing task, gender role ad bid, and participant gender for hedges, $F(1, 81) = 8.65, p < .004, \eta^2 = 0.31$. Pairwise contrasts between cells of interest revealed that women produced more hedges when responding to an expressive ad bid ($M = 0.04118$) than they did before exposure to the ad ($M = 0.02309$). They also produced significantly more hedges than men when responding to an expressive ad ($M = 0.02879$).

First-person pronouns. There was a significant difference by writing task, $F(1, 79) = 10.77, p < .002, \eta^2 = 0.35$, for the use of first-person pronouns. Specifically, when responding to an ad, writers tended to use

fewer first-person pronouns ($M = 0.09752$) than when writing their initial self-descriptors to a general audience ($M = 0.10812$). There was also a significant interaction between gender role ad bid and writing task, $F(1, 79) = 6.30, p < .01, \eta^2 = 0.27$. Pairwise contrasts between cells of interest indicated that participants responding to the expressive ad tended to use significantly fewer first-person pronouns ($M = 0.09103$) than they did when they wrote their initial self-descriptors to a general audience ($M = 0.11013$).

Male/Instrumental-Typed Language Features

Connectives. The instrumental covariate exerted a significant effect, $\beta_{\text{Instr}} = -.00768, F(1, 81) = 5.39, p < .023$, on connectives. The negative regression weight for instrumental gender role traits indicates a negative relationship between instrumentality and relative frequency of connectives. There was also a significant main effect by gender, $F(1, 79) = 5.01, p < .028, \eta^2 = 0.24$, with women ($M = 0.05031$) using more connective phrases than men ($M = 0.04550$).

In addition, there was a significant three-way interaction between writing task, gender role ad bid, and gender for connectives, $F(1, 81) = 4.42, p < .04, \eta^2 = 0.23$. A comparison between means of interest revealed that after exposure to the expressive ad bid, women produced significantly more connectives ($M = 0.05811$) than men ($M = 0.04063$). There were no other significant contrasts of interest.

Syntactic complexity. There was also a significant difference by writing task for syntactic complexity, $F(1, 81) = 14.37, p < .0003, \eta^2 = 0.39$. This variable was composed of the ratio of words to sentences. Here, when writing in response to personal ads, writers were likely to produce longer sentences ($M = 14.614$) than when writing self-descriptors ($M = 13.287$).

DISCUSSION

Our goal was to consider the joint effects of two contextual factors, (a) audience-related gender role bidding and (b) type of writing task, on the written language of men and women in light of communication adaptation (Burgoon et al., 1995) and communication accommodation (Giles et al., 1991) theories. In addition to considering the biological gender of the language users, we also took into account their instrumental and expressive gender role schemata (Bem, 1974). For some language features associated with gendered language (e.g., nonessentials, hedges, connectives), either biological gender or psychological gender schemata exerted independent effects. In general, however, the results

support previous notions (e.g., Rubin & Greene, 1992) that the writing context plays at least as much of a role in shaping gender-typed language use as the gender of the writer. For a number of such features (markers of excitability, use of first-person pronouns), writers appeared to be adopting a complementary or interpersonal compensation strategy (Burgoon et al., 1995) rather than converging with the perceived gender role orientation of their audience.

GENDER EFFECTS

Our first research question focused on effects of the biological gender of the writer, in contrast with psychological gender role orientation, on the production of gender-typed written language. Given that linguistic style is socioculturally rather than biologically conditioned, and given previous findings that biological sex is not the dominant determinant of female-typed language (e.g., O'Barr & Atkins, 1980), we surmised that we would find few effects of biological sex after covarying for gender role schemata. The results, however, were mixed on this score. Two language features, syntactic complexity and first-person pronouns, showed no effects for either the writer's own biological gender or gender role orientation.

Simple main effects for biological sex, but no covariate effects for gender role schema, did emerge for two variables. Replicating previous findings (Rubin & Greene, 1992, 1995), women as compared with men in this study did produce a higher relative frequency of nonessentials (e.g., parenthetical expressions), postulated as indices of digression and nonlinearity in women's discourse (Hiatt, 1977). Women also expressed more markers of excitability (e.g., exclamations), postulated as tokens of emotionality. Consequently, for these two language features at least, the results show some support for the prevalent idea that women tend to use more female-typed language features in their writing. These findings contradict our supposition in the present study that gender role schemata are more predictive of gender-typed language than is biological sex.

Connectives (e.g., "because," "unless," "then," "and") were associated not only with biological sex but also with psychological gender roles. For connectives, women and low instrumentals tended to produce more connectives than men and high instrumentals. This finding runs contrary to previous suppositions, which attribute more hierarchically organized discourse rich in explicit connections to men (see Hiatt, 1977). However, these results do again replicate those found in Rubin and Green's (1992) study.

A number of gender-related effects also emerged for the category of hedges (e.g., "kinda," "I think," "probably," "might have"). People who reported high levels of expressive gender role orientation used hedges infrequently. Although hedges have been stereotypically associated

with women's speech (e.g., Lakoff, 1975), empirical research has generally not borne out any such association (Crawford, 1995). In the present study, the negative slope for expressive gender role schemata on this variable suggests that personality traits such as nurturing and cooperativeness can actually depress expressions of tentativeness.

Nor was there any main effect of biological sex on use of hedges once the effects of psychological gender had been partialled out. On the other hand, the analysis of interaction effects suggested that women did use hedges more adaptively than men, for example, deploying a higher frequency of hedges when responding to an expressive gender role bid compared with an instrumental gender role bid. Indeed, a similar result emerged for connectives. For these two language features, then, it appears that women were more responsive to the perceived nature of the audience than men. Similarly, Hogg (1985) found that women engaged in more adaptive use of gender-typed features than men.

CONTEXT EFFECTS

Our second research question pertained to the situational variable of the writing task: describing oneself to a generalized other as opposed to responding to specific ad poster. Writing task exerted main effects on several of the linguistic indices, thus confirming that most participants were indeed sensitive to the differing rhetorical demands posed by the two situations. When responding to a more defined audience, writers used more markers of excitability, more hedges, and greater syntactic complexity than they did when responding to a more amorphously defined audience. Writers were also less likely to use first-person pronouns when addressing the more specific audience. In the case in which participants were composing for the more generalized audience, they chose to talk about themselves as opposed to asking questions about the other or suggesting activities that they could do together.

Responding to a specific bid for relationship thus resulted in a more interpersonal style of writing. This more interpersonal style included greater affective expression, seen in the increased use of excitability markers, and this stylistic shift held equally for men and for women. By the same token, in the explicitly interpersonal context of addressing a particular ad poster, writers were more tentative than when simply describing themselves. Hedging is typical of face-saving discourse strategies writers sometimes use to establish or maintain a potentially tenuous written interaction (Scollon & Scollon, 1995, see especially p. 88). Finally, when responding to the specific ad poster, writing style was marked by relative syntactic complexity. This is consistent with earlier findings that mature writers reduce complexity when writing to a generalized other with whom no prior interpersonal bond exists (Rubin, 1982). Also, descriptive tasks, including apparently the self-description elicited in this study, tend to engender relatively simple syntax

compared with discourse engaged to influence an other (Crowhurst & Piché, 1979). That is because purely descriptive prose requires few hypotactic constructions indicating causality or condition.

AUDIENCE EFFECTS

The third and most central research question concerned the effects of the gender role bid (instrumental or expressive) issued by the hypothetical target audience's personal ads. No main effects for this factor emerged, but we were especially interested in any interactions that may have emerged between writing task and gender role bid of the advertisement. It is within those interactions that one would find the most direct evidence of communication adaptation.

Consider, for example a writer whose "baseline" style as evinced in the description written to an indeterminate audience is gender typed as feminine (e.g., many markers of excitability and nonessentials). If this individual is asked to respond to an instrumental gender role personal ad, he or she may adapt by reducing the frequency of these language features, in which case we would conclude that adaptation by convergence had taken place (Giles et al., 1991). Alternatively, this writer might have actually increased his or her level of excitability and nonessential markers; this would constitute a form of divergence.

Linguistic divergence, according to CAT, often serves as a strategy for conveying a hostile or alienated posture vis-à-vis one's interlocutor, in other words, for increasing psychosocial distance. On the other hand, CAT also acknowledges that divergent linguistic style can also be a means of expressing affiliative affect, as when one member of a dyad complements the seemingly opposite language pattern of his or her partner (Burgoon et al., 1995). Thus, for example, when one partner responds to his or her mate's dominance display by expressing submissiveness, that divergence is surely a form of complementary communication adaptation. By the same token, when men and women enacting heterosexual courtship interactions, as in the elicitation procedure for this study, diverge in their use of gender-typed language features, it seems most reasonable to interpret such patterns as instances of complementary language use.

Two language variables in these data did evince just such a complementary pattern. First, there was indeed a statistically significant interaction between writing task and gender role bid of the personal ad for markers of excitability. In responding to the instrumental gender role bid (traditional masculine values), participants increased their use of this female-typed feature. The instrumental ad thus appeared to elicit a complementary adaptation from writers (an increase in excitability markers relative to baseline self-descriptions). In a parallel fashion, the interaction for first-person pronouns showed similar evidence of complementary adaptation. In the face of an expressive gender

role bid (traditionally feminine), writers reduced their output of these female-typed markers from their baseline output.

Thus, this study provides at least some evidence of a complementary type of communication adaptation in the context of responding to personal ads. If the person who places the ad expresses an instrumental gender role identity himself or herself, the linguistic response is to emphasize the responder's expressive gender role identity by increasing the output of subjectivity markers. Conversely, if the ad appears to express an instrumental gender role identity, the responder may use excitability markers to emphasize his or her expressive traits. It must be noted, of course, that this linguistic complementary pattern emerged for only two of the six gender-typed language features. Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that this interaction between writing task and gender bid from which we infer this complementary type of adaptation is only one of several significant sources of variation for these language variables.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Several methodological limitations to the current study must also be noted. First, although the stimulus personal ads were fabricated by using real models, they expressed very uniformly expressive and instrumental traits. This arrangement was necessary for the potency of the experimental manipulation. In most naturalistic personal ads, however, gender role traits of one type are mitigated by at least some traits from the alternative gender role position. Thus, the resulting gender role bids may have been more caricatured and possibly less attractive than those appearing in natural texts. Second, the extent to which participants were invested in the experimental task remains uncertain. No doubt, the intensity of their language adaptations differs in genuine interpersonal contexts compared with a laboratory writing context. Nonetheless, there is no reason to expect that the direction of these language shifts would differ were we to sample from a corpus of actual responses to personal ads.

The present study was also limited to an examination of written language production. Future research, as suggested by Rubin and Greene (1992), may profitably explore the perceptions of readers regarding these language features. Also, it would be interesting to connect writers' specific relational goals (e.g., identity protection vs. affinity seeking) with their language use in more realistic contexts in which relational consequences might be observed. In other words, what are the relational sequelae of shaping one's presentation of self to fit the audience? Is such adaptation (whether divergent or convergent) more or less likely to attract another, as predicted by CAT?

Although the language features investigated in the current study have been associated with particular writer traits (i.e., they are gender

typed), it is unknown to what extent participants themselves feel that they are altering such features to their language use. An experiment in which writers were cued to deliberately express greater tentativeness, excitability, or connectedness, for example, would shed further light on this issue. On the other hand, in cases in which language users are unaware of their linguistic adaptations, one cannot necessarily conclude that they lack associated interpersonal goals. Much communication adaptation in writing as well as in speech may be subliminal (Rubin, 1998).

Future studies might also examine more macroscopic discourse variables to examine similar questions of adaptation in gender identity by considering, for example, the strategic content of interpersonal messages. One might ask, for example, whether the content of a personal ad narrative evinces adaptation to audience, and if so, do adaptations in message content merely mirror linguistic adaptation or function differently? Thus, a comparison of gender-related content with gender-linked language would further understanding of the issue of gender as it relates to self-presentation within the heterosexual dating context.

In sum, we conclude that contextual influences need to be accounted for when analyzing gender and language use in written discourse. The findings of the present study, though modest, do offer some concrete illustration of ways in which people enact varying gender identities in the face of an interlocutor's bid for one or another gender role. These identities are enacted by modulating the use of socially meaningful language features, for example, in a manner that complements the interlocutor's apparent gender identity.

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SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN MOTHER-DAUGHTER AND MOTHER-SON CONVERSATIONS DURING PREADOLESCENCE AND ADOLESCENCE

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Temporal and functional conversation styles were examined in discussions between mothers and their preadolescent or adolescent sons and daughters. Conversations were audiotaped and coded for speakers' rates of overlaps between speaking turns, simultaneous speech, and successful interruptions. Results indicated that boys and girls of both ages used a high-involvement conversational style including frequent overlaps, simultaneous speech, and interruptions. Mothers used a high-considerateness style characterized by significantly lower rates of overlaps, simultaneous speech, and interruptions than their children. Secondary analyses examining the functions of speakers' simultaneous speech and successful interruptions indicated that adolescents produced less confirming simultaneous speech than preadolescents, and more confirming simultaneous speech was produced in the preadolescent boy dyads than in either the adolescent boy dyads or the preadolescent girl dyads. Finally, adolescent boys produced significantly more rejecting successful interruptions than their mothers.

Over the past 30 years, a large body of research has been focused on determining whether parents and children experience an increase in communication difficulties during the period of adolescence. Although there is still some controversy over whether parent-adolescent verbal conflict is inevitable, it has been firmly established that conflict

AUTHORS' NOTE: This study was supported by a research grant awarded to the first author from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Portions of this article were presented at the 1999 Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development. Appreciation is extended to the families who participated in the study and to Paula Beaumont, Jacqui Boonstra, Jeneen Clark, Laura McMullen, Kristen Mix, Greg Pope, Liz Rocha, Heather Sapergia, and Michelle Smith for their assistance in various phases of this research. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Sherry L. Beaumont, Department of Psychology, University of Northern British Columbia, 3333 University Way, Prince George, BC, Canada V2L 4Z9. E-mail may be sent to beaumont@unbc.ca.

JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY,
Vol. 20 No. 4, December 2001 419-444
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between parents and adolescents is common in many families (for recent reviews, see Arnett, 1999; Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998), and parent-adolescent conflict has been implicated in many negative outcomes for adolescents (e.g., low self-esteem, depression, drug abuse, delinquency) (Montemayor, 1983) as well as parents' experiences of midlife stress (Julian, McKenry, & Arnold, 1990).

It has been suggested that parent-adolescent discord is related to qualitative differences in parents' and adolescents' communication styles (i.e., different patterns of speech behaviors) (Robin & Foster, 1984). Researchers who have examined the quality of parent-adolescent communication have relied primarily on the use of self-report measures. Although self-reports provide insights into adolescents' and their parents' perceptions of their interactions, they do not provide more objective information about overt communication behaviors that might shed light on the question of whether parents and adolescents display different communication styles. Nevertheless, relative to the preponderance of self-report studies measuring parent-adolescent perceptions, relatively few researchers have investigated the quality of parent-adolescent communication using observational methods. Those who have used observational methods have focused primarily on changes in the content of parent-child communication from preadolescence through middle adolescence (e.g., Montemayor, Eberly, & Flannery, 1993; Powers, Hauser, Schwartz, Noam, & Jacobson, 1983) rather than comparing possible differences in the structural or stylistic features of parents' and adolescents' communication styles (e.g., turn-taking habits). It is conceivable that parent-adolescent verbal conflict might be influenced or perhaps exacerbated by differences in parents' and adolescents' structural use of language (i.e., conversational styles). The goal of the present study was to extend previous research on parent-adolescent communication by systematically examining similarities and differences in the conversational styles of mothers and their preadolescent or adolescent sons and daughters.

Many previous studies have examined individual or group differences in communication styles as a function of such factors as gender, age, and interpersonal familiarity. Those studies have focused primarily on identifying differences between speakers in the use of certain communicative behaviors and determining the intentions of those speakers when using those behaviors. For example, many researchers have argued that speakers who interrupt their partners frequently do so in an attempt to dominate conversations (e.g., Zimmerman & West, 1975). Mishler and Waxler (1968) suggested that this pattern of behavior is evident in middle-class, Western families. That is, they claimed that parents tend to interrupt their children more than children interrupt their parents, reflecting the parents' greater power in the family. However, when children become adolescents, the balance of power in the family is shifted, and normal interaction patterns are disrupted

(Mishler & Waxler, 1968). In support of that hypothesis, several studies have found that adolescents tend to interrupt their mothers more often than when they were younger and more often than their mothers interrupt them (this is not the case for fathers, who tend to interrupt their children more regardless of the children's ages; e.g., Hill, 1988; Papini, Datan, & McCluskey-Fawcett, 1988; Steinberg, 1981). Those researchers have interpreted this result as evidence of adolescents' attempts to dominate their mothers.

The interpretation of interruptions as attempts to dominate is found not only in research on family interaction but also in the literature addressing the issue of gender differences in communication styles. Several studies on gender differences in communication have shown that men tend to interrupt women more than women interrupt men. For example, in an often-cited example of this type of research, Zimmerman and West (1975) recorded cross-gender conversations between previously unacquainted adults and found that the men interrupted 3 times more than the women. However, a more recent review of interruption studies by James and Clarke (1993) showed that out of 21 studies, only 6 conclusively found that men interrupted at a higher rate than women (the other studies found no differences between men and women in the rate of interruptions or that women interrupted more than men). Many of those past studies on interruption behavior were criticized by James and Clarke on methodological grounds. Some of the researchers collected their conversation samples in uncontrolled, naturalistic environments in which factors such as the topic of conversation or the familiarity of partners could influence rates of interruptions. In contrast, conversations recorded in controlled laboratories can lack ecological validity. In addition to problems with setting, investigators have defined interruptions in many different ways, and rates of interruptions are typically measured in the absence of other related conversational behaviors (James & Clarke, 1993).

In addition to methodological concerns, sociolinguists have criticized the dominance hypothesis for the meaning of interruptions on theoretical or interpretive grounds (e.g., Beattie, 1981; Scollon, 1985; Tannen, 1983, 1984, 1989). Specifically, they have claimed that focusing on what one speaker is doing to another speaker dismisses the dyadic nature of interruptions. In addition, they have tended to focus on the fact that interruptions may occur in conversations simply because the speakers use different conversational styles. Gumperz (1976) and Tannen (1983, 1984, 1989) have argued that individuals have particular conversational styles that include variations in pacing, pausing, and the use of simultaneous speech (i.e., talking at the same time as other speakers), and interruptions take place when speakers have different habits with regard to these behaviors. For example, Tannen (1983, 1984) identified two broad categories of conversational style, which she called the *high-involvement* and *high-considerateness*

styles. The high-involvement style is characterized by a faster rate of speech, faster turn taking, an avoidance of interturn pauses, and frequent initiations of simultaneous speech. The high-considerateness style, on the other hand, consists of slower speech, slower turn taking, longer pauses between turns, and an avoidance of simultaneous speech. According to Tannen, high-involvement speakers use simultaneous speech to build rapport and signal involvement, whereas high-considerateness speakers avoid simultaneous speech to honor the principle not to impose. In other words, it is the intentions of the speaker to signal considerateness or involvement that give rise to the linguistic devices, either silence or simultaneous speech, that are used to signal how the utterance is meant (Tannen, 1984).

Tannen (1983, 1984) and others (e.g., Gumperz, 1976; Scollon, 1985) have claimed that the most successful conversations occur between speakers with the same style (whichever it might be) because they share expectations for the pace of turn taking and the use of simultaneous speech. On the other hand, when speakers with opposing styles interact, the person who uses faster turn-taking habits and more simultaneous speech will always interrupt his or her partner frequently. For example, high-involvement speakers tend to interrupt high-considerateness speakers. That is, whenever a high-considerateness speaker pauses within his or her turn, a high-involvement speaker will start talking because he or she believes that silence signals a lack of rapport, and because the high-considerateness speaker believes that overlapping speech is imposing, he or she will stop talking. Therefore, whether or not the first speaker (the high-considerateness speaker in this example) stops talking is what determines whether the initiation of simultaneous speech becomes a successful interruption. "If the first speaker does not stop, there is no interruption" (Tannen, 1989, p. 270). In other words, conversations that include many one-sided interruptions may be due to a "clash" in conversational styles as opposed to dominance attempts (Tannen, 1983, 1989). High rates of mutual interruptions might simply indicate that both partners are using a similar high-involvement style that produces a good deal of simultaneous speech (when the first speaker does not stop talking) and successful interruptions (when the first speaker does stop talking) and does not necessarily reflect a power struggle.

This alternative explanation for the meaning of interruptions was investigated in a series of studies (Beaumont, 1995, 2000; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998) that examined the possibility that adolescents interrupt their mothers unintentionally simply because they have developed different habits or styles for pacing and pausing and the use of interruptions and simultaneous speech. Beaumont (1995) examined variations in the conversations of adolescent girls and their mothers and friends across two age groups (11 to 12 and 15 to 16). The results indicated that girls of both ages and their friends exhibited a high-

involvement conversational style that included a fast rate of turn taking (overlaps between turns), frequent interruptions, and simultaneous speech, and the use of this style had a tendency to increase from early to middle adolescence. Furthermore, girls were found to use the same style in conversations with their mothers. In contrast, mothers exhibited a high-considerateness style with fewer overlaps, interruptions, and simultaneous speech. Therefore, mothers and daughters demonstrated a conflict in styles, with daughters interrupting more than their mothers.

In a follow-up study, Beaumont (2000) proposed that because women tend to use a fast-paced style when talking with their friends (e.g., Coates, 1989), it is likely that the more controlled, slow-paced style that was exhibited by mothers interacting with their daughters is a style that mothers reserve particularly for conversations with their children. That hypothesis was investigated by Beaumont by comparing the conversational styles that mothers used with their preadolescent and middle-adolescent daughters with those used in conversations with their female friends. The results indicated that in conversations with their daughters, mothers exhibited a high-considerateness conversational style with few interruptions and little simultaneous speech, but in conversations with friends, mothers used a fast-paced, high-involvement conversational style with frequent interruptions and a lot of simultaneous speech. Furthermore, there was little difference in the styles used by mothers of preadolescents and mothers of middle adolescents. Beaumont claimed that those results confirmed that mothers tend to use a high-considerateness conversational style, even when their daughters reach adolescence, and as a result, mothers and daughters experience a clash in conversational styles.

In contrast to researchers who have concluded that adolescents' interruptions of their mothers reflect dominance attempts (e.g., Hill, 1988; Steinberg, 1981), previous research by Beaumont (1995, 2000) suggests that adolescent girls may use frequent interruptions simply as part of a high-involvement conversational style, a style that conflicts with the style used by their mothers. Adolescent girls' use of a high-involvement conversational style might develop as a result of the demands associated with increased participation in intimate conversations with their peers. That is, previous researchers have found not only that adolescents spend more time talking with their peers than do younger children (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984) but also that adolescent friendship conversations are characterized primarily by intimate self-disclosure and self-affirmations, and this is particularly true of girls' conversations (e.g., Mettetal, 1983; Youniss & Smollar, 1985).

Therefore, it may be that adolescent girls learn to use a conversational style that includes frequent overlapping and simultaneous speech (some of which might be interruptive, depending on whether

their partners stop talking) for the purpose of showing involvement and support for what their partners are saying (i.e., a high-involvement style) (Tannen, 1984). In fact, many researchers have suggested that interruptive behavior is not intended to usurp the speaking rights of the current speaker but is supportive or cooperative in nature (e.g., Bennett, 1981; Kennedy & Camden, 1983; Tannen, 1983, 1984, 1989). In support of the hypothesis that frequent interruptions can be part of a particular conversational style, investigators have found that interruptions rarely occur in isolation. For example, research by Feldstein and Welkowitz (1987) demonstrates that interruptions are part of a particular conversational style that includes other nonverbal behaviors. That is, in conversations between adult female peers, the frequency of interruptions, as well as instances of noninterruptive simultaneous speech, was related to the duration of pauses within and between turns. In other words, women who tended to interrupt also used a fast rate of speech with short pauses between turns and a lot of noninterruptive simultaneous speech. This style has been found to be exhibited most often by women who perceive themselves to be outgoing, talkative, adventurous, and socially bold (Feldstein, Alberti, & BenDebba, 1979), terms that are all synonymous with the concept of dominance. Nevertheless, although the use of this style of speech might be interpreted as reflecting dominance, it does not appear to be related to personality measures of dominance (e.g., Dindia, 1987; French & Local, 1983; Murray, 1987).

The preceding review suggests at least three theoretical arguments for interpreting the meaning of interruptions in dyadic conversations, two of which provide arguments for the functions of interruptions. Interruptions may serve either (a) dominance or (b) affiliative functions, or they may (c) simply reflect conflicting conversational styles. Several authors (e.g., James & Clarke, 1993; Walker, 1991) have noted that it is not an easy matter to determine the functions of interruptions by examining simple frequencies of interruptions. It is possible that interruptions reflect different functions in different contexts. For example, interruptions in conversations with friends where interpersonal power is more equal may reflect "engagement," whereas interruptions in conversations with mothers, where power is not distributed equally, may indeed reflect dominance attempts (Beattie, 1981; Greenwood, 1989). To investigate that possibility, Beaumont and Cheyne (1998) examined the functions of adolescent girls' interruptions and simultaneous speech in conversations with their mothers or friends. The results indicated that adolescent girls' interruptions of mothers and friends were found to serve the same functions. That is, adolescent girls used confirming, disconfirming, and rejecting interruptions equally with mothers and friends. Those findings indicate that interruptions in adolescents' conversations serve both agreement and disagreement functions. Therefore, Beaumont and Cheyne concluded that

those results are not consistent with the notion that interruptions reflect only dominance attempts but are more consistent with the hypothesis that the use of frequent interruptions likely reflects the use of a particular temporal conversation style.

The purpose of the present study was to extend previous research (Beaumont, 1995, 2000; Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998) by examining differences in the temporal and functional conversation styles of mothers and their children as a function of age and gender. The use of successful interruptions and overlapping and simultaneous speech was examined in mother-son and mother-daughter conversations in two age groups (preadolescence and adolescence). It was hypothesized that the results would parallel those of Beaumont (1995, 2000), which indicated that both preadolescents and adolescents use more overlaps, simultaneous speech, and successful interruptions than their mothers, with the tendency for more high-involvement features to be produced in adolescent versus preadolescent dyads. That is, it was expected that both preadolescent and adolescent girls and boys would use higher rates of interruptions and overlapping and simultaneous speech than their mothers, with more high-involvement features in the adolescent than the preadolescent conversations but with little difference between the styles of boys and girls.

This latter hypothesis regarding no differences in the conversational behaviors of boys and girls can be supported by previous findings. Other researchers have found more similarities than differences between boys' and girls' temporal communication behaviors with parents and peers. For example, Greenwood (1989) and Marche and Peterson (1993) found that both boys and girls interrupted their peers at similar high rates, with slightly more interruptions used by adolescents compared with preadolescents, and Walker (1991) found a similar result for interruptions of parents. Nevertheless, given that previous researchers also have found that adolescent sons tend to be more withdrawn than daughters in conversations with their parents (Kahlbaugh & Haviland, 1994; Whalen, Henker, Hollingshead, & Burgess, 1996), it was expected that mothers would use a more high-considerateness style with their sons than with their daughters in an attempt to provide their sons with a nonimposing conversational setting. This hypothesis is supported by a recent meta-analysis on gender effects on parents' talk to their children, which showed that mothers use fewer directives in conversations with their sons than in conversations with their daughters (Leaper, Anderson, & Sanders, 1998). If mothers of sons do use more high-considerateness features (i.e., fewer interruptions and less overlapping and simultaneous speech) than mothers of daughters, then a greater difference would be seen in the styles of mothers and sons than the styles of mothers and daughters. This latter hypothesis can be supported by other research, which has shown, for example, that there are greater differences between

mothers and sons than between mothers and daughters in the rates of supportive, directive, and emotional communications (e.g., Whalen et al., 1996).

Secondary analyses also were conducted to determine the functions of mothers' and their children's simultaneous speech and successful interruptions. Using a scheme developed by Kennedy and Camden (1983), all successful interruptions and instances of simultaneous speech (i.e., unsuccessful interruptions) were coded for five possible functions: clarification, agreement, disagreement, tangentialization (e.g., mocking), and subject change. These five subtypes of interruptions were designed to tap three theoretical constructs introduced by Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson (1967). Those theorists claimed that each communicated message reveals some aspect of a speaker's self-definition. As a result, any response to a previously communicated message can serve to confirm, reject, or disconfirm that person's (A's) definition of self. Specifically,

confirmations are responses which express approval, understanding or acceptance of A's position. Rejections are responses from B which somehow indicate disagreement or disapproval of A. No matter how painful, rejection at least recognizes what is being rejected and, therefore, does not necessarily deny the reality of A's view of self. In contrast, disconfirmations are the most dysfunctional types of communication because they negate the reality of A as a source of self-definition. (Kennedy & Camden, 1983, p. 48)

Kennedy and Camden (1983) argued that clarification and agreement interruptions reflect confirmation, tangentialization and subject changes represent disconfirmation, and disagreement indicates rejection. Those authors further suggested that if interruptions reflect dominance attempts on the part of the speaker, then one would expect to see most interruptions serving rejection or disconfirmation functions. The results of their research on cross-gender communication do not support that explanation. Specifically, Kennedy and Camden found that both men and women used more confirmation than disconfirmation and rejection interruptions. For the present study, this secondary coding will provide information about similarities or differences in the functions of simultaneous speech and successful interruptions used by mothers and their children. Following the results of Beaumont and Cheyne (1998), it was hypothesized that both boys and girls would use similar rates of all three speech act functions (confirming, rejecting, and disconfirming). However, following from previously cited research on differences in mothers' speech behavior with their sons versus their daughters, it was also hypothesized that mothers of sons would use less rejecting and disconfirming and more confirming simultaneous speech and successful interruptions than mothers of daughters.

In summary, the conversations of mothers and their preadolescent or adolescent sons and daughters were audiotaped and coded for features of temporal and functional conversation styles. Speakers' rates of successful interruptions, simultaneous speech, and overlaps between speaking turns were analyzed to find evidence of possible similarities or differences in mothers' and sons' or daughters' conversational styles. It was hypothesized that both preadolescents and adolescents (both boys and girls) would use more overlaps, simultaneous speech, and successful interruptions than their mothers, with more frequent simultaneous speech and successful interruptions produced in adolescent versus preadolescent dyads. For analyses regarding the functions of interruptions, each previously identified successful interruption or instance of simultaneous speech was coded for one of five functions (clarification, agreement, disagreement, tangentialization, and subject change). Analyses were subsequently conducted on composite data reflecting the three concepts of confirmation (clarification + agreement), disconfirmation (tangentialization + subject change), and rejection (disagreement). It was hypothesized that both boys and girls would use similar rates of all three speech act functions but that mothers of sons would use less rejecting and disconfirming and more confirming simultaneous speech and successful interruptions than mothers of daughters.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

The participants included 24 Caucasian boys and 24 Caucasian girls and their mothers living in Prince George, British Columbia, Canada. The participants were informed of the study through visits by a researcher to school classrooms or through advertisements in local businesses. Following the classroom visits, students were either asked to take an information letter home to their mothers or were mailed an information letter. Only those students who received parent permission and who themselves agreed to participate were included in the study. All participants gave oral consent to participate, and mothers gave written consent for themselves and their sons or daughters to participate. The rate of consent for participation was somewhat low at approximately 11%. This low consent rate was likely due to the fact that recruitment took place in a small city (population 80,000) with a new university, and requests for participation in research were quite novel.

Half of the children who participated were in Grades 4 and 5 (preadolescents; age range = 8.25 to 10.83 years, $M = 9.81$ years; $n = 12$

girls and 12 boys), and the other half of the children were in Grades 8 through 11 (adolescents; age range = 13.00 to 16.83 years, $M = 15.72$ years; $n = 12$ girls and 12 boys). Mothers of preadolescents ranged in age from 30 to 45 years ($M = 36.71$ years), and mothers of adolescents ranged in age from 29 to 50 years ($M = 40.57$ years). There was a significant difference in the mean ages of the two groups of mothers, $t(46) = -3.12, p = .003$, with mothers of adolescents being significantly older on average than mothers of preadolescents.

Demographic information indicated that the majority of the children lived with both of their biological parents (8 preadolescent boys, 7 preadolescent girls, 8 adolescent boys, and 10 adolescent girls). One preadolescent boy and girl and 2 adolescent boys and girls lived alone with their mothers, whereas 3 preadolescent girls and boys and 1 adolescent boy lived with their biological mothers and stepfathers. In addition, 1 preadolescent girl and 1 adolescent boy lived with their adoptive parents. Boys and girls from both age groups also were comparable in terms of birth order: Four preadolescent boys, 3 preadolescent girls, 5 adolescent boys, and 2 adolescent girls were the oldest children in their families; 1 preadolescent boy, 3 preadolescent girls, 1 adolescent boy, and 3 adolescent girls were middle children; and 6 boys and 6 girls in both age groups were youngest children. Finally, 1 preadolescent boy and 1 adolescent girl were only children.

On the basis of information about women's and their spouses' occupations (where applicable), 77% of the participating families were middle class, 16.7% were lower class, and 6.3% were unemployed. This ratio was similar across both age and gender groups (according to the index developed by Blishen, Carroll, & Moore, 1987). Therefore, the cultural and socioeconomic profile of this sample could be described as predominantly middle class and White (European background), which is characteristic of the majority of school-age children attending public schools in Prince George (according to 1996 census information).

PROCEDURE

Each boy and girl participated in discussions with their mothers. All observations were conducted at the homes of the participants. Prior to the observations, participants independently completed demographic questionnaires and the Revealed Differences Questionnaire (RDQ) (Mishler & Waxler, 1968). The RDQ consists of 38 hypothetical issues about interpersonal problems and values, for which participants selected one of two possible answers for each item. Various versions of the RDQ have been used extensively in previous studies of family interactions for the purpose of generating discussion topics. Disagreement topics were used for the purpose of providing a direct comparison with previous studies on family interruption patterns (e.g., Hill, 1988; Steinberg, 1981) and for the purpose of simulating naturally occurring

differences of opinion that can occur in parent-adolescent verbal conflicts while controlling for the topic of those disagreements.

The researchers compared the mothers' and children's answers to the RDQ, noting all item numbers for which the dyad members disagreed on the answer. Five of these items were then selected for the dyad to discuss. To ensure that dyads from both age and gender groups talked about a similar set of RDQ items, the discussion items were matched, where possible, across dyad types. The procedure for matching the discussion items consisted of (a) calculating the proportion of all dyads who disagreed on each item, (b) calculating the difference between the proportion of mother-son dyads and the proportion of mother-daughter dyads for each age group who disagreed on each item, and (c) rank ordering the item numbers according to the size of the difference (from smallest to largest) between Steps 1 and 2. This procedure was updated as the completed questionnaires were received from participants. The item numbers that each particular dyad discussed were selected according to the rank orderings. Across all dyads, 31 of the total 38 items of the RDQ were discussed; however, 5 particular items were discussed most often. Forty-four of the 48 dyads discussed at least 1 of those 5 items (23 discussed 2 or more), with consistent numbers across the four dyad types for each of the 5 items. These items had to do with social issues such as parental influence on adolescents' behaviors and ethical questions about lying, stealing, or the care of the elderly. The dyad members were given 1 item at a time to discuss for approximately 4 minutes each. The researchers left the room while dyad members conversed, and all discussions were audiotaped via two lapel microphones feeding into separate channels of a stereo tape recorder.

CODING FOR TEMPORAL CONVERSATION STYLE

The audiotapes were transcribed verbatim, on a turn-by-turn basis, by several trained research assistants and checked for accuracy by the authors. All instances when 2 speakers talked at the same time were preserved in the transcripts by typing overlapping words within slashes and ensuring that lines of text that overlapped were adjacent to one another. Coding was completed on a turn-by-turn basis by two trained observers using the transcripts and the audiotapes to ensure accuracy. Reliability was ensured by calculating agreement on 15% of the taped conversations. The coders were also free to change the transcripts whenever there was disagreement with the original transcriptions. These transcription disagreements were included in the agreement matrix. Overall agreement was found to be high, with a Cohen's kappa of .92.

The following categories of speech were coded for each speaker on the basis of definitions used in previous studies (e.g., Beaumont, 1995;

Walker, 1991). In the following definitions, the first speaker is the person who held the conversational floor, and the second speaker is the person who intruded on the first speaker's speaking turn.

Overlaps between turns (O) were defined as instances when the second speaker cut off only one word (or less) of the first speaker's complete utterance or when the two speakers began speaking at the same time after a pause. An overlap was credited to the speaker who initiated it (i.e., the speaker who was not currently holding the floor). Overlaps were included as a measure of speakers' pace of turn taking. That is, one would expect a faster paced (high-involvement) speaker to use overlaps more frequently than a slower paced (high-considerateness) speaker. Agreement (agreements / [agreements + disagreements]) for overlaps was 81.5%.

Simultaneous speech (SS) was defined as an instance in which the second speaker began talking before the first speaker had finished his or her utterance and both speakers continued talking and completed their utterances. Simultaneous speech, then, demonstrates a type of unsuccessful interruption (i.e., the second speaker is not successful in getting the first speaker to stop talking). An instance of simultaneous speech was credited to the speaker who initiated it (i.e., the "interrupter"). Agreement for simultaneous speech was 82.5%.

Successful interruptions (SI) were defined as instances when the second speaker cut the first speaker off before he or she had finished a complete utterance (i.e., more than the last word of the utterance). Success was determined by examining whether the first speaker abruptly stopped talking before his or her idea was completed, in contrast to continuing to speak simultaneously with the interrupter's speech. A successful interruption was credited to the person who initiated it (i.e., the interrupter). Agreement for successful interruptions was 82.8%.

Listener responses (short remarks that encourage the speaker to continue, e.g., "mhmm") and unsuccessful interruptions (attempts to interrupt in which the first speaker continues to talk and the interrupter stops talking) also were coded to ensure that the scheme was mutually exclusive and exhaustive in coding all possible violations of the turn-taking rule (agreement = 80.3% for listener responses and 76.9% for unsuccessful interruptions). Nevertheless, there were no hypotheses with regard to these two behaviors; therefore, no analyses were conducted for those variables.

The first three speech acts listed earlier correspond to the critical features that discriminate the high-involvement and high-considerateness styles introduced by Tannen (1983, 1984). Specifically, the high-involvement conversational style is characterized by a fast rate of turn taking (and, therefore, frequent overlaps between speaking turns), frequent initiations of noninterruptive simultaneous speech, and possibly interruptions (depending on whether the person being interrupted

stops talking, as measured in the current coding scheme by O, SS, and SI, respectively).

CODING FOR FUNCTIONAL CONVERSATION STYLE

In addition to coding for temporal conversational style, data on the functions of speakers' conversational behaviors were obtained by using the coding scheme developed by Kennedy and Camden (1983). A trained research assistant coded each previously identified SI and SS for one of six possible functions. The definitions for each coding category were as follows (Kennedy & Camden, 1983, p. 51; examples are from Beaumont & Cheyne, 1998, pp. 279-280):

Clarification. A speech that attempts to understand the interrupted person's message. For example:

A: He should be home for dinner at least two or three times a week, and if he
can't
M: Two or three?

Agreement. A speech that demonstrates agreement, support, concurrence, compliance, or understanding and can be demonstrated through further development or elaboration of the first speaker's idea. For example (speech that occurs within slashes occurred simultaneously):

M: I'd hope that my life would still be full enough /that/
A: /Yeah./ You'd live by yourself or you'd get married again.

Disagreement. A speech that demonstrates rejection, disagreement, challenge, or contradiction of the first speaker's communication. For example:

A: It's not worth saying in /the first place/.
M: /But don't you/ think he'd feel better if she told him.

Tangentialization. A speech that (a) reflects awareness of the first speaker's statement; and (b) in some way minimizes, makes light of, or mocks the first speaker's message. For example:

M: I guess you're right, but what /I said is true too./
A: /So I win. I win./ I win. I win.

Subject change. A speech that (a) reflects no awareness of the first speaker's statement and (b) has no theme in common with the first message and/or is a substantial change of topic. For example:

M: I would never wait until he was 20 years old then try to /deal/

A: /The/ phone. The phone is ringing.

Other. This code was given whenever an instance of simultaneous speech or a successful interruption could not be coded in one of the other five categories. This category typically was given when either (a) a speech had little to do with what the first speaker was saying but did not reflect a clear subject change; or (b) a speech reflected awareness of the first speaker's statement but was not clearly an agreement, disagreement, clarification, or tangentialization. For example:

A: Sunday, when I got home from work I read it. I was finished reading it. I wrote Matt a five page letter and the

M: You didn't write me one.

Nine of the 48 tapes (15%) were coded by a second observer for agreement, which was found to be high, with an overall Cohen's kappa of .93. Percentage agreement figures for individual categories were 86.6 for clarification, 87.8 for agreement, 90.5 for disagreement, 75.0 for tangentialization, 77.8 for subject change, and 83.3 for other.

TREATMENT OF THE DATA

The frequencies of each speech type (O, SS, SI, clarification, agreement, disagreement, tangentialization, subject change, and other) for each speaker were summed across the four RDQ topics. Because the number of speech acts a person initiated was constrained by the amount of time that person talked, raw frequencies for each speaker were transformed into rates using the individual's talking time as the denominator, a strategy that is typical in previous research in this area (e.g., Hill, 1988). The majority of previous studies on interruption patterns have measured talking time in seconds; however, Hill (1988) found that counting the number of words (from the transcript) that each person spoke was a more efficient and reliable measure of talking time and was highly correlated with seconds spent talking. Therefore, in the present study, the number of words rather than seconds was used as an index of overall talking time. The rates that were calculated, however, were extremely small because the denominators were so large. To provide more meaningful data, each rate was multiplied by a constant of the approximate average number of words spoken by all participants (i.e., 1,092) over the entire 20-minute session (following the precedent set by Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz, 1985). This formula yielded a figure indicating the number of interruptions and so on that occurred for every 1,092 words spoken (which is equivalent to the number of words the average speaker spoke in a 20-minute conversation). This calculation was used to provide data that are easier to inter-

pret and generalize because they are presented in the form of an individual's rate of interruptions and so on per 20 minutes of conversation (corrected for the number of words that person spoke) rather than a fractional rate of interruption and so on produced as a function of the number of words that person spoke. For example, if a person produced 15 interruptions and spoke 1,500 words in 20 minutes, the transformed rate without multiplying by a constant would be .01; however, if this rate is multiplied by a constant of 1,092 words, the transformed rate is 10.92. Therefore, one could then say that this speaker produced a corrected rate of 10.92 interruptions in approximately 20 minutes of conversation (if he or she had spoken the average number of words) rather than saying that he or she produced a rate of .01 interruptions in 20 minutes of conversation. Thus, this calculation results in more meaningful data by providing comparable rates of each speech act per 20-minute conversation rather than rates of each speech act per number of words spoken. What are examined in this study, therefore, are speakers' rates of each speech act per 1,092 words, which is roughly equivalent to a 20-minute conversation.

RESULTS

ANALYSES OF TEMPORAL CONVERSATION STYLE

Before proceeding with the analyses, the temporal conversation style dependent variables (O, SI, and SS) were checked for skewness, and data for all three variables were found to be positively skewed. Therefore, as suggested by Tabachnick and Fidell (2001), the rates were subjected to a square root transformation, and these transformed rates were used in the analyses (however, means and standard deviations for the untransformed rates are presented). Preliminary analyses were conducted to determine whether speakers' rates of O, SS, and SI were intercorrelated. Correlations computed for all speakers ($N = 96$) were found to be significant for all combinations of the dependent variables ($r = .44$ and $p < .001$ for SI and SS, $r = .36$ and $p = .001$ for SI and O, and $r = .47$ and $p < .001$ for O and SS). Therefore, speakers' rates of O, SS, and SI were analyzed by a 2 (Age) \times 2 (Gender) \times 2 (Speaker) \times 3 (Speech Type) MANOVA with age (preadolescent, adolescent) and gender (girl, boy) as between-dyad variables and speaker (mother, child) and speech type (O, SS, SI) as within-dyad variables. Univariate analyses were examined where appropriate, and significant F ratios for interactions among variables were followed by Tukey's honestly significant difference (HSD) tests of differences between means. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests.

MANOVA results revealed significant multivariate main effects for speaker, $F(1, 44) = 68.03, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.61$, and speech type, $F(2, 43) =$

61.08, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.74$. These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction of speaker and speech type, $F(2, 43) = 7.74$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.27$, and a significant interaction of age, speaker, and speech type, $F(2, 43) = 4.43$, $p = .018$, $\eta^2 = 0.17$.

Subsequent univariate analyses indicated that the significant multivariate main effect of speaker was significant for all three dependent variables: for O, $F(1, 44) = 45.22$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.51$; for SS, $F(1, 44) = 84.38$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.66$; and for SI, $F(1, 44) = 15.71$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.26$. Examination of the relevant means for these main effects of speaker revealed that children produced significantly higher rates of overlaps ($M = 16.28$, $SD = 7.11$), simultaneous speech ($M = 10.61$, $SD = 5.98$), and successful interruptions ($M = 7.29$, $SD = 5.67$) than their mothers ($M = 10.07$, $SD = 5.40$; $M = 3.23$, $SD = 2.29$; and $M = 3.70$, $SD = 3.46$, respectively).

The significant multivariate three-way interaction between age, speaker, and speech type was explored further by examining the age by speaker interaction at the univariate level for each of the three dependent variables. The univariate results indicated that this interaction was significant for the dependent variable SS, $F(1, 44) = 4.14$, $p = .048$, $\eta^2 = 0.09$. As shown in Figure 1, examination of the relevant means for the age by speaker interaction indicated that mothers of both preadolescent ($M = 2.59$, $SD = 1.58$) and adolescent ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 2.71$) children produced significantly less simultaneous speech than their children ($M = 11.73$ and $SD = 6.72$ for preadolescents, $M = 9.48$ and $SD = 5.03$ for adolescents). Furthermore, there was no significant difference in the mean rates of simultaneous speech produced by preadolescent and adolescent children; however, mothers of adolescents tended to produce more simultaneous speech than mothers of preadolescents ($p = .06$).

ANALYSES OF FUNCTIONAL CONVERSATION STYLE

Examination of the mean rates for each functional coding category (clarification, agreement, disagreement, subject change, tangentialization, and other) indicated that some types of SI and SS occurred at relatively low rates (e.g., subject change, tangentialization, other). As a result, following Beaumont and Cheyne (1998), analyses were conducted using the three conceptually driven categories of confirmation, disconfirmation, and rejection, as proposed by Kennedy and Camden (1983). Specifically, the rates for agreement and clarification were summed to indicate rates of confirmation. The rates for subject change and tangentialization were summed to indicate rates of disconfirmation, and the category of disagreement alone was used as an index of rejection. The category of other was not included in analyses because it did not clearly reflect any of the three conceptually driven categories.

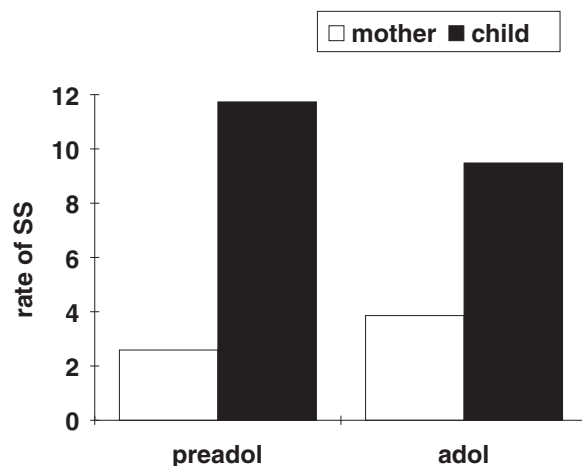


Figure 1. Age by Speaker Interaction for Speakers' Rates of Simultaneous Speech.

Note. SS = simultaneous speech, preadol = preadolescent, adol = adolescent.

Before proceeding with the analyses, each dependent variable was checked for skewness, and data for all three variables were found to be positively skewed. Therefore, the rates were subjected to a square root transformation, and these transformed rates were used in the analyses (however, means and standard deviations for the untransformed rates are presented). Speakers' rates of the three types of SI and SS were analyzed separately using 2 (Age) \times 2 (Gender) \times 2 (Speaker) mixed-model ANOVAs with age (preadolescent, adolescent) and gender (girl, boy) as the between-dyad variables and speaker (mother, child) as the within-dyad variable. Significant F ratios for interactions among variables were followed by Tukey's HSD tests of differences between means.

Confirmation. The ANOVA results for speakers' rates of confirming SS revealed a significant main effect of speaker, $F(1, 44) = 56.72, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.56$; a significant interaction of age and speaker, $F(1, 44) = 8.50, p = .006, \eta^2 = 0.16$; and a significant interaction of age and gender, $F(1, 44) = 16.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.27$. As shown in Figure 2a, examination of the relevant means for the age by speaker interaction indicated that both preadolescents ($M = 7.43, SD = 4.97$) and adolescents ($M = 3.70, SD = 2.55$) produced significantly more confirming SS than their mothers ($M = 1.32, SD = 1.20$ and $M = 1.58, SD = 1.16$, respectively). In addition, adolescents produced significantly less confirming SS than preadolescents, although there was no significant difference in the rates of confirming SS produced by mothers of preadolescents and mothers of adolescents.

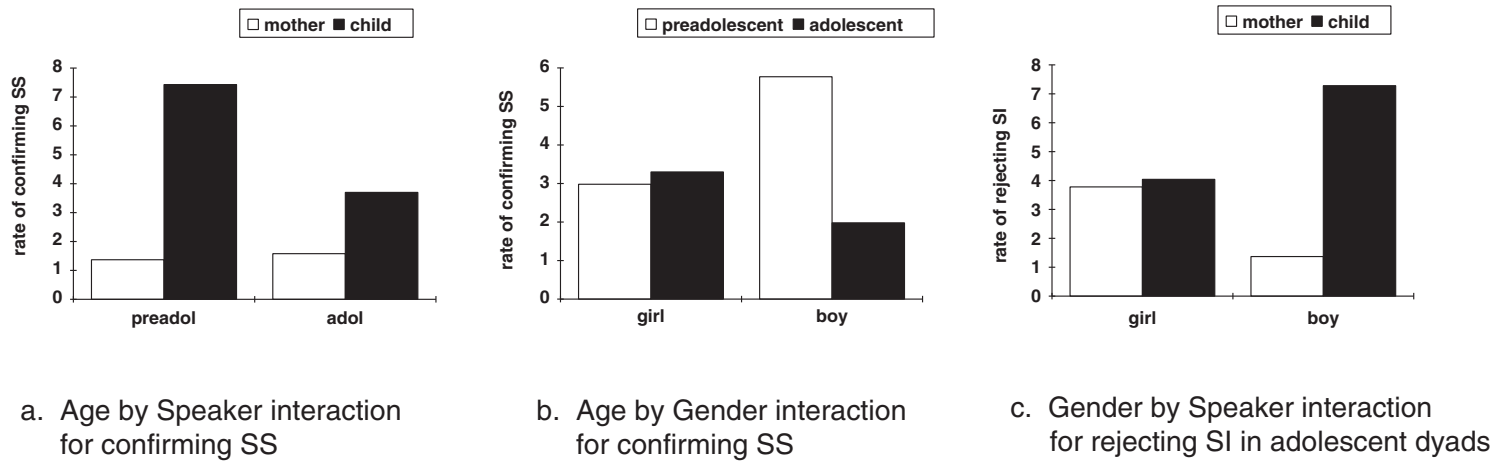


Figure 2. Significant Two-Way Interactions for Features of Functional Conversation Style.

Note. SS = simultaneous speech, SI = successful interruptions, preadol = preadolescent, adol = adolescent.

As shown in Figure 2b, examination of the relevant means for the age by gender interaction for confirming SS revealed that although there was no significant difference in the rates of confirmation produced in preadolescent and adolescent girl dyads ($M = 2.98, SD = 2.07$ and $M = 3.30, SD = 1.62$, respectively), there was significantly more confirming SS in the preadolescent boy dyads than in the adolescent boy dyads ($M = 5.77, SD = 2.63$ and $M = 1.97, SD = 1.11$, respectively). In addition, although there was no significant difference in the rates of confirming SS produced by adolescent girls and boys, preadolescent girls produced significantly less confirming SS than preadolescent boys.

The ANOVA results for speakers' rates of confirming SI revealed no significant main effects or interactions.

Disconfirmation. The ANOVA results for speakers' rates of disconfirming SS revealed a main effect only of speaker, $F(1, 44) = 14.35, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.25$, with children producing more disconfirming SS than their mothers ($M = 0.94, SD = 1.74$ and $M = 0.17, SD = 0.34$, respectively).

The ANOVA results for speakers' rates of disconfirming SI revealed no significant main effects or interactions.

Rejection. The ANOVA results for rejecting SS revealed significant main effects of speaker, $F(1, 44) = 9.42, p = .004, \eta^2 = 0.18$, and age, $F(1, 44) = 4.67, p = .036, \eta^2 = 0.10$. Examination of the relevant means for the main effect of speaker revealed that children ($M = 2.35, SD = 2.39$) produced significantly more rejecting SS than their mothers ($M = 0.98, SD = 1.18$). The relevant means for the age main effect indicated that the mother-adolescent dyads produced significantly more rejecting SS than the mother-preadolescent dyads ($M = 3.22, SD = 2.55$ and $M = 1.68, SD = 1.41$, respectively).

The ANOVA results for rejecting SI revealed a significant main effect of speaker and a significant gender by speaker interaction that were qualified by a significant three-way interaction of speaker, age, and gender, $F(1, 44) = 4.14, p = .048, \eta^2 = 0.09$. This significant three-way interaction was examined further by conducting separate speaker by gender ANOVAs for preadolescent and adolescent dyads. This interaction was not significant for the preadolescent dyads; however, it was significant for the adolescent dyads, $F(1, 44) = 8.18, p = .009, \eta^2 = 0.27$. As shown in Figure 2c, examination of the relevant means for the speaker by gender interaction for the adolescent dyads revealed no significant difference in the rates of rejecting SI produced by daughters and their mothers ($M = 4.04, SD = 2.78$ and $M = 3.78, SD = 3.67$, respectively); however, sons produced significantly more rejecting SI than their mothers ($M = 7.28, SD = 6.41$ and $M = 1.37, SD = 1.36$, respectively). This significant difference in rates of rejecting SI between

mothers and sons appeared to be due to boys' producing significantly more rejecting SI than girls and mothers of sons' producing significantly less rejecting SI than mothers of daughters.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to further examine the conversational styles of mothers and their children by considering two factors that might influence differences in conversational styles: age and gender of the child. It was hypothesized that both girls and boys would use higher rates of O, SS, and SI than their mothers; there would be subtle differences in the mother-child and mother-adolescent conversations, with more high-involvement features used in the adolescent dyads; and mothers' behaviors would vary as a function of gender, but children's would not. These results were generally confirmed. Specifically, mothers used a high-considerateness conversational style, whereas both preadolescent and adolescent boys and girls demonstrated the use of a high-involvement conversational style, as evidenced by significantly higher rates of simultaneous and overlapping speech and interruptions (with no differences in the temporal conversational styles produced by boys and girls). In addition, although no differences in mothers' or children's temporal conversational styles emerged as a function of child gender, subtle differences in the functional use of interruptions and SS emerged in mother-daughter versus mother-son conversations.

With regard to differences as a function of age, mothers of adolescents tended to produce more SS than mothers of preadolescents. This finding is consistent with previous research by Beaumont (2000), who found that in mother-daughter conversations, there was significantly more SS produced in adolescent than preadolescent dyads. Although this finding suggests that mothers use a more high-involvement conversational style with adolescents than preadolescents, it is important to note that both adolescents and preadolescents used significantly more SS than their mothers. In other words, there is evidence that both preadolescents and adolescents experienced a clash in conversational styles with their mothers. This lack of difference in the styles of preadolescents and adolescents is surprising given that previous researchers have found that adolescents tend to interrupt their mothers more often than when they were younger (e.g., Hill, 1988). Furthermore, this lack of difference in children's styles as a function of age is not consistent with the hypothesis put forth by Beaumont (1995) that increasing differences in mothers' and children's conversational styles across age might account for increased mother-child conflict during adolescence. Nevertheless, even though preadolescent-mother dyads demonstrated just as much difference in styles as adolescent-mother

dyads, it may be that these differences in styles have a greater impact on adolescents' compared with preadolescents' perceptions of conflict with their mothers. This hypothesis is supported by research that has shown that during playback of taped conversations with their mothers and friends, adolescent girls rated themselves and their mothers differently in terms of levels of friendliness, but they rated themselves and their friends similarly in levels of friendliness (Beaumont, 1992). Furthermore, the clash in conversational styles between mothers and daughters appeared to be perceived more negatively by middle-adolescent girls (15- to 16-year-olds) than preadolescent girls (11- to 12-year-olds) (Beaumont, 1996). The results of previous studies suggest that whereas both preadolescent and adolescent daughters and their mothers tend to experience a clash in styles, it may be the older girls who react most negatively to differences in their own and their mothers' conversational styles. Although boys' perceptions of audiotaped conversations with their mothers have not yet been examined, more negative perceptions of adolescents compared with preadolescents (as demonstrated by Beaumont, 1996) might account for (or at least be related to) the current finding that there was more rejecting SS in adolescent-mother than in preadolescent-mother conversations and that adolescents produced less confirming SS than preadolescents. These findings are consistent with those of previous researchers who found less supportive communication behaviors in parent-adolescent than parent-preadolescent conversations (e.g., Papini et al., 1988).

In addition to differences as a function of age, differences between mother-daughter and mother-son conversations also emerged. Specifically, although there were no differences in mothers' or children's temporal conversation styles as a function of child gender, subtle differences in the functional use of interruptions emerged in mother-daughter versus mother-son conversations. For the adolescent age group, there was no difference in the rates of rejection interruptions produced by mothers and daughters; however, boys produced significantly more interruptions that served a rejection function than their mothers. This significant difference between mothers and adolescent sons appeared to be due to what both mothers and their sons were doing. That is, adolescent boys produced significantly more rejection interruptions than adolescent girls, and mothers of adolescent sons produced significantly more rejection interruptions than mothers of adolescent girls. As a result, there was a divergence in the interruption behavior of mothers and adolescent sons. This finding suggests that although both girls and boys experience a clash in conversational styles with their mothers, the greatest difference in styles (at least in the functional use of interruptions) might be between mothers and adolescent sons.

Why would mothers and their children use different conversational styles, and why might mothers and adolescent sons use more dis-

similar styles than mothers and adolescent daughters? A possible explanation can be found in a combination of sociolinguistic theory and findings from studies in social and developmental psychology. Gumperz (1976) claimed that speakers' styles vary with age and communicative experiences (e.g., cultural or subcultural experiences) such that speakers of relatively the same age who have had similar communicative experiences should exhibit similar habits with regard to voice quality and temporal patterning. Asymmetrical conversation, or conversation between speakers with different habits or styles, occurs when speakers "do not find some common base of experience on which to build the interaction" (Gumperz, 1976, p. 276). Empirical research by social psychologists confirms that the temporal speech styles of same-sex peers become similar after engaging in only a few conversations. For example, Jaffe and Feldstein (1970) found significant similarity between dyad members' rates of speech and turn taking after only three interactions. It is important to note, though, that this similarity in speakers' temporal styles was most likely to occur between speakers who perceived themselves to have similar personalities (Welkowitz & Feldstein, 1969).

These findings offer some explanation for the differences found in mothers' and children's conversational styles. Specifically, mothers' and children's differing styles may be attributable to the asymmetric nature of their relationships. In other words, mothers and their preadolescent and adolescent children may not have similar communicative experiences on which to base their conversations. Both preadolescents and adolescents, but particularly adolescents, may have increased experience using a fast-paced, high-involvement style from interacting with their peers. In contrast, mothers' experiences using a more considerate pace of turn taking is likely based on years of experience interacting with children who slowly develop conversational skills. Results from studies of interactions between mothers and younger children offer some support for this hypothesis. Specifically, researchers have demonstrated that from the time their children are first learning to speak, Western mothers tend to structure face-to-face interactions with their children using a strict turn-taking pattern with very little SS (e.g., Kaye & Charney, 1981). Furthermore, mother-daughter and mother-son conversations appear to differ in quality. For example, mothers spend more time talking to their daughters than to their sons about emotions (e.g., Dunn, Bretherton, & Munn, 1987), and sons appear to be more withdrawn in conversations with their mothers than are daughters (e.g., Whalen et al., 1996). Therefore, the current finding that mothers of adolescent sons produced fewer rejecting interruptions than mothers of adolescent daughters might be because conversations with sons are somewhat novel situations compared with conversations with daughters, and mothers may have been trying to be

even more considerate with sons than with daughters given that boys tend to be more withdrawn.

Some limitations of the methods used in this study must be acknowledged. First, as mentioned in the Method section, the rate of families who agreed to participate in this study was somewhat low (11%). Other researchers who have studied parent-adolescent interactions in families from larger cities have tended to obtain consent rates of approximately 20% to 50% (e.g., Holmbeck & Hill, 1991; Montemayor et al., 1993; Papini et al., 1988). However, in the present study, considerably different methodological techniques were used than in other previous studies, and these techniques might have influenced the consent rate. Specifically, most other studies have tended to observe parent-adolescent interactions in laboratories, and the families are paid for their participation. In contrast, for the present study, the observations took place in the participants' homes, and participants were not paid for their participation. Therefore, the requirements of the present study may have been more intimidating and less rewarding than previous studies that obtained higher consent rates. Because no other previous studies have used similar methods, the present findings will need to be replicated using a larger sample (obtained with a higher participation consent rate) with participants from varied socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless, the present results for middle-class, Caucasian participants are certainly comparable to those obtained in Beaumont's (1995) study, which consisted of only a slightly larger sample size (and participation consent rate) obtained in a much larger, tricity area.

It is also important to note that there was high variability among individual speakers with regard to the use of O, SI, and SS, as evidenced in the large standard deviations found in this study. This variability is not surprising given that sociolinguists also have found significant individual differences with regard to pacing and pausing and the use of SS (e.g., Tannen, 1984). In fact, Tannen (1984) has acknowledged that it may be helpful to think of the high-involvement and high-considerateness conversational styles as varying along a continuum from slow paced to fast paced rather than two totally distinct categories. Within this conceptualization, an individual speaker can be considered a high-involvement speaker only in relation to the contrasting style of any given partner. The results of the present study confirm that there are large individual differences with regard to temporal speech patterns and suggest that as a group, preadolescents and adolescents demonstrate speech patterns that can be considered more high involvement than those of their mothers. That is, individual mother-child dyads may vary in the extent to which they experience a clash in styles depending on the magnitude of the differences in the stylistic features of their conversational styles.

In conclusion, the results of this study add to the literature on mother-child communication by providing information about mothers' speech styles with both boys and girls who are older than preschool age. The results support the hypothesis presented in previous research by Beaumont (1995, 2000) that mothers and children experience a clash in conversational styles, with some indication that mothers and adolescent sons may experience a greater difference in styles than mothers and adolescent daughters. Other researchers have found that speakers with differing speech styles form negative perceptions of one another and of their conversations (e.g., Giles, 1979; Ryan, 1979). Therefore, it is possible that a greater clash in mothers' and sons' conversational styles may lead to more negative perceptions and misunderstandings than in mother-daughter relationships (for clarification, see Beaumont, 1996). Examining these findings within the framework of sociolinguistics suggests that differences in mothers' and children's styles may have implications for the quality of mother-child relationships and suggests that more positive communication might come about from mothers' and children's modifying their conversational behaviors to create more convergence in styles. These results also have implications for future research on parent-child relationships. Specifically, future longitudinal or sequential research should be directed toward identifying developmental changes in children's conversational styles and possible changes in parents' conversational styles as their children enter early adulthood. In addition, it would be useful for researchers to focus on isolating the attitudinal, personality, and emotional characteristics that are associated with parents' and children's conversational styles and the influence of differing styles on parent-child relationships.

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CONSTRUCTION AND ACTION IN FOOD EVALUATION Conversational Data

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This study engages both social psychological research on "attitudes" and discursive work on "evaluative practices." Methodological constraints in both of these fields have resulted in a relative lack of attention to everyday interaction. By using conversational data, the current study extends discursive research and highlights the constructive and constructed nature of food evaluations. Family mealtimes were audiotaped, transcribed, and analyzed using discursive and conversational analytic procedures. Direct evaluative expressions such as "like" and "nice" were examined in terms of their construction and placement in the talk. The rhetorical organization of these expressions highlighted the extent to which food evaluations are oriented to actions such as accounts, compliments, and offers of food. Examples of these activities are discussed in relation to the interactional construction of evaluations. Implications of the study for the fields of food preferences and health promotion are also addressed.

Food and eating practices are now widely recognized to be richly social as well as biological phenomena (Beardsworth & Keil, 1997; Lupton, 1996; Scapp & Seitz, 1998). Research within the psychology of food, for example, now includes explorations into the social influences that may determine an individual's eating behavior (e.g., Birch, 1990; Clendenen, Herman, & Polivy, 1994; Lyman, 1989). Sociological and anthropological research has also developed in this area, although its emphasis is on the cultural and global significance of food at a societal level (e.g., Counihan & Van Esterik, 1998; Murcott, 1983).

Despite these developments, the social significance of food is still relatively underexplored, and only a handful of studies have emphasized the relationship between food, talk, and interaction (e.g., Pontecorvo & Fasulo, 1999; Wiggins, Potter, & Wildsmith, 2001). This relationship involves the way in which food is managed, requested, evaluated, and organized on a practical level. It also includes the expression of food and eating in the media, cultural artifacts, and

AUTHOR'S NOTE: *I would like to thank Howard Giles, Jonathan Potter, and two anonymous reviewers for extremely helpful remarks on an earlier draft of this article. An earlier version of this article was presented at the 7th International Conference on Language and Social Psychology, Cardiff, United Kingdom, July 2000.*

JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY,
Vol. 20 No. 4, December 2001 445-463
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consumer advertising. This interactional focus is distinct from theories such as Barthes's (1979) structural account of the signification of food systems. What is highlighted in this study is what can be seen as the broadly practical and communicative aspects of food—how it allows us to express and engage with others—as a critical component of our daily lives. Food is not just social in the sense of sharing meals with others; it becomes social as soon as we orient to it as “food” and in the terms that we use to describe it.

ATTITUDES AND FOOD PREFERENCES

To contextualize and introduce the concerns of the current article, it will be useful to examine existing social psychological research on food. Food has entered psychology under two broad areas of interest. The first of these is characterized by work on bodily matters such as dieting, body image, and eating disorders. The second has been a focus on food preferences and consumption behavior. Within this latter field, the topics have been linked together using the framework of “attitude” models, in which an attitude (or preference) toward a food may be measured to predict consumptive behavior (Ajzen, 1988, 1991). For example, a study by Cantin and Dubé (1999) distinguished between the affective and cognitive bases for preferred beverages and the degree to which this influenced an individual's consumption of a drink. Other research has used variations in product information to determine whether these affect attitudes or behaviors toward different foods (e.g., Aaron, Mela, & Evans, 1994; Berg, Jonsson, & Conner, 2000; Bonham et al., 1995).

Food preference research is predominantly based on the assumptions of attitudinal research. The major contributors to such work are Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) theory of reasoned action and, later, the theory of planned behavior (TPB) (Ajzen, 1988, 1991). The TPB examines how factors such as attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control can be used as means to predict behavioral intentions (Bagozzi & Kimmel, 1995; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Netemeyer, Burton, & Johnston, 1991). The model is based on a cognitive construct of individual attitudes—beliefs or opinions toward specific objects—and draws heavily on questionnaire and rating scale measures (e.g., Armitage & Conner, 1999; Conner, Martin, Silverdale, & Grogan, 1996; Schifter & Ajzen, 1985; Sparks, Hedderley, & Shepherd, 1992; Sparks & Shepherd, 1992). As such, the key research questions are concerned with measuring and determining the components of attitudes toward food, examining how these could be altered, and determining how they are linked to consumption behavior.

The implications of attitudinal research can be traced through advertising and marketing fields, consumer research, and health

promotion work (e.g., Dubé, Chattopadhyay, & Letarte, 1996). If eating practices can be causally linked to definable attitudes toward food, then by changing perceptions, one could potentially alter an individual's behavior. This is of considerable importance at the levels of both social policy and commerce because it could modify health-related eating patterns and alter consumer spending. In line with this, contemporary health and nutritional campaigns often rely on the notion of the individual as information processor (a cognitive model). Hence, providing "knowledge" of food nutrition and basic biological needs is used to change people's attitudes and thus their behavior.

The assumptions that underlie the TPB model are broadly shared by the social psychology of food, even where the model is not directly applied (Conner, Povey, Sparks, James, & Shepherd, 1998). The standard methodology within this approach is to use questionnaires with evaluative terms placed against rating scales. For example, attitudes toward food are often assessed using semantic differential scales such as "enjoyable-unenjoyable" or "good-bad." A participant is asked to rate the degree to which he or she finds a food "good" or "enjoyable" (Sparks et al., 1992; noted as the usual method within TPB models). This rests on the assumption that there are underlying food attitudes (or "preferences") that can be distinguished from evaluations of particular foods. That is, a "taste evaluation" is a single, immediate judgment of a food, whereas a food attitude is an "evaluative summary" of these judgments (Lozano, Crites, & Aikman, 1999, p. 208). This makes sense in the abstract, as a theoretical distinction, but it is harder to reconcile in practical terms. The distinction becomes somewhat blurred when one tries to define the boundaries between what constitutes an evaluation rather than an attitude at an interactional level.

A further problem with the attitudinal approach arises with the generic use of evaluative expressions such as *good* or *like* within questionnaire designs. On the basis of a researcher's notion of the meaning of these terms, the attitudinal approach fails to take into account how a participant may interpret what is meant by a good or enjoyable food. Moreover, it imposes categories of food evaluations such as taste, health value, and sensory appeal onto participants' responses (e.g., Geiselman et al., 1998; Lindeman & Stark, 1999; Martins, Pelchat, & Pliner, 1997). The problem with relying on analysts' (rather than participants') categories is that the meaning of a response is often altered in the process (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). The particular form of an evaluation has an indexical meaning that is lost when it is taken out of context. The assumption, therefore, is that not only will participants have the same notions of the meanings of expressive terms, but also, this meaning is extractable from the context within which it was produced.

EVALUATIVE PRACTICES AND INTERACTION

Discursive psychological approaches have challenged attitudinal research in a number of ways (e.g., Billig, 1989, 1992; Burningham, 1995; Potter & Wetherell, 1987, 1988; Puchta & Potter, 1999; Verkuyten, 1998). Most notably, the notion of a stable attitude concept has been problematized through an examination of the variability of attitude expression. For example, interviews with New Zealanders revealed a number of conflicting standpoints within the same stretch of talk (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Taking a conventional approach, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to isolate the single attitude that underpinned a response. A further challenge has been concerned with the link between attitudes and behavior. Problems identifying the precise relationship between these concepts continue to engage attitudinal researchers (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998). However, discursive approaches propose that expressing an evaluation is itself a behavior. An attitude becomes the topic of study rather than an entity to be isolated and measured. Therefore, it becomes less appropriate to search for links between what may be distinct and separate practices.

Discursive approaches are concerned with the construction of evaluations as interactional practices rather than with assumptions about cognitive constructs or processes. For instance, an evaluation is examined within the context of an interaction. What talk precedes and follows an evaluation? What are the features of the interaction that may have required such an assessment? In other words, evaluative practices are regarded as interindividual rather than intraindividual activities. The practical uses of evaluations are also emphasized in terms of what else is achieved when giving an evaluation. In this respect, the approach differs from an examination of the functions of holding a particular attitude (e.g., Herek, 1987; Maio & Olson, 1994). The focus is on the action-orientation of these constructions and how this is achieved interactionally (Edwards, 1995, 1997; Potter, 1996, 1998a). For example, Marshall and Raabe (1993) illustrated how attitudes toward political ideologies varied within participants' interview responses. Whether they were "for" or "against" privatization was dependent on the question they were being asked. Indeed, the meaning of the term *privatization* was constructed in their response and so was itself open to negotiation.

Up to the present time, discursive work on evaluations has drawn primarily on interactions within interviews (e.g., Billig, 1992; Burningham, 1995; Marshall & Raabe, 1993). Although these studies have seriously challenged social psychological work on attitudes, they are at risk for falling into a similar methodological trap. That is, they often abstract evaluations from their everyday locations and place them within a research agenda. The problems with this type of data become apparent when one considers evaluations to be contextualized,

indexical practices. That is, they perform particular actions within a conversation and are thus expressed for that specific moment in time. If we then look at an evaluation within an interview, we are looking at someone “doing” an interview. Although this can allow us to examine some of the uses of evaluations, it does not tell us anything about how people use evaluations in their everyday lives.

The current article focuses on the conversational use of food evaluations. By using this form of data, both the construction and occurrence of food evaluations are a consequence of the interaction rather than the research agenda (Potter, 1998b). Drawing on developments within the discursive framework enables a move toward more “naturalistic” materials. From this, we can examine how evaluations are used to construct and make sense of daily realities. More important, there is little discursive research on conversations around or about food. Notable exceptions are the work of Blum-Kulka (1994, 1997) and of Fasulo and colleagues (Ochs, Pontecorvo, & Fasulo, 1996; Pontecorvo & Fasulo, 1999), though these are more concerned with the construction of cultural (e.g., Italian, American, Jewish) identities through talk about food.

More concisely, the aims of the study are to (a) examine food evaluations in terms of their placement in conversation, (b) consider the rhetorical design of food evaluations, and (c) examine the extent to which food evaluations are bound up with other activities in interaction. Thus, the goal is to engage with discursive and attitudinal research and with the study of food preferences in social psychology.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

Four families were recruited via personal contacts according to the following criteria: The family included at least one son or daughter who would be present at meals, and eating together was a usual routine for the family. There were practical reasons for selecting these criteria, because the pilot research suggested that families with children are more likely to eat together regularly than, say, groups of young adults sharing accommodations. Thus, it was considered more appropriate to recruit those who participate in meals together as a matter of course.

PROCEDURE

Each family was provided with a small tape recorder and audiotapes and was asked to record its mealtimes as regularly as possible. It was emphasized that the aim of the study was to collect a “corpus of

naturalistic conversation amongst family members,” and as such, no alteration to daily household activities was required. The data collection resulted in over 15 hours of recorded conversations. The tapes were all transcribed to first pass (words only); then, smaller sections that involved talk about food or eating practices were fully transcribed. The detailed sections were transcribed using conventional Jefferson notation (see the appendix; see also Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). This was done to highlight characteristics of the talk that would assist in the analysis.

ANALYTIC PROCEDURE

The transcribed tapes were analyzed using discursive psychological and conversation analysis techniques (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Potter, 1996, 1998a; Potter & Edwards, 2001). This involved making notes during the transcription process and on repeated readings of the transcripts and listening to the tapes. The analysis focused on participants' uses of explicit evaluative terms such as *good* or *like* and how these differed from the generic use of such terms in the dominant literature. The extracts presented are taken from the larger data corpus and were selected for their ability to illustrate and develop the main analytical topics.

ANALYSIS

The analysis highlights two topics, which are contrastive with standard “attitudinal” and food preference research: (a) the discursive construction of food evaluations as an interactional achievement in conversation; and (b) how food evaluations are bound up with other activities in conversation such as complaining, complimenting, and accounting for behavior.

REEVALUATING CONVERSATION

Using conversational data immediately highlights a very simple but important point: Food evaluations are expressed in interaction. It is important because evaluating a food as representative of an attitude is often treated as an individual response. Using the example from the introduction, participants may be asked to respond (in written form) on a good-bad rating scale in terms of how they perceive a type of food (Sparks et al., 1992). Yet, the interactional expression of evaluations reveals them to be contested, negotiable activities (Billig, 1996; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The point here is

that the notion of evaluative practices has not been applied to food evaluations nor, to some extent, to conversational data. As was discussed in the introduction, food preference research still adopts a broadly cognitive framework.

The extract below is used to demonstrate the construction of food evaluations as part of conversation. It is taken from near the end of a family meal at which the conversation turns to the food that is being eaten. Lesley and Paul are the parents.

- (1) SKW/ J1b-M4 (410-422)
1. Lesley: >d'you like your< ↑sausage bits
 2. (1.0)
 3. Paul: >pardon<
 4. Lesley: d'you like ↓°them°
 5. Paul: → mmm: ↑they're alright >they're a bit< ↑spi:cy
 6. Lesley: >h↓mm<
 7. (1.0)
 8. Paul: what are: ↓they
 9. Lesley: >°well° just< slice:s with- (0.4) °with:°
 10. (0.6)
 11. Lesley: spices °rather than:: n:ormal ones (.) >(thought they'd)< be: (0.2) >nice for a ↑change°<

The first point to note about this extract is that Paul's evaluation (line 5) is the second part of a question-answer pair, with Lesley's turn in line 1 or line 4 serving as the first part (Pomerantz, 1984a; Sacks, 1987). In some ways, then, this could be comparable to a questionnaire item in which a participant is asked for his or her attitude toward a food. However, differences become immediately apparent when one considers the rest of the extract. One noticeable feature is the structure of Paul's response (line 5), consisting of an evaluation ("mmm they're alright") and a description ("they're a bit spicy"). Each part can be heard to support the other: The "spiciness" accounts for the food being just "alright," which itself projects a probable hearing of "a bit spicy." In other words, both description and evaluation are constructed through reference to the other. Not only does Paul provide an evaluation, he also gives a reason, or account, for it.

Another point of difference from questionnaire designs occurs when Paul asks "what are they" (line 8) in reference to the food that he has just assessed. Attitudinal research tends to assume that participants know the identity of the "attitude object" (e.g., Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, 1998), yet here, Paul has been able to evaluate the food without (apparently) knowing exactly what the food is.¹ Questioning the food in this way constructs it as being unidentifiable on sight alone and thus of potentially dubious quality. Lesley must then account for the sausages, and she does so in terms of familiar foods: "just slices with, with spices rather than normal ones" (lines 9 to 11). Evaluating a food, then, is also

implicated within the identification and description of the food itself; the nature of the attitude object cannot be taken at face value (Potter & Wetherell, 1988).

What has been demonstrated here is that food evaluations are constructed interactionally and are bound up with conversational norms and practices. The situated, contextual nature of discourse prevents a simple way of abstracting an underlying attitudinal construct. Moreover, because other speakers are also involved in their construction, the notion of evaluations as reflecting individual, mental attitudes becomes problematic.

VARIATIONS ON AN EVALUATIVE THEME

Conversations are overwhelmingly sites of action, for example, arguing, requesting, and praising. As part of conversation, food evaluations are similarly involved in these activities. The following examples are by no means an exhaustive list but provide an illustration of the variety and depth of this involvement. Speakers here are doing more than just evaluating food.

Compliments and Praises

The first example is based on what may seem to be an obvious point—that one can compliment a cook by praising his or her food—though it is exactly its simplicity that is of interest here. The following two extracts explicate how this may be realized conversationally using food evaluations. In the first, Laura and her 11-year-old daughter Beth are hosts to their (adult) relatives, Doris and Bill. At this point, the family has just finished their main course, and Bill is in the midst of a previous discussion.

(2) SKW/ G2a-M8 (315-319)

1. Doris: → that was lovely Lau:↓ra [thank ↓yo:u
2. Bill: [because eh-
3. Beth: it is [love:↓ly
4. Laura: [>did you enjoy that< there is
5. some >d'you ↑want< (0.2) there's a
6. bit mɔ:re >if you want<

The evaluation on line 1 (“that was lovely”) works as a compliment by providing a reason for the thanking. By referring to the food itself rather than, say, Doris’s personal taste preferences, the compliment displays an “objective” quality. This is also qualified by Beth’s repeat of the expression, providing corroboration with the initial praise (line 3). However, it is the explicitness of the evaluation that highlights its use

as a compliment. In saying “that was lovely Laura,” Doris brings attention to the food despite the conversation’s focusing on a different topic (as indicated by Bill, line 2). The direct reference marks it as being an observable event, as something to be noted (Sacks, 1992). Confirmation of this is given by Laura, who by offering more food (see the *Fishing for Food* section) displays an orientation to the evaluation as being more than just an evaluation.

The next example illustrates how the use of evaluations as compliments may be an issue for the speakers themselves. Here, Simon and Anna are the parents at the meal. Their daughter, Jenny (23 years old), has just introduced a cake for dessert.

(3) SKW/ D2a-M3 (1024-1031)

1. Simon: → ve:ry well iced like- (0.2) uhm:: nice

2. (0.2) nicely uh:: (0.2) °iced°

3. (1.0)

4. Jenny: you don’t have to say ↓that Dad

5. >cos I didn’t make ↑it<

6. Anna: o::h its terrible isn’t it

7. Jenny: ye[a::h

8. Anna: [Jenny could have done better than this:

Characterized by frequent pauses and “uhm”s, Simon’s initially strong evaluation (“very well iced,” line 1) soon appears disjointed and repetitive. By referring only to the icing, the turn seems to be exaggerated, and Jenny orients to this as being uttered merely out of an obligation to praise the chef (lines 4 and 5). “Having” to say something complimentary about the food suggests that the evaluation is insincere. This construction of “real” versus contrived assessments is taken one step further in Anna’s turn, in which she makes reference to the cake’s being “terrible” (line 6). Situated directly after Jenny’s admittance to not making the cake, it is hearable as highlighting the potential use of food evaluations as complimentary devices.

Fishing for Food

Analysis of the conversational data further revealed that an offer of food would often follow an evaluation of the item. Because offers generally follow requests (Sacks, 1992), this suggests that the second speaker is orienting to the evaluation as if it were an indirect request for more food. Returning to the second extract, the focus here is on Laura’s response to the preceding compliments.

(2) SKW/ G2a-M8 (315-319)

1. Doris: → that was lovely Lau:↓ra [thank ↓yo:u

2. Bill: [because eh-

3. Beth: it is [love:↓ly

4. Laura: [>did you enjoy that< there is
 5. some >d'you ↑want< (0.2) there's a
 6. bit m̩:re >if you want<

The main point to note here is the construction of both the offers of food and the expression “did you enjoy that,” in personal terms. By alluding to the praise as being indicative of a personal pleasure, the offer of food is made relevant by orienting to the individual. This can be contrasted with, for example, talk about qualities of the food itself. It is through the interactional features of the conversation that the evaluation is subsequently treated as a potential request for more food.

The next extract also highlights this orientation to “fishing” for more food, although there are no explicit compliments in this interaction. Lesley and Paul are the parents at this family meal, and this section of talk occurs at the end of the main course.

- (4) SKW/ J1a-M2 (515-521)
1. (2.0)
 2. Lesley: °mmm that was a ↑nɪc:e quiche (.) I ↑lɪkəd that°
 3. (0.6)
 4. Lesley: °mm-↑hm°
 5. Paul: → some lɛft
 6. (1.0)
 7. Lesley: °mmm (0.2) no not for ↓me (thanks —)°

The expression “some left” (line 5) is particularly significant here in the way it makes the extra food relevant to the current conversation. Paul displays an orientation to the evaluation as indicating a potential desire for more food. As such, it works as an indirect offer, retrospectively constructed by Lesley’s refusal on line 7. In other words, she treats Paul’s turn as an offer to take more food. As with the compliments, it is the explicit nature of the food evaluation that marks it as something to be attended to. Speakers have the opportunity to orient to food evaluations because they are part of the conversational order. Exactly how this is done is managed as an interactional concern.

Obligations to Eat

The use of mealtime conversations as data raises issues of eating and not eating, particularly within a family setting. It is generally the case that parents are the providers of the food and have a responsibility to make sure that their children eat it. Similarly, children have an obligation to eat the food that their parents have given them (see De Bourdeaudhuij, 1997). What shall be considered here, then, is how evaluations may be used to justify having not eaten one’s food and how this also highlights potential obligations. The first example of this is taken from near the end of a family meal in which Lesley (the mother)

makes a comment about food left on her son Chris's plate. Chris is 10 years old.

- (5) SKW/ J1b-M3 (441-448)
1. (6.0)
 2. Lesley: you ↓struggling Chris?
 3. Chris: → °don't like carrots:°
 4. (1.0)
 5. Lesley: you don't like the ↓carrot:s
 6. Chris: °no°
 7. Lesley: but you didn't ↑have man::y
 8. (4.0)

The relevance of Chris's evaluation occurs here as an account for not eating (or "struggling" with, line 2) his food. As such, he displays not only an expression of a "dislike" for carrots but also that there is a need for him to account for his behavior. Lesley's subsequent orientation to the evaluation confirms this, in which she specifies the source of the dislike as being "*the* carrots" (line 5, emphasis added). In doing so, a potential complaint of the food is constructed. With a particular focus on the evaluation, it appears as if it is the food rather than the evaluator that is to blame. Lesley then counters this (line 7) with a reference to quantity, highlighting again Chris's obligation to eat all of his meal.

What the above extract shows, then, is that evaluations can be used to justify not eating one's food and that this highlights potential obligations of the speakers. To make this point a little clearer, the following extract shows a rather ironic instance of how an evaluation may be used to negotiate this. Here, the parent-child roles have been reversed, as 23-year-old Jenny teases her father, Simon, about not eating his food (Michael is Jenny's partner).

- (6) SKW/ D5a-M8 (1801-1812)
1. Jenny: >have you< finished Dad?
 2. Simon: yes: (.) thank you very ↓much pet
 3. Jenny: °oh:: and you haven't <finished your ↓sprouts>°
 4. Simon: I've- (.) I know [I hav(hh)en't finished all=
 5. Jenny: [heh heh heh
 6. Simon: =m(h)y spro(hh)uts d(hh)e-
 7. Jenny: well they're the best ↑bit
 8. Simon: I know
 9. Michael: hhhheh
 10. Simon: → they were ↑actually very good
 11. Jenny: °hheh heh°
 12. (2.0)

Despite the element of teasing in this sequence (lines 3 and 5), an account is still provided by Simon for not finishing his sprouts. He achieves this both by displaying an agreement with Jenny ("I know,"

line 8) and by his own evaluation of them as being “actually very good” (line 10). The evaluation here rhetorically defends against possible counterarguments (Billig, 1996) by suggesting that it is not distaste that prevents Simon from finishing the food. In particular, the term *actually* suggests that the evaluation works against expectations. In agreeing that they are “very good” or “the best bit,” Simon heads off the potential claim that one may have an obligation to eat one’s food, irrespective of taste preferences. His account confirms the need for an explanation, despite the reversal of “roles” in this interaction.

Experience Claims

Another discursive activity associated with evaluations is that of expressing knowledge or experience of a particular food or drink (Pomerantz, 1984b). The examples used here are concerned with alcoholic drinks, which are perhaps more suited to such an activity, especially if children or teenagers are involved. Experience with alcohol is a particularly adult activity associated with certain category-bound features (Sacks, 1992) such as maturity, responsibility, and independence. Implying that one has drunk alcohol on a number of occasions suggests that these qualities can be attributed to the speaker.

The example below demonstrates this role of food evaluations. In this case, they have also been used to defend against a challenge to the knowledge claim. Here, 11-year-old Beth asks her mother, Laura, if she can try some of the red wine that the others are drinking. Also present at this meal are Beth’s aunt (Doris) and uncle (Bill); Beth is the only child.

- (7) SKW/ G2a-M8 (740-749)
1. Beth: can I try some ↑wi:ne
 2. Laura: °oh::: (.) (↑mm-hm)°
 3. (1.0)
 4. Beth: → don’t [↑like red really
 5. Laura: [its very nice:
 6. (1.0)
 7. Laura: ↑well=
 8. Bill: =how d’you know (0.6) have you ↑ever tried it
 9. Beth: I’ve tried it about a ↑million times
 10. → I hate all ↑red (.) it’s too strong

Beth’s request to “try some wine” (line 1) portrays her here as a minor needing permission to drink alcohol. Her subsequent evaluation on line 4 is therefore a possible anomaly, contrasting sharply with the initial display of inexperience. The reference to “red” is particularly noticeable by virtue of its being a familiar and abbreviated expression. By using an evaluation in this way, Beth reconstructs her identity in

terms of an experienced wine drinker, enough, at least, to distinguish between red and white varieties.

The evaluation is then taken up by Bill, who directly challenges the experiential basis for the claim (“how do you know, have you ever tried it,” line 8). Beth’s response to this is to upgrade her evaluation using both stronger terms and an objective judgment (“it’s too strong”). The extreme case formulations here are rhetorical, working to qualify her evaluation and demonstrate a commitment to the claim (Edwards, 2000). Having tried it a “million times” and hating “all red” wine are extremely unlikely considering Beth’s age. What these achieve, then, is to defend the identity being constructed by invoking “factual” evidence (Potter, 1996). Therefore, the evaluation has been used here to both proclaim and support Beth’s status as being familiar with alcohol.

The next example similarly works on the experience-evaluation link, in which an older daughter expresses knowledge about types of alcoholic beverages. This family meal comprises Sandra (the mother), her daughters Julie (18 years old) and Amy, and her son Darren.

(8) SKW/ K1a-M2 (1695-1705)

1. Julie: you don't [drink vodka an-
2. Amy: [°(I don't want water)°
3. Julie: >↓straight< you drink it neat
4. (1.0)
5. Darren: >do you<
6. Julie: → but its horri↓ble
7. (1.2)
8. Sandra: °a[h:°
9. Amy: [I h:ope [you've not trie:d it ↓young lady
10. Julie: [↑not on its own:
11. (2.0)

A reference to the way that “you drink” vodka (line 3) presents Julie as one who has either drunk it herself or who is particularly knowledgeable on the subject. Either way, she may have to account for the basis of her knowing this, and indeed, Darren suggests that clarification may be necessary here (line 5). It is at this point that the evaluation (“but its horrible,” line 6) constructs and confirms the experience. Amy highlights the implications of this in a style reminiscent of Bill in Extract 7. This, then, becomes the issue for the participants, not the evaluation per se.

CONCLUSION

The use of conversational data raises some key issues for research concerned with food evaluations. One of the points that this study has

highlighted is that such evaluations are not freestanding representations but are embedded in and part of the business of discursive activities. The extent of this involvement can only be fully appreciated when one considers the rhetorical, interactional nature of discourse, something that is often obscured in more traditional methods. Although recent attitude theories have grown in complexity (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, 1998), they have yet to capture the sorts of constructive and action-oriented features of evaluations documented in this study.

The study has also highlighted limitations of questionnaires that draw on generic evaluative terms such as *good* or *like*. One of the features that such questionnaires miss is the way evaluative terms can be constructed to produce a particular evaluation. For example, there are subtle but crucial differences in saying that one dislikes “the carrots” (i.e., these particular carrots here) or “carrots” (i.e., the generic food type), and these could have important implications for the interaction in terms of whether a criticism or complaint is being made. Also seen was the way speakers were able to move between evaluations of different strengths—for example, from “don’t like” to “hate”—when managing a particular identity claim.

The flexible, variable, and constructed nature of evaluative terms makes it difficult to sustain the notion that a speaker has a particular, enduring, and unitary attitude toward food. There is no “neutral” setting within which to establish the nature of the food preference and therefore to assess whether an assessment is representative or not. The suggestion offered here is that it is more heuristic and closer to the logic of the materials to move away from the idea of an underlying attitude. In evaluating a food discursively, one constructs the notion of “taste” by reference to the food itself. Having a food preference, then, becomes something to be worked up in talk rather than being measurable through rating scales. Evaluating a food is achieved locally and conversationally in collaboration with other speakers as part of particular tasks. In essence, the evaluation becomes part of the interaction and that from which the meaning is constructed.

The picture of food evaluations as flexible and locally organized has implications for the application of this study. The first thing to note is that there is no expectation that the pattern found here will generalize to other settings. Quite the contrary, what has been highlighted is the way evaluations are bound up with other actions. In a different setting—dining out with a close friend, say, or eating in a staff canteen—the sorts of actions in which food is embedded might be quite different. The normative backdrop may be different (is the food eaten as a one-off activity or as a daily routine), allowing for different contrastive evaluations; is the food to be gotten out of the way or topicalized as a notable part of an evening? The point of this study is not to show a standard pattern to eating evaluations (although certain patterns might be

identified); rather, it is to start to show how evaluations may have different roles.

Discursive work on evaluations has a very different focus from traditional attitudinal research, which has often been concerned with causal determinants of behavior. The reasons why people eat are not the concern here. Taking a social, discursive stance, I am interested in how constructions of food preferences are used in conversation and how this can shed light on conventional notions of a preference toward a food. Trying to express into words the many varied sensations experienced when eating food seems to me to be missing the point. What is more interesting is how constructions of food (and preferences) can also construct our relations with others and with the experience of eating itself.

There are two broad sets of implications from this work for health promotion and social policy. First, the problems that have been highlighted for current social psychological approaches to food attitudes raise issues about the sorts of policy suggestions that are made on the basis of attitude research (see also Eldridge & Murcott, 2000). The second point is more positive. The identification of food evaluations as being bound up with other activities opens up new possibilities for approaching health policy. For example, research could examine how healthily eating is managed in practice on a daily basis; how it is managed and made accountable as healthy and how it causes interactional trouble or becomes a source of dispute. How do people incorporate different foods into their diets, and how are these related to interactional activities? Could eating "healthy" become a game for children in which food is not constructed as "good for you" but as "enjoyable?" Eating is already a part of our relationships with other people; what could be changed is how these relationships are constructed.

The nature of food itself is part of this constructive relationship. The current focus of health research is to promote "healthy eating" habits, but this assumes that what is healthy is relatively unproblematic (although there are different arguments on this matter). What needs to be addressed is how food is constructed as healthy, locally within settings such as family meals or evenings out with friends, and the assumptions these definitions draw on. It also highlights a different approach to advertising material, media representations, and educational material. For example, the notion that there are food "groups" (i.e., carbohydrates, protein, fats, etc.) is often used in home economics classes in schools and colleges. This constructs a particular abstract version of "food as nutrition," which then places limits on what people should or ought to eat. Opening up and examining these types of constructions and considering the way they are built, ironized, resisted, and ignored in interactions during eating could provide an important new basis for considering the value and development of food policy.

APPENDIX
Transcription Notation Used in the
Analysis of the Conversations

Notation	Description
<u>Don't</u>	Underlining indicates stress or emphasis in the speech.
Che::ese	Colons are used to represent extended, drawn-out speech.
(2.0)	Numbers in brackets refer to pauses in tenths of a second. Pauses less than two tenths of a second long are indicated by (.).
(Mine's)	Words in parentheses indicate the transcriber's best estimate of an unclear section of speech.
(h)	Indicates laughter within speech.
[]	Square brackets indicate the beginning and end of overlapping talk.
=	Equal signs indicate continuous talk between speakers.
°	Degree signs enclose talk that is lower in volume than the surrounding talk.
↑↓	Pointed arrows indicate a marked rising or falling in speech intonation.
> <	Greater-than and less-than signs enclose speech that is noticeably faster than the surrounding talk. When the order is reversed (< >), this indicates slower speech.
→	Indicates a specific line of the extract discussed in the text.

NOTE

1. Regardless of whether Paul "knows" what the food is, the line "what are they" displays a lack of knowledge and works here as a request for clarification. The concern, then, is not with what participants may "think" about the food but how this is displayed in, or suggested by, their talk.

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NAME YOUR FAVORITE MUSICIAN Effects of Masculine Generics and of Their Alternatives in German

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This article reports on two experiments with native speakers of German that were conducted to determine the influence of different types of German generics on the cognitive inclusion of women. The results of these studies show that masculine versus other types of generics influence the retrieval of male and female exemplars from memory. This is the first piece of empirical evidence for this kind of effect with regard to the German language.

Masculine generics have been the central issue in the debate about “sexist” and “nonsexist” language that was raised by feminist language critics in the 1970s (e.g., Miller & Swift, 1977). When general statements are formulated in the masculine, critics argue, women are linguistically ignored and become invisible (e.g., “a typical doctor . . . he”). An impressive body of empirical research indicates that in English, masculine generics evoke predominantly “male” associations and in consequence put women at a disadvantage (e.g., Hamilton, Hunter, & Stuart-Smith, 1992; Moulton, Robinson, & Elias, 1978). Little empirical research, however, has been done on other languages. It is doubtful whether the findings for English are valid for languages that are structurally rather different.

The present contribution reports on empirical research on masculine generics in German. The linguistic situation in German is very different from that in English. Every German noun has a specific gender (feminine, masculine, or neuter) that is marked on articles, adjectival suffixes, and various types of pronouns. As a consequence, where masculine generics occur, they concern much more linguistic forms, and masculine markings are much more frequent in a text. The frequency

AUTHORS' NOTE: *Thanks are extended to Constantin Dony, Sabine Kindsvater, Jens Kowalski, Manuela Langkath, Frederik Pohl, and André Siegel for their assistance with data collection and to Geoff Haig for his advice on the English translation.*

JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY,

Vol. 20 No. 4, December 2001 464-469

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of masculine markers in German might thus intensify male associations and produce a stronger male bias than in English. On the other hand, because every German noun has a gender—even nouns such as *Zahnbürste* (feminine), “toothbrush,” or *Funken* (masculine), “spark”—speakers of German might perceive the semantic tie between gender and sex as weaker.¹

In German-speaking countries, as elsewhere, feminists (e.g., Grabrucker, 1993) demand that masculine generics be replaced with nonsexist alternatives, for which two different strategies are proposed: neutralization and feminization.

Neutralization relies on linguistic forms that do not express sex. These are nouns of neutral gender (e.g., *das Individuum* [neuter], “the individual”), nondifferentiating forms (e.g., *die Angestellten*, “the employees” [plural of the feminine *die Angestellte*, “the employee,” as well as the masculine *der Angestellte*, “the employee”]), forms with fixed gender that refer to both women and men (e.g., *die Person* [feminine], “the person,” or *der Mensch* [masculine], “the human being”), or collectives (e.g., *das Personal* [neuter], “the staff”).

The term *feminization*, on the other hand, is used for expressions that make the inclusion of women explicit. Feminization thus involves using feminine-masculine word pairs, for example, *Lehrerinnen und Lehrer*, “female and male teachers,” or the so-called capital *I* forms. The capital *I* form was invented in feminist circles to substitute masculine generic plurals of the type *Leser* (masculine), “readers,” at least in writing. The new form is created by using a feminine plural as the base form (e.g., *Leserinnen* [feminine], “readers”) and capitalizing the initial *i* of the suffix to highlight the generic function. The resulting *LeserInnen*, “readers,” closely resembles the feminine plural *Leserinnen* but is meant to stand for *Leserinnen und/oder Leser*, “female and/or male readers.” Nowadays, capital *I* forms are used in certain newspapers and magazines, in unofficial messages or letters, and in a few scientific publications, but they are generally not accepted for official usage.

Until now, there have been very few studies on the effects of the different types of generics in German (Braun, Gottburgsen, Sczesny, & Stahlberg, 1998; Irmen & Kaczmarek, 2000; Irmen & Köhncke, 1996; Scheele & Gauler, 1993). These studies indicate that different mental representations are triggered by different generic terms for person reference depending on their grammatical gender. For example, the proportion of women and men in a given group is estimated differently, depending on the generic forms used to describe that group (Braun et al., 1998). Also, longer time spans were needed to read sentences with feminine references that referred back to masculine generic sentences than to complement sentences without “gender switches” (Irmen & Kaczmarek, 2000).

The present studies were planned to investigate the influence of masculine versus alternative types of generics on the retrieval of male and female exemplars from memory. Our general hypothesis was that masculine generics would facilitate the retrieval of male exemplars, compared with alternative generics (such as neutralizing forms or forms that refer to women explicitly), but would impede the retrieval of female exemplars. Furthermore, we expected that different alternative generics would trigger significantly different responses depending on how explicitly women were referred to.

In Experiment 1, respondents were asked to name their favorite heroes, favorite musicians, and so on. The hypothesis was that masculine generics would trigger fewer "female" responses than alternative forms. Moreover, neutralizing forms were expected to trigger fewer female responses than feminine-masculine word pairs. The first factor was this type of generic. The second factor, sex of participant, was included to analyze whether the expected effects of type of generic would be independent of the sex of participants.

Participants (50 female and 46 male native speakers of German between 17 and 58 years of age) filled out a questionnaire that was modeled on a list of questions used by a national German newspaper to interview prominent persons. The questionnaire contained 16 questions such as "What would you personally consider a severe tragedy?" The six critical questions targeted the participants' favorite heroes in novels, real life, and history and their favorite painters, musicians, and athletes. The questionnaire was presented in three different generic language versions: masculine (e.g., *Romanheld* [masculine], "hero in a novel") versus neutralizing (forms not differentiated for gender, e.g., *heldenhafte Romanfigur*, "heroic character in a novel")² versus feminine-masculine word pairs (e.g., *Romanheldin* [feminine] *oder Romanheld* [masculine], "heroine or hero in a novel"). The number of women reported in response to the critical questions (summarized over all six questions) was the dependent variable.

Data were analyzed with a 3 (Type of Generic) \times 2 (Sex of Participant) factorial ANOVA with the number of women reported as the dependent variable. The ANOVA showed a significant main effect for type of generic, $F(2, 90) = 4.93, p < .01$. The contrast indicated that masculine generics ($M = 0.67$) triggered fewer female responses than alternative formulations (neutralizing generics or feminine-masculine word pairs, $M = 1.67, p < .05$). No significant difference was found between the two conditions, neutralizing and feminine-masculine pairs ($p = ns$). The main effect for the sex of participant variable was also significant, $F(1, 90) = 12.53, p < .01$, with female participants mentioning more women than male participants ($M = 1.81$ vs. $M = 0.83$). There was no interaction of the type of generic and sex of participant variables, $F(2, 90) = 0.98, p = .38$.

Experiment 2 was planned as a replication of Experiment 1 with slightly differing material. In Experiment 1, we basically asked for personal preferences, whereas in Experiment 2, we were interested in the cognitive availability of female and male exemplars depending on the generics used in the questions. Therefore, participants were asked to name several athletes, singers, and other people described with different types of generics. Masculine generics were tested against two forms of the feminizing type: feminine-masculine word pairs and capital *I* forms. It was hypothesized that the alternative generics would raise the number of women reported compared with masculine generics. In addition, we expected that capital *I* forms would trigger the highest number of women reported, for their near identity with feminine generics combined with their relative novelty and their orthographic exceptionality made their nonsexist intention especially salient.

Participants (45 female and 45 male native speakers of German between 18 and 45 years of age) filled out a questionnaire that claimed to investigate the effects of media consumption on the recall of prominent people. The questionnaire contained questions about the participants' interest in and occupation with the media. The critical items were embedded in a section that asked participants to name the three famous people in a given category who first entered their minds: "Please name three athletes (or singers, politicians, hosts of television shows)." Three types of generics were used in the three different versions of the questionnaire: (a) masculine generics (e.g., *Politiker* [masculine], "politicians"), (b) feminine-masculine word pairs (e.g., *Politikerinnen* [feminine] *und Politiker* [masculine], "female and male politicians"), and (c) capital *I* forms (e.g., *PolitikerInnen*, "politicians"). Participants were randomly assigned to one of these language conditions. The number of women reported in response to the four critical questions (summarized over all four questions) was the dependent variable.

Data were analyzed with a 3 (Type of Generic) \times 2 (Sex of Participant) factorial ANOVA with the number of women reported as the dependent variable. The ANOVA revealed a main effect for type of generic, $F(2, 84) = 9.97, p < .001$. Masculine generics triggered the fewest female responses, whereas feminine-masculine word pairs and especially capital *I* forms made participants respond with more female names ($M = 2.37, M = 2.67$, and $M = 4.60$, respectively). The contrast between masculine generics on one hand and the two alternative generics on the other was statistically significant ($p < .01$).³ Further post hoc comparisons, however, showed that capital *I* forms and word pairs apparently had markedly different effects. Whereas capital *I* forms made participants respond with significantly higher numbers of women than masculine generics (Scheffé's post hoc test; $p < .01$), the

difference between word pairs and masculine generics did not reach significance (Scheffé's post hoc test; $p > .10$). Another main effect was found for the sex of participant variable, $F(1, 84) = 19.9, p < .001$. Female respondents mentioned more women than male respondents ($M = 4.2$ vs. $M = 2.2$). There was no interaction between sex of participant and type of generic, $F(2, 84) = 0.61, p > .5$.

Taken together, these results indicate that different linguistic forms indeed make a difference: Wherever generics produced significant effects, masculine generics caused the lowest number of female exemplars to be retrieved from memory, whereas alternative forms facilitated the retrieval of female exemplars. Our results thus confirm the assumption of feminist language critics that masculine generics have detrimental effects on the cognitive inclusion of women and that alternative forms are better suited to make hearers or readers think of female people. The masculine gender of traditional German generics apparently has a semantic component of "maleness" that makes these forms less compatible with the idea of female reference. Thus, the insight we could gain from the present studies is that masculine versus other types of generics influence the retrieval of male and female exemplars from memory. This is the first piece of empirical evidence for this kind of effect with regard to the German language.

As expected, the various nonsexist alternative forms did not always yield the same results. Contrary to our hypothesis, though, neutralizing forms were as effective retrieval cues for female exemplars as feminizing ones in Experiment 1. The findings in Experiment 2 support the hypothesis that capital *I* forms enhance the retrieval of female exemplars relative to masculine generics, whereas no comparable enhancement was found for feminine-masculine word pairs.

In both experiments, sex of participant was included as a second factor to analyze whether the hypothesized effects of type of generic would be moderated by participants' sex. In both experiments, we did not find a Type of Generic \times Sex of Participant interaction. However, both experiments revealed a main effect of sex of participant. Female participants named more female exemplars than males. This higher salience of one's own sex replicates previous findings for the English language (see, e.g., Moulton et al., 1978; Prentice, 1994).

NOTES

1. The investigations by Zubin and Köpcke (1984) and Konishi (1993), however, suggest that even with nonhuman nouns, gender is in some way associated with gender or gender stereotypes.

2. Although the grammatical gender of *Figur*, "character," is feminine in German, the word can be used for male as well as female referents. It is not differentiated for gender.

3. Four participants responded to capital *I* forms with female names exclusively. Because these participants might have mistaken capital *I* forms for feminine generics (i.e., sex-specific forms), statistical analyses were repeated without the respective participants. The exclusion of these doubtful cases did not, however, lead to significant changes in the results.

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Book Reviews

Pour Une Écologie Des Langues Du Monde. Louis-Jean Calvet. Paris: Plon, 1999. 304 pp. ISBN 2-259-18975-X (paper).

Calvet's latest book, *Pour une écologie des langues du monde* (*For an Ecology of the Languages of the World*), as the title suggests, is a defense of what he calls an ecological approach to the analysis of the world's languages. The book is subdivided into six main chapters in addition to an introduction and a conclusion. The latter is followed by a selected bibliography. Given that Calvet also presents in his book a large number of terms, many of which are familiar to specialists of sociolinguistics (e.g., *écologie*, *pidgin*, *créole*, *vernaculaire*) but some of which are less familiar (e.g., *acclimatement*, a process of removal and readaptation for a species, and *acclimatation*, a process of readaptation and reproduction; pp. 142, 213), an index at the end of the book listing the terminology would have been a useful adjunct for both students and specialists. However, Calvet does indicate many of the terms in italics in the body of the text.

The content and the order of the chapters are built on four structural submodels (one model for each of chapters 2 through 5), which Calvet presents as his general ecological model of the languages of the world. The submodels are first listed and defined in the introduction (p. 16):

1. the *gravitational* or macro submodel, based on a "galaxies and constellations" analogy of languages in the world language situation;
2. the *homeostatic* or regulatory submodel, based on an autoregulation of outside stimuli, which results in a tendency to neutralize, change, or maintain languages and language situations in place;
3. the *representational* or what could be called the social psychology submodel, which the author terms "épilinguistique" (p. 158). These representations refer to "la façon dont les locuteurs pensent des pratiques, comment ils se situent par rapport aux autres locuteurs, comment ils se situent par rapport aux autres langues en présence [the way in which speakers think of their everyday usage, how they situate themselves with regard to other speakers, how they situate themselves with regard to other languages present]" (p. 158); and
4. the *transmission* submodel, an explanatory model that accounts for change and continuity (evolution) in tandem with the two previous submodels. All three in combination allow us to understand change in terms of the overarching or macro (gravitational) submodel but on a scale extending from the macro to the micro spheres.

The final chapter covers five case studies, which further emphasize, largely through a descriptive, anecdotal approach, some of the conceptual and theoretical questions dealt with in earlier chapters:

1. the problem of polycentric languages such as Arabic and the fixing of their inner boundaries, including the proper identification of each form, both spoken and written;
2. the problem of nomenclature or the use of several glossonyms for the same or seemingly the same speech form;
3. the problem of bicentricity, whereby it is difficult to determine clearly whether one or two languages are involved (e.g., Serbo-Croatian, Hindi-Urdu, etc.);
4. the introduction of normative French into a microlinguistic contact situation (*niche linguistique*) in which the regular languages are English and Louisiana Creole and the effects of this introduction on both the forms and functions of the languages present; and
5. the introduction into the island of Saint Barthélemy of a French patois (along with normal French). Because of the geographical isolation not only of the island but of its internal geography (its windward and leeward parts), only the windward side of the island developed a creolized variety of French, because of the arrival of a significant number of Black immigrants.

PRATIQUES ET REPRÉSENTATIONS (PRACTICE AND REPRESENTATION)

Chapter 1, called “L’écologie des langues” (“The Ecology of Languages”; pp. 34-74), presents both a definition of the term *ecology* and a defense of Calvet’s application of the ecological model to the science of language. His objective, Calvet argues, is scientific rather than political. “La référence à l’écologie n’est pas synonyme de défense d’espèces menacées, mais implique la recherche d’un modèle explicatif [The use of the term *ecology* is not synonymous with the defense of a threatened species but implies the search for an explanatory model]” (p. 34). The above model, then, constitutes the central aim of the book and is also the main object of this review.

The importance of the model is further emphasized in the introduction, called “Pratiques et représentations” (“Practice and Representation”), which presents a binary framework (*cadre*), with various degrees of emphasis on one aspect or the other, in all four submodels. For example, *pratiques* (language practices or usage) is language use, and *représentations* is an “interpretation or representation” on the part of the speakers and listeners of these practices or usages. Because we cannot deal with languages out of context, especially in an ecological model, the chapter would perhaps have better been entitled “Situations-pratiques-représentations.” Calvet does include all these elements in his equation, which he says amounts to a model of social communication. “L’articulation entre les situations, les pratiques et les représentations relève d’un modèle de la complexité de la communication sociale qui reste à élaborer et auquel est consacré ce livre [The interrelating of situations, practices, and interpretations suggests a complex model of social communication, which still requires elaboration and to which this book is dedicated]” (p. 17). To be productive, such a model would first have to describe language form (structure) as well as language function (usage) and changes in both. It would then have to identify and measure the sources of the changes. Are both forms and functions influenced by situations and representations “de savoir si le milieu a une

influence sur les pratiques, sur la forme des langues [to know if the milieu has an influence on usage, on the form of languages]" (p. 281)?

The author further explains some, but not all, of these elements in his definition of linguistic ecology:

L'écologie linguistique étudie les rapports entre les langues et leur milieu, c'est-à-dire d'abord les rapports entre les langues elles-mêmes, puis entre ces langues et la société, mais il s'agit de construire un modèle théorique dépassant l'opposition artificielle entre linguistique et sociolinguistique, il s'agit d'intégrer les langues dans leur contexte social [Linguistic ecology studies the relationship between languages and their milieu, that is to say, first the rapport among languages themselves, then between these languages and the society, but it is a question of constructing a theoretical model which goes beyond the artificial opposition between linguistics and sociolinguistics, it is a question of integrating languages into their social context]. (p. 17)

First, in the language-in-society research, we have now gotten well beyond the dichotomy of linguistics and sociolinguistics as mentioned by Calvet and progressed to what I would term a *language in society and social psychological (sociolinguistic)* dichotomy. As two separate traditions, these have already made much progress in explaining language and societal change, but unfortunately, each has remained tradition bound and has not taken the next obvious step in uniting the two traditions in a combined research effort, to be able to account for change not only on each of the macro and micro levels but also on change as influenced by both situations (language in society) and representations (social psychology). This Calvet may be darkly hinting at when he suggests first a study of "languages among themselves"; otherwise it makes little sense in the model of social communication that he proposes here. Second, when we speak of "studying language in society," it is useful to distinguish (as does the literature in great detail) whether we are dealing with situational- or representational-type research. This Calvet does in his four-tiered general model: His first submodel deals with situations, whereas his third submodel deals clearly with representations.

Calvet is not blind to the fact that in transplanting the ecological model from the biological sciences to the language sciences, he (and others) is making a transition that only partly "fits" or that can fit only in a metaphorical sense: "Les langues n'ont pas de vie, de famille, ne sont ni des instruments, ni des organismes extérieurs à ceux qui les utilisent [Languages have no life, or family, nor are they instruments, nor organisms outside of those who use them]" (p. 16). This theme of the nonobjectivity of languages, "la langue est une pratique sociale au sein de la vie sociale, une pratique parmi d'autres, inséparable de son environnement [language is a social practice at the center of social life, one among many practices, inseparable from its environment]" (p. 33), is compounded by Calvet's denial of their reality: "Les langues n'existent pas, la notion de langue est une abstraction reposant sur la régularité d'un certain nombre de faits, de traits, dans les productions des locuteurs, dans leur pratiques [Languages do not exist, the notion of language is an abstraction based on the regularity of a certain number of facts and traits in the speech of the speakers and in their practices]" (p. 281).

Although language is not a three-dimensional object (nobody has seen one walking on the streets), philosophically, one cannot deny the reality of things simply because they are not three-dimensional objects. For example, it would be folly to deny the existence of hate or love simply because we have not “touched” them. The manifestations of both hate and love are indeed everywhere around for us to “see.” Language does, however, have a halfway reality between three-dimensional objects and abstract concepts whose manifestations only we can see. Language we can definitely hear and in its most conventional form see in writing. These manifestations of language are less concrete than any three-dimensional object but more concrete than completely abstract concepts. The fact that language is an abstraction of sorts with boundaries that are flexible cannot permit us to say it does not exist.

But, Calvet is correct in remarking that languages, however they are denoted or named, are a relative construct and that their limits can be difficult to define because different sets of criteria may be applied according to various objectives to operate a separation. For example, some linguists and language teachers may advance the criterion of comprehension as a most important pedagogical criterion for their pupils. Ethnographers may see things differently and encourage a specific group representation of what their language is or should be. If language variants are relatively undisturbed by mass population movements, one would get a rainbow effect, with one color shading into another almost imperceptibly. It has been said that if a traveler in India were to walk across the nation from east to west, he would find no point where communication would be broken; that is, wherever the traveler was situated, speakers would be able to communicate with those immediately to the east and west of them. So, where can the language boundaries be drawn if the criterion of comprehension is applied? The language census of India (which is now over 100 years old) has used a rather wise approach in the gathering of language data. First, the name of the language (whether mother tongue or second language) is solicited directly from the speaker; that is, no language name is suggested by the census official. These names, which are called mother tongues and so on, are later classified or grouped by linguists into “languages.” Hence, mother tongue figures are based on a grouping of freely solicited names based on sociopolitical identities established within communities. In the 1961 census, this resulted in over 1,600 mother tongue names, which were later classified by the census department into 200 languages. Each set of figures (mother tongue/language) can of course produce its own set of boundaries, and both sets can be justified or rationalized according to different objectives.

THE THEORETICAL MODEL

As Calvet stresses at the outset the importance of his conceptual model, “Encore une fois, la linguistique ne peut pas faire l'économie d'une théorie globale de la communication sociale [To repeat, linguistics cannot do without a global theory of social communication]” (pp. 23-24). It is important to examine this ecolinguistic model in terms of its capacity not just to describe ecologically the language situation of the world but especially to demonstrate the

mechanism of language change. My approach here is to examine each of Calvet's four submodels with the above in mind.

THE GRAVITATIONAL SUBMODEL

In my opinion, it makes good sense to start, as Calvet does, with the submodel that is the most encompassing both spatially and linguistically. Here, we are analyzing languages in broad spatial terms. Geographically, we are dealing with continents and countries and linguistically with broadly defined language units, that is, ones that the Indian census would term *language units*. According to Calvet, this gravitational submodel is "destiné à rendre compte de la situation linguistique mondiale, des rapports macrosociolinguistiques entre les différentes langues [destined to take into account the world language situation, the macrosociolinguistic relationships between different languages]" (p. 16).

This submodel is further developed in chapter 2, "La galaxie des langues" (pp. 75-99), in terms of an analogy (galaxies and constellations) used by de Swann (1993) and others and based on a principle of attraction between centers and peripheries; that is, languages in peripheral positions are attracted to those in central positions. The glue that holds this all together is the gravitational pull by the larger bodies on the smaller ones in the case of constellations and, by analogy, in the case of languages, the desire or need of speakers in smaller language networks to communicate with speakers in larger language networks. Calvet notes that bilingual speakers are usually bilingual in either an equal (horizontal bilingualism) or larger (vertical bilingualism) language network (p. 78).

From this constellational model, Calvet develops a typology of languages on four levels, which he denotes as (a) hypercentral, (b) supercentral, (c) central, and (d) peripheral. Visually, this hierarchy is pyramidal in shape, with one language (English) at the summit and more and more languages on each consecutive descending level. It is easy enough to classify English at the summit and 4,000 to 5,000 languages at the base of the pyramid (i.e., at both extremes), but if one is to do a careful ranking of many languages, it would be difficult to determine where to place many specific cases, especially those on the supercentral and central (or middle) levels. For example, Calvet places Hindi and Malay on the second or supercentral level and German on the third or central level along with another European language, Czech. One could easily argue that German is just as important as Hindi or Malay and much more important than Czech and that German should rather be placed on the second or supercentral level. Why it is not, in spite of its number of speakers, is not clearly explained by Calvet. To do a serious rather than ad hoc classification, what one really requires is a good system of ranking based on quantitative measurements. This Calvet unfortunately does not provide, apart from the comment that "mais le nombre important de locuteurs ne suffit pas à conférer le statut de langue super-centrale [but the number of speakers is not sufficient to confer super-central status on a language]" (p. 79). I would agree with Calvet that it is not only the number of speakers that confers status, but if not speakers, what is it exactly? What other criteria are involved? Unfortunately, Calvet does not tell us, but he tries perhaps to grapple with this problem in the same chapter by explaining "le problème de la dynamique de ce système [the problem of the

dynamics of this system]" (p. 81). He points to demography, conquest, the expansion of religion, and conversions and commerce as possible triggers of change. Calvet speaks of an internal dynamic that rewards already-powerful languages: "Plus une langue a de la valeur et plus elle en acquiert [the more value a language has, the more value it acquires]" (p. 81). Finally, he states that this value is acquired through the number of users: "Plus elle (la langue) a d'utilisateurs et plus elle augmente sa valeur [the more users a language has, the more its value increases]" (p. 81). First, it is difficult to follow this argument because of Calvet's use of alternate terms such as *status* and *value* (*statut* and *valeur*) and *speakers* and *users* (*locuteurs* and *utilisateurs*), which are not clearly defined, although one could presume they have different meanings simply because of the choice of alternate terms. For example, if *speakers* and *users* both refer to almost the same thing, namely, *speakers* and *locuteurs*, then I would not agree with Calvet's statement "plus elle (la langue) a d'utilisateurs et plus elle augmente sa valeur" (p. 81). Second, this explanation of the dynamics of the situation does not really help shed light on the above problem of the ranking of the world's languages, and it is too schematic to help us better understand the whole process of language change in the macro sphere.

Under the subheading "La constellation hindie" ("The Hindi Constellation"; p. 85), and in keeping with the overall galactic model, Calvet introduces the three-dimensional figures of my unipolar and multipolar language constellations, showing two states in India (pp. 86-87; there also exists a third constellation without poles, which he also mentions in the text but does not show as a figure). In my article, I demonstrated that constellations are constructed not on the basis of the number of speakers but on the basis of the uses and functions of a language and that a shift in the composition of the constellation (e.g., from unipolar to multipolar) may have a bearing not only on the distribution of the functions but also on the number and types of significant situational variables that come into play. The total number of speakers or the number of bilinguals may be a highly significant variable in one constellation but less so in another. What is important in my view is that these uses and functions are quantified in terms of vitality ratings (dependent variable), which are based on an analysis of various situational variables (independent variables) according to constellation type. In my article, these variables were demographic in type, but other types of variables could also be added. It is unfortunate that Calvet, in reproducing my table and figures, has removed the vitality ratings, which are basic to the overall exposé. My quantified approach could be helpful not only in understanding the dynamics of the constellation model but also in creating a quantified ranking of languages through the use of vitality ratings. My approach also helps clarify such terms as *speakers* and *users* on one hand and *functions* and *uses* on the other. In Calvet's (*situations*)-*pratiques-représentations*, the above quantificational and analytical approach could shed light on the *situations-pratiques* part of his equation.

Later in chapter 2, Calvet devotes a section to writing systems, "La galaxie des écritures" ("The Galaxy of Writing Systems"), and in doing so continues to use the same analogy of galaxies and hierarchies that he uses for languages. He correctly notes that any number of writing systems can depict the sounds of a single language and that the same writing system, when used for several languages, modifies its sounds accordingly for representing the same grapheme. Just as English dominates as the hypercentral language in Calvet's galaxy of

languages, so is Latin the hypercentral script in his galaxy of scripts. However, there seems to be no supercentral level (as there is for languages) but rather only a three-level hierarchy for scripts, namely, (a) hypercentral, (b) central, and (c) peripheral, and these are shown in his figure on page 96. Calvet's representations of Tamil and Hindi are misleading in this figure. Because Tamil has a written history of over 2,000 years, its script cannot be considered a direct development of the Arabic script, as is the case for Urdu. Although I am no expert on scripts, it is probable that both Arabic and Tamil have an earlier common origin in one of the Semitic alphabets, perhaps Kharoshthi, which was a derivation of Aramaic and used throughout northwest India during the days of Persian rule. As for Hindi, being an offshoot of Sanskrit, it should appear under Sanskrit rather than on the same line. Putting them together, as Calvet does, is like placing Latin alongside Portuguese. Finally, the supercentral language that is denoted by Devanagari is not Hindi, as claimed by Calvet ("le dévanagari note le hindi [Devanagari denotes Hindi]"; p. 97), but is, of course, Sanskrit.

THE HOMEOSTATIC SUBMODEL

Conceptually, it is somewhat difficult to locate this submodel (i.e., in terms of a macro-micro scale), but in mentioning "la régulation des situations linguistiques et des langues [the regulation of language situations and languages]" in his definition (p. 16), Calvet might appear to be conceptually in the above *situations-pratiques* part of the equation. A careful reading of the chapter, however, suggests that the *représentations* part of the equation is also included, in that we are not just including social functions but also the forming of these social functions according to social needs: "Ce modèle implique donc que l'on distingue entre les besoins linguistiques de la société et les fonctions sociales de la langue [this model implies then that one distinguishes between the linguistic needs of the society and the social functions of language]" (p. 101).

This submodel is depicted as a rheostat that controls change as part of an inner dynamic, especially from outside forces that are wont to create imbalance. It is "destiné à rendre compte de la régulation des situations linguistiques et des langues [destined to take into consideration the regulation of language situations and languages]" (p. 16). Calvet further explains,

Le modele homéostatique ou modele d'autorégulation implique un processus de réponse à des stimuli extérieurs qui peut engendrer le changement: la régulation est une réaction à un stimulus extérieur par un changement interne qui tend à neutraliser les effets de ce stimulus [The homeostatic or self-regulated model implies a response process to outside stimuli that can create change: regulation is a reaction to an outside stimulus by an internal change, which tends to neutralize the effects of the stimulus]. (p. 100)

Calvet then gives several examples of how particular language functions (e.g., *langue véhiculaire*) are the result of a specific language form coming out of a milieu where there is no common language but are also a response to a social need for unification. Although Calvet gives several such examples that further highlight change of language form in response to a social need, what he of-

fers is basically a general descriptive mechanism with supporting examples rather than a detailed description of a rheostatic mechanism or even a quantitative model. Although I cannot claim to have the last word on this issue, the homeostatic model (the general power model of contextual and vital forces and their resolution) that I proposed (McConnell, 1991) does give detailed features of such a mechanism, which is also supported by the possibility of a quantification of the forces at play. The aim of my model is to explain functional change (or maintenance) of languages in a constellation, and it hypothesizes that this change (or lack thereof) is based first on an inner resolution of forces that can be measured at any given moment by the vitality rates of each of the languages in place. It is also based on an outer concordance of forces that can influence (or not influence) the inner forces already in place.

According to the present model, internal forces and their resolution may largely account for vitality levels with either no influence from external forces or with external forces intervening only periodically and dramatically, or as an additional sustaining factor to internal forces already in place. (McConnell, 1991, p. 227)

My model is conceptually simpler than Calvet's in that it aims to account for change in language use and function (e.g., functional spread), whereas Calvet focuses both on a change in function and on a change in form: "Et il nous faut donc rendre compte en meme temps de la régulation interne de la langue et de la régulation sociale des situations linguistiques [One has to take into account at the same time the internal regulation of a language and the social regulation of social situations]" (p. 104). However, to really advance things theoretically, what we require here is a more detailed descriptive or quantifiable approach to the homeostatic model rather than what Calvet has proposed.

THE REPRESENTATIONAL SUBMODEL

According to Calvet's definition, this submodel is "destiné à rendre compte de la façon dont les locuteurs, individuellement et collectivement, perçoivent leurs pratiques et celle des autres [destined to give an account of the way in which speakers, individually and collectively, perceive their practices and that of others]" (p. 16). It would be difficult to contest the need for such a submodel, which nicely fits under the *représentations* part of the equation that Calvet proposes. In spite of the reference to Labov, whose early work identified specific language forms with specific social classes, including individual opinions on the forms and norms used, and to Lambert's matched guise test, which demonstrated stereotypes related to language group identification (the characteristics and traits of the same person were rated differently depending on the language used), Calvet only skims over the vast literature available in this area, which may be variously labeled *sociolinguistics* or *social psychology* and which is the central concern of this journal.

I noted earlier that the theoretical advancement of the whole field of language and communication was partly stymied by the lack of coordination between specialists of social psychology and those working in the sociology of language (i.e., the micro and macro spheres). That Calvet has brought these two important aspects of social communication together in his equation

certainly again serves as a reminder that both are required if we are to have an overall theory of communication regarding language and social change. Calvet firmly states that “la social donne naissance à du linguistique, que les conditions écolinguistiques produisent par le biais des représentations, des pratiques et donc de la forme [the social gives birth to the linguistique, that ecolinguistic conditions produce through the bias of representations, usages and therefore form]” (p. 179). This is to say that the concerns of social psychology, which are largely subjective and specific to individuals and groups, have an important bearing on usage (both as to choice of function and choice of form) as well as on the form of language or language variety per se. Calvet backs this up with his Malinké-Bambara example (pp. 177-180), which shows a strong preference for the language of the city (Bambara) as opposed to the language of the village (Malinké) and a corresponding adaptation to city phonological features, especially by those migrating to the urban area.

Calvet dedicates a large part of chapter 4 to the dichotomy of security and insecurity (*sécurité* and *insécurité*). “Mais les représentations portent le plus souvent sur l’ensemble de la langue et peuvent entre autres choses révéler une sécurité ou une insécurité dans différents domaines . . . ayant un effet de rétroaction sur les usages, les modifiant [But representations usually encompass the whole language and can among other things reveal a security or an insecurity in different domains . . . having a retroactive effect on usage by modifying it]” (p. 158). As for representations, Calvet identifies what he calls three domains: (a) language form (*forme des langues*), that is, how people speak or how they should speak (e.g., patois vs. standard); (b) language status (*statut des langues*), that is, what people think they should speak (e.g., Parisian French); and (c) identifying function (*fonction identitaire*), that is, what characterizes the community (e.g., local French). These three domains are compounded in terms of security and insecurity (the view of the speaker) and again in terms of securance and insecurity (*sécurisation* and *insécurisation*; the view of the speaker’s observer) to produce numerous representations that purportedly yield a multiplication of language practices and forms. All this seems needlessly complicated and epistemologically does not help us measure the influence that representation does have on both choice and change of language functions and forms as opposed to situational and contextual factors that also act on these same functions and forms. This is where a combination of the above two traditions, the sociology of language and social psychology, would be such a great asset and allow us to determine whether the thrust of change comes mainly from the constellational matrix or from the representational one. Frequently, language forms and functions are givens in any specific context, but forms and functions are also manipulable to some degree to allow for change and evolution of both in communication networks.

THE TRANSMISSION SUBMODEL

According to Calvet, this submodel is “destiné à rendre compte de la façon dont les situations et les langues évoluent [destined to take into account the manner in which situations and languages evolve]” (p. 16). Although Calvet claims to be dealing with “un autre facteur de régulation et d’évolution [another factor of regulation and evolution]” (p. 183), what he is really dealing with is the transmission and spread of languages either intergenerationally or

simply over time, that is, the old question of the loss, spread, or gain of language speakers either as mother tongue or second language speakers: “Nous avons vu que le facteur limitant principal des langues était le nombre de leur locuteurs [We have seen that the main limiting factor of languages was the number of their speakers]” (p. 185).

Calvet then moves on to a lively discussion of the creation of new language forms and particularly of the genesis of creole languages, which are unique in that they can give us an example of a relatively recent and rapid change in language form and function (p. 213). “Mon hypothèse est donc que “la genèse” des créoles met en jeu deux processus corrélatifs, la non-transmission des langues des esclaves d’une part, l’appropriation “sauvage”, informelle, d’une autre langue présente dans la niche écolinguistique d’autre part [My hypothesis then is that the genesis of creoles brings into play two correlated processes, the nontransmission of languages of the slaves on the one hand and the informal or “savage” appropriation of another language present in the ecological niche on the other hand]” (p. 213). This is interesting in itself because it sheds light on a “short” evolutionary process of language formation and change but finally adds not a great deal to the general theoretical explanation of language spread, maintenance, and loss. Other than making further references to the natural transmission of languages and to migration (p. 222) or to the functions of languages (p. 223) or an appeal for a need to measure such language changes, there is very little in this chapter that advances the overall theoretical plan and that could not have just as well been placed in chapter 2 under the homeostatic model or be partly dealt with by my general power model of contextual and vital forces.

CONCLUSION

Calvet’s aim for this book was an ambitious one: to build a conceptual framework for language in society and, by the use of an ecological model, to account for change and direction of change in language form and function through appropriate representations and situations. “Ce livre s’attachera à proposer le cadre conceptuel dans lequel une telle reconstruction (langue et société) est possible [This book will try to propose a conceptual framework in which such a reconstruction (language in society) is possible]” (p. 22). To this end, Calvet proposes a four-tiered interactive model that would “tenter de rendre compte de la communication sociale dans toute sa complexité [attempt to give an account of social communication in all its complexity]” (p. 16). Although Calvet in his model-building process does propose some useful constructs and typologies, in particular that of his *situations-pratiques-représentations*, the reconstruction is based on a descriptive and anecdotal *modus vivendi*. This can be useful to clarify a point but, especially in an ecological-type model, never gets to what will finally be required: a quantitative *modus vivendi*. This would allow us, for example, to measure things such as the functional strength of a language or languages or the relative importance of specific external forces (independent variables) at play according to the type of constellation. It would then allow us to hypothesize as to whether certain types of language configurations would privilege certain types of variables. It would also call for a much more integrated effort on the part of language sociologists and psychologists so that

language change could be detected and measured both from “above” and from “below”. Calvet’s model is structurally not detailed enough, nor is it quantitatively organized to do this job.

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Folk Linguistics. Nancy A. Niedzielski and Dennis R. Preston. Berlin, Germany: Mouton De Gruyter, 1999. 375 pp. ISBN 3-11-016251-2 (hardcover).

A book of “*stankos*”? A new word for me, and one that I guess will be unfamiliar to many scholars of the post-Chomsky generation. *Stankos* was apparently coined by Leonard Bloomfield’s family to describe the language beliefs of nonlinguists. Bloomfield often collected what he considered “ignorant or stupid remarks about language” made by people outside of academia. Presumably, he did so for reasons of amusement rather than as potential data that could warrant serious investigation. Despite Bloomfield’s misgivings and those of many professional linguists subsequently, here is a book dedicated to *stankos* and one moreover that sets its store by arguing that nonlinguists’ beliefs about language not only deserve careful consideration but also should be systematically collected and interpreted.

Received linguistic science has tended to refute the idea that nontrained professionals have any direct role to play in the discipline. Although these ordinary language users, or “folk,” as Niedzielski and Preston prefer to refer to them, have been readily used as informants, consultants, and respondents in descriptive language studies as well as in the analytic and experimental methodologies developed in language attitude studies and sociolinguistics, their contributions to linguistic argument and theory in general have not been much explored. A tradition for the discussion of “folk linguistics” is accorded very recent history by Niedzielski and Preston. It is a tradition that is directly related to Hoenigswald’s (1966) call of just over 35 years ago to take professional cognisance of “not only what goes on (language), but also in . . . how people react to what goes on (they are persuaded, they are put off, etc.) and in . . . what people say goes on (talk concerning language)” (p. 20).

One scholar who has responded positively to this call in the intervening years is Dennis Preston (1989, 1993, 1994, 1996). He has tended to be something of a lone voice, however, because relatively few scholars have pursued Hoenisgwald's (1966) suggestions in any systematic way. Indeed, this is the first monograph-length treatment of folk linguistic beliefs of which I am aware. It is welcomed accordingly because if native language users speak about a linguistic phenomenon, then it should surely merit professional concern. Whether the concerns raised by Niedzielski and Preston will have a major impact on the wider linguistic community remains to be seen. My guess is that enthusiasm for the book will tend to be limited to those scholars who are already empathetic to the Hymesian ethos in which it is framed.

The data of folk linguistic beliefs are taken as the object of enquiry. The aims are to demonstrate how these data can be "more systematically collected and interpreted" and "to know the organizing principles behind belief." The argument and findings are acknowledged to be "complex." *Folk Linguistics* is a challenging text in terms of both its content and its readability. It is clearly established that the folk have much to say about language and that what is said should be an integral part of the ethnography of a speech community. A role for folk linguistics is also ascribed in the field of applied linguistics, with particular respect to issues of first- and second-language acquisition and language use and norms in education. Folk notions with respect to grammar are more briefly explored.

Rather than its substantive arguments, it was the data of *Folk Linguistics* that captured my attention, for therein is the essence of its scholarly contribution and also the potential for the kind of methodological and empirical criticism that I think it might attract. The study on which the monograph is based was undertaken more than 10 years ago by a graduate sociolinguistics class at Eastern Michigan University. It is not easy to disentangle the methodology and fieldwork practices of the class or to establish the nature of the corpus that is used by Niedzielski and Preston in their subsequent discussion. Indeed, the section that describes this study (Section 1.2) is oddly brief, given the kind of rigour and detail that is presented in chapter 2, for example.

As I understand it, 68 respondents from southeastern Michigan were identified on the basis of an adaptation of social network theory. The networks appear to be of the loose-knit rather than dense variety. Respondent details in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, and educational background are described in general terms, and the onus is put on readers to "form whatever conclusions they may like about the nature of the folk linguistic data reported in conjunction with the respondents' social status, ethnicity and the like" (p. 325).

The folk thus identified were then made the subjects of "interview-like" and "conversation-like" interactions. It is difficult to determine precisely what took place in these interactions, though I understand that talk about language was ubiquitous enough to provide a corpus of recordings. Details about the process of data collection, transcription, and coding that took place are unfortunately committed to an appendix (p. 325 ff) and a footnote on page 339. I remain unclear as to why "the nonnative fieldworkers were given a list of sentences drawn from contemporary theoretical work in syntax and asked to get native speakers' reactions to them" (p. 40). Indeed, more explicit instruction on the

anticipated uses of the data would help a great deal. The reader is simply informed that

the remainder of what went on with whom and why will be discussed in place as we provide a more detailed account of the topics which preoccupied our folk linguists and of our approaches to and interpretations of what they said. (p. 40)

My intention in raising these issues is not to be niggardly but rather to suggest that a case for the folk might have been made even more compelling if the relationship between methods and theory had been made more explicit (see Milroy, 1987).

The many topics and issues that the folk talk data cover are considered in chapters about regional variation (chapter 2); ethnicity, status, speech style, and gender (chapter 3); language acquisition and applied linguistics (chapter 4); and general and descriptive linguistics (chapter 5). I particularly enjoyed the erudition and detail of Preston's earlier work concerning folk dialect perceptions and the mapping of regional speech zones in the United States (chapter 2). However, the "conversational evidence" presented at the end of this chapter could perhaps have been intercalated in the body of the chapter, as in the remaining chapters of the book. The question that underpins them is, "Is there a link between what linguists have found and folk linguists believe?"

The data and discussion presented in *Folk Linguistics* provide strong evidence for a claim in the affirmative, notwithstanding Niedzielski and Preston's modestly expressed hope "to have provided at least an opening description of this rich territory." In my opinion, it will also help redress the widely held and unflattering view of folk talk as imperfect science (McGregor, 1998). What nonlinguists have to say about language is worth listening to and can only complement linguistic description in ways that deserve more than cursory consideration or the pejorative status of stanko in the Bloomfieldian sense. Ordinary language knowledge is an intrinsic part of Gumperz's interactional sociolinguistic theory (Figuroa, 1994). Perhaps this can provide an avenue for exploring the cognitive models that folk use in reasoning about language, as raised in discussion by Niedzielski and Preston in their final chapter. Although their wish not to "frighten readers by making them believe that we intend to go and on" (p. 322) may be a little tongue in cheek, it does indicate that in the case of folk linguistics, much remains to be both written and said.

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The Social Context of Nonverbal Behavior. Pierre Philippot, Robert S. Feldman, and Eric J. Coates (Eds.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999. ISBN 0-521-58371-3 (hardcover); 0-521-58666-6 (paperback).

Traditionally, the study of nonverbal behavior has followed what some call the "channel" approach, whereby behaviors such as gaze, touch, proxemics, and so on are studied individually, without regard for other behaviors that they accompany. More recently, scholars have taken a "functional" approach to the study of nonverbal behavior (e.g., Andersen, 2000; Patterson, 1983), examining various social functions (e.g., intimacy, emotional expression, etc.) served by combinations of nonverbal behaviors. *The Social Context of Nonverbal Behavior* takes yet a different position by analyzing nonverbal behaviors as a function of the social contexts in which they are embedded and that they create and shape. In the preface, the editors appropriately point out that the volume presents some of the most contemporary perspectives on nonverbal behavior, with an eye toward the controversy over biological versus social forces behind the production of nonverbal behavior. These chapters are written by a mix of established scholars and young scientists in the area of nonverbal communication. This book is appropriate for advanced undergraduate- and graduate-level courses on nonverbal behavior and/or emotion. Researchers working in the area of nonverbal communication and emotion will also find considerable utility in many of the book's chapters.

The book is divided into four major sections. The first section, entitled "Social Norms and Nonverbal Behavior," starts with a chapter by Kupperbusch et al. that addresses cultural influences on nonverbal behaviors. This chapter contains an excellent overview of the classic studies that supposedly established the facial expression universality position. In their analysis, the authors outline the components of a theory of culture and emotional expression and provide some useful suggestions for future research. However, one can see the authors struggle with the idea of "culture," rightfully noting that there is great heterogeneity within a given culture. Their admonition to assess culture at the individual level ultimately raises questions about what culture really means. The next chapter in this section, by LaFrance and Hecht, is an interesting analysis of gender and role norms in smiling. There is a strong analysis of display rules and how they often prescribe smiling for those in low-status roles, regardless of whether they really feel like smiling. The authors present the results of a study in which they manipulated power and found, consistent with several

other lines of research on nonverbal behavior, greater variability in the smiling behavior of high-powered actors compared to those with less power. The final chapter in this section on social norms is by Saari and Weber, examining the complex function of emotional displays in children. Saari and Weber provide a stimulating discussion of different types of expressive manipulations in children along with an equally compelling treatment of individual differences in emotional displays. The authors argue that emotion management plays a major role in children's coping. Saari and Weber try to cover a lot of ground in this chapter, resulting in a sometimes unfocused collection of findings within which a number of engaging topics are discussed.

The second part of the book, "Transmission of Social Norms Regulating Nonverbal Behavior," picks up where the first part left off. Halberstad et al.'s chapter presents a synthesis of the literature on family expressiveness and its relationship to various child outcomes such as social competence, aggression, popularity, self-esteem, and temperament. The authors summarize a fairly large body of literature in this chapter with a quasi-meta-analytic technique based on counting studies with significant associations but absent any calculation or presentation of effect sizes. Unfortunately, readers will be left wondering how strong or weak these associations are. Also, for certain dependent variables, the number of studies available is often less than five, again making conclusions somewhat tenuous. Nevertheless, in typical form, Halberstad and her colleagues offer a fine methodological critique of studies on family expressiveness and demonstrate an unparalleled command of this literature. But, for those who are genuinely curious about nonverbal behavior, the "family expressiveness" construct does not readily translate to any particular profile or manifestation of nonverbal behaviors. Coats et al. follow with a chapter about the influence of television on children's nonverbal behavior. Social learning theorists are sure to gravitate toward their thesis that television is a socializing agent for children's emotional expressiveness. They argue convincingly that television can teach display rules to young viewers. Their data indicate that frequent viewers of television are good encoders of the same sorts of emotions that are often depicted on television and that they are more emotionally expressive, as well as better decoders, than less frequent viewers. Finally, a chapter by Kirouac and Hess on group membership and nonverbal decoding finishes off this section. Whereas earlier chapters argue that norms for nonverbal behavior come from family and media, Kirouac and Hess indicate that our group membership also influences both the encoding and decoding of emotional displays. Their analysis suggests that people use knowledge of a target's group membership when making inferences about that person's nonverbal behavior. Factors such as culture, gender, and status are all offered as group variables that affect the production and interpretation of nonverbal behavior. Like several other chapters in the book, however, Kirouac and Hess make such a good case for the many factors that can affect encoding and decoding of nonverbal behavior that clear predictions and simple summaries become a near impossibility.

The third section of this book, entitled "Immediate Social Factors During Interaction," explores social contexts associated mostly with facial expression. This section's first chapter, by Hess et al., is an intriguing analysis of mimicry, a behavioral phenomenon as mysterious as it is ubiquitous. Potential answers to some vital questions about the functions of nonverbal mimicry and a candid

assessment of the baselessness of clinical lore on mimicry are presented. The second chapter in this section, authored by Fernandez-Dols, presents a situationist analysis of facial expression and emotion that is more of a critique of traditional assumptions linking emotion and facial expression than a presentation of an alternative perspective. Fernandez-Dols's analysis rests in part on the poor connection between the etymology of the term *expression* ("to squeeze out") and the phenomenology of facial behavior. One has to wonder if perhaps this approach pays sufficient attention to both the lay and professional usage of the term *expression* and whether the issue at hand is more semantic than empirical. The following chapter by Wagner and Lee explores facial behavior as it is affected by the presence of others. These authors also question the necessary link between emotion and facial expression, noting that expressions can be facilitated or inhibited and rendered qualitatively different by the presence of others and the relationship between an encoder and his or her audience. Wagner and Lee's analysis, however, is propelled by some curious assumptions, such as Fridlund's position that people often behave as if they are with a mental companion, so there is no such state as "alone," and Wagner and Lee's own assertion that nonverbal behavior cannot be understood without reference to the verbal behavior that it accompanies. These arguments are for the most part extraneous to the overall thrust of the chapter but will raise suspicion in some readers. In the final chapter of this section, Manstead et al. review their program of work on social and emotional functions of facial displays. The authors strike a near ideal balance between a wholesale demolition of the emotional expression view (that facial expression is indicative of underlying emotion) and blind acceptance of a direct and invariant path from emotion to facial expression. Although they appear mildly sympathetic to Fridlund's claim that there is no causal connection between emotion and facial behavior, Manstead et al. present a good case for at least some relationship between internal emotional experience and facial expression. The authors are also refreshingly candid about the untestability of the hypothesis that people exhibit facial expressions pursuant to various social motives.

The chapters in this third section of the book, aside from Hess et al.'s, present a fairly thorough critique and analysis of many traditional assumptions about emotion and facial behavior. However, as a whole, they argue that the relationship between emotion and facial expression is affected by factors a, b, c, d, e, f, and g; useful for explanation but a nightmare for prediction.

The fourth and final section of this book, "The Role of Nonverbal Behavior in the Facilitation of Social Interaction," for the most part explores nonverbal behavior in relational contexts. This section starts with a chapter by Patterson that provides an excellent, readable discussion of the evolution of his parallel process model. Patterson provides a clear historical context for this theory, adeptly reviewing its predecessors, such as arousal labeling theory and equilibrium theory, refreshingly garnished with a frank assessment of the scope and weaknesses of the parallel process model. In the past decade, it has become fashionable in the field of nonverbal behavior research to articulate theories that sometimes call on dozens of factors to explain the action and function of nonverbal behaviors in social contexts. Although Patterson's model does not go quite that far, the number of variables required to provide an explanation or prediction of nonverbal behavior and the social judgments it can produce can be downright burdensome. Despite that, Patterson's model is sensible and

understandable. This chapter is sure to find its way onto the required reading list of many courses on nonverbal behavior. Feeney et al.'s chapter on nonverbal behavior and conflict in close relationships follows. This is an overview of a program of research conducted with Noller, with particular attention to three of their recent studies. The third of these is particularly novel, examining conflict patterns in families with twins. Most notably, they found that fathers' conflict styles not only affect their relationships with the twins but that they also affect the relationship between the twins. This line of research clearly shows how nonverbal behavior is a manifestation of satisfaction with or withdrawal from close relationships and some of the collateral consequences it can have. This fourth section of the book concludes with a strong chapter by Anderson et al. on deception in close relationships. Anderson and his associates explore the truth bias and social context of deception. They provide a compelling account of why the process of deception may vary in close relationships. As it turns out, there is not a great deal of attention granted to particular nonverbal behaviors (something that this chapter has in common with many others in this book) and not a great deal of data available for review. Anderson et al.'s chapter raises several hypotheses about deception in close relationships, and when there are existing studies that speak to these hypotheses, Anderson et al. do a good job of extracting useful evidence.

As a whole, *The Social Context of Nonverbal Behavior* avoids a mere rehash of channel or functional approaches to nonverbal behavior. However, does it succeed in situating the analysis of nonverbal behavior in a social context? Most of the contributing authors make a good case for considering such contextual factors as culture, gender, race, family, close relationships, and even television for understanding how and why nonverbal behaviors function. With that said, at times, the social context analysis can be dissatisfying, taking the form that "to understand the meaning and function of X, you need to consider these 15 social factors." The search for parsimonious social regularities sometimes looks both dismal and futile after reading certain sections of the book. One also has to wonder if some of the authors stayed a bit too far away from the channel approach. There are virtually no mentions of certain behaviors such as gesture, proxemics, paralanguage, clothing use, posture, and touch to be found anywhere in this book. Readers who want to know about these behaviors will have to make inferences based on discussions of family expressiveness, "emotional expression," and "conflict style," for example. However, this book is sure to appeal to those interested in emotional expression. At least half of the chapters in this book are squarely focused on emotional expression. In this sense, the book is unbalanced, dominated by an analysis of this one function of nonverbal behavior, its most commonly associated channel (facial expression), and the attendant debate over the universality versus cultural specificity of facial expressions of emotion. This debate is nothing new, and the chapters that address it summarize more than advance the controversy. Despite its uneven coverage of nonverbal functions and behaviors, this book represents an important step toward the understanding of nonverbal behavior as a function of the social context in which it is embedded, particularly in the area of emotional expression.

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Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis. Lillie Chouliaraki and Norman Fairclough. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 1999. 168 pp. ISBN 0-7486-1082-0 (paper).

Applied Discourse Analysis: Social and Psychological Interventions. Carla Willig (Ed.). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press, 1999. 166 pp. ISBN 0-335-20226-8 (paper).

Critical Textwork: An Introduction to Varieties of Discourse and Analysis. Ian Parker and the Bolton Discourse Network. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press, 1999. 226 pp. ISBN 0-335-20204-7 (paper).

All three of these books proclaim a concern with expanding the scope of critical analysis of discourse. In this sense, they seek to positively counter, respectively, the absence of a developed analytic framework for grasping contemporary historical and ideological shifts, a reluctance to explore the practical usability of findings, and the exclusive concern with written or spoken discourse. Although all three deal with issues of relevance to those interested in language and social psychology, only the collection of articles edited by Carla Willig explicitly engages with psychological topics. Broadly speaking, there is a shared preference of analytic style, that is, toward a focus on the use of historically situated discursive resources and the attendant positionings as opposed to a more ethnomethodologically informed excavation of the fine grain of local, situated practical activity.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough set out to formulate a research agenda for critical discourse analysis (CDA) that offers the possibility of critically illuminating what are seen as the large-scale societal and economic changes associated with late modernity. Overall, it represents a substantial work of theoretical synthesis—incorporating clearly written chapters on, for example, the theory of critical social science, the theory of discourse, and sociological theories of late modernity—and ambitiously brings forth a complex amalgamation of a wide range of analytically relevant themes.

Part of the book's aim is to ensure that CDA is equipped to demonstrate how societal transformations, as analysed by theorists such as Anthony Giddens, David Harvey, and Jürgen Habermas, are instantiated in the domain of discursive practice. It is the discursive aspects of contemporary change that are to be empirically explored by CDA. In the process, it is expected that the sociological analyses, which themselves broadly recognise that the societal transformations to a significant degree consist of transformations in language, will in turn be enriched. The different forms of change foregrounded by the theorists

of societal transformation—forms that are said to have corresponding effects in the discursive domain—include the growth of reflexivity, globalisation, the unsettling of identities, and the colonisation of one social practice by discourses or genres originating in another realm. The most important and overriding process, however, in the light of which the above themes take on a particular analytic significance, is that of hybridisation. On one hand, hybridity is recognised here as an inherent feature of discourse. The coexistence of different historically constituted themes within an unstable mix means that there has always been the potential for different discursive elements to be articulated together as historical circumstances shift. On the other hand, Chouliaraki and Fairclough wish to suggest that late modernity is characterised by an intensification of hybridity: “In late modernity, boundaries between social fields and therefore between language practices have been pervasively weakened and redrawn, so that the potential [for articulating practices together in new ways] seems to be immense” (p. 13). Examples of such a process raised in the book include the presence of the informal language of everyday life within public media discourse, the extension of the commodified discourse of advertising into traditional spheres of political discourse, and the local incorporation of elements of globally dominant cultural material by more marginal cultural practices.

It is this theme of hybridity, or “interdiscursivity,” that suggests an analytic focus for CDA’s attempt to explore changing relations of power. The task is one of investigating the (practically realised) relationship between conflicting discursive elements, for each of the changes mentioned above is said to exist in a complex relationship with its opposite: colonisation coexists with appropriation, globalisation with localization, and reflexive consciousness with ideological naturalisation. Such a route involves both an acceptance of the grand sociological narratives of late modernity and a determination of their limits, especially those that display an overoptimism about the universalisation of reflexivity and the openness of the social.

Mapping the semiotic diversity of the hybrid text involves identifying “orders of discourse,” defined as “the socially ordered set of genres and discourses associated with a particular social field, characterised in terms of the shifting boundaries and flows between them” (p. 58). In thus tracking how different discursive resources are drawn on and articulated in interaction, it studies something that mediates “between communicative interaction and text on one hand, and social structures and processes on the other” (p. 116).

Most of the book consists of theorising, bringing a diverse selection of concepts into association with one another, in the process attempting to instigate interdisciplinary bridges between CDA and other areas such as the field theory of Pierre Bourdieu. This strong emphasis on theory is in fact unapologetically projected by Chouliaraki and Fairclough at the start of the book, where they state that although viewing the project of CDA as bringing theory and practice together, they have consciously set out to produce a theoretical book. However, there are still a few developed empirical examples of CDA in action given at various points in the book, and it is here that we are able to some extent to judge the strength of the CDA project in general. The main examples include an analysis of an advertisement by a charity for the homeless, focusing on the theme of the commodification of language; an examination of a public exchange of letters regarding alleged acts of unwarranted police violence (here

it is argued that highlighting the hybridity of the text can enhance the analysis originally made of these data by Dorothy Smith); and an analysis of part of a workplace meeting that, Chouliaraki and Fairclough claim, shows how employees integrate a new discourse of “quality practice”—relating to team-based work organisation—imposed from outside their company. Although these topics of analysis are interesting, they do suggest that despite Chouliaraki and Fairclough’s expressed support for a genuine dialogue between theory and practice, there is a risk of theory dominating or drowning out practice. On one hand, this is perhaps more obvious when CDA is used to analyse spoken interaction. CDA’s emphasis on linguistic features—reflected, for instance, in the book’s effort to build a close relationship between CDA and systemic functional linguistics—would seem to make it more suitable for analysing written texts. Despite the intention that CDA be sensitive enough to pick up the subtleties of “the dialogical interactions of everyday life” (p. 118), it is doubtful whether it succeeds in demonstrating with any detail that, at a particular moment, with its particular rhetorical concerns, a particular discourse is being drawn on and thus realised as part of practical sense making in action. But, it is also the operation of studies of written texts that appears quite mechanistic, such that the specificity of local textual relations is not fully explored. It seems to be treated as sufficient to impute the co-occurrence of different discourses in a piece of text at the cost of ignoring the full social-argumentative dimensions, including the various significant absences and the paradoxical manoeuvres associated with the management of dilemmas. It follows that although Chouliaraki and Fairclough’s version of CDA is still able to provide a valuable picture of broad discursive change, certain features that could sharpen the critical edge of the analysis and increase the likelihood of discovering “unsuspected structural connections . . . across practices” (p. 34) are underattended to.

In sum, there would have been much to gain by tempering the extended commitment in this book to theoretical synthesis in favour of fuller empirical engagement with practical complexities and ideological subtleties. There is a risk otherwise of being seen to promise a large amount but to deliver little. One finds oneself unconvinced of the real necessity of so much of the theorising in the book. Still, it remains the case that Chouliaraki and Fairclough deserve praise for their attempt to put large-scale historical change under the analytic spotlight. Their wish to take seriously contemporary processes of marketisation and the changing power relations within the workplace is especially admirable. It is in this sense that their work challenges those interested in language and social psychology to wake up to topics that, despite affecting such a large portion of contemporary social life, so often go unstudied.

In contrast to the theoretical synthesising of *Discourse in Late Modernity*, the other two books under review consist primarily of empirical studies. But, in the case of Willig’s edited collection of research entitled *Applied Discourse Analysis: Social and Psychological Interventions*, there is not to be the usual approach to presenting discussion of empirical findings. Willig claims that the book is “motivated by the desire to move beyond critical commentary and toward an active engagement with social and political practice” (p. 1). It is pointed out that critical analyses typically fail to spell out how the potential implications of the analyses, such as increasing awareness of and resistance to taken-for-granted ideological habits, may be put into practice. That is to say,

they fail to draw out specific recommendations for developing strategic interventions and alternative discursive constructions. Accordingly, each chapter of the book consists of a section of analysis (in most cases of spoken interaction) followed by a section evaluating the implications for potential intervention. The types of data analysed by the six chapters include self-help guides for stress; police interviews with suspected criminals; accounts given by working-class female speakers about their smoking; talk about human reproductive technologies; women talking about sexual safety, condom use, and trust; and a professional psychiatrist's accounting for the failure of medication.

Arguably, three of the chapters come closest to satisfying the book's aims. Two of these show the potential value for health promotion policy of listening to individuals who constitute potential targets of such campaigns. In Gillies's chapter, these individuals are working-class female smokers; in Willig's chapter, they are sexually active women within long-term relationships. Attending to such accounts, it is suggested, can increase understanding of the practical effects of existing health messages that although designed to help, may, if taken seriously, end up disempowering people. Gillies argues that this is the case with warnings against smoking that construct the latter in terms of physiological addiction and consequently risk discouraging attempts to give up. An empirical basis for these conclusions is the readiness of all her respondents to draw on a discourse of addiction in their accounts, routinely portraying their smoking as resulting from deep-rooted physiological dependence. It is also highlighted how the theme of addiction exists in the interviewees' talk within a dilemmatic relationship with the opposite theme of self-control. This observation leads into a discussion of the policy maker's own parallel dilemmas, especially concerning the structural constraints on working-class women for whom, Gillies argues, an unmitigated campaign emphasis on self-control is likely to foster self-blaming and guilt.

More generally, there is also guidance given for future health campaigns through analysis of potentially dangerous representations. Relevant here are the various rhetorical strategies employed to discount the health hazards of smoking and to establish contrasts between the acceptable (because it is considerate) smoking of self and the unacceptable smoking of others.

In the case of Willig's study, potentially dangerous representations include those that legitimate sexual risk taking, such as the notion that protected sexual intercourse could threaten trust within a marriage or other long-term relationship. One policy recommendation that is said to follow from this is to break the exclusive association of condom use with casual relationships. Also discussed are the notions of sex as male preserve and women's passivity more generally, which are portrayed as making women less resistant in the face of the threat of HIV infection.

In contrast to the two studies just mentioned, the chapter by Harper focuses not on lay accounts but on that of a professional psychiatrist. What is being accounted for here is the failure of prescribed psychiatric medication to have the intended effects on one user of mental health services. Harper critically examines the speaker's rhetorical appeal to the chronicity of the user's condition. It is suggested that through such an appeal, responsibility for treatment failure can be pushed away from the medication and professionals and onto users and the illness. In the process, the interests of the pharmaceutical industry are served. The main value of the findings, it is claimed, is their potential in

training mental health professionals and also in encouraging the provision of better information for users of mental health services as well as for their care-givers and relatives.

A notable weakness of this collection is what is frequently an overly basic level of analysis. This can contribute to a sense that some of the implications for interventions that are subsequently drawn out largely resemble wishful thinking. One instance of such an analysis is to be found in Auburn, Lea, and Drake's study of police interviews with suspects of crimes. The focus is on how a police interviewer expresses disbelief in aspects of a suspect's account and warrants this in different ways, the aim being to obtain the suspect's amendment of his or her original account and acceptance of the institutionally preferred version of events. Subsequently, it is suggested that such observations could empower certain potentially vulnerable individuals by enabling them to resist positioning as offenders and to be aware of interactional means used to construct the institutionally preferred version. However, with the level of analysis here remaining very basic, such that no serious critique of interviewing practices is actually developed, it is difficult to see how the study could perform such an empowering role. To the extent that the book as a whole shows such tendencies, it reads at times as a hypothetical exercise, merely indicating possible directions for when applied discourse analysis is seriously implemented in depth. A related observation here is the fact that to inject some iron into the overall argument of the book, it would have been useful to include attempts to follow through an actual attempt to employ discourse analytic findings in an intervention.

Finally, it is worth noting that Willig's introduction and conclusion represent careful attempts to think through some of the ethical and political dilemmas surrounding intervention and to try to theorise its relationship with practice. She ends by signalling the need to differentiate between discourse analysis as a method of intervention and discourse analysis as a source of applicable "findings." The former, it is argued, has greater radical potential, allowing challenge to the conceptual opposition between theory and practice.

Critical Textwork: An Introduction to Varieties of Discourse and Analysis opens with the stated aim of extending discourse analysis beyond the usual focus on interview transcripts or other written texts such as newspaper articles. There is an aspiration to demonstrate how a wider range of texts "can be opened up and read using innovative methods" (p. 1). *Text* in this case is defined in the broadest possible terms as "any tissue of meaning which is symbolically significant for the reader" (p. 4), that is, wherever meaning resides.

The book consists of no fewer than 16 short chapters written by people from a wide variety of disciplinary backgrounds and including nonacademics, all of whom are associated with the Bolton Discourse Network. The latter is described at the beginning of the book as "an interdisciplinary forum for interdisciplinary research into different forms text, based at Bolton Institute" (p. vii). Each chapter follows the same format: a general introduction to the form of text to be considered and to previous approaches to it, an account of the specific text of interest, presentation of this text within a "text box," presentation of an analytic reading of the text, and consideration of the disadvantages and advantages of the analytic approach. The first set of chapters looks at spoken and written texts, including interviews, love letters, children's fiction, and classroom interaction. The second section takes visual texts as its topic, namely,

comics, advertising, television, and film. This is followed by an examination of “physical texts” such as cities, organisations, gardens, and sign language. The final section is entitled “Subjectivity in Research” and is presented as shifting “attention from the ‘written’—whether we are looking at actual written, at visual or at physical material as kinds of writing—to the researcher as *reader* of the texts” (p. 9). In this case, the topics include the body, ethnography, the significance of silence in particular interactive settings, and self-advocacy groups in the lives of people with learning difficulties.

The quality of the analyses in this collection is very mixed: Some are extremely basic and unilluminating, and a small minority are of more interest. A few of the latter category can be mentioned here. Rudd’s chapter on children’s literature attempts to engage with conventional critical evaluations of the fiction of Enid Blyton, including the suggestion that implicit within the *Famous Five* series of books is a middle-class and sexist worldview. To this end, Rudd focuses on the contradiction between these dismissive accounts by adult critics and the fact that Blyton remains the most popular writer ever with children. On reanalysing certain controversial passages from the *Famous Five* books, Rudd claims to find a more complex discourse in which traditional sexual relations are continuously being explored and questioned as well as maintained. Second, Rudd’s efforts to listen to children talk about the books shed light on some unexpected interpretations of the different fictional characters that help challenge some of the adults’ assumptions and indicate a potential for a more radical reading.

Concerning the more exotic forms of text analysed in *Critical Textwork*, two chapters in the section on physical texts stand out. First, Ford provides a stimulating discussion of the way the design of some celebrated Victorian suburban gardens reflected wider ideological themes of early Victorian society. She is aided in this task by a copy of an original intricate diagrammatic representation of one such garden. It is demonstrated how the garden was imbued with a multitude of subtle and not-so-subtle indicators of taste and distinction. As such, it could be employed within the struggle by the new middle class to “achieve the appearance which would reflect their upwardly mobile aspirations” (p. 149). A central theme of the study concerns the way in which an ideology of sexual difference was realised through associated cultural representations, such as that which took for granted the intimate association of women with the flower garden.

Another quite innovative piece of research, by Allbutt, Gray, and Schofield, takes as its text a photographic “transcript” of a section of an interview conducted in sign language with a deaf participant. The discussion of the photographs of the different signs provides some interesting insights, including those relating to identity construction, into an area of interaction of which little is known to those outside the communities directly affected. In so doing, it contributes to the positive notion of deaf people as constituting a distinctive cultural group.

Finally, Nightingale engages in a thought-provoking argument for the limit to social constructionist approaches to the body—the specific case discussed concerns the topic of bodily disability—and the benefits of complementing it with appreciation of the physical body and personal experiences developed in relation to the latter.

A key criticism of this collection is that there is no obvious reason why so many different analyses needed to be included together within the same collection. Some of the analyses appear to be provided not because of their substantive analytic insights but for the sake of demonstrating the range of texts that can be read. Arguably, there may have been more value in including fewer, more detailed studies that had more restricted and coherent overall purposes or rationales as opposed to something as all inclusive as the analysis of meaningful texts.

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