

Tanulmány

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Gender differences in the use of the discourse markers *you know and I mean*¹

“It’s just like, dude, seriously, it’s been a bad week, I mean, kind of thing.”

Abstract

The aim of the paper is to present the results of a study into gender differences in the use of the discourse markers *you know* and *I mean*. The data for analysis is taken from televised interviews, the methodology of the research combines qualitative and quantitative tools and involves mapping the functions of *you know* and *I mean* on the basis of previous research and the tokens in the test corpus, categorising the total number of occurrences in the full corpus as well as identifying co-occurrence patterns. The results seem to contradict previous claims that women use discourse markers more frequently as well as the hypothesis that men and women use discourse markers for radically different interpersonal and discourse functions.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, discourse variation, discourse markers, gender differences

Introduction

The study of discourse variation in general and research into social differences in the use of discourse markers (henceforth DMs) in particular is at an early stage, a fact that is underlined by the scarcity of studies that focus on or even touch upon men and women’s use of DMs (e.g. Dines 1980, Stubbe & Holmes 1995, Holmes 1995). Macaulay summarizes the current state of affairs as follows:

there are many different approaches to the sociolinguistic investigation of discourse, and it would take a braver person than I am to assert with confidence that we have much solid information on gender, age, or social class differences. What we have are a number of intriguing claims that need to be tested again and again... (2008: 226).

The aim of the present paper is to test two of those “intriguing claims”, firstly, the hypothesis that women use DMs as meaningless fillers more often than men do (cf. Lakoff 1973), secondly, the hypothesis that there is a gender difference in the use of DMs in terms of their functions and contexts of occurrence (cf. Erman:1993).

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Data and Methodology

The corpus we compiled for empirical research is a collection of transcribed conversations taken from *Larry King Live*, CNN's most popular and longest-running American talk show hosted by Larry King (the transcripts are available at <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/lkl.html>). The show features topical discussions with guests from the fields of entertainment, politics and economics. The conversations we used were broadcast between May 2000 and July 2009. The corpus consists of two subcorpora: a male and a female corpus. The former is based on the conversations of the interviewer Larry King and his guests, comprising close to 52,000 words. The latter is a collection of interviews between female guest hosts and their female interviewees, and it consists of over 53,000 words. The following two criteria were used in the course of selecting data for analysis and editing the transcripts:

- the corpus contains only conversations: video clips and commercials were cut out,
- the corpus contains face-to face interactions only, call-ins were excluded. Another reason for discarding these phone calls was that the callers are usually identified in the transcripts by city and state and not by name, which makes it difficult/impossible to identify the gender of the speaker

It is also important to note that our corpus differs from corpora based on natural conversation with respect to several dimensions described in Hansen 1998:52:

- 1) Extent to which the communication is made public.
- 2) Degree of intimacy between interlocutors.
- 3) Degree of emotional involvement on the part of the interlocutors.
- 4) Extent to which the communicative process depends on the situational context.
- 5) Referential immediacy vs referential distance.
- 6) Physical closeness vs distance (in both space and time) between interlocutors.
- 7) Degree of cooperation between interlocutors.
- 8) Degree of dialogicity.
- 9) Degree of spontaneity.
- 10) Degree of topic fixation.

The major similarities and differences between spontaneous, naturally-occurring conversations and televised interviews can be summarized as follows:

- the degree of intimacy (dimension 2) between the interviewer and the interviewee is, naturally, lower than between friends or acquaintances but is kept relatively constant across various events, all of Larry King's interlocutors being famous people/public figures, etc.;
- in terms of dimensions 1, 9 and 10 there are significant differences between televised interviews and casual conversation, on the basis of which we expected a lower incidence of *you know* and *I mean* used for lexical search and for speech-monitoring functions as well as a lower D-value for *well* overall;
- in terms of dimensions 5, 6, 7 there are no significant differences between the two types of discourse;

- as for the degree of emotional involvement on the part of interlocutors and extent to which the communicative process depends on the situational context, such factors depend to a great extent on the topic at hand, and cannot be kept constant in either conversations or televised interviews;
- dimension 8 (degree of dialogicity) puts further constraints on the degree of spontaneity in terms of turn-assignment and speaker roles.

In the course of the analysis we used a concordance programme called Sisyphus Concor-dancer, developed by Ágoston Tóth, to whom many thanks are due.

Following Müller's (2004) research method, we performed a two-stage categorisation/indexing process. First, we looked for patterns of usage of *you know* and *I mean* in two test corpora consisting of fifty randomly selected instances of *you know* and *I mean* used by male and by female speakers, respectively. The categories we used in the first, preliminary stage were based on the functions of the two DMs identified in previous research (cf. e.g. Erman 1987 and 2001, Fox-Tree & Schrock 2002). The functions identified in previous research only served as input for the categorisation system which we revised and complemented on the basis of the patterns found in the test corpora. In the second stage, this categorisation system was applied to all 304 and 360 instances of *you know* and *I mean* in the male and female corpus, respectively.

In the course of our research we made every attempt to fill a methodological gap we observed in previous research: in spite of the fact that the multifunctionality of DMs is widely acknowledged in the literature, few analyses are performed in a way that allows for the multifunctionality of DMs as linguistic items *as well as* individual tokens in naturally-occurring data. Thus, analysts, as a rule assign individual functions of DMs to one of a number of categories on an exclusive basis. In our analysis, however, we looked for *correlations* between individual tokens and the possible functions a given item can fulfill.

Findings

You know

We found 304 tokens of *you know* in the male corpus out of which 279 occurrences function as DMs. This means that the D-value of *you know*, calculated as the total number of occurrences divided by the tokens of the DM use, is 91.17% (see Table 1 below). As for the female corpus, out of the 360 occurrences of *you know* 334 functioned as DMs, therefore, the D-value of *you know* in this corpus (92.77%) is not significantly higher than that in the male corpus. These results confirmed our expectations, as the discourse value of *you know* is presumed to be high in case of informal or semi-formal conversations.

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	Tokens of <i>you know</i>	<i>You know</i> as a DM	D-value (%)
Male corpus	304	279	91.17
Female corpus	360	334	92.77

Table 1: Tokens and D-value of you know in the two corpora

After watching the interviews that constitute the corpus and reading their transcripts, we indexed each token of *you know* and identified twelve categories in terms of its functions. As mentioned in the previous section, due to the multifunctionality of DMs, we frequently assigned more than one functions to one token of *you know*, thus a single occurrence can belong to two or even more categories at the same time. Tables 2 and 3 summarise the category numbers applied to the male and the female corpus as well as a brief explanation of each category:

Category	Explanation
[0]	non-DM use
[1]	hesitation, false start, lexical search
[2]	attributive (<i>I’m sure you know the kind of thing I mean</i>), personal involvement
[3]	emphasis, repetition
[4]	explanation, elaboration
[5]	face management, mitigated disagreement
[6]	engage hearer’s interest (<i>‘do you know’</i>)
[7]	contrast, disagreement, unexpected answer
[8]	shared knowledge
[9]	topic shift
[10]	quotation
[?]	ragbag, does not fit into the categories

Table 2: Categories of ‘you know’ in the male corpus

Category	Explanation
[0]	non-DM use
[1]	hesitation, false start, lexical search
[2]	attributive (<i>I’m sure you know the kind of thing I mean</i>), personal involvement
[3]	emphasis, repetition
[4]	explanation, elaboration
[5]	seeking agreement
[6]	engage hearer’s interest (<i>‘do you know’</i>)
[7]	contrast, disagreement, unexpected answer, softener
[8]	shared knowledge
[9]	topic shift, floor management (holding the floor)
[10]	quotation
[?]	ragbag, does not fit into the categories

Table 3: Categories of ‘you know’ in the female corpus

As is clear from the above, there is a lot of overlap between the categories identified in the male and the female corpus. The only category that differs in the two corpora is [5] which includes mitigated disagreements in the male corpus, but utterances used for seeking agreement in the female corpus. In addition to the ten general categories ([1]-[10]) we also used two “ragbag categories” for the functions that did not fit into any of the other categories. Category [0] contains the non-DM uses of *you know* based on syntactic position having the pattern Subject (*you*) + Verb (*know*) + Object complement (*him, her that... etc.*). There were tokens that did not fit into any of the general categories and/or whose functional ambiguity we could not resolve, for such occurrences we set up a category called “ragbag” marked by [?].

Having created the categories, we identified co-occurrence patterns of *you know* (cf. Furkó 2007). The contextual cues and patterns that helped us identify individual functions are given in Tables 4 and 5:

Category/Function	Co-occurrence patterns
[0] non-DM use	syntactic position /syntactic integration
[1] hesitation, false start, lexical search	pauses, repetition, DM cluster with <i>I mean</i>
[2] attributive, personal involvement	<i>just, still</i> , end-of-sentence position
[3] emphasis, repetition	repetition of utterance, emphatic situations (<i>Oh my God, you know...</i>), <i>just, right</i>
[4] explanation, elaboration	response to Wh-question, <i>and</i>
[5] face management, mitigated disagreement	<i>yes, but; probably; I just; I think; I’m not sure; to me</i>
[6] engage hearer’s interest	end-of-sentence position, shortened form of <i>do you know</i>
[7] contrast, disagreement, unexpected answer	negative constructions, <i>but</i>
[8] shared knowledge	reference to mutual background information
[9] topic shift	metastatement (<i>you know what</i>)
[10] quotation	enquoters (<i>saying..., we ask ourselves...</i>)
[?] ragbag	do not fit into any categories

Table 4: Categories of ‘you know’ and their co-occurrence patterns in the male corpus

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Category/Function	Co-occurrence patterns
[0] non-DM use	syntactic position /syntactic integration
[1] hesitation, false start, lexical search	pauses, repetition, <i>I mean, I think, well</i>
[2] attributive, personal involvement	<i>just</i> , end-of-sentence position, vocatives (<i>you know, Tanya,...</i>)
[3] emphasis, repetition	repetition, extensifiers (<i>very, quite</i>), emphatic situations (<i>you know, God bless her</i>), <i>just, right</i>
[4] explanation, elaboration	response to Wh-question, <i>and</i> , “story-telling adverbials” (<i>suddenly, what happened is that...</i>)
[5] seeking agreement	end-of-sentence position, hedging expressions (<i>it seems..., I try to...</i>), <i>shouldn't, I hope</i>
[6] engage hearer's interest	end-of-sentence position, shortened form of <i>do you know, you know what?</i>
[7] contrast, disagreement, unexpected answer	negative constructions, <i>but, though</i>
[8] shared knowledge	mentioning common background information
[9] topic shift	metastatement (<i>let me go back to you</i>), <i>now</i>
[10] quotation	enquoters (<i>say..., I said..., I though..., he asked him...</i>)
[?] ragbag	do not fit into any categories

Table 5: Categories of 'you know' and their co-occurrence patterns in the female corpus

Since there is a significant correlation between the functions of *you know* used by men and women, we can claim that both genders use the DM *you know* in similar ways and there is little difference in the qualitative use of the DM.

The rate of frequency calculated for each function of *you know* is presented in percentages in Figure 1 below:

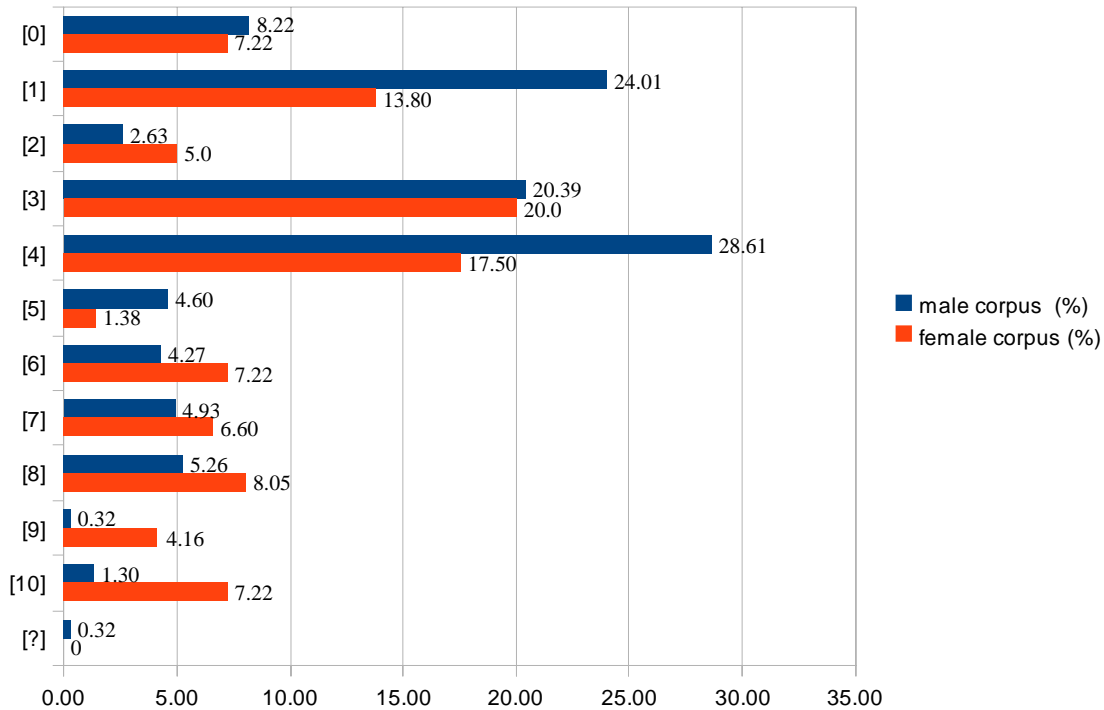


Figure 1: Categorization of tokens of 'you know' in the male and in the female corpus in percentages

It is apparent that the three most common functions are [1], [3] and [4] in both the male and female corpus, but in a different order. Thus, *you know* is used for explanation, elaboration, emphasis and as a verbal filler most of the time by both genders. However, the category that occurred least differs in the two corpora. Male speakers use *you know* as a device for topic change the least frequently, while women applied it to the function of seeking agreement the least often. A significant difference (11%) can be observed in how often *you know* is used for explanation and elaboration by men and by women. It is also apparent that male speakers use *you know* much more frequently for hesitation than female speakers do. In case of the other categories the difference in the rate of frequency is not significant.

The three most common functions of *you know* correspond to the genre of the transcripts we compiled for the empirical part of our study. Since we are dealing with TV interviews, which feature non-planned discourse, the high frequency of hesitations and false starts is not surprising. Also, the question-answer pattern of the interview accounts for the high number of explanation/elaboration use of *you know*.

I mean

Similarly to *you know*, the individual tokens of *I mean* used as a DM/non-DM were counted in both of the corpora in order to calculate their D-values. There were 190 occurrences of *I mean* in the male corpus, of which 183 functioned as discourse markers. In the female corpus 78 out of 81 tokens functioned as DMs. Comparing the two results, we can see that the D-value of *I mean* is almost the same in the two corpora, that is 96.31% in the male and 96.29% in the female corpus.

As a next step, bearing in mind that a single token can display several functions simultaneously, we indexed each occurrence of *I mean* and identified the categories listed in Tables 6 and 7 below:

Category	Explanation
[0]	not a DM, non-DM use
[1]	topic shift
[2]	elaboration
[3]	explanation, clarification
[4]	specification, giving example
[5]	false start, paraphrasing, hesitation
[6]	contrast, disagreement
[7]	summarising, conclusion
[8]	emphasis, repetition
[9]	explanation of speaker's intention
[10]	self-correction
[?]	ragbag, does not fit into the categories

Table 6: Categories of 'I mean' in the male corpus

Category	Explanation
[0]	not a DM, non-DM use
[1]	topic shift
[2]	elaboration
[3]	explanation, clarification
[4]	specification, giving example
[5]	false start, paraphrasing, hesitation
[6]	contrast, disagreement
[7]	clarification of misinterpreted meaning
[8]	emphasis, repetition
[9]	explanation of speaker's intention
[10]	self-correction
[?]	ragbag, does not fit into the categories

Table 7: Categories of 'I mean' the female corpus

As in the case of *you know*, we ended up with ten general and two 'ragbag' categories. Apart from category [7], *I mean* fulfils the same functions in the two corpora. As for the category that differs in the male and the female corpus, it appears that only men use *I mean* for summarising and providing a conclusion, whereas only women use it for the clarification of a misunderstood/misinterpreted utterance. Therefore, we can state that on the basis of our corpora, there is only a minor difference between the functions that male and female speakers assign to *I mean*.

After creating the categories, just as in the case of *you know*, we identified co-occurrence patterns for *I mean*. Tables 8 and 9 provide the two lists of these patterns in the male and the female corpus, respectively:

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Category/Function	Co-occurrence patterns
[0] non-DM use	syntactic position
[1] topic shift	introduction of a new angle
[2] elaboration	response to Wh-question, <i>and</i> , “story-telling linkers” (<i>so...</i> , <i>and...</i>), <i>Yes. I mean...</i> , <i>No. I mean...</i>
[3] explanation, clarification	<i>and</i> , <i>so</i> , <i>because</i>
[4] specification, giving examples	<i>It’s like</i> , channel cues (<i>Well</i> , <i>listen...</i>)
[5] false start, paraphrasing, hesitation	pauses, repetition, <i>you know</i> , <i>well</i>
[6] contrast, disagreement	negative constructions (<i>It’s not true</i>), <i>but</i>
[7] summarising, conclusion	<i>so</i> , summarising content
[8] emphasis, repetition	end-of-sentence position, <i>wow</i> , <i>just</i> , <i>especially</i> ,
[9] explanation of speaker’s intention	<i>and</i> , <i>so</i> , <i>come on</i>
[10] self-correction	<i>never</i> , <i>but</i> , paraphrase
[?] ragbag	do not fit into any categories

Table 8: Categories of ‘I mean’ and their co-occurrence patterns in the male corpus

Category/Function	Co-occurrence patterns
[0] non-DM use	syntactic position
[1] topic shift	introduction of a new angle, <i>the other day</i>
[2] elaboration	response to Wh-question, <i>and</i> , <i>you know</i> , <i>well</i> , <i>I think</i>
[3] explanation, clarification	<i>Absolutely (not). I mean...</i> , <i>and</i> , <i>because</i> , <i>you know</i>
[4] specification, giving examples	<i>It’s like</i> , channel cues (<i>Look at...</i>)
[5] false start, paraphrasing, hesitation	pauses, repetition, <i>you know</i> , <i>well</i>
[6] contrast, disagreement	negatives (<i>No.</i>), <i>but</i>
[7] clarification of misinterpreted meaning	emphasis (<i>we do stand up</i>), <i>No, I mean...</i>
[8] emphasis, repetition	repetition, <i>just</i> , <i>truly</i> , <i>really</i> ,
[9] explanation of speaker’s intention	paraphrasing, tag questions, <i>you know</i>
[10] self-correction	paraphrasing
[?] ragbag	do not fit into any categories

Table 9: Categories of ‘I mean’ and their co-occurrence patterns in the female corpus

As for the frequency of the different functions individual tokens of *I mean* serve, it is clear from Figure 2 that both men and women use *I mean* primarily for elaboration, however, a considerable difference (15%) can be observed in the rate of frequency for the benefit of female speakers. Topic shift is the second most common function used by both sexes, while men (36.84%) use *I mean* with this function more frequently than women (25.92%). The third most frequent function assigned to this DM by men is summarising, whereas in the female corpus the third most common category is specification, giving examples. Male speakers use the functions of contrast, disagreement and explanation of speaker’s intention the least frequently, the latter is the least widely-used category in the female corpus as well.

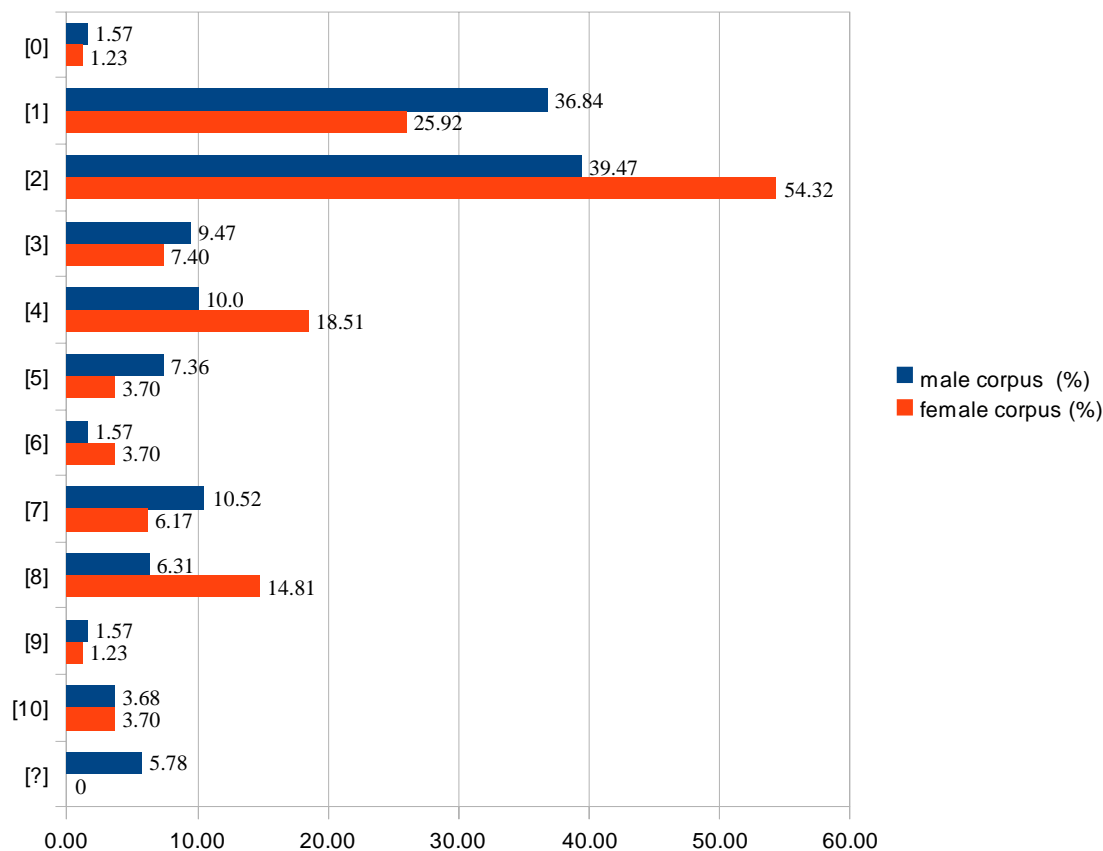


Figure 2: Categorization of tokens of 'I mean' in the male and in the female corpus in percentages

These findings suggest that there are no significant differences between the functions of *I mean* used by men and women. The first two most common categories of the DM seem to indicate that the genre of the exchanges that make up the corpus has a great impact on the functions DMs are used for. Thus, it is not surprising that both men and women used *I mean* primarily for elaboration and topic shift, given that the two corpora consist of interviews. This genre is characterised by frequent topic shifts as well as long, elaborate answers produced by interviewees.

Conclusion

The aim of the present paper was to find possible gender differences in the use of the discourse markers *you know* and *I mean*. On the basis of the corpus selected for analysis we can conclude that contrary to previous literature, there are no substantial *quantitative* differences in the DM use of men and women: men and women use *you know* and *I mean* at a similar rate. As for qualitative/functional differences in DM use, the study suggests that variation according to register and context is greater than variation according to gender. This hypothesis, however, needs to be substantiated by further research that investigates DM use by men and women across a variety of different discourse types.

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Appendix

FUNCTIONS OF 'YOU KNOW'

I. Hesitation, false start, lexical search

- (1) T.C.: I was diagnosed being dyslexic. I came in, learned these tools, and now I -- *you know*, I mean, my literacy is -- it is where it is, and it'll go where I want it to go with these tools.
- (2) C.N.: And we have to remember how far our country has come in such a short space of time. And I think people are really getting comfortable with the idea. I mean, you know, you look at Massachusetts and I think, *you know*, it just took a few years and people saw gay marriage happening in front of them and they said gay people -- gay people's marriages look just like straight people's marriages.

II. Attributive (*I'm sure you know the kind of thing I mean*), personal involvement

- (3) L.K.: Is that working out?
 B.P.: Yes. Yes, well, we're a little -- we're working on it. We're still working on it. You know, we tried a little something last year. But the kids were so young, it just didn't mean much, really. But we're getting there. And, you know, as they get older, they'll start to understand more. Right now, it's still presents, *you know*?
- (4) L.I.: She did use some bleach in the back of the house, in the bathrooms. But really, apparently, the stench of bleach was in the front part of the house when police detectives arrived, so I think that's where that was laid to foundation today.
 N.G.: *You know*, Robi, I don't know if you're much of a housekeeper or not. You're a psychologist. But there's a definite difference between Pinesol and Chlorox bleach.

III. Emphasis, repetition

- (5) T.C.: You could hardly hear the sound, but I remember seeing the Sahara, going, Oh, my God, *you know*, what -- you know, I didn't understand every aspect of that picture, but I remember thinking, I -- was there a time like that? Was there a place like this? Is there a place like this? And it just took me away.
- (6) J.B.: I don't want to leave without asking you, what are you going to do next?
 C.N.: *You know*, organize, organize, organize. I mean there are lawsuits pending in California.

IV. Explanation, elaboration

- (7) L.K.: Is that working out?
 B.P.: Yes. Yes, well, we're a little -- we're working on it. We're still working on it. You know, we tried a little something last year. But the kids were so young, it just didn't mean much, really. But we're getting there. And, *you know*, as they get older, they'll start to understand more.
- (8) J.B.: What happened with that?
 L.L.: Well, what happened with that is that, you know, things weren't going well. And -- and so, you know, unfortunately, I live on a reality show, so everybody knew about it. And then of course the press got a hold of it and what happened is that, *you know*, things weren't working out. We had separated. And then he met somebody else.

V. Face management, mitigated disagreement

- (9) L.K.: You have obviously extraordinary talent. Do you dance?
 S.J.: Well, I'm not saying I can't dance, but *you know*, my main strong point is singing. And that's just basically what I love to do all the time.
- (10) L.K.: OK. So why not -- are you afraid that saying you have a lawyer might anger the Palins?
 L.J.: I don't want to stir anything up, but, *you know*...
 L.K.: But you have rights.
 L.J.: Right.

VI. Engage hearer's interest

- (11) L.K.: So you don't mind a speech a day?
 J.V.: No, because you can turn the channel. You don't have to watch it. *You know*?
 L.K.: You're right.
- (12) C.O.: Congratulations.
 J.B.: Thank you. You're not in it. I hate to break this to you. But I was wondering what happened, *you know*? But anyway, we're in it this year.
 A.C.: I can't be in it every year, Joy.

VII. Contrast, disagreement, unexpected answer

- (13) L.K.: Is there any chance the two of you could get together again?
 L.J.: *You know*, I don't see that ever happening. I just hope that we can come to an understanding and become friends and raise this baby together.

- (14) J.R.: She's so good and she's so smart, you know.
 K.G.: She's amazing. But *you know* what people don't know about you, Joan Rivers, if they just see the wisecracks and they just hear the jokes...
 J.R.: That's right.

VIII. Shared knowledge

- (15) L.K.: I know, but why -- normally, the Cruise image is not this. Are you working against type?
 T.C.: No. I make movies that I'm interested in. I'm an actor, and so I play all different kinds of roles, whether it's, *you know* "Born on the Fourth of July", "Rainman", "Magnolia", "Interview With A Vampire", all different kinds of movies that I enjoy as an audience to see.
- (16) J.R.: And I'm sitting there with all of them, you know.
 K.G.: Oh, and they're all...
 J.R.: Salma Hayek, *you know*, and everybody. We're all sitting there. It's all terrific. And the models come strutting out and they're looking...
 K.G.: Attitude.
 J.R.: ... and bitch time and just walking and showing off. Oh, do it.

IX. Topic shift

- (17) T.C.: And that's -- I think that people deserve that, deserve the truth. But some people can't handle the truth.
 L.K.: *You know*, Frank Sinatra said about writers like that, once he told me they live off the real or imagined fortunes or misfortunes of those with incredibly more talent than they have.
- (18) K.G.: Welcome, everyone. I'm Kathie Lee Gifford sitting in for Larry King. *You know*, turnabout is supposed to be fair play. Recently, tonight's first guest gave me the third degree. Now it's my chance to ask the questions.

X. Quotation

- (19) D.T.: So you have boats that are 20 stories high, literally, and like football fields long. And you have these guys coming up in a rowboat with a little Evinrude engine on it and saying, *You know*, "We're taking over your ship".
- (20) J.R.: She needed a lot more than that.
 J.B.: She was like a child in a way. I thought, *you know*, it's like you don't put a child in that position, why put her?

XI. Seeking agreement

- (21) D.P.: It's the store that's private property, not Britney.
 J.B.: Absolutely. *You know*, in that case, that shouldn't happen. And it doesn't very often happen.
- (22) J.R.: ... why would you be concerned about being in that swimsuit?
 B.K.: Well, I mean, I was pretty comfortable after we -- we started. But, *You know*, I'm a human being. I'm like OK, I hope this, *you know* -- and I'm not the standard pencil thin woman.

FUNCTIONS OF 'I MEAN'

I. Elaboration

- (1)
 L.K.: Did the Palin family, did they seem close-knit? How would -- what was it like for you dating in the atmosphere of the governor's daughter.
 L.J.: They always treated me like a son. *I mean* they were -- they were real nice to me. And I thought of her as like my second mother.
- (2)
 K.G.: And Robby said: Cody, why is that guy so mean? And I heard Cody go, maybe they never had a mommy and daddy who loved them. So...
 J.R.: Isn't that sweet?
 K.G.: Yes. *I mean*, you try to think that maybe people started out OK, but life, you know, gives them some blows and they get disappointed and they get hurt, and the armor -- the armor -- and you've had enough of that yourself.

II. Topic shift

- (3)
 L.K.: Do you have a lawyer?
 L.J.: No.
 L.K.: Why not? *I mean*, your mother is coming on with us later. I'll ask her. But it came up now.
- (4)
 J.B.: Are they really real?
 L.L.: I'm totally real on the show.
 J.B.: The producers will say do this. *I mean*, also the other day, I was watching this "Celebrity, Get Me Out of Here" thing. What's his name?

III. Explanation, clarification

(5)

L.K.: Has coming through this made you a better performer, do you think?

J.C.: I think all experience -- if you're a performer, if you're an artist, you ought to be able to take this table and make it into something. I mean, you ought to be able to make something out of anything. And, so, *I mean*, actors are just more emotional artists. They take -- the paint is the emotion and the pain and the buttons that are pushed.

(6)

J.B.: So you think the next time around, we're going to win?

C.N.: Absolutely. *I mean*, if you look at, you know, Proposition 8 was passed, but it was passed but passed by about 4 points, which is -- you know, the margin of error is pretty much that.

IV. Specification, giving examples

(7)

J.C.: It's a difficult thing. And, I mean, when I've done drama, I definitely feel for people that are in the heaviest of that mode -- I mean, people like Sean Penn and, *I mean*, people who kind of live their life in most of the parts they do in that -- in that mode.

(8)

J.R.: Thank you. It's -- also, it was very smart, you went out and just fought back.

C.G.: Well, you try to make things a little bit better. But you're a fighter, too. *I mean*, look at Diane and you and me. We're the three women who -- did you ever dream you'd ever have the career that you've had?

V. False start, paraphrasing, hesitation

(9)

L.K.: It's hard for me.

J.C.: Yes. Especially, I mean, when you've got money. It's like, I mean, there's so many people, man. It's just like, dude, seriously, it's been a bad week, *I mean*, kind of thing.

(10)

J.B.: Why didn't you marry the father of your children when you had the chance to get married?

C.N.: Well, *I mean*, it's sort of funny.

VI. Contrast, disagreement

(11)

L.K.: And he writes that Cruise is not all the all-American hero he is on film. He's a slightly dysfunctional guy. He had a very tough childhood, and he trusts no one but his mother and his sisters. That true

T.C.: Well, you can tell this guy doesn't know me. That's not true. It's not true. *I mean*, did I have a challenging life? That aspect, absolutely.

(12)

J.R.: Is that one of the life lessons that you've learned?

B.K.: Yes. One thing I've learned, you know, there's nothing good about being comfortable and too safe. *I mean*, there's something good about being comfortable. But not safe.

VII. Summarising, conclusion

(13)

L.K.: How would -- what was it like for you dating in the atmosphere of the governor's daughter?

L.J.: They always treated me like a son. I mean they were -- they were real nice to me. And I thought of her as like my second mother. You know, Todd was always, You know, a great guy and helped me out with a lot of things. So *I mean* they welcomed me.

(14)

L.K.: Stories that you're the father. I mean, come on, you can't put it away.

A.K.: I know. But you have to understand, I've been through a few things in my life. I've been through Debbie Rowe marrying Michael. I've been through the pregnancy before. I've been through the (inaudible) Botox. *I mean*, I've been through enough nonsense in my life. You understand?

VIII. Emphasis, repetition

(15)

L.K.: You can't predict it?

J.C.: No. You're just lucky while it's there, *I mean*. That's all, just lucky.

(16)

D.S.: We can't back everybody off from thinking there is...

C.G.: But they don't do that to Peter Jennings and Sam Donaldson. You know, why is it -- it's so sexist, isn't it? That just two attractive, powerful women can't be friends, can't being be supportive of one another. *I mean*, that's truly sexist at its core.

IX. Explanation of speaker's intention

(17)

L.K.: You mean there was a wild Brad Pitt?

B.P.: Yes, well, *I mean*, wild in my book, yes. Yes. Sure.

(18)

M.S.: Let me ask Pat O'Brien in New York, Jamie brings up Britney Spears. And almost every day we're hearing of another celebrity who's checking into rehab. And you feel very strongly that this is not just a Hollywood problem.

J.C.: But it's also that the media's responsibility. *I mean*, the media has to take some responsibility.

X. Self-correction

(19)

L.K.: Had you seen any in prior exams?

A.K.: No, I never saw *I mean*, I never saw them that I could tell you. But I didn't see a riddling of anything.

(20)

K.G.: First of all what I'm going to do is ask you to join me in saying hello to Larry King, who is live with us via television -- *I mean*, satellite, and he's I think still at the hospital with wife, Shawn, who just gave birth to their second child, Canon.

XI. Clarification of misinterpreted meaning

(21)

N.G.: So you basically read all the outgoing mail?

H.U.: I don't read it.

N.G.: *I mean*, somebody does.

(22)

J.B.: Must you keep telling your age on television?

J.R.: Because they do it for me. Melissa added a year. I haven't forgiven her.

J.B.: *I mean*, we do stand up. You and I work together. We do stand up. You always have a one-woman show. You have this other show coming up.