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## An analysis of gendered speech and changes over time in American TV shows

#### **Introduction**

For my bachelor's thesis I am going to analyze gender linguistics from the 1960's and the 2020's. I will be looking into changes in language over time by watching and comparing a few episodes from two different TV shows. I will be using the two popular American TV shows, "The Dick Van Dyke Show" which aired in the 1960's and "Modern Family" which aired in the 2020's. My focus will be on language in context with gender, I am more specifically interested in assumed generalizations and frequent claims about the ways the people of different genders speak, in other words: stereotypes. I am also going to explore how gender stereotypes can affect linguistic research and if they should be used or not. I want to specify that when it comes to stereotypes and assumptions about how the different genders speak, I will mainly be using generalizations. Even though it can be assumed that for example women use certain varieties in their language, the variety should not be assumed for every single woman in that speech community. I also want to find out if the use of gendered stereotypes when conducting linguistic research can be damaging, and if it can be mainly helpful or not helpful to use such stereotypes in research. In addition, I want to find out if there are any linguistic differences between the men and women' language in "The Dick Van Dyke Show", as well as if there are any in "Modern Family". I also want to find out if there have been any differences or changes in language between the two TV shows.

Both "The Dick Van Dyke Show" and "Modern Family" are made, and based, in the US, and all the characters in the series are speaking some variety of American English. "The Dick Van Dyke Show" aired from 1961 to 1966, with a total of five seasons. The episodes usually last for about 25 minutes, and the main themes of the series are comedy and family. The series is about the life of TV writer Robert Petrie and his attempts to balance his professional work life and his home life with his wife, Laura Petrie, and son, Ritchie. For my research I will be using

the first two episodes from the TV show. "Modern Family" aired from 2009 to 2020, with a total of 11 seasons, and revolves around three different families, that are all related. The families consist of Gloria and Jay Pritchett and their two children, Jays' daughter Claire Dunphy and her husband Phil Dunphy, and their three children, and Jays' son Mitchell Pritchett, his husband Cameron Tucker, and their daughter. The episodes last about 20 minutes each, and same as "The Dick Van Dyke Show", the main themes are comedy and family. I will be using a couple of episodes from the latest season that aired to achieve the biggest possible time gap in between the episodes I will be comparing, in hopes of registering bigger differences in the juxtaposition.

As mentioned above I will be looking into the language use of the characters of the TV shows to find stereotypical behavior. The main question for this thesis is whether or not there are any differences in the ways the male and female characters speak in "The Dick Van Dyke Show" and "Modern Family". However, I also want to find out if there are any differences between the way that the male and female characters speak within the TV shows. The specific stereotypes I will take into consideration are some frequently claimed traits of gendered speech, such as the claim that women tend to use the standard variety of English, rather than the non-standard (Meyerhoff, 2019, p. 233), as well as the claim that women tend to be indirect, hesitant and submissive, while men are more assertive (Kortmann, 2005, p. 232). I will also be looking into swearing because one stereotype about women is that they tend to avoid heavy swearing (Lakoff, 1973, p. 50). Because both TV shows are family friendly sitcoms, I know that there will not be any instances of heavy swearwords, however, I suspect that there might occur some very light swearing in form of words such as "hell", "damn" and "crap", or an even lighter form including phrases such as "Oh dear", "My God" and such.

When choosing the particular stereotypes to look for in the TV shows, I kept in mind the work of Robin Lakoff, Don H. Zimmerman, Candace West, William Labov and Bernd Kortmann. These linguists all have certain claims about speech and how the genders differ from each other. Some of the claims are overlapping, which could indicate that they are well established stereotypes. The overlapping claim is that women does not use swear words, while med more often do. (Lakoff, 1973) (West and Zimmermann, 1975). Lakoff and Labov only has claims about female speech, however, the claims indicate that male speech can be interpreted as the opposite of the mentioned female speech.

#### Theory

Stereotypes can be defined as assumptions or generalizations people make about specific topics. According to Miriam Meyerhoff (2019), many sociolinguists would rather not analyze language through stereotypes, assumptions and claims about male or female speech. (Meyerhoff, 2019, p. 232) One of the reasons for this could be that the language has changed and developed in so many ways over the years, that the stereotypes might not fit into the categories of male and female in the same ways that they may have before. By this I mean that along with the society, where male and female gender roles have become more and more equal, language cannot be categorized into two specific genders. One can say that men and women's language have started to slightly blend with one another in the same way the gender roles have.

As the language equalizes between the genders, it might be more fruitful to look at aspects such as where the speaker is from or which age group they belong in rather than what gender they have. It might especially be counterproductive to use gender for linguistic research purposes because society is becoming more and more accepting of people who do not identify with either *male* or *female*, or maybe both or neither, or even other genders. Meyerhoff also states that by sticking to generalizations about gendered speech, one could risk 'downplaying the speaker's agency' (Meyerhoff, 2019, p. 233) by focusing too much on the aspect of gender and placing the speaker in one booth, instead of taking in consideration the actual person's thoughts and opinions. In addition to this, generalizations suggests that the biological gender of a person could potentially determine the way in which they speak and act. (Meyerhoff, 2019, p. 233). Which could make it harder to analyze language in a wider sense. Even though gender roles and society in general has come a long way, it does not mean that the aspect of gender has disappeared. The common norm is that there are still two genders and if there are any patterns in the ways that these two genders speak, it could be worth taking into consideration. There are many linguists and studies that applies generalizations and stereotypes, but these are of course not applicable for every single man and woman; however, they are quite common, and therefore I will be looking for them when I review the TV series.

#### Labov's principles of gender and variation

As mentioned earlier, one of the established stereotypes about language and gender that I will be focusing on is that women generally will use the standard form of English (Meyerhoff, 2019, p. 232). A study from 1961, by William Labov illustrates this in three principles about gender and variety. Labov has three principles, or generalizations, about language and gender, the first being that women tend to use the more standard form when it comes to the sociolinguistic (ing) variable. (Meyerhoff, 2019, p. 232). This means that women, more often than men, will use the standard pronunciation of word such as "dancing", "going" and "fishing", meaning that women frequently will use [m] while men will use [m]. In a survey conveyed by Peter Trudgill this was almost always the case when tested in the working-class, and it was fairly common within the middle-class as well, even though the use of [m] was generally more used by both genders in the middle-class. (Meyerhoff, 2019, p. 232). The second generalization is the (th) and (dh) variables, where word such as "this", might be pronounced [dɪs]. In most cases the standard pronunciation is favored by women (Meyerhoff, 2019, p. 233). The third generalization is regarding negative concord, which is when more than one negative element appears within the same sentence but the sentence, but the sentence is still understood as only being negated once, for example in instances such as "I didn't do nothing". Women tend not to use negative concord, and would rather say "I didn't do anything" (Meyerhoff, 2019, p. 233). There could be different reasons as to why these variables occur, according to Meyerhoff this happens because women traditionally have been perceived by external factors, whereas men are perceived by their actions and accomplishments. Having to comply with this, women have generally paid more attention to the way they appear, and therefore chosen the standard varieties because it has the most positive connotations (Meyerhoff, 2019, p. 234).

#### Lakoff's (1973) claims about women's speech

In her study "Language and Woman's Place", Robin Lakoff states that the way women speak can be linked to their inferior place in society and lead to further suppression because the "woman language" "submerges woman's personal identity, by denying her the means of expressing herself strongly" (Lakoff, 1973, p.48). In the study she brings attention to some traits of the so called "women's speech" and how they attribute to maintain the uneven gender roles in society. She explains how "women's speech" makes it harder for women because "women are systematically denied access to power, on the grounds that they are not capable of holding it as demonstrated by their linguistic behavior along with other aspects of their

behavior" (Lakoff, 1973, p. 48). Lakoff's study was published in 1973, which was only a few years after "The Dick Van Dyke Show" aired, which means that many of her claims could be valid for the time period in which the show was made. As part of the thesis, I want to find out whether or not Lakoff's claims about "women's speech" applies for the "The Dick Van Dyke Show", and if the stereotypes can be found in "Modern Family" as well.

Lakoff argues that there are differences between the way genders speak when it comes to 'lexicon and syntax' (Lakoff, 1973, p. 45). An example of women's speech can be using 'evaluative adjectives' (Lakoff, 1973, p. 45), meaning that women tend to use adjectives when not completely necessary, adding filler words such as "divine", "charming" or "cute". Another of Lakoff's claims of women's speech is the use of intensifiers (Lakoff, 1973, p. 54), such as "just" and "so", for example in phrases like this one: "I like him so much", when one could say "I like him" and still convey the same message. She also claims that women do not use strong swear forms and implies that instead they use phrases such as "My goodness". (Lakoff, 1973, p. 50). Lakoff also states that women tend to use more polite phrasings than men. This can happen for example by making indirect requests rather than direct commands, a woman could for instance say "Would you mind doing this?", making it feel like there is a choice, while a man more likely would say "Do this", making it a direct command (Lakoff, 1973, p. 57). It can also be perceived as more polite to use tag question after statements: "That's nice, isn't it?" and "You're clever, aren't you?" (Lakoff, 1973, p. 45). These types of phrasings can have downsides to them because they might make the person saying them, often women, seem indirect or insecure.

#### West's and Zimmermann's (1975) claims about male speech

Like Lakoff, Zimmerman and West claimed that the ways the genders speak is linked to their roles in society. The fact that men generally have more powerful positions is reflected in their speech patterns and men's speech are often colored by "interruptions, lapses in the flow of conversation and inattentiveness" (West and Zimmerman, 1975, p. 105). West and Zimmerman claims that men tend to interrupt their interlocutors, especially if the interlocutors are women, while women more often wait for their turn to speak. Women do however often use minimal responses when conversing. Minimal responses are utterances used when listening to another person to show interest, "go on", "mhm" and "yeah" are examples of

some of these minimal responses. Even though they are used during the other interlocutor's "turn", they are not used to interrupt. This complies with Lakoff's claim about how women's speech is more polite than men's speech. The claims West and Zimmerman makes about male speech complies with Bernd Kortmann's (2005) claims.

#### Kortmann's (2005) claims about male and female speech

Along with the beforementioned linguists, Bernd Kortmann also has some claims about gendered speech. Like West and Zimmermann, Kortmann implies that men often interrupt other speakers when having conversations, and that they regularly claim the right to speak, both of which are factors that can be damaging when conversing with other people. Another claim about men's conversational tendencies is that they give very short answers, or no answers at all, when asked questions (Kortmann, 2005, p. 231), which may cause some issues. It can be problematic because might give the impression that the man is uninterested or does not care, which makes for short and one-sided conversations. In addition to this, Kortmann also states that men tend to talk more frequently in public settings as well as being more likely to start topics and claim the conversational floor. (Kortmann, 2005, p. 231)

One of the characteristics that, according to Kortmann, define women's speech is that they are interrupted more frequently than men (Kortmann, 2005, p.232), which might have something to do with men's tendencies to interrupt. Kortmann also claims that women often use minimal responses, like West and Zimmerman. Some other claims are that women tend to "ask more questions in order to elicit reactions" (Kortmann, 2005, p. 232) and that they less often than men, claim the right to speak. Kortmann also suggests that women talk more in private than in public settings, as well as often being hesitant and indirect when they speak, which is similar to Lakoff's claims. In addition to these claims, Kortmann also adds that women, instead of discussing or arguing against their interlocutors on various topics, often will "collaborate" on topics with their interlocutors (Kortmann, 2005, p. 232). In addition, Kortmann also states the same as Labov: 'women's language is usually closer to the standard, the prestigious norm, than the language used by men, who tend to use more non-standard forms' (Kortmann, 2005, p. 232).

#### Methodology

For my thesis I will conduct both qualitative and quantitative research, by counting instances of linguistic variables as well as reviewing certain topics in more detail. Some of the previous mentioned generalizations about male and female speech can be difficult to count instances of, for example indirectness/directness or politeness, because they consist of more than one component. Because one can not count if a character on a TV show is being direct or indirect, I will use qualitative analysis to look at all the components and how they make up for the overall qualities of the language. Other generalizations may be more countable, for example the use of swear words. When looking at these types of generalizations I will be using quantitative analysis. When analyzing the four episodes, I will take into account most of the beforementioned generalizations to get an overview of the language, however there will be more focus on the (ing) variable, the use of (light) swear words, if the characters are interrupted or if they interrupt others, if the characters use tag questions, as well as polite forms when it comes to requests. Some of these generalizations are countable issues, and some require a different approach.

I started the process by watching the four episodes from the TV shows, in chronological order. I did not write anything down or count any instances of stereotypical linguistic behavior while watching them the first time. I wanted to get an overview and observe without having any particular agenda. Then I watched the episodes numerous times while simultaneously noticing, counting, and writing down instances of stereotypes. I counted swearwords, use of [m] instead of [m], tag questions and interruptions. In addition to counting these factors, I considered the other factors such as politeness and forms of requests to try and get a better picture of the overall tone of the character's speech. By forms of requests, I mean whether the characters used polite, indirect forms or if they used commands. Because it was hard to take into account all of these factors at once, I had to watch the episodes multiple times and count one or two factors at a time.

#### Materials

As mentioned before, the TV shows I will be using are "The Dick Van Dyke Show", created by Carl Reiner, and "Modern Family", which was created by Christopher Lloyd and Steven Levitan. It is worth mentioning that most of the characters in the TV shows are white, straight, middle-class people. There are some exceptions in "Modern Family", for instance the characters of Mitchell Pritchett and Cameron Tucker who are both gay, and Gloria Delgado-Pritchett, a Columbian woman. The addition of gay characters as well as a Latina character is something that would most likely never happen in in the time period in which "The Dick Van Dyke Show" was filmed because of the discrimination against minority groups. It was debated on whether the character of Gloria should be added in my research or not, due to the fact that her native language is not American English, but I came to the conclusion that she should be included. It makes sense to include the character because the US is a country with high numbers of Latino inhabitants, and the character reflects the variety of English being spoken in America. She does have a thick accent, however, this only affects pronunciations of certain words and sounds, and it will not have significant effects on the overall impression of gendered speech in the TV show.

In both of the TV shows, as well as in other similar TV shows in the sitcom genre, the characters mainly speak in a neutral, standard variety of English. This variety can often be found in the Midland region. There are usually few characters that have any distinct accents from other areas of the country such as the South, where they have the typical Southern drawl. Even though media such as these TV shows can be looked at as a reflection of society, they are however not a direct mirror of how people actually talk. The characters might speak in a certain way because of the choices made by the actors or directors, and therefore they can not be an exact measure of language in society. There are young children in the cast of both TV shows, around the age of five. These children are so young that they can not be expected to have the same vocabulary and grammar levels as the adults, they will therefore not be included in the findings. In addition, these children are both boys, so there will not be an opportunity to juxtapose male and female speech in the youngest characters. And it will therefore not be necessary to include this age group.

The episodes I will use from "The Dick Van Dyke Show" are "The Sick Boy and the Sitter" and "My Blond-Haired Brunette". "The Sick Boy and the Sitter" was the first ever episode of

the TV show and aired October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1961 and was written by Carl Reiner and directed by Sheldon Leonard (imdb.com). The second episode, "My Blond-Haired Brunette", aired October 10<sup>th</sup>, 1961, and was written by Carl Reiner and directed by John Rick (imdb.com). These were the first two episodes from the TV show to air. In both episodes we get to see the main character Robert Petrie both in his home, with his family, as well as at work, with his colleagues. The episodes from "Modern Family" that I will be using are "Finale Part 1" and "Finale Part 2". Both episodes aired April 8<sup>th</sup> 2020 and was the two last episodes from the TV show. The first was written by Christopher Lloyd, Steven Levitan and Abraham Higginbotham, and directed by Steven Levitan (imdb.com). The second episode was written by Christopher Lloyd, Steven Levitan and directed by Gail Mancuso (imdb.com).

#### **Findings**

#### First impressions

One of the first thoughts I had when comparing the two TV shows was that the overall tone of the language of them is very different from each other. Both in regard to the actual language and vocabulary being used and the ways in which it was used. My overall impression of the language and language use in "The Dick Van Dyke Show" is that it seems formal in comparison to the modern language that I am used to hearing. Because of the language, the relationships between the characters might be perceived as slightly impersonal and professional, rather than intimate. There are also some small, but noticeable, differences in how men talk to women, and how they talk to other men and vice versa, which I will come back to.

#### Swearwords

When watching "The Dick Van Dyke Show", there were no instances of swearing. This is one of the factors that made the language used in this TV show more formal than that of "Modern Family", where there was some instances of swearing. Mostly light swear words and one heavier one. In all of the seven instances of swearing there was only one word that was uttered by a woman. This could prove that the claims about how women do not swear could be correct.

#### Use of [In] instead of [In]

When observing the two episodes of "The Dick Van Dyke Show" I noticed that the female characters always pronounced the (ng) variable in the standard way; [m], while there was some variation in the male characters. The character of Robert almost always used the standard form, but there were a few instances where he used the non-standard. His coworker Buddy, however, never pronounced the (ng) sound in the standard way. The actors that played the different characters might have chosen certain pronunciations for their character based on how they wanted to be perceived, and it might therefore not be an accurate representation of the language used in society. However, the fact that when the (ng) variable was pronounced as [m] it was men who pronounced it that way in every instance could confirm Labov's theory about the (ng) variable.

#### Tag questions

The use of tag questions in general for both of the TV shows was minimal. I had expected that I would find more instances of tag questions than I actually did. In "The Dick Van Dyke Show", over the span of the two episodes there was only three instances, two of them were uttered by a woman and one by a man. In the two episodes from "Modern Family", however, there was seven instances in total, distributed somewhat equally over both genders. Even though there were few instances of tag questions in both shows, the assumption that women tend to use them more often that men (Lakoff, 1973, p. 45), seems to hold up in the "The Dick Van Dyke Show" episodes. However, I do think that the numbers were too low to be able to prove or disprove the theory.

#### Interruptions

There was the exact same amount of interruptions in total in "Modern Family" than in "The Dick Van Dyke Show". The difference was that the interruptions that occurred in "The Dick Van Dyke Show" was men that interrupted women, while in "Modern Family", there was a mixture of who interrupted and who was interrupted. In the "The Dick Van Dyke Show", there was seven instances spread over two episodes, where a man was interrupted twice by a woman, while a woman was interrupted five times by a man. In "Modern Family", there was also seven instances in two episodes, there was five instances where a woman was interrupted, but two of these was by another woman, and three by a man. There were only two instances where a man was interrupted, both times by a woman.

#### Politeness and forms of requests

In "The Dick Van Dyke Show", I found that the male characters would use direct commands more often than women. The men in the TV show switched between their phrasings of requests, but more often than not, they would use direct command. Especially the male character Robert would use the impolite forms when talking to his wife. The female characters almost always used indirect requests, but there was one instance during the two episodes where a woman would directly command something. In "Modern Family" however there was a mixture of the forms of requests, where men and women used the phrasings about the same amount. The most commonly used form was neither commands or indirect requests, but rather direct requests, a more direct and assertive way of requesting something while still not being commanding.

#### General changes and impressions after analyzing

As I mentioned in my first impressions of "The Dick Van Dyke Show", there were some differences in the way the characters spoke to the same gender and the opposite gender. The differences were minimal, but they were, however, noticeable. For example, the way the male lead character spoke to his female coworker differed from the way he spoke to his male coworker. When he was speaking with his female coworker, he appeared more polite, he used questions rather than demands, and the tone of his voice was softer than when he spoke to his male coworker. When he was speaking with the male coworker he appeared more assertive and seemed more dominant as well. The way he spoke to his wife and her friends is also somewhat different than the way he spoke at work, in fact, he seemed rather condescending to the women that were not his coworker, and there was only a slight difference in the way that he spoke to his wife and to his child. As mentioned before, he used some polite forms of questions and requests, but he seemed to prefer commanding and demanding. The female lead character had no significant changes or differences in the way she spoke to men and women, and if there were any differences, it was because of the situation they were in and relationship between the characters, rather than the gender of the other character. When watching "Modern Family", the characters, both male and female, did not differentiate the way they spoke to the same gender or the opposite one. The conversations between men and other men, women and other women, and men and women seemed equal. The topics of the conversations between characters in the TV shows also varied from show to show. In "The Dick Van Dyke Show" the conversations between two females the subject is always either about men or children, and how they were feeling towards these topics. Meanwhile, the conversation between two men was almost always about work, or how their wives was acting

unreasonable, and never about feelings. In "Modern Family", there was no noticeable difference in conversation subjects between the genders.

Some other things that I noticed while reviewing the TV shows was that the conversations between men and women in "The Dick Van Dyke Show" often was based around the woman asking questions, and the husband replying. The women also would often give in to the man's requests, for example Laura agreed to go to a party she initially did not want to attend, or agree with the men's ideas, seemingly to please them and to not have to argue. In "Modern Family" situations like that rarely occurred and the general tone between men and women was not influenced by the woman trying to please the man.

#### Discussion

Having established that there are differences between the two TV shows, we also must look at why they have occurred. The changes through time seemed to be influenced by the fact that the men in "Modern Family" respected the women more than the men in "The Dick Van Dyke Show" did. As mentioned before, in "The Dick Van Dyke Show", the male lead character spoke differently to his wife and his female coworker, showing more respect to the ladder. With feminism on the rise, more and more women have taken higher positioned jobs rather than staying at home when their husbands worked, and this might be an important factor in all of this. One could say that when women position themselves on the same level as men, they require more respect.

One important point from before is the question if the use of gendered stereotypes can be damaging when it comes to language research. Gender has become more and more fleeting and nowadays there is a big focus on gender neutrality and equality between the genders. The idea of gender as a spectrum is starting to replace the division of gender into two separate categories of male and female. This means that male and female language may not be fruitful as grounds for linguistic research and therefore the stereotypes and generalizations may not fit the actuality of "male and female speech". In some ways it is not helpful to use these types of factors in linguistics, because of the changing term of "gender", and how different people actually are. It could be better to use other factors such as age, especially in modern times because of globalization and the use of famous apps such as TikTok, where youth from all over the world communicate. It could however, be helpful to use gender and stereotypes as a

factor too, because while the concept of gender has changed, people are still born a certain sex, and there will most likely always be a majority of people who identify as either male or female. In order to figure out if generalizations could be damaging, helpful or not helpful one has to look at the situation in which they are being used. In my opinion, they could still be used, but one should consider more factors in addition to gender as well.

As already established, there has been some change between the two time periods the 1960's and the 2020's, and the main theme that I noticed is that the differences between male speech and female speech are smaller in "Modern Family" than in "The Dick Van Dyke Show". The women are overall more direct, and not as hesitant as the women in "The Dick Van Dyke Show" appears to be. The differences in male and female speech in "The Dick Van Dyke Show" are based around the fact that the men are more assertive and dominant, while the women tend to be inferior. This reflects the gender roles that was the norms in the time when the "The Dick Van Dyke Show" was published. However, nowadays, the gender roles are more equal and one could say that the language have followed this movement.

#### Conclusion

I would like to once more state that the stereotypes I have used about men and women are only generalizations, and if I was to go into more detail about the characters in the TV shows, I could get different results. It is also worth to mention that while the TV shows I have used may reflect society in many ways, they are also fictional and not an accurate representation of language used in real life. My thesis was about finding differences in gendered speech over time in the two TV shows "Modern Family" and "The Dick Van Dyke Show", and finding out how the use of stereotypes can affect linguistic research and I have found out that while there have been some changes, there are still stereotypes made in the 1960's and the 1970's that still fit the language being used today, for example the (ng) variable. The language has changed during the time between the making of the two TV shows, and there have been a few different types of changes. There has been some general change in the language, and changes in regard to gender, where feminism has had an impact. I have also reached the conclusion that, in my opinion, stereotypes, or rather, generalizations can still be used in linguistic research, but one should consider more factors in addition to gender as well.

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