

# The gender differential use of minimal responses in daytime TV interviews: a preliminary investigation

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*It is argued that females use more minimal responses such as mhm as a form of conversational support than men (Maltz & Borker 1982; Cameron 1989; Coates 1993; Tannen 1990; Graddol & Swann 1989). Past research has shown a large stratification between the frequency and type of male and female usage of minimal responses (Fishman 1983; Woods 1989; Zimmerman & West 1975; Maltz & Borker 1982). However, many studies neglect their usage in the media. The aim of this comparative study is to investigate the gender differential use of minimal responses in television interviews, hence the interview segments of two daytime television programs were analysed and compared. Key areas examined were the frequency of minimal responses according to gender of interviewer and interviewee, per second and per adjacency pair. Although in general the results loosely support those of Coates and Cameron (1989) and Zimmerman and West (1975), findings also indicate that the framework of an interview greatly influences minimal response usage, suggesting that status may also play a large role in the use of minimal responses.*

**Key words:** language and gender; minimal responses; language of media

## 1. Introduction

The gender differential use of language has been of interest to linguists and the general public alike for quite some time, as is shown by the popularity of books such as *You Just Don't Understand* (Tannen 1990), and the multitude of 'folklinguistic' beliefs on the subject (Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert & Leap 2000). Past research, from both the difference (e.g. Maltz & Borker 1998) and dominance (e.g. Zimmerman & West 1975) models have shown a large disparity in the gendered usage of minimal responses, while others, such as Marche and Peterson (1993) challenge the wholesale acceptance of such differences. Many of the earlier studies lack empirical evidence, and numerous linguistic accounts assume male speech is the norm, and female speech a deviant from this norm. While the present study is limited in scope, the findings do suggest a number of directions for future study which will be discussed in the relevant sections.

Gender may be viewed as socially constructed, and sex as biological, however, this definition is not unproblematic. In this paper, 'gender' is used to include both the social and biological senses, yet it is recognized, as in Koch (2004), that gender is a context dependent social construction. According to Bing and Bergvall (1996), despite the fact that language itself is biased towards dichotomy and clear boundaries, hence the exclusive use of the words *male* and *female*, other dichotomies, such as black-white are no longer defensible, in light of recognition that there are not simply two skin colours, but a wide range of hues. Nevertheless, it remains true that babies with female sex organs are normally subjected to female socialization, and those with male sex organs, to male socialization, and Winter (1993) states that the media plays a powerful role in the creation and promotion of images and stereotypes. This comparative study aims to investigate the gender differential use of minimal responses by interviewers in daytime television interviews, with specific regard to their frequency of use towards both male and female interviewees.

Minimal responses in English are forms such as *yeah, mhm, mm, yes, right, mmhmm, uh-huh, oh, huh, umhm, um hmm*, etc. (see for instance Zimmerman & West 1975). In fields other than Sociolinguistics, these forms are also known as accompa-

niment signals, assent terms, back channels, feedbacks, hearer signals and listener responses (Fellegly 1995:186). Research on the use of minimal responses in mixed interaction is “unanimous in showing that women use them more than men” (Strodtbeck & Mann 1956; Hirschmann 1974; Zimmerman & West 1975; Fishman in Coates 1998:237). Zimmerman and West (1975) describe minimal responses as a way of indicating active hearership, and state that they may be coupled with energetic nonverbal cues such as nodding of the head. Coates (1993) remarks that minimal responses are also used to mark recognition of different stages of a conversation: that is, to accept a new topic, or to acknowledge the ending of a topic. Fishman (1983) coined the term ‘interactional shitwork’ to describe behaviour such as women’s skilful use of minimal responses in mixed interaction.

The first major analysis of the gender differential use of minimal responses, Zimmerman and West (1975), reports from the dominance paradigm, which interprets gender differences as a result of the dominant-subordinate relationship between men and women. In their study of doctor-patient interaction, Zimmerman and West claim the use of delayed minimal responses is evident through a distinct pause between the speaker’s transition place within a turn and the minimal response, although it is important to note that these findings may reflect the doctor-patient power relationship rather than the interlocutors’ gender. Coates (1993) states that to a male, using a well-timed minimal response is supposed to mean ‘I agree’, rather than the females’ neutral ‘I’m listening’. It is claimed that, to men, delaying minimal responses shows a lack of support (Coates 1993).

Although much of the early work completed in the field of language and gender took a dominance approach, a strong reaction against this approach argued that it portrayed women in a negative light, by describing women’s speech variously as ‘weak’ and ‘unassertive’. This reaction led to the success of the difference approach, which has, since the publication of determinedly apolitical but popular books such as that of Tannen (1990), been perceived as problematic as it may completely ignore the dimension of dominance. Despite criticisms directed towards both the difference and dominance paradigms, Holmes (1998) makes a valuable contribution by noting that some linguistic features associated with women’s speech appear to be shared by women from very different speech communities. Therefore, according to Holmes, generalizations formed by both the difference and dominance models can be of use when researching potential sociolinguistic universals.

Reporting from the difference model, which allows researchers to show the linguistic strengths of women’s speech, rather than treating it as divergent from that of men, as some claim the dominance model does, Maltz and Borker (1998) define the use of minimal responses as one of five features that distinguish women’s speech from that of men. In fact, differences in the male and female usage of minimal responses have been found in conversations between couples, management discussion groups, political debates, and interactions between men and women in laboratory conditions (Holmes 1998:465).

Coates and Cameron (1989) argue that females typically use minimal responses as a form of conversational support: to encourage the speaker in interaction focussed situations, and to accept new topics introduced in information focussed situations. Cameron (1989) explores the results of men’s and women’s typical interpretations of minimal responses: “Women interpret men’s rare use of minimal responses as lack of attention, while men are confused when women’s minimal responses turn out *not* to signal agreement” (Cameron 1989:70). Cameron, McAlinden and O’Leary (1989) state that this misinterpretation can lead to frustration and communicative breakdown in interactions between women and men.

Writing on the sexual division of labour in conversation, Graddol and Swann (1989), state that while differences were minimal in single sex pairs, overlaps and interruptions were more frequent in mixed sex pairs, and they virtually all came from men. Women, on the other hand, exhibited more silences in mixed sex pairs, and these silences usually occurred after a man’s overlap, interruption, or delayed minimal response. A delayed minimal response from a male interviewer could be detrimental to an interview, were it to cause a female interviewee to become silent. Graddol and Swann (1989) claim that these forms are used throughout the speaker’s turn, and are meant to signify ‘I’m listening’. These listening noises are testament to the listener’s active, not passive role in conversation, and because they are a way of indicating the listener’s positive attention to the speaker, a minimal response does not constitute a turn, and therefore they are not considered to be interruptions.

Pilkington (1998) found that the amount of feedback in women's conversations increases in proportion to the women's enjoyment of that particular conversation. Usually, this feedback is in the form of minimal responses. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that in single sex interviews, a female interviewer would be expected to produce a certain amount of minimal responses to display her enjoyment of and interest in the interviewee's answers.

Views that oppose the idea that women use more minimal responses than men are also plentiful. In their study 'On the gender differential use of listener responsiveness', Marche and Peterson found that "wholesale acceptance of gender differences in back channel behaviour is not warranted" (1993:814). Instead, they put forward that personality, social status and contextual variables all play a part in the production of minimal responses. Another such view is that of Fellego (1995), whose results demonstrated the same syntactic pattern of minimal response insertion between white middle-class men and women.

Brownlow, Rosamond and Parker (2003), in a study of gender-linked linguistic behaviour in television interviews, show that gender differences in speech style are not universal. Furthermore, Reid (1980) demonstrates that gender differences are context and role dependent. In a study of female and male counsellors in interviews, Reid found that when a role is traditionally considered stereotypically female, males as well as females will use stereotypically female speech.

Although this investigation aims to examine the gender differential use of minimal responses by interviewers, it is limited to two prominent interviewers on daytime, free-to-air Australian television: Kerri-Anne Kennerly and Bert Newton. As such, the study will make no claims as to its generalizability. Both Bert and Kerri-Anne host 'infotainment' shows that are comprised of both live and pre-recorded segments, including paid product advertisements, variety segments (eg. cooking, games etc.) and interviews with a range of guests. This study is very limited, in that it only examines the interviews of two interviewers. Due to the narrowness of the data, this research should be viewed as a pilot study of two personalities who embody stereotypical 'male' and 'female' characteristics on a number of levels, which could lead to a much wider and more comprehensive study of minimal responses, that encompasses a greater number of television programs recorded over a longer period of time. Just as Nicholson, cited in Bing and Bergvall (1996), suggests that the category of women be compared to a tapestry of overlapping threads of colour, Kerri-Anne should be viewed as only one thread in a female tapestry, and Bert, as one thread of a male tapestry. Despite the limited nature of this study, the findings suggest a number of avenues for further examination which might draw on a broader selection of 'threads'.

The aim of this study is to discover the difference in frequency of the male and female interviewers' use of minimal responses, stratified by time, adjacency pairs, and interviewee gender. It is also intended to shed some light onto how females and males are presented on television—a powerful force in socializing both males and females—without minimizing their similarities or ignoring the roles of power and status.

## 2. Methodology

A total of 10 subjects were examined within the data used for this study, five females and five males. Two of the subjects were the interviewers, (Bert or Kerri-Anne) and the remaining subjects were the interviewees—four female interviewees (two which appeared on "Good Morning Australia" hosted by Bert Newton, and two which appeared on "Mornings with Kerri-Anne", hosted by Kerri-Anne Kennerly), and four male interviewees (two again on "GMA", the other two on "Mornings").

The interviewers were chosen for their similar status, judged upon the ratings of their respective shows, and the fact that they occupy the same timeslot, which means that within the daytime television category, they are competitors for ratings. ("GMA" screens at 9:00am to 11:00am on channel 10, and "Mornings" also at 9:00am to 11:00am, on channel 9).

In an effort to collect data from a similar period, all recordings were made over the span of a week. Two episodes of "Mornings" (20/4/04 and 22/4/04) and one episode of "GMA" (21/4/04) were recorded, resulting in approximately six hours of videotape. Of these six hours of raw data, eight interviews were analysed in depth. The interviews comprised two male-male, two female-female, and four mixed sex dyads. Within the mixed sex interviews, two had a female interviewer

and male interviewee, and two had a male interviewer and female interviewee. All interviews were longer than a minute in length, and were completely recorded. The interviewees on both programs came from a variety of backgrounds, however each could be considered an ‘expert’ in their own field. The male interviewees on “Mornings” included Dr Michael Archinal, a vet, and JJ Walker, an actor, while female interviewees consisted of Jan Luce, a kelpie breeder, and Penne Dennison, a music reporter.

Male interviewees on “GMA” consisted of Ray Barrett, an actor, and Rove McManus, a variety show host, and the female interviewees were Shane Gould, an author and sportsperson, and Priscilla Gaff, a science student. The eight dyadic settings used in this study are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: The eight dyadic settings used in this study of the gender differential use of minimal responses in daytime TV interviews

| Mornings with Kerri-Anne |             |   | Good Morning Australia |             |   |
|--------------------------|-------------|---|------------------------|-------------|---|
| Interviewer              | Interviewee |   | Interviewer            | Interviewee |   |
| F                        | Michael     | M | M                      | Shane       | F |
| F                        | JJ          | M | M                      | Priscilla   | F |
| F                        | Jan         | F | M                      | Ray         | M |
| F                        | Penne       | F | M                      | Rove        | M |

The methodology employed draws upon the theoretical frameworks of Atkinson (1992) and Mullany (1999). All data were first taped onto videocassettes, then analysed in detail. All times were recorded in 100s of seconds as opposed to minutes. The occurrences of minimal responses in each interview were counted and recounted numerous times to ensure accuracy. Secondly, the number of adjacency pairs per interview was noted, and a figure was calculated to represent the average occurrence of minimal responses per adjacency pair for that interview (minimal responses ÷ adjacency pairs). Finally, the length of each interview was timed. With this information, the number of minimal responses per second was calculated (minimal responses ÷ time).

As mentioned, the framework for this study draws upon the Conversation Analysis approach of Atkinson (1992) as well as the work of Mullany (1999), who investigated the interaction between linguistic politeness and sex differences in radio interviews. Atkinson’s (1992) study and transcription method clearly highlights minimal and nonminimal responses, while Mullany (1999) counted the number of minimal responses in comparison with overall turns in a media context.

A method was devised to measure the number of minimal responses per second and per adjacency pair. Adjacency pairs were identified based upon the definition of Sacks: “a two-unit sequence; the two turns in which the parts of the sequence occur are placed adjacently to each other.. for greetings, this involves greetings, for questions, various sorts of answers; for offers, acceptances and rejections” (1987:56). Both turns in each set of adjacency pairs were identified and counted. Interviews were transcribed using Conversation Analysis methods, in the same manner as Atkinson’s (1992) study. All times have been calculated in hundreds of seconds, and all figures are given to a maximum of two decimal places, although they have been calculated in full. In the following discussion of results, MR is used in place of ‘Minimal Responses’.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 Gender differentiation in total minimal responses

As can be seen below in Table 2, the female interviewer’s use of minimal responses per second was considerably greater than the male’s; Kerri-Anne, with an average total of 0.08 MRs/sec and Bert with an average total of only 0.06 MRs/sec. In more real terms, this means that every 100 seconds, Kerri-Anne produced around eight minimal responses to her interviewee, while Bert uttered only six.<sup>1</sup>

A large difference is noticeable both in Table 2 and Table 3 between the interviewer's minimal responses to their male and female interviewees. This will be discussed in detail below in Section 3.2.

Table 2: The number of minimal responses from the interviewer, length of interviews, and occurrence of minimal responses per second.

| Interviewer  | Interviewee | MRs from Interview | Length of Interview | MRs/Sec              |
|--------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| F            | M1          | 22                 | 242                 | 0.09                 |
| F            | M2          | 25                 | 222                 | 0.11                 |
| F            | F1          | 2                  | 110                 | 0.02                 |
| F            | F2          | 13                 | 177                 | 0.07                 |
| <b>Total</b> |             | 62                 | 751                 | <b>Average: 0.08</b> |
| M            | F3          | 12                 | 642                 | 0.02                 |
| M            | F4          | 24                 | 288                 | 0.08                 |
| M            | M3          | 31                 | 276                 | 0.11                 |
| M            | M4          | 13                 | 89                  | 0.15                 |
| <b>Total</b> |             | 80                 | 1295                | <b>Average: 0.06</b> |

F = Kerri-Anne Kennerly  
 F1 = Jan Luce  
 F2 = Penne Dennison  
 F3 = Shane Gould  
 F4 = Priscilla Gaff

M = Bert Newton  
 M1 = Dr Michael Archinal  
 M2 = JJ Walker  
 M3 = Ray Barrett  
 M4 = Rove McManus

Table 3 below shows that the female interviewer also used considerably more minimal responses per adjacency pair; Kerri-Anne with a total of 1.02 and Bert with a total of 0.84. This means that Kerri-Anne, on average, used at least 1 minimal response per adjacency pair, yet Bert used minimal responses in only 84% of the adjacency pairs in his interviews.

Table 3: The number of minimal responses from the interviewer, number of adjacency pairs, and occurrence of minimal responses per adjacency pair.

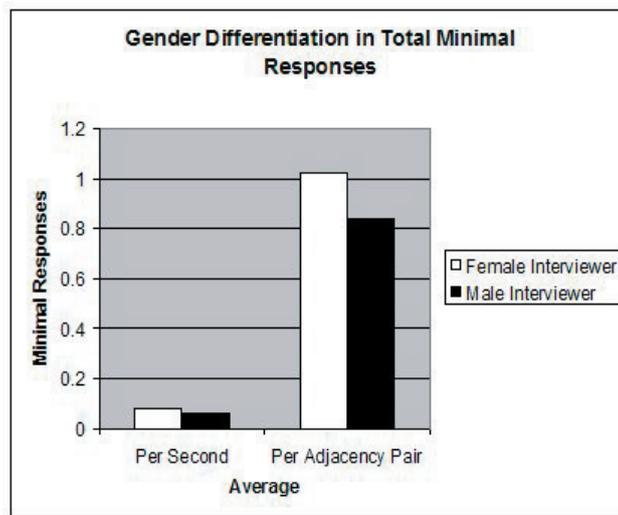
| Interviewer  | Interviewee | MRs from Interview | Length of Interview | MRs/Sec |
|--------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------|
| F            | M1          | 22                 | 18                  | 1.22    |
| F            | M2          | 25                 | 15                  | 1.67    |
| F            | F1          | 2                  | 8                   | 0.25    |
| F            | F2          | 13                 | 20                  | 0.65    |
| <b>Total</b> |             | 62                 | 61                  | 1.02    |
| M            | F3          | 12                 | 31                  | 0.52    |
| M            | F4          | 24                 | 24                  | 0.39    |
| M            | M3          | 31                 | 25                  | 1.00    |
| M            | M4          | 13                 | 15                  | 1.24    |
| <b>Total</b> |             | 80                 | 95                  | 0.84    |

F = Kerri-Anne Kennerly  
 F1 = Jan Luce  
 F2 = Penne Dennison  
 F3 = Shane Gould  
 F4 = Priscilla Gaff

M = Bert Newton  
 M1 = Dr Michael Archinal  
 M2 = JJ Walker  
 M3 = Ray Barrett  
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Upon investigation of the transcription of Kerri-Anne’s interview with M2 (JJ Walker), in which she had the highest number of MRs per adjacency pair, the data reveals a more interesting phenomenon—aside from producing no minimal responses in JJ’s answer to her perfunctory ‘How are you?’, Kerri-Anne consistently produces more than 1 MR per adjacency pair. However, as soon as JJ declines to utter the catchphrase he is most famous for, despite Kerri-Anne’s insistent requests, her production of minimal responses instantly cease. This appears to support Pilkington’s (1998) theory that a woman enjoying herself will produce more minimal responses than one who is not.

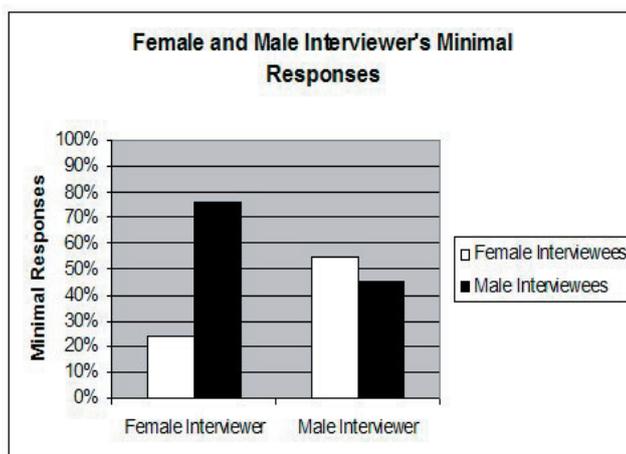
The gender differentiation in total minimal responses produced by the two interviewers can be stratified as shown in Graph 1. Here we see that the female interviewer consistently produces more MRs, both per second and per adjacency pair, than the male interviewer.



Graph 1: The number of minimal responses from the male and female interviewers, per second and per adjacency pair

### 3.2 Female and male interviewer’s minimal responses to female interviewees vs. male interviewees

Graph 2 below demonstrates that both speakers used more minimal responses in a mixed sex interview than they did in their respective single sex interviews.



Graph 2: The percentage of the female and male interviewer’s minimal responses to male and female interviewees

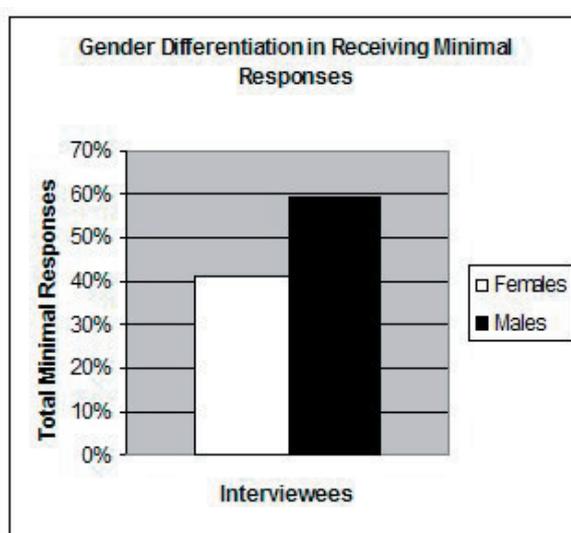
Kerri-Anne used surprisingly few minimal responses to her female interviewees—only 24% (or 15) of her total of 62 minimal responses were directed at women. Conversely, 55% (or 44) of Bert’s 80 minimal responses were addressed to women.

Bert also used fewer minimal responses in his single sex interviews—just 45% (or 36) of his total. Yet his differences were not as great as the gap between Kerri-Anne’s minimal response usage. She directed 76% (or 47) of her total minimal responses to men.

### 3.3 Gender differentiation in receiving minimal responses

Overall, from a total of 142 minimal responses analysed (62 produced by Kerri-Anne, 80 produced by Bert), 59% were in support of men’s turns, and only 41% were used as encouragement to women, as is shown in Graph 3 below.

There was no evidence of delayed minimal responses throughout the data, so no instances have been recorded. (That is, there were no pauses of measurable length between the end of the interviewee’s turn and the interviewer’s minimal response, as would be expected in the context of a television interview.) Therefore, the minimal responses that occurred may be interpreted as conversational support and not disinterest, especially given the context of an interviewer trying to elicit information from an interviewee.



*Graph 3: The percentage of the total minimal responses for both male and female interviewees received by female and male interviewees*

## 4. Discussion

The aim of this study was to investigate the gender differential use of minimal responses in daytime television interviews, and indeed, several differences have been found. In general terms, the results loosely support those of Coates and Cameron (1989), and Zimmerman and West (1975), who found that male usage of minimal responses is less frequent than female usage, and that female usage tends to be more supportive. However, the real interest in this data lies in the situation in which it was recorded—that of a daytime television interview, a situation that differs greatly to the power differences in Zimmerman and West’s (1975) study of doctor-patient relationships. In the case of an interview, it is the interviewer who possesses the characteristics of a person with power, as identified by Wodak (1997); they determine the course of the interaction, the issues discussed and the length of the verbal contributions. Bing and Bergvall (1996) maintain that differences between male and female speech may simply reflect the differences between powerful and powerless speech. Furthermore, individuals command a range of styles of speaking, so differences between the subjects in this study may be idiosyncratic.

#### 4.1 Gender differentiation in total minimal responses

Because of the background situation of a television interview, some interesting differences between the data in this study and others can be noted.

While Zimmerman and West (1975) found that in mixed sex doctor-patient conversations, males often delayed their minimal responses, no evidence of this behaviour was found in the data analyzed here. This appears to be a direct result of the interview framework; if an interviewer was to express disinterest in their interviewee's conversation—be it directly or 'subtly' through minimal responses—this would be extremely detrimental to the interview.

As reported in Maltz and Borker (1982), Zimmerman and West (1975), and Woods (1989), the female interviewer did use substantially more minimal responses than the male interviewer, both according to time and per adjacency pair. (Kerri-Anne used 0.08 minimal responses per second, Bert used only 0.06. Kerri-Anne also used 1.02 minimal responses per adjacency pair, while Bert used just 0.84.)

The number of minimal responses produced does not seem to have an impact upon the length of adjacency pairs. Kerri-Anne, who used more minimal responses, had only slightly longer adjacency pairs than Bert: a 12.7 second average, as opposed to his 12.4 second average.

#### 4.2 Female and male interviewer's minimal responses to female interviewees vs. male interviewees

Coates (1989) qualifies the statement that females use more minimal responses than males by saying that the studies in which this behaviour is noted are mostly concerned with mixed interactions. She also rebuts Fishman's use of the term 'interactional shitwork' to refer to women's use of minimal responses, which implies powerlessness, by saying that "the same form functions differently in different contexts" (Coates 1989:106). This appears to be the case in an interview situation: a minimal response is an excellent tool to encourage an interviewee to elaborate without interrupting them. Even though Kerri-Anne used minimal responses to males more than to females (76% to males, and just 24% to females), Bert also used more minimal responses in a mixed sex situation (55% to females, and only 45% to males). This appears to be a very rarely documented phenomenon. Clearly in the case of an interview, both a male and female interviewer must show clear attention to their interviewee, thus the expectations of other interactions (such as husband and wife, colleagues etc.) are not necessarily fulfilled. It would appear that status has more to do with who gives more minimal responses than gender: in an interview situation, it is the interviewee who is the expert on the topic of conversation, and as such, the interviewer, regardless of gender, provides the most conversational support. Yet, the difference between Bert's use of minimal responses to male and female interviewees is comparatively low; just a 10% difference, in comparison with Kerri-Anne's 52% difference. Therefore, more interviews must be analysed in order to prove this theory of status rather than gender relation to the use of minimal responses in mixed interaction.

It is also interesting to note Kerri-Anne's production of far fewer minimal responses to females than males in direct contrast to Pilkington's (1998) theory that two women enjoying themselves will produce more minimal responses as the enjoyment increases. As Kerri-Anne's first female interviewee, Jan Luce, only received two minimal responses (one in the first half, and one in the second half of the interview) it is difficult to assess whether Kerri-Anne's enjoyment of the interview increased according to Pilkington's theory. However, even in Penne Dennison's interview, the minimal responses were fairly evenly distributed; 6 in the first half and 7 in the second half. This could become a topic for future research.

#### 4.3 Gender differentiation in receiving minimal responses

A great difference was also noticed in the receiving of minimal responses, with males receiving far more of the total minimal responses than females (59% to males and just 41% to females.) Yet this is not so large a difference as that found by Woods in the 1989 article, 'Talking Shop', in which male subordinates received over 31/2 times more minimal responses than their female bosses. The relative similarity in the male-female results in this study, in contrast to that of Woods (1989), is again because of the interview context. The interviewers are obliged to provide their interviewees with support. However, the question remains, why do the male subordinates not feel obliged to provide their superiors, the female

bosses, with as much conversational support, yet the male interviewer saw fit to provide his female interviewees with even more minimal responses than he gave to males. In fact, female interviewees received, overall, more conversational support from a male interviewer than a female interviewer. This perhaps could be the subject of a comparative study to examine the differences between gender and perceived power in the workplace in comparison to an interview setting.

## 5. Conclusion

A greater understanding of the minimal responses in interactions that take place in situations other than the workplace or husband-wife relationships could lead to a better understanding of conversational support on the whole. It is hoped that this study, even as a limited pilot study, has somewhat challenged the wholesale acceptance of the theories concerning minimal responses. Maltz and Borker (1982) argued that men and women have different discourse norms because they acquire communicative competence in single-sex peer groups. They gave the example of minimal responses to back this up, yet unfortunately, as Cameron et al (1989) note, they failed to test these differing perceptions empirically. To the interviewer, and the public at large, a greater understanding of how minimal responses are used and, more importantly, interpreted, could lead to better use of this form of conversational support as an interviewing tool.

Overall, the study was successful in finding differences between the frequency of minimal response use to both male and female interviewees, by both the female and male interviewer. These differences, on the whole, support the theories of previous works such as Coates and Cameron (1989), and Zimmerman and West (1975). While differences have been found, it is crucial to recognise that there may be many other differences between subjects that could account for the differences in language use. These include (as outlined by Freed 1996) the context-specific communicative goals, the setting, activity, audience, and personality of the particular speakers studied. Furthermore, it is highly possible that the differences noted between the two subjects represent their respective idiolects as much as their genders. Yet the results also show that it has been possible for a female and a male interviewer to enjoy similar amounts of success without the female interviewer having to adopt male norms. Further research could investigate the role of power rather than gender in giving minimal responses, the differences between minimal responses in a media-oriented television interview in comparison with other forms of interaction, and the links between enjoyment and the production of minimal responses.

## Notes

1. These results have not been tested for statistical significance, and therefore these quantitative findings cannot be considered generalisable to the broader population.

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