



---

## **Transgender Interruption in Student Debates: Perspectives on Socio-culture**

**Bulus Wayar\***

*Department of English, Gombe State University – Nigeria*

*buluswayar@yahoo.com*

### **Abstract**

Students' debates were live events in which speakers were exerted prospectively by assigning orderly turn – taking and giving the floor to speakers according to pre – establishment. However, there were instances in which speakers have to speak simultaneously because interruptions represent inter – discursive mechanism in internationally organized communication. While it looked unhealthy to interrupt an on – going speech, academic debates have their own features which are regulated by institutional norms, discourse community convention. The paper revealed that Sri Lankan culture presented an interesting scenario in which prolonged eye contacts or repeatedly done head nods could mean a request for the floor. Also, speakers stared more at the audience than at their interlocutors. One possible reason for this strategy is that, by looking away from the addressees, they (other debaters/participants) might feel uneasy to scramble for the floor. Additionally, the paper indicated that male debaters interrupted more frequently than their female counterparts.

**Keywords:** interruption; conversation; culture; turn – taking; hierarchy.

### **1. Introduction**

Although it is not a universally acclaimed view that men are badly mannered and women are not while communicating, the authors in [1] argue that women use a cooperative style of negotiation towards women but competitive in mixed sex conversations, whereas for the author in [2], men and women are 'poles apart' when it comes to cross – cultural communication.

---

\* Corresponding author.

E-mail address: buluswayar@yahoo.com.

Consequently, men view questions as issues that need to be resolved and are externally focused, while women talk to connect with others and establish intimacy. In this regard, women's social world is a network of cooperation but men's social world is hierarchy of power and face – saving, the author in [3]. According to the author in [4], individual speakers tend to use specific patterns of structural elements, and these characteristic patterns make up a person's conversational 'strategy' or 'style'. In other words, individuals use particular ways of talking during conversation and these conversational styles consist of habitual patterns for speech rhythm, pausing, tone and turn – taking. Although a person's style may vary to some extent (depending on the demand of a particular context), the author in [3] claims that a speaker's characteristic conversational style is identifiable. Furthermore, the author in [5 & 6] has identified two specific types of conversational styles that can occur in casual conversations characterized by a fast rate of speech, faster turn - taking, an avoidance of inter-turn pauses, and frequent initiations of simultaneous speech.

High involvement speakers use simultaneous speech to signal interest and involvement in conversations. Conversely, slow speech, slow turn – taking, longer pauses between turns and an avoidance of simultaneous speech characterize the high indirectness style. Furthermore, the author in [7] explains that high considerate speakers operate from the rule of 'do not impose'. Thus, they avoid simultaneous speech. Therefore, the intention to be considerate gives rise to each individual's style. Similarly, the author in [8] stresses that most successful conversations occur when two speakers use similar conversational styles since both speakers share similar habits with regard to turn – taking pace, and simultaneous speech strategy. Furthermore, the author in [8] argues that a speaker who uses a faster turn – taking pace and more simultaneous speech will interrupt her/his partner more frequently. Thus, high involvement speakers are more likely to interrupt high considerate speakers. In this regard, interruptions occur when high considerate speakers pause within their turns, and high involvement speakers perceive this silence as a lack of rapport, and thus begin to speak.

One social convention holds that during interaction, speak only when others are not speaking, or if overlap is to take place, that overlap should occur quite near the anticipated end of the current speaker's turn, the authors in [9] But this expectation is not observed in most conversations because people's emotional state, context of discussion, conversational size, degree of formality, etc. act as reasons that hamper adherence to this expectation. Against this background, the authors in [10] use conversational interruption as a measure of attempted dominance. They view interruption as a symbol of domination in human interaction, and interruption tendencies as dependent measures in cross- gender studies to further their socio – political view that men express their power over women through subtle and implied means. In their research, the authors in [10:523] define interruption:

In contrast to overlap, interruption does not appear to have a systematic basis in the provisions of the turn – taking model. An interruption involves deeper intrusion into the internal structure of a speaker's utterance than an overlap, and penetrates well within the syntactic boundaries of a current speaker's utterance.

Research on gender and communication identifies theories can be of great importance in comprehending the topic at hand. The author in [11] suggests that because of the fact that women's traditional gender – roles encourage them to be submissive; they show unassertiveness and insecurity in their talks. Following the above

theory, the argument follows that women use more tag questions than men and that tag questions indicate uncertainty.

In contrast, the author in [12] interprets women's use of tag questions as a way to get more attention and generate discussions while men use less cooperation in talking. In a contrary dimension, the author in [8] suggests that males' and females' distinctive communicative styles are due to their cultural differences, as a result of being raised in separate gender – roles groups. Gender – role groups refers to consistent relationship patterns which are derived from being either as a female to be submissive and responsible for socio – emotional concerns, or being raised as a male to be dominant, strong and responsible for instrumental concerns. Thus, the authors in [13: 20] say, 'inability to understand each other is not any one's fault, but rather the result of wrong interpretation of communication according to one's own sub cultural rules'.

Another explanation for women's and men's communication disparity is that such interpretations are due to social power. The authors in [10] observe that men's social control in conversation is tantamount to their predominant control in their larger society. This explains that a social control is maintained through men's day-to – day interactions.

## **2. Interruptions in Institutionalized Debates**

Academic debates like the ones under investigation are live events that consist of interactions made by several participants who are involved in the discourse production. The speakers' speeches are exerted prospectively by assigning orderly turn-takings and giving the floor to speakers according to pre-establishment. However, this research indicates that students' debates are activities in which two or more speakers make contributions simultaneously because interruptions represent important inter-discursive and turn-taking mechanism in institutional interactions of this nature as participants are allowed to intervene spontaneously because the interrupters are potential speakers hence the right to voice their opinions. Sometimes, interruptions occur when members believe that some breach of the genre conventions have taken place, or the person who wishes to speak for clarification reason has risen and interrupts the current speaker.

While it looks unhealthy to compete for the floor, it is apparent that academic debates have their own features of conversations which could be regulated by both institutional norms, and purpose. The interruptions take different forms which include verbal and nonverbal. Verbal interruptions are basically identifiable as voiced intrusions in the current speaker's contributions. For analytical purposes, the following are classified as interruptions as observed in this research.

## **3. Limitations**

In spite of best efforts to minimize all limitations that might creep in course of the research, these were certain constraints within which the paper was completed. These are discussed below.

- Although Colombo is one of the country and commercial hubs of Sri Lanka, samples selected from the city could not be considered as a proper representation of the population of the country. However, this may not

create hindrances in achieving the desired objective even if schools in Colombo cannot replicate other secondary school debates in other parts of the country.

- Errors emerging from comprehending student speeches and analysis cannot be ruled out.
- The study involved both qualitative and quantitative research paradigms which relied on different epistemologies. Therefore, both of them provided different kinds of data with each having advantages and disadvantages
- The social world is constructed and its meanings to observers and those observed was constantly changing. Therefore, to find valid information for all perspectives seemed difficult.

#### **4. Methodology**

The Sri Lankan secondary school students' debates were used for this research. It comprised twenty male and twenty female debaters.

All debate speeches have been audio taped using palm size Sony recorder. Each speech was first transcribed to a level of detail that captured all words and words fragments audible to the ear as well as overlapping speech. The oral speeches were transcribed because the language people use becomes research data only if it is transposed from its original of production to the activity in which it could be analyzed. Transcription were made using a soft ware called adobe audition which made the speeches slow such that the transcripator did not have to rewind severally in order to hear the exact sound produced. After each speech was transcribed, the researcher had to cross check the transcript while listening to the tape. Areas of overlap were audited multiple times. The text transcripts were then imported into sequence, coding and analyzing types, numbers and sequences of behavioral events. Observation technique helped a lot in this respect as the researcher put down all identified gestures, facial expressions, body language and other signals depicted by the participants. Also, the debate turns were watched carefully and those features of interruption were recorded in the researcher's notebook so that every simultaneous speech and speak switch were identified as interruptions

Meanwhile, all duration of all male and female turns were calculated. At the same time, the interruptions of both males and females were compared respectively using numbers and gender differences in the frequency were analyzed.

#### **5. Analysis/results**

##### ***5.1 Question and Answer Interruptions***

**Excerpt (1).**Statement and question: Many people who have the right to resist just succumb to the urge to access people's criminal records because of its confidentiality. Why? Answer: Yes sir, I can do that. Why wouldn't I do that? I recognize the fact that this person has been penalized for his crime and therefore is now under the law.

**Excerpt (2).** Question: Why did you believe that people use this opportunity to hide crime? Answer: People use this avenue as a yardstick or escape route because their past records have been reviewed.

**Excerpt (3).** Question: Why is individual's emotion not supreme? Why is the state more supreme than the people? Answer: Sir, in most cases, there are cases in literature which explains that government need to use force. We don't unjustly go there and destroy people.

**Excerpt (4).** Question: Why actually define as these traditional gender roles? Is the society? Answer: The people themselves naturally come with these. Members of the House, it is something a group of people decides whether to be males or females.

In excerpt (1), the first speaker of the proposition is the current speaker but an interruption is initiated by an opposing debater. The respondent gives a polite reply and in turn, asks a rhetorical question which comprises institutional features, hence, the absence of personal directive speech, 'Sir, I can do that, why wouldn't' ...Like in (1), excerpts (2,3,and 4) are prototypical examples of verbal interactive interruptions. They are kinds of interruptions which are performed by institutional listening participants as they appear in dialogic forms.

### ***5.2 Back Channeling Interruptions***

The second subtype of verbal interruption is represented by back channeling. This category of interruption has a wide range of attitudes and intentions ranging from supportive ones emerging from participants of the same team, to dismissive ones from the opposing side.

In all the debates observed, the commonest institutionalized back channeling phrases has been, 'Shame!', and 'No!' both of which signified negative evaluation used predominately by opposing side. On the other hand, noises such as shouts, beating of desks, clapping of hands, handshakes, and all kinds of identifiable voices which could be heard from the tape recordings are interpreted as cheers, jeers, and praises from members of the same team with the current speaker.

In all, there were 156 occurrences of interruptions.

Verbal interruptions are also sub-classified into simple and complex or collective. Simple interruptions are initiated by an individual participating debater, while complex or collective ones refer to interruptions which are performed simultaneously by a number of participants usually by both co-debaters and audience which indicate participants' active listenership and discursive involvement. By intervening collectively, two purposes are accomplished: (a), prompting the current speaker to continue with the current points of argument; (b), dismissing the current speaker to stop talking. In any case, collective interruptions create momentary disturbance which prevent smooth continuation of the ongoing debate. Nevertheless, both simple and complex or collective interruptions constitute students debate genre as investigated in this research. Figure 1 below indicates the frequencies of both cooperative and dismissive interruptions.

### ***5.3 Complex & simple Interruption***

**Excerpt (1).** Current speaker: ...we will like to make clear that there is no point in time we would be allowing these employers to get information during the trial process...That they have gone through this retribution

process and we think that is unjust that even if the people have undergone this process, they still have to be penalized’.

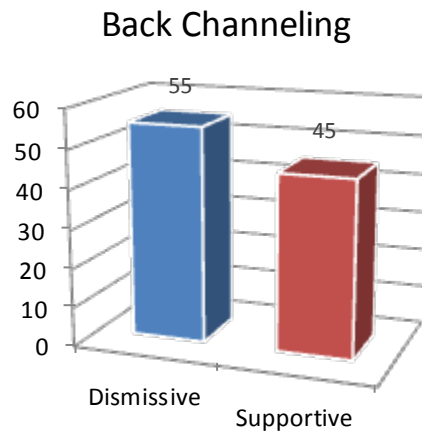


Figure 1: Back channeling

5.4 Collective interruptions (First interrupter) Why is it so?

Second interrupter: No!

Third interrupter: (indicated intension to take the floor by raising up the right hand).

Excerpt (2). Current speaker: ‘whether the retribution was able to transform the individual is a question to be asked.

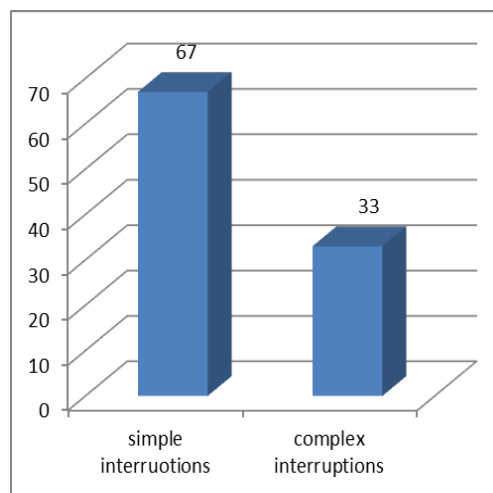


Figure 2: Simple and complex interruption

### **5.5 Simple Interrupter**

Why did you say that people use this opportunity to hide crime?

Excerpt (3). Current speaker: We believe that employers should be given the right to access the criminal records of these employees. This helps the employers to know who has been in detention or passed through rehabilitation or punishment.

### **5.6 Simple Interrupter:**

Even if the detention does not follow the course of justice?

In excerpts (1, and 2) above, the interruption begins with WH-element, a marker of interrogative question, *why...* while in (3), a declarative question is rather used. In all the cases, the interrupters are neither interrogative nor informative. They should rather be regarded as rhetorically forceful statements, meant to dismiss or a mild way of disputing the remarks produced by the speakers which could also be termed as deliberate intrusions and disturbance aimed at undermining the arguments outlined by the current speakers. This is due to Sri Lankan's culture which could be perceived as having love for indirect and ambiguous modes of persuasion and argumentation. Another cause for such a trend of discourse use is the Sri Lankan culture that has a deep respect for the other and sheer avoidance of directness when expressing feelings. In other words, Sri Lankans (at least the students whose speeches are recorded in this study) when compelled to express disagreement would do it indirectly. However, as a mark of strict compliance to the debate genre conventions, debaters who face these threatening intrusions do not simply ignore them but get prepared, and in most cases respond appropriately.

In most cases, after the current speaker has made an assertion, a listening participant who wants to scramble for the floor would use a hybrid buffer which could be regarded as an attempt to soften the impact of the request particularly if it is an interruption and to maintain the integrity of the interrupter. However, the use of 'well' or 'but' might not soften the request for seeking the floor, but on the contrary, such a requesting strategy often causes the current speaker to try harder not to grant the floor because it signals that disagreement is apparent. In any case, buffers if used appropriately, bind debaters together as they serve to indicate attentiveness.

The verbal behavior which plays great roles in turn-requesting is stutter start and it is defined as short word including no fluent phrase. The finding has revealed that the verbal behavior comes in the form of stutter start, while other forms of verbal interruptions include shouts, and requesting. The verbal behavior with the least frequency is completion. The reason for high percentage of interruption in the debate genre is due to high premium accorded to partnership in speech communication. On the other hand, the completion scored the least because most of the debaters spend their time preparing lengthy preambles thereby giving them short time to make acclaims, defenses, and attacks, hence the inability to complete their presentations.

### **5.7 Gazes**

The term 'gesture' is taken to signify various non – verbal behaviors such as head movements, facial

expressions, or postures, the author in [14]. While the author in [14] understands gesture to be strictly non – vocal, what category do paralinguistic features such as coughing and laughter belong: vocal or verbal? Rather than being categorical in the definition of the term, the author in [15] is rather accommodating as he argues that people vary in their understanding of what gesture constitutes. For instance, the author in [16] says, the distinction between verbal and non – verbal do not correspond to vocal/ non vocal since there are movements which stand for words, and vocalization which do not. Author in [16] tries to comprehend gesture from complex dimension in that not every body movement actually signifies meaning, and certain body movements are context bound. Therefore, they lose their communicative value if used out of correct environment. In a more detailed note, the author in [17] distinguishes between affective and symbolic gestures. Affective gestures bear a close relationship to the content of speech in terms of proximity in speech or form. Symbolic gestures on the other hand have a less direct connection to the context of speech, and rely on associations. While symbolic gestures are said to transmit a concept to the communicated from one field of perception to another, e.g. implying a temporal conception with spatial means or depicting an abstract idea physically, affective gestures are divided into demonstratives and gesture designing the form and /or function of objects. One important word the author in [17] uses is ‘temporal’ which implies that gesture contents cannot be quoted as a source of information, and this explains the inadequacy of gesture in speech since it lacks authenticity. Furthermore, certain complex abstract concepts cannot be explained using gestures, and if they must be, further complications might emerge in the process. Therefore, the current researcher wishes to state that although gestures play certain communicative functions especially when language fails, their applications should be with caution, otherwise misrepresentations cannot be avoided.

The face is a primary means of managing interaction, complementing response, and replacing speech. Through the facial expressions, channels of communication could be open, or close. For instance, during turn – taking some interlocutors signal their face in readiness to take over the floor. Also, smiles and flashes of the brows are used as greetings, although rarely followed by words which are culture –specific. This has been noticed as an informal pattern of greeting among Sri Lankan people generally. Additionally, smile is perceived in the communication as a sign of attentiveness.

When a speaker wants to emphasize, diminish, or support one’s action or utterance, a flick of the eye brow or the lip curling may be interpreted as a negative message. However, this practice is very rare among the participants.

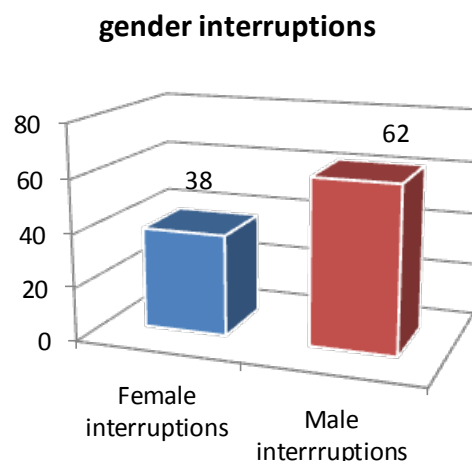
One form of gesture that is crucial in conveying persuasive message is eye contact. Eye contact draws the attention of the listener, and it explains that the source of information should be trusted. Unfortunately, in most of the students’ debates in Sri Lanka, it appears that they avoid the addressees’ eye contacts despite its significant in person – to – person communication.

Similarly, speakers remain silent which could mean that the current speaker is formulating an opinion, gathering courage to speak, providing time for the listening and watching participants which are both genetic and cultural. But this communicative strategy could be misconstrued to mean lack of word especially if the communication happens to be between people of diverse culture speaking differently. Key researchers have proved the degree of



this difference. For instance, the author in [18] asserts that women are polite. In this respect, culture hides much more than it reveals, and the hidden messages often times are unexpressed emotions, or behaviors demonstrated in a form only understood by individuals in that culture, and (by members of the discourse community). Furthermore, cultural competence as exhibited by the Sri Lankan students' interactive discourse in social setting indicates their social membership in the culture which provides the basis for the organizational linguistic structures of their discourse.

Considering the nature of academic debate, two types of interruption occur in this finding, i.e. competitive and cooperative interruptions the authors in [10]. Only occurrences of competitive interruptions observed in the study indicate that the interrupters have attempted to 'grab' the floor and 'hog' it to elaborate on the weaknesses of opponents. This implies that the interrupters' intention is to dominate the floor which has a negative connotation. This has been the practice of most male debaters. On the other hand, most of the female debaters when interrupted, they just stare at the interrupters to finish their observations/criticisms. This debate strategy practiced mostly by male students makes women's turns less competitive so much that they hardly complete their presentations. Thus, in order to avoid running into socially unaccepted behavior, some of these female debaters stop talking, and in some cases make such remarks, 'could you please allow me to finish', or just gaze which could mean, 'finish your observations and let me continue, 'while the more radical of the ladies out rightly shun the interruptions and continue with their speeches. On the other hand, the more considerate female debaters are compelled to listen to males' interruptions even if they have just begun their presentations. This category of debaters takes cover under the debate convention in which interruptions are allowed. More so, when male debaters are interrupted, and they have not exhausted their arguments, refuse to relinquish the floor for any form of interruption. In response to that, they remark, 'wait, later', or 'no!' In contrast to that, most interruptions that are initiated by the females come in the form of inquiries (although they do not actually mean that).



**Figure 4:** Gender interruption

### **5.8 Gender Interruption Disparity**

Out of the 156 occurrences of interruption in this research, the male debaters have more occurrences of interruptions compared to the female counterparts. This wide margin of male and female interruption rate demonstrate no difference with what the authors in [1] who argue that women use cooperative style of negotiation towards their female counterparts, but competitive in mixed sex conversation. Although the author in [4] has attested that individual idiosyncrasies play significant roles in determining speakers' specific pattern of structural elements, the present study further reveals that speakers' immediate discourse community equally contributes to a person's speech strategy. For instance, the debates between Muslim Ladies College and Anula College, and inter House debate between Lyceum International School have indicated few instances of interruption by the male debaters. Conversely, male students from Ananda College and Colombo International School generally manifested high rate of interruptions. In this regard, individual person's social upbringing too matters in the matter of communication involvement. A more concrete reason is given below by the authors in [20: 258] where they argue that:

Most importantly, CDA sees 'language as social practice' the authors in [19] and consider the text 'context of language use' to be crucial. CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing as a form 'social practice' describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectal relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shape them, that is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationship between people and group of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo...since discourse is socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practice may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relation between for instance social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they present things and position people.

An important perspective in CDA related to the notion of 'power' is that it is very rare that a text is the work of any one person. In texts discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which is in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre. Therefore, texts are sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance. Power is about relations of difference and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures. The constant unity of language and other social matters ensures that language is entwined in social power; language is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not derive from language but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, alter distributions of power in the short and the long term the author in [19].

### **6. Conclusion**

Speakers in the debate tournament make use of non - verbal channels to yield a floor for questioning. The most frequently used nonverbal yielding behavior is audience directed gazes. The increasing percentage of time the

current speaker spends in audience/participants directed-gazes as the episodes draws to an end indicates that the floor is about to be yielded, preparing the coordinator to announce the taking over of the floor by another speaker.

A playback of the recordings of the students' communicative speech indicates that changes in the duration of some non - verbal behavior present a clearer picture of the role. The Sri Lankan culture presents an interesting scenario in which prolonged eye contact or repeatedly done head nods could be interpreted as a request for the participants to ask questions. On the other hand, speakers stare more at the audience than at their interlocutors. One reason for this communicative strategy is that, by looking away, speakers improve their concentration on their verbal messages thereby allowing them to focus on constructing utterances that are comprehensible. Also, speakers who do not want their turns to be interrupted considerably reduce eye contacts with their listeners, and stare rather at judges and non- participating audience. However, whenever speakers want to relinquish their turns, they usually indicate this by turning their head towards their interlocutors, and making increased eye contact.

Generally, the only non - verbal communication that plays a significant role in this study is gesticulation i.e. up - raised and pointed fingers, and sideways head nods which are typical of Sri Lankans' gesticulations are used to answer an interrogative sentence. This behavior could in a larger extent be considered 'natural' in many societies in which some parts of the body are used to help communication.

For gazes to be an effective communication tool, there should be gaze at or very near the point where the speaking roles are exchanged. In other words, interactants must have their minds geared towards one another, just as required of eye contact.

On the whole, interruptions in debate genre as observed in the present study represent a crucial discursive device in turn- taking speech communication as they involve participants' behavior, attitudes and beliefs. Although interruptions in turn-taking have been perceived as a disruption of the ongoing debate interactions, they are necessary for communication partnership and listenership in that they (interruptions) are intended to indicate to the current speaker that the floor is contestable as sometime, interruption could also imply that the current speaker does not comply with the conventions. Authors in [19:105] argue that:

Learning to become a legitimate participant in a community involves learning how to talk in a manner of full participant. Talking within itself includes both talking within a community (e.g. exchanging information necessary to the progress of ongoing activities) and talking about a community. Inside the shared practice, both forms of talk fulfill specific functions; engaging, focusing and shifting attention, bringing about coordination, etc. On the other hand, supporting communal forms of memory and reflection as well as signaling membership. On the other hand, for new comers then the purpose is not to learn from peripheral, it is to learn to talk as key to legitimate peripheral partnership.

As argued above, membership is based on paying particular attention to the conventions about what *normally* is communicated, how this is communicated, and which genres and text types are used. In this study, much of the

students' discursive strategies follow the conventions, because much of the interruptions are not corrective as such. Rather, as explained above, they are dismissive - a deliberate style to underscore opponents' points of argument.

## References

- [1] Coate, T. And Pinchler, P. *Language and gender: A reader*. Malden: Blackwell. 1998.
- [2] Fairclough, N. & Wodak, R. *Critical discourse analysis*. In: T.A. Van Dijk (eds) introduction to discourse studies, 1997. 258 – 284.
- [3] Fishman, P.C. (. Introduction: The work women do. *Language, gender and society*, 1983. 89 – 101.
- [4] Kuiper, K. Sporting formulae of male solidarity. A cultural approach to interpersonal communication: essential reading. 2000. Pp. 285.
- [5] Argyle, M. *Bodily communication*. London. Methuen. 1988.
- [6] Lakoff, G. *Language & women's place*, Vol. 56. New York: Harper.1975.
- [7] Maltz, D.N.&orker, R. A. *A cultural approach to male – female miscommunication*. Cambridge University Press. 1982.
- [8] Muntigl, P. and Wodak, R. *European Union on unemployment. An interdisciplinary – making and organizational change*. Philadelphia: Benjamin. 2000.
- [9] Neisser, U. *Cognition & reality: principle & implication of cognitive psychology*. New York: Freeman. 1979.
- [10] Pilkington, I. *The linguistics construction of gender identity*. ISSN1704978. 1992.
- [11] Sacks, H., Schegloff, E.A.& Jefferson, G.A. 'A simplest systematic for the organization of turn – taking in conversation'. *Language* 150, 1974. pp. 690 – 735
- [12] Soderbergh, L. *Linguistic effects by three years of age of extra contact during the first hour post partum*. In: C.E. Johnson and Thew, CL. (eds). Proceeding of the second international congress for the study of child language pp. 429 – 441. Washington DC University Press. 1982.
- [13] Tannen, D. *Ethnicity as conversational style in sociolinguistics working paper. No. 55 – reprinted*. In: R. Bauman & J. Sherzer (eds). *Language & speech in American society : A compilation of Research papers in sociolinguistics*. Austria, TX: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory. 1979.
- [14] Oral & literate strategies in spoken & written discourse. *Literacy for life: the demand for reading & writing* (eds). Richard W. Bailey & Robin, M. Foshian, 79 – 99. New York: Modern Language. 1983a.
- [15] Interrupting interruption in conversation. *Gender & discourse*. 1989. pp. 53 -83.
- [16] *You just don't understand*. London: Virago. 1990.
- [17] Don't just sit there and interrupt. Pacing & pausing in conversational style. *American speech*. 75, 2000. Pp.393- 395.
- [18] 'Difference of sex 7 sects: Linguistics variation 7 social network in Welsh mining village. Women in their speech communities' *Newspapers on Language & sex*, 51 – 60. 2011.
- [19] West, C. & Zimmerman, D.H. 'Small insults: A study of interruption in cross sex conversation between unacquainted persons'. *Language, gender & society*. Pp.102 – 107. 1983.
- [20] Wundt, W. *The language of gestures*. The Hague: Mouton. 1973.