

Assertion and accommodation: a study of the
assertive language in the conversations of
school-age (5-13 years) girls.

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Abstract.

This study aimed to investigate the use of accommodation of assertive utterances (AUs) in the conversations of 49 girls aged 5;0-13;1. Based on the findings of earlier research that the use of such language is more closely related to age than to gender, it was predicted speakers would accommodate their use of and response to assertive utterances as a result of their partner's age. Naturalistic language from these speakers was collected over a year, and evidence of accommodation was observed in all speakers. Fewer AUs were used with younger speakers compared to older ones, and those used with younger girls were more likely to be produced with the sole purpose of controlling the hearer's behaviour. In addition, AUs were more likely to be complied with, or accepted, when they were produced by older girls. Given what is known about the types of language used by powerful/powerless individuals, it appears that these speakers consider age to be an indicator of status. A particularly interesting finding was that it was the age of a speaker in relation to other members of the conversation that influenced their use of and response to AUs, rather than the age of the speaker alone.

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SALT Conventions.

/ marks plurals, regular contractions, past tense, regular verb inflections.

/3 marks third person singular.

: pause between utterances of the different speakers.

; pause between utterances of the same speaker.

^ marks an interrupted utterance.

~ intonation prompt.

< > indicates portions of overlapping speech.

> abandoned/incomplete utterance.

* omitted word or partial word.

= provides additional information about the context.

X unintelligible word.

Xx multiple unintelligible words.

Xxx unintelligible utterance.

() filled pauses, false starts, repetition.

[] contains utterance code.

_ links multiple words so they are treated as a single word, such as names, films, songs, etc. i.e. The _Gruffalo.

Chapter One: Introduction.

1.1 Background to the study.

This thesis examines the use of assertive language in groups of girls aged between five and thirteen years. Specifically, the different ways assertive utterances (AUs) are used, and responded to, as a result of the age of both the speaker and hearer. In the present study, AUs were utterances with the intention of presenting the speaker as someone in a position of power in order that their assertive act will be successful. The data here is based on twenty-four hours of recorded conversations from forty-nine girls collected during a year of ethnographic observations.

The second chapter will look at how, historically, many studies of child language have attributed observed differences in language use to gender (Maltz andorker, 1982; Leaper and Smith, 2004). However, more recently it has been suggested that some of these differences may have been exaggerated, while similarities were ignored. Leaper (1991:797) for example, states that although he did find some gender differences, “girls’ and boys’ communication patterns were more similar than different”. Consequently, there has been a move away from this assumption to explore alternative explanations for such findings (Foschi and Lapointe 2002; Farley, 2008). Amongst groups of adults, one explanation for observed differences has been attributed to status. Those who occupy positions of power have been shown to use more powerful, or assertive, language (Morand, 2000; Beňuš, 2011). It has been suggested that women’s language use has, in the past, been a reflection of their lower status in society, rather than a consequence of their gender (Brown; 1979; Eagly and Wood, 1982). As this has changed over time, language use has also been observed to alter (Tannen, 1990). While some research continues to report gender differences in language use, not only are these differences typically smaller than those observed in the past (Leaper and Ayres, 2007), but it is also possible these findings reflect factors other than gender. The relationships between speakers, the context, and the activity taking place during the conversation have all been shown to affect the types of language used (Kyratzis and Guo, 1996; Ervin-Tripp, 2000; Leaper and Smith, 2004). It is, therefore, important to consider a wide range of factors before assuming any observed differences are a result of gender alone.

The types of language that have been considered typical of girls is also looked at in this chapter, as are the language styles of powerful and powerless individuals. As will

be discussed later, one of the most striking findings here is the parallels between language that is thought to be stereotypical of females, and that which is associated with powerless speakers. Again, this is likely a reflection of women's position in the past, rather than any fundamental differences in women and men's linguistic abilities. Perhaps one of the most pervasive stereotypes about the differences in the language of males and females is in relation to the use of assertive, compared to affiliative, language. It is widely believed that attempts at using controlling or assertive language by girls, and women, are carried out in indirect ways and are usually more polite. That is, from a young age girls learn to "say it with a smile" (Sheldon, 1990:12; Sachs, 1987:188). The language of boys on the other hand, is typically classed as overtly controlling with little or no mitigation (Goodwin, 2001; Ladegaard, 2004). The present study aims to challenge these beliefs by showing the use of assertive language is more closely related to an individual's status than to their gender.

Status is also considered in some detail in this chapter. Status has been associated with several different attributes amongst groups of children including; popularity, intelligence, and skill, as well as physical attributes such as being the biggest or strongest (Coie et al., 1982; Pettit et al., 1990; Holmes, 1992; Edwards, 1994). Many of these can also be linked to a child's age: the intelligence of older children is usually more developed, and they are typically larger than their younger peers. In addition, in the absence of other information for example during a new task it may not be known which individuals are most skilled, age is one variable that can be relied upon. It is suggested in this study that age is used as a way of measuring status.

Consequently, a speaker's status would vary from one social group to another as a result of the age of other individuals involved. The process of altering language use based on one's conversational partner, communication accommodation, has rarely been studied in children. The few exceptions to this include interactions between children and adults (Robertson and Murachver, 2003), studies looking at accommodation in relation to gender (Killen and Naigles, 1995), and those investigating features such as speech rate (Street Jr and Cappella, 1989), rather than pragmatic features.

Also in this chapter, the importance of considering context is addressed. This is particularly important for children; who can be greatly affected by factors such as the physical location, other members of the conversation and even those present, but not

involved in the interaction for example researchers observing these interactions (Bornstein et al., 2002; Leaper and Smith, 2004; Hoff, 2010).

1.2 Research Questions.

Based on the gaps in the existing literature the following research questions are addressed in the present study:

- Do speakers accommodate their use of assertive language?
- If so, which factors influence this accommodation?
- Is there evidence to suggest these girls equate age with social status?
- If so, what types of evidence can be found to support this?

1.3 Participants.

A total of 49 girls were involved in this study ranging in age from 5;0 to 13;1 at the start of data collection. This section explains the three different groups of girls, and the division of each group into three age bands, based on their school year group.

1.4 Hypotheses.

Based on the assumption that age is used as a way of assessing status for these girls, a number of hypotheses are proposed. Overall, it is anticipated that a greater number of AUs will be used with younger speakers, compared to older ones. Secondly, that AUs from older speakers are more likely to be accepted or complied with than those from younger girls. This is based on what is known about these types of assertive language and the way they occur with speakers of different status.

1.5 Methodology.

This chapter includes reviews of previous research methods and the ways in which these may be relevant to the present study. It also considers some of the practical problems faced by researchers in the past and proposes possible ways to overcome these. Advantages and disadvantages of collecting data in the field, as opposed to through experimental conditions, are also discussed here. The aim of the present study was to collect language samples that were, as close as possible, a reflection of the typical language used by these girls. Therefore, naturalistic observations, over a long period were thought to be the best way of conducting this research. Other problems discussed here include researchers gaining access to subjects and facing resistance both from adults and the children themselves (Wax, 1986; Adler and Adler, 1998; Christensen, 2004). My position as a familiar adult was considered to be of great benefit in the present study. However, the problem of the observer's paradox (Labov,

1972) remained, and this was addressed in this chapter. Data collection was discussed here with relation to the importance of considering context, as noted above.

Also in this chapter, the process of compiling a list of AUs is explained. This was based on the types of assertive language observed in these conversations, those found in my previous study (Topham, 2012), and those noted in the existing literature. Each of these AUs are defined in order for them to be applied to the transcripts.

Following this, the decision of which software should be used for transcription and analysis was discussed, as were the advantages and disadvantages of two different types of software were discussed. The process of transcription using SALT software was also detailed here, along with the way the different codes were applied to each transcript, in order to provide information about both the AU used and the intended hearer.

In addition, the need to standardise these transcripts, and the necessity to condense the number of AUs included in the analysis was explained. This resulted in the three most used AUs being analysed, these were; directives, ignoring and interruptions.

1.6 Results.

This chapter reports, at length, the findings in terms of the way the three most frequently used AUs were responded to in conversations with each of the three age bands in their group. Although in the present study all attempts at assertive behaviour are considered, ultimately assertive acts are measured by their success (Kollock et al., 1985; Burgoon et al., 1996). Consequently, the responses to these utterances were thought to be of particular importance as there was the possibility of including a wider range of individuals. Initially, it was thought that there may be some girls who did not use some types of AUs. However, it was assumed that most, if not all, speakers would be addressed with each type of AU. Therefore, the way these girls responded to each of the three most frequently used AUs was considered to be of great importance.

The responses these AUs received showed support for the hypothesis that these utterances would be complied with, or accepted, more when they were produced by older girls compared to younger ones. Perhaps one of the most important findings was that the same speakers were seen responding in different ways, to the same type of AU, from speakers of different ages. Similar findings were also obtained with regards to the types of AUs used; the same speakers were observed using different types of AUs based on the age of the hearer they were addressed to. In addition, it was often

the case that speakers would reduce the number of AUs used as the age of their partner rose.

Two major findings emerged in this chapter. Firstly, the way in which AUs are used, and the responses they receive, provide considerable support for the suggestion that age is used as a way of measuring status for these girls. Secondly, the changes seen in the behaviour of these girls offers clear evidence of accommodation. Rather than these findings suggesting that all five-year-olds behave in the same ways, with regards to AUs, what they show is that this behaviour is actually based on a combination of the age of the speaker and hearer. Therefore, suggesting that the accommodation observed here is based on age.

1.7 Comparisons.

Also included in this chapter is a section comparing the way AUs were used, and the responses they received, from speakers in different age groups. Particularly interesting findings were obtained for comparisons between bands 3 and 4, and to a certain extent bands 6 and 7. The reason being that although these girls were close in age, bands 3 and 4 overlapped in ages, their behaviour with regards to AUs was usually very different. It was assumed that this was due to their position within their respective groups; band 3 and 6 were the eldest speakers in their age groups, while bands 4 and 7 were the youngest. Typically, there were a greater number of similarities between speakers in the age equivalent position in each group, than there were between members of the same age groups. This therefore provides further support for the existence of both accommodation, and the suggestion that age is used as a way of assessing status for these speakers.

1.8 Discussion.

This chapter discusses the findings from each of the three most used AUs in relation to existing literature. What is shown here is that although there was little direct support for the findings obtained here, when these are considered with regards to status, rather than age, they are backed up by much previous research. Some examples of this include the use of directives; it is widely acknowledged that they are used by high status speakers in interactions with those who occupy positions of lower status (Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan, 1977; Holmes, 1992). In the present study, it was found that most speakers produced the largest number of directives in interactions with the youngest speakers in their age group and that they gradually reduced the amount used as the age of their partner rose. A similar example is seen for

interruptions, it is generally accepted that those who occupy positions of lower status are more likely to allow themselves to be interrupted than high status speakers (Beňuš, et al. 2011). Here, it was usually younger speakers who accepted a higher number of interruptions than those in the middle or eldest bands in each group. It is, therefore, assumed that age is highly correlated to status for these girls. Also discussed in this chapter is how these findings show evidence of accommodation. Most speakers were observed using each type of AU and responding in a range of different ways, yet, they chose to behave in certain ways with some speakers and not others based on their age.

1.9 Conclusion.

The final chapter in this thesis brings all of these findings together, and examines them in the context of existing research. It is suggested here that this research provides strong evidence for two major new findings. Firstly, these girls are able to accommodate their use of, and response to, a range of AUs and this accommodation is based on the age of a speaker, in relation to that of their partner. Secondly, given what is known about the way AUs are used, and responded to, based on the status of those involved, it can be assumed that these girls use age as a way of assessing status. As was noted in section 1.1, little research into accommodation has been carried out with children and, to the best of my knowledge, there are no studies that have investigated the use of accommodation with regards to assertive language. Therefore, not only do these findings provide evidence showing a link between age and status which is likely to have a considerable impact on the types of language individuals use, but they also provide research into an understudied area of child language.

1.10 Limitations and future research.

There are, of course, limitations on the research carried out here, and some of these are highlighted in this section. There are also some suggestions made for the direction of future research. One of which is to carry out a similar study with boys, this may help to dispel some of the misconceptions held about the differences seen in language use and gender.

Chapter Two: Literature Review.

2.1 Communication Accommodation Theory.

2.1.1 Introduction.

There is, at present, a great deal of controversy surrounding language and gender, and this is the case for numerous aspects of language, including what will be considered in this review of the literature; communication accommodation. Whilst some research has suggested men and women alter their speech as a result of both their own gender and that of their interlocutor (Mulac et al., 1988; Carli, 1990), others have found the use of certain types of language is more closely related to the speaker's status than their gender (Wood and Karten, 1986; Foschi and Lapointe 2002; Farley, 2008). This was also the case in my previous study investigating gender differences in pre-schooler's use of assertive language (Topham, 2012), which found that while the gender of a speaker had little impact on the types of assertive language used, their age had a considerable effect. The present study, therefore, will consider the importance of the age and status of both the hearer and the speaker in girls' use of accommodation. This literature review will highlight some of the key aspects of communication accommodation theory, then go on to consider some previous research into accommodation in children. However, as will be shown there is, to the best of my knowledge, very little research on the use of accommodation in conversations between children. Consequently, a look at the literature regarding this phenomenon in adults will aid the process of suggesting possible outcomes for the present study. Following this, some of the stereotypical and actual features of the language of girls will be considered.

2.1.2 CAT.

Originally named speech accommodation theory (SAT) in the 1970s this theory, proposed by Giles (1973), suggested that speakers modify their accents as a result of their conversational partner. Since then this theory has been developed to include a broader range of linguistic features and is now termed communication accommodation theory (CAT). The basic elements of CAT are 'convergence' and 'divergence' (Garrett, 2010; Chakrani, 2015) and refer to the extent to which speakers alter their linguistic behaviour to become more or less similar to that of their interlocutor. Convergence is the occurrence of speakers adapting to both the linguistic

and paralinguistic features of their partner; this minimising of differences often occurs in an attempt to gain social acceptance (Robertson and Murachver, 2003, Giles and Gasiorek, 2013; Chakrani, 2015). Divergence on the other hand, is an attempt by speakers to increase the differences between their speech and that of their partner, commonly used as a way of asserting individuality and distancing themselves from their partner (Garrett, 2010; Pitts and Harwood, 2015). CAT has been studied in a wide range of contexts and has been observed to occur in conversations between doctors and patients (Tates and Meeuwesen, 2001), carers and the elderly (Edwards and Noller, 1993), employer and employee (Willemyns, et al., 2003), and in numerous other types of relationships. Elements of communication that have been shown to alter include the variety of dialect used (van Hofwegen, 2015; Nilsson, 2015), the number of interruptions made (Beňuš, et al. 2011) as well as the pitch of the speaker's voice (Gregory, Jr. and Webster, 1996). However, the present study will focus on pragmatic elements of communication, specifically assertiveness.

Accommodation is often observed in relationships of power, for example, between an interviewer and interviewee (Willemyns, et al., 2003), in such situations it is typical for the submissive speaker to accommodate their speech to those in a position of power. Interestingly, it has also been suggested the more dominant individual may also make their own speech more difficult to interpret making it harder for the hearer to keep up with, and take part in the conversation (Worgan and Moore, 2011), thereby demonstrating their position as the powerful speaker. The phenomenon of accommodation in interactions such as this are useful for observing types of language used by those in positions of authority compared to those who are not, due to there being one clear dominant and one submissive member of the conversation. Using these interactions as an example, it is possible to show relations of dominance between interlocutors where there is no clear division of power, as is the case among co-workers, friends or as in the present study, children.

The term 'accommodation' in the present study is used to refer to the way in which children alter their language use as a result of their conversational partner. Muir, et al., (2017:526) note that a change in language use is very often seen between powerful and powerless individuals, and they state that CAT "defines such adaptations to our communicative behaviours as accommodation, motivated by a desire on the part of the low powered individual to affiliate with or gain the approval of their higher power

partner”. This phenomenon has been observed in numerous previous studies and has been described in many different ways. Ghimenton, et al. (2013) talk about ‘language choice adjustment’, Nardy, et al. (2014) refer to ‘convergence’, similarly Hinskens, et al. (2005) use the terms ‘convergence’ and ‘divergence’. The term ‘style shift’ has also been used to describe the way individuals change their speech based on their interlocutor (Coupland, 1980; Schilling-Estes, 1998; Snell, 2014). Essentially what these studies have observed is a change in language use based on the hearer, or other members of the conversation. In Bell’s (1984:162) work on audience design he states that “audience” can include three types of individuals; addressee, auditor and overhearer. He notes that if we consider “accommodation” as any style shift which occurs in response to these persons, then accommodation theory is a powerful explanatory model of speech style”. Therefore, in the present study accommodation is used to describe the change, or shift, in the use of and response to AUs from speakers of different ages.

The following part of this literature review will consider how dominance in conversation is achieved and what this looks like.

For a speaker to be accepted into a social group they must first conform to the established norms of the group, i.e. converge. By accommodating their speech to those in an existing group a speaker is able to gain status and acceptance from the other members. Once a certain level of status is achieved the speaker has a greater freedom to exert their own power and diverge slightly from the norms they were forced to use to become a part of the group (Hollander, 1958; Coie, et al., 1982). This authority to diverge from the norms of the group is unique to those in a position of power and is not something afforded to lower status group members. It is therefore, one way in which those who hold a greater amount of power can be identified among a group; a speaker whose speech is dissimilar to, yet still accepted by, other group members. As the present study is concerned with accommodation in relation to assertiveness, it is helpful to consider some of the ways adults have been shown to accommodate their use of assertive language.

Interruptions are often considered to be produced more frequently by dominant speakers, West and Zimmerman (1983:103) for example note an “interruption is a device for exercising power and control in conversation”. This is likely due to the fact a turn in a conversation is not simply about the production of the speaker’s utterance,

but their entitlement to hold the conversational floor for the duration of their utterance (West and Zimmerman, 1977). It follows, therefore, that an interruption is more than simply stopping a speaker's utterance, but taking from them a right to speak. An interesting finding, in terms of accommodation, is that not only do more dominant individuals make a greater number of interruptions, but during conversations with dominant people those who are more submissive, either due to the balance of power in the relationship or by their nature, allow themselves to be interrupted (Beňuš, et al. 2011). As has been noted, accommodation involves convergence and divergence, however, it is also possible that a speaker may adapt their behaviour to that of their conversational partner without using the same types of strategies, for example, allowing their partner to interrupt them.

Different to the interruptions described above, the term 'deep interruption' was used by Farley (2008) to describe an attempt by the speaker to change the topic of conversation, and she observed that these moves were characteristic of speakers with a higher status. Hudson (2005:118) makes the point that "those who have information others don't know are in a powerful position" this may lead them to feel a greater right to exert their authority in a conversation by changing the subject. Similarly, it may cause the other members of the group to accept this topic change due to their implied power.

Another strategy typically employed by dominant speakers is holding the conversational floor for a greater amount of time than their interlocutors. Mast (2002:441) holds that "speaking time appears to be a reliable indicator of dominance", interestingly both speakers and listeners judged individuals who talked more to be more dominant. Mast's (2002) meta-analysis also considered studies that have involved 'assigned dominance', in which participants have been allocated the role of a more dominant or authoritative individual. The results of these studies showed a strong relationship between the amount of speech used and a speaker's dominance. The finding of this meta-analysis therefore provides evidence that the greater the speaking time of an individual the higher their perceived status is, and this is acknowledged by both the speaker and the other members of a conversation.

It has so far been shown that although there may be some features characteristic of dominant speech, such as the number of interruptions they make and the number of

utterances they produce, the most reliable way of identifying a dominant individual is to compare their speech to the other members of the conversational group, as what may be considered dominant in one social group may be the group norm in another. Additionally, a dominant speaker in one conversation may become submissive in another. It is only by observing speakers across groups, and in interactions with a range of speakers can we see whether or not they accommodate their language. As the present study is concerned accommodation in the conversations of girls, particularly in their use of assertive language, the following section will consider previous research on accommodation in children's speech.

2.1.3 Accommodation in Children.

As Robertson and Murachver (2003:323) state, "few researchers have investigated speech accommodation by children," and those that have have generally focused on the use of accommodation between sexes, and with adults. It is however, useful to consider the results of these studies as they may give some indication as to the age at which children begin to use accommodation and the contexts in which it has been shown to occur.

The ability to alter communication as a result of the hearer has been observed from a very early age, and findings have suggested that even preverbal children show evidence of convergence, in interactions with parents, in terms of turn taking and vocalisations (Street Jr., 1983). The fact that convergence has been observed in such young children supports Street Jr. and Cappella's (1989) assertion that accommodation is part of normal development. It also suggests that it is an innate, rather than learnt, behaviour as infants under seven months are not capable of consciously choosing to alter their vocalisations. This study refers only to non-content speech convergence, given the young age of the children, however, it is not implausible to suggest that this ability to accommodate is extended to include content as children learn to talk.

In one of the few studies on children's speech accommodation Robertson and Murachver (2003) found children between 6;9 and 11;8 all showed significant changes in their language as a result of the linguistic style used by the experimenter. Interestingly, convergence was seen by both genders regardless of the sex of either the child or the experimenter. Therefore, in this study it was the role, or status, of the

hearer that was the most influential factor. As in other adult-child relationships in this experiment it was the adult who was of a higher status. Given this, it is perhaps unsurprising that the children altered their language to become more similar to that of the adult in an attempt to seek approval.

The results of these two studies show even very young children accommodate their communication to a certain extent. Furthermore, this occurs in a range of contexts and is not linked solely to the gender of either the hearer or speaker. The young age of the children in the first study, suggests that the desire to accommodate may be deeply rooted. In addition, the lack of gender conformity in the second study suggests accommodation has little, if any, relation to gender.

One study that has investigated accommodation in children's conversations with their peers was carried out by Welkowitz et al., (1976), and involved children ranging in age from 5;4 to 7;2 in conversations with a same sex partner. However, as with the previous studies on children's accommodation their speech was not analysed for content, but in terms of pauses and switching pauses. They concluded that accommodating behaviour increased with age, this is likely because the older children were also those with the more developed linguistic and social abilities.

One of the few studies that has investigated children's accommodation with their peers, and in terms of content, was carried out by Shatz and Gelman (1973). They found four-year-olds adjusted their speech based on the age of the hearer. They used shorter and more simple utterances with younger children compared to with peers and adults. They also observed that the extent to which their language altered was reliant on the age difference between the speaker and hearer. Both boys and girls were included in this study, however, they did not find the sex of either the speaker or hearer to have a significant effect on this change in speech.

What these studies suggest is that there is an association between the age of both the speaker and hearer in terms of children's use of accommodation. Due to the fact there are so few studies investigating accommodation in children, it is helpful to look at its occurrence in the conversations of adults. This may enable predictions to be made regarding both how it may occur in interactions among children.

2.1.4 Accommodation in Adults.

Despite disagreement surrounding the extent to which, and contexts in which, accommodation has been observed, there is largely agreement that both men and women accommodate their language. A possible reason for the instability among the findings is that certain social situations lead to greater convergence than others. As with all types of language it would be imprudent to suggest that in all single sex conversations women behave in one way, and in mixed sex conversations behave in a different, but universal way, and the same was true of men. Attempting to simplify language in this way would be ignoring the now abundance of studies that maintain linguistic styles are largely not characteristic of the individual, but the situation (Mulac et al., 1988; Hyde, 2005; Ye and Palomares, 2013). Instead, it is helpful to consider how women have been observed to change their language use in a range of situations and perhaps consider which contexts are most similar to that in the present study. This will enable informed predictions to be made about how the children in this study may behave.

While it had previously been thought that speakers accommodated their language as a result of their partner's gender (Shepard et al., 2001), Welkowitz et al. (1972) noted that individuals converged more significantly when paired with someone they considered to be similar. There is a possibility then, that much like Ye and Palomares (2013) suggest, speakers will adapt their language to increase their likeness to their conversational partner irrespective of their own or their partner's gender. This view has been supported in several studies that have all concluded the status of a speaker is a far more significant variable in terms of accommodation than gender. Crosby and Nyquist (1977:321), for example, tested the hypotheses put forward by Robin Lakoff (1973) regarding the characteristics defining women's language. They concluded that the role of a speaker had a "highly significant effect on speech" and therefore suggest that the use of certain features observed more frequently in women's language is more a result of their different role than of their gender alone. It is important to be mindful of the fact that during the time this research was carried out the role of women in society was markedly different from that in today's world. Lakoff (1973:45) noted that at that time women's "social roles are derivative and dependent in relation to men". It is unsurprising, therefore, that more current research does not always find support for the different features typically associated with the language of either gender. There are, however, some exceptions to this, Blankenship and Holtgraves

(2005), for example, hold that the differences observed in women's language are more closely related to social status than to gender. This is supported by the fact that both men and women have been found to use, what was once termed 'women's language', based on the social context. It is for this reason such language is now termed 'powerless language' as opposed to 'women's language'. This view is also reflected in O'Barr's (1982:70) work on the language used in court. He concludes that 'powerless language' "is a term more descriptive of the particular features involved in the social status of those who speak in this manner, and one that does not link it unnecessarily to the sex of the speaker". A further study which lends support to this comes from Redeker and Maes's (1996) research on interruptions. They found the speaker's status and age as well as their expertise on the subject being discussed, not their gender, were the most relevant factors in predicting the number of interruptions made. However, it is also important to note that features of what has typically been considered 'women's language' are not always the same as those indicating powerlessness. While types of 'powerful' language are known to be used by women, there are also features observed in the talk of 'powerless' individuals that are not common in so-called 'women's language'.

As with all aspects of language there are also those who disagree with this view and maintain gender plays an important role in communication accommodation. Namy et al. (2002), for example, hold that not only are female speakers more likely to accommodate than male speakers, but that both genders accommodate to males more than to females. It is important to note, however, that the focus on their study was related to vocal, rather than pragmatic accommodation. A further difference between this study and the present one is the methodology; Namy et al. (2002) removed social factors from their experiment by using recorded speech for participants to listen back to. This is likely to have had a considerable impact on their results as face-to-face communication includes a larger number of variables and so has a different impact on the type of accommodation to take place (Williams, 1977; Nardi and Whittaker, 2002). Given that there have been results showing differences in men and women's abilities to identify voices (Thompson, 1985; Nygaard and Queen, 2000), it is possible this type of accommodation is more a reflection of the way the research was carried out, rather than evidence of differences in accommodation, particularly pragmatic accommodation, that has clearer links to social factors. Pardo's (2006) research into

phonetic convergence contradicted the results of many studies on both the role of gender and status, finding neither variable was a reliable indicator of convergence. Instead she found males converged more than females. Pardo's (2006) study involved pairs of speakers being assigned either the dominant role of instruction 'giver' or the more submissive 'receiver', and in contrast to what may have been expected it was the 'givers' who converged more than the 'receivers'.

One similarity between Namy et al.'s (2002) study and Pardo's (2006), aside from the finding of gender differences, is the fact that the participants did not know each other prior to the experiment, and in the former, were not involved in face-to-face interactions. In contrast, the participants in Redeker and Maes's (1996) were already well acquainted with each other before data collection. It is possible that the familiarity of speakers with one another may be an important factor in determining convergence. Giles and Gasiorek (2013) suggest that individuals are more likely to accept control moves from those they are familiar with, compared to strangers. This is based on the fact that with familiar individuals it is believed such behaviours will only occur when there is a need for them, however in interactions with strangers they are more likely to be interpreted as rude. Consequently, speakers may be more likely to allow interruptions and other such power moves from familiar individuals. In addition, if accommodation is linked to status, having prior knowledge of a partner's status would likely impact on a speaker's accommodation.

This may also go some way towards explaining differences observed in accommodation; some researchers, such as Namy et al. (2002), did not consider the importance of social relationships and carried out their experiment without face-to-face interaction. Chakrani (2015) on the other hand followed the same group of people over five months and found a close link between a speaker's attitude towards a particular dialect and their likelihood of converging or diverging. Keeping in mind Deaux and Major's (1987) assertion that in novel situations people show a tendency to adopt the typical features of their gender's language, the degree to which speakers are familiar with one another is likely to have a considerable impact on their accommodation. Furthermore, as previously noted convergence occurs as a result of speakers wishing to reduce differences between themselves and their partner. It follows that communication will also be easier when minimal differences exist in the types of language used by interlocutors (Wu and Keysar, 2007). Given the tendency

for people to choose friends based on shared interests as well as similarities in personalities, social class and background (McFarland et al., 2013), it is not surprising that speakers alter their language depending on whether they are speaking to friends or strangers (Horton and Gerrig, 2002; Cassell et al., 2007). Not only have dyads of friends been shown to talk more than those of strangers, but they also show an inclination to use a greater number of face threatening acts. Similarly, strangers are less likely to use more direct language and instead opt for politer forms (Cassell et al., 2007). What is interesting about the types of language used between friends as opposed to strangers is that they have both been considered types of gendered speech. Historically women have been observed to use more polite speech than men (Lakoff, 1973) while men, despite stereotypical beliefs, have been shown to talk more (Swann, 1996). Once again, this shows that previous research into accommodation that has attributed changes in a speaker's talk to the gender of their interlocutor may not have fully considered all possibilities for this shift. As stated by Horton and Gerrig (2002:590) "the fact that speakers often design utterances for specific addressees is not controversial", what remains unknown, however, is the circumstances in which accommodation takes place and the reasons why.

This section has shown that although there is little disagreement surrounding the fact speakers frequently accommodate their communicative behaviour, the debate continues regarding the reasons behind this, and the contexts in which it is most likely to occur. While some have argued it is due largely to gender, others have attributed changes in communication to the familiarity of speakers as well as to the status of both the hearer and speaker.

The table below (Table One) shows the results of studies that provide good examples of findings in support of stereotypical differences in the language of male and females; including both adults and children, in a range of contexts. One important fact to bear in mind when looking at the results of these studies is the context in which the study took place, as this can have a considerable effect on the language produced; this will be discussed in further detail later (see section 2.3). What is evident from this table is the fact there is little consensus on the existence of gender differences across contexts.

Table One.

Authors	Findings	Context	Participants
Crosby and Nyquist (1977) Study II Study III	Women speech contained a significantly greater amount of ‘female register’ – tag questions, hedges, empty adjectives and the word ‘so’. No differences were found as a result of the sex of the speaker or the sex of the person giving information. Differences due to role (i.e. client or police personnel) were highly significant; clients used a greater amount of ‘female register’. Women also used significantly more ‘female register’ than men.	Each subject took part in four three-minute conversations with same-sex partner, half with a friend and half with a stranger in a lab. Natural language samples of people making enquiries at an information booth. Natural conversations between clients and police personnel, lasting on average 2 minutes.	16 male and 16 female undergraduate students 107 males and 90 females 45 men, 45 women and 3 police personnel
Carli (1990)	Overall women used more tentative language and they used significantly more hedges, tag questions and disclaimers in mixed-sex than in single-sex conversations.	Mixed-sex pairs, male pairs and female pairs were given a controversial topic to discuss in a lab for 10mins and recorded.	59 men and 59 women – all undergraduate psychology students
Reid, Keerie and Palomares (2003)	Women used more tentative language in conversations where gender was highly salient.	Participants read a short text then discussed it for 10 minutes with an opposite gender partner in a lab.	21 male and 21 female undergraduate students
Leaper and Ayres (2007)	Women used significantly more affiliative speech. Gender differences were significantly greater among strangers than partners or friends. There were significant gender differences in studies involving single-sex groups but not mixed-sex groups.	Variety of contexts; including labs and natural settings	A meta-analysis – results from 54 independent samples
Bablekou (2009)	In the younger group (6;5) girls showed a larger vocabulary and talked more, they also made more references to feelings than boys. Girls in the older group (9;5) used very similar language to younger girls, as well as more polite forms, requests and mitigation than same age boys.	Data was collected individually with only child and experimenter present, in a school classroom familiar to the child.	200 children – 100 boys and 100 girls, divided into two groups based on age
Kaushanskaya, et al. (2013)	Girls outperformed boys when learning both phonologically-familiar and phonologically-unfamiliar words.	Each child was tested individually in a lab	39 boys and 30 girls, between five and seven

2.1.5 Girl's Language.

It is also useful to look at the types of language that have been stereotypically associated with the language of girls. As with those considered typical of women it may be that these are actually more a result of external factors, such as the context in which conversations took place, or the relationships between individuals that influence language use, rather than gender itself.

In very early studies of child language it was assumed that, as Fagot et al., (1985:1499) state “everyone knows girls are more verbal”. However, there has been little consistency in terms of the support for this finding. While some have observed that girls as young as eight months were already ahead of boys in their vocabulary comprehension (Fenson et al.,1994), Foulkes et al (2005) claimed gender differences are first seen at 3;6. In addition, Bornstein et al., (2004) reported that from the ages of 2;0 to 5;0 girls outperform boys on many language measures, but that this was only seen between these ages and support for a girl advantage was not evident in either older or younger children. However, studies finding support for girls’ superior linguistic abilities, in terms of both production and comprehension continue throughout childhood (Bablekou, 2009; Kaushanskaya et al., 2013). Perhaps one of the most consistent findings to emerge from research on pre-schoolers and children in early childhood is that girls talk more than boys (Schachter et al., 1978; Leaper and Smith, 2004; Eriksson et al., 2012).

Other types of language that have been considered typical of girls include the use of mitigation, collaborative talk, tentative language and the use of questions and requests, in preference of statements and orders (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987; Leaper, 2000; Leman et al., 2005; Bablekou, 2009). However, equal numbers of studies have failed to find support for these observations. Leaper (1991:805), for example, asserted that “female and male dyads were more similar than different”. Similarly, in their meta-analysis, Leaper and Smith (2004:1019) concluded that there were “negligible and non-significant gender difference” in the production of the affiliative language of children aged five to nine years. In addition, it has also been recognised that there may be times when the language used by each gender does vary, it is important to recognise that this difference does not mean the language used by girls is any less assertive. According to Sheldon (1992) it is often just as manipulative as some of the more overtly controlling strategies considered characteristic of assertive behaviour.

Collaborative narration involves several speakers being part of the retelling of a story and has been observed to occur frequently in the talk of preadolescent and adolescent girls (Corsaro and Eder 1990; Eckert, 1993, 2004; Leung, 2009). It has typically been assumed that this is a way of both strengthening existing friendships and building new ones, meaning it is of little surprise that it has been attributed to girls, rather than boys. However, when considered in another way, collaborative narration can be viewed as a way of excluding, for example, by referring to situations or activities some hearers have not been a part of. It has also been observed as a way of presenting previous actions to be judged by the group and consequently aiding with the constructing of social hierarchies (Eckert, 2004). This highlights the importance of fully considering the way different types of language can be used, before labelling it assertive or affiliative and assuming it always functions this way, regardless of the social context.

While many of the types of language associated with girls, including those above have been considered characteristic of less assertive, or powerful individuals. There are also some features that have been observed to occur frequently in girls' interactions that are not viewed as stereotypical of female behaviour. One of which is disagreeing; Goodwin (1980b), for example, observed that seven to thirteen-year-old girls made frequent use of disputes she terms "he-said-she-said". These were most common amongst groups of girls who were familiar with one another. Eder (1990) reported similar findings, stating that although the disputes of boys and girls were often surrounding different topics, girls were no less likely to take part in disagreements than boys. When disagreements occur, they can only be resolved through compromise by either one or both parties and are, therefore, a way of developing a group hierarchy (Eckert, 1993). It has often been assumed that this is not something girls are concerned about, yet their use of disagreement suggests this may not be the case.

A further finding at odds with what is considered typical behaviour for girls is their use of insults. Given the stereotypical view that girls are highly concerned with creating closeness and equality, and do so by choosing language forms that lessen differences between the speaker and other group members (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987; Sheldon, 1990, 1997), this finding is somewhat contradictory. Yet, according to Griffiths (1995) and Ardington (2006), insults feature heavily in the language of preadolescent and adolescent girls. In addition, it has been claimed that insults may be used by girls "to assert and defend their rights" (Eder, 1990:82). As above, this is not typically thought to be of great concern to girls, who are

stereotypically expected to be more concerned with maintaining group cohesion and closeness (Sheldon and Engstrom, 2004).

The fact that some studies have observed gender differences may be explained by many different factors. Firstly, the context in which the observed interactions take place, children are highly influenced by external factors, which will be discussed in further detail later (see section 2.3). In addition, one consistent finding that emerges from the research into the language of school aged children is that the preference for same gender groups increases with age (Thorne, 1992; Burton Smith et al., 2001; Mehta and Strough, 2009; Cameron, 2010). It is also during middle childhood that children are becoming increasingly aware of the social expectations and norms that are appropriate for their gender and, as a result, an emphasis on gender stereotypes emerges. Not only are girls and boys becoming aware of what society deems acceptable behaviour for their gender but, as Thorne (1993) observed, children tease peers who do not conform. This is supported by McGuffey and Rich's (1999:624) observation that "gender deviants are handled by teasing and name-calling, marginalization and exclusion from the group, and physical aggression." It is likely, therefore, that observed differences in language use are more a result of social pressures and expectations than they are of biological differences in children's linguistic abilities. Consequently, in different environments perhaps when such pressures are not present, the language used by each gender will not be as stereotypical as when gender is highly salient (Reid et al., 2003; Kalbfleisch, 2010).

What has been shown here is that while the language used by girls does contain some features that are considered stereotypical, there are also many that have not typically been associated with the language of either girls or women. It is perhaps the case that in the past researchers have highlighted the more tentative types of language used by girls and women while neglecting some of the other features that are considered more 'masculine'. If this was also done for the types of language used by men and boys in order to highlight differences, it would have presented an inaccurate reflection of language use. It is possible that results were used as a way of highlighting differences rather than acknowledging similarities between each gender's use of language. According to Henley and Kramarae (1991:39), for example, "similarities between the sexes are downplayed and differences exaggerated, as a general rule in Western societies". As has been noted, the language of girls and boys is often more similar than different. In addition, as will be shown in the section concerning context, there are a wide range of factors than can influence language production (see section 2.3). If previous

work has not considered these fully, it may be that the differences reported are in fact a reflection of factors other than gender. In fact, meta-analyses have found many influences, including year of publication and author gender, that impacted on the likelihood of obtaining gender differences (Anderson and Leaper, 1998; Leaper and Ayres, 2007).

Perhaps one of the most important points that should be taken from this section is that it is not possible to create a list of types of language and label them as ‘feminine’ language. The types of language used can vary as a result of numerous different factors. Social construct theory highlights the importance of understanding language through interactions, rather than considering an utterance in isolation. Ochs (1993: 289) for example states that “the relation of language to social identity is not direct but rather mediated by the interlocutor’s understandings of conventions”. This is very similar to the approach taken in the present study which proposes that rather than specific types of assertive language being characteristic of a gender, or even an individual, they are more likely reflections of contextual and social features in the interaction.

2.2 Status.

2.2.1 Language Use and Status.

The belief that there are obvious and persistent differences in the language of men and women is not as widely held as it has been in the past. Instead, there is now greater support for the suggestion that these differences were, and to a certain extent are still, a result of the unequal status of men and women, rather than biological differences in linguistic abilities (Eagly and Wood, 1982; O’Barr and Atkins, 1980). If this is to be believed, it is unsurprising that studies published in the 1960s and 70s reported greater gender differences than those carried out more recently (Leaper and Ayres, 2007). During these decades not only did men comprise a large extent of the workforce, they also occupied the clear majority of positions of power in the workplace. Given the relationship between the type of language a speaker uses and their position of authority (Eagly and Wood, 1982), it is not surprising that significant differences in the amount of assertive language used by men and women was found to differ. Today, not only do women represent a greater proportion of those positions of authority (Sheridan, 2007) but it is more widely recognised that “registers [are] differentiated more on the basis of power, roles, and context than on gender alone” (McCloskey and Coleman, 1992:242). These previous misconceptions led to the types of language now recognised as

characteristic of leaders, being attributed to men. The following will consider the types of language typically used by those in positions of authority, regardless of gender.

2.2.2 Powerful Language.

Interestingly, one factor many researchers have in common when referring to powerful language is that rather than describing what constitutes this type of speech, they talk instead about the absence of ‘powerless’ language. This is illustrated by Holtgraves and Lasky (1999:196) who provide some examples of powerless language, and go on to state that “the absence of these features is referred to as powerful language”. Similarly, Hosman and Siltanen (2006) describe a powerful speech style as one which omits hedges, tag, questions, and other such powerless language. There have, however, been a number of studies carried out investigating the use of powerful and powerless language (O’Barr, 1982; West and Zimmerman, 1983; West and Garcia, 1988; Grob and Allen, 1996) which do provide some examples of what make a person’s speech powerful.

Typically, those who do the majority of speaking in conversations are thought to be more powerful than those who remain quiet. Vine (2009) provides a good example of this when describing a conversation between a manager and executive assistant, in which the words used by the later accounted for just five percent of the total number produced. Sacks et al. (1974) suggest this is due to the fact there is an understanding within conversations that each speaker is granted one turn before allowing other members of the conversation to participate. Talking for longer than others or taking more than their fair share of turns implies the speaker is in position of power that allows them to do so; Pellizzoni (2001:61) for example states “power signifies establishing not only who may speak but also how they may speak”.

It is unsurprising that those who speak more will also introduce a higher number of new topics into the conversation. This has also been considered a feature of more powerful talk since the speaker is taking control of the conversation, often with little, or no, regard for the other speakers involved (West and Garcia, 1988).

Another feature associated with powerful speech, also related to speaking more, is interrupting (Itakura, 2001). Not only are interruptions one of the most researched characteristics of powerful and powerless language (Grob and Allen, 1996), they are also one of the few features many agree “are clearly a sign of conversational dominance” (Kollock, et al., 1985:40). As Grob and Allen (1996) note, it is usually the more powerful speakers who interrupt the most. There are several reasons for this, one being that the speaker making the interruption is simultaneously drawing attention to themselves and away from the original

speaker, suggesting that what they have to say is more important (Kollock et al., 1985). A second reason relates to the amount of time spent talking, an interruption not only increases the amount of time one individual can speak for, but also reduces that of the interrupted speaker.

In their meta-analysis Grob and Allen (1996) considered talk containing threats, obscenities and directives as powerful, they also note one feature these types of language have in common is that they are all impolite forms. Hostile verbs such as those involving violence, for example “smashed, stabbed [and] strangled” (Buss and Durkee, 1958:417) have also been deemed characteristic of a more powerful way of speaking. Coincidentally, although perhaps unsurprising given the period in which this research was carried out, women were observed using significantly fewer hostile verbs than men.

A final type of powerful language that will be considered is directives. The majority of definitions of directives agree they are an “attempt to get someone to do something” or indeed stop them from performing a certain action or set of behaviours (Vine, 2009:1396). As with other types of powerful language, directives are used most frequently by those in positions of power. This has been shown to be true in a wide range of contexts, for example, teachers issue directives towards students, similarly, in the work place superiors use imperatives when speaking to subordinates (Holmes, 1992). It is rarely the case that those who are not in positions of authority use directives in conversation with those who are (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Jones, 1992). Despite popular belief, as well as many studies reporting findings that men use more directives than women, there is evidence that this is not always the case. Jones (1992) for example, found gender affected neither the number nor types of directives produced, instead she found it was context that played a crucial factor in their usage. Jones (1992:442) concluded that directives are most frequently used when there is a “threat to the conversation” that is greater than the possible consequences of issuing a directive, or when the use of a directive will increase group cohesion thereby reducing the face threatening act of the directive. It has also been shown that directives appear most frequently when people are carrying out tasks (Pearson, 1989). Given these observations, it is necessary to consider the relationships between the hearer and speaker as well as the activity taking place at the time of the conversation when analysing directive use.

The types of powerful speech considered here; talking more, changing the topic of conversation, interrupting, hostile verbs, impolite forms and directives, are by no means an exhaustive list. In addition, it is not necessarily the case that in order for speech to be considered powerful it must contain all of these features. Similarly, the use of one of these

types is not enough to label a person's language as powerful. Instead it is necessary to consider a wide range of variables before making judgements on this.

2.2.3 Powerless Language.

Having noted that many consider powerful speech to be an absence of so-called 'powerless' features, it is interesting to look now at what these are. What is immediately noticeable about these features is that they have also been used to characterise women's language and include hedges, hesitations, tag questions and polite forms (Conley et al., 1978; O'Barr, 1982; Johnson and Vinson 1987; Grob and Allen, 1996; Hosman and Siltanen, 2006).

It has been claimed that both hedges and hesitations suggest the speaker is unsure of themselves and imply that they lack both reliability and assertiveness. In addition, it has repeatedly been shown that those who use hedges and hesitations are perceived as less in control than those who do not, regardless of gender (Conley et al., 1978; Hosman and Siltanen, 2006). Holmes (1992:316), for example, states that "hedging devices explicitly signal lack of confidence". However, it is also worth noting here that Holmes (1986) has also stated hedges are not exclusively used to express uncertainty or powerlessness, at times the opposite may be true. She holds that a range of factors, including the statuses of the individuals in the interaction, must be taken into account before the function of this type of language can be fully understood.

A tag question can be defined as "midway between an outright statement and a yes-no question; it is less assertive than the former, but more confident than the latter" (Dubois and Crouch, 1975:291). This is likely the reason tag questions are considered a type of powerless speech. If someone stated a fact, or asked a question their speech would not usually be seen as powerless, however it is the combination of a statement followed by a question that causes the hearer to consider speakers who use this style as lacking in confidence. As Kollock et al. (1985) note, by using tag questions the speaker is calling into question their own right, or indeed ability, to make a statement or give an opinion. Although more recent work has suggested that tag questions may not always signal a lack of assertiveness, but rather this may be dependent on the speaker and the context in which it is used (Moore and Podesva, 2009). Finally, politeness has historically been viewed as a feature of women's speech due to their lower status, Holmes (1992: 173), for example, notes "people who are subordinate must be polite". Historically, this meant it was associated with the language used by women. However, today it is viewed less as a characteristic of women's speech and more typical of those with less authority (Morand, 2000). This is particularly true in the work place where it is expected that superiors will use less polite speech than, and with, their subordinates.

Morand (1996) claims this is not only as a sign of respect, but also for fear of the consequences that being impolite may cause, as those with authority have the power to impose sanctions.

One element each of these four types of language have in common is that they present the speaker as lacking confidence, and consequently authority. In addition, the use of tag questions and polite forms imply that they are not expecting to receive compliance from the hearer. Whilst it is the case that powerful speech does not contain the four features discussed here; hedges, hesitations, tag questions and politeness, it is far more complex than the absence of these elements.

2.2.4 Factors affecting social status.

A number of studies have observed factors that can influence a person's status, as well as how easily they are able to influence others. Diovidio et al. (1988) for example found that leadership behaviour was related to whether a task was considered to be masculine or feminine. Similarly, competency at the task at hand is also known to influence an individual's status. Closely linked to this is knowledge; people are more likely to pay attention to those who are knowledgeable about the topic being discussed regardless of the gender of either the speaker or hearer. The following will discuss some factors that have been shown to influence an individual's status.

2.2.5 Skill as social status.

One factor that a number of researchers have found to be linked to status is an individual's level of skill or expertise (Edwards; Farley, 2008). As is the case with many other factors associated with status, this is likely to change, over time and as a result of the other group members. This was shown to be the case in Goodwin's (2001) study of children's playground games. She observed that those who were in positions of power were those who were the most skilled at the game, initially this was predominantly girls. However, over time, as boys became more proficient, they were able to rise to positions of leadership. This is also the case for interactions between adults and children as well as groups of adults. In the classroom for example, the teacher is afforded greater status due to their superior knowledge, and this is true regardless of whether the students are children, or other adults (Munice, 2000).

Similarly, in the workplace superiors are able to reach positions of authority due to their greater expertise, and research has shown evidence of status differences in relation to the types of language speakers use based on their position (Brown and Levinson, 1987, Ochs, 1987). It has also been shown that those who show greater skill, or competency, at a task are

more likely to successful in influencing other members of the group, regardless of their gender (Berger et al., 1965; Ridgeway and Berger, 1987; Dovidio et al., 1988).

2.2.6 Popularity as social status.

Another basis for determining leadership amongst groups of children is popularity, and this is particularly, though not exclusively, the case for same age peers. Coie et al. (1982) investigated the social status of children across a range of age groups. Their findings showed that the children who were deemed popular by their peers were also considered to be good leaders and were also judged as those who rarely sought help. The 'rejected' children, on the other hand, were considered both disruptive and often in need of help. This raises the question as to whether children are viewed as popular because they take the lead, or if it is their popularity that enables them to become leaders; as yet there does not appear to be a clear answer for this. One reason children who rarely ask for help may be seen as more popular is because they do not require help, that is, they are more skilled than their peers. As suggested, this may make them more likely to achieve higher social status.

Putallaz and Gottman (1981) studied the way seven to nine-year-olds gained entry into peer groups. They found that popular children usually did this by aligning themselves with the group and following their lead in terms of appropriate ways of behaving. It was only after they had been accepted as part of the group that they were in a position to influence the activity or decisions of the group (Phillips et al., 1951). Children who were seen as unpopular by their peers attempted to gain entry into a group by issuing orders and trying to make themselves the focus of the group. The most frequent result of this behaviour was for the children in the existing group to either ignore or directly refuse the newcomer entry. This suggests that in order to become leaders, children must first become popular. Attempting to take control of a new group of peers, particularly if the group is already well established, in the absence of popularity, is likely to lead to rejection. It is worth noting, that Putallaz and Gottman's (1981) study was carried out with classmates who already had preconceptions about how popular, or not, a child was. A different set of results may have been obtained if this study had been carried out with children who were not known to each other beforehand. Some interesting findings have also been observed with regards to the relationship between dominance and popularity in groups of boys. Pettit et al. (1990) found that among six to seven-year-old boys, dominance was closely related to how well liked a child was. Wright et al.'s (1996) study supported this finding noting that in groups of thirteen-year-olds the dominant boys were considered more popular than the non-dominant ones. Although there is evidence to suggest that popularity and status are closely linked, there has also been research

to show that it is possible for unpopular children to achieve dominance. Smith and Boulton (1990), for example, suggest that it is possible during 'rough and tumble' play for children to not fully comprehend the playfulness of these interactions and so display more aggressive behaviour than necessary. This may result in them achieving dominance whilst simultaneously lowering their popularity amongst peers. Therefore, while popular children are usually more dominant, it is not always true that those who are dominant are always popular. However, this is likely only to be an issue in groups of young children as this type of play decreases with age (Smith and Boulton, 1990).

It makes sense that children are more likely to accept direction from those they like more often than from those they do not. Interestingly, Boulton and Smith (1990) found that children frequently place peers they like higher in dominance hierarchies than is the reality and the opposite for those they do not. This raises the question as to whether children are popular because they are dominant, or whether it is their dominance over a group that makes them well liked. Given what has been noted above it is likely a combination of these two qualities. Dominance alone is not enough to make a child a popular leader, but rather it is a result of the way in which their dominance is presented that makes them popular and, consequently, an effective leader.

2.2.7 Aggression and Status.

Wright et al.'s (1986) study on social status concluded that there was considerable variation in the relationship between a child's aggression and the degree to which they were accepted by other group members. They proposed that this was based on the level of aggression amongst the remainder of the group; if they were in a group consisting predominantly of non-aggressive peers, they were far less likely to be accepted when displaying aggressive behaviour.

Age is an important factor to consider in relation to aggression. For younger children dominance is frequently associated with violence and physical aggression (Pettit et al., 1990, Hawley, 1999). However, it has not been linked to sociometric status, that is, an aggressive child may be considered dominant, but not necessarily well liked. Older children and adolescents, on the other hand, are more likely to be successful in achieving dominance when they make use of less overt forms of aggression (Björkqvist et al., 1992; Wright et al., 1996), and in these groups aggression is not typically associated with dominance (Pettit et al., 1990). It is necessary to mention here that there is more than one type of aggression; in addition to physical aggression, research has also been carried out on the use of verbal, social, and relational aggression (Card et al., 2008). These types of aggressive behaviours were termed

“indirect aggression” by Feshbach (1969) and “refer to behaviours harming a target by rejection or exclusion” (Card et al., 2008:1185). Typically, these indirect types of aggression appear more frequently in the behaviour of girls than that of boys (Crick and Grotpeter, 1995), and it has been observed that amongst girls the use of certain types of aggression may be an effective way of achieving dominance and influence (Ostrov and Keating, 2004).

What has been shown here is that in certain contexts some types of aggressive behaviour may be positively linked to dominance. However, an important point to note is that not only may this vary from one group to another, it is also likely to change as the age of the group changes.

2.2.8 Other factors affecting status.

The following section will consider a number of other possible factors that may affect a child’s status within a group. In the past researchers have identified numerous predictors of dominance in children’s social groups; it has been attributed to aggression, intelligence and even athletic ability (Savin-Williams, 1979; Pettit et al., 1990). It is, therefore, important to consider not only the context in which interactions occur but also the relationships of those being observed. Children, as well as adolescents, behave differently with close friends compared to classmates and differently still with peers they are unfamiliar with (see section 2.4.2). It is also necessary to consider this when comparing results, as differences in findings may be a result of the different contexts observations were made or a reflection of the relationships between group members, rather than the individual themselves.

One factor that may influence a person’s status, linked to expertise, is self-belief. In groups of adolescents it has been observed that those who are more capable also show more leadership skills than their peers (Stewart et al., 2013). It follows that those who are generally more able also have a greater deal of self-belief, and it is perhaps this belief that allows them, not only to adopt the position of group leader, but also encourages others to accept them as leader.

A number of researchers have concluded that, particularly for adolescents, dominance is often related to physical characteristics. Weisfeld et al., (1984:125), for example, concluded that “being fashionable, attractive and well groomed” were amongst the most influential factors for predicting dominance in adolescent girls. Boys on the other hand, judged attractiveness as just one of a number of qualities that made someone dominant. In addition, Savin-Williams (1979:933) states that “the most dominant child has been characterised as being older, taller, heavier, tougher and healthier and more popular, athletic, daring, and attractive” than those who are less, or not at all, dominant. He also observed that those he termed “submissive

followers” accepted their position in the group by making reference to this and failing to question those in higher positions.

Pettit et al. (1990) studied dominance in groups of boys and reported that eight and nine-year-olds based judgements of dominance on several different elements including; popularity, aggression and leadership skills. Additionally, they observed that those who achieved a high dominance rank were more likely to start fights, have a good sense of humour and be a good leader. Overall, they suggested that it is the “quality of dominating behaviour” (Pettit et al., 1990:1024) that changes with age. Those who use leadership skills are viewed more favourably by their peers at eight to nine years, whereas aggression is more popular with six to seven year olds. Interestingly, not only are these different styles of leadership shown at different ages, but they are also accepted differently by peers, for example, a nine-year-old exhibiting an aggressive style of leadership would be far less likely to be successful than a six-year-old. Although this particular study involves only boys, it is likely that similarities may be drawn between these groups and those of girls. While the specific ways in which dominance is both demonstrated and accepted may differ it, is probable that this will also vary with age in groups of girls.

The above has highlighted several different factors that may influencing a child’s dominance. These comprise a diverse list; ranging from attractiveness to intelligence. One possible reason for such a variation in these findings may be the result of differences in the groups studied. For example, how well known the children were to each other before the study as well as the composition of the group. The following section will consider the possible implications of these.

2.2.9 Effect of group.

An interesting idea discussed in detail by Wright et al. (1986:524) is that social status, rather than being a fixed feature of a person, is instead reliant on the peer group they are a part of, or in some cases attempting to become a part of. In fact, they have suggested that “social acceptance cannot be understood without considering the peer group context”. They also state that previous research has continuously failed to consider the impact of the group on an individual’s status and has instead looked at characteristics of particular people in attempts to determine why some individuals have a higher sociometric status than others. This may go some way towards explaining the lack of stability in the findings on social status across studies. Those who are unpopular or disliked by their peers are those who do not “fit in with other members of the group” (p.524) in other words do not share the same beliefs or characteristics as members of an established group. Whilst this may be the case in one

particular group, it does not mean it is universal. For example, a girl concerned exclusively with appearance and fashion may be popular among peers who share the same values, however, she may be considered unpopular, or even rejected, amongst groups who value academic success or athletic ability. They do point out, however, that they are not implying that there are no traits an individual may possess that are likely to increase their chances of being accepted, but that it is necessary to consider more than the individual when dealing with issues of popularity and acceptance. The results of their study provide support for their hypothesis that status is not a static feature of an individual but rather a changeable feature affected by other members of a group.

2.2.10 Identifying dominant individuals.

According to theories explaining the occurrence of social dominance, those who are dominant will be the most influential members of the group and those who receive the most attention (Foulsham, et al., 2010). Hawley (1999) asserts that those lower in the social ranking of the group will be drawn to more dominant individuals in attempts to learn from their behaviour, thereby increasing their own social ranking. She likens this to the behaviour observed in primates stating that “social dominance in toddlers, pre-schoolers, and kindergartners appears to be associated with a certain amount of prestige” (p.98). Much like in primates, dominant children have critical social roles in their peer groups. Not only do they have a greater chance of success in obtaining objects or behaviour they desire but they also make use of a greater number of strategies to secure them. Additionally, they are also the children who are “watched, imitated, and liked” above their peers (Hawley, 1999:103). Achieving dominance, therefore, is reliant on more than just the one individual, it is necessary to have the support, or at the very least acceptance, of other members of the group. A less dominant individual may attempt to imitate the behaviour of those they consider to be more dominant, however, their peers do not take this behaviour seriously and fail to comply with their wishes, they have not achieved dominance (Ridgeway and Berger, 1986). Other group members recognise, or perhaps interpret, dominant members of their groups as having some sort of skill or other commodity that makes them different, and as a result superior, to others. If group members do not possess these necessary attributes, attempts at increasing their social rank or achieving dominance will likely fail.

This section has explored the relationship between language use and status. It has been shown that language was historically associated with men, often described as ‘powerful’ language, is now known to be more closely related to a speaker’s status than their gender. Different types of ‘powerful’ and ‘powerless’ language have also been explored. It has also considered a

wide range of factors that have been linked to status. Skill, popularity, intelligence, and aggression have all been considered indicators of dominance amongst children and adolescents. However, perhaps the most important factor that should be remembered is that an individual's dominance is rarely the result of the individual alone. Instead it relies on the beliefs and perceptions of other group members and their willingness to accept the individual's attempts at control (Dovidio, et al., 1988).

2.3 Age as status.

The previous section considered a number of different factors that may influence a speaker's status. While, overall, there is little agreement on the importance of popularity or aggression on status, many researchers have agreed age is a significant factor in measuring status (Ervin-Tripp et al., 1984; French, 1984; Adler and Adler, 1998). In fact, James (1976:308) states that "for children, age tends to be one of the most potent factors in assigning status". This is likely because, for children, there are few other ways of determining this. Adults, on the other hand, may have alternative ways of assessing this, in the workplace for example, employers and employees share an understanding of how each party is expected to behave.

In comparison to research on groups of same age children, there is relatively little involving those in mixed age groups (Caverly, 1997, Lemerise, 1997; Winsler et al., 2002). Numerous studies have been carried out on children in schools and these usually involve interactions solely with same age speakers. While many studies have included children of different ages, these usually involve comparisons between groups of same age children, rather than children of mixed ages (Caverly, 1997). Although there are a smaller number of these types of studies, the majority are in agreement about the link between age and status amongst groups of children (James, 1976; Ervin-Tripp, 1977). This is in contrast to those attributing status to factors such as aggression or attractiveness. The following will look at the results from some of the research involving children in mixed age groups and consider the implications of these for the present study.

Ahlbrand and Reynolds (1972) administered a number of questionnaires to children, aged between six and twelve, in mixed age classes. The results showed that older children were seen as better leaders and were more popular than their younger peers. Interestingly, they were also considered to be better academically, despite the classes being based on academic ability. It has also been demonstrated that children show a preference for imitating the behaviour of same age or older models compared to those younger than them (Brody and

Stoneman, 1981). In terms of status, these results suggest it is older children who are in higher status positions as it makes sense that children, and indeed adults, would be more likely to behave in ways associated with those of higher status than themselves, compared to those of lower status. As younger children are more likely to look towards their older peers for leadership than they are to those who are younger or the same age as them (Brody et al., 1982; French, 1984), it follows that older children are more likely to assume positions of leadership when they find themselves to be the eldest in the group (Graziano et al., 1976). Similarly, orders given by these older speakers are more likely to be complied with compared to those from younger children (French, 1984; Ervin-Tripp et al., 1990). This willingness to comply has also been shown to increase as the age difference between the speaker and hearer increase (Circirelli, 1973). Although there has not been a great deal of research into children's mixed age interactions, most studies have obtained similar findings. All of the above provides support for the assumption that age and status are connected and the following will explore some possible reasons for this.

One reason adults may be in a position of leadership is a result of their greater skill or knowledge in a particular situation as discussed in section 2.2.5. This supports the idea that status is often reliant on context, rather than an individual. Whilst for adults many variables can affect their level of expertise, amongst children this is very often a result of their age. Older children have more life experience and typically, though not always, possess a greater number of skills than their younger peers. This may also be a reason younger children are willing to use older children as teachers, learning and accepting direction from them (Caverly, 1997).

Another factor related to skill that typically comes with age, is social competence (Lemerise, 1997), those who possess a greater amount of competence are not only likely to be better leaders than their younger peers, but will also be more popular amongst both younger and same age children. Asher (1983) observed that children who were successful in becoming members of a social group and went on to gain high status in the group were those with a greater ability to understand and modify their own behaviour to fit the existing social situation in the group. Low status children on the other hand, used more direct methods in attempting to gain entry to a group which consequently lead to rejection. This may explain why, despite their age, some children fail to gain status amongst younger peers. Lemerise (1997) notes that although social competence is usually based on age it is not exclusively the case. Individual differences in children mean there are some older speakers who are less

competent than same age peers, while younger children may have achieved a greater level of social competence, despite their age.

The previous section showed some evidence that popularity is linked to social status (see section 2.2.6), suggesting perhaps age is not the sole determinant of a child's status. However, Ahlbrand and Reynolds (1972) looked at popularity in classes of mixed age children, and found older children were consistently rated more popular than younger ones by both same age and younger peers. In her study on peer acceptance in mixed age classrooms Lemerise (1997) found a significant relationship between the age of a child and their popularity. Not only were older children seen as more popular, but younger children were typically classed as rejected. This is, therefore, evidence to suggest that although popularity may be related to social status, this too is related to age.

What this section has shown, is that many factors have been attributed to determining a child's social status, including; popularity, skill and social competence. Therefore, while it may appear that age is just one element affecting social status, for the majority of children these factors are closely linked to a child's age. Older children are usually more popular, more skilled and more socially competent than their younger peers. Of course, this is not the case for every child, individual differences also influence a child's status; some younger children may always achieve greater status than their older peers simply as a result of desirable personality traits. However, overall amongst groups of children age is a critical factor in assigning status and this appears to be recognised, and accepted, by both lower and higher status individuals.

In terms of the implications for the present study, it is assumed that older speakers will be those of superior status and therefore in positions of power. This will, therefore, have an impact on the types of AUs used by speakers of different ages as a result, not only of the speaker's age but also that of the hearer. Similarly, the responses of each party are likely to vary based on the age of both the speaker and addressee.

2.4 Context.

The context in which conversations take place can have a considerable impact on the type of language produced. Context may refer to a number of elements including; location, activity, other members of the conversational group, and even those present, but not necessarily involved in the conversation. The following will explore the ways in which these factors have been shown to influence language production.

2.4.1 Environmental Factors.

Numerous studies have shown that the setting in which observations are carried out can have considerable influences on the behaviour of participants. One example of this is in relation to gender. In their meta-analyses, Leaper and Smith (2004) and Leaper and Ayres (2007) concluded that gender differences were more likely to be found in unfamiliar situations and environments, such as laboratories, and this was true of both adults and children. This may be explained in part by Deaux and Major's (1987) model which proposes that people show a propensity to make greater use of the stereotypical linguistic features of their gender's language in contexts that are new or unfamiliar. It is likely, therefore, that studies that have collected data through observations in laboratories will have observed greater gender differences than those conducted in familiar environments such as homes or schools. In the past, the importance of context was not always fully considered, Thorne (1990:106), for example, states that "much of the research on children and gender has neglected the importance of social context." It is likely that previous researchers have failed to understand the role context plays in influencing children's language rather than it being a case of deliberately ignoring its impact. Nevertheless, it is important, when considering the findings of previous research, to take into account the way in which the data was collected, rather than assuming the results can be attributed wholly to linguistic factors.

The activity in which children are taking part has also been shown to influence the type of language produced. Of the language samples collected through naturalistic observations a considerable number have been carried out during play, and there is a large amount of research to support the idea that girls' and boys' play is very different (Hulit and Howard, 1997; Ervin-Tripp, 2001; Leaper and Smith, 2004). Consequently, the language produced by each gender is also likely to be different. Unlike the research into the language used by boys and girls, there is a great amount of evidence to support the stereotypical views of gender differences in how children play. Boys have been shown to engage in games involving cars, construction and superheroes, while girls usually favour imaginative play with babies and creating games based on family life (Kyratzis and Guo; 1996; Ervin-Tripp, 2001; Leaper and Smith, 2004). This shows, once again, that it is necessary to consider factors other than the age and gender of the speaker when making generalisations or comparing results from different studies. It is impractical to suggest that all studies on language and gender should control the types of activities the children in their studies take part in. Not only would this not be a true reflection of children's language use, it may also not be a particularly effective way

of influencing language. Kyratzis and Guo (2001) found this to be true when they attempted to control the type of play the children in their study took part in by providing each single-sex group with gender neutral toys. However, each group organised themselves in different ways resulting in gender differences in their language use. Rather than attempting to control these variables, it is more important that the impact of context is acknowledged by the researcher and is taken into account when presenting results of gender differences.

Although Thorne (1990) has suggested context is often a variable that researchers fail to consider, this is not always the case. Its importance, even in quite early studies, has been acknowledged. Goffman (1964:134), for example, acknowledged the importance of social contexts stating they “need and warrant analysis in their own right.” Similarly, Thorne and Henley (1975) noted many social situations have properties that are not in themselves linguistic variables, but result in speakers altering the way they talk. It is not always practical, or even possible, to control every influence on language use, particularly when research is carried out in natural environments. It is, however, important to be mindful of the context that interactions took place in before attributing any observed differences to a speaker’s gender alone, and when making comparisons between studies.

The above has highlighted the importance of acknowledging the context in which conversations take place, and considering how this may impact language production. It has also shown that it is necessary to consider how environmental factors may impact on the way speakers use, and change, their language before assuming any differences are solely a result of the individual.

2.4.2 The Role of Other Speakers.

As well as the location, other members of the conversational group can also effect on the types of language produced. Historically, gender was seen as a key factor in influencing language use, however, this was not limited to the speaker’s gender. Bodine (1975), for example, acknowledged that the sex of both the speaker and hearer, as well as that of the person they are talking about, can play a part in influencing the type of language used. Similarly, Tannen (1993:33) advises that “gender differences in interaction must be studied within the context of the situations in which they are observed”. The following will consider some of the linguistic differences that have been noted with regards to the conversational group.

A number of studies have reported similar findings with regards to changes observed in each gender's language in single, compared to mixed sex, interactions (Leaper, 1991; Killen and Niagles, 1995). Although there is not complete agreement concerning the specific types of language that changes, most agree that both genders use fewer features that are considered characteristic of their own gender, and adopt those employed by the other in mixed-sex contexts (Lampert, 1996; Marx and Kyratzis, 1998; Nakamura, 2001). Some specific examples of this include the suggestion that girls make use of collaborative forms more frequently in interactions with other girls compared to those with boys (Nakamura, 2001). Similarly, women have been observed to increase their use of supportive language in all-female conversations (Carli, 1990). Boys have also been shown to use more "feminine language" in interactions with their mothers compared to those with other boys (Ervin-Tripp, 2001:143).

As well as gender, status has been shown to influence the types of language children produce. Piché et al. (1978), for example, observed that during conversations with what they perceived as 'low-authority' interlocutors children were observed using a far greater number of imperatives compared to those with 'high-authority' speakers. Similarly, Hoff (2010) found that children were more responsive to siblings who were four or five years older than them than they were to those just one or two years older. This is perhaps a result of the perceived status of these older children. Several other studies have also found age to be of importance in influencing talk, both in terms of adjusting the simplicity, and increasing the assertiveness of the language used with younger children (Bragg et al., 1973; Shatz and Gelman, 1973; Sachs and Devin, 1975).

The size of the conversational group can also have an effect on the type of language used, particularly for children. Leaper and Smith (2004) noted that larger groups of children are likely to foster a greater sense of competition, thereby leading to a greater amount of assertive language being produced. Interestingly, they found this to be the case for both boys and girls. Kyratzis et al. (2009), on the other hand, suggest that in larger groups children are more likely to produce language typical of their gender. As with most aspects of language and gender, there is little agreement about the types of language produced by each gender in groups of different sizes. There is, however, a consensus that this can affect language.

Another variable that has been shown to affect language use is the relationships between participants. Ervin-Tripp (2000:275) asserts that "familiarity is known to cause change in

language features”. Meta-analyses have also found that the likelihood of finding gender differences in language use is greatly increased when speakers are interacting with strangers compared to those they are familiar with (Leaper and Smith, 2004; Leaper and Ayres, 2007). Once again, reasons for this variation may be explained by Deaux and Major’s (1987) model which proposes that speakers are more likely to behave in ways seen as stereotypical for their gender when interacting with unknown speakers compared to those they are familiar with. Again, this has implications for drawing comparisons between studies; whether or not participants were familiar with one another before data collection began is a crucial factor to consider.

This section has demonstrated the importance of several factors with regards to context. As well as the location in which interactions take place, the gender, age, and status of other members of the group have all been shown to influence the types of language used. Similarly, the size of the group and the relationships between speakers also have the possibility to impact language use. Perhaps the most important point made in this section is that it is crucial to consider a wide range of factors before attributing the type of language produced to an individual. As has been shown, there are numerous factors that can influence language use that are not necessarily tied to the speaker, i.e. a child talking to their younger sibling at home is likely to produce considerably different language compared to talking to an unknown peer in a lab. Secondly, these factors are also important to remember when drawing comparisons between studies. It may be that considerably different results were obtained in two different studies, despite the subjects themselves being very similar, as a result of the location, the topic being discussed and other speakers involved in the interaction. All studies provide valuable insights into how speakers behave in a range of situations, and it would be imprudent to suggest that those that take place in familiar settings with friends are somehow superior to those involving unknown participants in laboratories. Instead, it is important to acknowledge that the context is likely to have a considerable impact on the types of language collected.

Chapter Three: Definitions.

3.1 Directives.

Essentially the aim of a directive is to “order someone to do something” (Mauri and Sanso; 2011:3489) and it is for this reason they are considered to be a type of assertive language. Directives are one of the simplest types of speech acts to acquire and their use has been observed in children as young as 2;6 (Bock and Hornsby, 1981). In addition, they are also understood by very young children and this is likely because, as noted by Ervin-Tripp (1976:25), “directives do not require inference from a prior literal interpretation to be understood.”

Previous studies have categorised directives into different classes, including; imperatives, need statements, permission directives and indirect implied imperatives (Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Ladegaard and Bleses, 2003). However, in the present study these additional directive categories have alternative labels. Instead, utterances coded as directives were limited to those intended to make or prevent the hearer from performing a certain action or type of behaviour, for example;

Example 6.1

K I'm read/ing everyone be quiet [DI+GL] [DI+GM].

Example 4.1

F <No do/n't tell anybody else> [DI+GL].

Non-literal forms were included in other categories, such as indirect orders or indirect requests.

3.2 Ignoring.

There is research to suggest that silence may be a way of displaying dominance. It is often assumed that the length of time spent holding the conversational floor is related to the amount of perceived power a speaker holds. This implies that those who speak the most hold the most power and those who stay silent have the least. While this may be true in some circumstances it is not always the case, Tannen (1990:523) for example states, “taciturnity itself can be an instrument of power.” In the present study the ignoring of another speaker's utterance, either with silence or the continuation of a conversation was considered assertive. This was due to the implication that the person carrying out the ignoring appeared to believe what their partner had to say was not worthy of a response. In addition, ignoring may also be used as a

way of controlling behaviour. In the following extract, for example, although neither E, H nor Z directed any utterances towards A, as a result of their ignoring she chooses to leave the conversation.

Example 9.1

E No I'm only joke/ing <I know what> Pretty_Little_Liars is but I do/n't watch it.

A <What on earth> >

E [IG+GL].

A E What on earth did you give us?

E [IG+GL].

H *It's the season finale tomorrow [IG+GL]!*

Z I know I'm so excited.

=A leaves.

Not only does ignoring imply the speaker's utterance is not as valuable as the hearer's but it can also be an effective strategy for controlling the behaviour of others, particularly as a means of rejecting others (Svahn and Evaldsson, 2011).

3.3 Interruptions.

Interruptions are coded as such due to their timing rather than content and, due to the fact they are intended to prevent another speaker from continuing with their utterance, they are considered to be a type of assertive speech. West and Zimmerman (1983:103) define an interruption as "a device for exercising power and control in conversation" and is also the view taken by many other researchers (Kollock et al., 1985; Smith-Lovin and Brody, 1989; Farley, 2008; Beňuš, et al. 2011). However, one important distinction to make is between interruption and overlap, this difference is something Schegloff (2000, 2001) has considered in great detail. While an interruption is typically an attempt to take control of the conversation, overlap is usually considered as more of an error on the part of the speaker. Overlap is often used to express support for the speaker and often occurs towards the end of an utterance (Tannen, 1983; Makri-Tsilipakou, 1994) whereas interruption intends to control the direction of the conversation. The first example shows an instance of overlap in which the second speaker, L begins talking before N has finished but with the intention of supporting rather than controlling her.

Example 7.1

N You know that thing when your teacher ask/3s you (and you/'re like) <> and your mind literally goes blank.

L <(Uhh)>!

However, in this second example G is not only interrupting N's utterance but she is also attempting to change the topic of conversation.

Example 4.2

N Should I put ^

G Wait look at my mouth [INT+GL] [REP+GL] [AS+GL].

Therefore, in the present study only these interruptions were considered to be a type of assertive speech, and coded as such.

See Appendix Four for the definitions of the other AUs.

Chapter Four: Research Questions and Predictions.

4.1 Research Questions.

Given what has been noted in the review of previous literature, the present study will address the following questions:

- Do speakers accommodate their use of assertive language?
- If so, which factors influence this accommodation?
- Is there evidence to suggest these girls equate age with social status?
- If so, what types of evidence can be found to support this?

The following section will detail the predictions made regarding the expected findings of this study.

4.2 Predictions.

Given what has been found in the existing literature with regards to the relationship between age and status in children, a number of predictions can be made with regards to how speakers of different ages will use, and respond to, different AUs.

4.2.1 Directives.

Previous research has found that it is the most dominant speakers in an interaction who produce the highest number of orders (Wood and Gardner, 1980). In fact, Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan (1977:203) observed that “addressees who were lower in rank than the speaker receive[d] over five times as many directives as those higher in rank”. Given the close relationship between age and status amongst children, these findings would suggest that younger girls will be issued with a greater number of directives than older girls. In terms of the types of directives used it is expected that those used with the sole purpose of controlling the hearer’s behaviour will be used more with younger girls. On the other hand, those used as a way of persuading the hearer to comply with the speaker’s wishes are more likely to be used with older girls.

As well as showing that the most powerful speakers in a group produced the largest number of directives, Wood and Gardner (1980) also found that these speakers were most likely to have their directives complied with. It seems logical to assume that directives from high status speakers will be followed more frequently than those from individuals with a lower status. Therefore, in the present study it is predicted that younger speakers will be more likely to comply with directives from older girls than they will from same age or younger speakers. In the case of the oldest speakers in each group, it is likely that they will be more willing to

comply with directives from same age girls compared to those from younger speakers. It is also anticipated that refusing to comply with a directive will be more common in conversations with younger girls. When those from older speakers are not followed it is expected that this will involve the utterance being ignored, or perhaps indirectly refused.

4.2.2 Ignoring.

Ervin-Tripp has carried out a number of studies with regards to children's ignoring. In one of her early studies on turn-taking she found that older children held the belief that the input of younger speakers would often be irrelevant and so they were more likely to be ignored (Ervin-Tripp, 1979). In fact, she found that younger speakers were consistently ignored more than older ones, regardless of the relevance of their utterance to the conversation (Ervin-Tripp et al., 1984), this was likely the result of their lower status, as a consequence of their age. Based on these findings, it is predicted that in the present study younger speakers are more likely to be ignored than older ones. In addition, it is expected that ignoring an utterance by continuing with a conversation will occur more with older girls, as this may be more justified than meeting an utterance with silence.

When a younger speaker is ignored by an older girl this is likely a reflection of the imbalance of power within an interaction (Ridgeway and Berger, 1986). Therefore, it is assumed that the speaker with lower status will typically be accepting of this, and less likely to repeat themselves in an effort to receive a response than would be the case if the situation was reversed. In the present study, it is predicted that speakers will be more accepting of being ignored by an older speaker than by a younger one.

4.2.3 Interruptions.

Many studies have shown that the use of interruptions is closely associated with superior status, that is, speakers who interrupt the most are those who hold the most power (Ervin-Tripp, 1979; Kollock et al, 1985; Smith-Lovin and Brody, 1989). If the assumption that age is used as a way of measuring status is correct, it is expected that a larger number of interruptions will be made by older speakers to younger ones than vice versa. It is also predicted that interruptions used as a way of adding to the current speaker's utterance will be used more with older girls, while those made as a way of taking control of the conversation are more likely to occur with younger speakers.

Not only do individuals with a higher status make a larger number of interruptions, they are also more successful in altering the topic of conversation and when doing so are more likely to "receive positive feedback from their listeners" (Smith-Lovin and Brody, 1989:424). One finding that is of particular relevance to the present study, is that although the success of an

interruption is partly related to its relevance in the current conversation, an even stronger indicator of success is the age of the speaker carrying out the interruption. Ervin-Tripp, (1979:399) for example asserts that “the younger the child who intrudes, the more likely are the interruptions to be ignored”. Consequently, in the present study it is predicted that speakers will be more willing to accept interruptions from older speakers than from those younger than them. In the case of the eldest speakers in each group, it is expected that they will be more likely to accept an interruption from a same age speaker than a younger one. In terms of the way these are accepted, it is predicted that responding to an utterance that was responsible for the speaker being interrupted will be more likely with older speakers.

Chapter Five: Methodology.

5.1 Participants.

A total of 49 girls aged between 5;0 and 13;1 took part in this study. All participants were girls who attended one of three Girlguiding groups; Rainbows, Brownies or Guides. Within each of these groups participants were divided into a further three age bands, based on their school year group. Due to the fact this division was based solely on the age of the girls, combined with the opportunistic sampling methods and naturalistic way in which data was collected, there were not an equal number of speakers in each band. The table below shows the way the participants were divided and the number of speakers in each group.

		Age range	Members	
Group One (Rainbows)	Band 1	5;0-5;4	R, M, T, I, E, W	6
	Band 2	6;1-6;2	A, G, K	3
	Band 3	6;8-7;1	D, H, L, S, P	5
				14
Group Two (Brownies)	Band 4	7;0-7;5	B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z	10
	Band 5	7;8-8;2	O, Q, A, S, I	5
	Band 6	9;0-9;4	K, D, V, E, J	5
				20
Group Three (Guides)	Band 7	10;3-11;1	L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W	8
	Band 8	11;6-11;8	B, S	2
	Band 9	12;3-13;1	E, G, I, Z, H	5
				15

5.2 Data Collection.

The intention of this study was to collect the naturally occurring language samples of children in environments that were familiar to them. One reason for this, is the well documented observation that the context in which conversations take place can have a significant impact on the type of language produced (Carli, 1990; Leaper and Smith, 2004; Kyratzis and Tarim, 2010, also see section 2.4). It has been demonstrated that children are more inhibited in contexts that are unfamiliar to them (Hoff, 2010) while their conversations have been shown to “thrive in familiar settings with familiar people” (Garvey, 1984:158). Taking this into consideration the data was collected from girls at their normal weekly meetings of Rainbows, Brownies and Guides. With only a few exceptions there was no impact to their normal activity, meaning the conversations they took part in were as close to natural language production as possible.

As I am a leader at the Rainbow and Brownie groups that took part in this study I was already known to both the children and parents. This proved to be particularly beneficial as, unlike many studies involving children, I did not have to spend large amounts of time negotiating access to the subjects and gaining trust from both parents and children in order to obtain consent. Although this may not at first appear to be of great significance Delamont (2002) describes how some researchers have spent up to five months negotiating simply to gain access to their settings. Similarly, Kasper (2000:318) states that “frequently the most difficult part in gathering extended authentic data is to gain access to the research site.” My position as a leader therefore was of great benefit in gaining access to my subjects. In addition, as I was already known to the parents of the majority of girls, they were all willing to consent to their daughters taking part in this research (see Appendix One for consent form).

Before recording began I explained that I was interested in the way girls speak to each other, and how this changes as they get older. I answered any questions they had and made sure all girls were happy for me to record them. I also allowed for several weeks of recording to take place before the real data collection began, in order to minimise any possible effect this may have had on the language they used. During normal, small group activities recording equipment was placed on the tables and the girls were left, with as little adult intervention as possible, to carry out their tasks.

There are several advantages to carrying out data collection in this way, to begin with the children were already familiar with the setting, other participants and all other adults present. It is widely recognised that language, particularly that of children, can “vary with setting, partner and witnesses” (Ervin-Tripp, 2000:274), and as the intention of this study was to observe children’s naturally occurring language, this familiarity was of considerable benefit. A second advantage to carrying out data collection in the field is that to a large extent it shows how children speak during conversations with their peers in the absence of adults. It is, according to Clark and Bangerter (2004:26), “the best place to see how ordinary people, unencumbered by theoretical preconceptions and laboratory wiring, actually use language”. As well as benefiting the type and quality of language collected, the way in which this study was conducted also had methodological benefits.

Very often researchers assume that if those responsible for children, such as parents or teachers, give permission to allow researchers entry to a setting this will be all that is necessary to enable them to carry out their research. However, as many have found this is not

always the case, and this false belief “stems from adult assumptions that children themselves are not a gatekeeping group, and that the usual unobtrusive role of adult researchers does not necessitate research bargaining with children” (Mandell, 1991:41). I did not find this to be an issue with girls in the youngest two groups in the study. While the eldest group, as a whole, were happy for me to be there and to record them, initially there was some resistance, shown by comments such as “well I’m not gonna say anything now” and “don’t speak just write down what you wanna say”, this did not last for the duration of my observations, nor were they the opinions expressed by the majority of girls.

Many researchers have described the hostility they faced when entering settings for the first time. Christensen (2004) explains how, in her fieldwork with six to ten year olds, the children were initially shy and uncomfortable during interviews due to her being a stranger. Although, interestingly, this is only something that they disclosed to her in later interactions once they had got to know, and trust her. A further difficulty faced by Christensen, given her status as a stranger, was that to begin with her subjects would often avoid her or refuse to answer questions. She is not the only researcher to have experience with this, Wax (1986:7), for example, states that “many people are made uncomfortable by the presence of an outsider,” and Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2001:256) note that familiarity “is a crucial factor affecting linguistic behaviour in interviews”. An additional drawback to being a stranger, or outsider, for carrying out research with children is that parents/teachers are likely unlikely to feel uncomfortable leaving children alone with a researcher who is unfamiliar to both them and the children (Alderson and Morrow, 2011). Although these adults may not take part in the interviews or conversations, their presence alone can be enough to impact the language produced by the child. The fact that in the youngest two groups, all adults present were familiar to the children means their presence was unlikely to have had any impact on the language produced.

The only exception to the above was the eldest group of girls in the study, those aged between nine and thirteen years. The reason being that I am not a leader at this group and was therefore not known to the majority of these girls. However, a number of the girls had previously been members of my Rainbow and Brownie groups and were, therefore, familiar with me. I believe that this played a key factor in helping me gain the acceptance of the other girls. In addition to this, I was warmly welcomed and accepted by the adult leaders of the group which I also feel contributed to the acceptance by the girls themselves. Other researchers have not only faced difficulties gaining access to institutional settings, such as

schools, but have frequently been met with open hostility from teachers when they arrive (Beynon, 1983; Valli, 1986; Delamont, 2002). This is likely to make the researcher's job even more difficult, as seeing familiar adults unwilling to accept the presence of a researcher will do little to encourage the children themselves to do so.

My role with this group of girls was therefore slightly different in two ways; firstly, for many, I was an unknown adult coming into their meetings. Secondly, I was observing and recording their interactions which made me even more unusual. These factors, combined with the older ages of these girls, meant it was necessary for me to approach these girls in a slightly different way to the other two groups. As I had done previously, I explained to the girls I was studying the way girls talk to each other and that I was interested in learning about how this changes as they get older. Some girls had younger sisters at Rainbows or Brownies who had already been recorded and were keen to tell the rest of the group about this. Before I began recording the girls I asked them if they had any questions and ensured that they were all happy for me to record them. Most of these girls were more than happy to have the recorders near them and were often keen to ask me which groups I would be recording that evening.

As with the younger groups, and in a similar way to other researchers (Moore and Snell, 2010), I allowed the girls time to become familiar with the recording equipment, and my presence, before the real data collection began. This period was useful for a number of reasons; firstly, it enabled the girls to ask questions about the recorders, how they worked, who would listen to them, etc. and consequently become at ease in their presence. Secondly, it gave me time to talk to the girls as they worked in small groups, allowing me to begin building relationships with them and consequently gaining their trust. This meant when the data collection began they were comfortable with my presence, or at least more so than they had been on my arrival. Thirdly, from a transcription point of view it enabled me to become familiar with the voices of girls. This was particularly challenging for girls that I had not known before I began attending meetings. I believe this time period was of great benefit not only to the girls, and subsequently the language they produced, but also from a methodological perspective as it gave me time to make any necessary adjustments to the way in which I collected notes during data collection.

By the time the real data collection began I felt that most girls were comfortable with the process. There was a very small number, perhaps two, both of whom were in the eldest group of girls, and were those I had not met prior to this study, who still seemed to be slightly

uncomfortable about the recording equipment. Interestingly, they did not tell me this but did talk about it after I had placed the recording equipment near them. Their complaints were typically dismissed by other members of their group by being told “it’s just a recorder thingy” or “it’s only for her university”. By the end of data collection I believe all girls had become so used to both me, and the recording equipment and that their language was as close as possible to its natural state. Of course, it is not possible to know how true this is, there were, however, several times that a number of different girls were recorded suggesting this most probably was the case, for example; “I forgot she’s recording us” or “I completely forgot that was even there”. Previous researchers have suggested that this is very likely stating “the initial disturbance of routing transactions through the presence of an outsider and of video equipment will subside when the novelty effect has worn off and the routines kick in again” (Kasper, 2000:319).

At the beginning of the data collection some of the girls spoke to me through the recording equipment during conversations about topics they felt either they should not be discussing, or did not want their leaders to know about. One example was of a group discussing a recent camping trip, during the conversation N speaks to me via the recorder; “yeah and we were so worried we were like everyone just turn it off and, (oh) Emma, don’t tell 6”! (6 was the numeral used for the leader of this group). The week after these types of conversations they would often ask questions such as “did you hear what we said last time”? I believe that once they were satisfied I would not tell anyone what I had heard on the recordings they felt more at ease and were, therefore, happy to discuss a range of topics.

This strategy was also used by Eder (1985:156) who describes her desire to become a part of the lives of the adolescent girls she was studying “as peers rather than as authority figures”. Getting to know subjects this way can be beneficial for establishing trust as well as opening the doors to accessing other students as she notes that the acceptance of a small number students led to her being introduced to their friends as someone new, but not necessarily an outsider. This is very similar to my position in the present study, as some of the girls were already familiar to me before data collection began this encouraged acceptance from girls I had not met prior to the start of this study.

Mandell (1991) talks about the concept of adopting the “least adult role”. She states that the most prominent issue facing adult researchers attempting to observe children is the role they play in the eyes of their subjects. There are, she suggests, three possible roles a researcher can

take “a detached observer role, a marginal semi-participatory role, and a complete involvement role” (p.39). Whilst Mandell (1991) herself is a firm believer in the third of these options, I did not feel that was the best approach for the present study as I was interested in the way the girls spoke to each other rather than to, or in the presence of, adults. Instead I adopted the second option of a marginal semi-participatory role. Mandell (1991:40) suggests that rather than attempting to hide all differences between the researcher and children being observed, this role involves acting as a “less-threatening [and] non-interfering companion”.

Another factor some researchers have suggested may contribute to the way in which children and particularly adolescents react to adults is their appearance, in particular the types of clothes they wear. Delamont (2002:152), for example, states that “attention needs to be paid to dress and hairstyle”. I therefore made the decision not to wear uniform when attending Guides. This uniform is the same for all adult members of Girlguiding, and so had I worn this I may have risked inadvertently placing myself in a position of authority, changing the way these girls related to me.

Although numerous precautions were carried out to ensure the language collected was as close as possible to the normal language of these girls, it is never entirely possible to ensure this is the case. The need to observe people in entirely natural settings, without the impact being observed may produce is discussed below.

5.3 Observer’s Paradox.

Despite the many ways I was able to build up relationships, and establish a rapport with the eldest group of girls, it is still possible that my presence, as well as that of the recording equipment, had an effect on the language they produced. Equally, for the younger groups the presence of the recording equipment may also have had an impact on their language. Of course, there is no way to be sure if either of these elements affected the language produced by these subjects, the problem at hand is, as Labov (1972:113) puts it, that “to obtain the data most important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed”. He calls this problem the observer’s paradox.

Some researchers have focused on ways of reducing the impact of outside influences on language, for instance by spending time with subjects before recording took place (Drager, 2009) or allowing the subjects time to experiment with recording equipment and interview techniques (Christensen, 2004). Wolfson (1976) makes the valid point that what is important

is not how aware subjects are of the fact they are being observed or recorded but how, if at all, they alter their everyday behaviour as a result. It may be the case that some subjects frequently talk about, or make reference to, recording equipment or observers, yet its presence does little to alter their behaviour. On the other hand, there may be subjects who appear to be unaware of, or at least unaffected by, new equipment or people but whose behaviour changes considerably as a result. In the present study, for example, there were some girls in the youngest and middle two groups who talked very little, as I knew these girls I was aware of how they normally behaved and so was able to attribute this to their personalities, rather than the presence of recording equipment. However, with the eldest group it was not possible for me, as an outsider, to know if their lack of conversation was due to my presence, and that of the equipment, or because they were typically quiet. Whilst there may be some subjects whose language is unaffected by the presence of new people or equipment for others the opposite may be true. The important point to take into consideration is that it may not always be the most obvious subjects who are affected; awareness does not necessarily equate to impact. In the majority of cases it is not possible to collect large amounts of reliable, usable data without recording, be it audio or video. Gordon (2012:300) notes that for ethical reasons it is rarely possible to record people without their consent and consequently their awareness meaning, therefore, that “the paradox is inescapable”.

In studies where the aim is to record naturally occurring language Labov (1972) and many others have suggested that although they will never fully disappear, over time the effect of outside influences will gradually subside. It is generally accepted that any effects of an outsider, such as a researcher, and the presence of recording equipment are considerably reduced with prolonged exposure (Iino, 1998; Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2001). Data collection was carried out over a year, therefore the probability of my presence having an impact on their language was likely greatly diminished by the end of this period. Labov (1972) states that, particularly when data is collected over extended periods, subjects will be more likely to focus on carrying out their everyday tasks rather than carefully monitoring their language production.

5.4 Procedure.

The previous section detailed the process of data collection. The following will provide an account of the process of transcribing and coding the data, along with the decision of which software to use for this process.

5.4.1 Choosing a software.

Language sample analysis (LSA) is, according to Miller et al. (2016:99), “a powerful method of documenting language use in everyday speaking situations”. LSA can be used to measure a wide variety of linguistic functions, and there are several types of software that may be used to do this. The two most appropriate to the present study are SALT (systematic analysis of language transcripts) and CLAN (computerised language analysis), part of CHILDES (child language data exchange system). The advantages and disadvantages of both of these will be considered and the decision of which to use explained.

5.4.2 SALT.

SALT was created to aid the analysis of vast amounts of language samples from children (Heilmann, 2010). Altogether, over fifty different language measures can be obtained using SALT. According to Heilmann (2010:86) one of the intentions of the SALT software has always “been to make LSA user friendly by developing a transparent transcription system”. One way this is done is by allowing users to assign codes at morpheme, word or utterance level, as well as what is termed ‘special line codes’; those giving additional information about the context such as pauses between turns, etc. This was of use to the present study as it is concerned with utterances rather than individual words. In addition to the existing codes within the software, users can create their own, this was of great benefit as the assertive utterances I intended to code were not found in the existing codes.

There is also a wide range of training available for those new to SALT, including tutorial videos as well as a series of online guides which include opportunities for users to practice elements of coding. Whilst this in itself is not a valid reason to use this software, it is an important factor to consider. Heilmann (2010:5) for instance, notes “the importance of adequate training should not be understated” and that failure to complete this “will inevitably lead to a frustrated and poor transcriber”. In addition to the training opportunities available SALT also contains an error checking tool to ensure all the conventions are adhered to before analysis is carried out.

Whilst SALT conventions can be used throughout an entire transcript, this is not a requirement. The intention for this software to be user friendly means it is possible to use as many or as few of these conventions as required, based on what it is you are intending to find out from the data. In the present study, for example, I was interested in pragmatic rather than

grammatical elements of the talk and so it was not necessary to use every convention, such as those marking plurals or bound morphemes.

One drawback to SALT is that it only allows for the analysis of one speaker per transcript. The target speaker's utterances are analysed separately, while the analysis of all other speakers in the transcript are combined. This means a new transcript must be created for each speaker whose talk needs to be analysed. In addition, speakers in a SALT transcript are identified by only one letter, or number. This can result in difficulties when speakers in one conversation share the same name or, as was the case in the present study, when a large number of speakers are being studied.

5.4.3 CLAN.

The program CLAN is used in conjunction with files transcribed according to CHAT (codes for the human analysis of transcripts) conventions. One useful feature of CLAN, is the ability to link specific parts of transcripts to audio files. This may be of use for several reasons; firstly, if it is necessary to check a part of the transcript has been transcribed correctly it will eliminate the need to spend time going through long audio files in search of the specific utterances required. Additionally, if it is the intention that transcripts are to be contributed to the CHILDES database, it will allow other researchers to listen to the raw data, rather than relying on another individual's interpretation of it through their transcription.

Another benefit to using CHILDES is that it allows for a greater sample size in that comparisons from new data can be made with that in the existing corpus. Macwhinney and Snow (1985:291) make the point that while studies involving ten to twenty-five subjects may hold some weight "the power of any input analysis is greatly increased by larger sample size". Therefore, the ability to make use of existing data can be of considerable benefit to reaching significant and solid conclusions. It is however, important to remember that a considerable amount of the existing data in the corpus comes from experimental studies, this may make comparing new, naturalistic data, difficult and perhaps irrelevant.

Much like SALT there are a range of different analyses that can be performed using CLAN, Macwhinney (1996:11) states it can perform "five basic types of linguistic analysis". These are; morphological, lexical, phonological, syntactical and discourse, however, only one of these is of use to the present study. A central tool within CLAN is the coder's editor (CED) which allows you to specify your own codes. This is of vital importance to the present study as the codes being used were not found in the existing system. Finally, one of the most

essential parts of CLAN is the CHECK program, as this will ensure the transcript conforms to CHAT conventions and thereby enables the most precise and complete analysis of the transcript.

Whilst there are a number of positive features of CLAN, it is largely suited to researchers of language acquisition, grammatical features of language and those studying children with language impairments.

One drawback I faced, when transcribing in CHAT was the sometimes overly complex codes. One example of this is what they term 'headers'. There were twelve constant headers and further thirteen changeable headers which could occur within the text to indicate a change within the transcript, and these were in addition to the initial headers that were required. In SALT, any comment or information that may be relevant to the conversation which is not speech is marked simply with =. Although this is not a valid reason for not using this software it is an important point to consider. Transcribing itself is a very time-consuming process, according to Heilmann (2010:5) "it takes roughly 5 minutes to transcribe each minute of spoken language". Therefore, if there is a way to speed up this process through the use of more simplified transcription conventions, without impacting on the quality of analysis it will allow, it seems this would be an obvious choice. In addition to this, CLAN did not offer any of the training provided for SALT which made the process somewhat more difficult.

Having considered the advantages and disadvantages of both SALT and CLAN I made the decision to use SALT. Both pieces of software offered the most crucial criteria for the present study; the ability to create your own codes. Given that they both allow for a very similar analysis and neither had a considerable advantage over the other, choosing the software that I felt would be easiest for me to use did contribute to this decision.

5.4.4 Transcription.

Taking into consideration the advice of previous researchers concerning the need for training before transcribing I completed all the available online training for SALT before beginning to transcribe. I believe this process was invaluable as it ensured I was fully comfortable with the conventions and had had ample time to practice transcribing other conversations before starting with my own data.

The transcription process was time-consuming; Heilmann (2010:5) claimed “a 4-minute sample will take approximately 20 minutes to transcribe”. However, I believe, certainly at the beginning of the transcription period, longer than this was spent on transcribing. There are several possible reasons for this; firstly, Heilmann (2010) was referring to elicitation tasks which likely involved one, possibly two, children with a researcher in a quiet room. This was far from the case in the present study in which natural language samples of conversations between multiple children were collected in natural environments meaning background noise and other distractions were also present. Secondly, due to the fact there were multiple speakers it was not always the case that each speaker could be identified in the first instance of listening to the recording resulting in the need for a specific piece of recording to be repeated several times. Leadholm and Miller (1994) suggest that a speech sample of fifteen minutes will require between one hour and fifteen minutes to two hours of transcription, in this instance they are referring to children with language disorders. However, I believe, given the challenges mentioned above this length of time is closer to that in the present study, certainly in the early stages of the transcription process.

Each audio recording was transcribed as soon after the recording took place as possible, this was usually the following day. During the transcription process, I made a note of types of assertive language that appeared frequently in conversations, which enabled the creation of a list of assertive utterances from which codes could be created.

5.4.5 Coding.

The list of types of assertive language that appeared frequently in these conversations, combined with the list used in my previous study with pre-school children (Topham, 2012), resulted in over fifty types of assertive utterances (AUs). It was, therefore, necessary to reduce this quite considerably. As expected there were some utterances used frequently in the pre-school data that were rarely seen in these interactions and were, therefore, excluded. Of course, it was also necessary to include new types of AUs that had not been used by the younger children. Through the examination of the literature both, on children’s language, and assertive language this list was narrowed down to just under thirty codes, with a small number of sub codes (see Appendix Two). Each type of AU was defined (see Chapter Three and Appendix Four) and the transcripts were coded.

One way in which my previous study was lacking was the failure to acknowledge the individual an AU was directed at, partly due to the fact I had not expected to see evidence of

communication accommodation in children of such a young age. I therefore made the decision in the present study, to include additional information, following a code, to indicate the age of the addressee. The three bands in each age group were split into lower, middle and upper age girls, and these codes were represented by GL, GM and GU, which was adapted from my previous study. Later the decision was made to label the different age groups as bands, the following table shows how these three codes relate to each age band.

Table Two

	Code	Age band
Group One (5-7 year olds)	GL	Band 1
	GM	Band 2
	GU	Band 3
Group Two (7-10 year olds)	GL	Band 4
	GM	Band 5
	GU	Band 6
Group Three (10-13yr olds)	GL	Band 7
	GM	Band 8
	GU	Band 9

5.4.6 Standardisation.

An initial idea had been to collect an equal number of utterances from each speaker, however, it soon became evident there were a number of problems with this. Firstly, due to the naturalistic methods employed, and the fact there is a vast variation in the amount different children speak, data collection would have been very problematic. Secondly, this would have interfered somewhat with the naturalistic methods of the study and may have impacted on the results. Condensing children’s language to a set number of utterances likely decreases the language obtained from one child whilst falsely exaggerating that of the other. In addition, as noted by Heilmann et al. (2010b:395) “this approach would overly exclude children who were less talkative than other children”.

Consequently, it was decided an alternative way of standardising the data would be to ensure each transcript was of an equal length. This is a method frequently employed by researchers to match samples, Heilmann et al. (2010b) note it has the advantage over using number of utterances as a basis of comparison as it is not biased towards any type of speaker. There was considerable variation in the length of transcripts, particularly amongst the seven to nine year olds with some lasting just nine minutes and others nearly fifty. In addition to this, there were variations in the amount of time it was possible to record each age group as their meeting times varied. Group one met for an hour, group two for an hour and a half, and group three for two hours. Therefore, the transcripts of the five to seven year olds were all shortened to fifteen minutes while those of the eldest two groups became twenty minutes. Fifteen minutes was the average length of the conversations amongst the five to seven year olds and resulted in only a small number being too short to include in analysis. Although in the eldest two groups there were some conversations lasting a lot longer than twenty minutes, this was the exception rather than the rule. Reducing the transcripts to twenty minutes meant only a small number of conversations would need to be excluded from analysis due to their shorter length.

One important factor to consider was ensuring that a sufficient amount of data was collected in order for these findings to be comparable to existing research. Many have claimed that at least one hundred utterances should be obtained in order to carry out a meaningful analysis (Cole et al., 1989; Heilmann et al., 2010a). However, there is not widespread agreement on this, Leadholm and Miller (1994:32), for example, note “the use of 100 complete and intelligible utterances is somewhat arbitrary”. Similarly, there are reports of researchers using far fewer than this. In a survey of speech and language pathologists Kemp and Klee (1997) found that half of the two hundred and fifty-three respondents used speech samples containing just fifty utterances, whilst twenty-eight percent stated they used fewer than fifty. Given the amount of variation that exists between studies it can be assumed that the present study lies within an acceptable range to enable generalisations to be drawn. The table below shows the number of participants involved in a number of studies and the amount of data each collected. The amount collected in the present study sits comfortably within this range.

Table Three

Authors	Number of children/ages	Amount of data collected
Barbu et al. (2011)	164, 6;5-9;5	4 hrs per child
Blum-Kulka et al. (2010)	14, 4;6-6;6	452 mins of interaction
Bock and Hornsby (1980)	128, 2;6-6;6	Total of 2048 directives (average 16 per child)
Fanger et al. (2012)	42, 4;6-6;1	Average of 32mins per child
Goodwin (2002)	30, 9-12yrs	60 hrs of video and 20 hrs of audio
Goodwin and Goodwin (1987)	44, 4-14 years	Total of 500 argumentative exchanges
Holmberg (1980)	72, 1;0-3;6	30 mins per child
Hoff (2010)	16, 1;9-3;0	20 mins of interaction per child
Howe and McWilliam (2001)	125, 3-5yrs	Total of 252 arguments
Leaper (1991)	138, 3;11-8;9	10 mins per child
Miller et al. (1986)	24, 4;9-7;3	24 hours of conversation
Sachs and Devin (1975)	4, 3;9-5;5	Total of 1430 utterances
Schachter et al. (1978)	66, 1;5-2;8	50 utterances per child
Present study	49, 5;0-13;1	26,482 utterances (5600 AUs) 24 hours in total

5.4.7 Analysis

Following the coding of the transcripts it was possible to carry out a range of analyses through SALT. To begin with, the most important analysis was performed; the code summary analysis. This enabled a pattern to be established indicating, not only the number of AUs used by each age group but also the type, and the age of the intended hearer. Following this, it was clear that some types of AUs occurred so infrequently it was unnecessary for them to be included in further analysis. It was anticipated that around ten to fifteen AUs would be an appropriate number to analyse; it was thought that this would be few enough to look at each one individually, without oversimplifying the results. The way in which the final list of ‘focused AUs’ was established for each group is detailed below (see Appendix Three for a list of these).

In order to establish the AUs used most by each age group, those used by each individual speaker were first analysed. This involved careful consideration of not only the total number of each AU used, but the individuals they were directed at. Consequently, an AU may have accounted for a large percentage of a band's total AU production, but may have been primarily addressed to one specific band. One such example of this is seen in band 1's use of directives; although directives were responsible for eight percent of the total number of AUs produced the majority of these, just over sixty-two percent, were addressed to other band 1 speakers.

In addition, the different types of specific AUs that were used, for example, the different types of directives, and the various responses to these were calculated for each speaker individually, these were then combined to draw conclusions regarding the band as a whole. Once again, attention was paid to the individuals each type of AU was directed at, and the responses to each age band. When reference is made to the 'most' or 'least', unless stated otherwise, this refers to the amount used by an individual band, in a specific context. While other bands may have used or responded in certain ways more, what is being referred to here is each type or response as a percentage of those used by the individual band. The reason being that this was thought to be the best way to compare bands. Had it been the case that one band only used twenty-five AU and twenty of these were directives, while another band used one hundred AUs, forty of which were directives, using the numbers themselves would have given an inaccurate representation of the results. On the other hand, comparing eighty percent and forty percent, provide a better comparison, as what is most important is the number in relation to the total produced by that band.

Using the code summary analysis in SALT it was possible to calculate the percentage each AU contributed to the total number of AUs used by each band. In instances where all three types of an AU (i.e. those directed at members of each band) made up less than one percent of the total number of AUs produced, this type of AU was removed. This process was repeated until those that made up fewer than five percent of AUs used by each band were removed. This list of AUs was combined for each age group, and these were labelled as 'focused AUs' (see Appendix Three).

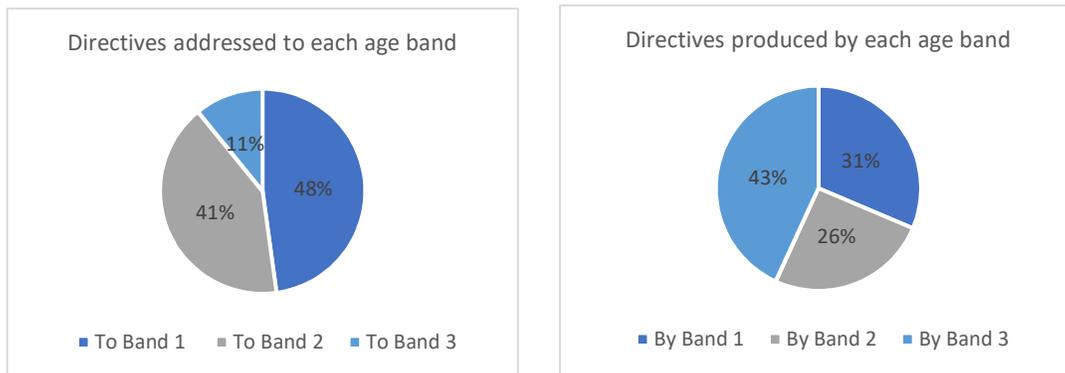
From this stage, it was possible to begin the more detailed analysis within each age group. Initially the intention was to look at each of the 'focused AUs' used by the three age groups. However, it soon became apparent that this would make comparisons across the groups almost impossible. Therefore, the five most frequently used AUs by all nine bands;

directives, ignoring, interruptions, disagreement and direct requests, were analysed. However, due to constraints on space only the findings from the three most frequently used AUs will be presented here (see appendices six to fifteen for those on disagreement and direct requests).

Chapter Six: Results.

6.1 Group One; Responses to Directives.

Not only did directives appear in the top five most used AUs of all three age bands but, overall, they were the most used AU by this age group. As is illustrated in the charts below, the clear majority of directives were addressed to the youngest speakers in this age group, while it was the eldest girls who produced the greatest number of directives. The following will look at the responses of each band in group one to being issued with a directive from speakers of different ages.



6.1.1 Band 1 directing Band 1.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

Most directives issued by same age speakers were not followed by band 1, and failing to comply could involve: directly or indirectly refusing, ignoring the directive, or dismissing it. A number of these responses are seen in the extract below; initially E's directive is ignored by T. Shortly after this, R produces a directive which is aimed at the group as a whole, rather than a specific individual. Despite the inclusion of a justification with this directive, it does not appear to influence W's decision to comply as she then addresses R with a directive, however, this is quickly met with dismissal.

Example 1.1

R Do you wanna have a blue one?

E Don't touch my arm [DI+GL].

T [IG+GL].

M Why is there a mess on the table?

R Don't use all of those because I wanna use some more [DI+J+GL] [IG+GL].

W Don't be bossy R [DI+GL] [INRE+GL].

R I am gonna be if I wanna be [MIS+GL] [INRE+GL].

Compliance was also seen in response to some directives in these conversations, however, this was far less common than the responses noted above.

6.1.2 Band 2 directing Band 1.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

Band 2 members used surprisingly few directives with younger girls and the reactions to these were somewhat more varied than expected. Around half of these were complied with without question, however, both ignoring and directly refusing to comply were also observed in these interactions. These three responses are seen in the example below, in which the band 2 speaker, G, issues R with three directives in a very short space of time. Initially, R complies immediately, however, when G changes her mind and tells her to “do that again” R refuses. This is then met with another directive from G, which this time R ignores. Following this, R is persuaded, by P’s response, to continue with her earlier behaviour, however, this is likely a result of P’s influence rather than G’s directive.

Example 2.1

R (Twit_twoo, twit_twoo).

G (Oh) stop it, you’re like the owl from the Gruffalo [DI+GL].

=R laughs.

G Is/n’t she A?

G She’s like the owl of[EW:from] the Gruffalo.

=R laughs.

G Do that again [DI+GL].

R No [RE+GM].

G Do it [DI+GL].

R [IG+GM].

P I can do it really loudly [CTS+GM].

P (Twit_twoo, <twit_twoo, twit_twoo>).

R <(Twit_twoo, twit_twoo)>.

These interactions suggest band 1 girls are happy to comply with directives from these older girls but only to a certain extent. As R demonstrates, whilst they appear to accept the authority held by the band 2 girls, that comes with their age, they are also able to exercise their own opinions rather than indiscriminately following orders simply because they come from someone older than them.

6.1.3 Band 3 directing Band 1.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

Once again, the responses to this AU were mixed, however compliance was the most common of these. In fact, the response to directives specifically addressed to an individual speaker was always that of compliance. One example of this is in the extract below in which two band 3 girls issue T with a directive, with which she immediately complies.

Example 3.1

T It's definitely a lemon.
D <Shh> [DI+GL]!
H <Shh> [DI+GL]!
=T whispers.
T It's a lemon.

The only exception to this response was when a directive was addressed to the group, rather than a named individual. An example of this is shown below in which neither the band 1 nor 2 speakers in the conversation respond to this AU. This response was quite typical for directives given to the whole group.

Example 3.2

D Put your hand up if you like Peppa_Pig [DI+GL] [DI+GM] [DI+GU].
S (Oh) I love Peppa_Pig.

It is possible that when directives were used with a whole group these younger girls were unclear as to whether they were the intended addressee. This would explain their failure to respond in these cases but comply, without question, in other situations.

Band 1 members showed a clear difference in the way they responded to directives from same age speakers compared to those older than them. Typically, the rate of compliance increased as the age of the speaker issuing the directive rose. In addition, the tendency to refuse, either directly or indirectly, considerably decreased as their partner's age rose.

6.1.4 Band 1 directing Band 2.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

Band 2 responded in the same way to every directive from a band 1 speaker; by ignoring the utterance. A particularly good example of this is shown in the extract below in which T fails to receive any type of acknowledgement from G to five directives. Given that in the final directive T uses G's name it is unlikely, by this point, that she does not know T is talking to her. Instead it appears that G simply does not feel the need to acknowledge T, and eventually T accepts this and does not make any further attempts to receive a response from G.

Example 1.2

T <Look at this bunny> [DI+GM].

G [IG+GL].

3 <Like that>?

1 Yeah.

T <Look at this bunny> [DI+GM] [REP+GM].

G [IG+GL].

T (Look at this bunny, look at this bunny) look at this bunny [DI+GM] [REP+GM].

G [IG+GL].

T Look at this bunny [DI+GM] [REP+GM].

G [IG+GL].

T No, G look at this bunny [DI+GM] [REP+GM].

G [IG+GL].

6.1.5 Band 2 directing Band 2.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

Most directives from same age speakers were not complied with by band 2. Although, interestingly, this never involved directly refusing to comply. Instead these were met with indirect refusal or, more commonly, ignoring. The conversation below shows one example of this, in which K fails to acknowledge G's utterance at all, despite this, G appears happy to accept this response.

Example 2.2

G Look K, look at this [DI+GM].

K Can we do this [IG+GM]?

G Yes.

Compliance was sometimes seen in these conversations, as is shown below. Prior to the extract shown here A and K had been arguing about who would be next to use the blue paint. G then suggests they use it at the same time, so when A addresses a directive to K she complies straight away. However, shortly after this (in the final line of this extract) A produces an indirect order effectively stopping K from using the paint. A possible reason K so readily complied with the directive may be because she believed doing so would be of benefit to her. It seems likely to suggest that these girls are willing to follow directives when they believe they will gain something by doing so.

Example 2.3

A You hold that end [DI+GM].
=K holds the brush.
=G laughs.
G You're so funny.
A I can finish K [IO+GM].

The fact that compliance was seen in some of these interactions marks a change in the responses seen with younger speakers, therefore suggesting evidence of accommodation.

6.1.6 Band 3 directing Band 2.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

Every directive from a band 3 speaker was complied with by band 2, without question or hesitation. The first extract below shows a good example of this; not only does P indirectly refuse G's request, she also issues the whole group including G, with a directive. Following this, G had the option of asking when P may be finished, instead she does not make any further reference to her request choosing instead to follow P's directive explicitly.

Example 3.3

G (Can) are you finish/ed with the blue [IR+GU]?
P No one ask if I'm finish/ed because I've only just start/ed [INRE+GM] [DI+GL]
[DI+GM] [DI+GU].
G I need a yellow [IR+GM] [N+GM].

Similarly, in the next example the older girl in the interaction, D, issues K with two directives neither of which she objects to. What is interesting about this exchange is that D waits until

the adult, 3, leaves before producing any AU. Secondly, she begins her utterance in the form of a request using the word ‘can’, but then changes this to a directive. When K asks for clarification about where she should begin reading D answers with another directive this time with the inclusion of obligation through her use of the word ‘have’.

Example 3.4

=3 leaves.

D Ok (um can) : K you read the rest [DI+GM].

K Where is it?

A K could just read the rest.

D You have to read up to there <to the last sentence> over there [DI+OB+GM].

These two examples are typical of the responses shown by band 2 following a directive from an older girl.

As has been shown, band 2 vary their responses to directives as a result of their conversational partner’s age. Every directive from band 1 was ignored, while all of those from band 3 were complied with, and those issued by other band 2 girls received a mixture of the two responses. The fact that such a marked change is seen in band 2’s responses to directives from speakers of different ages shows evidence of accommodation.

6.1.7 Band 1 directing Band 3.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

Band 1 never addressed a directive to a band 3 speaker, possible reasons for this will be explored in later (see section 6.1.11).

6.1.8 Band 2 directing Band 3.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

There was just one instance of a band 2 speaker issuing an older girl with a directive, and there are a number of points of interest regarding this interaction. Firstly, this directive is somewhat mitigated by the fact it is addressed to two speakers, one of which is another band

2 member. Secondly, the fact that two lines after her directive G joins in with the argument may suggest the directive was not intended to be completely serious. Alternatively, this may have been a way of G saving face after her directive was ignored. Thirdly, although the band 2 speaker, A, also ignores G's directive she only does so following D's lead. Finally, whilst G issues a directive intended to end the argument this is ultimately done by the band 3 speaker, D, through her use of indirect disagreement in the final utterance of this extract.

Example 2.4

D You are [DIS+GM].

A You are [DIS+GU].

G *Stop arguing* [DI+GM] [DI+GU].

D Everyone in year one/'s crazy [IG+GM].

A No everyone in <year two is crazy> [DIS+J+GU].

G <In year two is crazy>.

D That/'s what you think [IDIS+GM].

Following D's utterance, in the final line of this extract, the conversation stops for a short period and when they begin to speak again the topic has changed.

6.1.9 Band 3 directing Band 3.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

Most directives addressed to band 3 from same age speakers were complied with. However, this was by no means the only response seen, the use of indirect refusal, ignoring and making a request for a justification, were also observed in these conversations. Two of these are seen in the example below. To begin with H requests a justification from D as to why she should comply, although one is provided this is not enough to persuade H to do so, as she meets the second directive with silence. This results in D mimicking H's voice to respond to T.

Example 3.5

=D whispers to H.

D *H say good morning miss nincompoop* [DI+GU].

=H laughs.

H Why [REQJ+GU]?

D *Just say it because she said good morning H* [DI+J+GU].

:

H [INRE+GU].

T Good morning H.

=D speaks in a silly voice.

D <Good morning miss nincompoop>.

Band 3 girls followed the same pattern as the younger two age bands with regards to their responses to directives; the rate of compliance increased as the age of the speaker rose, thereby showing evidence of accommodation.

Some interesting findings have been revealed in this section. Firstly, rather than responses being based exclusively on the age of the speaker, they are instead a combination of the age of both the speaker and hearer. It was not the case that band 2, for example, always ignored directives, instead this varied as a result of the age of the speaker issuing the directive. Secondly, there appears to be a trend overall, for directives issued by band 1 to be refused or ignored, while those from band 3 were more likely to be met with compliance. This all lends support to the suggestion that these girls are sensitive to age differences, are aware of the social privileges that come with this, and consequently accommodate their language based on this.

6.1.10 Types of Directives.

Not only did the responses of each age band vary as a result of the age of their conversational partner, but the way in which directives were produced also changed. The following section will look at the different types of directives used by members of each age band and how their conversational partner influenced the types chosen.

The way directives were used by all three bands in this age group, can be divided into three main categories. Those attempting to persuade the hearer to comply with the speaker's wishes (example 1.3). Directives that appear to suggest the speaker's knowledge of how a task should be carried out, or of the appropriate way to behave, is greater than that of the hearer (example 1.4). Finally, those used without a clear reason or any potential gain to the speaker, but instead seem to be used simply as a way of exercising control over the hearer (example 1.5).

Example 1.3

R Let me see [DI+GL].

Example 1.4

=1 comes over.

M (Close your eye/s) close your eye/s [DI+GL] [DI+GM].

Example 1.5

M (Oh) I need that red [IR+GL] [N+GL].

R Go and get another one [DI+GL] [INRE+GL].

6.1.11 Band 1.

In interactions with other band 1 members these three types were used in nearly equal measures. Whilst there was not a distinct pattern in the responses each of these different directives received, it was the case that a slightly higher number the second type were met with indirect refusal than either of the other two.

There was a considerable change in the types of directives that were used with members of band 2. Firstly, and perhaps unsurprisingly, there were no directives aimed solely at exercising control over the hearer. In addition, there was just one occasion on which a directive implying the speaker had superior knowledge of what should be done was used in these contexts. Instead, the majority of directives used in these interactions were those with the intention of persuading the hearer to comply with the speaker's own wishes. Perhaps it was the case that they did not believe other types of directives would be successful, or more importantly appropriate, in these interactions. This may be a result of the older age of these girls and consequently the implication that they are more aware of the correct way to behave than younger speakers.

Whilst it had been anticipated that a smaller number of directives would be used in conversations with band 3 it had not been expected that this AU would be entirely absent in these contexts. This may be explained by the highly assertive nature of directives, and the age differences between these speakers. If, as is suggested, age is used as a way of measuring status the status differences between bands 1 and 3 are likely the reason for the absence of this AU.

6.1.12 Band 2.

The majority of directives used by band 2 in conversations with band 1 were attempts to persuade the hearer to carry out an action based on their own wishes. It had been predicted that many of the directives used in these contexts would be those aimed at controlling the behaviour of the younger girls, or those demonstrating the speaker's superior knowledge about how a task should be carried out, however, this was only observed on the minority of these occasions.

Another surprising finding was observed in conversations with same age speakers; the directives used most often with younger speakers, those aiming to persuade the hearer to comply with their wishes, were those used least with other band 2 members. Instead, the most commonly produced directives here were those implying the speaker knew the correct way a

task should be carried out. This was closely followed by those aiming to exercise control over the hearer. Given the relative absence of these directives in conversations with younger speakers it is somewhat of a surprise that they appear so frequently in these contexts.

However, it may explain this band's tendency to refuse to comply with directives in these contexts. Interestingly, it was directives attempting to exercise control over the hearer, without a clear reason for this, that were most commonly ignored.

As previously noted, just one directive was used by band 2 in conversations with older speakers. Whilst the number of directives used in these conversations was anticipated to fall, the extent to which this was the case was somewhat unexpected. The directive that did occur was that suggesting the speaker knew the appropriate way to behave and was, therefore, in a position to issue the hearer with a directive. What is important to note about this utterance is that it was addressed to two speakers, one of which was another band 2 member, which somewhat mitigated this AU.

6.1.13 Band 3.

The directives used by members of band 3 in interactions with band 1 speakers were exclusively those aimed at exercising control over the hearer. This makes the fact that the majority of directives produced in these conversations were complied with all the more interesting, and would appear to suggest that the reason behind this compliance is more likely related to the age difference between these speakers than it is to the type of directives they chose to employ.

As with band 1, directives with the intention of exercising control over the hearer were those used most frequently with band 2 members. However, both other types of directives were also observed in these types of conversations. Once again, the fact that directives were always complied with, regardless of the type, suggests this is more likely a result of the age of these older band 3 speakers than the types of directives used.

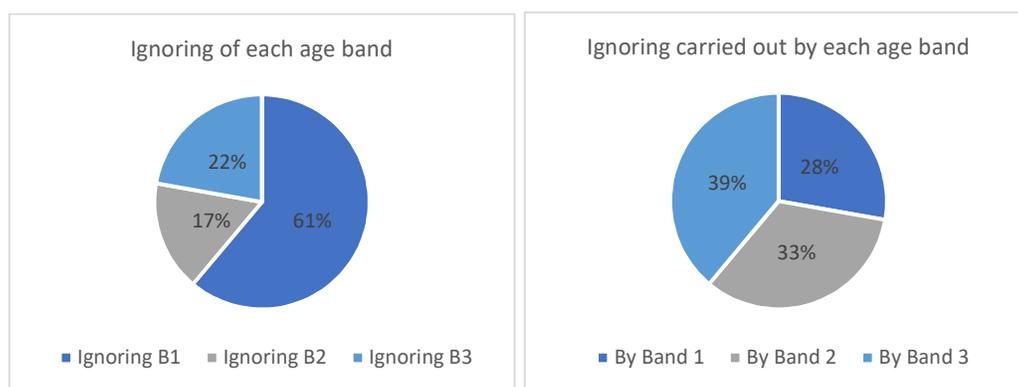
Somewhat surprisingly, controlling directives were also the most frequently used type with other members of band 3. Directives suggesting the speaker knew the correct way to behave were not observed in these conversations, given that this type was only used in one context by band 3 it is likely to suggest that this is not a type these speakers usually favoured.

Although those used in an attempt to persuade the hearer to comply with their wishes were observed, this was to a far lesser extent than those aimed at controlling the hearer's behaviour. Given that these types of directives have been seen in other interactions, a likely explanation for the different responses of band 3 is related to their more advanced linguistic skills, due to their age.

Overall, there was a tendency for directives produced with the sole purpose of controlling others to be used with younger and same age speakers, but never with those older than them. On the other hand, those produced with the intention of persuading the hearer to comply with their own wishes were seen in almost every context. In terms of the numbers of directives produced by each band, these girls behaved largely as anticipated; both bands 1 and 3 reduced the number of directives they produced as the age of their partner rose. Although band 2 used this AU most frequently with same age girls, they did use the smallest number in conversations with band 3. Again, what is shown here is that the types of directives speakers used is a result of the ages of both the speaker and hearer. This section has also revealed some interesting results with regards to the responses seen by each band, particularly with regards to group three. The finding that directives used with the sole purpose of controlling the hearer's behaviour were those favoured by band 3 may lead to the assumption that these directives were perhaps unlikely to be complied with. However, as shown the opposite was in fact true. This therefore, provides further support for the suggestion that the responses to directives are more closely related to the age of the individuals involved in the interaction than to the type used.

6.2 Group One; Responses to Ignoring.

Despite the fact ignoring does not necessarily involve the production of any words, it can demonstrate a considerable amount of power and, unlike more direct AUs such as directives, is a more accessible way of exercising this power. As was predicted, the majority of utterances that were ignored by this age group were produced by band 1 speakers, while it was the eldest girls in this age group who carried out most of the ignoring.



6.2.1 Band 1 ignoring Band 1.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

When band 1 girls were ignored by a same age speaker this usually resulted in repetition. However, as the example below shows, this was not typically a successful way of receiving a response. One possible reason for this may be because this often involved the same utterance, sometimes with a slight variation, being repeated multiple times. In this example, after her first failed attempt W does include R's name by way of making it clear exactly who she is speaking to, however, this too fails to receive any acknowledgement. Despite W making three attempts to receive a response from R she is ultimately unsuccessful, and when E breaks the pattern of repetition followed by ignoring, W does not make any further attempt to make herself heard.

Example 1.6

W (Oh) look what I found in it [AS+GL].

R [IG+GL].

W Look what I found in it R [AS+GL] [REP+GL].

R [IG+GL].

W R look what I found in it [AS+GL] [REP+GL].

R [IG+GL].

E Can I have that after you [DR+GL]?

The example shown here is quite typical of the way in which ignoring occurred in conversations between band 1 members.

6.2.2 Band 2 ignoring Band 1.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

As with same age girls, the most common response of band 1 to being ignored by a band 2 speaker was to repeat their utterance. However, acceptance of this AU was more common in these interactions, compared to those with same age girls. An example of this is seen in the extract below. In this conversation although K was not talking to M, M's utterance was clearly relevant to the conversation, and yet K failed to acknowledge this at all. However, rather than pursuing this point, M accepts this and moves on to a new topic.

Example 2.5

K G do you know why I call mine fluff?

G No.

K Because <it/'s fluffy>.

M <It/'s fluffy>?

K [IG+GL].

;

M It/'s W/'z.

1 This is W/'z which award do you think it should get?

This increase in acceptance with these slightly older girls shows a change in band 1's response to this AU, likely due to their partner's age.

6.2.3 Band 3 ignoring band 1.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

The response of band 1 to being ignored by band 3 was very different to that seen with either of the younger two bands as the clear majority of these were accepted. The example below is interesting for several reasons, firstly, T requests a reason as to why her group is whispering, but does so whilst whispering. Likely because of this that D fails to provide her with a justification; she is already complying so D does not feel compelled to offer one. Secondly, having had one utterance ignored rather than repeating herself T produces a different one. However, this too is ignored by both of the older girls in the conversation. Finally, the other band 3 speaker in the conversation, H, only joins in in response to D's utterance rather than that of the younger speaker.

Example 3.6

=T whispers.

T Why are we whisper/ing (J, J, J, J) J [REQJ+GU]?

D [IG+GL].

T Pineapple.

D I love J [IG+GL].

H I love it too.

The use of repetition in these contexts was never a successful way of persuading a band 3 speaker to respond. Another type of response these younger girls had to this AU was to respond to the utterance that had been responsible for them being ignored. This is particularly interesting as this had not been observed in conversations with either of the younger two bands, but was the response seen in half of these instances.

Although there was some acceptance seen by band 1 in conversations with all three bands, not only was this more common with band 3, but it occurred in a slightly different way to that seen with either of the younger bands, and it is this change that is evidence of accommodation based on their partner's age.

6.2.4 Band 1 ignoring Band 2.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

There was just one instance of a younger girl ignoring a band 2 speaker and, as is shown below, this was accepted. Initially the band 2 member, G, had used repetition when faced with direct refusal, however, when her utterance was met with silence she appears to accept this and does not repeat herself again. Although R does eventually comply with G's directive, this is likely a result of the band 3 speaker, P's influence.

Example 1.7

G Do that again [DI+GL].

R No [RE+GM].

G Do it [DI+GL].

R [*IG+GM*].

P I can do it really loudly [CTS+GM].

P (Twit_twoo, <twit_twoo, twit_twoo>).

R <(Twit_twoo, twit_twoo)>.

Due to this being the only instance of a band 1 member ignoring a band 2 speaker, it is not possible to draw any conclusions based on this. However, this in itself is significant; given the number of utterances that were ignored by band 1 members from same age speakers, it is perhaps a result of the age of these girls that caused band 1 members to be more responsive to these utterances.

6.2.5 Band 2 ignoring Band 2.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

The most common response of band 2 to being ignored by a same age speaker was repetition. In the example below G initially repeats the same utterance. However, when this too is ignored by K, she chooses a slightly different tactic of using only the word ‘please’ to convey her request, and it is this that receives a response from K.

Example 2.6

G Can I have it now K [DR+GM] [REF+GM]?
K [IG+GM].
;
G Can I have it now [DR+GM] [REP+GM]?
K [IG+GM].
G Please!
K There you go.

Instances of acceptance did occur in these interactions, and this was sometimes shown by responding to an utterance used to ignore them. Although this was not a common occurrence, the fact it was observed here but not in conversations with band 1 is of note.

6.2.6 Band 3 ignoring band 2.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

Band 2 usually accepted being ignored by older girls. However, repetition was also observed in these contexts. Both of these responses are shown in the conversation below. Despite the fact P ignores her utterance, G responds to her instruction. Having done this, G repeats her utterance yet, once again, she is ignored by her older partner. After being ignored for a second time G accepts this and does not make any further attempt to repeat herself.

Example 3.7

G (It look/3s like a hotel) it look/3s like a hotel.
P See they/’ve all got the same colour/s look [IG+GM].
=G looks at P’s picture.
G It look/3s like a hotel [REP+GU].
P See (that) that/’s got the same colour/s go/ing [IG+GM] [REP+GM] >
P They/’ve all got the same colour/s on them.

Although in this type of conversation repetition was used, it is slightly different to that seen by the younger two groups, particularly band 1. Rather than repeating the utterance until she received a response G did this just once. It may have been the case that G was repeating herself as she was not sure P had heard her, however, when she was ignored for a second time she realised this was unlikely to be the case, resulting in her acceptance.

Acceptance of this AU by band 2 was observed in conversations with all three bands. While this had been anticipated with same age and older girls, this finding with band 1 was of some surprise. This may be explained when the way this AU was used is considered (see section 6.2.11). The use of repetition was slightly more common with same age speakers than it was with older girls. While the likelihood of responding to an utterance used to ignore them was greater with older girls than younger or same age speakers. The changes in the way band 2 responded, as a result of their partner's age suggests evidence of accommodation.

6.2.7 Band 1 ignoring Band 3.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

Band 1 did not ignore any utterances produced by band 3. Possible explanations for this will be considered later (see section 6.2.11).

6.2.8 Band 2 ignoring Band 3.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

The responses of band 3 to being ignored by band 2 involved an equal mix of acceptance and a failure to do so. An example of this second response is seen below. Here, D continues speaking despite failing to receive any type of acknowledgement to her first utterance; she is essentially ignoring the fact she had been ignored. However, when her second attempt at receiving a response is also unsuccessful, she does not make any further effort to repeat herself.

Example 2.7

K And then they/'re clean.

D No [DIS+GM].

A *And then at the end you lift them out and dry them [IG+GU].*

D Well I tried to do this and put them in a stack <(one of) one of them broke> >

G <Have we got the same D> [SUB+GM]?

Acceptance of this AU was always shown by the older speaker withdrawing slightly from the conversation. It was never the case that they responded to an utterance used to ignore them in these interactions. This is perhaps unsurprising given the younger age of these girls.

6.2.9 Band 3 ignoring band 3.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

The use of repetition was seen in just over half of the instances of ignoring carried out in these contexts, and somewhat surprisingly this was almost identical to the way band 1 speakers responded to this AU with one another. An example of this is seen in the extract below in which D produces four, very similar, utterances all of which are ignored by S. Although D does not repeat the utterance in exactly the same way on each occasion this pattern is very similar to the interaction between R and W in example 1.6 (above). The only time a band 3 member was observed in this type of exchange was with same age speakers.

Example 3.8

S What is that?

D Don't you see it/'s a flower [REQ+GU]?

S [IG+GU].

;

D You must be some sort of animal [T+GU]!

S [IG+GU].

D What are you?

S [IG+GU].

D Some sort of animal or what?

S [IG+GU].

Acceptance of this AU was not uncommon in these conversations, however, these speakers never responded to an utterance that had been used to ignore them.

A number of interesting points have been raised in this section. Firstly, the fact that no utterances produced by band 3 were ignored by band 1 was somewhat unexpected. In addition, the similarities seen between their response to this AU from same age girls and that seen between multiple band 1 members is noteworthy. Given the older age of these speakers

it may have been assumed that a more sophisticated way of responding to this AU would have been observed. However, the fact that this response was only observed in interactions with same age girls is of note.

The way in which girls in these three bands responded to ignoring has produced some very interesting findings. Band 1 was more likely to accept this AU as the age of their partner increased. Although band 2 showed acceptance of being ignored with all three bands they only ever responded to an utterance that had been used to ignore them with same age and older girls. Band 3 on the other hand, responded in a less sophisticated to being ignored by same age speakers than they did with younger girls. The way each band responded to being ignored by speakers of different ages was not always as anticipated. However, the fact that members of each age band altered their responses based on their conversational partner, is evidence of accommodation.

6.2.10 Types of Ignoring.

There were two ways these girls ignored utterances; the first was by continuing to speak, either beginning a new topic or failing to acknowledge the previous speaker's utterance, as is done by R in example 1.8. The second involved ignoring another speaker through silence, as is demonstrated by S in example 3.9.

Example 1.8

E Why do you love spider/s [REQJ+GL]?
R What about slug/s [IG+GL]?
K I only like slug/s, but not snail/s!

Example 3.9

D Do/n't you see it/'s a flower [REQJ+GU]?
S [IG+GU].

An additional way of ignoring that could involve either of the two methods shown above was to ignore an utterance that had no relevance to the current conversation, as G does in the example below. It was assumed that this type of ignoring would largely be accepted, as the speaker being ignored had failed to make a relevant contribution.

Example 2.8

L Sometime/s (we) we go into the woods.

H I've finish/ed my second one [SUB+GM].
G *We went in the wood/s to look for something* [IG+GU].

6.2.11 Band 1.

In conversations with other band 1 members ignoring their partner through silence was slightly more common than continuing to speak. Ignoring another type of AU was particularly common in these types of exchanges. This may explain, in part, the high amount of repetition that was used following ignoring in these contexts. Interestingly none of the utterances ignored in these interactions were irrelevant to the current topic. Perhaps had ordinary utterances and those of no relevance been ignored more often the rate of acceptance would have been greater.

As previously noted, there was just one instance of a band 1 speaker ignoring a member of band 2. What is particularly intriguing about this is that not only was it an AU that was ignored, but it also involved silence, a finding that had not been anticipated in these contexts. Prior to this, the directive issued by the older girl had been refused which had resulted in its repetition. It appears to have been the case that rather than directly refusing to comply for a second time, the younger speaker instead chose to ignore the directive. It is perhaps for this reason that the ignoring in this context was accepted by the band 2 member. Due to the fact a band 3 speaker joins in with the conversation immediately after this, it is not clear whether the band 2 girl had intended to repeat her utterance for a third time or instead accept the fact she was not going to achieve compliance from this younger speaker. However, what can be assumed is that this is not an AU that is favoured by speakers of this age in conversations with these older girls.

It had been anticipated that there would be fewer instances of ignoring in these conversations compared to the previous two, however, the fact that this was never observed in these contexts was of some surprise. It was thought that ignoring would occur in these exchanges following an AU that the younger speaker did not wish to comply with, as it was assumed this would be a preferable response to refusal. Instead, the assumption made above seems to be strengthened by this result, suggesting the likelihood of a band 1 speaker ignoring an utterance decreases as the age of their partner rises. Given the older age of these girls, this behaviour is perhaps considered inappropriate in these contexts.

6.2.12 Band 2.

The majority of ignoring carried out by band 2 in conversations with younger speakers involved the use of silence. In addition, the utterances ignored in this way were very often other types of AUs. Perhaps it was a combination of silence, and the fact it was AUs that

were ignored, that resulted in the high amount of repetition seen by the younger girls. In these interactions, it was more often the case that ignoring would be accepted if the other speaker continued a conversation, compared to meeting the utterance with silence.

The way in which band 2 speakers ignored same age girls was quite different to the way in which this had been done with younger speakers. Silence as a strategy for doing this was rarely used, instead continuing with a conversation was far more typical. The ignoring of AUs continued to occur in these contexts, and interestingly in these interactions acceptance of being ignored appeared to be more closely related to the way in which the speaker was ignored, rather than the utterance being ignored. The use of silence was far less likely to be accepted than the continuation of a conversation.

Silence as a means of ignoring a member of band 3 was observed just once. Continuing with a conversation was the more typical way in which an utterance from a band 3 speaker was ignored. Fewer AUs were ignored in these contexts compared to those with either younger, or same age speakers. Interestingly, it was sometimes the case that irrelevant utterances were ignored in these interactions, although this had never been the case with bands 1 or 2. Perhaps this is because in these circumstances ignoring is more justifiable. It seems likely that, regardless of the age of either party, an individual was more likely to accept being ignored when their utterance was irrelevant to the current topic.

6.2.13 Band 3.

The most common way for a band 3 speaker to ignore a younger, band 1, girl was by continuing with a conversation. Whilst AUs were sometimes ignored in these contexts it was not the case in the majority of these instances. When a band 1 member was ignored by the continuation of a conversation this was always accepted by the younger speaker. Attempting to repeat themselves, or continuing to speak after being ignored by an older girl only occurred in these conversations when silence was used.

Ignoring band 2 speakers always involved the continuation of a conversation, and it was often AUs that were ignored in these interactions. Although acceptance was the most common response in these conversations, the times repetition occurred always followed an AU being ignored.

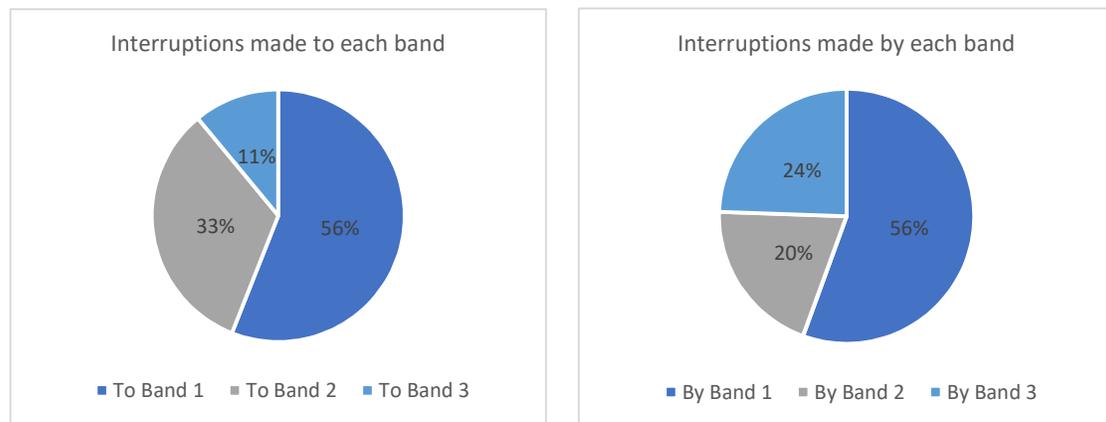
With other band 3 members the use of silence was not only more common than in conversations with either of the younger two bands, but it was also the most typical way of ignoring a same age girl. In addition, this often followed an AU which may account for the high rate of repetition seen in these contexts. Acceptance of being ignored was far more common when ignoring was carried out through the continuation of a conversation, compared

to silence. Given that instances of silence predominantly followed AUs it may have been the case that in a choice between failing to follow an AU by direct refusal or silence, silence was the preferred option in these contexts. Ignoring was always accepted when the ignored utterance was not relevant to the current topic, and interestingly this was the only context in which the utterances ignored by band 3 were irrelevant.

All three bands showed a change in their use of ignoring as a result of their interlocutor, all speakers ignored a larger number of utterances produced by band 1 compared to band 3. This was perhaps most noticeable by band 1, who never used this AU with band 3. Band 2 showed an interesting trend in the way they ignored others; meeting an utterance with silence was less likely to occur as the age of their partner rose. In addition, ignoring was more likely to be accepted when these utterances were irrelevant to the current conversation. It is noteworthy that both bands 2 and 3 only ignored irrelevant utterances with band 3, those that were ignored with other speakers were always relevant to the current topic. Somewhat surprisingly band 3 was more likely to ignore same age girls with silence than they were band 1. Although the opposite pattern had been anticipated here, the fact there was a noticeable change in these conversations provides evidence of accommodation.

6.3 Group One; Response to Interruptions.

As is evident in the charts below, band 1 was considerably more likely to be interrupted than band 3. Interestingly, it was also the youngest girls in this group who produced the largest number of interruptions. The following will look at the responses of each band to being interrupted by speakers of different ages.



6.3.1 Band 1 interrupting Band 1.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

Somewhat surprisingly, most interruptions made in these contexts were accepted. This response was shown in several different ways, and could involve; joining in with the conversation following an interruption, failing to question, or make any reference to the interruption, or by responding to the utterance that had been used to interrupt them. Failure to accept this AU was shown by responding with further interruption, or entering into an argument. It was quite common for large amounts of interruption to occur within a short space of time between these girls, an example of this is shown in the extract below. In the space of just eighteen lines six interruptions occur. The first speaker to be interrupted is R who, despite the fact she was answering W's question, accepts this interruption. The second interruption is made by I who, in an attempt to answer W's question, interrupts M's response. However, this is not accepted by M, who responds with another interruption, accompanied by a justification as to why she should be the one to speak. This third interruption is accepted by I. Shortly after this, the fourth interruption in this interaction occurs. This is, once again made by W to a speaker providing an answer to her own question. Yet, M does not make any effort to complete her interrupted utterance nor does she dispute W's interruption, but accepts it and allows her to continue. R, on the other hand, does not allow W to complete her utterance before beginning her own, and although W objects, this is ignored by R. Interestingly, W then agrees with R, apparently accepting the fact she has been both ignored and interrupted. This then prompts M and I to continue their earlier utterances causing M to, once again, interrupt I. However, this time she does allow her to make some input into the story by prompting I to speak (~) when she mentions her group.

Example 1.9

W You are at red R.

R I know but I changed my ^

W *What group are you in your class [INT+GL] [SUB+GL]?*

M Tiger/s.

I Tiger/s.

W (I'm in) I'm in the duck/s.

I You're in the leopard/s.

M (We have) we have leopard/s, tiger/s ^

I *We have [INT+GL] ^*

M *No I'll tell them because I was [INT+GL] [J+GL].*

M We have leopard/s, tiger/s, no when I say them then I say ^

W *(We have um we have tiger/s) we have tiger/s, duck/s and there/s [INT+GL] ^*

R We have <tiger/s, duck/s, bear/s> and cat/s [INT+GL] [IG+GL].
W <No I'm say/ing> >
W Yeah.
I We've got ^
M No I'll tell them [INT+GL] [IO+GL].
M We have leopard/s, me, (um) tiger/s ~
I Me.
M And then we have kangaroo/s and bear/s.

The use of an interruption by one member of the conversation, appears to signal to others that this is an appropriate way of behaving. Consequently, every speaker in the exchange is observed making at least one interruption. Considering the responses of this band to interruptions from older speakers will establish if this is a typical way of behaving, or if it is unique to interactions with same age girls.

6.3.2 Band 2 interrupting Band 1.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

Acceptance was the most common response of band 1 to being interrupted by a band 2 speaker. An example of this is shown below, following A's interruption T makes no effort to complete her utterance, nor does she make any reference to the fact she has been interrupted.

Example 2.9

D Who can do a cartwheel?
K <Me>.
A <Me>.
T I keep ^
A Me, K and G were do/ing them outside [INT+GL].
G Yeah.

A slight difference between these interactions compared to those seen with same age girls is that these interruptions were never challenged by the younger speakers. The times when they were not accepted involved the band 1 member finishing their utterance. This is the way M responds in the example below. Despite being interrupted twice, by both an older girl and an adult, M perseveres in her attempts to complete her utterance and after three attempts is successful.

Example 2.10

2 My auntie/'s in Ireland.

M (My) my ^

K My Granny/'s in Ireland [INT+GL].

M (My, my) all of my ^

2 My Granny used to be in Ireland before she died.

M All of my cousin/s and auntie/s and uncle/s and (um) and nana/s and granddad/s are in Ireland < > because (I'm from) my Mummy and Daddy are from Ireland.

2 <Are they>?

Responding to an utterance that had been used to interrupt them was also slightly more common in these interactions compared to those with same age speakers. This finding, combined with the fact that none of these interruptions were challenged is evidence of accommodation.

6.3.3 Band 3 interrupting Band 1.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

Acceptance was also the most common response to this AU from band 3, in fact, most of these interruptions received a positive response from the younger girl. Failing to accept an interruption in these contexts was shown by attempting to complete the interrupted utterance. An example of these responses is shown by T in the extract below. Initially, she attempts to complete her utterance despite being interrupted twice by D. However, when she is interrupted for a third time by H, who also changes the topic, she does not make any further attempts at this, but instead responds to H's question.

Example 3.10

D We practiced it in gymnastics.

T I know how to do a headstand because ^

D I can/'t get my leg/s straight though [INT+GL] [IG+GL].

T Me too I ^

D Which is a shame [INT+GL] [IG+GL].

T I can/'t get my leg/s straight either ^

H Do you know H [INT+GL] [IG+GL]?

D Yes.

A similar interaction is seen below between W and H, although W does complete her utterance she does not object to H's interruption, but instead waits for her to finish speaking before answering 2's question.

Example 3.11

2 Is he one of the one/s from One_Hundred_And_One_Dalmations W?

W Yeah but ^

H *This one is [INT+GL].*

W But when he got wash/ed all his spot/s came off!

2 (Oh) no!

It had been anticipated that acceptance in these interactions would be more common compared to those with band 1 or 2 members, however, the extent to which this was the case, particularly in instances involving multiple interruptions in a short space of time was somewhat of a surprise.

Responding to this AU by interrupting their partner was a common response of band 1 in interactions with same age girls, yet this was never seen in conversations with band 3.

Although utterances interrupted by band 3 were often completed by these speakers, they never made reference to the fact they had been interrupted. The responses seen with band 2 involved a mixture of completing their utterance and accepting the interruption. The fact that these girls showed three such distinct responses to being interrupted provides evidence of accommodation. The use of argument and further AUs with same age speakers as opposed to the more accepting reactions seen with older band 2 and 3 girls does suggest that these girls are sensitive to the part age plays in determining appropriate responses.

6.3.4 Band 1 interrupting Band 2.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

In contrast to what had been anticipated, acceptance was the most common response of band 2 to being interrupted by a younger speaker. An example of this is shown below. Following R's interruption G does not make any effort to continue with her utterance, nor does she make reference to the fact she has been interrupted. Instead, she responds to the utterance from the older band 3 speaker, L.

Example 1.10

S I do, I've only been once.

G We never_never ^

R *Sometimes I get to play on the monkey bar/s* [INT+GM].

L Sometimes (we) we go into the woods.

H I've finish/ed my second one [SUB+GM].

G We went in the wood/s to look for something [IG+GU].

The only time this response was not seen is shown in the extract below in which K dismisses R's utterance, possibly as a way of saving face after being interrupted by a younger girl.

Following K's utterance R does not speak again for several turns.

Example 1.11

1 This one is H'z.

K (Uh) for be/ing ^

R *The spottiest* [INT+GM].

K No we *have already done spottiest [DIS+J+GL] [MIS+GL].

It is intriguing to note that the example above is the only occasion in which K was interrupted by a younger speaker. In fact, all other interruptions of band 2 by younger girls were made to G. Her willingness to accept these may help to explain the high rate of acceptance in these contexts. It may be that these responses are a result of individual speaker's personalities, rather than a more general reflection of the way girls of this age respond to interruptions from younger speakers. Alternatively, the types of interruptions used by band 1 may explain these responses (see section 6.3.11).

6.3.5 Band 2 interrupting Band 2.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

The responses of band 2 to being interrupted by a same age speaker were similar to those seen by band 1 in conversations with other band 1 members. Acceptance was seen in response to half of these interruptions. The other half, however, involved a mixture of challenging the interruption and attempting to complete their utterance. One example of acceptance is shown below. It likely that K did not consider G's interruption to be a threat to her utterance, as she does not attempt to stop G nor does she make reference to the fact she has been interrupted. Instead she continues with what she had been saying before G spoke.

Example 2.11

K A (like/3s um) she don't[EW:doesn't] like chocolate but (she like/s) she like/3s (um) ^
 G *And she doesn't like chocolate [INT+GM].*
 K She like/3s chocolate with smarties in it.

Failure to accept this AU is shown below when K responds to A's interruption by dismissing her utterance. Although A's utterance may have been intended as a helpful interruption, by helping K pronounce a word she may not have known. K's response suggests it was interpreted more as an attempt at control.

Example 2.12

=K is reading from a piece of paper.
 K Stamina to hunt and their long noses ^
 A *Enabled [INT+GM].*
 K I know [MIS+GM].

The willingness of band 2 girls to accept interruptions from same age girls is intriguing. It may be that when the types of interruptions used by these speakers are considered the reasons for this acceptance become clear (see section 6.3.12).

6.3.6 Band 3 interrupting Band 2.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

The tendency to accept interruptions, not only continues, but strengthens with the older girls. Every interruption made by band 3 to band 2 members was accepted and this often involved responding to the utterance. An example of this is seen in the conversation below in which, despite P's somewhat unnecessary interruption, G not only fails to make any reference to this, but also responds to P's utterance.

Example 3.12

G (We/'re) we/'re in ^
 P *You're in 1M [INT+GM].*
 G Yes we/'re in 1M.

The way band 2 responded to interruptions revealed some intriguing findings. The high rate of acceptance seen with members of all three bands had not been anticipated. Although it is anticipated that the reasons for this may be seen when the types of interruptions made are considered (see section 6.3.10). However, the fact that this AU was challenged in conversations with bands 1 and 2, but not with band 3, combined with the finding that

responding to an interruption was seen with bands 2 and 3, but never band 1, provides evidence of accommodation.

6.3.7 Band 1 interrupting Band 3.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, there was only one instance of a band 1 speaker interrupting a band 3 member. What was unexpected, however, was that this interruption was accepted by the older girl. This interaction is seen in the extract below in which T interrupts D to ask a question about her story, which D is happy to answer.

Example 1.12

D I took my sister to Rainbow/s with me and my Mum just drop/ed me off when ^
T *Where did she drop you off [INT+GU]?*
D (Um) maybe (um half way) half way to ^
=1 calls out to everyone.

It is likely that the reason for this acceptance is related to the type of interruption made by the younger speaker. This will be considered further later (see section 6.3.11).

6.3.8 Band 2 interrupting Band 3.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

Interruptions made by band 2 in conversations with band 3 were always accepted. In fact, half of these interruptions received a response from the older speaker. The conversation below shows a typical example of band 3's response to this AU. Although A is not interrupting to ask a question or provide a new piece of information, her utterance is on the same topic, the one H has introduced, and perhaps for this reason is accepted by H who adds to A's utterance rather than objecting to it.

Example 2.13

H Miss_A >
H Miss_S is crazy she would love ^
A *She's kind, helpful and a <lovely lady> [INT+GU].*
H <And amazing>.
D She's a super lady.

However, what is interesting about this, is that H's utterance begins before A has finished speaking. This suggests that although she is willing to accept A's interruption, up to a point, she also feels the need to speak at the same time as A in order to make her point.

6.3.9 Band 3 interrupting Band 3.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

Acceptance of this AU continued to be the only response of band 3 to interruptions from same age girls. A typical example of an interruption between two band 3 girls is shown in the extract below, in which S takes L's interruption into account. The acceptance seen here is likely a result of the types of interruption made, which will be considered in more detail later (see section 6.3.13).

Example 3.13

S When I say >

S No but a copy cat is like when someone copy/3s you and ^

L (*And*) and they/'re a cat [INT+GU].

S And they can be cheeky like >

L (Um) are they a copy cat if they copy (but they/'re) but they/'re also a cat?

S *Of course yeah that/'s what I was say/ing, yeah.

It was not always the case that interruptions received a response such as the one seen above, at times this was shown by failing to make reference to it, or attempting to complete their utterance.

As was the case with band 2 the high rate of acceptance seen by band 3 was not something that had been expected. It was assumed that this response would only be observed with same age speakers and that interruptions from younger girls would be challenged or questioned. It is likely that an explanation for these unusual findings will be found when the types of interruptions used by each band are examined (see section 6.3.10).

The high rate of acceptance seen in these conversations is not one that had been anticipated. However, it is expected that the section concerning the types of interruptions made will provide some clarity on this (see section 6.3.10). Nevertheless, evidence of accommodation was observed in these interactions. Overall, interruptions were more likely to be challenged when they were made by band 1 compared to band 3. On the other hand, they were more

likely to receive a response when they were made by a band 3 speaker. This also provides support for the suggestion that age is related to status for these speakers.

6.3.10 Types of Interruptions.

The way in which interruptions were made varied as a result of both the age of the speaker making the interruption, and the age of the person they were interrupting. The interruptions made by group one typically occurred in one of three ways; those that were relevant to the topic and aimed at adding to the current speaker's utterance, and those that were not. The interruption in example 1.13 although relevant to the current topic, is not adding to the first speaker's utterance. On the other hand, the interruption made by E in example 1.14 is aimed at adding further detail to W's story.

Example 1.13

R Yeah she/'s lost eight teeth.

I I wonder how much my sister ^

R *She/'s got a wobbly tooth today [INT+GL] [IG+GL].*

Example 1.14

W Well Nana/'z dog doesn't do that but (he) he/'s got a bad thing in his stomach so he doesn't eat ^

E (*Gasps*) *has he got a key [INT+GL]?*

W No.

The third type of interruption seen here were those that were relevant to the conversation, but did not aim to add to the utterance they were interrupting. Instead these would have been equally relevant if they had been produced after the current speaker had completed their utterance.

6.3.11 Band 1.

Interruptions such as the one in the first example shown above, were the most frequently used by band 1 speakers in conversations with same age girls. It was rarely the case that interruptions aimed at adding to the current speaker's utterance were used in these contexts. Although when they did occur they were always accepted by the other speaker. The second most common type of interruption used in these conversations was slightly different to the two seen above, it did not have the intention of adding to the current utterance, nor was it relevant to the current conversation. Instead it appears to have been used simply as a way of controlling, or perhaps attempting to demonstrate authority over other members of the conversation. Despite this being one of the most common types of interruptions made in these

interactions it was rarely used in any other contexts. An example of this type of interruption is shown below in example 1.15. What is interesting about this example is that it appears as though I believes T is about to challenge her previous statement and yet, due to the placement of T's interruption, it is not known if T's utterance was even intended to be relevant to the current exchange. Yet, I felt it necessary to make this interruption and in the same utterance she makes a claim to the object at question as a result of being the first to speak.

Example 1.15

I I need them afterwards [IR+GL] [N+GL].

T I actually ^

I I said it first [INT+GL] [J+GL].

Perhaps due to the extent to which this type of interruption aims to control the behaviour of the hearer, this is the only type of interaction in which it was used by band 1. It is interesting, therefore, that most of these interruptions were accepted by same age girls. One possibility, is that this was simply a typical response of these girls, regardless of the speaker making the interruption.

There was only one type of interruption used by band 1 in interactions with band 2; those that were relevant to the conversation, but not aiming to add to the utterance they were interrupting. What is noteworthy about the interruptions made in these conversations is that the majority were made by the same speaker. Although the types of interruptions made were not those that had been predicted (see section 4.2.3) it is interesting to note that those aimed at exercising control over the hearer were never used in these contexts. This shows an awareness that this type of utterance would likely have been inappropriate with older speakers and so these girls were accommodating the types of interruptions made based on the age of their partner. An important point to note here, is that these findings do not explain the somewhat peculiar results regarding band 2's tendency to accept the majority of interruptions from these younger girls. Instead, given that it was the same band 1 member to produce the majority of interruptions, and that these occurred almost exclusively with the same band 2 speaker, it may be suggested that the reason for these findings is due to the individual personalities of the specific speakers involved.

It had been anticipated that there would be fewer interruptions made with band 3 speakers than with either of younger bands, however, the fact that just one of these was observed was somewhat of a surprise. This interruption was a so-called 'friendly' interruption in that it aimed to add to the current speaker's utterance, rather than take control of the conversation. This is likely the reason behind the unexpected acceptance of band 3 to this AU. Had this

been an attempt to take over the interaction or perhaps an off-topic utterance, it is likely a different response would have been observed.

6.3.12 Band 2.

The types of interruptions these girls used with younger speakers were typically those that were relevant to the current topic but did not necessarily require an interruption to be made. That is, the utterance would still have been appropriate if it had been produced after the current speaker had finished talking. Whilst, as expected, there were no interruptions that intended to add to the current utterance, there was one occasion on which an interruption appears to have been made in an attempt to exercise control over the hearer. As was the case with band 1 members, this was the only context in which these girls made this type of interruption. The finding that these interruptions were usually accepted, despite the fact these were not attempts to add to the current utterance, provides evidence of accommodation in terms of the responses seen by band 1.

The interruptions made by band 2 with same age speakers were almost the opposite of those used with younger girls. Not only was the absence of controlling interruptions noticeable, but the types that did occur were primarily aimed at adding to the current topic. This was not always the case in these contexts, however; there were also some that were relevant to the current topic but not intending to enhance the current speaker's utterance. This is likely the reason for the willingness of these girls to accept the interruptions made in these conversations.

The way in which these girls interrupted older speakers was very similar to the way this was done by band 1 members. Not only were there far fewer interruptions made in these contexts but those that were observed were always intending to add to the current speaker's utterance. Again, this is likely the reason for the unexpected responses of the band 3 girls in these contexts. Had the interruptions been for more selfish or perhaps controlling reasons the willingness of these older girls to accept this would likely not have been so great.

6.3.13 Band 3.

The interruptions made by band 3 members in conversations with band 1 were never those adding to the current utterance. Although many were relevant to the topic, they were more concerned with ensuring their own point of view was heard rather than adding to the current speaker's comment. Interestingly, there were no controlling interruptions used in these conversations, in fact, band 3 never made use of this type of interruption. There was, however, an additional type of interruption used in these conversations that prior to this, had only been seen in one conversation between two band 1 members. This was an utterance that

not only interrupted the current speaker but also changed the topic of conversation, an example which this is shown in the extract below.

Example 3.14

T I can/'t get my leg/s straight either ^

H Do you know H [INT+GL] [IG+GL] [SUB+GL]?

D Yes.

D I saw him at swimming.

The types of interruptions made by band 3 in these contexts makes the fact that acceptance was the most common response particularly interesting; it appears to suggest that this response is more likely a result of the increased age differences between bands 1 and 3, rather than the types of interruptions they use.

Again, the majority of interruptions made by band 3 in interactions with band 2 were relevant to the current topic, but not adding to it. However, unlike with band 1 there were also some used with the intention of adding to the current speaker's utterance. Although this was not the most common type used, it does show a change in the interruptions used with band 2 compared to band 1 and, therefore, provides evidence of accommodation.

With other members of band 3 interruptions occurred in a very similar way to that seen above; the majority, although relevant to the current topic did not require an interruption. The other type of interruption observed in this context was that aimed at adding to the current utterance, rather than attempting to take control of the conversation. Given that these interruptions were always relevant to the current topic, and at times intending to add to it, the fact that acceptance was the only response seen in these contexts is not as surprising. It is interesting to note that a smaller number of interruptions were made in these exchanges compared to those seen with either bands 1 or 2, suggesting these girls prefer to interrupt younger speakers more often than same age ones.

The way in which interruptions were used by these three bands shows some similarities, however, what is most noticeable is the contexts in which certain interruptions were made, compared to those in which they were absent. Those intending to take over the current conversation or alter its direction were only seen with band 1 whilst those that aimed at adding to it were typically seen with band 3. Given the fact speakers in each age band were able to make use of each type of interruption but chose to do so in certain contexts, and not others, is evidence of accommodation. Similarly, the propensity to use more controlling

interruptions with younger speakers and more ‘friendly’ ones with older girls, suggests there is a relationship between age and status.

6.4 Group Two; Responses to Directives.

Directives were the most frequently used AU by every band in group two. As is shown in the charts below, most directives produced by this group were addressed to the youngest speakers. While band 6 were responsible for the majority of directives produced by this age group. The following will look at how each band responded to this AU from speakers of different ages.



6.4.1 Band 4 directing Band 4.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

Most directives issued by same age girls were not followed by band 4, and several different strategies were used to do this. The most common of these were ignoring and indirect refusal. One example of this second response is shown below, although G does not use the word ‘no’ in her response to C’s directive, nor does she follow it. Despite this lack of compliance, C appears to accept this response, and makes no effort to repeat herself.

Example 4.3

C Give me some paper [DI+GL].

G There/’s not much paper [INRE+GL].

Although not a particularly common response in these contexts, compliance was sometimes seen. The extract below provides a good example of this response, as it was most common

when very little was required of the hearer. In this example, a one-word response is all that is required of Y in order to follow C's directive.

Example 4.4

C Just say hello [DI+GL].

Y Hello.

Whilst direct refusal was not frequently used in response to this AU, it often occurred when compliance called for considerable effort on the part of the hearer, or when it was in direct contrast to the hearer's own wishes.

6.4.2 Band 5 directing Band 4.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

Most directives produced by band 5 were not followed by band 4. As was the case with same age girls, directives that were not followed were usually ignored. Although, an interesting difference here is that these older band 5 members were not as willing to accept this response, which often led to repetition. The extract below shows one example of this, initially L ignores S's directive in favour of continuing her conversation with another band 4 speaker, however, this results in S repeating her directive, and this time L complies. What this shows is that band 5 girls are less willing to accept having a directive ignored by a younger speaker than other band 4 speakers are.

Example 5.1

S Feel this fabric it's really nice [DI+GL].

L I'll go get two pencil/s and we can [IG+GM] ^

S L feel this fabric it's really smooth [INT+GL] [REP+GL] [DI+GL].

=L feels the fabric.

L (Oh).

In addition to ignoring both direct and indirect refusal were observed in these contexts, while just under half of the directives produced by band 5 were complied with. One response that had not been seen with same age speakers involved questioning the directive, as F does in the example below. Although I's response does not provide any compelling reasoning as to why F should follow her directive F does comply.

Example 5.2

I Ok you have to write up until [EW:to] there, that's where all the fact/s are, there [DI+GL].

F Really?

I Yeah.

While there were a number of similarities seen in band 4's responses to directives from band 5 and those from band 4, the main point to be taken from this is that a greater number of directives were complied with from band 5 speakers compared to same age girls.

6.4.3 Band 6 directing Band 4.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

Not only was compliance with directives from band 6 the most common response, but both ignoring and direct refusal were far rarer in these contexts than with bands 4 or 5. As with members of band 5 these girls appeared willing to comply with directives regardless of the type of action that was required on the part of the hearer. The exchange below between F and D is a good example of this as F is quick to comply with D's directive without hesitation or questioning, suggesting band 4's willingness to comply is based more on the age of their partner than on the type of directive used.

Example 6.2

F That's disgusting.

D Put it in the bin [DI+GL].

=F leaves.

Refusal was rarely observed in these conversations, directives that were not followed were usually ignored. One example of this is seen below in which V's directive is ignored by all band 4 members in the interaction.

Example 6.3

F That's yellow [CO+GL].

G No [DIS+GL]!

G There.

V Stop [DI+GL].

L It's silver [CO+GL] [IG+GU].

F It's silver [CO+GL] [IG+GU].

G That's the same thing [DIS+GL].

Later in this same conversation a response that had not been seen in conversations with bands 4 or 5 was observed. This involved disputing the directive, and is shown in the example below. Interestingly, this comment is not challenged by V who instead ignores F, and shortly after this continues speaking again.

Example 6.4

V Stop argue/ing [DI+GL].

F We/'re not argue/ing, we/'re just talk/ing.

L <No because> >

S It is/n't finish/ed ok?

V Ok shh I/'m go/ing to read out the next bit [DI+J+GL].

Band 4's responses to this AU appear to be closely related to the age of the speaker issuing the directive. Those from same age girls were largely ignored or refused whilst the majority of those produced by band 6 speakers were followed. Ignoring and refusing were observed in conversations with members of all three bands, however, they were far less common in response to directives from band 6 compared to those from same age girls. Overall, there was a clear trend to comply with a greater number of directives as the age of the speaker rose.

6.4.4 Band 4 directing Band 5.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

Failing to comply with directives from younger girls was the most common response of band 5. Though the rate of compliance in these interactions was higher than anticipated it was not usually the case that a directive issued by a band 4 member would receive immediate or straightforward compliance from the older girl. Often, when directives were followed, they were not verbally acknowledged. The exchange below is one example of this, although I does comply with Y's directive this is shown only through silence, she does not produce an utterance such as 'ok' in response, but does allow her to carry out the action. This type of compliance was rarely seen in conversations between two band 4 speakers.

Example 4.5

I It look/3s like a tree now.

Y Let me do something, ready [DI+GM]?

:

Y All it need/3s is a bit of hair.

An alternative way of responding, that had not been used by band 4, was complying providing certain conditions were met, as I does below.

Example 4.6

F Stop it [DI+GM].

I Fine.

F By the way nobody ^

I Only if you say you/'re a do_do brain [INT+GL].

F I'm a do-do brain.
I Ok.

Refusing was not as common as had been expected, instead failing to follow directives usually involved ignoring. As is shown below, this usually resulted in repetition, not only does Y repeat her utterance on the second occasion she also includes a justification. Despite this, Y is unsuccessful in achieving compliance as not only does Q continue to ignore her, she also changes the subject.

Example 4.7

Y Don't [DI+GM].
Q [IG+GL].
K Yeah.
Y Don't do that [DI+GM] [REP+GM].
Y You'll get told off [J+GM].
Q I know how to do swear word/s [IG+GL] [SUB+GL].

Although compliance was slightly higher than anticipated, most directives produced by band 4 were not followed.

6.4.5 Band 5 directing Band 5.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

In contrast to predictions, not only was compliance less likely in conversations with same age girls compared to with band 4, but a greater amount of refusing was observed in these interactions. Ignoring continued to be a common response to this AU, and this often resulted in repetition. One such example of this is shown below and on this occasion O's use of repetition is a successful way of receiving a response.

Example 5.3

O Guess what mine's call/ed [DI+GM]?
O And I'll guess what yours is call/ed.
Q [IG+GM].
O Guess what mine's call/ed [DI+GM] [REP+GM].
Q What?

As with band 4, compliance was often not directly acknowledged. A good example of this is seen in the interaction below, although I's use of the word 'what' implies she does not know what O was referring to, she does comply with the directive.

Example 5.4

O You/'re touch/ing it [IO+GM]!
O *Don't touch it* [DI+GM] [REF+GM].
F I/m tell/ing Emma [TH+GM].
I What?

Both direct and indirect refusal were observed more frequently than anticipated, however, this response was rarely accepted and usually led to repetition. Interestingly, this rarely involved the use of the same utterance again, this was usually altered in an attempt to be more persuasive, and sometimes included a justification. This is shown by Q in the extract below, rather than simply repeating her original utterance, which was directly refused by S, she attempts to persuade her by justifying the reason behind her directive. Although, when this too fails she does not make any further attempts at persuading her to comply.

Example 5.5

Q *Open up your mouth* [DI+GM].
S No [RE+GM].
Q No it's a really cool thing that I want to do [J+GM].
S No [RE+GM].

The responses observed in these conversations were the same as those seen in interactions with younger girls, however, the difference was seen in the amount each occurred.

6.4.6 Band 6 directing Band 5.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

Most directives produced by band 6 were complied with by band 5, and many of these were followed on the first occasion, without question. One example of this is seen in the extract below in which Q, following V's directive, immediately stops making noise without requiring any justification for this instruction.

Example 6.5

=Q makes a humming noise.
Q Mmm.
V *Shush* [DI+GM]!
=Q stops.

Neither direct nor indirect refusal were used in response to directives from members of band 6, and although ignoring was seen in response to these directives, it occurred far less than in conversations with either of the younger two bands. One response seen here that had only been observed in one other context, involved neither following nor refusing the directive, but

disagreeing with the claim made in the utterance. This is seen the example below in which O claims not to be the one who was kicking. However, this denial is not accepted by E who challenges O's utterance, and this was a common way in which band 6 girls responded to these utterances.

Example 6.6

E Stop kick/ing my leg [DI+GM].

O That's her.

E No [DIS+GM].

O Yeah she was [DIS+GU].

E No, you're kick/ing me [DIS+J+GM].

Another response used in these conversations that had only been seen in one other type of exchange involved the hearer questioning, or requesting a justification for the directive. An example of this is shown in which, although not stated directly, Q questions K's directive based on the utterance of another band 5 girl, S. However, when S attempts to explain, she is interrupted by K who overrules her stating D, as the 'boss', has the authority to make the decisions.

Example 6.7

K <(Just put it there)> just put it there [DI+GM].

Q S said no [REQJ+GU].

S Yeah ^

K D/s the boss, she/s the sixer so do it [INT+GM] [DI+GM] [J+GM].

The inclusion of this response, and that seen above is somewhat of a surprise, given the older age of the speakers issuing the directives. Had these reactions been used in conversations with bands 4 and 5 and continued with band 6 this would not have been as intriguing, however, their absence in these previous contexts makes this occurrence all the more interesting. It may be the case that these responses are similar to those used by band 6 and so these speakers are adopting a similar strategy in conversations with these older girls, this possibility will be considered below (see 6.4.8).

There were a number of interesting findings in band 5's responses to directives, some of which had not been anticipated. The high rate of compliance with directives from band 4 was not a finding that had been predicted, nor was the high occurrence of refusal in conversations with same age speakers. However, the fact that most directives produced by band 6 were followed was expected. The finding that most of the directives from bands 4 and 5 were not complied with, but the clear majority of those from band 6 were provides evidence of accommodation.

6.4.7 Band 4 directing Band 6.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

None of the directives produced by band 4 in conversations with band 6 were followed. Although it had been anticipated that refusal would be common in these contexts, the majority of these utterances were ignored, and perhaps unsurprisingly this response was usually accepted by the younger girl. The extract below shows a good example of this, as although V does not respond to B's directive, she makes no attempt to repeat herself.

Example 4.8

V Now I can write my real thing.

B *V do your real thing on those piece/s of card [DI+GU].*

V [IG+GL].

K (Look, look) V look how messy that is [AS+GU].

One response that had not been seen previously involved neither complying nor refusing. An example of this is seen in the exchange below in which K states she will be behaving the way in which F states, although not as a result of F's directive.

Example 4.9

K Because you upset me but I forgave you.

F *But don't forgive the people that said that you [DI+GU] ^*

K (Oh I'm not forgiving them) I'm not forgiving them who call/ed me a <thingy> [INT+GL].

This is the first context in which no directives were complied with. It may be that this is typical behaviour of girls this age. Alternatively, it may be evidence of accommodation, based on the age differences between these speakers. Considering the responses to this AU from other speakers will establish which of these is true.

6.4.8 Band 5 directing Band 6.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

Once again, no directives from band 5 were complied with by band 6, and this usually involved ignoring. However, band 5 were less likely to accept this response, and this often resulted in repetition. A good example of this is shown below, as Q repeats her utterance

three times after being ignored by V. However, these subsequent directives are no more successful in receiving any type of response from V than the first.

Example 5.6

O V wrote Happy_Birthday [T+GU]!

Q *Let me look* [DI+GU].

=They laugh.

Q *Let me look* [DI+GU] [REP+GU].

V [IG+GM].

Q *Let me look* [DI+GU] [REP+GU].

V [IG+GM].

Q *V let me look* [DI+GU] [REP+GU].

V [IG+GM].

O (*Let/s see, let/s see*) *let/s see* [DI+GU].

V [IG+GM].

=V leaves to show 1.

The refusing that occurred in these contexts was always indirect, as is shown in the example below.

Example 5.7

=K shouts 'Brownies'.

K I can't now because I'm at Brownie/s!

Q *Stop* [DI+GU]!

K Yeah <(I'm try/ing to get it)> I'm try/ing to get it done ok [INRE+GM]?

Y <You could put it in a big bag>.

K I'm there [IG+GL].

This response was not always accepted by the younger girl and at times resulted in the directive being repeated. However, this was never a successful way of either persuading the older speaker to follow their directive.

Another response seen here involved disagreeing with a claim made in the first speaker's directive, and this may go some way towards explaining its occurrence in the responses of band 5 members to directives from older girls (see 6.4.6). This response is particularly interesting, as the speaker is considering more than simply the directive, and rather than deciding whether or not to comply with this they attempt to challenge the claim made within it. This may explain the absence of this slightly more complex response in the conversations of bands 1 to 4.

6.4.9 Band 6 directing Band 6.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

Although compliance was observed in these interactions it was less common than anticipated, and did not always occur on the first occasion, or without question. One example of this is shown below. Initially E responds to V's directive with refusal, and fails to provide any reasoning for this. This leads to a response from a younger member of the conversation, O. Shortly after this V issues E with another directive which, this time, is complied with although after a short pause.

Example 6.8

V I bet you won't know what it is.

V What is it?

V *Guess [DI+GU].*

E No [RE+GU].

O A pig?

V No!

V *Now you guess [DI+GU].*

:

E A dog lead?

Responding without complying or refusing was also observed in these contexts, and at times occurred in a slightly different way to that seen previously. This involved the delegation of an utterance to a younger speaker, as K does in the example below. Initially she ignores D's directive, however, when this is repeated she does respond, and although this is not by complying with the directive herself, she does ensure that it is followed. This type of a response was unique to this context.

Example 6.9

K (N) N what's very nice?

D *Go and ask them [DI+GU].*

K [IG+GU].

D *K go and ask her what's so nice [DI+GU] [REP+GU].*

K Someone go and ask them what's so nice [DI+GL] [INRE+GU].

U What's so nice?

K Yeah.

Although there were some instances of compliance in these interactions, this was the response on only the minority of occasions. Failure to comply continued to be the most common response in these interactions, and this typically involved ignoring. The lack of compliance with any directives from younger speakers was of some surprise, although it was not anticipated that this would be a common response, it had been expected in some interactions. Similarly, it was thought that refusal would have been a more common

response in these conversations. This finding, combined with the fact that the only context in which compliance was seen was in interactions with same age speakers provides evidence of accommodation, based on the age of their conversational partner. In addition, the new responses shown by these speakers show a more sophisticated way of responding due to their increased age and therefore, linguistic abilities.

Overall this group was more likely to comply with directives issued by members of band 6 compared to band 4. This was particularly the case for band 4 who gradually increased the number of directives they complied with as the age of the speaker rose. In addition, band 6 failed to follow any directive from either of the younger two bands, and although compliance was not particularly common with same age speakers it was observed in some interactions. Refusing to comply with a directive was more likely to occur in conversations with band 4 than in those with band 6. The more typical way of failing to follow a directive from an older speaker was to ignore the utterance. The inclusion of two new responses from bands 5 and 6 was not a surprise given their increased age and, therefore, linguistic abilities.

There are two main points to be taken from this section; firstly, with the exception of the two additional strategies used by bands 5 and 6, all bands made use of every type of response. However, the extent to which each occurred was based on their conversational partner. It is this change in the responses that shows evidence of accommodation. The second major finding is that the way the responses change was based on the age of the speaker issuing the directive. It appears to have been the case that age was a crucial factor in determining the response to this AU.

6.4.10 Types of Directives.

The types of directives used by group two were largely the same as those used by group one. These involved attempting to persuade the hearer to carry out their wishes (example 6.10), producing a directive that suggests the speaker knows how a task should be carried out (example 5.8). And finally, in an attempt to exercise control over the hearer, with no obvious gain to the speaker (example 4.10).

Example 6.10

K Pass the pencil [DI+GU].

Example 5.8

O Don't touch it [DI+GM] [REF+GM].

Example 4.10

G Say please L [DI+GL].

6.4.11 Band 4.

Most directives used by band 4 in conversations with same age speakers were attempts to persuade the hearer to comply with their wishes. What is particularly interesting, is that of the few directives that were followed in these contexts, this type had the greatest rate of compliance. This may explain, in part, the lack of refusing seen in these conversations.

Perhaps had more overtly controlling directives been used more direct ways of failing to comply would have been used by these girls. Those aimed at exercising control over other speakers were very rarely followed. This may suggest that when members of band 4 are addressed with a directive that they believe is likely to be beneficial to the speaker, they are more likely to comply compared to when one is used solely with the aim of controlling their behaviour. Directives implying the speaker possess knowledge that the hearer does not were used in these interactions, although only on the minority of occasions.

Directives used with band 5 were almost exclusively those aimed at fulfilling the wishes of the speaker, and it was these directives that were most likely to be followed. This may explain the higher than anticipated rate of compliance in these interactions. Those suggesting the speaker knew what should be done, and therefore had the authority to direct others, were also observed in these conversations. However, those intending to exercise control over the hearer with no clear reason for doing so were never used by band 4 in interactions with members of band 5.

Many of the directives used by band 4 in conversations with band 6 were addressed to the group, rather than a specific individual. Perhaps as a way of mitigating an otherwise highly assertive utterance. Again, directives aimed at persuading the speaker to comply with their own wishes were used the most. There were also several utterances suggesting the speaker knew what should be done and so were in a position to issue these older girls with directives, in fact this was more common in these conversations than in those with either of the younger two bands. It may have been the case that these girls believed being in possession of such information gave them the opportunity to use an utterance that in other circumstances may have been deemed inappropriate. Directives used solely in attempts to control the behaviour of the hearer were never seen in these contexts.

6.4.12 Band 5.

Most directives used by band 5 with younger speakers were those attempting to persuade the hearer to comply with their wishes. However, this was very closely followed by attempts to

control the hearer's behaviour. Perhaps due to their age, and consequently status, band 4 were more likely to comply with these compared to when this type of directive was used by band 4. Directives suggesting the speaker was aware of the correct way of carrying out a task or set of behaviours were also produced on a number of occasions in these contexts. However, these were very often ignored by the band 4 girls.

Directives used with same age girls were predominantly those aimed at persuading the hearer to comply with the speaker's wishes. Both other types of directives were also seen in these contexts, and not only did these occur in far fewer conversations than the first type, but also less often than had been observed in interactions with younger speakers. What is also noteworthy about these types of directives is that they were almost exclusively met with refusal; both direct and indirect. This is likely the reason for the increase in refusal seen in these conversations compared to those with younger girls. It was directives aimed at achieving the speaker's own wishes that were most successful in achieving compliance. What is shown here is that although band 5 are able to make use of a range of different directives, they show a preference for certain types as a result of their conversational partner, providing evidence of accommodation.

As with members of the younger two age bands directives used in conversations with band 6 were usually those used to achieve their own wishes. Much like band 4, many of these were addressed to the group, rather than a specific individual. Directives suggesting the speaker has superior knowledge of what should be done were also seen in these interactions, but very infrequently. Perhaps suggesting that this type of directive is more likely to occur with younger girls compared to same age or older ones. A new type of directive was also seen on a small number of occasions. As is shown below, the purpose of this utterance was for the band 5 member to prove to the older girls that they were correct. O and V had been involved in a disagreement and in an attempt to prove she was telling the truth, O uses a directive. It was very often these types of directives that were met with refusal from the older girl.

Example 5.9

O What should I do [REP+GU]?

V [IG+GM].

V If I ask/ed your parent/s.

O *Ok ask my parent/s* [DI+GU].

V That/'s so rude [INRE+GM].

Unsurprisingly there were no utterances in these conversations that were used with sole purpose of controlling the behaviour of an older speaker. This shows a definite pattern in the

types of directives used by members of band 5; those aimed at exercising control over another speaker were quite common in conversations with younger girls, yet completely absent from exchanges with older speakers. It appears that the types of directives used by these girls are dictated by the age of their interlocutor.

6.4.13 Band 6.

Just under half of the directives band 6 used in interactions with band 4 were those aiming to persuade the hearer to comply with the speaker's wishes, and over a third of the directives produced in these contexts were aimed at exercising control over the hearer. Directives implying that the speaker knows what should be done were also seen in a number of interactions with band 4. What is interesting about the responses of band 4 to different directives was that those that were not complied with were very often those intending to persuade the hearer to carry out the speaker's wishes. This is different to the responses seen in other types of conversations as it was usually these directives that were the most successful in receiving compliance. However, in these contexts it was directives suggesting the speaker knew what to do, as well as those intending to control the hearer's behaviour that were more likely to be followed.

Once again, in conversations with band 5, it was directives aiming to achieve the wishes of the speaker that were produced most frequently. This was followed by those suggesting the speaker knew what should be done. Whilst there were some aimed at controlling the behaviour of the hearer these were far less common than in conversations with band 4 girls. In addition, there were also a number of directives implying the hearer was obligated to comply; this was shown through the use of words such as 'need' or 'have to'. Although these types of utterances had been seen in other types of conversations they occurred far less frequently than in these interactions. What is particularly interesting about the use of such utterances is that they were always successful in achieving compliance. Interestingly, directives that were not followed were always those with the intention of persuading the hearer to comply with the speaker's own wishes. It is intriguing that this pattern is the opposite to that seen in response to directives produced by members of bands 4 and 5. Perhaps these speakers feel more able to challenge utterances attempting to control their behaviour or those implying the speaker knows what should be done when these are produced by younger girls compared to when the speaker is older than them.

As has been the case throughout directives used with the intention of achieving the speaker's wishes were the most used type by band 6 with same age girls. However, with younger speakers although those used by the speaker to get their own way were the most common,

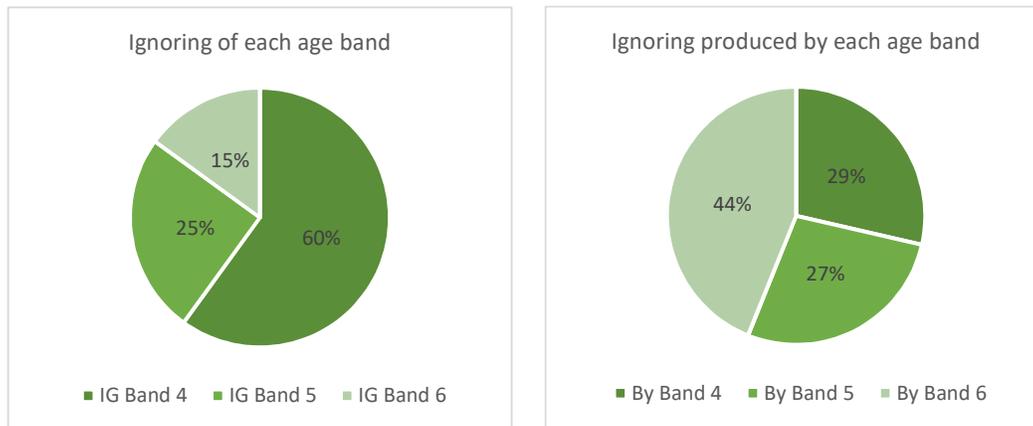
this was closely followed by the other two types. In these contexts directives persuading the hearer to comply with the speaker's wishes accounted for just over seventy percent of the directives made by band 6 with same age speakers. This lends support to the suggestion that directives implying knowledge are more likely to occur with younger girls. Interestingly, those used as a way of persuading the hearer to comply with the speaker's wishes, were the only type same age girls complied with. Whilst this is at odds with the responses to directives from band 6 seen so far, it is very similar to the responses seen by other bands to directives produced by younger speakers.

All three age bands showed very similar ways of using directives, not only in the types they used but also in the way this changed as a result of their conversational partner. Directives whose purpose was to persuade hearers to comply with the speaker's own wishes were consistently the most commonly used directives by all three age bands in conversations with every other band. Those implying that the speaker had knowledge of what should be done were also seen in every type of interactions, although the extent to which these were used did vary based on the speaker's age, and that of their partner. This type of directive was usually used less often with band 6 than either of the younger two bands. Directives used simply as a way of controlling the behaviour of others without a clear reason, i.e. with no obvious gain to the speaker, were the only type not be seen in every kind of conversation. Given the highly assertive nature of this type of utterance it is of little surprise that the conversations it was most often absent in were those in which the directive was aimed at a member of band 6. Neither bands 4 or 5 used this type of utterance in interactions with older girls. In addition, all three age bands reduced their use of this type of directive as the age of their partner increased. Another finding of interest is that it was quite common for directives produced by bands 4 and 5, in interactions with band 6 to be addressed to the group as a whole, rather than an individual speaker. This strategy was very rarely seen in other types of conversations and is perhaps a way of mitigating what may otherwise be considered a highly assertive type of utterance.

6.5 Group Two; Responses to Ignoring.

Overall ignoring was the third most frequently produced AU by this age group. As is shown in the charts below, the clear majority of ignored utterances were produced by the youngest girls in group two. While the eldest speakers, band 6, ignored the largest number of

utterances. The following will discuss the way each band responded to being ignored by speakers of different ages.



6.5.1 Band 4 ignoring Band 4.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

The most common response of band 4 to being ignored by a same age speaker was acceptance. There were three different ways of showing this; failing to repeat the utterance that had been ignored, failing to challenge the person carrying out the ignoring, or by responding to the utterance responsible for the speaker being ignored. The most common of these was the first, and an example of this is shown in the extract below in which F and N ignore Z's utterance yet she does not repeat herself. It is possibly the case that in these types of situations utterances such as Z's, which are not intended to make a worthwhile contribution to the conversation, are expected to be ignored and so this response is not challenged.

Example 4.11

R And what/'s her surname?

U We don't know.

Z I know, <I think doggy pool>.

F <No it/'s M M> [DIS+GL] [IG+GL].

N Like pizza margarita?

F No it/'s M [CO+GL].

However, ignoring utterances that were relevant to the current topic was also common in these contexts, as was the use of repetition, although this was rarely a successful way of persuading the hearer to respond. An example of this is shown below in which F produces the

same utterance twice, and on both occasions, fails to receive any type of acknowledgement from N.

Example 4.12

F No N.

F N that/'s the head.

N [IG+GL].

K I was like this on the day of the >

K This is what I was like (makes face) I was like.

F No that/'s the head.

N [IG+GL].

=They laugh.

Dismissing was also seen in response to this AU, although this was quite rare in these contexts.

6.5.2 Band 5 ignoring Band 4.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

Just under half of the ignoring carried out by band 5 was accepted by younger speakers. One example of this is seen in the conversation below in which R does not make any effort to repeat herself after being ignored by S.

Example 5.10

R But after you can I have it [DR+GM]?

S *Glue please* [IG+GL] [DR+GM].

S Thank you for the fatter glue.

Failing to accept this AU was seen slightly more frequently than acceptance in these contexts, and the most common way this was done was through repetition. However, this second attempt was rarely successful in persuading the hearer to respond. A good example of this is seen in the conversation below in which G makes several attempts at receiving an acknowledgement from A, using slightly different versions of her utterance, but each time is unsuccessful.

Example 5.11

G I was gonna get that yellow [IO+GM].

A [IG+GL].

G I was gonna get that, A!

A [IG+GL].

G <Xx steal a yellow>.

A <I'm gonna copy you> [TH+GM] [IG+GL]!
G Thank you L.
G <Someone who respect/3s me>.

It was sometimes the case that utterances ignored by band 5 would receive a response from another band 4 member, despite the fact they were not the intended hearer. In addition, there were times when these girls continued to speak after being ignored by a band 5 speaker, although this is rarely a successful way of receiving a response from the older speaker. It appears to have been the case that if a band 5 member made the decision to ignore a younger girl there was very little that could be done to persuade the speaker to respond.

6.5.3 Band 6 ignoring Band 4.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

Acceptance was the most common response of band 4 to this AU from these older girls. One example of this is shown below in which two band 4 girls, B and R, are ignored on three occasions by members of band 6 and yet they make no attempts to repeat themselves.

Example 6.11

B Look it's S [IG+GL] [AS+GL] [AS+GU].
E J you do know you just said that in the microphone [IG+GL]?
E When we're catholic.
R I'm just gonna do >
V You just said something against the ten commandment/s [IG+GL].
B (V) V.
V [IG+GL].
J Is it?

Repetition was also seen in response to being ignored by band 6, although it was less common in these interactions compared to those with the younger two bands. An example of this is shown below, despite Y's repetition, and the slight modification of some utterances, K fails to acknowledge any of these.

Example 6.12

Q Does J still come to Brownies?
K No.
Y Why?
K [IG+GL].
Q That mean/3s I'm the sixer.
Y Why [REP+GU]?

K [IG+GL].
Y Who/'s J anyway?
K [IG+GL].
Q How can this be <happening (ah)>!
Y <Who/'s J> [REP+GU]?
K [IG+GL].
=K laughs.

Continuing to speak, regardless of the fact they were ignored was sometimes seen in these contexts though, once again, this was less common than with bands 4 or 5. On the other hand, responding to an utterance that had been used to ignore them was seen more frequently in these exchanges than in those with the younger two bands. An example of this is shown below in which Y responds to K's utterance, despite this being the reason she was ignored.

Example 6.13

Y This is really good, look [AS+GU].
K *Can I borrow one of your pencil/s* [DR+GL] [IG+GL]?
Y No get your own [RE+GU]!
K She is rude.

The responses of band 4 members to being ignored show an interesting trend. Although the same types of responses were seen in conversations with speakers of all ages, the differences were seen in the extent to which they occurred. Whilst acceptance was the most common of these in conversations with other band 4 speakers this was very closely followed by repetition. However, in conversations with band 6 the rate of acceptance was considerably higher than the use of repetition. The tendency to respond to the utterance used to ignore the speaker was more likely to occur with band 6 than bands 4 or 5. Rather than showing very different ways of responding, the difference is seen in the amount of each response; acceptance of being ignored was by far the most common reaction in conversations with members of band 6.

6.5.4 Band 4 ignoring Band 5.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

Most instances of ignoring carried out by band 4 were not accepted by band 5, and this usually involved repetition of the ignored utterance. Unlike in the conversations considered previously, this was normally a successful way of receiving a response. An example of this is shown below in which after being ignored by two band 4 speakers, O modifies her utterance

to include the name of a specific band 4 member and is then successful in receiving a response.

Example 4.13

O I'll sing you the story then.
O <(Guess what, guess what)> guess what someone told me [AS+GL] [AS+GM]>
F <Xx record/ing your singing> [IG+GM].
U No F!
=U sings a line from Frozen.
F <Do you seriously like that film>?
O <Guess what someone told me> [AS+GL] [AS+GM] [REP+GL] [REP+GM]?
N Look I'll just sing it [IG+GM].
O Guess what U [AS+GL] [REF+GL]?
U Yeah.

The repetition used in these contexts very often involved a slight change to the original utterance. It may, therefore, be this modification rather than simply the use of repetition that is responsible for the high response rate following repeated utterances.

Although not a common response, acceptance was sometimes seen in these conversations, and interestingly this often involved input from another band 5 speaker. An example of this is seen below, here N ignored Q by asking a question which is then answered by a band 5 speaker, I. Perhaps if I and S had not responded to N's question, Q would have been more likely to repeat her utterance.

Example 4.14

Q Salabina.
;
Q Put your hand up if you know about the word salabina [DI+GL] [DI+GM].
N (Where, where, where do you) where do you do your name [IG+GM]?
I I wrote that.
S On the inside.

The use of dismissing and continuing with a conversation, despite being ignored, were also observed in response to this AU. However, both of these responses were seen fairly infrequently in these types of interactions.

6.5.5 Band 5 ignoring Band 5.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

The most common response of band 5 to being ignored by a same age speaker was repetition, and a good example of this is seen in the interaction below between S and A. This exchange

is typical of the type of repetition used in these contexts as although S's utterances are all attempts to change A's behaviour they are not simply a repetition of the same utterance.

Example 5.12

S That's not how you draw a coat on a dog [IO+GM] [REP+GM].

A And then I'm gonna draw a dog this is just like [IG+GM] ^

S You can't do it like that [INT+GM] [FOR+GM].

A [IG+GM].

S That's not a dog/z coat, that's a normal coat [J+GM].

A Yeah and then I'm gonna draw a dog on it [IDIS+GM].

Although in this example repetition was, eventually, a successful way of receiving a response this was only the case in just under half of these instances.

Another response seen in a number of these conversations was continuing to speak without acknowledging the fact they had been ignored. One example of this is seen in the extract below; despite receiving no acknowledgement from either A or Q, S goes on to produce a second utterance, although when this too fails to receive a response S does not make any further attempts at repeating herself.

Example 5.13

S Mine's rubbish [AS+GM].

A [IG+GM].

Q [IG+GM].

S I do/n't care if you judge it because it's rubbish.

:

Acceptance of being ignored often occurred after the ignored speaker had interrupted the previous utterance, or changed the topic of conversation. There were also times a speaker would respond to the utterance that had been used to ignore them. Whilst, these were by no means common in these types of exchanges, it is interesting to note that they were observed in these types of conversations but not in those with band 4 members.

6.5.6 Band 6 ignoring Band 5.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

Most instances of ignoring carried out by band 6 were accepted by band 5. One example of this is shown in the extract below in which both E and J ignore O's directive by continuing

with their own conversation, and rather than attempting to repeat herself she appears to accept this.

Example 6.14

E Don't ask me I don't know what your Mum/'s like [DI+J+GM].

J I don't know what your Mum/'s like.

O Well just give idea/s like [DI+GU] >

J She colour/3s like that [IG+GM].

E <Yeah, I know> [IG+GM].

B <Xxx>.

J So like xx minute/s colour/ing.

Acceptance was also shown by the ignored speaker responding to the utterance used to interrupt them, and this was slightly more common in these contexts compared to those with same age girls.

Repetition was also commonly seen in response to this AU, although, as is shown below, it was rarely a successful way of receiving a response from the band 6 speaker. Despite Q producing the same utterance four times, she fails to receive any acknowledgement, either positive or negative, from V.

Example 6.15

O V wrote Happy_Birthday [T+GU]!

Q Let me look [DI+GU].

=They laugh.

Q Let me look [DI+GU] [REP+GU].

V [IG+GM].

Q Let me look [DI+GU] [REP+GU].

V [IG+GM].

Q V let me look [DI+GU] [REP+GU].

V [IG+GM].

O (Let/'s see, let/'s see) let/'s see [DI+GU].

V [IG+GM].

=V goes to show 1.

It is likely that the failure of band 6 to respond to such utterances was partly responsible for the unexpectedly high amount of repetition that was observed in these types of interactions.

Had the older speaker refused to comply or continued a conversation with another speaker Q may not have repeated herself on so many occasions.

It is also interesting to note the responses that were absent in these interactions. The use of other types of AU, such as dismissing, as well as continuing to speak after being ignored were never seen in response to ignoring from band 6. This is perhaps a reflection of the older age of these girls.

The responses of band 5 to being ignored were, overall, quite similar regardless of the age of the speaker carrying out the ignoring. However, as with band 4 the differences are seen in the amount each response was observed. Repetition was clearly the most frequent reaction to being ignored by a younger or same age speaker, acceptance was slightly more likely with same age girls and it was the most common response to this AU from members of band 6.

6.5.7 Band 4 ignoring Band 6.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

Ignoring from band 4 was very rarely accepted by band 6. The most common way this was shown was by the ignored speaker continuing, effectively ignoring the fact they had been ignored. One example of this is seen below; when two of K's utterances are ignored by two different band 4 members, G and F, she simply continues speaking. Eventually this strategy is successful, as after a slight variation of a previously ignored utterance she receives a response from both F and N.

Example 4.15

L And I have a little bit of brown.

G Yeah.

L So us two are like the same.

K (Oh) my gosh that's so rubbish.

G *Yeah you've actually got kind of blonde in your hair [IG+GU].*

F That's record/ing everything [SUB+GL].

K What do you think of that [IG+GL]?

G It doesn't matter [MIS+GL] [IG+GU]!

F I know.

K Is that good?

F <Yeah>.

N <Yeah>.

Repetition was also seen in these types of interactions although it was not used as much by these girls as it had been by members of the younger two age bands. In addition, it was rarely a successful way of persuading the younger girl to respond. An example of this is seen in the interaction below in which Z fails to acknowledge any of E's utterances.

Example 4.16

E That still does/n't hurt [DIS+GL].

=E bangs.

E It still does/n't hurt [DIS+GL] [REP+GL].

Z [IG+GU].

;

E It does/n't hurt look [DIS+GL] [REP+GL].

Z [IG+GU].

Given the age difference between these two speakers it is surprising that this strategy was not more successful in persuading the hearer to respond. Another way band 6 speakers reacted to being ignored by a band 4 member was to produce another type of AU, such as a directive or indirect order, perhaps as a way of saving face after this type of exchange.

6.5.8 Band 5 ignoring Band 6.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

The most common response to being ignored by a member of band 5 was to continue speaking despite the fact they were ignored. An example of this is seen in the conversation below in which K, despite failing to receive a single acknowledgement from Q, continues speaking. Only one of these utterances involves repetition, the remainder are simply the continuation of a one-sided conversation.

Example 5.14

=K reads from the sheet.

K Do I sound like a computer?

Q [IG+GU].

K Once my friend actually said that I sound/ed like one.

=K continues to read aloud.

K Once my friend said I sound like one [REP+GM].

Q [IG+GU].

K Like a computer.

Q [IG+GU].

K I was in maths and I was read/ing out a question and my friend said I sound/ed like one, Q!

Q [IG+GU].

One response seen here that had not been used with band 4, was responding to the utterance that used to ignore them, an example of which is shown below. It was perhaps partly a result of the fact that K's utterance was off topic that contributed to her willingness to accept being ignored.

Example 5.15

Y Who/'s B anyway?
 K I don't know but she love/3s her [T+GM].
 =Y laughs.
 K Look this pen/'s gonna fall off in a minute [SUB+GL] [SUB+GM].
 Q She love/3s B [T+GU] [IG+GU].
 K I do/n't [DIS+GM].
 K I wish I never came to Brownie/s.

Given the small number of utterances that were ignored in these interactions it is not possible to draw general conclusions about the way band 6 typically respond. It does, however, suggest this is not an AU these girls typically favour in conversations with older speakers, possible reasons for this be considered in the section concerning the way ignoring was carried out (see 6.5.12).

6.5.9 Band 6 ignoring Band 6.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

The ignoring carried out by band 6 was usually accepted by same age girls. One example of this is shown in the extract below; when V ignores J's question she does not make any attempt to repeat herself but instead joins in with the new topic of conversation.

Example 6.16

V You/'re not allowed to look at my signature [FOR+GL] [FOR+GU].
 J Why [REQJ+GU]?
 V [IG+GU].
 E He/'s got glasses.
 V I did not know that.
 J (Oh) my gosh, S is so cute when he came in.

Continuing to speak, regardless of the fact they had been ignored was also a common response in these contexts. An example of this is shown below in which, K does not appear to be deterred by the fact D fails to respond to her first utterance, and continues with the same topic.

Example 6.17

K I wanna go home.
 D S [IG+GU].
 K I wish I never[EW:did/n't] come here today, I even told my Mum but she made me.

Other responses band 6 girls had to being ignored by a same age speaker involved repeating the ignored utterance, responding to the utterance that had been used to ignore them, and

using another type of AU. Once again although these reactions are the same as those that had been used with younger speakers, the extent to which each occurred varied. In addition, the rate of acceptance was considerably greater in these interactions than with either of the younger two bands.

The response of band 6 speakers to being ignored appeared to be closely related to the age of their conversational partner. With the youngest, band 4, girls disregarding the fact they had been ignored by continuing to speak was the most common response, suggesting these older girls hold a belief that not only do they have a right to speak, but also that younger speakers are required to listen. Similarly, with band 5 speakers the tendency to continue speaking, regardless of the fact their utterance had been ignored, was also the most common response. However, acceptance was more common in conversations with band 5 than with younger, band 4, speakers. Finally, amongst same age speakers, acceptance was the most frequent response to having an utterance ignored. There was, as anticipated, a clear trend for the rate of acceptance to increase as the age of their conversational partner rose.

What is interesting about the responses of girls in this age group is that each band showed a number of similarities in their reactions to being ignored by members of all three bands. Band 4 members were typically very accepting of being ignored by speakers of all ages. However, this was most noticeably the case in conversations with band 6 as not only did their rate of acceptance increase, but their use repetition was proportionally much smaller in these interactions. Band 5 on the other hand, were more likely to use repetition following an utterance being ignored. Whilst, once again, this was the case in all three types of conversations the difference between the use of repetition and rate of acceptance was smallest in interactions with older girls. Similarly, while these girls did sometimes respond to the utterance that had been used to ignore them in conversations with same age and older girls this was never observed with younger speakers. Finally, band 6 members would usually continue talking after being ignored by both band 4 and 5 girls, paying little attention to this fact. However, with same age speakers this response was used far less often, and instead, acceptance was the more typical reaction. What this shows, therefore, is that though there are many similarities in the types of responses used by each band to being ignored, the differences are revealed when the amount each type is used is considered, as this clearly varies as a result of the age of their partner. The fact each age band can make use of every type response, but chooses to use some and not others, as a result of their partner's age, is evidence of accommodation. Similarly, the tendency for this AU to be accepted more from

band 6 than from band 4 suggests that age plays a key factor in assessing status, and consequently determines a speaker's response.

6.5.10 Types of Ignoring.

The ignoring that was used by group two was much the same as that seen in group one. This could be done by continuing with a conversation but failing to take into account the utterance of the previous speaker (example 4.17), or by meeting an utterance with silence (example 5.16). As was also the case in group one, utterances that had little or no relevance to the current topic were also ignored in these contexts (example 6.18).

Example 4.17

K <Am I the only one who can/'t fold>?
G <(What) what do you have to write>?
N *I'm the one that can fold [CTS+GU] [IG+GL].*

Example 5.16

S But what if there was?
Q *[IG+GM].*

Example 6.18

O My cousin can/'t see.
E So he/'s blind?
O Yeah she/'s blind.
Q I need the black [N+GU] [N+GM].
E *How old is she [IG+GM]?*

6.5.11 Band 4.

In addition to the different ways of ignoring noted above, another way this AU was used by band 4 involved ignoring a same age speaker in favour of responding to an older girl. An example of this is shown by G in the interaction below, in which the question posed by the other band 4 speaker, L, is ignored by G who instead chooses to reply to the older, band 6 member, V.

Example 4.18

V So [MIS+GL]?
L Do you like mine [SUB+GL] [SUB+GU]?
G *So you can/'t even see it that much [J+GU] [IG+GL].*

The majority of utterances that were ignored in these contexts were AUs. In fact, meeting an AU with silence was the most common way for a band 4 speaker to ignore a same age girl, and this was followed by silence in response to ordinary utterances. An interesting pattern

was revealed in terms of the responses these girls had to being ignored through silence by a same age speaker. Although repetition was not the most common reaction overall, it always occurred when an AU had been ignored with silence. Ignoring another speaker by continuing with a conversation was not uncommon in these contexts, and although irrelevant utterances were sometimes ignored in these conversations, they were responsible for only a very small percentage of the total number of utterances ignored by band 4 with same age girls.

In interactions with band 5 a very similar pattern was seen; the majority of ignoring took place after an AU, half of which involved the continuation of a conversation while the remainder were met with silence. Although, ignoring was very often accepted by the older girl, repetition typically occurred after an AU was ignored; particularly when this involved silence. As was also the case in conversations with same age speakers, occasionally band 5 girls were ignored in favour of responding to an older speaker, and this was always accepted by the band 5 member. There were also times when ordinary utterances were ignored and this was carried out through an equal mixture of silence and continuing with a conversation. Just one of the ignored utterances in these contexts was irrelevant and, likely because of this, this was accepted.

Fewer utterances were ignored by band 4 in conversations with band 6 compared to those with either of the younger bands, likely as a result of the age differences between these speakers. This itself is evidence of accommodation as it is showing a change in band 4's behaviour due to the older age of their partner. Ignoring band 6 by continuing to speak was slightly more common than responding with silence, however this difference was very small. As was the case with both of the younger bands, band 6 speakers were more likely to repeat themselves when an utterance was met with silence, compared to when this was done by continuing with a conversation. AUs were also ignored in these conversations although this was considerably less than in interactions with either of the younger bands. The tendency to ignore utterances that were irrelevant to the current topic was far more likely in these contexts than in either of the previous two.

6.5.12 Band 5.

The most common way band 5 speakers ignored members of band 4 was by continuing to talk without acknowledging the fact a younger girl had spoken, and in a large number of conversations this involved an AU being ignored. This may have contributed to the finding that this AU never received a response from the younger speaker in these contexts. Another way in which band 5 ignored younger speakers was through the use of silence and, once again, it was often AUs that were ignored in this way. Interestingly, when AUs were met with

silence it was more common for a band 4 speaker to repeat themselves than when they were ignored by the continuation of a conversation. Despite this, it was rarely the case that this would result in obtaining a different response from the older speaker. Utterances that were irrelevant to the current topic were sometimes ignored in these contexts although they accounted for only a very small percentage of the total number ignored.

In conversations with other members of band 5 a large number of AUs were ignored, somewhat surprisingly the most common way of ignoring a same age speaker was through the use of silence, however, this occurred only slightly more than continuing with a conversation. Not only were a larger number of AUs ignored than had been expected, it was also more than had occurred with younger speakers. One possible reason for this is that ignoring was preferable to refusing AUs from same age girls. An interesting finding with regards to the responses seen by band 5 is that repetition was more frequently seen when an AU was ignored, regardless of how this was carried out, than when an ordinary utterance was ignored. In addition, unlike with members of band 4, repetition in these contexts was sometimes a successful way of receiving a response from the other speaker, although this was not always the one that had been desired. In these interactions, there was a far more even split between the ignoring that was carried out through silence and that which involved the continuation of a conversation, compared to exchanges with younger speakers.

As was the case for band 4, band 5 ignored band 6 far less frequently than any other band. Again, it is assumed that this is based on the age differences between these speakers, and the belief, or perhaps knowledge, that ignoring these older girls is less appropriate than ignoring younger, or same age speakers. In these interactions silence was the slightly more common way of ignoring. Both ways of ignoring occurred far more following an ordinary utterance than an AU. Not only did the number of AUs that were ignored decrease considerably in these conversations compared to those with bands 4 and 5, but overall only a very small number of AUs were ignored. The fact that AUs were rarely ignored may help explain, in part, the lack of repetition used in these types of conversations. As ordinary utterances that were ignored through silence, usually resulted in the older girl continuing with their topic regardless of the lack of response from the younger speaker. On the other hand, as has been seen previously, after an AU was ignored this very often resulted in repetition. Another possible explanation for the lack of repetition is due to the number of irrelevant utterances that were ignored; this number was higher than with either of the younger two bands. Perhaps having realised their utterance was irrelevant, and therefore unlikely to receive a response, repetition was less likely in these interactions.

6.5.13 Band 6.

A large proportion of band 4's utterances that were ignored by band 6 were AUs. Whilst it had been anticipated that AUs from these speakers would largely be ignored through silence this was not found to be the case. Instead a slightly larger proportion of the ignoring observed in these contexts involved the older speaker continuing with their conversation whilst failing to acknowledge the utterance of the younger girl. Taking this into consideration, along with the age difference between members of these two bands, it is unsurprising that the most common response of band 4 speakers was to accept the fact they had been ignored by an older girl. In contrast to what had been predicted, silence following an ordinary utterance was very rarely used as a way of ignoring these younger girls, more commonly continuing a conversation, or even beginning a new topic, was seen in these conversations. Similarly, fewer than ten percent of the ignored utterances in these contexts were irrelevant, suggesting that due to the age differences between these speakers a means of justifying their ignoring is not as important as was the case when band 4 was ignoring band 6.

Of the utterances band 6 ignored in conversations with band 5 only the minority were irrelevant to the current topic, while the majority were AUs. Interestingly, in these contexts the number of AUs that were ignored through silence compared to continuing with a conversation was the opposite to that seen with band 4 members; a far greater number of ignoring was carried out through silence in these interactions. This may go some way towards explaining why band 5 used repetition so frequently in these types of exchanges; repetition occurred most frequently when an AU was met with silence, and this was the way in which the majority of ignoring was carried out in these conversations. Instances of ignoring an AU that involved the continuation of a conversation were often accepted. Interestingly, it was never the case that an ordinary utterance was ignored by a band 6 girl continuing with a conversation although silence was sometimes used to do this.

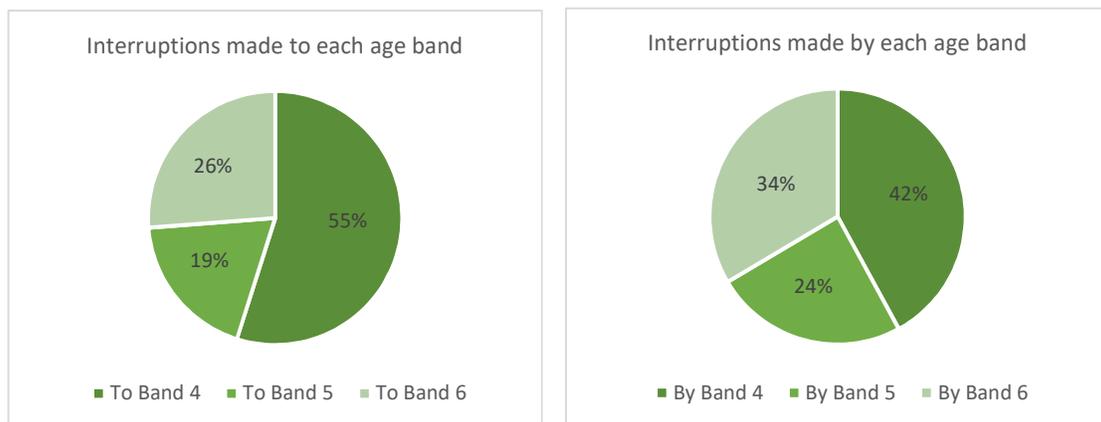
Although it was sometimes the case that AUs from other band 6 girls were ignored this was far rarer than had been the case with members of either of the younger two bands. In these exchanges, there was a nearly equal divide between the ignoring carried out through silence and that which was done by continuing a conversation without acknowledging the utterance of another speaker. It had been expected that the use of silence would have been greatly reduced in these exchanges, and although it was smaller than had been observed in conversations with younger girls it was not as rare as had been anticipated. While the number of ignored utterances that contained no relevance to the current talk was slightly greater in

these contexts than with either of the younger two bands, it still only accounted for a small minority of the utterances that were ignored.

Whilst it was certainly the case that each band did not significantly alter the way they ignored other speakers as a result of either their age, or that of their partner, in most cases there were some subtle changes to the way in which this was done. Band 4, for example, often used silence to ignore AUs from bands 4 and 5 but this occurred considerably less with band 6. Similarly, band 5 ignored a large number of AUs from bands 4 and 5 but this was far less common with older speakers. Finally, band 6 ignored younger speakers by continuing with a conversation more often than had been anticipated, while silence was used as a way of ignoring same age girls more frequently than had been predicted. However, what is perhaps most important about these different ways of ignoring other speakers is that, regardless of the fact the findings did not always follow the predictions, they show speakers of every age were able to use each type of ignoring. Yet, they chose to use some types, while excluding others, as a result of the age of their partner, thereby showing evidence of accommodation.

6.6 Group Two: Responses to Interruptions.

Interruptions accounted for ten percent of group two’s focused AU production. Once again, the majority of interruptions occurred with the youngest band in this group. However, as is illustrated in the charts below, in this case it was also band 4 who made the highest number of interruptions. Interestingly, it was band 5 who not only received the fewest interruptions, but also produced the smallest number. It is perhaps the case that girls who make the fewest interruptions are also those who are interrupted the least. The following will explore the way each band responded to interruptions from speaker of different ages.



6.6.1 Band 4 interrupting Band 4.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

Somewhat surprisingly, band 4 girls were typically very accepting of interruptions from same age speakers. This was shown by the fact they often responded to the utterance that had been used to interrupt them. An example of this is shown by L in the conversation below; despite the fact G interrupts her, she chooses to abandon her original utterance in favour of answering G's question.

Example 4.19

L (Just because he/'s nau*) just because they/'re really rude and they say load/s of rude word/s and ^

G *What word/s do they say [INT+GL] [IR+GL]?*

L They say like word/s I can/'t even say here [INRE+GL].

G (Like, like) what like?

Another way of accepting interruptions seen in these contexts did not involve the speaker responding to the utterance, but was instead shown by temporarily withdrawing from the conversation, and making no attempt to complete their utterance. Additional ways of responding to this AU from a same age speaker involved challenging the utterance used to interrupt them, and ignoring the other speaker in favour of completing the interrupted utterance. This is shown by L in the example below in which she makes no acknowledgement of the fact she had been interrupted by G. Interestingly, G does not make any further attempts to receive a response to her utterance.

Example 4.20

F She look/3s like a x.

L Shall we call it [JD+GL] ^

G (*Look*) *look at mine it/'s rubbish [INT+GL] [AS+GL].*

L Call it the crosses x [IG+GL].

C <Yeah>.

Whilst instances, such as that above, of failing to acknowledge an interruption from a same age speaker were observed, this was to a far lesser extent than acceptance. It may be that reasons for this are revealed when the types of interruptions used by these girls are considered (see 6.6.11).

6.6.2 Band 5 interrupting Band 4.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

Accepting interruptions either by responding to the utterance, or by failing to complete their original utterance were by far the most common reactions. One example of this is seen in the conversation below in which not only does F make no attempt to complete her interrupted utterance, but she responds to the question posed by S, whilst interrupting her.

Example 5.17

C With her pencil like this.

F I hope you have ^

S *Have you got a bun in your hair, a sponge [INT+GL] [SUB+GL]?*

F Yeah.

An interesting occurrence seen in these conversations was that if the younger girl failed to respond to such interruptions, it was sometimes the case that these would be made again until a response was received. As is shown by S in the conversations with L below;

Example 5.18

L I know, we could use x ^

S *(Oh) this look/3s nice [INT+GL].*

S Feel this fabric it/'s really nice [DI+GL].

L I'll go get two pencil/s and we can [IG+GM] ^

S *L feel this fabric it/'s really smooth [INT+GL] [REP+GL] [DI+GL].*

=L feels the fabric.

L (Oh).

Although at times the younger girls did make an attempt to complete their utterances this was the exception rather than the rule; the overwhelming majority of interruptions from band 5 speakers were met with acceptance and very often resulted in the younger girls abandoning their own utterance in order to respond to the interruption. The two most noticeable differences between the responses in these conversations and those with same age girls are in those that were absent from these contexts; firstly, it was never the case that a younger speaker challenged an interruption made by a band 5 girl. Secondly, attempts at completing utterances following interruptions occurred on far fewer occasions than with other band 4 members.

6.6.3 Band 6 interrupting Band 4.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

As was predicted, most interruptions made by band 6 speakers to band 4 were accepted. Interestingly, it was more common in these situations to accept an interruption by temporarily withdrawing from the conversation, than by responding to the interruption as was the case in conversations with the younger bands. An example of this type of reaction is shown below in which Z, rather than trying to complete her utterance, following E's interruption remains silent for several turns, although interestingly, another band 4 member chooses to respond to E's interruption instead.

Example 6.19

E I really don't get what we have to do.

Z Let/'s just ^

E (Even though only person) even though I'm the oldest person on this table I still don't get it [INT+GL] [CTS+GL] [CTS+GM].

C How old are you?

E Nine.

Somewhat surprisingly, a common response in these contexts involved the younger speaker attempting to compete her utterance following an interruption. This is shown by N in the example below; although she does wait until K has finished speaking she then returns to her previous utterance.

Example 6.20

N And do you know what ^

K Xx I've actually been practising my smile [INT+GL] [IG+GL].

N (And do you know what) and do you know what?

Although responding to the utterance that had been used to interrupt them was less common in these types of conversations than in the previous two, it was frequently observed in these contexts. Once again, no utterances attempting to challenge the interruption were made in these exchanges. Overall the response of band 4 girls to interruptions from band 6 was that of acceptance. Whilst instances of band 4 speakers completing an interrupted utterance did occur slightly more than had been anticipated, these always took place after the older speaker had finished speaking.

The way in which band 4 speakers responded to interruptions did appear to be related to the age of the speaker making the interruption. Whilst the same types of responses were usually seen in conversations with members of all three age bands, it was the amount each response occurred that varied as a result of their conversational partner. Overall, interruptions were typically accepted by members of band 4. However, it is interesting to note that acceptance was less likely to be demonstrated by responding to an utterance with band 6 compared to

either of the younger bands. Possible reasons for this may be seen when the types of interruptions used by these older girls are examined (see 6.6.13). Despite the fact the responses of band 4 to interruptions were not always those that had been anticipated, it was the case that overall these girls did show differing responses as a result of the age of their conversational partner.

6.6.4 Band 4 interrupting Band 5.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

Somewhat unexpectedly the most common response of band 5 to being interrupted by a younger speaker was acceptance, and the extract below shows one example of this. Not only does I allow F to finish speaking before her next turn she also responds to the utterance she made in her interruption.

Example 4.21

I Ok is that (um) ^

F No she/s gonna write down the most important bit/s [INT+GM] [IO+GM].

I Ok I'm <gonna read care>.

It had been expected that band 5 girls would have responded less favourably to interruptions from younger girls than was found to be the case. Failing to accept this AU by completing an interrupted utterance was also a response seen in these interactions. One example of this is shown below in which Q continues her utterance without acknowledging G in any way. Despite this G does not make another attempt to make her utterance heard but accepts that she has been ignored.

Example 4.22

Q What else ^

G You just copied the yellow/s [INT+GM].

Q (Oh) I know what I'm gonna do [IG+GL].

The positive response this AU received is at odds with what had been anticipated. It may be the case that band 5 are simply more accepting of this type of AU and that this response is not limited to younger speakers. Alternatively, it may be explained by considering the types of interruptions made by band 4 (see 6.6.11).

6.6.5 Band 5 interrupting Band 5.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

The acceptance of being interrupted appears not to have been unique to interactions between band 4 and 5 speakers as this pattern not only continues, but strengthens in conversations with other band 5 members. In a number of cases they responded to the utterance interrupting them in a positive way, much like Q does in the example below.

Example 5.19

Q Because you're judging me and people don't like : people [J+GM] ^

S *That's actually quite good, that coat* [INT+GM] [SUB+GM].

Q Thank you.

Although these girls did respond to interruptions from same age speakers, this was usually only when the interruption either required a response, or when it was used positively towards the hearer, such as S's compliment to Q above. Other responses included continuing with a conversation without making any reference to the interruption or withdrawing slightly for a short period, as A does in the example below.

Example 5.20

Q You dunno what it is because I'm doing something else A.

A Yeah but you ^

Q *No I'm not, you don't know what's coming* [INT+GM] [DIS+J+GM].

:

It was never the case that these girls responded to this AU with further interruption, nor did they refer to the fact they had been interrupted. This finding, combined with the way in which they reacted to interruptions from younger speakers, suggests that this is perhaps characteristic of this band's language use.

6.6.6 Band 6 interrupting Band 5.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

Acceptance of being interrupted continues with band 6 speakers, once again the most typical response was to accept the interruption from the older speaker; this involved a mixture of withdrawing from the conversation, and responding to the question or comment made in the interruption. The second of these is used by Q in the extract below.

Example 6.21

A Who's the sixer in this group?

Q I'm the si* ^

K You're act/ing sixer [INT+GM] [CO+GM].

Q Yeah.

It was very rarely the case that the band 5 speaker ignored an interruption from an older girl, or that they attempted to continue their utterance after being interrupted. Possible reasons for this may be seen when the types of interruptions made by these older girls are considered (see 6.6.13).

The results from this age band provide some intriguing findings; firstly, these girls accepted interruptions not just from older and same age speakers, as expected, but also from younger girls. In addition, they typically responded in a positive way to these utterances. Overall this band was interrupted the least by all three age bands in this age group. Whilst this may seem somewhat puzzling, given their tendency to accept these utterances, it may be a result of the low number of this AU used by these girls. It is possible that the fact band 5 produced the fewest interruptions provides evidence for communication accommodation; they rarely interrupted others and as a consequence were rarely interrupted themselves. In addition, these speakers are in an interesting position in this group; they are aware of what it was like to be the same age as band 4, and consequently may be slightly more lenient with these speakers than perhaps band 6. They also have a greater understanding of appropriate ways of behaving with older speakers, than band 4. Both these factors may contribute to the willingness of band 5 to accept being interrupted.

6.6.7 Band 4 interrupting Band 6.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

Interruptions, up to this point, had typically been accepted by the hearer and this has been shown either by their response to the interruption, or in their lack of opposition to it.

However, this was not the case when band 4 members interrupted band 6. Not only did these older speakers often go on to complete their interrupted utterance, they often responded to the younger girl's interruption with another type of AU. Two examples of this are seen in the conversations below; while V issues a directive after being interrupted by L, K dismisses the question Y asks when interrupting her.

Example 4.23

V Guide dog/s in training ^
L I am a badger [INT+GU].
V Shush [DI+GL].

Example 4.24

K Please whatever your name is Z ^
Y What's your name [INT+GU]?
K You know what my name is [MIS+GL].

Directives and dismissing following interruptions from these younger girls were the two most frequent responses of band 6. Yet, there were also times when the band 6 member accepted an interruption from a younger speaker, and even instances of responding to these utterances. One example of acceptance is shown in the extract below; what is noticeable about this is that the initial acceptance did not come from J, the speaker who had been interrupted, but from another band 6 speaker, V. However, following V's response J joins in with this new topic of conversation and does not make any attempt to complete her interrupted utterance.

Example 4.25

J Luckily that's ^
B Is it off [INT+GU]?
V No you've still got some on your chin and there.
R What is it?
J (Oh) it's non-toxic.

Given the age differences between these two bands, failing to accept this AU was the response that had been anticipated in these interactions.

6.6.8 Band 5 interrupting Band 6.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

The responses of band 6 to interruptions from band 5 were very similar to those seen with members of band 4, and rarely involved acceptance. The most common of these was to continue speaking without acknowledging the younger girl. One example of this is seen in the extract below in which K continues with the utterance Q had interrupted, without making any reference to this fact. Interestingly, Q then accepts this by responding to K's second utterance.

Example 5.21

K Ok you two need to work together and look through this [DI+GL] [DI+GM] ^
Q Ok my friend [INT+GU]!

=Q and Y laugh.

K And look through it and find the piece/s of information you like but you can/'t (um) x all of it [DI+GL] [DI+GM] [IG+GM].

Other AUs such as directives were also seen in response to an interruption from a younger speaker. However, there were also times when interruptions made in these circumstances were accepted or even responded to by the older girl, though these were observed on only the minority of occasions. An example of acceptance is shown in the conversation below in which E responds to the question posed in the utterance used to interrupt her.

Example 5.22

S Anniversary does/n't mean you/'re dead [CO+GU].

V It does [DIS+GM].

O No it does/n't [DIS+GM].

E Well it sometime/s ^

O *Does anniversary mean you/'re dead [INT+GU]?*

E <No>.

J <No>.

Despite this break from the norm on occasion, it was typically the case that interruptions from band 5 girls were not accepted by these older speakers.

6.6.9 Band 6 interrupting Band 6.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

It had been anticipated that a greater number of interruptions would have been accepted in these conversations compared to those with younger speakers. However, the rate at which this was the case was of some surprise. In fact, acceptance was by far the most common response to being interrupted by a same age speaker. As above, this was shown by failing to complete an utterance, or challenge the interruption in anyway, and by responding to the utterance that had been used to interrupt them. This is the way J responds in the example below. What is interesting about this is that J's first utterance in this extract is an attempt to answer V's question, yet she is interrupted by V. Despite this, J then joins in with V's questioning.

Example 6.22

V (Oh) you moved?

J Because she was ^

V *Why did you move [INT+GU] [REQJ+GU]?*

J And why have you only just start/ed?

E Because she/'s finish/ed her postcard.

There were times when these girls were not quite so receptive to being interrupted by a same age speaker. However, what is noticeable about these occasions is that they often occurred when the interruption was irrelevant to the conversation. An example that contains two different types of responses is seen in the interaction below. Initially K interrupts D with an off topic utterance, this is ignored by D who attempts to complete her original statement. However, this too is interrupted by K, although on this occasion it is relevant to what D is saying and likely as a result receives a response from D.

Example 6.23

D Why have they ^

K *That/'s my version of yours [INT+GU].*

D Why have they done face/s of themselves when ^

K *They/'re meant to be inside [INT+GU].*

D I know!

The following section will look at the types of interruptions made in these contexts and may be able to explain the higher than anticipated amount of acceptance observed in these contexts (see 6.6.13).

Whilst there were some differences in the way band 6 girls responded to interruptions from bands 4 and 5 these were rarely positive. The tendency to ignore the interruption and go on to complete their utterance was quite common, as was use of other AUs. However, those from other band 6 speakers were often treated more as ordinary utterances rather than interruptions. Not only were the majority of these accepted, but many were also responded to in a positive way. This therefore provides evidence of accommodation, as band 6 members showed a considerable difference in their response to interruptions from younger girls, compared to same age speakers.

There were a number of interesting, and some unexpected, findings in the way this age group responded to interruptions from speakers of different ages. However, there were also some findings, certainly in the way bands 4 and 6 behaved, that had been anticipated. Band 4, for example, although typically accepting of interruptions from members of all three age bands were more likely to challenge those from same age speakers than those from older girls. Band 6 behaved largely as had been predicted with members of each age band; interruptions from younger speakers were rarely accepted whilst this was the most common response to interruptions from same age girls. However, the greatest surprise was in the way band 5

behaved; not only was this typically the same with members of each age group, but this response was one of acceptance. This was shown, not only through a failure to attempt to complete their interrupted utterance, but often by abandoning their own utterance in favour of responding to the one that had been used to interrupt them. Perhaps it is the case that this is not an AU these girls are particularly threatened by. Alternatively, it may be a result of the types of interruptions other speakers used with girls of this age, this possibility will be addresses in the next section (see 6.6.10).

6.6.10 Types of Interruptions.

The interrupting used by group two was very similar to that seen in group one, and broadly falls into four categories; an interruption aimed at adding information to the current topic (example 5.23), an utterance that is relevant to the topic but not necessarily adding to it (example 4.26), an interruption that is not only irrelevant to the conversation but also aims to draw attention onto the current speaker (example 6.24) and finally an interruption used as a way of controlling either the hearer or the conversation (example 4.27).

Example 5.23

S I saw you [J+GL].
S Play/ing on your Mum/'z phone.
G But how did you know ^
S *Because I saw you [INT+GL] [J+GL].*

Example 4.26

C Yeah the star/s could go off and that would look even better.
F It would look better with like ^
C *You could do it like on the outside [INT+GL] [IG+GL].*

Example 6.24

I (You know someone said they might) someone who (um) S know/3s is called (um) ^
E *I like those [INT+GM] [IG+GM].*

Example 4.27

=F whispers.
F Silence.
R Silence what does that ^
=F shouts.
F *Do/n't break the silence [INT+GL]!*

6.6.11 Band 4.

The most common type of interruptions to be used in conversations between two band 4 speakers was the second; one that was relevant to the current topic, but not made with the

intention of adding to the first speaker's utterance. Those attempting to change the focus of the conversation were the second most popular type used in these contexts and, somewhat surprisingly, these usually received a response from the other speaker. This explains the higher than anticipated occurrence of this type of acceptance, though it is not quite clear why this type of interruption would have been accepted in this way. Although interruptions aimed at adding to the current speaker's utterance were used by these girls with one another this was very infrequent. However, it was controlling interruptions that were used least often in these interactions.

In interactions with members of band 5, interruptions attempting to alter the focus of the conversation were the most common. Not only is this at odds with what had been expected in these types of conversations, but it also makes the fact that the majority of these were accepted all the more puzzling. Interruptions used as a way of adding, and those that were relevant but did not require an interruption were used in equal amounts. However, those used as a way of controlling the talk occurred just once in these interactions. These findings appear to suggest that band 5 are simply very accepting of interruptions, regardless of the types used, or the speaker making the interruption.

Perhaps the most unexpected finding in regards to band 4's use of interruptions, was that most of those made to band 6 were those with the intention of changing the focus of the conversation. It had been anticipated that this would have been quite rare in interactions with these older girls. On the other hand, those that were expected to be observed frequently in these conversations; interruptions intending to add to the current speaker's utterance, were never used. There were, however, a small number of interruptions that were relevant to the current conversation but did not necessarily add to it. As had been anticipated controlling interruptions were never used in these conversations. This somewhat unexpected use of interruptions, may go some way towards explaining the usually negative responses of the older speakers to this AU from members of band 4.

6.6.12 Band 5.

In conversations with younger speakers, the overwhelming majority of interruptions were those intending to alter the focus of the conversation. Very few interruptions were relevant to the current topic and an even smaller number were those aiming to add relevant information to the utterance. There were, however, a number of controlling interruptions used in these conversations. Despite this, the majority of these were accepted by the younger girls, and this often involved responding to the utterance that had been used to interrupt them. The fact that these younger girls were willing to accept these AUs, despite their overtly controlling nature

suggests this is due to the older age of the band 5 speaker, rather than the type of interruption they use.

Interruptions made to girls of the same age occurred in a very similar way to those with younger speakers; the most common type of interruption was that aiming to change the focus of the conversation rather than adding to it. However, one slight difference in these contexts was that although this type of interruption occurred the most, the difference between the number of times this, and other types were used is considerably smaller than it had been in conversations with younger speakers. Similarly, those used to control the hearer or the current talk were used less frequently than with younger girls. The remaining types of interruptions were used in nearly equal measures. The fact that interruptions in these exchanges were always accepted provides further evidence to suggest this is an AU band 5 were very accepting of, regardless of the type used.

The types of interruptions made with band 6 were very much in line with the predictions made for these conversations. The clear majority of these were interruptions that aimed to add to the current topic. This was followed by those that were relevant to the conversation but did not require an interruption. Interestingly, none of the interruptions made in these contexts were those aimed at changing the focus of the conversation, or attempts to control the hearer or their talk. This, therefore, shows clear evidence of these girls accommodating their language as a result of the increased age of their conversational partner.

6.6.13 Band 6.

The interruptions used by band 6 included a new type of interruption which involved interrupting a speaker in order to correct them. One example of this is shown by D in the extract below;

Example 6.25

B We train ^

D *They, because it/'s not we [INT+GL] [CO+GL].*

B They train hearing dog/s.

Interruptions aimed at changing the topic of conversation were the most frequently used with band 4. Those that were relevant to the conversation, although not intending to add to it, were also used, as were controlling interruptions and the new type seen above. Unsurprisingly, those aimed at adding information to the current speaker's utterance were never seen in exchanges with these younger girls. It is interesting that band 4 were less likely to respond to interruptions from these girls compared to either of the younger two bands, despite very

similar types being used. It may have been that withdrawing from the conversation slightly was a way of saving face after being interrupted by such an older speaker.

There are several points of interest about the types of interruptions used with members of band 5. To begin with, very few took place in these types of conversations, overall the interruptions made in these conversations accounted for just over five percent of the total number produced. Secondly, the most common types of interruption used in these contexts were those aiming to take control of the situation and those used to correct the younger speaker. This is the only context in which either of these types were used the most frequently. Interruptions that were relevant to the conversation but not intended to add to it were also observed, as were those aiming to change the topic. None of the interruptions used in these interactions were those that intended to add to the current speaker's utterance. Yet, once again the majority of these utterances were accepted. These findings, combined with those above regarding the types bands 4 and 5 use with these girls suggest this is simply an AU band 5 are willing to accept, regardless of the type used.

Finally, in interactions with other band 6 speakers the two most used interruptions were those aimed at taking control of the conversations and those changing the focus of it. This is somewhat at odds with what had been anticipated for these types of exchanges in which more cooperative types of interruptions; such as those adding to the current utterance, were expected. However, these did not occur in any of these types of conversations. The other types of interruptions that were made in a number of these interactions included those made in order to correct or disagree with the current speaker as well as those that were relevant to the present topic but not necessarily aimed at adding to the utterance. Therefore, the fact that the majority of these interruptions were accepted offers evidence of accommodation based on the age of the interrupter, rather than on the type of interruption made.

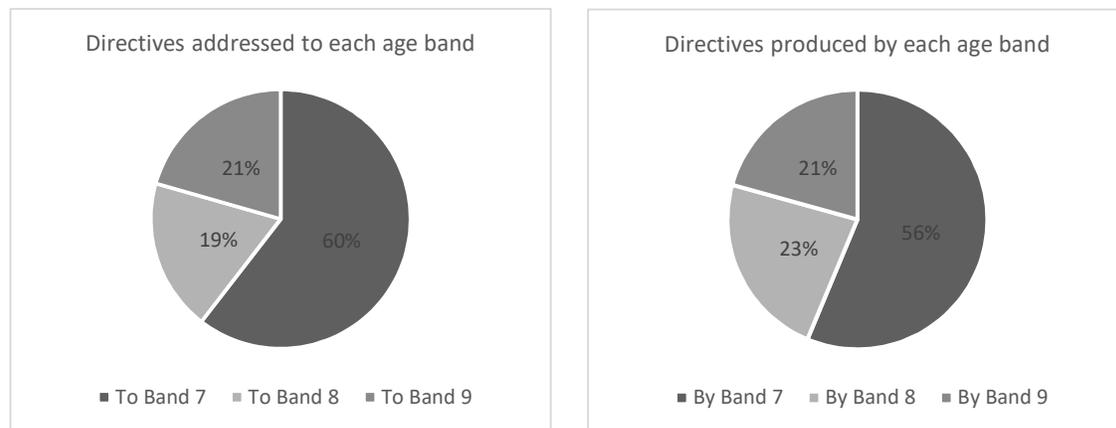
The types of interruptions used by band 4 did not vary greatly as a result of the hearer. However, evidence of accommodation is seen in the types of interruptions that were absent in certain contexts. Those used as an overt attempt at controlling, either the hearer or conversation, were seen with same age speakers and on one instance with band 5, yet they were never observed in interactions with band 6. Band 5 on the other hand, made use of very different types of interruptions with older girls compared to younger and same age speakers. Once again, the use of controlling interruptions decreased as the age of the hearer rose, and was entirely absent in conversations with band 6. The addition of two new types of interruptions by band 6 should not come as a great surprise given their older age and

increased linguistic abilities. As anticipated, interruptions used as a way of adding to the utterance they were interrupting were not observed with either of the younger two bands. However, the fact that they were also absent in conversations with same age speakers is of interest. In addition, controlling interruptions were seen frequently with all three bands. In fact, band 6 showed very little change in the types of interruptions they used with speakers of different ages.

It had been anticipated that possible reasons for band 5's willingness to accept this AU would have been found when the types of interruptions used were considered. However, what this section has shown is that these were very often attempts to change the topic or take control of the conversation. Interruptions used as a way of adding to the speaker's utterance were rarely seen with band 5. Due to the consistency with which this acceptance was observed it is unlikely the result of individual personalities within the age band. One possibility is that interruptions are not an AU this age band feel particularly threatened by and so acceptance of this will be the case regardless of either the speaker making the interruption, or the type used. However, the fact that this pattern is not observed with either younger or older speakers makes this somewhat puzzling. It may be the case that this behaviour is unique to girls of this age and is a phase that they pass through during their sociolinguistic development.

6.7 Group Three: Responses to Directives.

Directives were the most used AU by all three bands in this age group. As is shown in the charts below the majority of these were both addressed to, and produced by, the youngest speakers in the group, band 7. This section will look at the different ways this group responded to directives from each age band.



6.7.1 Band 7 directing Band 7.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

There was an almost equal number of directives that were complied with, and those that were not in conversations between two band 7 members, although compliance was slightly more common. Directives that were not complied with were usually ignored, rather than refused, and this often led to repetition of the utterance. One example of this is seen below in which U's directive is ignored by K, resulting in repetition.

Example 7.2

K And then U ^

U *K put the thing down* [INT+GL] [DI+GL].

K And then <U say/3s put it down> [IG+GL].

U <K put it down> [DI+GL] [REP+GL].

Though not seen as often as ignoring, both direct and indirect refusal were observed in response to this AU, and, as in the example below, it was not uncommon for this to be accompanied by another type of AU. Here, L responds both by refusing to comply with N's directive, and producing one of her own.

Example 7.3

N *Close your eye/s* [IG+GL] [DI+GL].

L *No, wait for K* [RE+GL] [DI+GL].

U Where has K gone?

=They shout out to K.

Other responses seen in these contexts included dismissing, and commenting on the fact that they were already carrying out the instruction they were being given. There were also times an older, band 8, speaker would disagree with, or overrule a directive made by a younger girl. The extract below shows one example of this. What is particularly interesting about this exchange is that although the utterance of the older girl, B, contradicts N's directive she then agrees with this.

Example 7.4

N (*No, no*) *no do/n't go for <a big chunk>* [DI+GL].

B <(Do) do whatever> you want [MIS+GL].

N Yeah.

Two findings of note were shown here; not only was the rate of compliance higher than anticipated, but the use of refusal occurred less than expected. It is possible that this

preference is a preferred way of responding, regardless of the speaker. Alternatively, it may be a result of the types of directives used by these girls (see 6.7.11).

6.7.2 Band 8 directing Band 7.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

Once again, compliance was the most common response of band 7 to directives from band 8, but only by a small margin. They also appeared more willing to comply with directives requiring greater effort on their part in these conversations. An example of this is shown below in which N complies with B's directive without question or hesitation.

Example 8.1

B N go get your phone or my phone [DI+GL].

B My phone/'s like in my green bag.

=N leaves and B shouts over to her.

B Get both of them N [DI+GL].

Directly refusing to comply was very rarely seen in these contexts, directives that were not followed were usually ignored or met with indirect refusal. An example of this second response is seen below in which both N and L fail to follow B's directive without explicitly stating so.

Example 8.2

B Yeah guy/s just put it into tiny ball/s [DI+GL].

N I just made an o [INRE+GM].

L And I just made a perfect b [INRE+GM].

This type of response was usually accepted by the older speaker. It was sometimes the case that these directives would be challenged or overruled by another band 8 member, before the younger speaker was able to respond. The use of other AUs in response to directives from these speakers was very uncommon, given the frequency with which this occurred in conversations with same age girls, it may be assumed that this is a result of accommodation.

6.7.3 Band 9 directing Band 7.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

Directives produced by band 9 were always complied with by band 7. The extract below shows one example of this as A immediately complies with E's directive without any hesitation or questioning.

Example 9.2

A The word I'm about to say is a bit rude.

A You might think I'm a bit rude if I say it.

E (*Just say it*) just say it [DI+GL].

=A whispers.

A X.

E Is it bloody?

=G gasps.

A Yeah, I just said it actually.

Whilst the majority of directives in these contexts occurred in this way, there were also some that involved hesitancy from the younger speaker, in these cases the older girls usually repeated their utterance until they received compliance. This type of interaction is shown below in which L is initially reluctant to try the older group's cooking, but following directives from both E and G she does comply.

Example 9.3

L (Oh) no that's load/s.

E *Just eat it* [DI+GL].

E *You have to eat it now* [DI+GL].

L (Oh) my god E!

=L laughs.

G (*Just put it*) just wipe it on the tea towel and get on with it [DI+GL].

=L eats some.

L That's nice.

Due to the small number of directives that occurred in these types of situations it is not possible to draw general conclusions about the way in which they occurred. However, the evidence from the conversations that do include this AU suggest compliance with directives from band 9 is a very typical response.

The similarities in the responses of band 7 to directives from same age girls and band 8 speakers was not something that had been anticipated. While compliance was expected with band 8, this had not been predicted to the same extent with same age speakers. Another

surprising finding from the responses of band 7 was their use of refusal; refusing to comply with a directive from a same age speaker was a surprisingly rare occurrence. On the other hand, the use of indirect refusal with band 8 occurred more frequently than had been anticipated. The response to directives from band 9 members, however, was in line with what had been predicted; as this was exclusively that of compliance. It may be the case that the tendency to favour ignoring over refusing with same age girls is partly related to the types of directives used in these interactions, this possibility will be explored later (see 6.7.11).

6.7.4 Band 7 directing Band 8.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

Noncompliance was the most common response of band 8 to being issued with a directive from a younger speaker. This was expressed in three different ways, direct refusal, indirect refusal, and, the most frequent response, ignoring. As is the case in the extract below, this was very often accepted by the younger speaker who rarely repeated their directive.

Example 7.5

M Get the scissors [DI+GM].

B Mr_C left [IG+GL].

U Yeah.

The conversation below provides a good example of both types of refusal. Initially B directly refuses to comply with K's directive, but, when this is not accepted by the younger girl she adopts a more indirect means of refusing. When this too is unsuccessful she reverts back to her original strategy. What is perhaps most interesting about this exchange is that although B repeatedly refuses to comply, she does eventually carry out the action she was being instructed to perform. Perhaps B does not wish to appear as though she is complying with this directive from the younger speakers, but rather because she has made the decision to do so herself.

Example 7.6

B I'm scared it's gonna get in my hair.

K Go [DI+GM]!

K Do it [DI+GM].

B No [RE+GL]!

B This is actually not as fun as I thought it would be.

U Ok go [DI+GM].

B It's gonna go up my nose [INRE+GL].

U Do it [DI+GM]!

=B shouts.

B No [RE+GL]!

There were also instances of compliance that were directly acknowledged by the band 8 members, and these were most common when compliance would be beneficial to the hearer. As anticipated, most directives produced in these contexts were not complied with, and although this often resulted in the younger speakers repeating the directive that had been ignored or even refused, this was very rarely a successful way of altering the behaviour of the older girl.

6.7.5 Band 8 directing Band 8.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

The majority of directives produced by band 8 in conversations with same age speakers were complied with, although this was not always done by directly acknowledging the directive. An example of this is shown in the conversation below between B and S, although S does not openly acknowledge B's directive she does comply by allowing U to continue.

Example 8.3

S Wait what are we putting in that?

U Our sweet/s.

B Let her do them all [DI+GM].

S (Oo) I might put my name on the outside.

S Because the sweet/s >

A finding from these interactions that was both intriguing and unexpected was that neither direct nor indirect refusal were ever used in response to a directive from another band 8 speaker; instances of noncompliance always involved ignoring. Much like the example below this was very often accepted by the other band 8 speaker and it was rarely the case that these directives would be repeated.

Example 8.4

B Wait is she look/ing?

S No, put it like this [DI+GM].

=B calls down the table to L.

B Wait L have you start/ed [IG+GM]?

As is shown in the extract below, dismissing was another way of responding to a directive from a same age speaker. The reason for the dismissing in this case is likely because S was

already carrying out the action B was telling her to perform. Interestingly, this response from S led to B using this type of AU herself. The utterances following the directive raise an intriguing point; when S makes the claim she is already performing the action B has directed her to, B states she is aware of this, if this is the case why did she issue the directive? It may have been that B was not aware of this, but claims this was the case as a way of saving face following S's dismissal.

Example 8.5

B Put the name/s by the thing [DI+GM].

S That's what I'm do/ing [MIS+GM].

B I know [MIS+GM].

The high rate of compliance in these conversations was not a finding that had been predicted. It had been thought that a higher number of directives from same age girls would be followed than those from younger girls, but the extent to which this was the case is intriguing. In addition, the absence of any type of refusing in these conversations is also of interest. It may be the case that possible explanations for this will be found by looking at the types of directives used in these contexts (see 6.7.12).

6.7.6 Band 9 directing Band 8.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

Although the majority of directives from band 9 were complied with in these interactions, this was not the only response to this AU. The example below shows members of both bands 7 and 8 continuing to speak despite I's instruction to the contrary.

Example 9.4

6 Could we not use the headband/s?

B She/'s from like : some < > movie.

I <Shh> [DI+GM].

M Yeah she/'s not part of the gang.

B She/'s not part of the unicorn gang.

An example of the more common response of compliance is seen below in which B states she will be using the same idea as I, however, this is not well received by I who issues her with

the directive not to copy her. Although B does not immediately respond to this utterance when she does, three lines later, it is one of compliance.

Example 9.5

I I'm make/ing dungarees [INRE+GL].

B I'm do/ing dungarees man [INRE+GL].

I *Do/n't copy me* [DI+GM].

M Wait guy/s >

U Where are the scissors?

B I'll do a crop top.

The tendency to comply with these AUs without directly acknowledging them was quite common in these contexts. As anticipated, no type of refusing was ever used in response to directives from band 9.

The responses of band 8 were shown to vary as a result of their conversational partner. Not only was compliance more likely as the age of their partner rose, but the use of refusal decreased in conversations with older speakers. This considerable change in response is more than likely a result of the age of the speakers involved in these conversations. Thereby showing evidence that these girls are accommodating their use of directives based on the age of their partner.

6.7.7 Band 7 directing Band 9.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

As band 7 used just three directives in conversations with band 9 it is not possible to draw conclusions based on these, however, it is useful to look at the responses these directives received. As is shown in the conversation below not only did these three directives occur in one conversation, but they were used in three consecutive utterances. Although two of the three are ignored the third, likely due to the fact compliance would be beneficial to the older speaker, was followed.

Example 7.7

N (No) no just give her the bar.

H Thank you.

L (There/'s, there/'s) there/'s >

K *Now go* [DI+GU].

U *H go* [DI+GU].

L *No wait* [DI+GU] [DIS+GL].

L There/'s one more piece.

It is important to note here that the first speaker to produce a directive in any type of conversation with a member of band 9, K, was H's sister. It may be this factor that led U and then L to produce their subsequent directives.

6.7.8 Band 8 directing Band 9.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

As was the case above, band 8 also used a very small number of directives with band 9 speakers, however, unlike those used by band 7 none of these were complied with. It had been assumed that these utterances would usually be met with refusal, however, all of these directives were ignored. One example of this is shown below in which rather than attempting to repeat her ignored directive, B responds to I's request.

Example 8.6

B Somebody tape me up again [DI+GL] [DI+GU].

I Will someone tape my mouth shut [DR+GL] [DR+GM] [IG+GM]?

=They laugh.

B No [RE+GU]!

Although directives from band 8 never received a response from band 9, these were sometimes complied with by younger, band 7, girls.

Whilst it had not been anticipated that compliance would have been the most common response to directives from band 8, it was thought that this would have been the response in some conversations. It is possible that reasons for these unexpected findings will be revealed when the types of directives used by these speakers are considered in the next section (see 6.7.12).

6.7.9 Band 9 directing band 9.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

Just over half of the directives from same age girls were not followed by band 9, and this was done in several different ways including; ignoring, direct and indirect refusal, and the use of another AU. When directives were ignored it was quite common for them to be repeated until they received a response; one example of this is shown below. When E's first directive is ignored she changes her utterance slightly to become a direct request, however, when this too

is ignored she returns to using a directive. G's failure to respond prompts E to produce her final utterance shown here, a statement about what she is going to do, rather than an attempt at seeking permission from G. Interestingly, it is this utterance that prompts G to do as E had asked.

Example 9.6

E G let me tie up your hair [DI+GU].
G [IG+GU].
E Please let me tie up your hair [DR+GU] [REF+GU].
G [IG+GU].
E Just take it out [DI+GU].
(Three lines later).
E I'll just put a French braid in for you real quick.
=G takes her hair down.
I Is x ok?
G Yeah but then <it will be x>.

One way of responding to directives that was only seen in these interactions is shown below. Following Z's directives none of the other speakers in the conversation respond, however, seconds later when I produces her joint directive, it immediately received a positive response from H.

Example 9.7

Z Go and read what's on the board [DI+GU].
:
I Guy/s let/s go read the armpit fudge thing [JD+GU].
H Yeah!

Producing another directive in response to this AU was also seen in these interactions, what is intriguing about this is that the only other context in which this response was frequently observed was in conversations between two members of band 7. An example of this is shown in the extract below in which this response is seen by both E and H. Eventually, E's instruction is followed which results in H's earlier directive also being complied with.

Example 9.8

=E holds onto H and H squeals.
E Give me a sweet or I'll kiss you, give me a sweet [DI+GU] [TH+GU].
=H laughs.
H Ok.
H Let me go [DI+GU]!
E Give me a sweet [DI+GU].
=H gives E a sweet and E lets her go.

Due to the small number of directives produced by bands 7 and 8 in conversations with these older speakers it is not possible to draw general conclusions about the response of band 9 to this AU. However, the fact that just one directive from a younger speaker was complied with is in line with what had been anticipated. Although compliance with directives from same age girls was not the most common response of band 9, a large number of these utterances were followed in these contexts. It is this change in response to directives from younger girls compared to those from same age speakers, that provides evidence of accommodation.

All three bands in this age group have shown evidence of accommodation; in each case a greater number of directives were complied with when the speaker producing them was a member of band 9 compared to band 7. While the use of refusal was typically more common in response to this AU from band 7 than band 9. It can be assumed, therefore, that this accommodation is based on the age a speaker in relation to that of their partner. This also provides support for the suggestion that age is used as a way of measuring status for these girls.

6.7.10 Types of Directives.

There were three main ways in which speakers in this age group used directives; in an attempt to persuade the hearer to comply with their own wishes (example 7.8), because they claim to know what should be done or how a task should be carried out (example 8.7), and thirdly, as a way of controlling the hearer's behaviour with no obvious gain to the speaker (example 9.9).

Example 7.8

L Put the sweet/s in my bowl [DI+GL].

Example 8.7

S Mix it together [DI+GL].

Example 9.9

E Yeah give the girl a cup [DI+GU].

6.7.11 Band 7.

There was an almost even divide between these three types of directives in conversations between multiple band 7 speakers. However, those suggesting that the speaker knew what should be done, and so were in a position to issue a directive, were seen slightly more often. Interestingly, it was these directives that were most likely to receive compliance, this may be

one reason for the higher than anticipated rate of compliance in these conversations. On the other hand, those used simply as a way of exercising control over the hearer were the most likely to be ignored. Perhaps due to the implied authority these directives involved, ignoring was preferable to refusing. The preference for this response to such directives, and the frequency with which they were used, provides one explanation for the use of ignoring in favour of refusing seen in these interactions.

The directives most frequently addressed to band 8 were those suggesting that the speaker knew what should be done, and those used to persuade the hearer to comply with the speaker's wishes. As with same age girls, it was directives used as a way of controlling the hearer's behaviour that were used the least frequently in these exchanges. However, a slight difference seen in these interactions was the tendency for directives to be addressed to the group as a whole, rather than a specific individual. This was the case for nearly a third of the directives issued in these conversations. Directing these utterances at the group means they are somewhat mitigated and so perhaps more appropriate with older speakers. This change in the behaviour of band 7 shows evidence of accommodation. Band 8 were most likely to comply with directives aiming to persuade the hearer to comply with their own wishes and, once again, those used as a way of exercising control over the hearer were the least likely to receive compliance.

As has been noted there were just three directives addressed to band 9 by band 7 and these were all of the same type; attempts to persuade the hearer to comply with their own wishes. Given the implications attached to the other two types of directives, and the age difference between bands 7 and 9, it is perhaps unsurprising that these were not observed in these types of conversations. It is this recognition, and consequent modification of language with these older girls, that shows band 7 are accommodating their use of directives based on the age of their partner.

6.7.12 Band 8.

The directives used by band 8 in conversations with younger speakers were primarily attempts by the speaker to get their own way, and those intending to exercise control over the hearer. Those suggesting that the speaker knew how a task should be carried out were also frequently observed in these contexts, and it was these types that were most frequently complied with by band 7. A small percentage of the directives used in these conversations were addressed to the group, rather than a specific individual, however, this was the exception rather than the norm in these contexts.

An intriguing change was seen in the directives used with same age speakers; these were typically attempts to control the behaviour of the hearer with no obvious gain to the speaker. Somewhat surprisingly, these directives were almost exclusively complied with. Those used by the speaker to achieve their own wishes, and those suggesting the speaker knew what to do were used on an almost equal number of occasions with same age girls. Directives used to persuade the hearer to comply with the speaker's wishes were always successful. The finding that compliance was the most typical response to this AU, and that refusing was never seen in response to directives is intriguing, and suggests that this may be a reflection of the age of the speaker, rather than the type of directive used. The relationships between these girls may also provide some explanations for these findings, perhaps those from friends and agemates were not considered to be as controlling, and so were more likely to be complied with. Over half of the directives produced in these interactions were addressed to the group, rather than a named individual, marking a considerable change to the way they were used with younger speakers. Again, it is this change in behaviour that offers evidence of accommodation.

Directives aiming to achieve the speaker's own wishes were the most commonly used in conversations with older, band 9, girls. It had not been expected that directives with the sole purpose of controlling the hearer's behaviour would be used in these conversations, yet this was observed on occasion. On the other hand, no directives suggesting the speaker had superior knowledge over the hearer were produced in conversations with these older girls. A particularly interesting finding is that the only way directives were used with older speakers was by addressing the utterance to the whole group, rather than a specific speaker. This may be related to the assertiveness of such an utterance and a recognition on the part of the younger speaker that directing these orders at the group will go some way towards mitigating the effect of this. However, it may also explain the failure of band 9 to comply with any of these directives; it may be that other speakers were quicker or perhaps more willing to respond, or that they assumed younger girls were obligated to respond in a way they were not.

6.7.13 Band 9.

In conversations with band 7, directives aiming to exercise control over the hearer were the most frequently used by band 9. There was also an additional type seen in these conversations; this involved an utterance being used with the intent of controlling the speaker's behaviour but was produced in such a way that implied it was obligatory. An example of this is shown below in which E's use of the words 'have to' imply that the hearer

has no choice but to comply, in reality, the only reason this has been deemed compulsory is because E has decided it is.

Example 9.10

L (Oh) no that's load/s.

E *Just eat it [DI+GL].*

E *You have to eat it now [DI+GL].*

L (Oh) my god E!

Perhaps unsurprisingly, these utterances were always successful in persuading the hearer to comply on the first occasion. There were also directives used implying the speaker had knowledge of the way a task should be carried out, as well as those attempting to get their own way, however, these occurred far less frequently than those noted above. In addition, these directives were always addressed to a specific speaker, rather than more generally to members of the group.

Not only were a very small number of directives used by band 9 in conversations with band 8, but just one type was used. Despite the fact the older age of these speakers would likely have given the speaker freedom to use more controlling directives in these conversations, those that were used were attempts to persuade the hearer to carry out the wishes of the speaker. As was also the case with band 7, these directives were always addressed to specific individuals, rather than to the group as a whole.

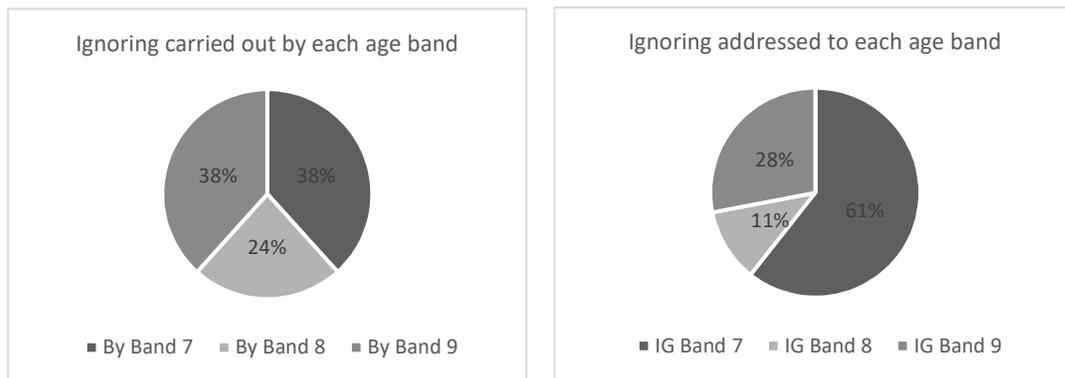
In conversations with same age girls the directives used by band 9 were overwhelmingly those aiming to achieve the speaker's own wishes, and these were very often complied with. Both other types of directives were also observed in these contexts although none to the same extent as the first. The inclusion of 'have to' was seen in some directives addressed to same age girls, and although this was not as common as with band 7, they were always a successful way of persuading the hearer to comply with the directive. Unlike with either of the younger bands there were some directives aimed at the whole group in these interactions, therefore, showing a change in behaviour based on the age of their partner.

Some interesting changes are seen in the types of directives used with each band. Firstly, bands 7 and 8 were considerably more likely to use directives with the sole purpose of controlling the hearer's behaviour in conversations with band 7 compared to those with band 9. Secondly, the directives most commonly used with band 9 were attempts by the speaker to achieve their own wishes, and this was the case for members of all three bands. Finally, it was very often the case that directives used with band 9 would be directed at all members of

the conversation, rather than individual speakers. This is particularly obvious amongst band 8 who rarely used directives this way with band 7, but did so on every occasion with band 9. Similarly, band 9 never behaved this way with bands 7 or 8, yet this was observed occasionally with same age speakers. It is the changes seen in the way directives were used that shows these speakers are accommodating their use of this AU based on the age of their conversational partner.

6.8 Group Three: Responses to Ignoring.

Ignoring was the second most frequently used AU in this age group and as the charts below show, there were some interesting findings with regards to how this AU was used. It was speakers in the middle band who both ignored the fewest utterances and were least likely to be ignored. The youngest girls in the group were considerably more likely than either of the older two bands to be ignored. The following will look at the way each band responded to being ignored by girls of different ages.



6.8.1 Band 7 ignoring Band 7.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

Repetition was the most common response of band 7 to being ignored by a same age speaker, and this often involved the same utterance being repeated, sometimes multiple times.

However, at times this involved a variation of the original utterance. A good example of this is seen in the extract below; when M's first utterance, a directive, is ignored by R, she modifies this to become a request which proves to be successful in receiving a response from R.

Example 7.9

M Ok wait, hold the bottom [DI+GL].

R [IG+GL].

M Can you hold the bottom [DR+GL] [REF+GL]?

=R holds the blender.

Acceptance of being ignored was not uncommon in these interactions, and this was shown either by temporarily withdrawing from the conversation, failing to repeat themselves or failing to refer to the fact they had been ignored. The first of these is how A reacts in the example below, in which she fails to speak for several turns, and when she does it is relating to the current topic, rather than a repetition of her ignored utterance.

Example 7.10

A I've got an idea, the size of that teaspoon.

M *It's actually quite fun to make, it's like dough* [IG+GL].

W Yeah it's like (literally) literally.

Another way acceptance was shown was by responding to the utterance that had been used to ignore them, this is how M responds below. Although N ignores her utterance by introducing a new topic, M chooses to respond to this rather than repeating herself.

Example 7.11

M I have two that are/n't alight so >

N *I do/n't know whether they're cook/ed or not* [IG+GL].

N I can't see.

M (Um) L'z look like they're cook/ed.

Perhaps the most interesting finding here is that instances of repetition usually involved a variation of the ignored utterance, rather than an exact repetition of it. Suggesting that these speakers may believe the reason for them being ignored was not simply a case of their partner not hearing them, but choosing not to respond because of its form.

6.8.2 Band 8 ignoring Band 7.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

There was an almost equal mix of acceptance and repetition in response to being ignored by band 8. Failure to accept this AU was the response seen most frequently, but only by a very small margin. Not only was repetition less common in in these contexts than with same age speakers but, somewhat surprisingly, it usually involved repetition of the same utterance, rather than a slightly modified version. Perhaps as a result, it was not usually successful in

persuading the hearer to respond. An example of this is shown below, in which despite L producing the same utterance three times fails to receive any type of acknowledgement from B. What is interesting about this, is that the utterance itself does not necessarily require a response, however, L's repetition of this clearly implies she is looking for some type of acknowledgement from B.

Example 8.8

L B I just made the table cloth.

B Let's see if they have the same date [IG+GL].

B Nah.

L I just made a table cloth right here I think [REP+GM].

B [IG+GL].

L B I just made a table cloth [REP+GM].

B [IG+GL].

Acceptance of being ignored was often seen in these conversations and this was sometimes shown by responding to the utterance that had been used to ignore them. Interestingly, this was more common in these interactions compared to those with same age speakers. An example of this is seen below in which L, having been ignored twice both by a same age girl, and an older speaker, abandons her efforts to receive a response and instead joins in with the conversation.

Example 8.9

L Can I have some scissors please [DR+GL] [DR+GM]?

U My one came out fine [IG+GL].

S Same [IG+GL].

N Mine did/n't.

L Can I use someone's scissors please [REP+GL] [REP+GM] [DR+GL] [DR+GM]?

S Are you go/ing xx at x [IG+GL]?

U Do you know how it expensive it was [IG+GL]?

B It was like four hundred pound/s, per person!

L Yeah I do/n't think many people are gonna go.

One finding here that is of surprise, given the responses seen in conversations with other band 7 speakers, is that repetition usually involved the same utterance being produced multiple times, rather than a variation of this. This may be explained by considering the individuals involved in these interactions. After having an utterance ignored by a member of band 8 there were only four band 7 speakers who responded with repetition, and only two of these

individuals typically repeated the same very utterance. Interestingly, it was these speakers who were most frequently ignored by older girls. It is, therefore, likely that this finding is more a reflection of the specific speakers involved in these interactions than it is of band 7 as a whole.

6.8.3 Band 9 ignoring Band 7.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

Not only was acceptance seen more frequently in these interactions compared to those with bands 7 or 8, but it was also the most common reaction to having an utterance ignored by band 9. One example of this is shown below, here U asks a question addressed to a group of four older speakers and yet fails to receive any type of acknowledgement. Despite this, U compliments them on their cooking before leaving the conversation.

Example 9.11

U Guy/s what/'s in that?

E [IG+GL].

G [IG+GL].

H [IG+GL].

Z [IG+GL].

;

U It smell/3s very nice.

=U leaves.

On the rare occasion that repetition was used, it was seldom a successful way of receiving a response from the older speaker. An example of this is show below; here A begins by producing only part of an utterance and so is perhaps more understandably ignored by the older girls who were already involved in a conversation. However, when she asks a question directed at a specific band 9 member not only does her question go unanswered, but none of her utterances receive any type of response from the older girls. Having had each of her three utterances ignored A then leaves the conversation.

Example 9.12

H Are you serious?

=A comes over.
 A <What> on earth >
 E <Yeah> [IG+GL].
 E No I'm only joke/ing <I know what> Pretty_Little_Liars is but I do/n't watch it.
 A <What on earth> >
 E [IG+GL].
 A E What on earth did you give us?
 E [IG+GL].
 H *It's the season finale tomorrow [IG+GL]!*
 Z I know I'm so excited.
 =A leaves.

The fact that A's presence in the conversation was not acknowledged by any of the speakers, even after she had left, is intriguing. Given the fact A spoke on three occasions one of which included the name of an older girl, it seems unlikely these older girls were unaware of her presence or her utterances. It is perhaps more likely that they did not feel either of these were worthwhile responding to. This appears to have been quite successful for the older girls as it caused A to leave the conversation of her own accord.

The way band 7 speakers responded to being ignored was shown to vary based on the age of the speaker carrying out the ignoring. Not only did the frequency with which repetition was used decrease as the age of their partner increased, but it also became a less successful way of persuading their partner to respond. In addition, band 7 were more accepting of being ignored by older girls than they were of those the same age. Therefore, providing evidence of accommodation based on the age of their conversational partner.

6.8.4 Band 7 ignoring Band 8.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

It was very rarely the case that band 8 would accept being ignored by younger girls. The most common response to this AU was repetition, and this often involved reformulation of a sentence rather than producing the same utterance for a second time. The extract below shows a successful example of this. After B's first utterance, a directive, was ignored she goes on to produce a similar utterance, but with the accompaniment of a justification. It was this second utterance that resulted in a response from one of the younger speakers in the group.

Example 7.12

B Just drink it [DI+GL].

L Can someone go and get another one of those out of the [IG+GM] [DR+GL] [DR+GM] ^
B Drink it, it'll keep you healthy [INT+GL] [REF+GL] [DI+J+GL].
N I'll drink it.

It was very rarely the case that band 8 accepted being ignored by a younger girl. When acceptance was seen in these interactions, it always involved the same band 8 speaker, S. An example of this is shown below when having been ignored by N she makes no attempt at repeating herself but simply accepts this ignoring.

Example 7.13

S Can I have a go [DR+GL]?
N [IG+GM].
L I'll just stay here and eat my raspberries.
U I'll eat them with you.

While there were times that S did not accept this AU, the fact that B never did suggests this may be a result of individual differences in speaker's personalities. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to propose that it is more typical for band 8 speakers to repeat themselves after being ignored by a younger girl, than it is for them to accept this.

6.8.5 Band 8 ignoring Band 8.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

Most instances of ignoring from same age girls were not accepted by band 8. This was often shown through the use of repetition, although this usually involved repetition of the same utterance rather than a modified one, as illustrated by S in the extract below.

Example 8.10

S <What set are you in>?
B [IG+GM].
S What set are you in [REP+GM]?
B Huh?
S What set are you in?
B Two but I might be move/ing up [CTS+GM].

Although acceptance was not the most common response to this AU, it was more common in these interactions compared to those with younger girls, and it sometimes involved the first speaker responding to an utterance that had been used to ignore them. This is seen by S in the example below.

Example 8.11

B <Yeah same> I stand up for everything my teacher/s think I'm weird in school.

S Who does?

B (No) because you know, in RE I was standing up and that teacher does/n't like me and she was like sit down [IG+GM].

S She hate/3s everybody.

Not only was acceptance more likely in conversations with same age girls, but the way in which this was accepted was slightly different. In addition, the use of repetition in these contexts also varied slightly to those seen in conversations with younger girls.

6.8.6 Band 9 ignoring Band 8.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

The most common response of band 8 to being ignored by older girls was to continue speaking regardless of the fact they had not received a response. The use of repetition was also common in these contexts, and both of these responses are shown in the example below. Initially, B continues speaking despite failing to receive any type of response from I. However, when she is ignored for a second time she repeats, and slightly elaborates on, her utterance persuading I to respond.

Example 9.13

B How are we meant to do dungarees?

I [IG+GM].

B No we need a new bin bag.

B (Scrap that, scrap that) scrap that.

B Scrap that.

B (Shall we do) shall we do black dungarees?

I [IG+GM].

B Shall we make dungarees but they've got like pockets, shall we do that?

I But they can have individuality, you know?

Acceptance was sometimes observed in response to this AU from older girls, and the likelihood of band 8 abandoning their ignored utterance in favour of responding to that of the older speaker was more common in these interactions than with either of the younger bands. An example of this is shown below, despite the fact I's utterance ignores B, she chooses to answer her question, rather than repeating herself.

Example 9.14

B You're like from the suicide squad.

I I really wanna see that.

B Yeah me too.
B I love the new Snapchat filter though.
I Did you see the trailer [IG+GM]?
I I can/'t wait to show you my toy/s < > and it/'s like >
B <Yeah>.

Although there were similarities seen in band 8's response to this AU with speakers of all ages, there were also some subtle changes. As the age of their interlocutor rose, repetition was less likely, while acceptance was seen more often. In addition, responding to utterances used to ignore a speaker was seen in conversations with same age and older girls, but never with younger speakers. It is these changes in the responses of band 8 that provide evidence of accommodation based on their partner's age.

6.8.7 Band 7 ignoring Band 9.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

Band 9 rarely accepted being ignored by a member of band 7. Instead, this AU usually resulted in repetition, and this was normally a successful way of receiving a response. As in the example below, this often involved a slight variation of their original utterance. When I's first utterance is ignored she repeats her utterance, but includes the word 'seriously' in the hope of persuading M to not only respond, but also comply with her indirect order. When this too fails to receive a response, she alters it once again to include 'please', and this time is successful on both accounts.

Example 7.14

=M takes the bag I is using.
I No, I need it [IO+GL].
M [IG+GU].
I Seriously I need it [IO+GL] [REP+GL].
M [IG+GU].
I No seriously please_please [IO+GL] [REP+GL] [REF+GL].
=M gives I the bag.

There were also times when a band 9 speaker may be ignored by one younger speaker, but receive a response from another. The extract below provides one example of this, as I is ignored by M, but receives a response from U.

Example 7.15

B Whoa, must be cracker/s!

I What is this crispy stuff called?

M We're so geeky [IG+GU].

U They're like cracker/s.

I These are good.

One particularly intriguing point to note about instances of band 7 ignoring band 9 was that they always involved the same two girls, M and I, suggesting this is not an AU these girls have a preference for in conversations with these older speakers.

6.8.8 Band 8 ignoring Band 9.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

In contrast to what has been predicted, acceptance was the most common response of band 9 to being ignored by a band 8 speaker. This was shown either by temporarily withdrawing from the conversation, or responding to a new topic introduced by the younger girl. Interestingly, repetition was not used by band 9 in these conversations, although they were observed continuing to speak despite the fact they had been ignored. An example of two of these responses is shown in the extract below. Initially I continues speaking although she had failed to receive any type of acknowledgement from B, however, when she is ignored for a second time, she responds to B's utterance.

Example 8.12

I Why is 6 so eager to split me and my friend/s up?

I But you know >

B Make it stay flat or something [IG+GU].

I (Like who do you think) who do you think/'s 6/'z favourite?

B (Uh) definitely not me.

I No but like who?

*B I'm gonna be Superman can someone help me make a Superman costume [IG+GU]
[SUB+GU]?*

I B first it was a unicorn now it's Superman.

The fact that acceptance was the most common response to being ignored by these younger speakers was not only an intriguing finding, but also at odds with what had been predicted. Possible explanations for this may be found when the way in which ignoring was carried out is considered (see 6.8.12).

6.8.9 Band 9 ignoring Band 9.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

Most instances of ignoring carried out by same age girls were not accepted by band 9. Repetition was the most common response to this AU in these contexts, yet this was rarely a successful way of persuading the hearer to respond. An example of this is seen below in which both of G's utterances fail to receive any type of response.

Example 9.15

G I'm gonna bring these to school tomorrow.

Z *You did/n't even try it [IG+GU].*

G I'm bring/ing these into school tomorrow [REP+GU].

H *(Oh) no that/s horrible [IG+GU].*

E Come on we have to do the challenge, we have to have a spoonful of it [DI +GU].

Altering an ignored utterance, rather than simply repeating themselves, was seen in these conversations more than in any other context. One example of this is shown in the extract below in which, rather than repeating herself, Z uses several different utterances in an attempt to receive a response from G and is eventually successful.

Example 9.16

Z No G do I know?

G [IG+GU].

I <When you went oh_la_la G that kind of gave it away>.

Z <I already know do/n't I>?

E <Why are/n't you guy/s> telling me?

G [IG+GU].

Z I'm pretty sure I know.

I Who?

Acceptance of ignoring usually followed either an attempt to change the topic of conversation, or an utterance that was irrelevant to the current subject. In the extract below the girls are taking part in a cooking activity and are discussing what they are doing, and what needs to be done next when G poses her question about singing. Unsurprisingly, both E and Z fail to acknowledge this and continue with their conversation. G does not speak for several turns, but when she does it is about the sweets they are making.

Example 9.17

Z We need to xx.

G E basically do you wanna do a duet [SUB+GU]?

E All of them [IG+GU]?

Z Yeah : well just like >

There were also times when the ignored speaker responded to the utterance that had been used to ignore them, although this was less common in these contexts than it had been with band 8.

Band 9's responses to this AU revealed some interesting findings; while repetition was common with band 7 and same age girls, most of the ignoring carried out by band 8 was accepted. Both responding to an utterance that had been used to ignore them, and repeating a slightly different version of an ignored utterance were seen in interactions with band 8 and 9, but never band 7. Therefore, showing a change in the response of band 9 based on the age of their conversational partner, and providing evidence of accommodation.

Overall band 7 was the only band to behave as had been expected, as acceptance of this AU increased as the age of their partner rose. Band 8, on the other hand, were rarely accepting of being ignored, regardless of the age of the other speaker. However, it is the responses of band 9 that are most at odds with what had been anticipated, as they were more likely to accept this AU from band 8 speakers than from same age girls. Possible explanations for this may be related to the individuals involved in the ignoring that occurred between bands 8 and 9, as these were the same two speakers. Alternatively, it may be that this is a result of the way ignoring was carried out by these speakers, this will be considered in the next section (see 6.8.12). However, there are two findings that are consistent with expectations. Firstly, all three bands were more likely to accept being ignored by a member of band 9 than band 7, and secondly, accepting this AU by responding to the utterance responsible for the speaker being ignored always occurred more in conversations with bands 8 and 9 than band 7. This, combined with the responses of band 7, offers support for the suggestion these speakers alter their responses to this AU based on the age of their partner.

6.8.10 Types of Ignoring.

There were two main ways in which ignoring was carried out by this age group; an utterance may be met with silence (example 7.16) or the speaker may continue a conversation without acknowledging the contribution of the previous speaker (example 7.17).

Example 7.16

B Wait L have you start/ed?
L [IG+GM].

Example 7.17

A Let me try [DI+GL].
R How did your Mum get it off [IG+GL]?

In addition to this, both were sometimes accompanied by other types; for example, an utterance may be responsible for both ignoring a speaker as well as introducing a new topic of conversation (example 7.18). Additionally, it may be the case that another type of AU may would be ignored (example 9.18) and this could be done through either silence or by continuing to speak. Finally, as was the case in both groups one and two an utterance that was irrelevant to the current talk may be ignored by another speaker (example 8.13).

Example 7.18

K What is that?
N Do you not like cream [IG+GL]?
S No I do, I like cream, it/'s just, it/'s done now.

Example 9.18

Z (Ugh) H what have you done to that [REQJ+GU]?
H [IG+GU].

Example 8.13

S (Uh) M the really <annoying one>.
L <Look B> [AS+GM].
B What the one who ask/ed out BD in year five [IG+GL]?
S (Uh) the one who hang/3s out with T and E that one.

6.8.11 Band 7.

In conversations with same age speakers the clear majority of ignoring was carried out by the speaker continuing with a conversation, and in many instances this involved another type of AU being ignored. This type of ignoring was very often accepted by the original speaker. On the other hand, when this was done through silence it often resulted in repetition. Although some of the ignored utterances were irrelevant to the conversation, this number accounted for

a very small percentage of the total ignored. It was rarely the case in these contexts that an utterance would be ignored by another speaker attempting to introduce a new topic.

In interactions with slightly older, band 8, girls there was an almost even divide between the ignoring carried out through silence and the continuation of a conversation. Ignoring other AUs was common in these contexts, and there were also many instances of ignoring that involved the younger girl starting a new topic. As has been noted, band 8 speakers were very rarely accepting of this AU in these conversations, although the ignoring that took place by continuing with a conversation was slightly more likely to be accepted than when this involved silence, the difference was minimal. Repetition in these contexts always occurred when a speaker was ignored by the younger girl introducing a new topic or when ignoring followed another type of AU. As with same age speakers, only a very small number of the ignored utterances in these contexts were irrelevant to the current topic.

As was the case with band 8, an equal amount of the two types of ignoring occurred in conversations with band 9. However, what is perhaps most noteworthy about the ignoring carried out by band 7 in conversations with band 9, is the very small amount that was observed, despite this, every type of ignoring was seen here. It had been anticipated that perhaps a large number of AUs would be ignored in these contexts as it was thought this response would be preferable to one directly refusing to comply. However, this was not found to be the case, in fact, a very small proportion of the ignored utterances in these conversations were AUs, as was the case with same age girls. A finding that was in line with what had been anticipated, however, was that a quarter of the utterances that were ignored in these contexts were not relevant to the current topic, and so this behaviour was likely more justified. The finding that such a small amount of ignoring occurred, combined with the fact that this was always carried out by the same band 7 members implies that this is not an AU these girls typically favour in interactions with these older speakers.

6.8.12 Band 8.

The ignoring carried out by band 8 in conversations with younger girls was primarily done by continuing to speak without acknowledging the contribution of the previous speaker. It was quite common in these contexts, for the band 8 member to not only ignore an utterance by continuing to talk, but to also introduce a new topic. In these contexts, the speaker is not only failing to acknowledge the younger girl's utterance, they are also dismissing their choice of conversation by doing so. Band 8 ignored a number of AUs produced by younger girls, yet only a small number, less than ten percent, were utterances that were irrelevant to the current conversation. Although silence was sometimes used as a way of ignoring a younger speaker it

was not very common, in fact, less than a quarter of the ignoring to take place in these contexts occurred in this way, and while this type of ignoring was slightly less likely to be accepted compared to continuing a conversation, this difference was very small.

In conversations with same age speakers surprisingly few utterances were ignored by band 8, and other types of AUs were never ignored in these interactions. Continuing with a conversation was clearly the preferred way of band 8 ignoring a same age girl, and it was very often the case that a new topic would be introduced in the same utterance as the ignoring was carried out. However, this new topic was never accepted, either by the ignored speaker or any other members of the conversation. Although most instances of ignoring were not accepted in these conversations, when this was observed it always involved the continuation of a conversation, rather than silence.

With older speakers, most utterances were ignored by continuing with a conversation, and this was more likely to be accepted compared to when an utterance was met with silence. There were two noticeable differences seen in the ignoring that took place here compared to that with same age girls. Firstly, it was far less likely for an utterance to be ignored by introducing a new topic. Secondly, while no AUs produced by other band 8 speakers had been ignored this was sometimes seen in these contexts, and somewhat surprisingly this ignoring was always accepted by the older speaker. Finally, a large proportion of the utterances ignored in these contexts were irrelevant to the current conversation, a considerable amount more than with same age girls. In addition, the AUs that were ignored here were always irrelevant to the conversation, this may be the reason for the amount of acceptance seen in these contexts. Perhaps had a greater number of relevant utterances been ignored, this would not have been such a common response.

6.8.13 Band 9.

The ignoring carried out by band 9 with band 7 typically involved silence. While band 7 were generally very accepting of being ignored by these older speakers, when this was not the case it was usually when their utterance was met with silence. Around half of the utterances that involved the older speaker continuing with a conversation also included a change in the topic of conversation, and this was usually accepted by the younger girl. Given these findings, it seems likely to suggest that the reason this AU was typically accepted is more closely linked to the age difference between these two bands than it is to the type of ignoring used, therefore providing evidence of communication accommodation.

A considerable change was seen in the way ignoring was carried out in interactions with members of band 8. Ignoring an utterance by continuing to speak was the way this AU

occurred in the clear majority of conversations with this band. It was also quite common in these contexts for the older girl to introduce a new topic, and these new topics were sometimes accepted by the speaker that had been ignored. On the other hand, ignoring involving silence was never accepted by the band 8 girl. However, this rarely involved repetition but rather continuing to speak, despite their first utterance failing to receive any acknowledgement. It had been anticipated ignoring an utterance through silence would have been more common in these interactions. However, this may be explained by the fact just one band 9 member was observed using this AU with band 8. This finding may be more of a reflection of the individual, than of band 9 as a whole.

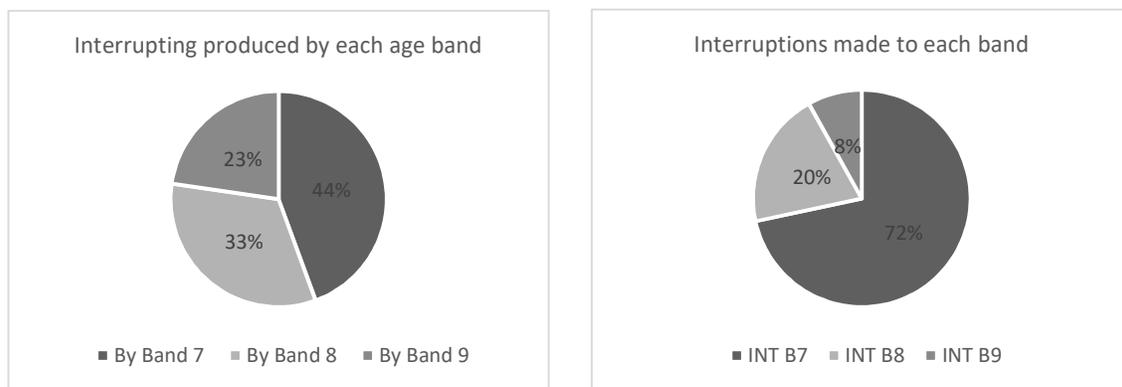
Ignoring carried out in interactions with same age speakers was usually done by continuing with a conversation, and this often involved simultaneously ignoring an utterance, and introducing a new topic. While some AUs were ignored in these contexts, this accounted for only a small proportion of the ignored utterances. Although ignoring was not typically accepted in these interactions, when this was the case, it always involved the speaker continuing with an existing conversation. Only a small number of the utterances ignored in these contexts were irrelevant, however, this was more than had occurred with either of the younger two bands. This may suggest that relevance is a more important factor to consider in these conversations compared to those with younger girls, as a result of the similarities in ages of these girls. It is also interesting to note that these speakers ignored same age girls considerably more than either of the younger two bands. This can be explained, in part by the fact these girls took part in more conversations with one another than with younger speakers. However, an alternative explanation may be related to attempts by these girls at asserting their dominance, this will be explained in more detail later (see 7.2).

While there was not a clear pattern in the way each band ignored other speakers, there are some interesting findings to have emerged from these results. Firstly, it was never the case that band 9 was ignored primarily through silence. Secondly, band 9 was the only group to have behaved as expected with regards to the way they ignored other speakers; by ignoring younger speakers more frequently through silence, and for this tendency to decrease as the age of their partner rose. In fact, band 9 was the only band to have used silence as a way of ignoring more frequently than continuing to speak. However, as expected, bands 7 and 8 ignored band 9 far less than either of the younger two bands. In terms of relevance, this appeared to be more of a consideration when ignoring band 9, compared to bands 7 or 8. Although each band did not behave exactly as anticipated, the changes seen in the way

ignoring was carried out with speakers of different ages does suggest that these girls are accommodating their language use as a result of their partner's age.

6.9 Group Three: Responses to Interruptions.

As is illustrated in the first chart below, although it was band 7 who produced the largest number of interruptions the difference between the number used by these speakers, and the older bands was not that large. However, the second chart shows that the overwhelming majority of interruptions were made to the youngest girls in this age group, while the smallest occurred in conversations with the eldest. The following section will look at the different responses of these speakers to being interrupted by girls in each band.



6.9.1 Band 7 interrupting Band 7.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

In conversations with same age girls most interruptions from band 7 speakers were accepted, and it was not uncommon in these contexts for the hearer to respond to the utterance that had been used to interrupt them. One example of this is seen below in which M, rather than attempting to complete her utterance, responds to W's interruption.

Example 7.19

M It's fine, it won't ^

W But M this is how we're turning them [INT+GL].

M Yeah.

Whilst this type of response was seen quite frequently, it was not the most common way of accepting an interruption. Instead this was to either temporarily withdraw from the conversation, or continue speaking making no attempt to complete the interrupted utterance.

Although overall this band was very accepting of being interrupted by another band 7 speaker, this was not the case on every occasion. The example below shows an instance of R attempting to complete her utterance after being interrupted by M.

Example 7.20

R Guy/s look that/'s enough because I've put like ^
M (*Move round*) *move round* [INT+GL] [DI+GL].
R I've put three pouches of that in [IG+GL].
W Can you put the bowl in front of me [DR+GL]?

The fact that the interruptions made in these contexts were usually accepted by the hearer is somewhat of a surprise, whilst this response had been anticipated in some conversations it had not been expected to the extent seen here. It may be that reasons for the willingness to accept this AU are found when the types of interruptions are considered (see 6.9.11).

6.9.2 Band 8 interrupting Band 7.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

Half of the interruptions made by band 8 speakers were accepted by these younger girls, and it was quite common in these contexts for the younger speaker to respond to the utterance used to interrupt them. One example of this is shown below in which N, despite being interrupted twice, on both occasions responds to B's utterance rather than attempting to complete her original one.

Example 8.14

N L can go first because K is ^
B *No it goes U then me, then L* [INT+GL] [DIS+GL].
N Yeah but L has/n't gone first, we've all [DIS+J+GM] ^
B *Yes she has* [INT+GL] [CO+GL].
N (Oh) have you?
B Yes she has (when we) when we were knock/ing it down she went first.

There were, however, an equal number of interruptions that were not so readily accepted by the younger girls, and involved attempts to complete their utterance. This is the response shown by M below in which she is interrupted three times but on each instance, returns to her original utterance in an effort to finish it. As was the case in the example below, even when these attempts to complete an interrupted utterance were successful, they rarely received acknowledgement from the band 8 member.

Example 8.15

M (Oh) I like that, it's so ^
 B I'm gonna do a yellow guy/s [INT+GL].
 U I'm gonna do a black top and white bottom/s.
 M And then I'm gonna put ^
 B Yeah right, we've wasted so many [INT+GL].
 B I'll go green.
 M I'm gonna do this and then ^
 B I'm do/ing green [INT+GL] [REP+GL].
 M I'll cut it and put load/s of white on here.

The number of times repetition was used following an interruption from an older girl was somewhat surprising, particularly when the responses to being interrupted by a same age speaker were considered. However, what is noticeable is that very often it was the same band 7 members; M and N, who attempted to complete their interrupted utterances. Other girls were observed using this strategy but not to the same extent. Perhaps it is the case that their personal preference for the use of repetition resulted in this response being seen more than is typical for girls in this age band.

6.9.3 Band 9 interrupting Band 7.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

Interruptions from band 9 were always accepted by band 7. This was shown by either withdrawing from the conversation for a short time or by responding to the interruption, as M does in the example below. In this extract, I takes control of the conversation first by interrupting M, then by ignoring her, however, on both occasions M responds to I's utterances.

Example 9.19

M When it was (um) ^
 I I do/n't know that new film [INT+GL].
 M (What) what film?
 I It was an eighteen [IG+GL].
 M Yeah and I know why.

It was never the case in these conversations that a band 7 member would go on to complete their utterance after being interrupted by a band 9 speaker.

There were some interesting differences with regards to the way band 7 responded to interruptions from members of each age band. Most of the interruptions from same age speakers, and half of the those from the slightly older band 8 girls were accepted. This is

slightly at odds with what had been anticipated, as it was assumed acceptance would increase as the age of their partner rose. A possible explanation for this may be found in the section on the use of interruptions (see 6.9.11 and 6.9.12). However, the way these girls responded to interruptions from band 9 was largely as anticipated, not only were these always accepted, but they often received a positive response, and it is this change in behaviour that provides evidence of accommodation.

6.9.4 Band 7 interrupting Band 8.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

Band 8 were far more accepting of interruptions from younger speakers than had been anticipated. In fact, the most common reaction in these conversations was to accept the interruption, as has been the case previously this could be done in one of two ways. One of which is shown by B below in which she responds to the utterance that had been used to interrupt her, rather than attempting to complete her own utterance.

Example 7.21

B Then S, then me, then L, then ^

N *Guy/s do/n't lick your finger/s* [INT+GM] [DI+GL] [DI+GM].

B I'm not.

Whilst this was one way of accepting interruptions from these younger girls, a slightly more common response was to temporarily withdraw from the conversation.

Another way of reacting to interruptions from a younger speaker involved ignoring the interruption and continuing with the original utterance, as S does below. However, as seen in the extract here, this tactic was not usually successful in gaining a response from other members of the conversation.

Example 7.22

S That is so ^

N *That is a good idea* [INT+GM].

S That is so funny though.

B *These do/n't cut right ok I'm just gonna give them a bit of a break* [SUB+GM].

The fact that acceptance was the most common response to this AU is intriguing, it is possible this is due to the types of interruptions made by the younger girls. This will be considered in the following section (see 6.9.11).

6.9.5 Band 8 interrupting Band 8.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

The clear majority of interruptions made by band 8 in conversations with same age speakers were accepted by the hearer. Not only were these rarely challenged, but it was often the case that the interruption would receive a positive response. One example of this is seen below in which B interrupts S twice within a very short space of time, and yet on both occasions, rather than attempting to complete her own utterance, she responds to B.

Example 8.16

S Do you remember when I used to write really big?

S The teacher/s would tell me ^

B *The teacher/s were always tell/ing me off [INT+GM] [AS+GM].*

S Yeah and me, they used to go ^

B *Like in my maths book I take up four page/s per lesson [INT+GM] [AS+GM].*

S I used to do that.

Whilst there were instances of a band 8 speaker attempting to complete their utterance in these contexts, as the example below shows, this sometimes involved responding to the interruption and then continuing with their utterance.

Example 8.17

S Well basically he ask/ed me a long time ago ^

B *Can I have my scissors back [INT+GM] [SUB+GM]?*

S Yeah.

S He was on Instagram yeah, and do you know what he ask/ed me?

B What?

It had been anticipated that acceptance of this AU would be greater in these contexts than with younger speakers, however, the extent to which this was the case was of some surprise.

6.9.6 Band 9 interrupting Band 8.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

A considerable change was seen in the way band 8 responded to interruptions from band 9; it was rarely the case that these would be accepted. Instead, the most common response was to continue with their utterance following an interruption. This is shown in the following

example in which B is interrupted, and then ignored. Despite this, she attempts to repeat her utterance and is eventually successful in receiving a response from I.

Example 9.20

M I know I saw it in the cinema last year.

B Is it meant to be sc* ^

I No I mean the ninety/'z version [INT+GM] [CO+GL].

B Is it meant to be scary [REP+GU]?

I That's just awful [IG+GM].

B Is it meant to be scary [REP+GU]?

I (Oh) yeah, it's about this psycho killer or something and like it's so boring.

There was just one instance of an interruption being accepted in these conversations and, unlike in previous contexts, did not involve the younger speaker responding to the utterance. Instead the band 8 speaker, B, withdrew from the conversation for several turns, as is shown below.

Example 9.21

B We have to tape them to our head/s ^

*I Has anyone seen that film *Scream* [INT+GM] [IG+GM] [SUB+GM]?*

M Yeah.

I (Oh) it's so boring.

The fact that there were so few examples of this AU, combined with the fact these always involved the same two speakers; B and I, means it is likely that these results do not provide a true reflection of the normal behaviour of speakers of these ages, but are instead the result of the individual personalities of these two girls. However, what these findings do suggest is that this AU is not one that is particularly favoured by these older girls in such contexts.

The way in which band 8 responded to interruptions from each age band contained a number of surprises. It had been anticipated that acceptance of this AU would rise as the age of the interrupter rose, however, acceptance was rarely seen with older speakers. This is particularly puzzling given that it was the most common response with both of the younger bands. One possible explanation for this, as mentioned above, may be related to the individual speakers involved in the interruptions that occurred with bands 8 and 9. These findings may not be representative of the typical behaviour of girls in these age bands. Alternatively, it may be related to the types of interruptions used by band 9 in these conversations, this possibility will be explored later (see 6.9.13).

6.9.7 Band 7 interrupting Band 9.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

While it had been anticipated that there would not be a large number of interruptions made in these contexts the fact that just one was observed is intriguing. Unsurprisingly, given the age difference between these two speakers, this interruption was not accepted by the older girl. As is shown below, E continues with her utterance after N's interruption without acknowledging this in any way.

Example 7.23

E Have you start/ed make/ing your fudge yet?

B <Yeah>.

S <Yeah>.

E Because like (um) ^

N (*No, no*) *no we have/n't* [INT+GU] [CO+GM].

E 4 said that she/'s put in a bit too less so there/'s only enough for one person [IG+GL].

This response is likely the result of the social status afforded to E by her age.

6.9.8 Band 8 interrupting Band 9.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

Band 9 were usually quite accepting of the interruptions made by band 8 speakers. While acceptance of this AU was sometimes shown by responding to an utterance used to interrupt them, it was more common for the older speaker to withdraw from the conversation for a short period, as I does in the example below. Following this interaction, it is several minutes before I makes another contribution to the conversation.

Example 8.18

6 <Smoke/'s usually above> the fire rather than under the fire.

B So like it went down.

M No [DIS+GM].

I So can I ^

B *No* [INT+GU] [DIS+GL].

6 I understand that more, <> that make/3s more sense.

M <That/'s the fire>.

The occasions when these girls were not so willing to accept interruptions from younger speakers involved another type of AU, such as ignoring. An example of this is shown below, not only does B interrupt I, she does so by introducing a new topic. Had this interruption been

relevant to I's utterance, it may have resulted in a different response, this is something that will be considered later (see 6.9.12).

Example 8.19

I Why is 6 so eager to split me and my friend/s up?

I But you know ^

B Make it stay flat or something [INT+GU] [IG+GU].

I (Like who do you think) who do you think/'s 6/'z favourite?

B (Uh) definitely not me.

It had been predicted that the response seen above, in example 8.19, would have been the most common in these interactions, instead this was found to be acceptance. As noted above, one possibility for this may be regarding the types of interruptions used by band 8 (see 6.9.12). Alternatively, the fact that once again the same two speakers, B and I were involved in these instances of interruption may go some way towards explaining these results.

6.9.9 Band 9 interrupting Band 9.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

This age band showed the widest range of responses to being interrupted. In addition to those used by the younger two bands these included; ignoring an AU that had been produced in an interruption, and talking over the speaker who had interrupted them. However, most of the interruptions made in these exchanges were accepted, and at times this was done by responding to the utterance used to interrupt them. An example of this response is seen in the conversation below in which G, rather than completing her interrupted utterance, responds to E's comment.

Example 9.22

G Yeah well we were gonna watch poltergeist and then ^

E You know that/'s not scary [INT+GU]?

G Yeah I know.

Whilst this response was not uncommon, a more frequent response was for the speaker to either fail to complete their interrupted utterance or challenge the interruption.

There was one response seen here that had not been observed in any other type of conversation, this is shown in the example below in which G continues with her original utterance without waiting for I to finish speaking, resulting in overlapping speech. Perhaps it is the case that although these girls are generally quite accepting of this type of interruption

from same age girls this is only the case to a certain extent meaning they are not willing to allow themselves to be constantly interrupted.

Example 9.23

G No but we had her today, she/'s always moody and also, this is really awkward like ^

I (Oh) we made her moody today, sorry [INT+GU].

G That/'s ok, but we ^

I She came into our room like <in such a bad mood> [INT+GU].

G <(We, we) we were like> sit/ing down we were/n't allow/ed to face backward/s and she was stand/ing at the back of the room (and like) and like you had to turn around to look at her but (she would/n't) she would/n't come at the front of the class.

Another response seen in these conversations involved the original speaker attempting to complete their interrupted utterance. It was often the case that if this was not successful on the first occasion the utterance would be repeated until a response was received. A particularly good example of this is shown below in which I, despite being interrupted and ignored by E on multiple occasions, persists in trying to complete her utterance. Eventually she is able to do this and finally receives the desired response from E.

Example 9.24

I Let/'s sing Meghan, let/'s sing [JD+GU] ^

E Do you wanna build a snowman [INT+GU] [IG+GU]?

I let/'s sing Meghan_Trainor [REP+GU] [JD+GU] ^

E Or ride our bike/s around the hall [INT+GU] [IG+GU].

I Let/'s sing Meghan_Trainor [REP+GU] [JD+GU] ^

E Around the hall [IG+GU]!

=They laugh.

I (Oh) my god!

I Let/'s sing [JD+GU] ^

E It get/3s a little lonely [INT+GU] [IG+GU].

Z You/'re not even sing/ing it in the right key!

I (E) E let/'s sing Meghan_Trainor dear future husband [REP+GU].

=E and I sing.

Overall these findings are consistent with what had been anticipated; the majority of interruptions were accepted and some were responded to, however, there were also attempts made to continue with an utterance following this AU.

Due to the fact only one interruption was made by a band 7 speaker to a member of band 9, it is not possible to draw conclusions about their responses to this. It does, however, provide an interesting finding with regards to the way in which these younger girls use interruptions.

Similarly, due to the small number of interruptions made by band 8 in conversations with these older girls, more general assumptions cannot be made. However, it was surprising that

acceptance was so common in these contexts. What can be assumed from these results, is that this is not an AU these younger bands are typically comfortable using with older speakers. The way in which band 9 speakers responded to interruptions from same age girls was also of interest as they were typically very accepting of these. This is likely due to a combination of the older age of these speakers, and the types of interruptions they made. It is hoped that looking at the way this AU was used may explain some of the unexpected findings obtained here (see 6.10).

There were a number of unexpected findings in the way each of these bands responded to interruptions from other speakers. Whilst band 7 accepted the majority of interruptions from same age girls, and band 9, this was not the case with band 8. Similarly, band 8's tendency to accept this AU from younger and same age speakers but not from older girls is in direct contrast to the predictions made for this band. Although band 9 failed to accept this AU from band 7 but did accept the majority from band 8, due to the small number that occurred in these conversations it is not possible make generalisations about the likely behaviour of these speakers. There were, however, some subtle signs of accommodation. Although band 7 were typically accepting of being interrupted with every band, this was always the case with band 9. Similarly, band 8 were more likely to accept being interrupted by another member of band 8 than by a younger speaker. In addition, while band 9 failed to accept the one interruption from band 7 speakers, they accepted the majority of those from same age girls. In each case it is the change in behaviour that shows evidence of accommodation, based on the age of their conversational partner. It is likely that looking at the types of interruptions made by each band may help to explain some of the unexpected responses found in this section (see 6.10).

6.9.10 Types of Interruptions.

There were four main ways in which interruptions were made by group three; an interruption may be made to add to the current speaker's utterance, these were considered to be 'helpful' or 'friendly' interruptions (example 7.24). Secondly, an utterance that was relevant to the current conversation but did not necessarily need to occur in the form of an interruption (example 8.20). Thirdly, an utterance that was not only irrelevant to the current topic, but that also aimed to alter the focus of the current conversation in some way (example 8.21), and finally an interruption used as a way of controlling the hearer or the interaction (example 9.25).

Example 7.24

U (Oh) I went to the shop and I bought this and it was two _twenty_ nine and then the lady ^
 L (You gave her) you gave her [INT+GL] ~
 U I gave her two _twenty_ and then she gave me change.

Example 8.20

N Is it really_ really rich?
 S No it/'s just ^
 B No it taste/3s like nesquik [INT+GM].
 N (Oh) that/'s good.

Example 8.21

N Salsa, well I'll already have a taco like a ^
 B And for number five what do we do [INT+GL] [IG+GL]?

Example 9.25

Z And then you ^
 G (Wait, wait) wait [INT+GU].

There were also additional types of interruptions that sometimes accompanied those above, for example other AUs such as dismissing or correcting may be used in conjunction with the second or third types of interruptions.

6.9.11 Band 7.

In conversations with same age girls, the majority of interruptions were those that were relevant to the conversation but would have been just as valid had they occurred after the first speaker's utterance had been completed. In addition, these interruptions sometimes involved the use of dismissing, an example of which is seen by M in the extract below.

Example 7.25

A If you make it drop then you/'re the one that has to ^
 M Yeah (we know, we know) we know [INT+GL] [MIS+GL].

Interruptions attempting to change the focus of the conversation were the second most commonly used in these contexts, and although acceptance was the most common response to this AU overall, most of those that were not accepted were this type. Only a very small number of those whose intention was to add to the current speakers' utterance were observed, and these were always accepted. Given the types of interruptions used in these conversations it is slightly puzzling that acceptance was so common. This may be, in part, a result of the relationships between these speakers (see section 7.3).

A puzzling finding is seen in the types of interruptions band 7 used with slightly older, band 8, members. Given that acceptance was the most common response to this AU it seemed likely to assume that the interruptions made in these contexts would primarily have been those aiming to add to the current speaker's utterance. However, this was far from the case as not only were these interruptions rarely aiming to add to the conversation, but they were typically intending to change its focus. This was closely followed by those that were relevant to the current topic but did not need to occur before the current speaker had finished talking and those used in an attempt to take control of the interaction. While those aiming to add to the current utterance were seen on only a small minority of occasions. This raises two questions; firstly, why were fewer 'helpful' interruptions made with these speakers compared to those with same age girls? Secondly, given that so few of these interruptions were made with the intention of adding to the current utterance, why were the band 8 speakers so willing to accept these? One likely explanation for the first question is regarding the speakers making these interruptions; despite the fact there were eight members of band 7 just two of these speakers, L and N, were responsible for all the interruptions made with band 8. This may, therefore, be a reflection of these individuals, rather than a characteristic of this band. This may also be related to the responses of band 8, it is possible that this is more a result of the relationships between these particular girls than it is representative of the typical behaviour of speakers this age.

As noted in the previous section, there was just one interruption made by band 7 in conversations with band 9. Unlike those used with band 8, this interruption was as expected, a 'helpful' interruption used as a way of assisting the current speaker, rather than attempting to take control of the conversation. This finding, combined with the fact that this was the only instance of an interruption in these contexts suggest this is not an AU younger speakers typically favour with these older girls. Given the number of interruptions that were made with same age speakers, and band 8 members this change in behaviour is evidence of accommodation based on the age of their partner.

6.9.12 Band 8.

The interruptions made by band 8 in conversations with younger speakers were primarily those changing the focus of the conversation. Interruptions that were relevant to the conversation but not aimed at adding to the interrupted utterance were the second most frequently used, and it was not uncommon for this type of an interruption to be accompanied by a disagreement. Perhaps because of this, these interruptions were the least likely to be accepted by younger speakers. There were also a number of controlling interruptions made in

these conversations, and interestingly these were usually accepted by the younger girl. There was just one interruption made with the intention of adding to the current utterance in these contexts which, unsurprisingly, was accepted by the younger speaker. It is interesting that band 7 were less likely to accept this AU in these conversations compared to those with same age girls, despite the same types of interruptions being made. Attempts at completing interrupted utterances were very often made by the same band 7 member, and she received almost fifty percent of the interruptions made by band 8 in these contexts. This may have impacted on these findings, meaning they are a closer reflection of a specific speaker than of the typical behaviour of girls this age.

In interactions with same age girls there was a considerable change seen in the types of interruptions made. These were primarily those that were relevant to the current topic but would have been equally as appropriate had they occurred after the current speaker had finished talking. This was followed by controlling interruptions, and surprisingly these occurred more frequently in these conversations than in those with younger girls.

Interruptions attempting to change the focus of the conversation were rarely seen in these contexts, although neither were those made as a way of adding to the current utterance. Given that this type of interruption was seen with younger girls it is somewhat puzzling that it was not observed here. In addition, it also makes the finding that the majority of these interruptions were accepted somewhat puzzling. Perhaps the fact that most interruptions were relevant to the conversation was enough to persuade the hearer to accept this, regardless of whether or not it was necessary.

Given the older age of the band 9 speakers, and the fact that most interruptions made in these contexts were accepted it was assumed that they would primarily be those attempting to add to the current speaker's utterance. However, the majority of these were attempts at changing the focus of conversation. This raises the question as to why the older speakers were so willing to accept this AU. One likely possibility is that instances of interrupting always involved the same band 8 speaker, B, interrupting the same band 9 member, I. Therefore, these findings may be more closely related to the personalities of these two speakers, than they are representative of the typical behaviour of each band. While there were some interruptions used as a way of developing the older speaker's topic, this was less common than had been anticipated, however, these interruptions were always accepted by the older speaker. This was the only type of conversation that these girls did not use interruptions with the intention of controlling the hearer, and it is this change in behaviour that provides evidence of accommodation.

6.9.13 Band 9.

The interruptions used by band 9 in conversations with younger, band 7, speakers were primarily those attempting to change the focus of the conversation. Unsurprisingly, none of the interruptions made by these older girls were aiming to add to the current speaker's utterance. Although interestingly, those used as a way of taking control of the conversation were also absent in these contexts. Therefore, the fact that the response of band 7 in these conversations was primarily that of acceptance, suggests this is almost certainly a result of accommodation.

There are two particularly interesting findings with regards to the interruptions made by band 9 with band 8. Firstly, as has been noted these always involved the same two speakers, there are, therefore, obvious limitations on the conclusions that can be drawn from this. Secondly, there were a very small number made in these interactions. Given the status differences between these two speakers, due to the older ages of band 9, it had been assumed this would have been used a lot more frequently than was the case. The interruptions made with band 8 were similar to those described above as these never included so-called 'helpful' interruptions, or those attempting to take control. Instead, there was an equal number of those that were relevant to the current topic but did not require an interruption and those aiming to change the focus of the conversation. This is one possible reason for the lack of acceptance seen by band 8, although interestingly, the one interruption that was accepted was an attempt to change the topic of conversation. It is possible that the reason for the failure of band 8 to accept this AU is based on the individuals involved in these interactions, rather than this being typical of the way these two bands behave.

In interactions with same age girls the clear majority of interruptions made were those that were relevant to the current topic but not aiming to add to the utterance they were interrupting. However, unlike the previous two contexts, interruptions intending to enhance the current utterance were sometimes seen in these conversations. Interestingly, this was the only context in which band 9 girls used controlling interruptions and somewhat surprisingly these were very often accepted. Interruptions attempting to change the focus of the conversation were also seen in these contexts although far less frequently than was the case with bands 7 and 8. Given the small number of so-called 'helpful' interruptions it is somewhat surprising that acceptance of being interrupted was the most common response to this AU; this is perhaps a result of the age of these speakers, rather than a result of the type of interruption alone. The inclusion of 'helpful' interruptions in these interactions certainly suggests that accommodation is being used here.

All three bands showed evidence of accommodation with regards to the types of interruptions they made with speakers of different ages. Firstly, both bands 7 and 8 considerably reduced the number of interruptions they made as the age of their partner rose. Although band 9 made the greatest number with same age girls this is likely due to the high number of interactions these girls were involved in with one another. Both bands 7 and 8 used controlling interruptions with the youngest two bands, but never with band 9. Instead, those used as a way of adding to the current speaker's utterance were more common in these contexts compared to those with younger girls. Similarly, band 9 never used 'helpful' interruptions with younger girls, but these were observed in interactions with same age speakers. In each case it is the change in behaviour that provides evidence of accommodation, and the fact that this change was based on age provides support for the suggestion that these girls associate age with status.

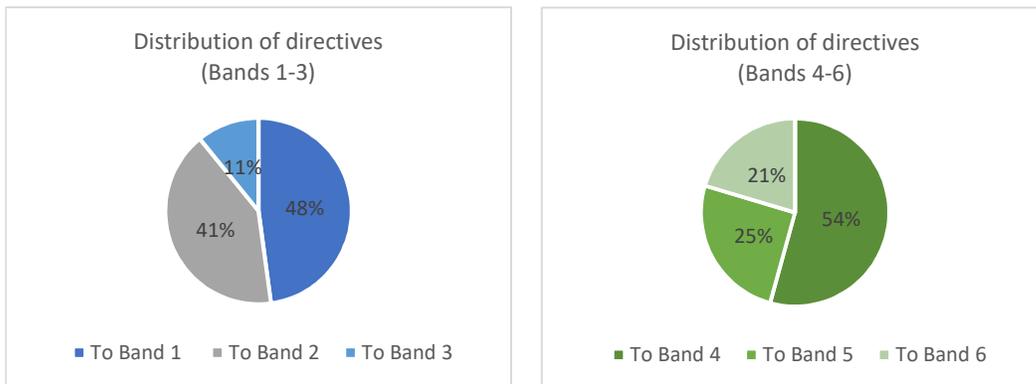
6.10 Comparisons

The following section will be a comparison of the way the three most frequently used AUs were produced, and responded to by girls in the same position in different age groups. If it is the case that behaviour with regards to AUs is based solely on a speaker's age, there should be few, or no, similarities between speakers in different age groups. On the other hand, if as is assumed here, this is closely related to an individual's position within a group similarities will be observed despite the age differences of these speakers. It may be that some AUs are linked to linguistic development and so there will be similarities seen between speakers of similar ages, rather than those in the same positions in each group. However, if similarities are seen between speakers in different age groups as a result of their age in relation to other group members, it can be assumed that this is evidence both of accommodation, and to support the suggestion that these girls use age as a way of measuring social status.

	Group one	Group two	Group three
Youngest	Band 1 (5;0-5;4)	Band 4 (7;0-7;5)	Band 7 (10;3-11;1)
Middle	Band 2 (6;1-6;2)	Band 5 (7;8-8;2)	Band 8 (11;6-11;8)
Eldest	Band 3 (6;8-7;1)	Band 6 (9;0-9;4)	Band 9 (12;3-13;1)

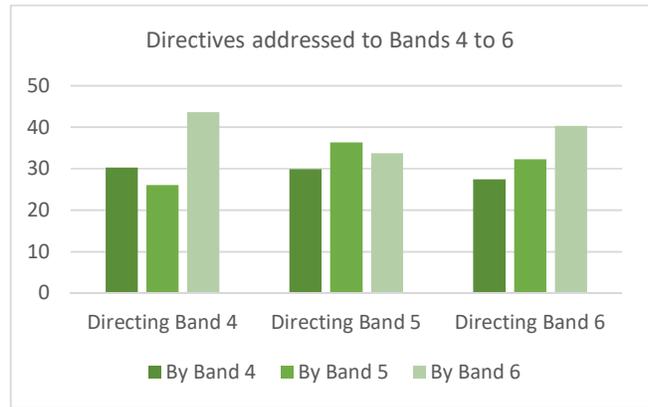
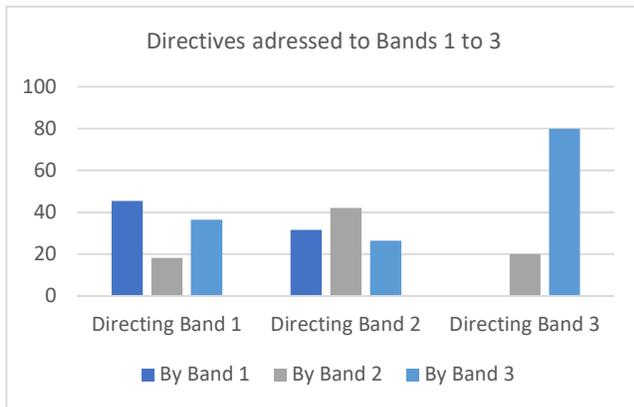
6.10.1 Directives used by bands 1 to 6.

Directives were the most frequently produced AU by both group one and two. The way in which directives occurred in the conversations of these six bands share a number of similarities, as well as some intriguing differences. Firstly, in both groups the majority of directives were addressed to the youngest speakers, while the fewest were directed at members of the eldest bands, as is shown in the charts below.

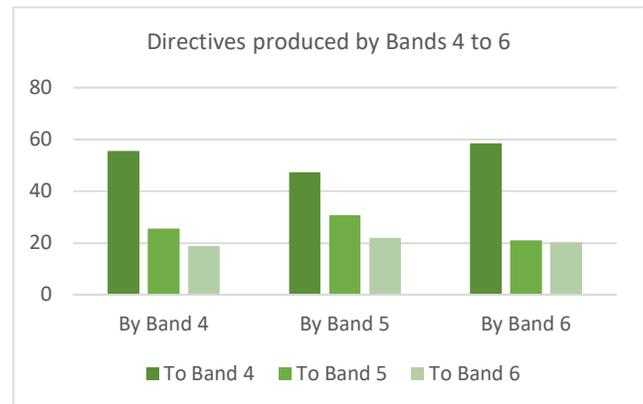
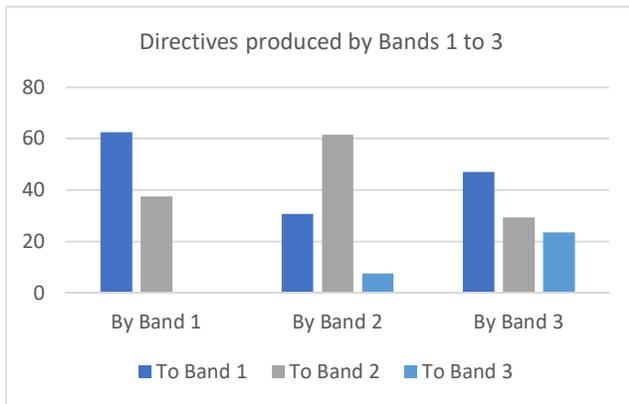


One difference between these two charts is that although it is the youngest speakers who receive the highest number of directives in both groups, there is a more equal distribution between those addressed to the two older bands amongst group two than there is for group one.

When the directives addressed to each band are considered, some further similarities between the two groups are revealed, as is illustrated in the charts below. In each case the middle age bands were responsible for producing the fewest directives in conversations with younger girls. Similarly, the highest number of directives addressed to bands 2 and 5 came from same age speakers. Finally, in both groups it was same age speakers who produced the most directives in conversations with the eldest bands, however, these differences were more marked in group one than in group two.



Parallels are also seen in the following charts showing each band's production of directives. Firstly, most of those produced by the youngest and middle bands were addressed to younger, or same age speakers, whilst the lowest occurred in conversations with the eldest bands; in the case of band 1 no directives were used in these contexts. Similarly, all six bands produced the lowest number of directives in conversations with the eldest band in their group.



6.10.2 Types of directives produced.

There were some interesting parallels between the types of directives used by each band and those used by the equivalent age band in the older group. Typically, bands 1 and 4 produced this AU in attempts to get their own way, and this was the case regardless of their conversational partner.

The ways in which bands 2 and 5 produced directives revealed some interesting findings. In both cases those addressed to younger speakers were very often those used in an attempt to persuade the hearer to comply with their own wishes. Similarly, both bands followed this with attempts to exercise control over the hearer, although band 2 used this type of directive

far less than band 5. However, this pattern did not continue with same age speakers, and differences were seen in the directives bands 2 and 5 used in these contexts. Band 2 typically used those suggesting they had knowledge the hearer did not, whereas band 5 favoured those attempting to persuade the hearer to comply with their wishes. Comparisons between the types of directives used by bands 2 and 5 with older speakers is not possible, due to the fact just one of these was produced by band 2 in interactions with band 3. However, it is worth noting that the directive used in these situations was not one that was frequently used by band 5.

The ways in which bands 3 and 6 used directives were not as similar as those used by bands 1 and 4. Band 3 always favoured directives attempting to exercise control over the hearer, with no obvious gain to the speaker with members of all three age bands. On the other hand, the directives band 6 used most frequently were those attempting to persuade the hearer to comply with their own wishes, and once again this was observed with members of every other band. Whilst band 6 did make use of these controlling directives in each context this was not to the extent seen by band 3.

6.10.3 Responses to directives.

The similarities in the responses of bands 1 and 4 show further support for the suggestion made above that their behaviour is more likely a result of their position within a group rather than a direct result of their age. Both bands failed to comply with the majority of directives issued by same age speakers. In addition, their rate of compliance increased with speakers in the middle age bands, and it was noticeably higher in conversations with the eldest speakers in their group than was the case with either of the younger two bands.

The same types of responses were also seen by girls in the middle two age bands.

Compliance was not a particularly common response to directives from either younger or same age speakers, in fact, this was never seen by band 2 in response to directives from younger speakers. On the other hand, both bands complied with most directives from the eldest speakers in their group.

Parallels were, once again, observed in the way the eldest bands in each group responded to directives. Neither bands 3 nor 6 ever complied with a directive produced by a younger speaker. A slight difference was seen with same age girls, however, while band 3 complied with most of these directives this was not the case for band 6.

6.10.4 Bands 3 and 4

What is perhaps most interesting about the way in which directives occurred in these two age groups is the differences between bands 3 and 4. These two bands overlap in age and yet

there were some considerable differences in their use of directives, in fact, band 4 shared a greater number of similarities with the much younger band 1, than they did with band 3. This is likely a result of their position within the age group, rather than a reflection of their age. A clear difference in their production of, and responses to, directives is seen when they are the eldest band in an age group compared to when they are the youngest.

In terms of the types of directives used by bands 3 and 4 with same age girls; band 3 typically used directives as a way of exercising control over other members of the group but this was seen far less in the conversations of band 4. Instead the most common reason for band 4 to issue a directive was in an attempt to get their own way.

Bands 3 and 4 also responded differently to directives from same age speakers. Whilst compliance was the most common response of band 3, this was a rarity amongst band 4 who usually ignored directives from same age girls. Given the overlapping ages of these two bands it cannot be the case that these differences are a result of age alone, the alternative and most likely explanation for these differences is accommodation. In groups where they are the eldest speakers it appears that these girls are more likely to attempt to not only control the behaviour of same age speakers, but also to comply with directives from these girls. On the other hand, when they are the youngest in a group they show a preference for ignoring or refusing directives from same age speakers and choose instead to comply with those from older girls. It appears that these speakers are influenced by the presence of these older girls to the extent that they alter the AUs they produce with one another in these types of conversations. It seems likely that this difference in behaviour is a result of band 4's decreased social status amongst this group of older speakers.

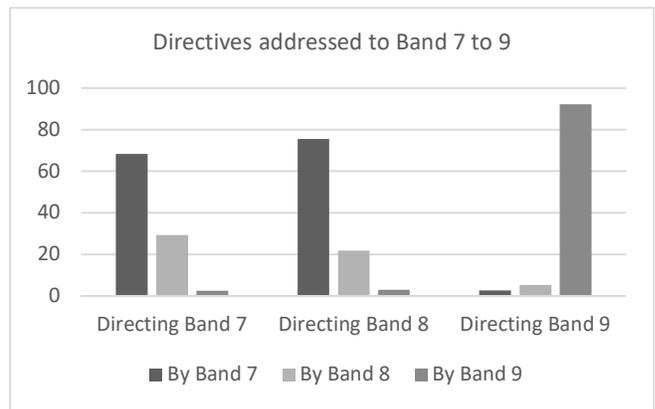
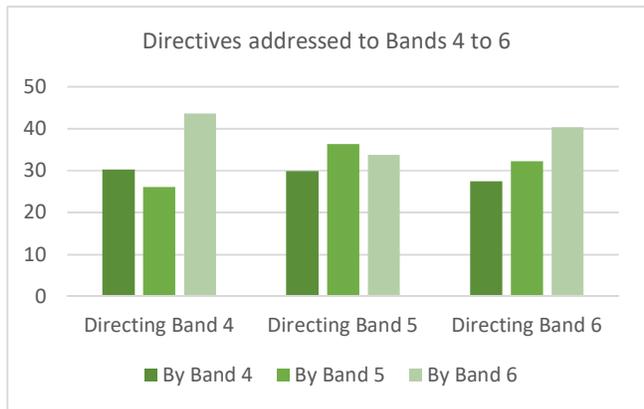
What this section has shown is that there are a greater number of similarities between the youngest speakers in each group, despite the considerable age difference, than there are between bands 3 and 4 whose ages overlap. In addition, there were many similarities between girls in the youngest, middle, and eldest bands in groups one and two, despite the age differences between these speakers. This is therefore, evidence that whilst age may have some bearing on the types, or number of directives produced this alone is not a determining factor. Instead, the age of a speaker in comparison to the hearer is the most important influence and is, therefore, evidence of both accommodation and in support of the suggestion that age is a reflection of status in these groups.

6.11 Directives used by bands 4 to 9.

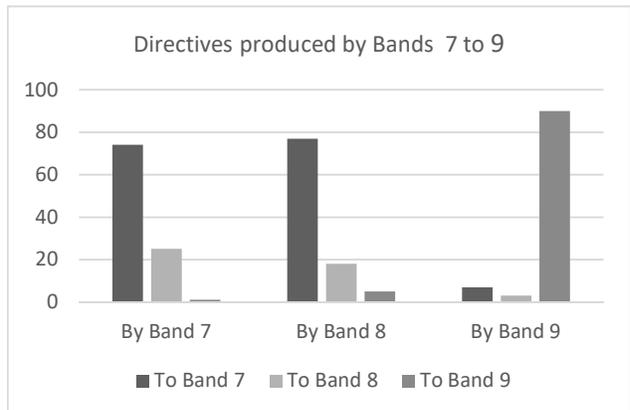
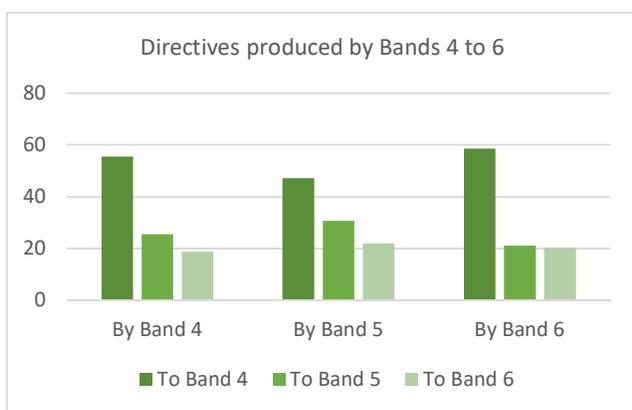
As was the case for groups one and two, directives were also the most frequently produced AU by group three. Similarly, the majority of directives produced by group three were addressed to the youngest speakers in the group; band 7. One interesting difference, however, is that in group three it was girls in the middle age band, rather than the eldest, who received the fewest directives. There are two probable reasons for this; firstly, there were a very small number of speakers in band 8, which meant there were fewer opportunities to address directives to these speakers, and secondly band 9 used a very large number of directives with same age speakers. Although, as is evident in this chart, the difference between the percentage addressed to band 8 and band 9 is very small. While there is a slight difference in these two charts, the same pattern emerges from the two groups; younger speakers are those most likely to be issued with directives.



The most obvious difference between the two charts below, showing the directives addressed to each band, is that in group two the eldest speakers were responsible for a considerable number of the directives addressed to members of all three bands. In group three on the other hand, the eldest girls used only a minority with younger speakers. Yet they were responsible for over ninety percent of those addressed to other band 9 members. The only similarity between these two charts is seen in the directives addressed to the oldest speakers in each group. In both cases, the youngest speakers are responsible for the smallest number of directives, while same age girls used it the most.



The charts below illustrating each band’s use of directives share a number of similarities, particularly between the youngest two bands in each group. Both bands 4 and 7 and 5 and 8 produce the highest number of directives in conversations with the youngest speakers in their group. They also used the fewest directives with the eldest speakers in their group. Despite this, there is a considerable difference between the way the eldest girls in each group used directives; while band 6 used the fewest with same age speakers, band 9 produced over ninety percent of their directives in conversations with other band 9 speakers. One explanation for this may be due to the fact band 9 typically spent the majority of their time with same age girls, meaning there were a greater number of opportunities for this AU to be used in these conversations. Although during conversations with these younger girls surprisingly few directives were used, particularly when this was considered in relation to the number produced with same age speakers.



6.11.1 Types of directives produced.

The most common reason for band 4 to produce a directive was in an attempt to get their own way, and this was the case in conversations with members of all three age bands. Band 7 on the other hand, favoured those suggesting they knew what should be done and were therefore, in a position to issue the hearer with a directive, in conversations with bands 7 and 8. With band 9, on the other hand, those used to persuade the speaker to comply with their own wishes were most common.

Girls in the middle two age bands shared a number of similarities in their use of directives. With younger speakers, both used an almost equal mixture of directives attempting to get their own way, and those solely aimed at controlling the hearer's behaviour. In both cases this was closely followed by directives suggesting the speaker has greater knowledge than the hearer about what should be done. A difference was seen in the directives these speakers used with one another; while band 5 continued to favour those attempting to get their own way, band 8 typically used those exercising control. However, with older speakers both bands favoured directives used to persuade the hearer to comply with their own wishes.

Interestingly, in interactions with older speakers both bands often addressed directives to the group rather than an individual.

The eldest speakers in each group varied slightly in the directives they used with other bands. While band 6 showed a preference for those used to get their own way, in interactions with band 7, band 9 preferred to use those attempting to control the hearer's behaviour. However, with girls in the middle bands as well as same age speakers, directives used to persuade the hearer to comply with their own wishes were the most frequently used by both bands 6 and 9. These were usually followed by directives suggesting the speaker knows what should be done. In addition, unlike either of the younger two bands it was very rarely the case that band 6 or 9 speakers would address the group with a directive; these were almost exclusively aimed at specific individuals.

6.11.2 Responses to directives.

The responses of the youngest speakers in each group showed some interesting variations. While band 4 rarely complied with directives from same age girls, band 7 followed just over half of those from other band 7 members. The same pattern was seen in response to directives from girls in the middle two age bands, band 4 typically failed to comply with these, while compliance was again the response of band 7 to a little over half of the directives issued by band 8. On the other hand, both bands 4 and 7 complied with clear majority of those produced by girls in the eldest bands in each group.

Girls in the middle two age bands responded in similar ways to directives from younger girls; in both cases, the majority of these were not complied with. Similarly, this was most typically done by ignoring, rather than refusing. However, with same age speakers a slight difference was seen; the majority of those used by band 5 were not complied with while band 8 usually followed directives produced by same age girls. As was the case with the youngest speakers, both bands typically followed those from older speakers. In addition, refusal was never used in these conversations; instead both bands 5 and 8 favoured ignoring.

The eldest speakers in each group shared a number of similarities in their responses to directives from members of all three age bands. Compliance was never the most common response to this AU, regardless of the speaker. In fact, band 6 never complied with a directive from a younger speaker and band 9 followed just one from bands 7 and 8 combined. While some of those from same age speakers were followed, this was not the most common response of either band 6 or 9.

6.11.3 Bands 6 and 7.

Although bands 6 and 7 are not as close in age as bands 3 and 4 it is, nevertheless, interesting to compare their use of directives. As is shown in the charts above both bands 6 and 7 used the largest number of directives in conversations with the youngest speakers in the group, although for band 6 these were directed at younger speakers, while band 7 produced them with same age girls.

In terms of the types of directives produced with same age speakers, there were some similarities; both bands 6 and 7 frequently used directives in an attempt to persuade the hearer to comply with their own wishes. However, those suggesting the speaker knew what should be done occurred slightly more often in conversations between band 7 girls, these were used by band 6 with same age girls, but to a far lesser extent. In addition, both bands used directives attempting to control the behaviour of the hearer with same age girls.

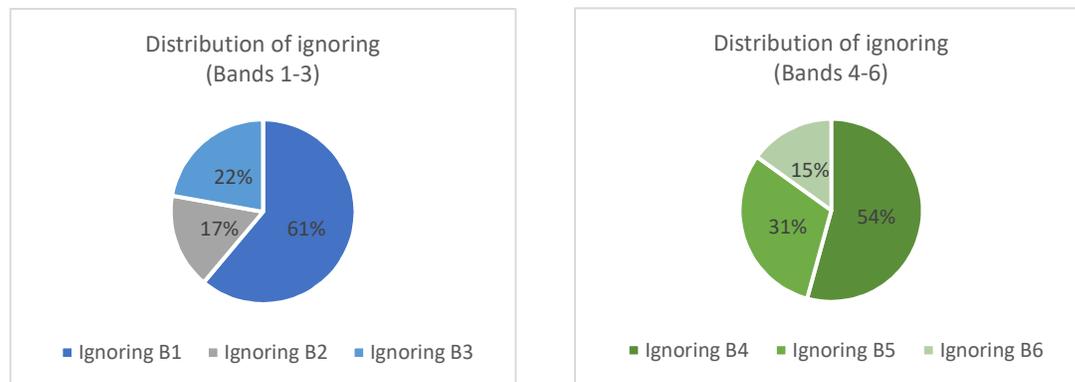
Although this was more common between band 7 speakers.

What is perhaps most interesting, is the difference in the responses to directives from same age speakers. While compliance was very rarely seen in band 6's interactions, just over half of the directives used by band 7 in these conversations were complied with. However, when this AU was not followed, both bands 6 and 7 usually did this by ignoring the utterance. Similarly, while indirect refusal was occasionally used by both bands, directly refusing to comply with a directive from a same age speaker was rarely seen by either band 6 or 7.

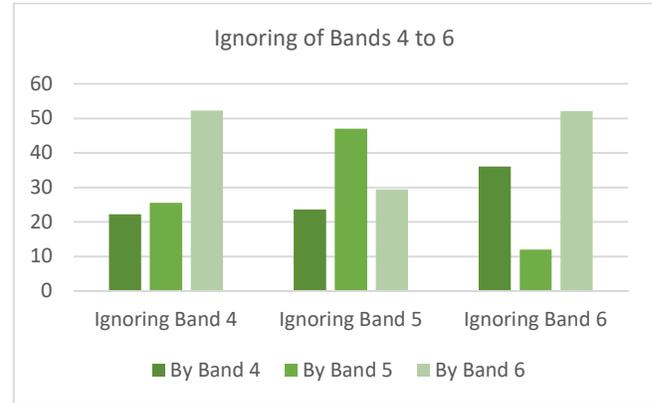
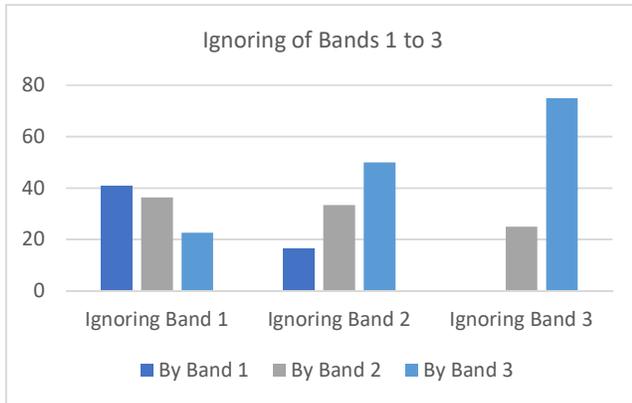
What this section has shown is that there are a number of similarities in terms of both the use of, and response to, directives as a result of a speaker's position within a group. Although bands 6 and 7 do share some similarities, due to the fact one band is the eldest and the other the youngest there are also differences that may be accounted for due to their status within the group. The finding that this behaviour is more closely the result of their age in relation to other group members, rather than of their age alone is evidence in support of both accommodation, and the suggestion age and status are closely related for these girls.

6.12 Ignoring used by bands 1 to 6.

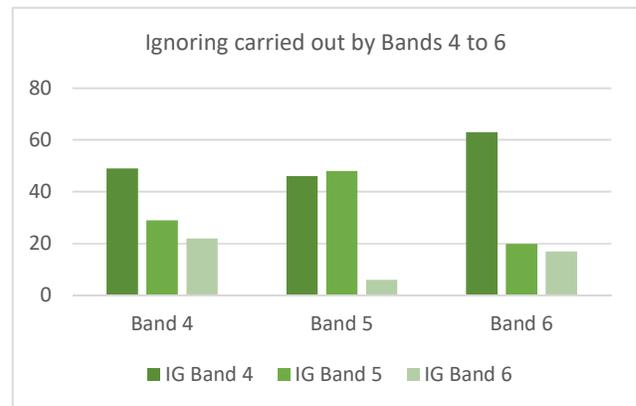
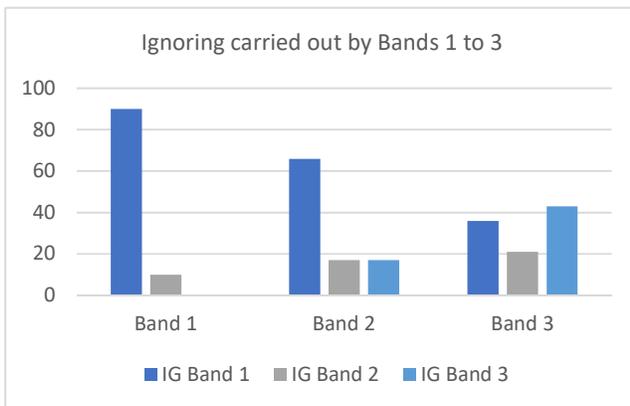
As is shown in the charts below the most obvious similarity between groups one and two is the fact that the majority of ignored utterances were produced by girls in the youngest bands. However, in group one it was girls in the middle band that were ignored the least, whereas in group two the eldest speakers were least likely to be ignored.



As is evident from the charts below, showing the speakers each band was ignored by, there are very few similarities between these two groups. Whilst the majority of band 1's utterances were ignored by same age speakers, it was band 6 who ignored band 4 the most. In addition, in group two band 4 ignored a considerable number of band 6's utterances, whereas the youngest speakers in group one did not ignore any utterances produced by band 3. There are, however, two elements these charts do have in common; firstly, both of the middle age bands were ignored least by younger speakers. Secondly, in both groups the eldest speakers were ignored more frequently by same age girls than any other band.



The following charts show the extent to which each band ignored other speakers. As was the case with directives, bands 1 and 4 share a greater number of similarities than bands 3 and 4, despite the overlap in the ages of these girls. Both of the youngest bands followed the same pattern; same age speakers were ignored most while the eldest speakers were ignored least; in fact, band 3 was never ignored by band 1. This provides further evidence that the use of AUs is more likely a result of their age within a group, rather than age itself being an independent variable.



6.12.1 Types of ignoring.

The way in which bands 1 and 4 carried out ignoring involved some similarities. In both bands, ignoring AUs through silence was the most common way of ignoring same age speakers. Due to the fact band 1 ignored just one utterance produced by a band 2 speaker it is not possible to compare the way the youngest speakers ignored girls in the band above them. However, it is interesting to note that the way in which the ignoring took place in this context involved an AU being ignored by silence, and this was very often the way band 4 ignored band 5. Perhaps had ignoring occurred more frequently in these interactions a similar pattern

would have emerged. Owing to the fact that band 1 did not ignore any utterances produced by band 3, a comparison of how these speakers ignored the eldest girls in the group is not possible.

The ways speakers in the middle age bands ignored others involved a larger number of differences than similarities. Whilst band 2 usually ignored younger girls through silence, band 5 typically did this by continuing with a conversation. Although, in both cases a large number of the utterances ignored in conversations with younger speakers were AUs. The ignoring that took place in interactions with same age speakers was quite similar, in both cases a large number of AUs were ignored. Band 2 usually did this by continuing with a conversation, whereas silence was used slightly more frequently by band 5, however, this difference was very small. Further differences were seen in the way these girls ignored older speakers. Band 2 typically did this by continuing with a conversation, whereas band 5 usually met utterances with silence. Both bands ignored fewer AUs in conversations with older girls, compared to those with the younger two bands.

Both of the eldest bands in these groups typically ignored the youngest girls by continuing with a conversation, rather than with silence, and in both cases a large number of these ignored utterances were AUs. However, a considerable difference is observed in the way these older speakers ignored girls in the middle two bands. Silence was never used by band 3 as a way of ignoring band 2. Yet, this was the most frequent way in which band 6 ignored the slightly younger band 5 girls. In terms of the way these bands ignored same age speakers band 3 did this most frequently with silence, however, this was closely followed by the continuation of a conversation. While an equal mix of ignoring was carried out through continuing to speak, and the use of silence in conversations between multiple members of band 6.

6.12.2 Responses to being ignored.

As was the case with the types of ignoring used by bands 1 and 4, there were also similarities seen in the responses to this AU with girls in the middle and eldest bands. However, they responded very differently to being ignored by a same age speaker. Band 1 usually repeated utterances that had been ignored by same age girls, whereas this was usually accepted by band 4. Band 1 typically repeated utterances after being ignored by band 2, and this was also seen frequently by band 4 after being ignored by band 5. The way in which bands 1 and 4 responded to being ignored by the eldest girls in their group was acceptance. In addition, it was not uncommon for the younger girl to respond to the utterance that had been used to

ignore them. Whereas this was very rare in conversations with girls in the youngest or middle age bands.

In group one there was just one occasions on which a member of the middle age band was ignored by a younger speaker, it is therefore difficult to compare this with the way group two behaved. However, it is worth noting that although band 2 accepted this one instance of ignoring, this was not the most common response of band 5 in the same situation. Similarities were seen in the way they responded to being ignored by same age and older speakers. In the majority of conversations with same age girls both bands 2 and 5 failed to accept this AU. However, acceptance was the most common response of both bands to being ignored by an older speaker.

There were very few similarities between the way the eldest speakers in each group responded to being ignored. Firstly, as has been stated, in group one no utterances produced by band 3 were ignored by the youngest speakers and so no comparisons may be made between groups one and two. Secondly, in conversations with speakers in the middle age bands band 3 accepted, and failed to accept, being ignored in equal measures. Band 6, on the other hand, did not usually accept this AU. Opposing responses were seen, once again, with same age speakers; band 3 used repetition in the majority of these interactions, whilst band 6 usually accepted this AU from same age girls. It is possible, that the differences seen here are due to their age as opposed to their position in a group. Alternatively, it may be the case that the small amount of ignoring to occur in these contexts gives a misleading picture. Perhaps had a greater amount been observed these findings would have been different. Although what this does suggest is that accommodation is evident here; in group one the younger bands were more reluctant to ignore band 3 than they were bands 1 or 2.

6.12.3 Bands 3 and 4.

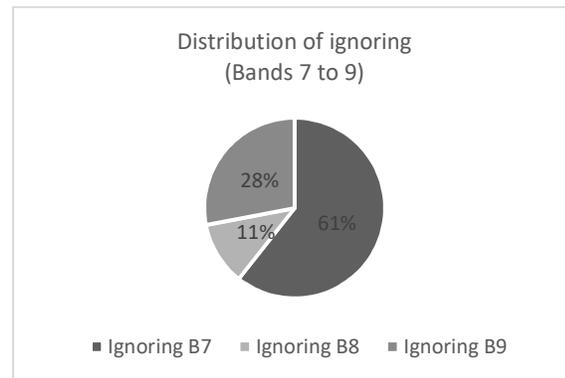
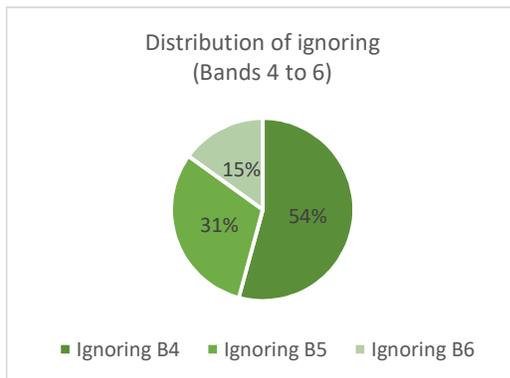
In terms of the way bands 3 and 4 ignored others, there were similarities observed in conversations with same age speakers. The most common way both bands ignored same age girls was through the use of silence, and a number of AUs were also ignored in these types of conversations.

However, this is where the similarities between the two bands end. As band 3 typically repeated utterances that had been ignored, while band 4 were usually accepting of this. This appears to suggest, therefore, that not only does a speaker's position in the group alter the way they respond to those older or younger than them, but also to speakers of the same age.

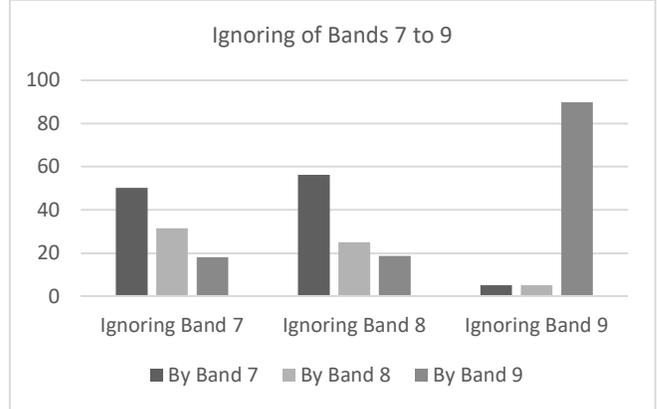
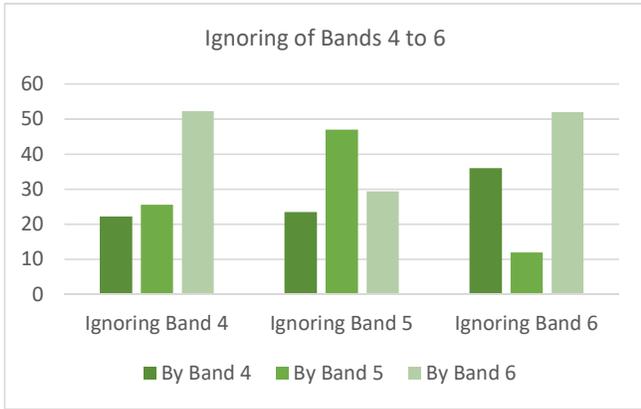
The similarities between speakers in the age equivalent positions in groups one and two were not as great here as was the case for directives. However, in most cases there were parallels in the way bands in the same position used, and responded to ignoring, despite the age differences between these speakers. In addition, it was typically the case that there were a greater number of similarities between girls in the same position in each group than there were between members of the same age group. Thereby providing evidence of accommodation based on the age of the speaker in relation to the hearer.

6.13 Ignoring used by bands 4 to 9.

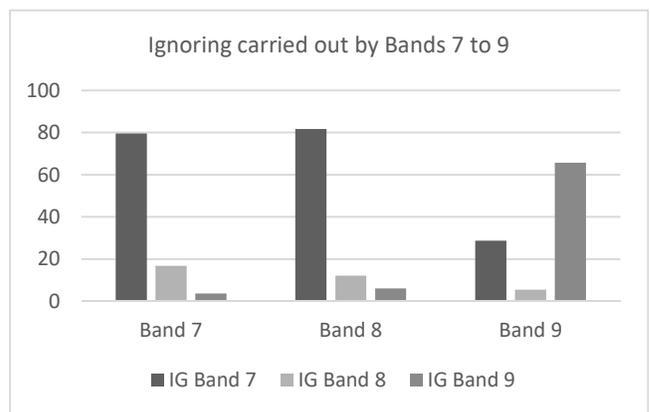
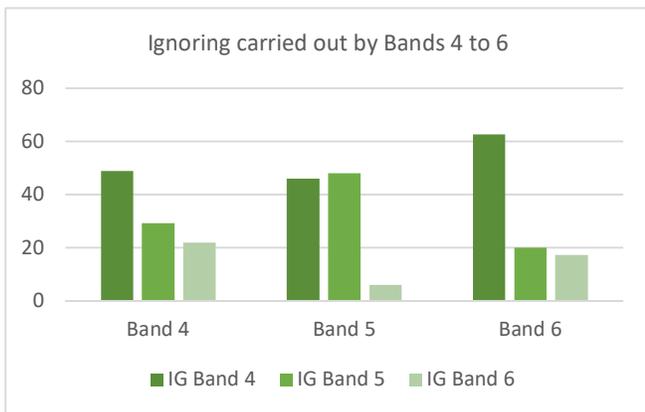
Although the distribution of ignoring between groups two and three does vary, there is one obvious similarity. The clear majority of ignored utterances were produced by the youngest speakers in each group. In both cases this accounted for over half of all the ignoring to take place. However, a noticeable difference is that in group three it was girls in the middle age band, rather than the eldest, who were ignored least. As was the case with directives, this is likely due, at least in part, to the small number of girls in this age band.



As is evident from the two charts below there are few similarities between groups two and three in terms of the bands responsible for ignoring of other speakers. While in group two, it was the eldest speakers who were responsible for the majority of ignoring that took place with the youngest girls, in group three the opposite pattern was found; the majority of band 7's utterances were ignored by same age speakers. Perhaps the only similarity to be seen is the ignoring of the eldest band in each group; both bands 6 and 9 were responsible for the majority of ignoring of same age speakers.



The two charts below show how each band ignored members of every other band and there are a greater number of similarities here than seen above. Both of the youngest bands in each group, were less likely to ignore a speaker as their age increased. In addition, girls in both of the middle age bands were far less likely to ignore utterances from older speakers than they were from younger or same age girls. What is perhaps most interesting is the difference seen in the ignoring carried out by girls in the eldest two bands. While the majority of band 6's ignoring took place in conversations with the younger band 4 speakers, band 9 ignored same age speakers more than any other band. However, as was the case with some other findings, this may be explained by the fact that band 9 speakers showed a very distinct preference for engaging in conversations primarily with same age speakers.



6.13.1 Types of ignoring.

The youngest speakers in each group favoured different ways of ignoring other bands; while band 4 ignored same age girls with silence, band 7 preferred to do this by continuing with a conversation. However, it was quite common for both bands to ignore AUs produced by same age girls. Interestingly, both bands 4 and 7 used equal, or almost equal, amounts of ignoring by continuing with a conversation and silence with girls in the middle and eldest bands. In addition, the tendency to ignore AUs decreased as the age of their partner rose.

Girls in the middle two age bands both showed a preference for ignoring younger speakers by continuing to speak. Similarly, a number of the utterances that were ignored in these contexts were AUs. While band 5 ignored same age speakers with an almost equal amount of silence and continuing to speak, the same was not true of band 8. These girls ignored one another using silence on just one occasion. A slightly different pattern was also seen in the way they ignored older speakers, band 5 were slightly more likely to do this through silence than continuing to speak, while the opposite was true for band 8. However, one factor these bands do have in common is that they both ignored older speakers far less than younger, or same age girls.

The ignoring used by the eldest bands in each group shared no similarities, band 6 ignored girls in the youngest band most often by continuing to talk, while band 9 chose to do this through silence. With speakers in the middle age band this pattern is reversed, band 6 usually used silence to ignore these girls, whereas band 9 did so by continuing to speak. Finally, band 6 ignored same age speakers through an equal mixture of silence and continuing to talk, band 9, on the other hand, preferred to ignore same age girls by continuing to speak.

6.13.2 Responses to being ignored.

The youngest bands in each group had slightly different responses to being ignored by same age girls; band 4 usually accepted this while band 7 did not. However, in both cases there was only a small difference between these two responses. With members of the middle two bands failing to accept being ignored was the most common response of both bands. Although, once again these responses were seen in almost equal measures. There were clear similarities in the responses to being ignored by the eldest speakers in each group. Both bands 4 and 7 accepted this AU on the clear majority of occasions.

Girls in the middle two age bands were not usually accepting of being ignored by either younger or same age speakers. The use of repetition in these conversations was instead the most common response. However, with older girls a slightly different pattern was seen; band 5 showed an almost equal split in the number of times they accepted and failed to accept

being ignored by an older girl. Band 8, however, were far less likely to accept this AU than they were to accept it.

Neither of the eldest two bands were likely to accept being ignored by the youngest girls in their group. While this trend continued for band 5 in interactions with the slightly older, band 6, girls this was not the case for band 9. In fact, acceptance was the most common response of band 9 to being ignored by a band 8 speaker. Differences were also observed in their responses to this AU from same age girls. Band 6 accepted this on the majority of occasions where as the opposite was true for band 9.

6.13.3 Bands 6 and 7.

In terms of the way girls in these bands ignored one another there are few similarities, while band 6 used an equal amount of silence and continuing with the conversation, band 7 speakers were considerably more likely to ignore a same age girl by continuing to speak than through silence.

A similar pattern is shown in terms of responses to this AU; band 6 were typically very accepting of being ignored by a same age girl, whilst band 7 members favoured repetition in these contexts.

What has been shown here is that although there were some similarities between the way speakers in the age equivalent positions in each group use and respond to this AU, this was not to the same extent as with directives. That is not to say that there were no similarities between girls in the same position in each group. Neither was it the case that the behaviour of speakers in the same age group was particularly similar. It is perhaps the case that the different ways of behaving with regards to ignoring, are more closely related to a speaker's age and consequently reflect their sociolinguistic awareness to a greater extent than was true of directives. Yet, the finding that similarities exist between speakers in the same position in each band, despite considerable age differences does provide evidence of accommodation. In addition, the observation that most bands change the way they use, and respond to, ignoring based on the age of their partner is further support for the suggestion that age and status are closely related for these girls.

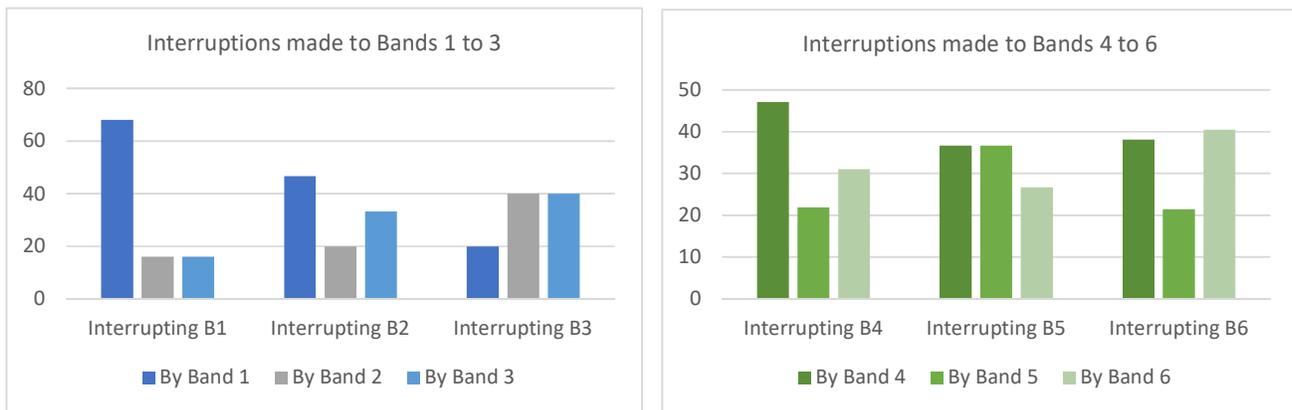
6.14 Interruptions used by bands 1 to 6.

The two charts below show the bands that were interrupted the most and those interrupted least. The most obvious similarity is that the clear majority of interruptions were made to the

youngest speakers in the group, in both cases this accounted for over half of the total number of interruptions made.

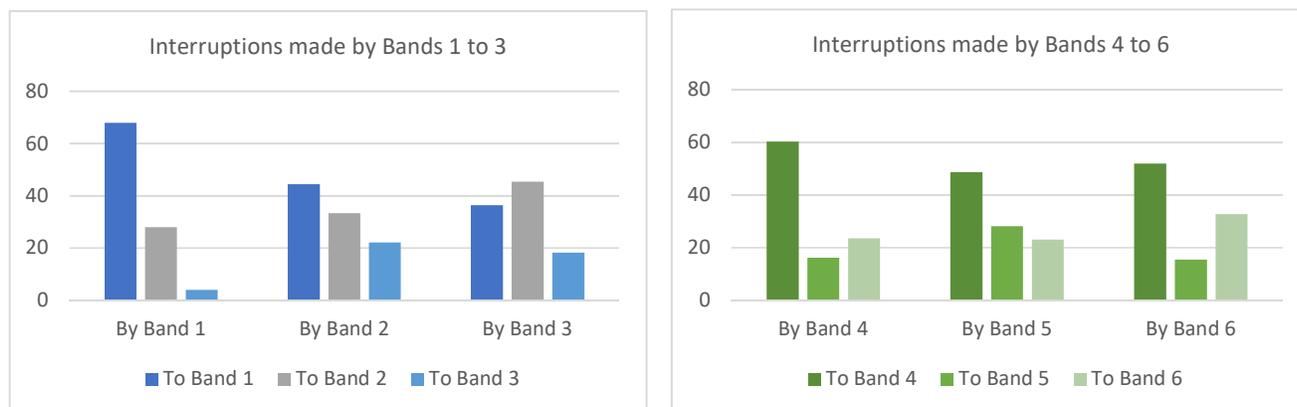


As is evident in the charts below, showing the bands responsible for interruptions, there are some interesting similarities. Firstly, both the youngest and eldest bands in these two groups were responsible for the largest number of interruptions made to same age speakers. In both groups, it was also the youngest bands who were responsible for the highest percentage of interruptions made to girls in the middle bands although in group two, the same number was also made by other band 5 speakers.



The charts below showing the number of interruptions each band used also reveal some intriguing similarities. Firstly, both of the youngest bands in each group produced the majority of their interruptions in conversations with same age speakers, and this was by quite a considerable margin. Secondly, the way in which interruptions were made by girls in the middle two age bands was almost identical. Bands 3 and 6 on the other hand, behaved very differently. While band 3 produced the largest number of interruptions in conversations with

members of the middle age band these were the speakers with which band 6 used this AU the least.



6.14.1 Types of interruptions.

The types of interruptions made by bands 1 and 4 also involved some similarities. In conversations with same age speakers and girls in the middle age bands although the types of interruptions used were slightly different, they were very rarely aiming to add to the utterance they had interrupted. A slight change was seen in conversations with the eldest speakers in each group. Although there was just one interruption of a band 3 speaker made by a member of band 1 this was aiming to add to the utterance, whereas none of the interruptions made by band 4 to band 6 were of this type.

The middle age bands in each group also shared some similarities in the types of interruptions they made with other speakers. Neither band made interruptions that were intended to enhance the current speaker's utterance in conversations with younger speakers. Although band 2 did this by producing relevant utterances, band 5 frequently attempted to change the topic of conversation. However, in conversations with same age speakers a slightly different pattern is seen. The majority of band 2's interruptions were those adding to the current topic, whilst band 5's were primarily attempts to change its focus. Despite this, there were a greater number of so-called 'friendly' interruptions in band 5's conversations with same age speakers than in those with younger speakers. The interruptions made by both bands 2 and 5 in interactions with older girls were primarily those adding to the conversation.

The most obvious similarity between the eldest bands in each group is that regardless of the age of their conversational partner, interruptions aiming to add to the current topic were very rare. Interruptions used most frequently by band 3 were those that were relevant to the current topic, but not intending to add to the utterance they had interrupted, whilst band 6 favoured

those aiming to take control of the conversation, or alter its focus. Although it was not the case that bands 3 and 6 used the same types of interruptions as one another, it is noteworthy that they each made use of the same types in conversations with speakers in every age band.

6.14.2 Responses to interruptions.

The most common response of both bands 1 and 4 to being interrupted was to accept this; regardless of either the type used or the speaker carrying out the interruption.

A similar pattern was found in the way bands 2 and 5 responded to interruptions. In all but one of these contexts interruptions were accepted rather than challenged. The only context in which this was not the case was when band 2 members were in conversations with same age speakers. In these situations, there was an equal mix of interruptions that were accepted and those that were not.

Bands 3 and 6 responded in slightly different ways to being interrupted. In group one there was just one instance of an interruption being made by a band 1 speaker to a member of band 3, and likely due to the fact this was aimed at adding to the utterance, it was accepted. On the other hand, most interruptions made by band 4 in exchanges with band 6 were not accepted, once again, this is may be a result of the types of interruptions made by these band 4 speakers. A similar pattern is seen with girls in the middle age bands; although these interruptions were usually those adding to the current speaker's utterance band 3 typically accepted these, whilst band 6 were not as willing to do so. However, in interactions with same age girls, the responses to being interrupted where overwhelmingly those of acceptance. In fact, this was the only way in which band 3 responded to interruptions from other band 3 girls.

6.14.3 Bands 3 and 4.

Interestingly, there are some similarities in the interruptions made by bands 3 and 4 with same age speakers. Whilst these bands did not use exactly the same types of interruptions as one another, those used as a way of adding to the interrupted utterance were rarely seen in these interactions.

In addition, similarities were also seen in the responses to this AU from same age girls.

Despite the types of interruptions used in these contexts, both bands were very accepting of this AU. In fact, it was quite common for both bands to respond to an utterance that had been used to interrupt them.

This is the first AU for which bands 3 and 4 have shown a greater number of similarities than differences. However, all three bands in each group also shared some similarities in their use

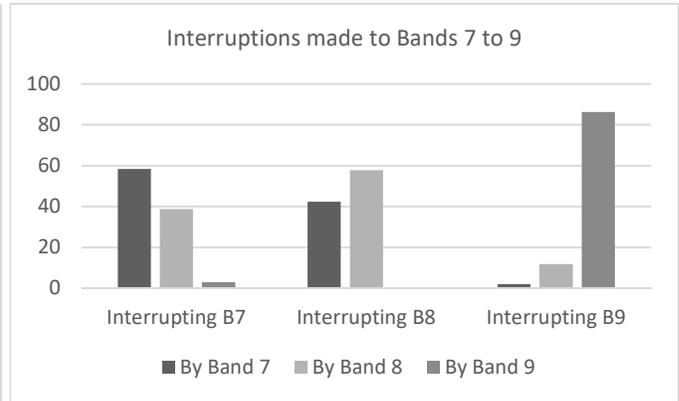
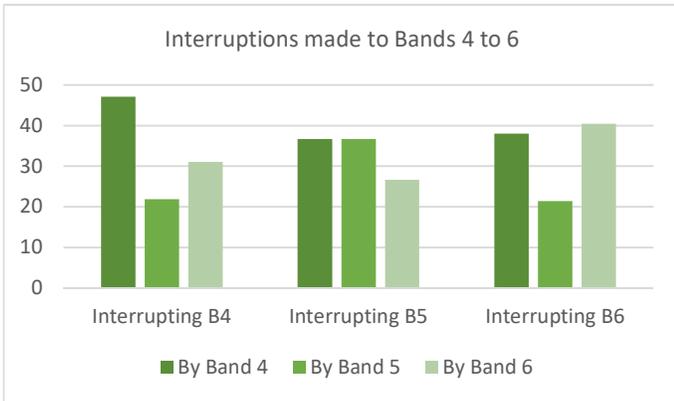
of, and response to, interruptions with speakers in the age equivalent position in each band. It is perhaps the case that, like ignoring, the use of, and responses to, interruptions are influenced by a speaker's age. Although, given the parallels observed between speakers in the same positions in each group, despite the considerable age differences, age alone is not sufficient to explain this. Instead, as has been the case previously, this is likely the result of the speaker's age in relation to the hearer's.

6.15 Interruptions used by bands 4 to 9.

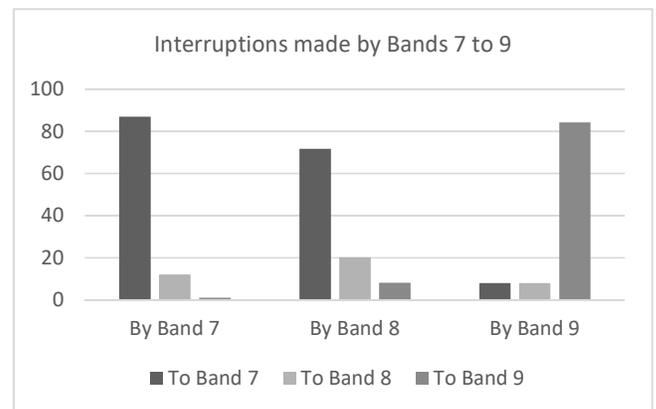
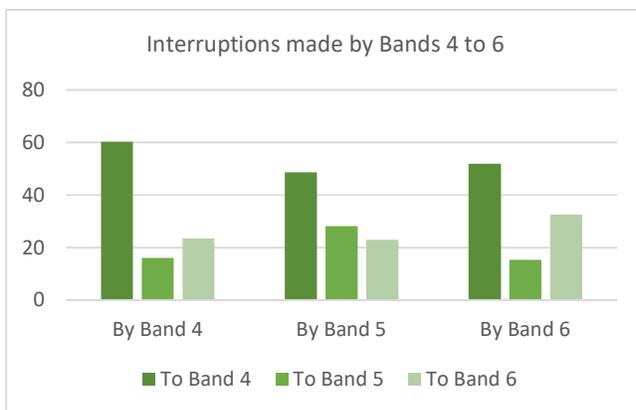
As is evident from the two charts below, the way in which interruptions were used by groups two and three involve some differences; in both cases it was the youngest speakers who were interrupted the most. As has been the case with the previous two AUs, in group three it was band 8 who were addressed with this AU the least, although as has been noted, this is likely due to the small number of speakers in this age band.



Although there are, evidently, a number of differences between the two charts below, there are also some interesting similarities. Firstly, in both groups it was same age speakers who were responsible for the majority of interruptions made with the youngest speakers in each group. Secondly, the interruptions made to bands 5 and 8 follow a similar pattern; same age speakers made a large number, if not the majority, of these interruptions. Additionally, in both cases it was the eldest speakers in the group who interrupted these girls the least. Finally, in both groups it was the eldest speakers who were responsible for the largest number of interruptions made to same age girls. This is particularly evident in group three, in which band 9 was responsible for eighty-six percent of the interruptions made to this band.



The charts below showing the way each band used interruptions also share some similarities. Firstly, the majority of interruptions made by the youngest bands, were in conversations with same age girls. In both cases these types of interruptions accounted for over half of the total number they produced. The middle age bands in each group also followed the same pattern in terms of their interruptions; both interrupted younger girls the most, and older speakers the least. Although, this pattern is more marked amongst band 8. The main difference between the two charts is in the interruptions used by the eldest speakers in the group. While most of the interruptions made by band 6 were in conversations with younger, band 4, girls. Over eighty percent of those made by band 9 were made in interactions with same age girls. As has been suggested previously this may be a result of the types of conversations band 9 took part in, as these were primarily with same age speakers.



6.15.1 Types of interruptions.

The youngest speakers in each group followed a similar pattern in terms of the interruptions they used with same age speakers and those slightly older than them; these were rarely made as a way of adding to the current conversation. The types of interruptions used most

frequently by both bands 4 and 7 were those that were relevant to the current conversation but not made with the intention of adding to the utterance they interrupted. In both cases this was followed by interruptions that attempted to change the focus of the conversation. With speakers in the middle age bands attempts to alter the focus of the interaction were the most frequently used by both bands 4 and 7. While this pattern continued for band 4 in conversations with the eldest girls, this was not the case for band 7. Although just one interruption was made by this band in conversations with band 9 it was one that aimed at adding to the older speaker's utterance.

Speakers in the middle two age bands followed a similar pattern to the younger speakers in terms of the types of interruptions they used with younger and same age girls. Those aiming to change the focus of the conversation, rather than adding to it were most common. With the exception of those made by band 8 with same age girls; although these were not intending to add to the current utterance they were usually relevant to it. However, a change is seen in the interruptions used with older girls. Those used by band 5 were largely relevant to the utterance they were interrupting, but the same was not true of band 8. In conversations with older girls, interruptions made by band 8 were largely those intending to change the focus of the interaction.

The interruptions used by the eldest bands in each group with younger speakers were very similar; they never made interruptions aimed at adding to the current speaker's utterance in these contexts. Both bands 6 and 9 made interruptions with the intention of taking control of the conversation or changing the focus of it with both of the younger two bands. While this remained the case for band 6 with same age girls, the interruptions made by band 9 were predominantly those that were relevant to the current conversation although not aimed at adding to it.

6.15.2 Responses to interruptions.

Both bands 4 and 7 typically accepted interruptions from same age speakers. Band 4 very often responded to utterances used to interrupt them in these contexts and although band 7 did this at times, the more common response was to accept this AU by allowing themselves to be interrupted. Both bands also attempted to complete their utterance or challenged the interruption in interactions with same age girls. A slight difference is seen in the responses to this AU from speakers in the middle bands. Band 4 continued to accept this AU on the majority of occasions whereas only half of these were accepted by band 7. In terms of the way interruptions were accepted, both bands 4 and 7 responded to these utterances quite frequently. With the eldest speakers in each group both bands 4 and 7 accepted the majority

of interruptions. In fact, this was the only way in which band 7 responded to interruptions from a band 9 member. Neither band challenged an interruption from these older speakers, however, they were both observed responding to an utterance that was responsible for them being interrupted.

Girls in the middle age bands were surprisingly accepting of being interrupted by younger speakers; in both cases the majority of these were accepted. In addition, in both cases there were instances of the older speaker responding to an utterance that had been used to interrupt them. In conversations with same age speakers, acceptance continued to be the most frequent response to this AU. In the case of band 5, all interruptions from same age girls were accepted. The majority of those from band 8 were accepted although they did go on to complete a small number of their interrupted utterances. However, they never challenged interruptions made by other band 8 members. An unexpected change was seen in the responses of these speakers to interruptions from older girls. While band 5 continued to accept this AU, and often responded to interruptions from older girls, the opposite response was seen from band 8 who usually attempted to complete their utterance, and at times met this AU with further interruption.

The eldest speakers in each group showed very similar responses to interruptions from girls in the youngest age bands; in both cases failing to accept this AU was the most common response. Band 6 typically used other AUs such as dismissing or ignoring in response to being interrupted by a younger speaker, similarly, the one instance of a band 7 speaker interrupting a member of band 9 was not accepted. A slightly different pattern was seen in the responses of bands 6 and 9 to being interrupted by speakers in the middle age bands. Band 9 usually accepted this AU, while the opposite was true of band 6. However, the way these two bands responded to interruptions from same age speakers was almost identical. Both bands accepted nearly three quarters of the interruptions made by other band 6 or 9 girls and in both cases there were instances of responding to the utterance used to interrupt them. When this AU was not accepted, this was typically shown by the first speaker attempting to complete their original utterance.

6.15.3 Bands 6 and 7.

The types of interruptions made by bands 6 and 7 in interactions with same age speakers share some similarities; in both cases most interruptions were not intending to add to the conversation. Band 6 did this by attempting to take control of the conversation or change its focus, while band 7 typically made interruptions that were relevant to the current topic but without adding to the interrupted utterance.

The way in which bands 6 and 7 responded to interruptions from same age speakers was almost identical. Acceptance of this AU was the most common response and, in both cases, this was occasionally shown by responding to the utterance that had been used to interrupt them. In addition, there were also attempts by both bands to complete an utterance that had been interrupted, although only on a small number of occasions.

What has been shown here is that speakers in the same position in each group use, and respond to, interruptions in quite similar ways. Although these were rarely exactly the same, there were a greater number of similarities between speakers in the age equivalent position in each band, despite the age differences, than there were between members of the same age group. This therefore offers evidence of accommodation; a speaker's language is more closely related to their position within a group than it is to their age alone. The fact that the type of language used was a result of age also provides support for the suggestion that age is used as a way of measuring status for these girls.

Overall, what these comparisons have revealed is that the behaviour of speakers in the same position in each group is often quite similar. While this was not the case for every age band, for every AU, typically there were a greater number of similarities between speakers in the same position in each group than there were between members of the same age group. Given the age differences between speakers in the youngest bands, the most likely explanation for these findings is that these girls are accommodating their use of, and response to, these AUs based on their own age in relation to that of their partner. The most persuasive evidence for this is seen in the comparisons of bands 3 and 4, and bands 6 and 7, who despite being close in age (or in the case of bands 3 and 4 overlapping in ages) were generally more similar to girls in the equivalent position to them than they were to one another. That is, band 3's behaviour was usually more similar to band 6 than to band 4, as they were both the eldest speakers in their respective groups, in spite of the fact there was an age difference of over two years between these bands. This section has, therefore, provided further evidence that these girls are accommodating their behaviour with regards to AUs, that this is a result of their position within a group, and that age is used as a way of assessing status for these speakers.

Chapter Seven: Discussion.

7.1 Directives.

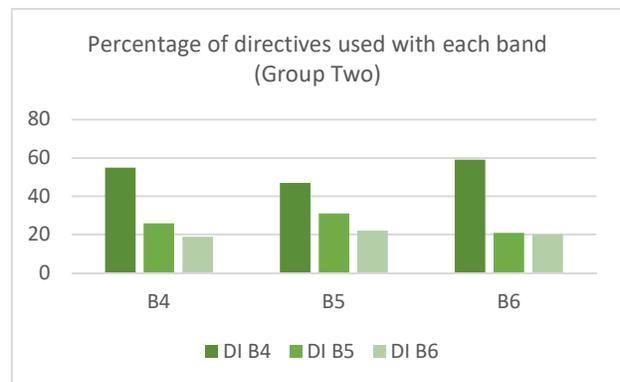
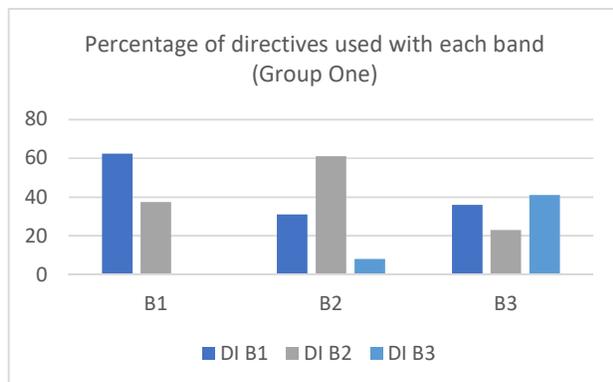
The following will consider the findings from the present study, with regards to the use of, and response to directives, and discuss these in relation to the existing literature. As will be shown, although overall there is little direct support for these results, when the link between age and status is considered a great deal of evidence is found in support of these results.

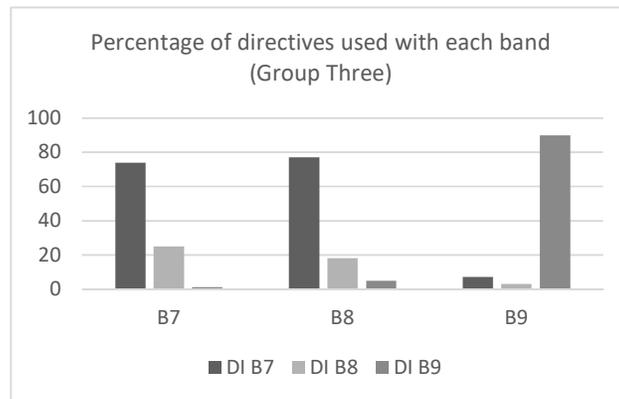
There are, to the best of my knowledge, no studies that look at the change in the use of, and response to, directives based on the age of the speaker and their partner. There is, however, research to show that directive use and the likelihood of compliance is closely related to the status of both the speaker and hearer (Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan, 1977; Ervin -Tripp, et al., 1990; Holmes, 1992; Goodwin and Kyratzis, 2011). The evidence presented below therefore suggests that, certainly amongst this group of children, age is closely related to status; older girls appear to occupy positions of high social status, while younger speakers are in lower positions.

Finding

- *The majority of speakers used fewer directives as the age of their conversational partner increased.*

One of the main, and most consistent, findings with regards to the use of directives was that speakers in all three age groups chose to address more directives to the youngest girls in their group than to the eldest. This is demonstrated clearly in the charts below in which, with the exception of bands 3 and 9, all other speakers used considerably fewer directives with the eldest speakers in their group compared to the youngest.





Interestingly, the two exceptions to this were the eldest speakers in groups one and three. A possible explanation for this occurrence, certainly for band 9, is that because these girls spent the majority of their time in conversations with same age speakers they had far more opportunities to use this AU with same age girls than they did with younger speakers. In addition, these older girls were much more familiar with one another than they were with either of the younger two bands and, as Holmes (1992) states, these types of utterances are more likely to occur between speakers who are well known to each other than with strangers. Despite these two exceptions, the remaining seven bands all behaved in a way that was more in line with what had been anticipated.

As noted above, the existing research does not consider how directive use may change as a result of a speaker's age. What it does suggest, however, is that this use is very often based on the social status of the speaker and hearer. Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan (1977:203) for example found "addressees who were lower in rank than the speaker received over five times as many directives as those higher in rank" in their study of children aged seven to twelve years, a very similar age range to the present study. The data in this study was from role play with puppets, and rank referred to the age of the hearer and speaker, very often this was in parent-child scenarios. Holmes (1992:292) also observed that in adult interactions "imperatives were overwhelmingly used by superiors to those of subordinate status". In adult interactions, it is often easy to understand who the high-ranking individuals are, however, amongst groups of children this is much harder. In the present study, it was proposed that social status is closely related to age. While there has been some suggestion of this in previous studies (Ervin-Tripp, 1979; Holmes, 1992) the results from the present study provide strong evidence in support of this. Assuming this relationship between age and status is correct this finding is fully supported by previous research. The fact that the majority of speakers used far fewer directives with older girls than they did with younger or same age

speakers suggests, at least amongst this group of children, that a speaker's position within the group hierarchy is based on their age. These results also suggest that the children themselves are aware of this, and alter their behaviour as a result.

Evidence is also found here of accommodation; even the youngest speakers in this study appear to be aware of the fact it is less appropriate to address older speakers with directives than it is younger or same age girls. Previous research has shown even very young, preverbal, children adapt their vocal responses and gestures. Cohn and Tronick (1988:389) for example observed "the conversation-like pattern of mother-infant face-to-face interactions" of children aged three, six and nine months were influenced by both the mother and child. Shatz and Gelman (1973) found that four-year-olds changed the type of language they used as a result of their partner's age; they used shorter and more simple utterances with two-year-olds than they did with same age peers or adults. Similarly, Killen and Niagles's (1995) study of children aged forty-two to sixty-six months found these children took into account the gender of their partner during disputes and varied the type of language they produced as a result of this. What is important to bear in mind is that these younger girls are more than capable of producing a wide range of directives. Directives are used even by very young children; Bock and Hornsby (1981) for example studied their production in children as young as 2;6. In addition, in this study band 1 was observed using this AU with speakers their own age. The reason for their absence in interactions with older girls is not, therefore, related to an inability to produce this type of language, but rather a sociolinguistic awareness that while the use of directives may be acceptable with same age peers the same is not the case with those older than them.

Finding

- *The clear majority of speakers were more likely to use directives with the sole purpose of controlling the hearer's behaviour with younger girls than with older ones.*

The extracts below provide two good examples of this, in both cases these are directives issued by speakers in the eldest band in groups two and three to those in the youngest. In both examples compliance from the hearer would be of no benefit to the speaker, instead these were simply aimed at exerting control.

Example 6.26*K R, Y come up here [IG+GL] [DI+GL].***Example 9.26***Z You both have to do that [DI+GL].*

The tendency for speakers to use controlling directives with younger girls more frequently than with older ones, was a finding that was true of eight of the nine bands (band 8 being the only exception). This is illustrated in the table below showing the percentage of directives used that were made with the sole purpose of controlling the hearer's behaviour, with girls in the youngest bands compared to those in the eldest.

Table Four

	% of directives that were controlling	
	With the youngest bands	With the eldest bands
Band 1	27%	--
Band 2	25%	0%
Band 3	100%	89%
Band 4	22%	0%
Band 5	35%	0%
Band 6	33%	4%
Band 7	35%	0%
Band 8	36%	40%
Band 9	33%	21%

Ervin-Tripp (1976) has acknowledged that both rank and age are likely to impact the types of directives a speaker uses. Similarly, Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan (1977:202) noted that some of the directives used by the children in their study, particularly during role play, “function[ed] primarily or even solely to establish the child's subservient position”. Given the association that has been made above between age and status, it is perhaps unsurprising that the use of these controlling directives would be most common with younger girls. As well as recognising that these were inappropriate to use with older speakers, another possible reason for the small number of these directives used with older girls may be related to the speaker's pragmatic competence. This finding suggests that these speakers were able to understand that these types of directives were unlikely to be successful in such interactions. Given the age, and consequently status, differences between speakers in different bands younger girls may have realised that not only were these types of directives inappropriate with older speakers, they were also very unlikely to receive compliance. It therefore made little sense to produce a directive that would not only fail, but may also involve repercussions for the younger speaker.

The way in which this type of directive was used also shows evidence of accommodation. In each age group, the youngest speakers used this type of directive with one another but never with the oldest girls in their group. The fact that they eliminated this type of directive from their language entirely demonstrates an awareness that the type of language that is acceptable with older girls is not the same as that used with same age girls.

Finding

- *Directives implying the speaker possessed knowledge (about the correct way to behave, or regarding the activity at hand) that the hearer did not were usually used more frequently with younger girls than older ones.*

The examples below show instances of girls in the youngest bands, in groups one and three, issuing these types of directives to same age speakers.

Example 1.16

T Share, just share [DI+GL].

Example 7.26

R Do/n't do anything guy/s [DI+GL].

These were often seen in these types of interactions but appeared far less in conversations with speakers in the middle or eldest bands, and this finding was true of the majority of age bands; as is illustrated in the table below.

Table Five

	% of directives implying knowledge	
	With the youngest bands	With the eldest bands
Band 1	36%	--
Band 2	0%	100%
Band 3	0%	0%
Band 4	17%	31%
Band 5	26%	11%
Band 6	18%	14%
Band 7	36%	0%
Band 8	28%	0%
Band 9	44%	27%

In some ways, this finding is very similar to previous research that has shown language use is more closely related to proficiency at a particular task than it is to gender or any other variables. In her study of children’s playground games, Goodwin (2001:81) found that directive use was related to skill at the activity at hand; the more capable the children became the more controlling their language. One example she gives, is of the leader amongst a group of boys, stating that it was “his superior jumping skill [that] led to his authority to control the activity”. Similar conclusions have been obtained in the language of adults; speakers who are more skilled at the task at hand are more likely to be those who are more influential and have a higher status than other group members (Berger et al., 1980; Berger et al., 1992; Berger et al., 1998). Likewise, in classrooms it is the teacher who is in a position of authority, although when the class is a group of children this status comes from age, the same is not true of a group of adult learners. In these situations, it remains the teacher who is in a position of power (Newman and Peile, 2002), this is due to “the teacher’s status as the ‘expert’” (Muncie, 2000:48). Amongst groups of children it is typically, though not always, older speakers who possess a greater amount of knowledge than their younger peers. Consequently, it makes sense that the use of this type of directive will be less common in conversations with these older, more knowledgeable, girls. Possible exceptions to this may be when a younger speaker is in fact in possession of a specific piece of information that is not known to an older hearer. This may lead to the younger girl believing this is an acceptable time to address an older speaker with a directive. In these cases it may also mean that the directive is more likely to be complied with.

Finding

- *All speakers were more likely to comply with a directive issued by an older speaker than a younger one.*

The two examples below come from group two and show the difference in responses of a band 4 member to a directive from same age girl (example 4.28) compared to one from an older speaker (example 6.27).

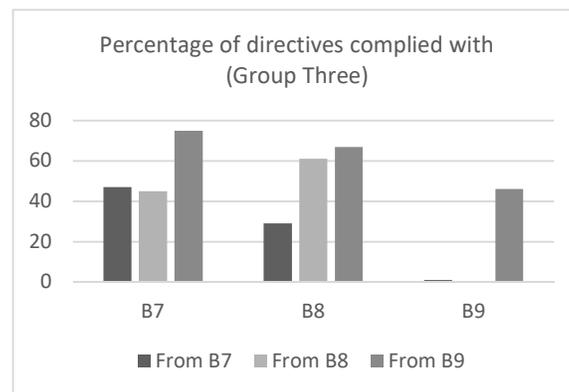
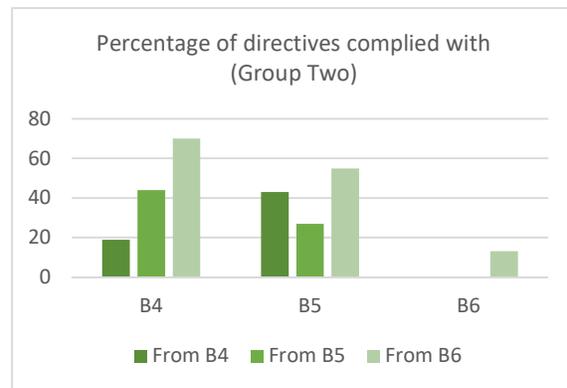
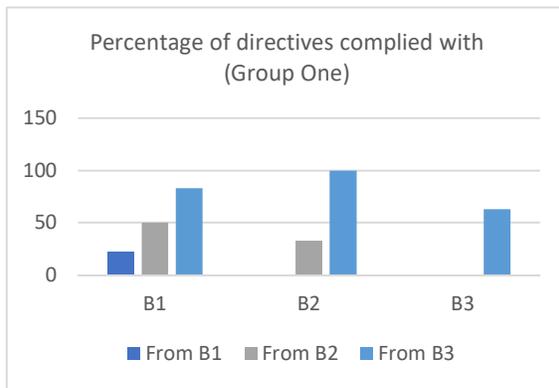
Example 4.28

G *Turn it pink* [DI+GL] [REP+GL].
 L I’m not turn/ing the sky pink [RE+GL]
 [REF+GL].

Example 6.27

D *And then underline, because it is the title* [DI+GL].
 B Ok I’m just gonna get a ruler.

There is a great deal of support for the suggestion that directives from high status speakers are more likely to be complied with than those from lower status group members (Ervin-Tripp, et al., 1990; Goodwin, 2001; Ridgeway, 2001). Ridgeway and Berger, (1986:603) for example, state that “with legitimacy, high ranking members appear able to engage more effectively in directive or domineering behaviours”. While less powerful speakers may attempt to exercise control in this way, they are less likely to be successful, due to the fact their position as a high-status individual is not accepted by the other members of the group. A noteworthy point made by Ridgeway and Berger (1986) is that while it is possible for any speaker to use directives, they are only successful when they complied with. Directives that are not complied with are essentially attempts at assertive behaviour, rather than a sign of actual dominance. Given the association that has been made between age and status amongst this group of children, the finding that the directives of older speakers were more likely to be complied with is consistent with previous research. Ridgeway (2001; Ridgeway and Berger, 1986; Ridgeway and Diekema, 1989) talks a lot about ‘legitimacy’; she discusses in several articles its importance in executing dominant behaviour. While it is possible for speakers of any status to attempt to control the behaviour of others if their position is not legitimate, i.e. recognised as high status by the other group members, they are unlikely to be successful. This raises the question as to why these younger, lower status, individuals made use of this language. A possible explanation is that they had seen older speakers behave this way with great success and believed the same outcome was likely when they adopted this approach. If this was the case it is likely that these girls had not yet acquired the pragmatic competence to understand the success of such utterances is reliant on far more than the utterance itself. When attempts at control, such as directives, were successful, in that they received compliance, it can be assumed that the speaker’s position as an individual with high status was not only acknowledged, but accepted, by the remainder of the group. It is therefore, interesting to note how this changes as a result of the group composition. While some of the youngest speakers in a group were successful in gaining compliance with their directives in conversations with same age girls, this was rarely the case with older speakers, as is evident in the charts below.



One interesting finding from these charts is that they show the responses of the eldest speakers in each group were very similar; there was only one instance of a member of one of these bands complying with a directive from a younger speaker. Not only does this finding, once again, provide evidence of accommodation, as compliance is closely related to the relative age of a speaker, it also strengthens the suggestion that age is positively correlated with an individual's status.

Finding

- *Refusing to comply with a directive was less likely to occur with older speakers; when directives from these girls were not complied with ignoring was a more typical response.*

The two examples below show the responses of a speaker in the eldest band in group two being issued with a directive by a member of band 4 and a same age girl. Although in neither of these does the older girl comply, in the first the directive is met with refusal while in the second it is simply ignored.

Example 4.29*R Say the I word [DI+GU].*K No I'm not you say the I word
[RE+GL] [DI+GL].**Example 6.28***J V come to the toilet and wash it off**[DI+GU].*

V [IG+GU].

As is noted by Goodwin (1990:105) “refusing a directive constitutes a challenge”, it is unsurprising, therefore, that this response was seen less frequently with older speakers, i.e. those with a higher status, than it was with younger, lower status, ones. The table below illustrates the change in each band’s response from conversations with the youngest girls in their age group to those with the eldest. It is, once again, important to note that band 1 did not produce any directives in conversations with band 3 speakers, which is the reason for the response of band 3 being at odds with the results of every other band; it was not possible for these speakers to refuse to comply with directives from younger girls as none were produced.

Table Six

	% of directives refused	
	With the youngest bands	With the eldest bands
Band 1	44%	--
Band 2	0%	0%
Band 3	0%	13%
Band 4	42%	21%
Band 5	20%	0%
Band 6	21%	19%
Band 7	12%	0%
Band 8	27%	0%
Band 9	100%	30%

Due to the fact this response involves a threat to the hearer’s face, it was expected to occur more often with lower status speakers, as possible consequences of this would not be as great as responding in this way with high status girls. The fact that this response was used by all speakers but the extent to which it occurred varied as a result of their conversational partner’s age, is further evidence of the use of communication accommodation by these girls. These speakers tailored their responses as a direct result of their partner’s age.

Support for each of these findings exists within the literature in terms of the way speakers make use of and respond to directives from speakers of different social statuses. Previous research has shown that directives are more likely to be addressed to speakers with a lower status; in the present study, it was more common for directives to be used in conversations with younger speakers. Similarly, it has been acknowledged that speakers are more likely to comply with directives from those with higher status; in the present study girls were more likely to comply with directives from those older than them compared to younger or same age girls. This is, therefore, strong evidence to support the proposal that, certainly amongst these children, age is closely related to status. What much previous research has not considered is how a speaker's status, and consequently their use of, and response to, directives may change as a result of their conversational partner or indeed the presence of other speakers. In the present study, for example although very close in age, bands 3 and 4 occupied opposite positions within their respective groups; band 3 was the eldest band in group one, while band 4 was the youngest in group two, and this is reflected in the way in which they used and responded to directives from speakers of different ages. Finally, comparably little research on children's use of assertive language has focused on children in mixed age groups, or considered the implication of age as a measure of status. What has been shown here is that not only do children consider age to be an indicator of a speaker's status, but that as a consequence their speech is markedly different with older girls compared to younger or same age speakers. What is important to note is that all speakers were observed using each type of directive and each response in some contexts, but not others. It was not a case of the youngest speakers being unable to produce certain types of language, but rather a choice based on what was appropriate to use given the age, and status, of their conversational partner. Which once again implies that these speakers are making their linguistic choices based on their social awareness of forms that are appropriate with peers of different ages.

7.2 Ignoring.

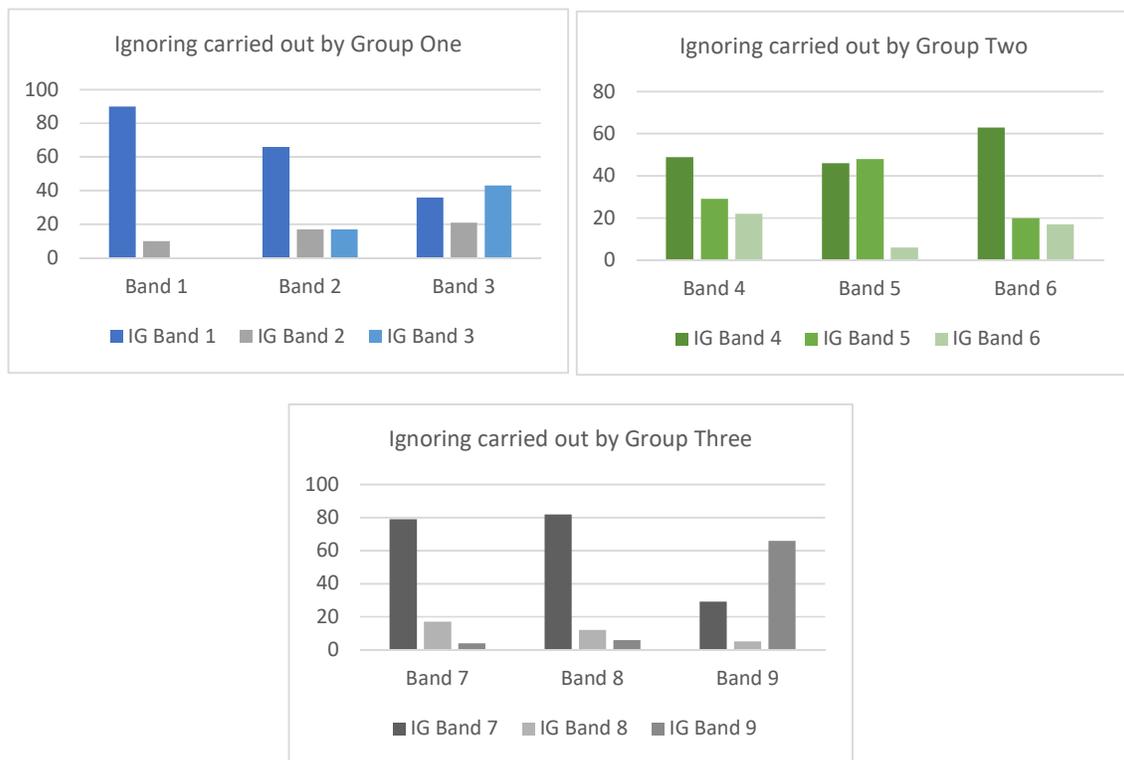
According to Dunbar and Burgoon (2005:218) "ignoring involves any message that ignores or bypasses the request of the previous message or offers silence in response to the partner's statement". This was very similar to the definition used in the present study; ignoring did not necessarily involve silence, instead a speaker may choose to produce an utterance on an unrelated topic or continue with the current conversation but fail to acknowledge the input of the previous speaker.

The findings with regard to this AU appear to show that these girls recognise ignoring as an assertive act and consequently make use of and respond to this differently as a result of their conversational partner.

Finding

- *The majority of speakers were more likely to ignore a younger speaker than an older one.*

This is clearly illustrated in the charts below in which, with the exception of band 3 and 9, all other bands were more likely to ignore the youngest speakers in their age group than the eldest.



Evidence in support of this finding can be found in previous studies with regards to a speaker’s status; high-status speakers are more likely to ignore those whose status is lower than their own, than vice versa (Ridgeway and Berger, 1986; Hawley, 1999; Argaman, 2009). Similar results have also been obtained when studying children’s popularity amongst their peers. Putallaz and Gottman (1981), for example, concluded that when attempting to enter a group, children who were considered popular were less likely to be ignored, and had a higher rate of acceptance than their unpopular peers. In addition to status, age has been another

factor that can influence popularity and likeability. Brody and Stoneman (1981) for example, observed that children preferred to be imitated by an older peer than they do a younger one. Similarly, Ladd (1983) found that unpopular children typically spend more time with and are more likely to be friends with those younger than them, suggesting that popular children are likely to be older girls rather than younger ones. This offers further support for the finding from the present study that older speakers were those least likely to be ignored.

In their study on status in emerging adults Lansu and Cillessen (2012) considered ignoring to be a form of relational aggression, and they observed that not only were speakers who displayed this behaviour likely to be popular, but also that it was associated with gaining influence and status amongst their peers. This suggests that while ignoring may be used by high status speakers as a way of expressing their status, it may also be used by lower status individuals in an attempt to increase their position amongst their peers. This may explain, in part, why the eldest speakers in groups one and three ignored same age girls more than the youngest speakers in their group. It is possible that with younger girls their higher status was assumed due to their age, however, with girls of the same age there was a greater need to compete for dominance, and ignoring may be one way in which these girls attempted to do this.

Perhaps the most important point to consider here is that ignoring was used by speakers of all ages, however, it was less likely to occur with older girls than younger ones. It is this change in usage that is clear evidence of accommodation.

Finding

- *No patterns were observed in the use of silence as a way of ignoring compared to continuing with a conversation.*

Bilmes (1994:14) makes the distinction between two different types of ignoring; although he uses the terms “explicit” and “implicit silence” they are the same as ignoring carried out through silence and by continuing with a conversation in the present study. It was thought that ignoring an utterance by continuing to speak implies that the speaker considers their utterance to be more important than their partner’s. However, when silence occurs this cannot be the case; instead the person carrying out the ignoring seems to imply that the utterance was simply not worthy of any response. Consequently, it was expected that the slightly more assertive way of ignoring a partner through silence would be more common with younger

girls than older ones. Yet this was found to be true for only the minority of bands, as is evident in the table below.

Table Seven

	% of ignoring carried out through silence	
	With the youngest bands	With the eldest bands
Band 1	57%	--
Band 2	75%	25%
Band 3	29%	63%
Band 4	58%	46%
Band 5	33%	56%
Band 6	44%	50%
Band 7	12%	50%
Band 8	24%	33%
Band 9	60%	41%

Although bands 1 and 2 were less likely to ignore older girls by maintaining silence than they were younger or same age speakers, the opposite was true for band 3. Similarly, in group two, band 4 reduced their use of silence as a way of ignoring as their partner's age rose, yet this was not the case for bands 5 or 6. Finally, in group three bands 7 and 8 actually increased their use of silence with older speakers, whereas band 9 was more likely to ignore band 7 with silence than they were bands 8 or 9. It appears that although the amount of ignoring carried out is affected by the age of a speaker and their conversational partner, the way in which this is done is not. That is, all three age groups use ignoring but have different means of articulating it. One possible reason for this finding may be found by considering alternative views on the use of silence. Riley and Manias (2005) for example, suggest that silence may be used as a way of maintaining face when confronted with a question they are unable to answer or a request that cannot be fulfilled. Gardezi et al. (2009:1394) refer to this as "a self-protective silence". In some contexts, ignoring a speaker through silence may be more closely related to attempts to save face, thereby maintaining status, than to attempts to control the behaviour of others or display dominance. If this is the case it would certainly explain the failure to obtain a single overarching pattern in the use of silence.

Finding

- *When older girls were ignored this was far more likely to be a result of their utterance being irrelevant than was the case with younger speakers.*

The examples below show members of band 5 ignoring an utterance from a younger speaker and an older one. In the first instance R's request is not only relevant to the conversation, but also a perfectly valid request, yet is ignored entirely by S. On the other hand, E's question comes in the middle of a conversation between O and A and is an attempt at changing the topic, which is likely the reason for it being ignored.

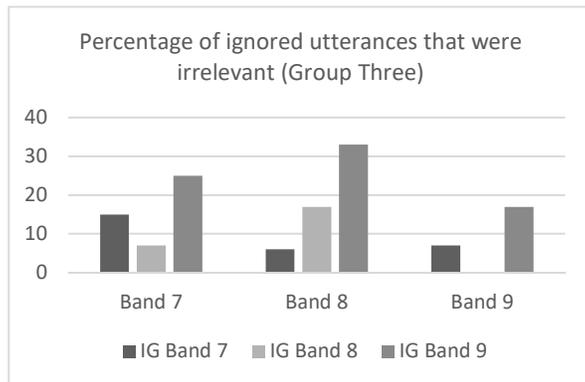
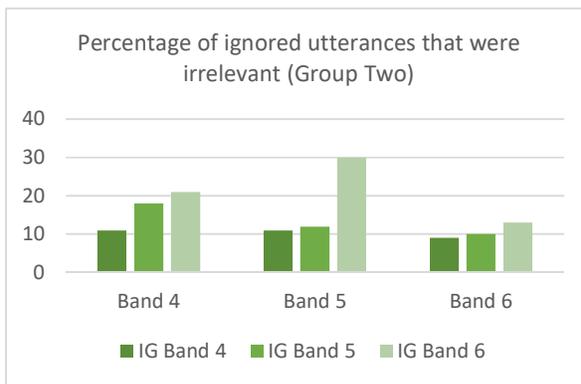
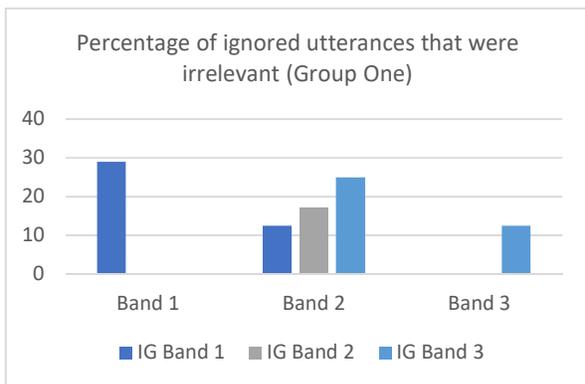
Example 5.24

R But after you can I have it [DR+GM]?
 S *Glue please* [IG+GL] [DR+GM].

Example 5.25

O Yeah because we/'re share/ing them in assembly.
 O I show/ed them in assembly both time/s.
 E Who want/3s to do the least writing?
 A Yeah [IG+GU].

With the exception of band 1 all other speakers ignored irrelevant utterances more frequently in conversations with older girls than with younger ones, as is illustrated in the charts below. It is worth noting that band 9 did not ignore any irrelevant utterances produced by band 8, however this was because the clear majority of these were relevant to the current conversation. It was not that they accepted these types of utterances more, but rather they rarely occurred.



The reason for band 1's results is that just one utterance produced by a band 2 member was ignored, while none of those from band 3 were ignored. What is interesting about this observation is that rather than suggesting utterances produced by younger speakers were more likely to be irrelevant, it instead shows that older girls were more likely to be ignored when their contribution to the conversation was irrelevant. This may be because in these instances the importance of relevance surpasses the need to respond to utterances produced by higher status speakers. Bilmes (1997) has commented on the fact that talk that is not related to the current conversation, what he calls 'illegitimate', is not required to be responded to. Similarly, both Putallaz and Gottman (1981) and Ervin-Tripp (1979) observed that amongst groups of children, utterances that were not related to the current topic were less likely to receive a response than those that were. On the other hand, Ervin-Tripp (1979:413) also stated that "older and more powerful speakers will be listened to, regardless of relevance". This is exactly what was observed in the current study, in which younger children had a higher chance of being ignored regardless of the type of utterance they produce. Older speakers on the other hand, were far more likely to be ignored when their contribution was irrelevant, making this ignoring more justified.

Finding

- *The majority of girls were more likely to accept being ignored as the age of their conversational partner rose.*

The examples below show typical ways band 7 responded to being ignored by a same age speaker and a member of band 9. In the first extract K repeats her utterance when she is ignored by N. However, in the second when U is ignored by four members of band 9 she makes no attempt at repeating herself, but instead accepts the response of the older girls.

Example 7.27

K What did they say?
 N *You can look at what it is, you just won't know the flavour [IG+GL].*
 K Yeah but what did they say [REP+GL]?

Example 9.27

U Is it good?
 E [IG+GL].
 G [IG+GL].
 H [IG+GL].
 Z [IG+GL].
 :

As is illustrated in the table below, with just one exception (band 2) no speakers accepted this AU more from members of the youngest age band in their group than from those in the eldest bands.

Table Eight

	% of ignoring accepted	
	With the youngest bands	With the eldest bands
Band 1	20%	83%
Band 2	100%	67%
Band 3	0%	43%
Band 4	58%	62%
Band 5	29%	53%
Band 6	17%	63%
Band 7	20%	76%
Band 8	10%	22%
Band 9	25%	26%

Willingness to accept being ignored has, to the best of my knowledge, not been the subject of research in the past. Although Ervin-Tripp et al. (1990) did look at attempts by children to make themselves heard after initially being ignored they did not look at the times when this was simply accepted by the children. However, there is some research that does offer support for this finding. Firstly, it has been shown that individuals are more likely to accept control moves from high status speakers than they are from those with a lower status (Eagly and Wood, 1982; Ridgeway et al., 1994). If, as is proposed in the present study, and by Lindová et al. (2012) who describe ignoring as an ‘indirect domineering strategy’, ignoring is used as a way of exerting influence, it follows that individuals would be more likely to accept this AU from an older, higher status, speaker than from a younger one. In addition, Bilmes (1997:520) has commented on the fact that “ignoring is a way of sanctioning out-of-place talk”. Younger speakers may have believed that this was, at times, the reason for them being ignored by their older peers, as these girls not only knew the type of talk that was and was not appropriate but may also have been the ones responsible for deciding this. If this was the case it is unsurprising that they were more likely to accept being ignored from these speakers.

Although there is little direct evidence to support this observation, given the connections that have been made between age and status and the greater willingness of children to accept,

rather than challenge assertive acts from those with a higher status, this finding is consistent with existing literature.

Finding

- *The tendency for speakers to respond to an utterance used to ignore them increased as the age of their conversational partner rose.*

The responses below show the different ways band 6 responded to being ignored by a younger, band 4, speaker compared to a same age girl. In the first, V produces another utterance in an attempt to receive a response when she is ignored by G. On the other hand, when K's utterance is ignored by another band 6 speaker she accepts this and instead picks up on D's topic.

Example 4.30

F That sheet, then that sheet, then
[CO+GL] ^

V Shh [DI+GL] [INT+GL].

G *That sheet, then that sheet, then that sheet* [IG+GU].

V Stop argue/ing [DI+GL].

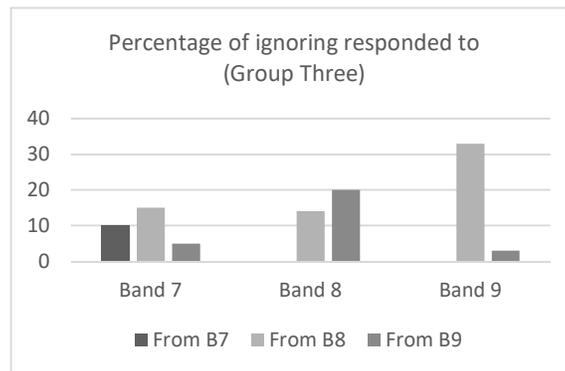
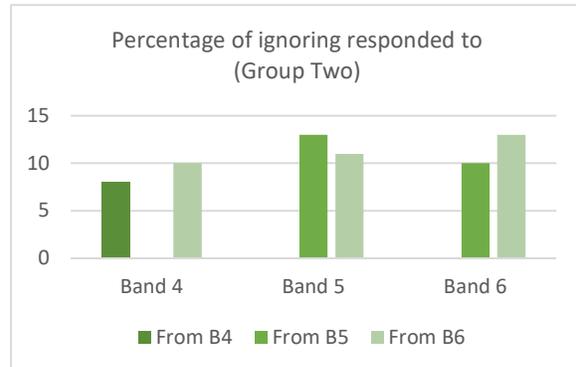
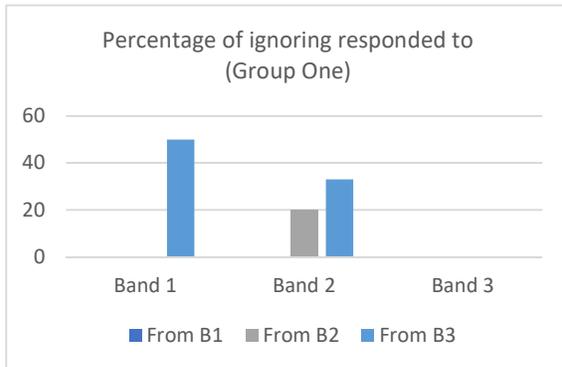
Example 6.29

K They keep call/ing me Q and they/'re so annoying and I wanna tell but I do/n't wanna get anyone in trouble.

D *Mean/3s (um)* [IG+GU] >

K It mean/3s badger.

Although the majority of speakers were more likely to respond this way as the age of their conversational partner increased, there were some exceptions to this. Band 3, for example, did not respond to an utterance used to ignore them with any band. Similarly, bands 5, 7 and 9 were more likely to use this response with girls in the middle age band compared to those in the eldest. However, with the exception of one band (band 7) all other speakers responded to an utterance used to ignore them more frequently with girls in the middle or eldest bands than with those in the youngest. The charts below illustrate the change in this response shown by each band.



What is shown above is that the youngest speakers in each group consistently received the fewest of this type of response. None of the ignoring used by band 1 was responded to and although a small amount of that used by bands 4 and 7 received a response it was only ever from same age girls. On the other hand, utterances produced by speakers in the middle and eldest bands as a way of ignoring were far more likely to receive a response. Once again, this shows a change in the way these girls responded to being ignored based on the age of their conversational partner. The fact that these girls were capable of responding in this way but chose to do so in some contexts, i.e. with older girls, but not others is evidence of accommodation. What these girls were demonstrating is that they were aware of the age, and consequently social differences, between themselves and their partner and changed their response to being ignored as a result. This response shows that not only do the majority of these speakers acknowledge the fact that the older girls occupy a higher social status than them, but by responding to the utterance that had been used to ignore them they are also accepting their lower status.

It is generally accepted that those in positions of authority have a right to speak, thereby implying that those with lower status are not afforded this right to the same extent (Itakura, 2001; Mast, 2002; Leaper and Ayres, 2007). Consequently, when a speaker is ignored by an

older girl who continues to talk without making any reference to the previous utterance, their right to the conversational floor is likely to be respected by the younger speaker. That is, the older girl is allowed to continue with their turn, which may also involve a change of topic, despite it being of little or no relevance to the previous one. This finding is consistent with previous research which has shown that inequalities in social status between participants in a conversation can be shown by identifying the speaker, or speakers, who are in control of the topic (van Dijk, 1989: 29; Itakura, 2001). Given that older girls were less likely to be ignored, there is an implication that younger girls would be more likely to respond to the utterance of an older speaker, despite this being responsible for their own utterance being ignored. This is not to suggest however, this will always be the case and that younger speakers will always respond to an older girl's utterance regardless of any other factors. It is, of course, dependent on variables such as the personalities of those involved as well as the relevance of the older girl's utterance. However, these results do show that overall this response is more typical with older speakers than with either younger or same age girls.

What has been shown here is a considerable amount of evidence of these speakers changing their language use as a result of their partner's age. Not only were older speakers ignored less frequently than younger ones, but ignoring was more likely to be accepted when it was carried out by an older speaker compared to a younger one. In many cases there was little direct evidence to support the results obtained here, however, this is due to the fact this is a somewhat neglected area of research, rather than these results contradicting previous findings. While ignoring itself has been investigated, few studies have considered different types of ignoring and fewer still have looked at the responses of speakers to being ignored. In addition, studies that have involved ignoring have rarely looked at the way in which this changes as a result of the age of a speaker's conversational partners. One exception to this is Ervin-Tripp's (1979, 1990) research which considered the extent to which children of different ages are likely to be ignored. Her findings are almost identical to those in the present study; younger, lower status, speakers were more likely to be ignored than older children, regardless of the relevance of their utterance. In addition, the limited, existing research on ignoring has suggested that lower status speakers are usually ignored more than those with a higher status (Ridgeway and Berger, 1986; Argaman, 2009; Lansu and Cillessen, 2012). Given that in the present study younger girls were ignored more often than older ones, the conclusion can be made that age is highly correlated with status amongst this group of children.

As was the case with directives, one of the most important factors to take into consideration is that all speakers were capable of carrying out different types of ignoring and responding in different ways. However, they usually chose to behave differently based on the age of their partner. This suggests that even the youngest speakers in this group have an awareness of appropriate ways of ignoring, and the times when ignoring is more justified, i.e. when an utterance is irrelevant, as well as a knowledge of the different responses that are appropriate with speakers of different ages. This is, therefore, further proof of both the fact that these girls consider age and status to be closely related and that they accommodate both the amount of ignoring they use and their responses to this as a result.

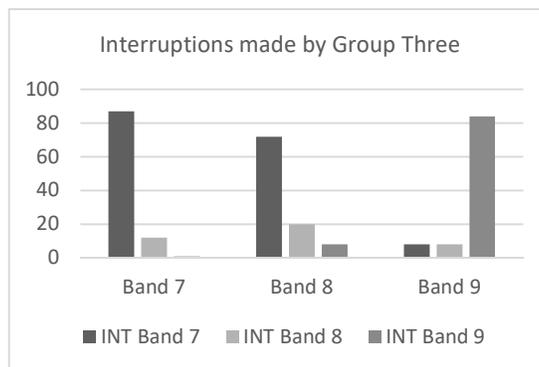
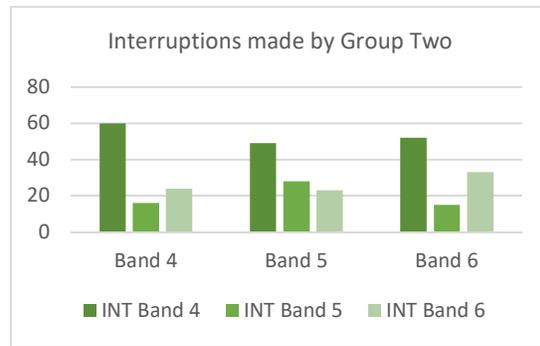
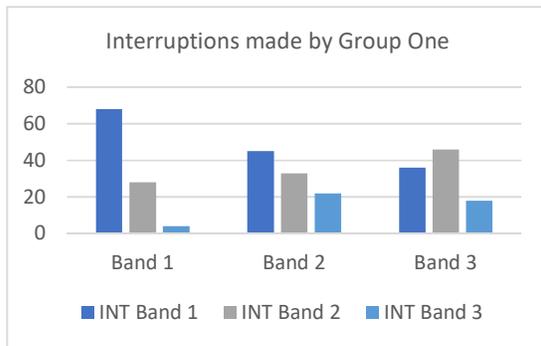
7.3 Interruptions.

Many studies on dominance have considered interruptions to be a way of the speaker exercising control over other members of the conversation (Zimmerman and West, 1975; Itakura, 2001). Smith-Lovin and Brody (1989:425) for example state that “interruptions are one of the mechanisms that accomplish power in discussions”. They are seen as something that should not occur in conversation as they do not follow the norms of interaction; namely that only one person should speak at a time (Schegloff, 1968; Wiemann and Knapp, 1975; Beattie, 1981). Perhaps one of the most accepted definitions of an interruption is that put forward by Zimmerman and West (1975:123) who state that “interruptions are a violation of a current speaker’s right to complete a turn”. It is for this reason that they are considered a type of assertive speech. The results from the present study suggest that not only are these speakers aware of this but, as a consequence, change the way they make and respond to interruptions based on their partner’s age.

Finding

- *The majority of speakers interrupted the youngest girls in their group more frequently than the eldest.*

As is evident in the charts below, with the exception of bands 3 and 9, all other speakers interrupted the youngest age band in their group more than any other band. Interestingly, band 3 used this AU most with girls in the middle age band. They did, however, make the fewest interruptions with other band 3 members. As has been the case for previous AUs, once again, the majority of band 9’s interruptions occurred in interactions with same age speakers.



It has been observed by many that those who interrupt the most are considered to be the most dominant (Kollock, et al., 1985; Farley, 2008; Beňuš, et al. 2011). It follows, therefore, that those who are interrupted are less dominant. In the present study, it was typically older girls who received the fewest interruptions, while the youngest speakers were interrupted the most. Consequently, this shows support for the assumption that age is an indicator of status, certainly amongst these children. While there is little direct evidence in the existing literature to show older children are less likely to be interrupted than their younger peers, the results from studies concerned with status and interruptions do offer evidence in support of this. When those findings are considered in combination with those from the present study, they provide evidence to suggest the link between age and status in children is a substantial one.

Finding

- *Controlling interruptions were used more often with younger speakers than older ones.*

The examples below show speakers in bands 2 and 8 using these controlling interruptions with younger girls. In the first example not only does G's utterance interrupt another speaker, but she also makes an attempt at controlling W's behaviour. Similarly, when B interrupts N it is in order to put forward her own opinion and keep control of the conversation.

Example 2.14

W (Oh) I ^
 G Hey I was sit/ing there [INT+GL]
 [IO+GL].
 =W moves seats.

Example 8.22

B And then we'll put the on rest of the
 mash potato [IG+GL].
 N No [DIS+GL] [REP+GM] ^
 B It will make sense when we put it on the
 plate [INT+GL] [IG+GL].

The table below shows the percentage of interruptions used with other speakers that were considered controlling; as is evident, with the exception of band 3 (who did not use this type of interruption with any band), band 6 (who were slightly more likely to make this type of interruption with same age girls) and band 9 (who only used these interruptions with other band 9 speakers) every other band was more likely to use this type of interruption with younger speakers than older ones.

Table Nine

	% of interruptions that were controlling	
	With the youngest bands	With the eldest bands
Band 1	23%	--
Band 2	25%	0%
Band 3	0%	0%
Band 4	13%	0%
Band 5	20%	0%
Band 6	25%	35%
Band 7	17%	0%
Band 8	21%	0%
Band 9	0%	13%

Bands 1 and 2 used these types of interruptions with younger or same age speakers but neither used them with band 3. A very similar pattern was seen in group two; bands 4 and 5 interrupted each other in this way, but never band 6. This was also the way this AU was used by group three; neither bands 7 or 8 used this type of interruption with band 9 but they both used it with one another. Smith-Lovin and Brody (1989:426) acknowledge that these controlling interruptions are more assertive than other types; "interruptions that ignore the speaker by introducing an unrelated topic are more intrusive and disruptive; they're much

more explicitly an attempt at power”. Consequently, it would be expected that this type of interruption would be used more frequently with lower status individuals, once again providing evidence for a major theme in this study that, certainly for this group of girls, status is closely related to a speaker’s age.

Again, it is important to state here that the majority of speakers made these types of interruptions with younger girls but not with older speakers, thereby showing a change in the types of interruptions used as a result of their partner’s age. It appears that even the youngest girls in this study were aware that while it may have been appropriate to interrupt a same age girl in this way, this is not the case with those older than them. Once again, it is this change in the use of interruptions that provides evidence of accommodation.

Finding

- *Supportive, or ‘friendly’, interruptions, i.e. those intending to add to the current speaker’s utterance, were more common in conversations with older girls than in those with younger speakers.*

The following examples show younger speakers in groups one and three interrupting girls in the eldest bands. In the first extract the band 1 speaker, T, interrupts D to clarify a point she had made. Similarly, in the second conversation the band 8 speaker, B, interrupts I to ask a question related to her utterance.

Example 1.17

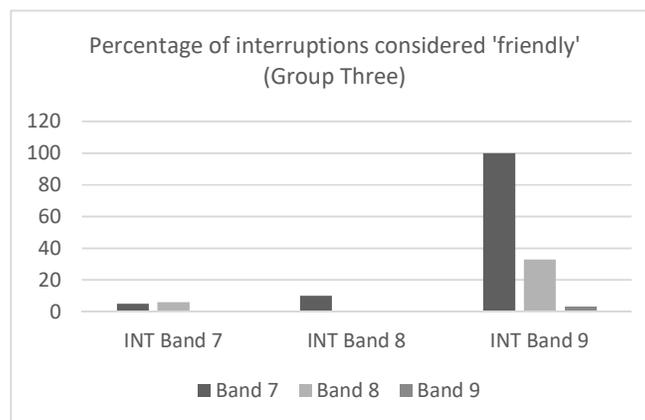
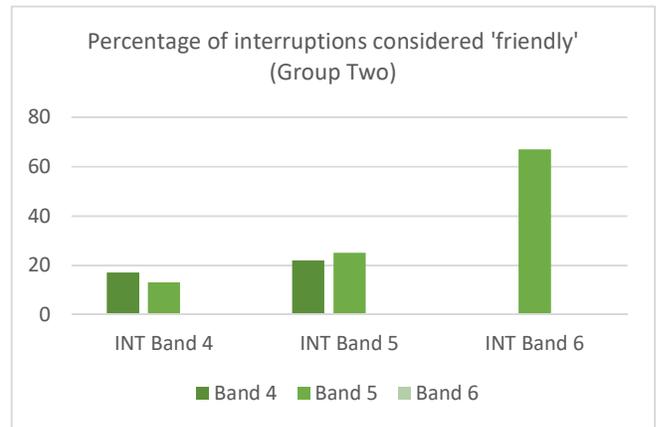
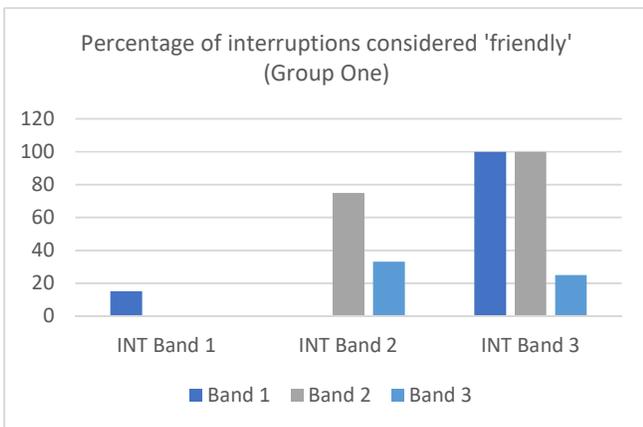
D I took my sister to Rainbow/s with me
and my Mum just drop/ed be off when ^
T Where did she drop you off [INT+GU]?

Example 8.23

I My form tutor is such an idiot to me ^
B Who/’s your form tutor [INT+GU]?

Some researchers have distinguished these types of interruptions from those considered earlier (Bennett, 1981; Goldberg, 1990; Ng et al., 1995) and have suggested that these should not be classed as assertive moves. While the present study recognises that the aim of these types of interruptions is not necessarily to control the behaviour of the speaker, the very nature of an interruption serves to move the focus of the conversation from one speaker to another. Smith-Lovin and Brody (1989:425) state that “interruptions represent a clear violation of turn-taking norms that give one conversant greater access to others’ attention”. It is for this reason that they are considered to be assertive and so included in this category. However, the fact they were used in a very different way to more controlling interruptions

suggests that these speakers acknowledge a difference between them. As is illustrated in the charts below, in group one these types of interruptions were very rarely used in conversations with the youngest speakers but were the most common type to be used with band 3. In group two, both bands 4 and 6 rarely made these types of interruptions in any type of conversation, however, band 5 used these interruptions more frequently as the age of their partner increased. In group three, all three bands were more likely to use these interruptions with older girls than younger ones. In fact, it was the only type of interruption band 7 used with band 9, while band 9 only ever made these interruptions with same age girls. Li (2001) recognises that although all interruptions can be considered disruptive some are used more as a way of supporting the current speaker, rather than controlling them. It makes sense, therefore, given the increased status of older speakers, that more supportive interruptions would be used in conversations with these girls compared to those with younger, lower status girls who are more likely to be controlled, rather than supported.



Finding

- *Most speakers were usually accepting of interruptions, regardless of the age of their conversational partner. Although some bands accepted a larger number from older girls than from younger ones, this pattern was not as strong as had been anticipated.*

The examples below show some instances of the eldest speakers in groups two and three accepting interruptions from same age girls. In both cases the interrupted speaker does not make any reference to the fact they have been interrupted, or attempt to complete their utterance.

Example 6.30

J Were you but you said huh (gasps)
 [REQJ+GL] ^
 V (Oh) that really hurt I just got it caught
 on my finger [INT+GU].
 J How did you do that?

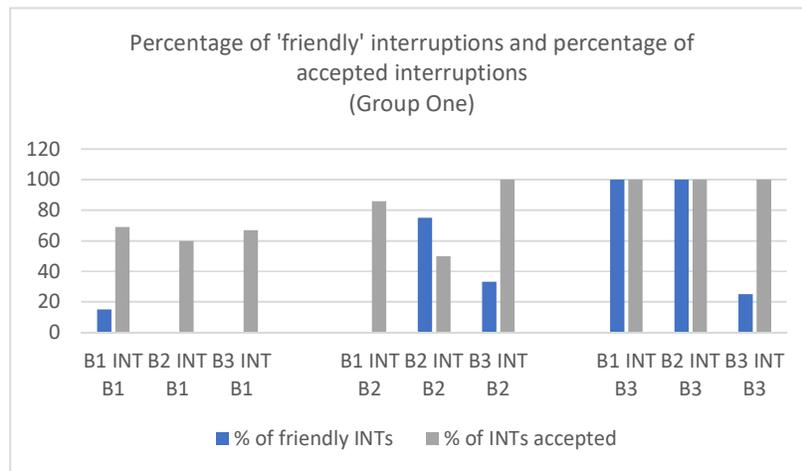
Example 9.28

H But would/n't ^
 Z Yeah I do/n't think it/'s true, that/'s just
 what I heard [INT+GU].
 H Wait (is she) is she still go/ing out with
 thing_majigy?
 Z She is but like >

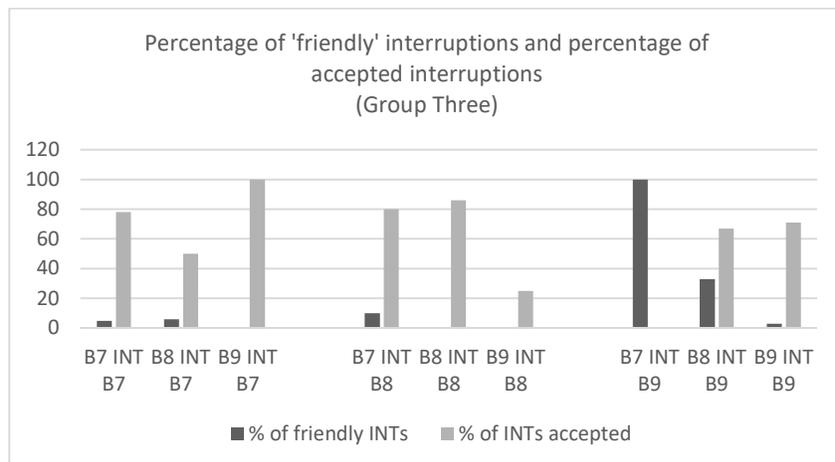
What is perhaps most surprising about the response to being interrupted is that, overall, acceptance of this was very high. In group one for example, acceptance of this AU never fell below fifty percent. A similar pattern is seen in group two, although the eldest speakers in this group were less accepting of interruptions from the younger two bands than they were from same age girls. A change was seen in the response of group three, however, as band 9 did not accept this AU from the youngest speakers in their group. However, as has been noted previously, there was just one interruption made by these younger speakers in these interactions.

It has been suggested that rather than judging the assertiveness of an interruption based on the type made, it may be more beneficial to consider the responses to them; successful interruptions are typically considered to be more dominant than those that are unsuccessful (McLaughlin, 1984; Kollock et al., 1985; Smith-Lovin and Brody, 1989). It was, therefore, assumed that older speakers would be more successful in their use of interruptions than younger speakers. The high rate of acceptance overall was not a finding that had been anticipated. Much of the research on interruptions has found that more dominant speakers typically have more success in performing interruptions. Beňuš, et al. (2011:3003) for example state “less dominant interlocutors might accommodate by simply letting themselves be interrupted”. Therefore, while this finding at first appears somewhat puzzling, it may be explained, in part, by considering the types of interruptions used. The charts below shows some interesting patterns, certainly for groups one and three, with regards to this. (Group two

behaved slightly differently, as will be shown in the next finding). Initially it may seem peculiar for the eldest band in group one to have been so accepting of interruptions from younger speakers. However, as the chart below shows, the only type of interruption made in these interactions was aimed adding to the current speaker's utterance. Another interesting finding shown here is with regards to band 1's response to being interrupted. Despite the fact neither bands 2 or 3 ever made helpful interruptions with these younger girls, the majority of these interruptions were accepted.



Perhaps the most interesting finding comes from group three, particularly with regards to the interruptions used by bands 7 and 9 with one another. Despite the fact that none of those used by band 9 with band 7 were aimed at adding to their utterance, they were always accepted. The opposite pattern is true for band 9 as the only type of interruption made by band 7 in these conversations was designed to add to the current utterance, yet this was never accepted by band 9.



This is strong evidence to suggest that the type of interruption used and the response of the other speaker is linked to age. It also shows the importance of considering the responses to attempts at control, rather than the act in isolation.

Although this finding was not exactly what had been anticipated, nor was it fully supported by previous research, when the charts above are considered the reasons for these findings do become clear.

Finding

- *The majority of speakers were more likely to respond to an utterance that had been used to interrupt them in conversations with older girls than in those with younger ones.*

The examples below show speakers in the eldest bands in groups one and three responding to the utterances that were used to interrupt them in conversations with same age girls.

Example 3.15

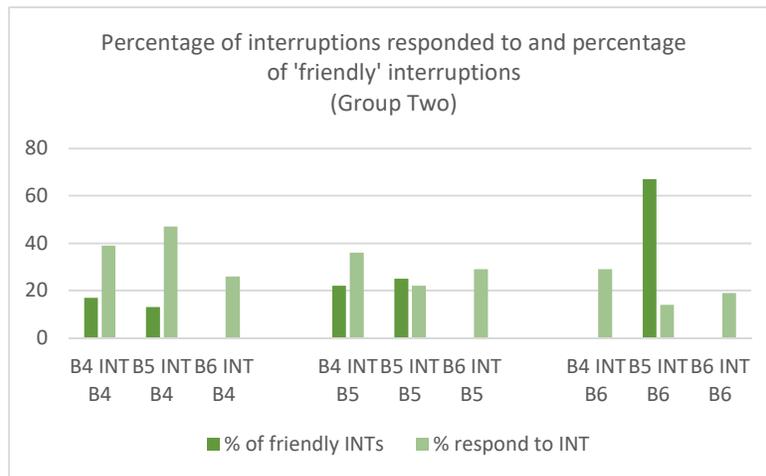
S No but a copy cat is like when someone
copy/3s you and ^
L (And) and they're a cat [INT+GU].
S And they can be cheeky like >

Example 9.29

E You know poltergeist?
G Yeah well we were gonna watch
poltergeist and then ^
E You know that's not scary [INT+GU]?
G Yeah I know.

This finding relates to that above as this response is one of acceptance. However, it is slightly more specific as it shows exactly how a speaker accepted an interruption. This could have been done in one of several ways; the interrupted speaker may have allowed their partner to talk by ending their own utterance, letting their partner speak but attempting to continue their original utterance later, or by abandoning their own utterance completely in favour of responding to their partner. Given Smith-Lovin and Brody's (1989:424) assertion that "high status actors talk more, are more successful at introducing topics, interrupt more and receive more positive feedback from their listeners", it is unsurprising that this type of response, following an interruption, was often more common with older partners than younger ones. One interesting finding with regards to this response was seen in group two; bands 4 and 6 behaved in a way that was not only at odds with what had been anticipated, but also with the way the majority of other speakers behaved. Both of these bands responded to the interruptions made by band 4 more frequently than those made by either the middle or eldest bands. It was thought that one possibility for this may be based on the types of interruptions

used by these younger girls. However, as is illustrated below this was not found to be the case. This chart shows the percentage of interruptions that each band responded to and those that were considered to be helpful or ‘friendly’ interruptions, i.e. those that intended to add to the utterance they were interrupting. As is evident here there was little correlation between the type of interruption made and the response it received.



What is particularly interesting about this chart is the way this AU occurred and was responded to amongst the eldest and youngest speakers in the group. The fact that no interruptions aimed at adding to the current utterance were used by band 6 with these younger speakers and yet, over a quarter of these received a response does not come as a great surprise, given the age, and consequently status differences, between these two speakers. However, the fact that this pattern was also seen with band 6 is the opposite of what was anticipated; not only were no ‘friendly’ interruptions made in these conversations, but nearly thirty percent of the interruptions made were responded to by the older speakers. A possible reason for this may be found in a suggestion put forward by Ng et al. (1995:379) who suggest that it may not always be the case that speakers who allow themselves to be interrupted are in less dominant positions within the group; “when strategically placed, the act of yielding might have helped the speaker project the image of an amicable group member who is willing to listen” and that as a consequence this “would present these speakers as dynamic but not overpowering members of the group”. Ng et al.’s (1995) study involved university students who were not known to one another prior to the study, and so it is not possible to make direct comparisons between their results and those from the present study. It does, however, propose an interesting idea which, in part, relates to popularity. Many studies have found that although speakers who consistently interrupt others are often those who are considered to be

the most dominant, they are often not well liked. Perhaps occasionally allowing oneself to be interrupted is enough to ensure a speaker's popularity remains high thereby maintaining their status, despite the fact they have been interrupted. This is similar to the assertion made by Dunbar and Burgoon (2005:209) who suggest that it is not necessary for powerful speakers to consistently make use of powerful language, but "by virtue of their latent power, they can maintain control without even appearing dominant". However, one problem with this suggestion is that this was not observed in either the younger or older groups, although it is possible it may be unique to girls in this age group. Alternatively, it may be a result of the relationship between the girls in these bands. Research has suggested, due to the fact speakers are more comfortable with those they know they are more likely to use assertive language that may be considered inappropriate or impolite with those they are not as familiar with (Brown, 1980; Anderson and Leaper, 1998). Another possibility for this unexpected finding is based on the individual personalities of the speakers in group two. It may be that despite their older age members of band 6 are more accepting of this type of AU. If it was also the case that band 4 did not feel it necessary to make their interruptions relevant to the current utterance this would explain the results obtained for group two. However, given that band 4 used more of these helpful interruptions with same age girls than with older speakers, and that band 6 responded to interruptions most often with band 4, this suggestion seems somewhat unlikely. A final explanation relates to the way in which these girls view interruptions. If these girls did not consider interruptions to be a particularly assertive type of language, responding to this AU would not be deemed a characteristic of less dominant individuals.

There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that those who make the most interruptions are considered the most dominant, while those who are interrupted the most are seen as having a lower status (Kollock et al., 1985; Smith-Lovin and Brody, 1989; Ng et al., 1995; Beňuš, et al. 2011; Farley, 2008). Given the fact that, for the most part, younger speakers were more likely to be interrupted, while the interruptions made by older girls had a higher chance of being accepted, it can be assumed that, certainly in regards to interruptions, age is related to status amongst this group of children. In addition to this, every band was observed changing the way in which they made and responded to interruptions as a result of the age of their partner; once again, showing evidence of accommodation.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion.

8.1 Conclusion.

Two major findings have emerged from this research. The first is that speakers adapt their language as a function of the age of their interlocutor. The second is that the way in which speakers make use of AUs and the way they respond to them is dependent not only their age, but their position in a group. That is, being the youngest, or eldest, in a group entails certain ways of behaving, regardless of age. The following will provide a summary of the main points from each chapter with a particular focus on those related to the major findings presented here, and the extent to which they are supported by the data.

8.2 Literature Review.

This chapter reviewed the existing literature from several different areas, including accommodation, powerful/powerless language, influences on status and the impact of context on the quantity and quality of language produced. The following will provide a brief summary of some of the main points addressed in this chapter.

Communication accommodation theory (CAT) proposes that individuals change the type of language they use in response to features of their conversational partner (Giles, et al., 1991). They may choose to alter their speech to become more similar to their interlocutor, a process known as convergence, or decide to maximise differences between themselves and the hearer; divergence. This process can involve the speaker altering their accent, dialect or pragmatic features of language.

Perhaps one of the most intriguing findings from the review of existing literature was the lack of research into children's use of accommodation. While there has been some work in this area it has largely been an examination of interactions between children and adults, rather than with their peers (Robertson and Murachver, 2003). Alternatively, it has focused on accommodation in relation to gender (Leaper, 1991; Killen and Naigles, 1995). Some exceptions to this include studies by Shatz and Gelman (1973) and Sachs and Devin (1975) both of which observed children altering their language based on the age of their conversational partner.

This study was interested in the use of assertive language in children. While this has not been widely studied in children, there are certain types of language that have been observed in the talk of 'powerful' individuals. These include, directives, interruptions and topic control (Smith-Lovin and Brody, 1989; Holmes, 1992; Farley, 2008). In contrast, the use of more

tentative language such as hedges and tag questions has been associated with lower status individuals (Johnson and Vinson, 1987; Hosman and Siltanen, 2006).

Many different attributes have been associated with status among groups of children. These include, skill, intelligence, physical strength and even attractiveness (Savin-Williams, 1979; Weisfeld et al., 1984; Czeschlik and Rost, 1995; Stewart et al., 2013). While there are of course exceptions, very often it is the case that older children are bigger, stronger and more skilled due to their greater age and greater life experiences.

Accommodation has been observed in relationships involving status differences between the speaker and hearer, for example in the workplace between superiors and their subordinates, in interactions between doctors and patients as well as in the classroom between teachers and students (Jamieson and Thomas, 1974; Ainsworth-Vaughn, 1992; Morand, 1996).

Context.

The review of the literature also considered the importance of context, particularly for children. The setting, hearer, activity, as well as those present but not necessarily involved in the conversation have all been shown to have an impact on the types of language produced (Bornstein et al., 2002; Leaper and Smith, 2004; Hoff, 2010). In terms of implications for the present study it was necessary to ensure contextual effects were kept to a minimum in order to be sure any observed changes in language use were due to a speaker's partner, rather than any other external factors.

Assertive language.

Although most studies investigating assertive language have provided their own definitions of what exactly constitutes an assertive utterance, there are several elements they all have in common. Firstly, in a very broad sense, assertive acts are considered attempts to influence the behaviour of the hearer (Chittenden, 1942; Rakos, 1979; Leaper and Smith, 2004). It is also widely acknowledged that assertive utterances are used by speakers for self-promotion or in attempts to demonstrate their status (Gervasio and Crawford, 1989; Leaper and Ayres, 2007). A wide range of different utterances have been considered assertive including, but not limited to; requests, refusals (Gervasio and Crawford, 1989), directives, disagreements (Leaper and Smith, 2004), giving information and criticism (Leaper and Ayres, 2007). Essentially the aim of assertive utterances is to present the speaker as someone in a position of power in order that their assertive act will be successful. This was the definition used in the present study.

8.3 Definitions

The definitions of the three most frequently used AUs are given in this chapter, and a brief description of these is provided here.

Directives.

- Essentially directives are attempts to persuade the hearer to start, or stop, behaving in a certain way or carrying out a particular task. As Searle (1976:11) puts it “they are attempts [...] by the speaker to get the hearer to do something”.

Ignoring.

- An utterance may be ignored in one of two ways; a speaker may continue with a conversation, failing to acknowledge the previous utterance, alternatively an utterance may be met with silence (Dunbar and Burgoon, 2005).

Interruptions.

- This type of AU is recognised by its timing, rather than content; it occurs at such a time during talk that it prevents another speaker from continuing (Smith-Lovin and Brody, 1989).

8.4 Research questions.

Based on what was found in the examination of previous literature and the findings from my previous research, the following questions were addressed in the present study.

- Do speakers accommodate their use of assertive language?
- If so, which factors influence this accommodation?
- Is there evidence to suggest these girls equate age with social status?
- If so, what types of evidence can be found to support this?

8.4 Hypotheses.

This section detailed the predictions made regarding the way speakers would use and respond to the three most frequently produced AUs.

In terms of the number of AUs produced it was anticipated that a greater number would be used in interactions with younger speakers compared to older ones (Pettit et al., 1990). With regards to the different types used it was expected that more overtly controlling types would be used primarily with younger girls but be fairly uncommon in interactions with older speakers. The predictions made here are supported by research on the language used between speakers with different statuses. This is based on the assumption that age is used as a way of assigning status amongst children.

Ervin-Tripp (1988:25) asserts that directives may be used “just to show power”. In the present study it was anticipated that these types of directives, i.e. those used with the sole purpose of controlling the hearer with no obvious gain to the speaker, would be used more with younger speakers than older ones. This was due to the obvious element of control associated with such an assertive move. It was predicted that directives used with older

speakers would primarily be those attempting to persuade the hearer to comply with the wishes of the speaker. While these are still highly assertive utterances, they are used more by the speaker for personal gain, rather than overt attempts at control.

Ignoring utterances through silence was considered to be slightly more assertive than when this was done by the continuation of a conversation. The reason being that when an utterance was ignored by someone continuing to speak it can be assumed that the speaker considered the other person's utterance, or perhaps their own, as more important than what the ignored individual had to say. However, when an utterance was met with silence this cannot be the case, instead the hearer is simply suggesting the utterance is not worthy of a response (Poland and Pederson, 1998; Gardezi et al., 2009). Therefore, it was expected that ignoring by meeting an utterance with silence would be more likely in interactions with younger girls compared to older ones.

Interruptions that aimed to change the topic or alter the focus of the conversation, those Smith-Lovin and Brody (1989:426) refer to as "intrusive" are, they claim, "much more explicitly an attempt at power". They were, therefore, anticipated to be used more with younger speakers. On the other hand, those used as a way of adding to the current speaker's utterance, so-called 'friendly' or 'cooperative' (Li, 2001) interruptions were expected to be seen more with older girls.

In terms of responses, overall it was predicted that these would be of acceptance or compliance in conversations with older girls, while the opposite would likely be true when an AU was issued by a younger speaker. Again, this is based on what is known about the way speakers respond to such utterances based on the status of the individuals involved (Ridgeway and Berger, 1986).

It was expected that only a small percentage of the directives produced by younger girls would be followed, but that this number would increase as the age of the speaker issuing the directive rose (Wood and Gardner, 1980). In addition, it was anticipated that responding to directives with direct refusal would be observed primarily in conversations with younger girls (Goodwin, 1990). It was predicted that when directives from older speakers were not followed, they would be ignored rather than refused. Alternatively, it was thought indirect refusal may have been seen in response to this AU with older girls, but it was not anticipated to be a frequent response with younger speakers.

It was anticipated that when an individual was ignored by a younger speaker they would be less willing to accept this compared to when the ignoring was carried out by an older girl. According to Bilmes (1997:520) "ignoring someone is perhaps the sincerest form of insult".

It is logical to assume therefore, that this behaviour would be more likely to be accepted from older, high status, individuals than younger, low status, ones. On the other hand, it was assumed that acceptance would be less likely when an utterance was ignored by a younger speaker and instead repetition would be used.

It is widely acknowledged that interruptions are associated with conversational control (Kollock et al., 1985; Farley, 2008). Therefore, when interruptions were made by older, high status speakers, it was expected that they would have a higher rate of acceptance compared to when they were made by younger girls. In addition, it was predicted that intrusive interruptions, such as those attempting to change the topic or focus of the conversation, would be more likely to receive a positive response when they were made by older girls compared to younger ones (Smith-Lovin and Brody, 1989).

8.6 Methodology.

The chapter on methodology looked at the research methods used in previous studies and considered some of the advantages and disadvantages of these. It also detailed the unique advantages of the present study. The way in which the data was collected, transcribed and coded was also described. The following will highlight some of the main points from this section.

Studies carried out in naturalistic environments have often been considered superior to those conducted in more formal settings, such as laboratories (Potter, 2002; Speer, 2002). There are however, advantages and disadvantages of both types of research. Studies conducted in everyday settings can provide evidence on how speakers typically use language. However, those carried out in laboratories have the benefit of control that is not afforded to researchers in the field (Yuan, 2001).

This section also looked at some of the difficulties faced by previous researchers gaining access to subjects, particularly when these were children, and the impact of an outsider such as a researcher. It detailed the benefit of my unique position as a familiar adult, not only in terms of having access to these girls, but also in their willingness to cooperate, something that has proved challenging for other researchers (Wax, 1986; Adler and Adler, 1998; Christensen, 2004).

Data collection.

This section detailed the process of data collection in the present study including the way this was explained to the girls and the fact that time was allowed for them to become familiar with the equipment before data collection began. It also referred to Labov's (1972) 'observer's paradox' and considered the possible implications of the presence of recording

equipment which, given the length of time data collection lasted, were believed to have been negligible (Boehm and Weinberg, 1997; McKechnie, 2000).

Following this, the different types of software available for analysing the data were considered, the advantages and disadvantages of each were explored and the decision to use SALT was explained.

8.7 Results.

This chapter explained the decision to include only the three most frequently used AUs.

Following this, the responses to directives, ignoring, and interruptions in each type of interaction were reported at length. The way each of these AUs was used was then detailed and it was found this helped to answer some of the questions raised regarding some of the unexpected responses.

Some of the key findings are presented below. Although these were not true of every band in every context, they were the conclusions made based on the behaviour of the majority of speakers.

Directives.

Use

- Overall directives were more likely to be used in interactions with younger girls than older ones. Six of the nine age bands reduced the number of directives they made as the age of their partner rose.
- There were also differences seen in the types of directives these girls used with partners of different ages. Those with the sole purpose of controlling the hearer's behaviour, and those suggesting the speaker possessed knowledge that the hearer did not, were more likely to occur in interactions with younger girls than in those with older ones.

Response

- Directives produced by older speakers were more likely to be complied with than those from younger girls. In fact, most bands gradually increased their rate of compliance as the age of their partner rose.
- When directives from older girls were not followed this was typically done by ignoring, rather than refusing the utterance.

The fact that the number and types of directives used, and the responses this AU received changed as the result of an individual's partner, is evidence of accommodation. In addition, the finding that fewer directives were used with older girls, and that the rate of compliance increased when it was an older speaker producing the directive, suggests age is being used as a way of measuring status. This is based on the knowledge that directives from high status

individuals are considerably more likely to be followed than those from low status speakers (Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan, 1977; Ervin-Tripp, et al., 1990).

Ignoring.

Use

- Not only was it more common for younger speakers to be ignored than older ones, but most bands were observed reducing the number of utterances they ignored as the age of their interlocutor rose.
- When older speakers were ignored this was quite often due to their utterance being irrelevant. However, the majority of utterances from younger girls that were ignored were relevant to the current topic. Essentially, the age of the speaker was of greater importance than the content of their utterance.

Response

- Speakers were more likely to accept being ignored by someone older than them than by a younger girl.
 - When older girls ignored their partner by continuing to speak, this new utterance was more likely to receive a response compared to when a younger girl behaved this way. Again, this highlights the importance of the age of a speaker, over the type of utterance produced.
- Once again, the findings regarding both the way in which ignoring was carried out, and the responses it received offer evidence in support of both the major findings from this study. It is known that lower status speakers are more likely to be ignored than high status ones (Ervin-Tripp, 1979; Hawley, 1999), therefore, the finding that younger girls were more likely to be ignored suggests age and status are closely related. Similarly, the change in the use of, and response to, this AU provides evidence of accommodation (Gallois, et al., 2006).

Interrupting.

Use

- Younger girls were more likely to be interrupted than older speakers. Most bands reduced the number of interruptions they made as their partner's age increased.
- Interruptions aimed at taking control of the conversation were used more often with younger speakers, whereas those with the intention of adding to it were typically used with older girls.

Response

- This AU was widely accepted, regardless of the age of either the speaker or hearer.
- However, most bands were more likely to respond to an utterance that had been used to interrupt them when their interlocutor was older than them.

The pattern seen above continues for this AU, as again both major findings are supported here. Lower status individuals have been shown to receive more interruptions than those with higher status (Kollock et al., 1985; Itakura, 2001). As younger girls were interrupted most frequently, this supports the suggestion that age and status are positively related. In addition, the change in the types of interruptions made, and the greater likelihood of responding to an interruption made by an older speaker offers support for the use of accommodation in the language of these girls. This is in line with the assertion made by Beňuš, et al. (2011:3003) that “submissiveness may be realized [...] through the accommodation of a less dominant speaker to the linguistic behaviour of a more dominant speaker”.

The findings from this section offered support for the suggestion that there is a positive relationship between age and status. Given what is known about the way these three AUs are used, and the responses they are likely to receive based on the status of both members of the conversation, these findings show clear support for this proposal. In addition, the changes in the use and response of most bands as a result of their partner, provide evidence of accommodation. An important point to remember here is that accommodation is shown in the change in language use. It was not the case that younger speakers, for example, were unable to use certain types of language, but rather they chose to use some forms, while excluding others, as a result of their partner. Gallois, et al., (2006:23) state that “when people want to accommodate, they use “attuning strategies””. This involves altering linguistic behaviour in relation to the “communicative characteristics” of one’s partner (Coupland, et al., 1988:27) This is what is being seen in the use and response to each of these AUs.

8.8 Comparisons.

This section presented a comparison of the types of AUs and responses seen by speakers in different age groups. The table below shows the members of each age group and their position in relation to speakers in the other two groups. What is being shown here is that although bands 1, 4 and 7 are not close in age what they do have in common is that they are the youngest speakers within their age group.

	Group One	Group Two	Group Three
Youngest	Band 1	Band 4	Band 7
Middle	Band 2	Band 5	Band 8
Eldest	Band 3	Band 6	Band 9

Directives.

Groups one, two and three all produced the largest number of directives in interactions with the youngest speakers in their group, and most bands addressed the fewest directives to speakers in the eldest bands. In addition, it was typically the case that the behaviour of individuals shared a greater number of similarities with speakers in the age equivalent bands, than with speakers of similar ages.

These comparisons revealed an interesting pattern. The use of, and response to this AU, rather than being a direct reflection of the speaker's age, was instead the result of their age in relation to other group members. That is, rather than it being the case that all seven year olds behave in the same way their linguistic choices were based on a combination of their own age and that of their partner. This is similar to the findings of both Shatz and Gelman (1973) and Killen and Niagles (1995) who observed that the language used by the children in their study, rather than being a direct result of the speaker's gender varied as a result of their partner's gender. Although in this study the variable was age, rather than gender, it remains the case that the types of directives used, as well as the responses they receive, are influenced by features of both the speaker and hearer.

Ignoring.

Again, all three age groups ignored the youngest bands more often than any other. In addition, the majority of bands ignored the eldest speakers in their group less than any other band. These findings are consistent with Ervin-Tripp's (1979) who stated that younger children were more likely to be ignored, regardless of how relevant their utterance was to the conversation. They were, she states, "ignored because of status" (p.79). This offers further support for the suggestion that age is used as a way of measuring status amongst this group of girls. As was also the case above there were a greater number of similarities between speakers in the same position in each age group than there were between members of each group, despite the closeness in age.

What was found when each band's use of, and response to, ignoring were compared was very similar to the pattern above; this was related to the age of the speaker and their position within a group. This is likely the result of the developing communicative competence that comes with age, combined with the fact there are certain expectations regarding appropriate ways of behaving. Regardless of whether a speaker is five or eleven, if they are the youngest in a group they are expected to behave in a certain way. This is supported by Garvey's (1984:99) assertion that a "speaker's manner of speaking and acting conforms not only with

his achieved and ascribed status, but also with his role relationship with others in the situation”.

Interrupting.

The pattern of using a greater number of AUs with the youngest speakers continues for interruptions. All three age groups interrupted the youngest girls in their group more than any other band. Similarly, most bands interrupted the eldest speakers in their group the least. This provides further support for the finding that age and status are positively correlated as previous work has shown high status speakers are not only given greater access to the conversational floor, but they are more likely to make interruptions than lower status individuals (Smith-Lovin and Brody, 1989). Another pattern shown above that continues here is that speakers in different age groups shared a number of similarities with girls in the age equivalent position in each group. However, there were also many similarities between members of the same age group, which suggests that the use of, and response to, this AU may be more closely related to a speaker’s age than was true of those above.

Again, what this shows is that although the use of this AU may be partly related to a speaker’s age, this alone is not sufficient to explain the similarities between bands with considerable age differences. Instead, this is likely linked to their position within the group. Ervin-Tripp (1979) comments on the fact that the probability of a speaker accepting an interruption is partly related to how relevant their utterance is. All three age groups made a number of interruptions that were, although relevant to the current topic, not necessary as an interruption. This may explain the failure to find the expected pattern with regards to acceptance of this AU in terms of age.

The similarities between bands in the same positions in each age group were not as strong as had been the case for some previous AUs. However, the fact that there were similarities, despite the sometimes considerable age differences, provides evidence that the use of, and response to, requests is based on a combination of a speaker’s age and their position within a group. This is supported by research suggesting that rather than status being a fixed feature of an individual it is reliant on other members of the group (Wright et al., 1986; Dovidio et al., 1988). In this case an individual’s status can vary from one conversation to another based on the age of the speaker and their partner. This is further strengthened by the fact that there were few similarities between speakers in the same age groups. If age alone was responsible for the use of, and response to, requests there would be a far greater number of similarities between members of the same age group than between speakers in the equivalent position in each group.

A consistent theme is shown for the use of, and response to, each AU. There are more similarities between speakers in the equivalent positions in each band than there are between members of the same age group, thereby providing evidence that the behaviour of these girls, with regards to their assertive language use, is reliant on their position within a group rather than a direct reflection of their age. Given what is known about the way this type of language is used in relation to an individual's status (Savin-Williams, 1979; Eagly and Wood, 1982; Kyratzis et al., 2001), this offers further support for the finding that age is used as a way of establishing status amongst this group of children.

In addition, the fact that the behaviour of all speakers is shown to change as a result of their partner's age is evidence of accommodation. According to Stupka (2011:65)

“accommodation is the process by which people, regardless of gender, adjust their patterns of communication to accomplish social goals”. In these interactions, all speakers were observed changing not only the number of AUs they used, but also the types, and the way in which they responded to them, based on the age of their conversational partner. Crucially it is this change in their language use that provides evidence of accommodation.

8.9 Discussion.

This section provided a detailed look at the findings in relation to the research questions. Overall a great deal of support was found both for the fact that these speakers adjust their assertive language as a result of their interlocutor, and that this was based on age. The following will provide a brief summary of the main points from this chapter.

Directives.

Here it was explained that accommodation was seen in the types of directives these girls used; those with the sole purpose of controlling the behaviour of the hearer were more common in interactions with younger speakers. The fact that all speakers were capable of using this AU but chose to produce certain types over others as a result of their partner is evidence of accommodation. Accommodation was also seen in the responses to this AU; in all three groups directives were more likely to be complied with when produced by an older speaker compared to a younger one. Given what is known about the use of such utterances in interactions between dominant and submissive individuals (Holmes, 1992; Ervin-Tripp, et al., 1990), it can be assumed that these girls consider age to be an indicator of status. Further proof of this is seen in the fact that the behaviour of these girls was more similar to speakers in the equivalent position in another age group than they were to girls of similar ages.

Ignoring.

Again, it was shown that the way ignoring was carried out, and the responses it received provided evidence of accommodation. Crucially it was the changes in the amount these girls ignored others and in their willingness to accept this AU that provided support for this. It was not the case that any band was unable to behave in certain ways, but rather that they chose to modify their language use based on a combination of their age and that of their partner. The way girls responded to this AU also offered evidence of accommodation; it was more likely to be accepted if it was carried out by an older speaker. In this study, it is assumed that ignoring is a type of assertive behaviour. Given what is known about a person's status and the likelihood of an assertive act being successful (Ridgeway et al., 1994), this offers further evidence in support of the suggestion age is related to status.

Interrupting.

In this section, it was explained that evidence was found in support of both the finding that these girls accommodate their behaviour, with regards to interruptions, and that this reflects the fact they equate age with status. Both the number and types of interruptions varied as a result of the age of both the speaker and hearer. More intrusive and controlling forms were used with younger girls, while those intending to add to the speaker's utterance occurred more with older girls. Indicating that while interruptions are acceptable with younger speakers, collaboration is more appropriate with older girls. This demonstrated a change in the way interruptions were used based on the age of a speaker's partner in relation to their own, rather than the age of the individual alone. In addition, based on what is known about an individual's status and the likelihood of them being interrupted (Farley, 2008) the conclusion drawn here was that the use of interruptions reflected the belief that age and status are positively correlated for these girls.

What was shown here was that the findings from each of these AUs provide evidence of both of the two major findings of this study. Firstly, that these speakers accommodate their use of and response to AUs based on their partner's age. Secondly, that age is used by these girls as a way of assessing a speaker's status; older speakers occupy higher status positions than their younger peers. Crucially what has been shown is, as Moore (2004:378) states, "the language used by an individual is never determined by a single factor [...] but rather is a consequence of a speaker's attempt to construct an identity appropriate to the context of a given interaction".

8.10 Implications.

The findings of this research have implications for several areas of linguistics. Firstly, in terms of child language; due to the wide age range of these girls the development of assertive language can be seen, and that although many AUs are produced by members of all three age groups there are differences in the specific way these were used and responded to. It also provides evidence of the types of AUs that are acquired at different stages of development. Secondly, there are implications for research into language and gender. As has been stated, it has often been suggested that girls are far less assertive than boys. However, what this research suggests is that not only are they able to use language to assert themselves, they are actually quite skilled at it. It is perhaps the case that they do so in slightly different ways to boys. In terms of the implications for sociolinguistics, these findings show that even young children are able to accommodate their language use, and that this accommodation was based on age. This shows considerable sociolinguistic awareness and skill in children of a young age. Perhaps one of the most noteworthy implications is in terms of considering speakers in relation to other members of the conversation, before drawing conclusions based on one aspect of the individual, for example age. Instead it is crucial to consider a range of factors. The present study has shown that there was not a typical way for ten-year-olds to speak, instead this was reliant upon their age in relation to other members of the conversation.

8.11 Limitations.

The following will discuss some of the limitations of the research carried out in the present study.

Perhaps one of the most obvious of these is the inclusion of only one gender in this research. Due to this, it is not possible to generalise these results more widely as it may be that boys behave in a very different way. Given the restrictions on time and space, it was necessary to make a decision between a detailed investigation into one gender, or a more general consideration of the two. Studying only girls had the distinct benefit of being able to draw conclusions based on age, without having to consider the possibility that any observed changes may be related to gender, either that of the speaker or hearer. In addition, the methodological benefits, due to my familiarity with the majority of girls in this study, meant this would be a particularly interesting group to study. Therefore, while these findings cannot be extended to both genders, it is possible to attribute the changes seen in language use to age, rather than any other confounding variable. This is something that would have been far more complex had both genders been included.

Another limitation of this study was that there was not an equal number of each type of conversation, for example while there were twelve conversations involving bands 4, 5 and 6, there were only seven between bands 4 and 5. This was due to the naturalistic methods employed in this research; rather than setting up specific interactions I simply observed the conversations the girls chose to take part in. It was speakers in the eldest group, group three, who took part in the smallest range of conversations, preferring to communicate predominantly with same age speakers. It may have been the case that had a wider range of interactions been observed slightly different results would have been obtained.

In addition, and again related to the methods employed in data collection, there were an unequal number of speakers in each age band. This is especially noticeable in groups one and three which involved a very small number of speakers in the middle age bands. Again, because specific subjects were not recruited, but rather those available were studied it meant there were limits on the available participants. Had other speakers been specifically sought out and brought into the existing group, this would likely have greatly altered the dynamics of the existing relationships and would have involved another factor meaning it may not have been possible to determine whether changes in language use were the result of age or another influence brought on by the presence of an unknown individual.

Despite this, these findings do provide a starting point for the wider examination of the understudied area of accommodation in children's language (Robertson and Murachver, 2003). In addition, the narrowness of the data, in the sense that just one gender was included, means that the issue of gender is avoided here. Rather than having to ascertain whether the observed changes in behaviour are a result of gender or age, the inclusion of just one gender means just one of these is possible.

8.12 Directions for future research.

Some possible areas for future study, based on what has been revealed in the present research are suggested below.

One possibility for future work is to study the assertive language used by boys; both with one another and in mixed sex interactions. There appears to be a trend for a movement away from the traditional assumption of differences between the language of males and females (Hyde, 2005, 2014; Palomares, 2009; Zell et al., 2015). A similar study to this involving both genders may help to provide further evidence that observed differences in language are not necessarily based on gender but rather factors such as age and status.

Another area of interest would be research into the opinions and beliefs of children with regards to the use of assertive language. This may involve presenting statements to subjects

and asking them to suggest who may have produced the utterance, and the reasons for their opinions. It would also be interesting to compare the way children think specific individuals behave to the way they actually behave. For example, if a younger girl held the belief that younger speakers were obligated to comply with directives from older speakers would she actually behave this way in a real-life situation. Similarly, gathering the beliefs of adults such as parents and teachers would also be an interesting area of research.

Finally, the youngest girls in the present study, at five years old, were already showing evidence of accommodation. It would, therefore, be of interest to study younger children to establish exactly when children begin to show evidence of accommodation. Previous research has shown how preverbal children accommodate their use of turn-taking and vocalisations (Cappella, 1981; Street Jr., 1983), but to the best of my knowledge there have been no studies examining the development of pragmatic accommodation.

8.13 Summary.

Based on the naturalistic language samples collected from girls aged between five and thirteen, the following conclusions may be drawn;

- These speakers accommodate their use of assertive language by using fewer AUs and less controlling types with older girls than they do with younger girls.
- Accommodation is also evident in the way individuals respond to AUs; they are more likely to be followed or accepted when the person issuing them is older.
- The most important factor here is that there was a change in the use of, and response to, AUs based on a combination of both the speaker and hearer's age.
- Given what is known about the way both children, and adults, adjust their use of assertive language based on the status of both speaker and hearer, and the change seen in these girls, it can be assumed that they consider age to be indicative of social status.
- Perhaps one of the most interesting findings was that the way AUs were used and responded to was more a result of the age of the speaker in relation to other members of the conversation, rather than the speaker's age alone. This is demonstrated by the fact that there were often a greater number of similarities in the behaviour of speakers in the equivalent age bands in each group than with other members of the same age group, despite the closeness in age of these girls.
- What this shows, therefore, is that the types of AUs used by speakers, and the way in which they respond to them is based on a combination of the age of the speaker and hearer. While it is the case that the specific types of AUs change with age as the linguistic

skills of speakers develop, the key factor in influencing the type of AU used, and the way it is responded to, is based on a combination of the age of both speaker and hearer.

- In terms then of the research questions there is a great deal of evidence to show that these girls do accommodate their use of assertive language based on their own age in relation to that of their conversational partner.
- These findings also provide support for the suggestion that these speakers equate age with social status. This is shown by the tendency to use a greater number of AUs with younger speakers compared to older ones. As well as using and responding in different ways as a result of their partner's age.
- Although it was not the case for every band and every AU overall there is a great deal of evidence to show that these girls accommodate their use of assertive language based on their age in relation to that of their interlocutor, as well as the suggestion that age is used as a way of establishing status amongst this group of children.

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Appendix One – Copy of consent form

15 Woodside
Watford
Herts
WD24 6QT
October 2014

Dear Parents

I am currently studying for a PhD in Child Language at the University of Hertfordshire and am writing to ask for your consent to include your daughter in my research. I am looking at the way girls use language differently when they're trying to assert themselves, how this changes with age and how they do this differently when talking to those older and younger than them.

I will collect my data by using a Dictaphone to record the conversations the girls have during normal meetings.

I would like you to know that if you choose to give your consent for your child to take part in this research:

- your child will be able to withdraw from the work at any time, without having to give reasons, if they wish;
- you will be free to later withdraw your consent, without giving a reason, at any time;
- the information I collect will be kept confidential, and will be used in the research I have described and may be shared at professional conferences or in linguistic journals;
- your child and the unit will not be identifiable from the information in the research or in any talk I give about my work, as I will replace all names with a code.

If you are happy for your child to be recorded as part of this project I would be grateful if you could complete and return the attached consent form.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or would like any further information.

Yours sincerely
Emma Topham.
Email: e.topham@herts.ac.uk

I give my consent for my child to take part in the above research project.

Signed.....

Child's Name.....

Date of birth.....

Ethics Protocol number: aHUM/PG/UH/0068
Ethics Approval Committee: Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities

Appendix Two – List of AUs and codes

Code	Sub code	Explanation
AS		Attention seeking
CO		Correcting
CP		Conditional permission
CTO		Claim to object
CTS		Claim to status
D		Dare
DI		Directive
	DI+J	Directive with a justification
	DI+OB	Directive including obligation
	DTQ	Directive with a tag question
DIS		Disagreement
	DIS+J	Disagreement with a justification
	IDIS	Indirect disagreement
DR		Direct request
	DR+J	Direct request with a justification
	IR	Indirect request
	IR+J	Indirect request with justification
DREQ		Denying a request
FOR		Forbidding
	FOR+J	Forbidding with a justification
	MFOR	Mitigated forbidding
IG		Ignoring
IN		Insult
INRE		Indirect refusal
	RE	Refusal
INT		Interrupting
IO		Indirect order
J		Justification
JD		Joint directive
MIS		Dismissing
N		Need statements
PER		Permission
REF		Reformulation
REP		Repetition
REQJ		Requesting justification
SUB		Topic change
T		Teasing
TH		Threat

Appendix Three – Focused AUs for each group

Group One	Group Two	Group Three
Attention seeking	Attention seeking	Correcting
Directives	Directives	Directives
Disagreeing	Disagreeing	Disagreeing
Disagreeing with justification	Direct requests	Direct requests
Direct requests	Ignoring	Ignoring
Denying requests	Interrupting	Interrupting
Indirect disagreement	Indirect orders	Indirect orders
Ignoring	Justifications	Joint directives
Indirect refusal	Dismissing	Repetition
Interrupting	Repetition	Requesting a justification
Indirect requests	Requesting a justification	
Justifications		
Need statements		
Repetition		
Requesting a justification		

Appendix Four – Definitions of AU

Disagreement.

Goodwin and Goodwin (1987:209) make the assertion that when a speaker disagrees with their partner they are disputing more than simply the utterance but “the competence or status of the party who produced that talk”. Consequently, these types of utterances were considered to be assertive in the present study. In addition, not only do these types of utterances suggest the speaker believes their partner to be wrong but also that they are correct. Goodwin (1983:669) investigated a number of tactics used by children during their disagreements and utterances coded as disagreement in the present study most closely relate to what she calls “aggravated types of disagreement” as they are “produced by omitting any prefaces with other-initiated, repair-like elements.” One example of this is shown below;

Example 6.31

R She wrote happy.

R But there/'s no h.

D Yeah there is [DIS+GL].

R No [DIS+GU].

R There/'s an a p p y.

J Happy [DIS+GL].

All three speakers in this extract use disagreement and in each case very short and simple utterances are produced without any type of justification or reasoning for their disagreement. Instead they are implying quite simply ‘I am right and you are wrong’. Not all instances of disagreement were as straightforward as this, for example, those including justifications or more indirect ways of disagreeing, however, these were coded in different categories.

Direct Requests.

Much like directives, the aim of a request is to persuade the hearer to carry out, or perhaps stop performing, a particular action; that is, they are attempting to control their behaviour. However, the difference between these two types of utterances is in the way they are executed; directives tell while requests ask. Ervin-Tripp (1988:26) carried out research into the use of and response to requests in children of varying ages, and states; “effective control moves such as requests involve getting attention, being explicit enough for action goals to be understood, communicating social relations through means such as politeness, and persuading the hearer to act”. Elsewhere she has also discussed how utterances such as requests that aim to “influence or control” often intend to accomplish more than one goal; they may, for example, display the social relations between speakers (Ervin-Tripp, 1981:195). In the present study utterances were coded as direct requests when they attempted to persuade the

hearer to behave in a certain way by asking, rather than telling as is seen in the examples below.

Example 9.30

Z Can you do me one [DR+GU]?

Example 8.24

B U can you go get it [DR+GL]?

While these are still attempts to influence the behaviour of the hearer, they are not as forceful as a directive.

Indirectness.

(Indirect orders, indirect requests, indirect disagreement and indirect refusal)

Indirectness is a common feature of everyday language and some have gone as far as to suggest that “the majority of illocutions are, in fact, indirect” (Bloomer et al. 2005:91). Unlike some of the other types of assertive utterances that have been considered so far, indirect speech acts rely far more heavily on the understanding of the hearer for them to be successful (Asher and Lascarides, 2001, van Ackeren et al., 2012). This is because an utterance is indirect when what the speaker says and what they mean are different, i.e. form and function do not match. Previous research into indirectness and indirect speech has often been concerned with whether a speech act was successful. However, the present study is concerned with both the intention of the speaker and response of the hearer; regardless of whether or not this involved compliance. Therefore, utterances will be coded as an indirect form of assertive language even when it may be claimed they were unsuccessful. In the present study there are four categories involving indirectness; indirect orders, indirect requests, indirect disagreement and indirect refusal.

Indirect orders are similar to directives and requests in that their aim is to influence the behaviour of the hearer. However, the crucial difference is that this aim is not explicitly stated. Utterances coded as indirect orders in this study are very similar to what Ervin-Tripp (1977) and others (Bernicot and Mahrokhanian, 1989) have described as hints or embedded imperatives. Examples of these from the present study include;

Example 9.31

Z I would/n't leave that with the lid on though [IO+GU].

Example 8.23

B Do you wanna write it down [IO+GL]?

In both of these examples these utterances are produced as a way of persuading the hearer to perform a certain action.

Just as direct requests are similar to directives; indirect requests share similarities with both directives and direct requests. As was the case above the intention of these types of utterances is to persuade the hearer to carry out some sort of action. An example of this is seen below in which G is not looking for a yes or no answer to her question, but is hoping to receive the object in question.

Example 2.15

G (Can) are you finish/ed with the blue [IR+GU]?

Indirect disagreement includes utterances in which the speaker disagrees with a previous utterance without using words typically used when disagreeing i.e. no. An example of this is shown by F in which she provides a justification for her disagreement rather than stating it more directly by using a phrase such as ‘yes you did’.

Example 4.31

G I did/n’t say that [DIS+GL].

F *Yeah well you said we wrote four* [IDIS+GL].

Finally, indirect refusal shares some similarities with indirect disagreement; the intention of the utterance is the same as direct refusal but is phrased in a slightly different way. The extract below shows one example of this; rather than directly refusing C’s request G does so in a more mitigated way by providing a reason why she cannot comply with her directive. Although ultimately this results in the same outcome as directly refusing to comply.

Example 4.32

C Give me some paper [DI+GL].

G *There/’s not much paper* [INRE+GL].

Repetition.

It is important to note that repetition was not always considered to be a type of assertive language, particularly among the youngest group in the study, as this is a normal part of language development. For example, in Preece’s (1987) study of children aged five to seven she found that repetition was used as a way of heightening the impact of their storytelling, rather than as a way of displaying power or control. It was only when the repetition had, or was intended to have, a pragmatic effect that it was coded as such. This was often the case in interactions that involved other types of AUs. An example of which is shown below;

Example 7.28

K <Maybe she was> ^

L But I’m not allow/ed to eat chocolate [INT+GL] [SUB+GL].

K *Maybe she was* [REP+GL] ^

=N comes back and makes a face.

U Why [IG+GL]?

U You ate chocolate?

K *U maybe she was be/ing nice* [REP+GL].

In this extract K was both ignored and interrupted while trying to speak; rather than simply accept this fact she continues producing her utterance until she is able to complete it. This was considered to be assertive as rather than K accepting the behaviour of the other speakers she instead perseveres until she has made her comment.

Justifications and Requests for Justifications.

Justifications are a somewhat complex type of language to master, requiring the ability to use the correct grammatical structure as well as an understanding of the appropriate context in which to produce them. However, very simple forms have been observed in children as young as 1;6 (Veneziano and Sinclair, 1995). It is unsurprising, therefore, that in the present study justifications appear in a wide range of utterances. They have been found to be particularly common following very forceful or negative utterances such as forbidding or directing (Eisenberg and Garvey, 1981). Their use after such utterances is an attempt to reduce the threat to the hearer's face thereby increase their chances of achieving their aim.

It has also been observed that around the age of three children begin to develop an awareness that they can choose not to follow orders or comply with requests if they are not provided with a sufficient reason as to why they should do so (Orsolini, 1993). Speakers may, therefore, request a justification from their conversational partner before making a decision as to whether or not to comply.

In the present study requests for justifications were used as a way of requiring the hearer to explain or justify their behaviour. An example of this is shown below in which K requests that Q explain her actions, resulting in a justification from Q.

Example 6.32

K So then why did you write that [REQJ+GM]?

Q It was a joke [J+GU].

The reason these types of justifications were considered a type of assertive language is largely a result of the utterance that precedes them. It may be suggested that K's utterance was more than simply a request for an explanation, but rather a suggestion that Q should not have behaved in the way she did. Therefore, by justifying this behaviour, rather than apologising for it she is asserting her own right to behave in the way she chooses. Similarly by requesting a justification the speaker is implying a right to question the behaviour of others.

Attention seeking.

These types of utterances were those aimed at gaining control of the conversation and holding the conversational floor. These types of utterances occurred in a wide range of forms ranging from simplistic utterances such as "I wanna say something" to more complex types such as the example below.

Example 4.33

C This is lameo [AS+GL].

L No it is/n't [DIS+GL].

Rather than C's utterance being simply a statement it is produced with the intention of receiving some sort of reassurance or, at the very least, attention from the hearer. Rundquist (1990:515) examined the naturally occurring speech of adults and found a common strategy used by men was to "continuously reassert their control over the conversation by getting everyone's attention". Similarly, Mast (2002:444) states that "being the focus of attention has been proposed to be related to dominance". Interestingly, in this example she cites the work of Chance (1967) whose research involved primates. He notes that those with lower status "pay an inordinate amount of attention to those more dominant in status" (Chance, 1967:505) and such research has been applied to social behaviour in humans, an in particular that of children (Hawley, 1999; Roseth et al., 2007).

Joint Directives.

According to Sachs (1987:184) "joint utterances are mitigating because they imply cooperation between the listener and hearer". They typically contain words such as "let's" and "we" which include both the hearer and speaker in the utterance rather than standard directives which typically distance the speaker from the hearer. These types of utterances were considered to be assertive as although they appeared to place the hearer on an even playing field with the speaker, through use of the first-person plural, the ultimate aim of the utterance was to control the behaviour of the hearer. An example of this is shown below;

Example 9.32

I Guy/s let/s go read the thing [JD+GU].

Rather than using a standard directive I's use of 'let's' has the effect of softening the utterances and perhaps making compliance more likely.

Dismissing.

Unlike ignoring, utterances coded as dismissing acknowledged the utterance of the previous speaker but failed to consider it to be of importance. These types of utterances were classed as assertive due to the implication of power held by the speaker in judging what is, or in this case what is not, worthy of being part of the conversation. This is supported by Pellizzoni (2001:60) who states that "power reveals itself in the admission or exclusion of a person from communication." The dismissing of another speaker's utterance therefore suggests a considerable amount of power on the part of the speaker. In addition, this type of utterance also poses a direct threat to the hearer's positive face. Which is further support for them being considered a type of assertive language.

Need statements.

The inclusion of the word 'need' in a statement or request carries the implication that the reason for this utterance is based on something other than fulfilling the wishes of the speaker. Taylor (1959) talks about four different types of need statements, including those that are used to require or prohibit certain behaviours by law and those used to refer to the unconscious needs of a person. In both of these instances 'need' is being used to referring to something out of the control of the speaker. Therefore, in the present study these types of utterances are considered assertive as they suggest obligation on the part of the hearer. An example of this is shown below, in which R's use of the word 'need' implies it is something that must be done, rather than it being her own opinion. Had she used the utterance 'I think we should cut it smaller' it would likely not have been as persuasive.

Example 7.29

R We need to cut it smaller [N+GL].

Denying requests.

According to Turnbull and Saxton (1997:174) "refusing a request is, in general, a face-threatening action" and it is for this reason it was considered to be a type of assertive language. It is always preferable to avoid utterances that may be considered a threat to the hearer's face and so when requests are responded to in this way it is assumed that there must be either a very good reason for this refusal or that the status differences between the speaker and hearer are such that this is considered appropriate. An example of this type of utterance is shown below in which E's request is refused, albeit indirectly, by I.

Example 1.18

E Can I have that after you [DR+GL]?

I I'm not finish/ed yet [DREQ+GL].

Turnbull and Saxon (1997:159) refer to several different ways of refusing and this example is similar to what they term "performative refusal" as it denies the request but uses "a verb of negation other than 'no'".

Appendix Five – Predictions for Disagreement and Direct Requests

Disagreement.

It has previously been suggested that disagreements amongst children are often not entered into with the sole purpose of resolving disputes. Instead they are ways of establishing a type of social order (Goodwin, 1982; Maynard, 1985). As stated by Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) when a speaker produces a disagreement they are disputing both the utterance, as well as the speaker who produced it. Assuming that the association between age and status in children is correct, it is predicted that in the present study girls will be more likely to disagree with younger speakers than with same age or older ones.

Due to the fact disagreements may be seen as an opportunity to assert oneself and establish a position within a group (Goodwin et al., 2002), rather than being concerned with solving a disagreement, it is anticipated that speakers will be more willing to accept this AU from older girls than they will from those younger than them.

Direct Requests.

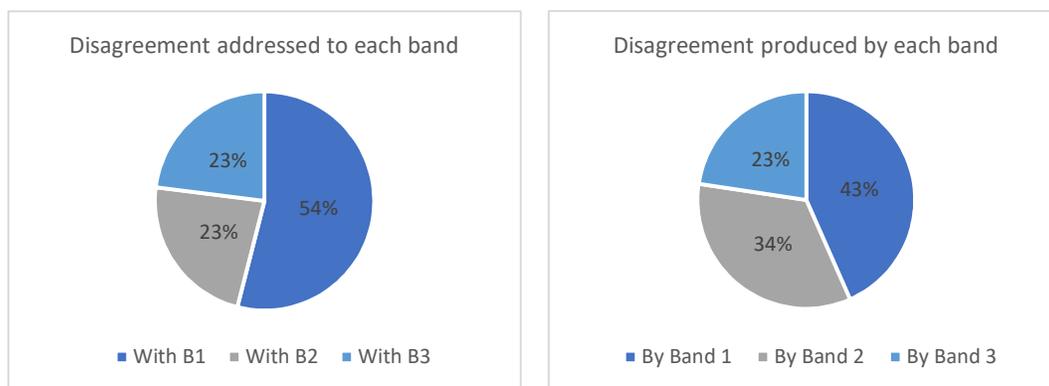
In her study on children's use of requests Ervin-Tripp (1982) concluded that school aged children were sensitive to the addressee when making a request. They take into account the ownership of an item being requested, the effort the hearer will be required to go to in order to carry out the request, and the status of the addressee. She also found that polite requests were most likely to be produced when compliance was not expected from the hearer, one example she gives of this is when the hearer is more powerful than the speaker making the request. In the present study it is predicted that a greater number of requests will be made to younger speakers than to older ones. In addition, it is assumed that when requests are made to older girls these will be more mitigated and polite than those addressed to younger or same age speakers.

It may be assumed that the politer a request is, the more likely it is to be granted. However, due to the fact politeness is used more frequently when compliance is less likely, the opposite is in fact true. Typically, speakers do not believe they have a right to compliance when the hearer is a superior, or when the hearer has rights to an object being requested (Ervin-Tripp, 1982, 1988). In the present study it is predicted that the requests made to older speakers are less likely to be granted than those made to younger or same age girls. This is due to the imbalance of power in these situations.

Appendix Six

Results: Group One: Disagreement.

There were a number of surprising findings in relation to the way disagreement was used with members of different age bands. As the charts below show it was the youngest speakers in this age group who produced the greatest number of disagreement utterances, and were most likely to be disagreed with. On the other hand, it was the eldest band in this group who produced the fewest disagreement utterances.



Band 1 disagreeing with Band 1.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

When faced with disagreement from another member of this group, the most typical response was to produce further disagreement which usually resulted in a somewhat circular argument exchange taking place. This is demonstrated clearly in the extract below in which all four members of the conversation enter into the argument; R and M are on one side and W is on the other, with I taking her side towards the end. The reason behind the continuation of this argument for so many turns is likely due to the very simple form the utterances take. None of the speakers provide any reasoning as to why they are correct and the other is not, and therefore neither party believes they should stop defending their side of the argument. It is not until the very last utterance that I provides a form of justification, by stating she went to nursery and thereby implying she would know whether or not T was there. However, due to the interruption of the conversation by an adult addressing the whole group, it is not clear if I's justification would have been enough to end the argument.

Example 1.19

I This is the reception table that's the year one and year two table.

W No it is/n't because T's on that table [DIS+J+GL].

R Yeah well she's nursery [DIS+J+GL] [MIS+GL].

W No she's not [DIS+GL].

M Yes she is [DIS+GL].

W She's not [DIS+GL].

R <Yes she is> [DIS+GL].

M <She is> [DIS+GL].

W She is/n't [DIS+GL].

I (Oh) yeah she is/n't [DIS+GL].
I I went to nursery [J+GL].
=2 speaks to everyone.

As is shown below, the inclusion of a justification was helpful in preventing an argument escalating to the extent seen above. In her second utterance, I accompanies her disagreement with a justification, rather than a simple 'no it isn't', by pointing out R's mistake. Perhaps as a result of this, R does not go on to produce a further argument, choosing instead to ignore I's remark.

Example 1.20

I No it's an orange [CO+GL].
R That is red [DIS+GL].
=I points to another sticker.
I No, that's red [DIS+J+GL].
R You can take it.

It is likely that the high number of disagreement utterances produced by band 1 girls in conversations with one another is a result of interactions such as that seen above in the first example, that involve large amounts of disagreement occurring in a short space of time. This raises the question as to whether this is a common response to disagreement or whether it is a response reserved for interactions with members of their own age band. The answers to this question will be considered below.

Band 2 disagreeing with Band 1.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

Disagreement alone was never used by band 2 with younger girls. They did however, produce utterances containing disagreement and a justification in conversations with these girls. These typically followed the same format as that seen in the example below, and usually involved acceptance. The band 2 girl, G, produces an utterance containing both disagreement and a justification for this, resulting in the younger speaker agreeing with her. Unlike with other band 1 girls, it was never the case that the younger speaker disputed this disagreement.

Example 2.16

1 And what about E/z.
M Fluffy.
G No because K/z is fluffy and your one/s fluffy there [DIS+J+GL].
M Yeah because the other table has the fluffiest.

Given that the disagreement used by the older girls is different to that produced by band 1 speakers, it is not possible to determine whether the lack of argument from band 1 speakers is a result of the inclusion of a justification, or simply the age of the band 2 girls.

Band 3 disagreeing with Band 1.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

The response band 1 girls had to disagreement from older, band 3, speakers was considerably different to that from girls their own age. Rather than entering into an argument, they instead accepted that the older girl was correct and on no occasion did they attempt to repeat themselves or produce further disagreement. A typical example of this is shown in the extract below in which D strongly disagrees with W's choice and, despite the fact D herself does not know the correct answer nor does she provide any justification for her disagreement, W does not question this. It is perhaps the case that D's age is enough to persuade W she is more likely to be correct and so does not feel as though she is in a position to argue with her.

Example 3.16

3 W what do you think it is?

W (Um) >

=W points to one of the pictures.

D No, definitely not [DIS+GL].

3 What do you think it is?

D (Um) well it does smell like our first one (so before or) maybe we got that one wrong.

A number of noteworthy points have been raised in this section; firstly, the strategy used by band 1 of responding to disagreement with further disagreement, was seen only in interactions with same age speakers. It is likely that in these situations they felt more able to argue, without the threat of consequences, compared to those with older girls. Although most disagreement from band 2 was accepted, this may have been a result of the justifications that accompanied these utterances. However, the fact no disagreement was seen in response to this AU with band 3 shows a clear change in band 1's responses. Whilst this may be considered an appropriate, or even favoured, response when faced with disagreement from same age speakers, this is far from the case with these older girls. It is this change in their responses to disagreement as a result of the age of their partner that provides evidence of accommodation.

Band 1 disagreeing with Band 2.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

Band 1 did not use this AU in any conversation with a band 2 speaker, and unlike band 2, they also failed to use utterances containing either disagreement with a justification, or indirect disagreement with band 2 members. Given the fact they used such a large amount of disagreement with same age girls as well as with older girls it is particularly surprising that no type of disagreement was used by band 1 with band 2. This is something that will be considered in more detail later (see next section).

Band 2 disagreeing with Band 2.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

The way disagreement was used between members of band 2 was quite similar to that seen between girls in band 1; the typical response was to use further disagreement in an attempt to persuade the hearer they were right. However, an important difference in these interactions is that a number of these disagreement utterances contain justifications. This is seen twice in the extract below, and interestingly it is the same band 2 speaker, G, who produces the justification on both occasions. The first of these appears to strengthen her argument as A seems to accept this. However, A's second utterance results in further disagreement. Once again, it is G who attempts to end the argument by using a justification. On this occasion, it is not possible to know if this attempt at bringing the argument to a close was successful as the conversation is interrupted by the adult, 2.

Example 2.17

A Yeah and then other people appeared when they were/n't invited.
 G *No they did/n't K was invited [DIS+J+GM].*
 G C was invited ^
 A H was/n't [INT+GM].
 G *H was [DIS+GM].*
 A *She was/n't [DIS+GM].*
 G *(She wa*) I invited her and I invited you [DIS+J+GM].*
 2 Girl/s are you colouring?

A similar interaction is seen on another occasion involving the use of a justification with disagreement, but again this was interrupted by an adult and so the effect of this is not known. Despite this, it can be assumed that these girls believe the inclusion of a justification is likely to help persuade their partner they are correct, and consequently bring an end to the argument.

Band 3 disagreeing with Band 2.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

These girls responded in two ways to disagreement from an older speaker, neither of which involved acceptance. The first of these was to enter into an argument by producing further disagreement, whilst the second was to simply ignore the utterance. An example of this second response is seen in the extract below, in which A continues speaking, completely ignoring D's disagreement. D however does not accept this, and goes on to provide a justification for her disagreement and it is at this point that G introduces a new subject and no further disagreement takes place.

Example 3.17

A No you get some water in your sink and then you get some liquid and then you put it <inside your sink> and then <mix it all together and put all the thing/s you wanna wash inside>.
 G <Inside your sink>.
 =G repeats A.
 G <Mix it all together and put all the thing/s you wanna wash inside>.
 K And then they/re clean.
 D *No [DIS+GM].*
 A And then at the end you lift them out and dry them [IG+GU].

D Well I tried to do this and put them in a stack <(one of) one of them broke> [J+GM]>
G <Have we got the same D> [SUB+GM [SUB+GU]]?
D Yeah.
G Yay.

The alternative response of band 2 to disagreement from an older speaker was to enter into an argument, however, this was seen just once. A short extract of this exchange is shown below. Interestingly, it was the younger speaker, A, who started the disagreement, D however was quick to join in. This exchange continued in this way for a further six turns and was only resolved through the use of indirect disagreement produced by the band 3 speaker.

Example 3.18

A You are crazy [T+GU].
D So are you [T+GM].
A *No you are* [DIS+GU].
D *No you are* [DIS+GM].
A *No you are* [DIS+GU].

One of the most intriguing findings shown above was that band 2 responded to disagreement from same age speakers in a similar way to that seen by band 1 with same age girls. However, there was a slight difference here in that acceptance was also observed in these contexts. It had been anticipated that a greater number of these utterances would have been accepted in interactions with older girls compared to those with same age speakers, yet this was not found to be the case. The fact that acceptance was never seen with band 3 is somewhat puzzling. It is anticipated that possible reasons for this will be revealed when the types of disagreements used by these girls are considered (see next section).

Band 1 disagreeing with Band 3.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

The response of band 3 to disagreement from band 1 speakers was typically that of ignoring. This is seen in the extract below in which both direct and indirect disagreement, from two different band 1 members, is ignored by D. What is interesting about this exchange is that having been ignored by D, neither W nor T attempt to repeat themselves. In addition, when D eventually comes to the decision that the picture T had chosen earlier was the correct one, she neither acknowledges this, nor the fact that W had been right to disagree with her. Finally, after D states what she now believes to be the correct answer H agrees with her. This is noteworthy because she, like D, failed to acknowledge T's earlier utterance, although it was correct, it is only when the other band 3 member states this that she agrees.

Example 1.21

D I know what it is.
=D points to a picture.
W *No not that one* [DIS+GU].
D [IG+GL].
T *It's perfume* [IDIS+GU].
D It might be one of these [IG+GL].

D (It's this) it's this.
T It's one of these.
T It's one of this[EW:these].
D W [IG+GL].
D It's that one.
H Yeah.
T (It's that one) it's that one, perfume.

D's response here seems to suggest that the disagreement of younger, band 1, girls is of little interest to her. It appears that she is not concerned with their opinion and so does not deem it necessary to acknowledge their input in any way. Interestingly, the lack of repetition on the part of the younger speakers seems to reinforce this belief.

Band 2 disagreeing with Band 3.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

Disagreement produced by band 2 was never accepted by older speakers. Further disagreement was sometimes seen in response to this AU, such as in example 3.18. An alternative response was to produce another type of AU, as D does below. Rather than entering into an argument with A, D produces an insult, perhaps as a way of saving face following disagreement from a younger speaker. A does not respond to this insult but remains quiet for a short time.

Example 2.18

D You have/n't done the other side [IO+GM].

A Yes I have [DIS+GU].

D That's weird [IN+GM].

Although the response of band 3 members to disagreement from band 2 sometimes resembled the arguments that took place between multiple band 1 speakers, there were also times this response was markedly different. This is likely a combination of the older age of the band 3 members as well as the age of their partner.

Band 3 disagreeing with Band 3.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

The way band 3 responded to disagreement from same age girls was very similar to the response they had with both of the younger two bands, as this was never accepted. However, this was shown in slightly different ways. For example, when further disagreement was used in these conversations it would often be either indirect or accompanied by a justification. These two responses were very rarely seen in interactions with younger speakers. Ignoring was another way in which these girls responded to disagreement from other band 3 members, both this response and indirect disagreement are used in the extract below. Following S's initial disagreement D produces indirect disagreement, although this does not do anything to persuade S to change her opinion, she instead ignores this utterance and changes the topic of conversation.

Example 3.19

D What a weird leaf.

S A weird leaf?

S That's not weird [DIS+GU].

D It look/3s like a butterfly [IDIS+GU].

S (We/'ve run out of) we/'ve run out of red [IG+GU].

Although, overall, the response of this band to disagreements from same age speakers was the same as that from both of the younger bands; failure to accept this AU, this was carried out in a slightly different way. The use of indirect, rather than direct, disagreement and the inclusion of justifications are two examples of this. There is, therefore, a small amount of evidence to suggest these speakers may be accommodating their response to this AU as a result of the older age of their partner.

Overall there were some similarities in the responses of band 3 to disagreement from speakers of different ages; it was never the case that this type of utterance was accepted, regardless of their partner's age. There were, however, some subtle changes in the way this AU was responded to based on age. While indirect disagreement was used in interactions with both bands 2 and 3 it was never seen in conversations with band 1. In addition, responding with further disagreement occurred again with bands 2 and 3, however, the inclusion of a justification in this type of utterance was only observed with other band 3 speakers.

There were a number of similarities in the way these three bands responded to disagreement. It was rarely the case that this type of AU was accepted. However, there were also some subtle differences in the responses used by each band. In the case of band 1 there was a very obvious change in the reactions to disagreement from same age girls compared to older speakers. While acceptance was never seen with other band 1 speakers, it was the most common response with both of the older two bands. The way band 2 responded to this AU was slightly different with same age girls compared to older speakers, however this was not in the way that had been anticipated. Acceptance was seen with other band 2 members but not with older girls. However, when further disagreement was used with older speakers this sometimes included a justification, yet this was never observed with other band 2 girls. Band 3 showed some distinct differences in the responses to disagreement from each band; indirect disagreement was used with bands 2 and 3 but never bands 1, while justifications were only ever seen with same age speakers. The change in responses of each band based on the age of their interlocutor provides evidence of accommodation.

Types of disagreement.

There were three main ways disagreements between girls in this age group occurred. The first was to disagree with a fact put forward by their partner (example 2.19), the second was to dispute a claim made by the other speaker (example 3.20) and the third was for disagreement to occur in an attempt by the speaker to defend themselves or their behaviour (example 1.22).

Example 2.19

G C was invited ^

A H was/n't [INT+GM].

G H was [DIS+GM].
A She was/n't [DIS+GM].

Example 3.20

S She was/n't ill at school.
L Yeah she was, her tummy was hurt/ing [DIS+J+GU].
S (Oh).

Example 1.22

D You have/n't done a lot at all [IN+GL].
T I have done a lot [DIS+GU].

Band 1.

In conversations with other members of band 1, the most common type of disagreement was that shown in the first example above; disagreeing with a fact. This usually resulted in very circular argumentative exchanges, involving each speaker using a very simple form of disagreement to dispute the previous utterance. The lack of justifications in such conversations is likely the reason for such utterances being met with further disagreement. Both other ways of disagreeing were also observed in interactions with other band 1 members, with a slightly higher number disputing claims. What is interesting about disagreements following claims is that this very often involved the original speaker producing a justification for their utterance, following the initial disagreement. An example of this is shown below; I makes a claim which is disagreed with by M, resulting in I producing further disagreement, this time accompanied by a justification.

Example 1.23

W This is gonna take me a very long time.
M And this is too.
I This is.
M No it is/n't I [DIS+GL].
I Yeah it is because the cat/'s big [DIS+J+GL].

The use of justifications in these cases is interesting as overall, they were very rarely seen in conversations between two band 1 speakers.

As mentioned previously there were no instances of a band 1 member disagreeing with a band 2 speaker, neither were disagreements accompanied by justifications observed in these conversations. This is a particularly puzzling finding given that this AU was used with older, band 3, speakers. Some possible explanations for this are that the interactions these two bands were involved in were not as likely to result in disputes as other types. Alternatively, this may be the result of individual differences in the members of these bands as well as the relationships between members. It is known that arguments are more likely to occur between friends than non-friends (Selman, 1980; Hartup et al., 1988), perhaps given band 1's lower status, as a result of their age, combined with the relationships between these speakers may explain the absence of this AU.

Band 1 never disagreed with facts put forward by members of band 3. Instead, disagreements occurred following claims, or in attempts to defend themselves to the older speaker. It may be the case that band 1 members believe these older girls are more likely to be correct when stating facts and so do not feel it would be appropriate to challenge these. Claims on the other hand are more subjective, and so easier to disagree with.

Band 2.

Although band 2 did not use disagreement alone with younger speakers, they did produce this AU in combination with a justification. It had not been anticipated that this type of utterance would have occurred very often, if at all, in these exchanges. The majority of disagreement utterances were disputing claims made by the younger girl, it had been expected that a larger number of facts would be disagreed with than was the case. A possible explanation for this is that band 1 speakers very rarely produced these types of utterances with older girls and consequently could not be disagreed with. Despite claims being perhaps the easiest type of utterance to dispute, the disagreement that took place in these contexts was, almost exclusively accepted by the younger girls. This acceptance, therefore, is more likely the result of the older age of the band 2 members than it is the type of disagreements they use.

The way in which disagreements occurred with same age speakers was quite similar to that seen above. The majority of these utterances were disputing a claim made by the other speaker. However, a larger number of facts were also disputed in these interactions. As was noted in the previous section, the most common response to this AU was to produce further disagreement and, interestingly, this was the case for both utterances disagreeing with claims and those disputing facts.

The disagreement that took place with older girls never involved challenging facts. In fact, the majority of these disagreements occurred following claims made by the older speaker. In addition, there was also an instance of disagreement involving a band 2 speaker defending their actions to an older girl, however, this was only seen once. The reason for the absence of disagreements with facts in these contexts was not due to a lack of facts being stated. Instead, it is thought that these speakers are more likely to believe older speakers are correct and so disagreement with these would not only be unnecessary but also, given their age, inappropriate.

Band 3.

It had been assumed that the disagreement that took place in conversations with band 1 would largely be with facts presented by the younger speaker, however, not only did a very small amount of disagreement take place in these conversations, but disagreement with a fact was observed only once. It may have been the case that band 1 failed to put forward facts in these types of interactions and so it was not possible for this type of disagreement to take place.

The other instance of this AU involved an older speaker defending their behaviour to a younger girl. It had not been predicted that this would be seen in these types of conversations, although this was more due to the anticipated behaviour of the younger speakers than band 3's disagreeing.

The only type of disagreements seen by band 3 in interactions with band 2 were following claims made by their younger partner. Once again, it may have been the case that facts were not often used by these speakers in such interactions and so it was not possible to disagree with these. As has been the case in previous contexts, disputing a claim very often resulted in the first speaker producing further disagreement this, therefore, goes some way towards explaining the high instances of further disagreement in these conversations.

Finally, with other band 3 members there was a greater mix of the types of utterances these speakers disagreed with. Once again, the most common way of disagreeing was to dispute claims made by their partner. However, unlike in conversations with younger speakers, both other types of disagreement were also observed in these contexts. It is interesting that facts were disputed in these interactions, but not with band 2; it may have been the case this was due to the types of utterances produced by the other speaker, rather than the decision of the older speaker not to disagree with this. What is also interesting is that the type of disagreement used in these conversations appears to have had no impact on the failure to

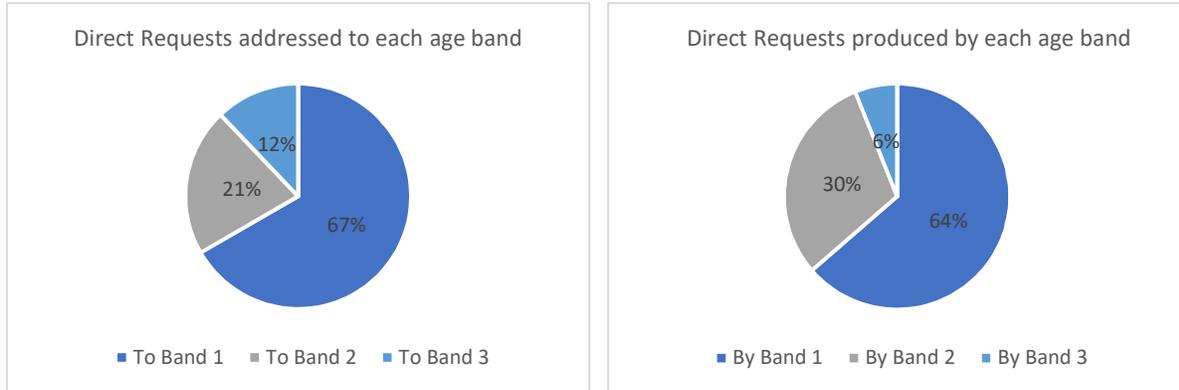
accept these types of AUs. It may be that this was simply a feature of this age band, rather than related to the language used by their conversational partners.

What is interesting about the way in which these three age bands disagree with one another is that whilst disagreement with claims was seen in almost every type of conversation, this was not the case when disputing facts. Instead disagreeing with facts was more commonly observed in conversations with members of band 1 than it was with band 3. This is likely a result of both the implications of disputing a fact and the age differences between members of bands 1 and 3. It is also interesting to note that some bands used the same or very similar types of disagreement with certain bands, yet the responses to these were quite different. Suggesting that responses are based on more than the type of AU produced, but also the age of the speaker. This therefore, provides evidence of both accommodation and in support of the suggestion age is related to status.

Appendix Seven.

Results: Group One: Direct Requests.

Despite this AU being the fifth most frequently produced AU by this group, there were a number of contexts in which it was never used. As is shown in the charts below the youngest speakers both made and received the greatest number of requests, while the eldest speakers not only received the fewest requests, but were the least likely to make a request. This section will look at the differences in the way each band responded to requests based on the age of their partner.



Band 1 making direct requests to Band 1. (Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

The way these girls responded to requests, from other band 1 speakers, varied quite considerably; more often than not requests were denied, although several different ways of doing this were observed. However, this was not the only response to this AU, as is shown in the example below in which two requests were granted.

Example 1.24

M Can some* >

M I can you pass that to me [DR+GL]?

=I passes the stickers.

M Thanks.

R *After, please can I have it [DR+GL]?*

I Yeah.

It is worth noting that in the extract above it was the same girl, I, who granted both of these requests, it may be the case she was simply more amenable than was typical of this age. The majority of direct requests were not so readily granted, and interestingly a large majority of these occurred in the one conversation. The example below shows two other ways in which these girls responded to requests from same age speakers. The first was in a negative way in which W directly refuses the requests from both T and E, providing no justification for her decision. This prompts E to produce her next utterance consisting of both an indirect order and need statement, however, this too is met with refusal from W. It is after this that T makes her second direct request to W, although this request is not completely refused nor is it fully granted as W states she may have some, but not all, of the stickers she has asked for. However, T appears to be happy with this and does not make any further attempts to persuade W to change her decision.

Example 1.25

T W can I have one please [DR+GL]?

E I want one too [IR+GL].

=E whines.

W No [DREQ+GL].

E You need to share [IO+GL] [N+GL].

W No [RE+GL].

T Can I have a flower [DR+GL]?

W (Uh) yeah (um) these are the only one/*s you can have because the other one I/m have/ing [CP+GL].

T Flower, (I want a flower) I want a flower.

As well as the responses seen in these examples band 1 members also responded to direct requests from same age girls with ignoring and indirect refusal. Ignoring a request typically led to repetition, often for several turns. However, indirect refusal was usually accepted as a valid reason for turning down a request.

Bands 2 making direct requests to Band 1.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

Just one request was made by a band 2 member to a younger speaker. However, as is shown below this was addressed to the group, rather than a specific individual. Although this request is not directly acknowledged it is assumed to have been complied with as it was not repeated, however, it is not known if the individual who complied was a member of band 1.

Example 2.20

G Can <someone stop shake/ing the table> because whoever/'s shake/ing the table <I/'m go/ing out of the line/s> and it/'s look/ing horrible right now [DR+GL] [DR+GM] [DR+GU] [J+GL] [J+GM] [J+GU].

It can be assumed that this type of AU was not one that was favoured by these girls in interactions with younger speakers, possible reasons for this will be explored later (see next section).

Bands 3 making direct requests to Band 1.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

This AU was also not one favoured by band 3 in interactions with these younger girls, in fact it was never observed in these contexts. Once again, possible reasons for the absence of this AU in these conversations will be discussed in the next section (see next section).

The finding that the majority of requests from other band 1 speakers were not granted, is in line with what had been anticipated for these girls. Due to the lack of requests made by bands 2 and 3 with these girls it is not possible to compare their responses to requests from older girls with those from same age speakers. When direct requests from same age girls were not granted this often lead to repetition. The fact that the majority of requests in these contexts were not granted may account for the high number of direct requests they produced with one another, as this was likely due to the same request being made on multiple occasions rather than numerous different requests being made.

Band 1 making direct requests to Band 2.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

Younger speakers did not address any direct requests to members of band 2, nor did they produce any indirect requests with these older girls. Given the number of requests they made with same age speakers, and the fact that they made use of highly assertive utterances, such as directives with these speakers, this finding is somewhat puzzling. However, possible explanations for this will be discussed in the section on the use of AUs (see next section).

Band 2 making direct requests to Band 2.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

The majority of requests made by band 2 in these conversations were granted by the hearer, however, as is shown in the example below they were not always verbally acknowledged.

Example 2.21

G Can I have the orange [DR+GM]?

=A passes it to her.

G Yay!

These requests were not always met with such compliance, as the next example demonstrates. Interestingly, refusal or denial was always accepted and it was never the case that the request was repeated. The only instances of repetition of a direct request occurred when it was ignored. It may be the case that band 2 members believed same age speakers would only deny their request if they had a valid reason for doing so, in the example below, G's statement that she needs the pen for a long time seems to satisfy K and she does not refer to it again.

Example 2.22

K G can I have the orange after you [DR+GM]?

G I need it for a long time [INRE+GM].

Bands 3 making direct requests to Band 2.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

There was just one request made to band 2 by an older speaker. As is shown below the request was granted without any hesitation or conditions attached. Given this, it is somewhat surprising that this was the only time this AU was used in these interactions.

Example 3.21

P Wow you're get/ing : wow.

P Can I have some after you [DR+GM]?

A Yeah, just because it look/3s magical that/'s why you want it.

Possible reasons for the lack of requests made by band three in these interactions will be discussed later (see next section).

There is some evidence of accommodation in regards to the way band 2 responded to direct requests from speakers of different ages. Those from same age speakers were usually granted,

although ignoring and refusal were also observed in these contexts. While these responses were not seen in conversation with band 3, it is not possible to draw conclusions from this due to the fact just one request was used in these interactions. Perhaps rather than making assumptions with regards to band 2's responses to this AU, what can be concluded from these findings is that requests are not typically favoured by either younger or older peers in interactions with band 2 speakers. (This will be discussed in further detail in the next section).

Band 1 making direct requests to Band 3.

(Band 1 girls – R, M, T, I, E, W)

Just as band 3 members did not use direct requests with band 1 girls, the same was true of the reverse. Possible reasons for the absence of this AU in these conversations will be discussed later (see next section).

Band 2 making direct requests to Band 3.

(Band 2 girls – A, G, K)

The response to direct requests from members of band 2 was interesting as it is not one that had been seen before. These requests were not granted or refused by the older speakers, nor were they ignored, instead the hearer was not given a chance to respond. In every instance of a request being made by a band 2 girl in these interactions it was granted by a same age speaker, before the older girl had replied. Two possible assumptions may be made from this; firstly, the younger girls responded so quickly the older speaker did not have time to respond. Secondly, the older speaker ignored the request and so it was fulfilled by a younger member of the interaction. The extract below is a typical example of how direct requests were used by band 2 members in these contexts. Initially, G produced an indirect request which was ignored by both same age and older speakers. This resulted in her next utterance, a direct request, which was fulfilled by a same age girl. It is possible that K was simply the nearest person to the pen G had requested and so was the first to fulfil the request. However, given the lack of any type of response from a band 3 girl, this may not have been the case.

Example 2.23

G I just need a black quickly [IR+GM] [IR+GU] [N+GM] [N+GU].

;

G Can anyone find me a black [DR+GM] [DR+GU] [REF+GM] [REF+GU]?

K There you go.

G Thank you.

The lack of response to this AU by these older girls may account for the small number produced by band 2 in these interactions.

Bands 3 making direct requests to Band 3.

(Band 3 girls – D, H, L, S, P)

Band 3 made just one direct request to same age girls and this is shown below. Although this was granted on its first occurrence it was not verbally acknowledged; by either S or P.

Example 3.22

P Can I have that light green please [DR+GU]?

=S passes her the green.

Given that this is the only instance in which a direct request was made from one band 3 girl to another, it is not possible to draw any conclusions based on this. However, what can be assumed is that this is not an AU that these girls have a preference for.

Given the very small number of direct requests made in interactions with band 3 it is not possible to make conclusions regarding their responses to this AU. However, it is interesting to note that none of the requests made by band 2 were granted, while the one from a same age speaker was. Obviously, it cannot be stated that this is reflective of the typical behaviour of girls this age. Instead what can be suggested is that this is not an AU that speakers have a preference for in interactions with band 3.

Perhaps the strongest conclusions that can be drawn from this section are regarding the interactions in which this AU was likely, or unlikely, to occur. In terms of the responses of this group very few inferences can be made. Band 1 responded to requests from same age girls with a mixture of granting and refusing requests. Due to the absence of this AU from bands 2 and 3, it is not possible to compare changes in the responses of these girls. Whilst it was the case that requests made by band 3 speakers in interactions with bands 2 and 3 had a one hundred percent success rate, due to the fact this AU was observed just twice, it is not possible to draw general conclusions based on this. Instead it may be assumed that once again, this is not a particularly popular AU with band 3. The section considering the types of requests made by these girls (see next section) is likely to provide greater insight into some of the findings obtained here.

Types of direct requests.

There were three main ways in which this age group made a direct request; utterances beginning ‘can I’ (example 1.26), those beginning ‘can you’ (example 1.27) and mitigated requests (example 1.28).

Example 1.26

T Can I have a flower [DR+GL]?

Example 1.27

M W, can you pass me the green [DR+GL]?

Example 1.28

M Please can someone pass me that packet [DR+GL] [REF+GL]?

There is an interesting difference between requests beginning ‘can I’ and those starting ‘can you’. Whilst they are both intending to achieve the same outcome the first implies that the

speaker is requesting permission, i.e. 'can I have the pen' suggests they are asking the hearer for permission to use the pen. On the other hand, 'can you pass me the pen' is requiring the hearer to perform a certain action to fulfil the speaker's request. Mitigated requests were those that were softened, often through the use of 'please', or through the inclusion of the word 'someone' rather than a specific individual.

Band 1.

'Can I' requests were by far the most frequently produced request in interactions with other band 1 speakers, and 'please' occurred in around half of these types of requests. However, somewhat surprisingly the inclusion of the word 'please' appeared not to influence the hearer's likelihood of complying, in fact most of these requests were ignored or even refused. A very similar pattern was seen with mitigated requests as the majority of these were also ignored. It was, in fact, requests beginning 'can I' without the inclusion of either mitigation or 'please' that were granted most frequently. These findings are in line with previous research into requests which suggests polite forms are most likely to occur when compliance is not expected (Ervin-Tripp, 1982; 1988). This seems to suggest that the reason these requests were unsuccessful is more a result of what was being requested, rather than the form they took.

Given the fact that directives were addressed to both bands 2 and 3, it is surprising that requests were never made in these conversations. One possibility for this may be related to the lack, or absence, of requests made by older speakers in conversations with these girls. It may be that the younger girls were taking the lead from their older peers when determining which AUs to make use of.

Band 2.

As has been noted, there was just one instance of a direct request being made to a younger girl, by a band 2 member. In addition, this request was addressed to the group which included members of all three bands, rather than a specific band 1 speaker. This request was mitigated through the use of the word 'someone', as well as the inclusion of a justification. What can be assumed from this, therefore, is that this is not a type of AU that is favoured by band 2 in interactions with younger girls. It is perhaps the case that stronger types of AUs, such as directives, were preferred with members of band 1.

Interestingly, the most common way requests were made to other band 2 speakers was through mitigation. In addition to the use of words such as 'someone' and 'please', mitigation in these circumstances was also seen by the use of phrases such as the one below. The use of 'after you' demonstrates to the hearer that K is asking to use the pen only after G is finished, rather than suggesting she gives it to her immediately.

Example 2.24

K G can I have the orange after you [DR+GM]?

The use of 'can I' requests were also common in these interactions, however, unlike in the conversations of band 1 speakers, these rarely included 'please'. Once again, compliance with these very simple requests was common. The only instance of a request being denied in these conversations was when this was mitigated. Again, what this suggests is that the responses to this AU are more likely based on the request itself, rather than on the way it was made. What is also of interest in these conversations is that requests beginning 'can you' were never observed.

The way requests were made in conversations with band 3 revealed a number of noteworthy findings. Firstly, there were a very small number of these observed. Secondly, these requests

were never addressed to an individual speaker, but to the group as a whole, in addition, these groups always included at least one other band 2 member. Finally, requests involving mitigation were the most common type observed in these conversations. This was followed by those beginning 'can I' and in these interactions always included 'please'. However, once again, this politeness appeared to have no impact on the responses of the older girls as the requests made in these conversations were only ever granted by a same age speaker. It is possible that the failure to receive positive responses to their requests from band 3 members when these were addressed to the group, meant band 2 girls assumed a similar response would be seen if this AU was directed at an individual. This may explain both the small number of requests made in these interactions, and the reason for them being addressed exclusively to groups of speakers. As with same age girls, requests made in these conversations were never in the form of 'can you'. While this may suggest that this is because these speakers were uncomfortable requesting action from these older girls, the fact that directives were used in these conversations makes this possibility somewhat unlikely. Instead it is perhaps the case that the small number made simply meant the opportunity to observe this type of request did not occur.

Band 3.

Not only was it the case that no direct requests were made by band 1 girls to band 3, but the same was also true of the reverse. Perhaps it was the case that these older girls felt their age gave them the authority to use stronger types of AUs, such as directives, with this age band rather than politer and less threatening AUs, such as requests. In addition, once they found directives to be a successful way of achieving their aims they had no reason to employ different AUs to do so.

Just one request was made to a band 2 speaker, and this was not a type that had been expected to occur in these exchanges. Not only did this contain the word 'please' but it was also mitigated by the use of 'after you'. The use of mitigation in these contexts had not been expected due to the increased age, and therefore social status, of the band 3 speaker. What is particularly interesting about this exchange is that this request was granted immediately by the younger girl. Previously polite requests were less likely to be granted, yet this was not true in this case. Perhaps the age difference between these two speakers meant the request would have been granted regardless of its form. It is likely the case that, as above, having found directives to be a successful way of influencing band 2 there was no need to employ less assertive, and possibly less effective AUs.

The one request made to a same age speaker was similar to that seen above as it also included the word 'please' however, this was not mitigated, but began 'can I'. This request was also granted on the first occasion by the other band 3 girl. Due to the fact just one request was made in these contexts, conclusions cannot be made regarding typical ways of making requests. However, what can, once again, be assumed is that this AU is not one that is favoured by these older girls.

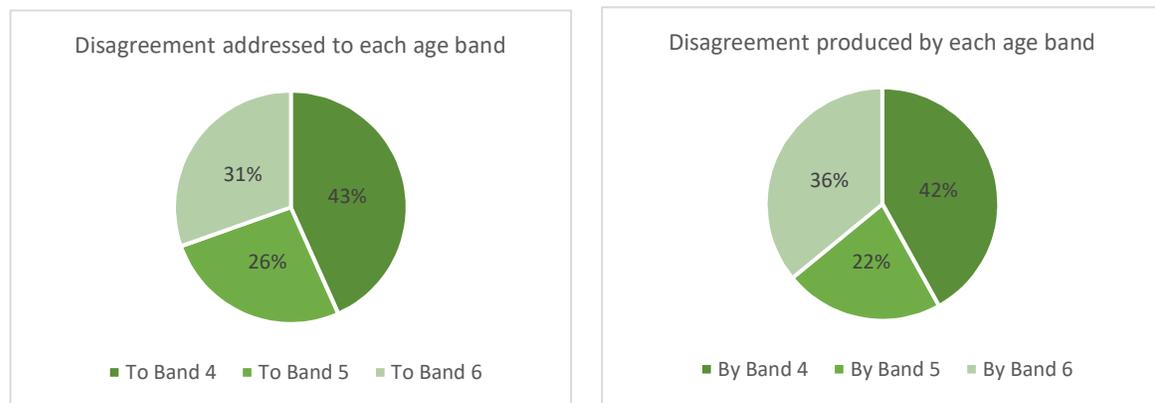
There are several interesting findings with regards to the way in which direct requests were made by members of each band. Firstly, given the very high number of requests made by band 1 in conversations with same age speakers, the fact that none were used with either of the elder two bands is somewhat puzzling. Whilst it may be expected that this number would decrease, such a considerable change was not anticipated. The second, finding of interest was that band 2 did not address any direct requests to specific speakers either older, or younger than them. Finally, the very small number used by band 3 is interesting, particularly with same age girls, both bands 1 and 2 used a number of these with same age speakers, yet this was observed just once in conversations between multiple band 3 speakers. It will be

interesting to note whether this trend continues amongst older, band 4, girls. What is also noteworthy about the direct requests made by band 3 members is that both requests were produced by the same speaker. Given the overall absence of this AU combined with this fact, it is likely the case that this AU is not one that is typically favoured by girls of this age. Perhaps it is instead the case that these older speakers favour more assertive utterances, for example directives; it may be the case that these girls have a preference for telling, rather than asking others what to do.

Appendix Eight.

Results: Group Two: Responses to Disagreement.

The two charts below show the amount of disagreement addressed to, and produced by each age band. Interestingly, these two charts look very similar; the greatest amount of disagreement was both directed at, and produced by band 4, followed by band 6, while those used by and addressed to band 5 girls made up the smallest percentage in each case.



Band 4 disagreeing with Band 4.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

The majority of disagreement utterances from other band 4 speakers were either ignored or challenged. Challenges to this AU took a number of different forms. The most common was to dispute this disagreement, as is seen with N and G in the example below. What is interesting about this particular exchange is that although N's initial disagreement is with L's utterance, it is G who enters into the argumentative exchange with N. In addition, this disagreement is not resolved by the band 4 speakers themselves but is only stopped when the band 6 speaker, V, abruptly changes the topic.

Example 4.34

L <She/'s the oldest> girl and I/'m the oldest girl.

N No, I/'m the [DIS+GL] ^

G She/'s the oldest girl [INT+GL] [DIS+GL].

N No I/'m older than you, you and you [DIS+GL].

V Could you go sit down [DR+GL]?

This type of exchange is very similar to those seen in conversations between members of bands 1 to 3. Although this type of interaction was observed on a number of occasions, these girls also made use of a number of other, slightly more complex, strategies for disagreeing with one another. The inclusion of justifications, as well as attempts to explain why one

speaker was correct, were other ways of doing this. This is what Y tries to do in the extract below, after R disagrees with her first utterance, rather than simply disagreeing again she instead explains the reason behind her disagreement. Ultimately Y's explanation was successful in bringing an end to the exchange as the rest of the group agree F is, in fact, older. This is acknowledged, albeit somewhat dismissively, by U.

Example 4.35

U I'm older than you [CTS+GL].

F I'm older than you [CTS+GL]!

U I'm thirtieth_of January.

F <Mine/'s the nineteenth_of December>.

Y <No she/'s older than you> [DIS+GL].

R No [DIS+GL].

Y It goes January, <February> >

U <January> February, March.

(6 lines later)

U Anyway it does/n't matter [MIS+GL].

The use of other AUs, such as dismissing were occasionally seen following disagreement with a same age speaker. It is likely these occurred when the speaker realised they had been wrong and, in an attempt to save face, rather than admitting this they chose to dismiss their partner's utterance. In addition to the responses seen above indirect disagreement and ignoring were also seen following disagreement from a same age speaker, although both occurred on only a small number of occasions.

Acceptance of this AU from another band 4 speaker was not uncommon in these conversations. This typically occurred in the way shown below in which the speaker did not necessarily acknowledge the fact they were wrong, or indeed that the other speaker was right, instead this was demonstrated by their failure to justify their position or attempt to persuade the hearer they were correct.

Example 4.36

C Anyway that/'s my star.

N No it is/n't [DIS+GL].

;

N I always get the good luck U.

Although it was demonstrated in several different ways, the majority of the responses to disagreement involved failure to accept this AU.

Band 5 disagreeing with Band 4.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

Responses to disagreement from an older speaker were quite different to those from same age girls. Accepting this AU either by failing to enter into an argument with the other speaker, or by responding positively to the disagreement were the most common responses in these contexts. This is how B responds in the conversation below, rather than arguing with O she appears to accept her response, and continues with the conversation without any further reference to it.

Example 5.26

O I'm gonna use yellow and purple.

B (What) you can't only use yellow and purple [FOR+GM].

O Yeah I can [DIS+GL].

B I'm use/ing these one/s.

The other ways 4 responded to disagreement from band 5 included by entering into arguments with these older girls, or by meeting the disagreement with another type of AU. Both of these responses are seen in the conversation below between F and I. In response to I's disagreement F's initial response is to produce further disagreement, which is accompanied by a justification. Despite this, I does not accept F's point of view and instead uses a very similar utterance in response, although this utterance also contains an insult. This results in F making a request for a justification which is then ignored by I, consequently bringing an end to the conversation.

Example 5.27

F It's a mad woman who has no brain at all.

E Yeah.

I You're wrong [DIS+GL].

F No I'm not you're wrong [DIS+J+GM].

I No because you two are because you two have no sense of humour [DIS+J+GL] [IN+GL] [IN+GU].

F Really [REQJ+GM]?

I [IG+GL].

As well as looking at the different responses used by band 4 to disagreement from older girls, it is also interesting to note those that were absent. There were some responses shown by these girls in conversations with same age speakers that were rarely, or in some cases never, seen with band 5 speakers. These included ignoring the disagreement, providing a justification for their original utterance and the use of indirect disagreement. What is also of interest is that whilst the amount of acceptance increased in these contexts the use of other AUs and the tendency to argue back both decreased. It may be that these band 4 speakers were willing to accept disagreement from band 5 members due to their more elaborate utterances; band 5 speakers were more likely to provide a justification for their disagreement without being asked for one. Perhaps this strengthened their utterance to the extent that band 4 members were satisfied with this and, therefore, did not feel they would be likely to win if they entered into an argument. Additionally, the older age of the band 5 girls may also be a contributing factor to the tendency of band 4 girls to be more accepting of these utterances. If this is the case this propensity to accept utterances containing disagreement is likely not only to continue, but also strengthen with members of band 6.

Band 6 disagreeing with Band 4.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

The way in which band 4 responded to disagreements from older, band 6, speakers presented some unexpected results. Although these speakers were usually quite accepting of disagreement from these older girls it had been anticipated that this would be the response in the clear majority of instances, however, this was not the case. Instead, a wide range of

reactions were observed, including; producing further disagreement, providing justifications and, on occasion, ignoring. What is interesting about the times when disagreement was accepted by the younger speaker is that it was not always following particularly compelling reasoning from the older girl. One such example of this is seen below in which R is met with very simple disagreement from both V and J which she appears to accept immediately despite the fact no justification for this disagreement is provided.

Example 6.33

R You don't have glasses [DIS+GU].

V <Yes I do> [DIS+GL].

J <Yes she does> [DIS+GL].

R Oh.

An unexpectedly common response to disagreement from a band 6 speaker was attempting to enter into an argument with them. The word 'attempt' is used here because this was very rarely a successful way of receiving a response from the older speaker. A good example of this is shown in the conversation below between F and K. Although it is the older speaker, K, who produces the first instance of disagreement she then fails to respond when F produces the same AU. This lack of response from the older speaker marks a considerable change from the exchanges seen between two members of band 4, in which arguments often took place.

Example 6.34

F Get it then you weirdo.

K I'm not weird [DIS+GL].

F Yes you are [DIS+GU].

K [IG+GL].

With the exception of the use of other AUs the responses seen in these contexts were more similar to those used with other band 4 speakers than they were to those that occurred with members of band 5. However, the use of justifications following instances of disagreement was higher in these conversations than with either of the younger two bands. Perhaps these girls were more concerned with the opinions of these older speakers and so were more likely to attempt to persuade them they were correct. Alternatively, band 4 members may believe, that due to the older age of their partner, justifications were necessary if they were to persuade the older hearer they were correct. Regardless of whether or not this is the case it was rarely a successful way of changing the mind of the older girl.

With other band 4 speakers challenging disagreement was the most common reaction to this AU. There was then a considerable change in their responses to this AU from band 5 speakers, as acceptance was one the most frequently seen response in these contexts. In addition, a far smaller range of responses was seen to disagreement from these girls. Finally, with band 6 speakers although acceptance was the most common responses to disagreement it was by no means the only one. In fact, the use of further disagreement was seen in a number of these types of exchanges, a finding that was at odds with what had been anticipated. However, the use of justifications in response to disagreement from band 6 girls was higher than in any other types of interactions. This is perhaps a reflection of the age differences between members of these two bands; band 4 girls may believe the use of such an utterance would be the only way likely to persuade these older speakers to agree. Although acceptance was often seen in these exchanges it was no longer the most common response. It may be the case that the reasons for this become clear when the types of disagreement used by each band are considered (see next section).

Band 4 disagreeing with Band 5.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

Band 5 rarely accepted this AU from younger speakers. The most typical response was for the utterance to be ignored, and this is shown twice in the extract below between O and Z. It is particularly interesting in this example that Z's utterances are ignored as although they are disagreeing with O's statement they are also attempts at complementing her drawing.

Example 4.37

O This is rubbish.

Z *No it is/n't, I like it [DIS+GM].*

O [IG+GL].

Z Honestly I do.

O [IG+GL].

As well ignoring disagreement from younger speakers these girls responded in several other ways, including providing justifications, using other AUs, as well as producing further disagreement which was done both directly and indirectly. Each of these responses were used on an almost equal number of occasions. The extract below between O and C shows a typical example of this. Although O does acknowledge that C was correct, this is done somewhat indirectly through the use of dismissal, as is shown in O's last utterance of this extract. Interestingly C fails to comment on O's utterance despite the fact it is effectively admitting she was correct.

Example 4.38

O It doesn't work though.

C *Yeah it does [DIS+GM].*

O It's got (no li*) no lead, look [IDIS+GL].

O There/'s lead here.

C It does work, look [REP+GM].

O Not very good[EW:well] [MIS+GM].

Although the negative ways in which these girls responded did vary, these types occurred far more frequently than those of acceptance. This may be either a reflection of the age differences between these two bands, or a result of the types of disagreement used by band 5 in these interactions. This second possibility will be discussed in detail later (see next section).

Band 5 disagreeing with Band 5.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

Disagreements between two members of band 5 bore some similarities to those seen between bands 4 and 5. Once again, the least common of these was for disagreement to be accepted. It had been predicted that acceptance would have been greater when this was produced by a same age speaker than when it came from younger girls, however, this was not found to be the case. Once again, ignoring disagreement was the most common response in these contexts. The extract below shows a good example of this as it is typical of both members of the conversation; although Q's claim disagreeing with S's previous utterance is ignored, she

does not repeat herself or attempt to persuade S she is correct. Instead this failure to respond marks the end of the conversation and following a brief pause the subject is changed.

Example 5.28

S You weren't here when we done[EW:did] it.

Q (*I did*) I was here [DIS+GM].

S [IG+GM].

:

Whilst further disagreement was also quite common in these conversations, it was never the case that this resulted in the argumentative exchanges seen between the younger girls. One example of this is shown below, although both A and S disagree with Q she does not produce further disagreement, nor does she attempt to repeat herself. Instead she acknowledges that the other speakers were correct and provides an explanation for her behaviour.

Example 5.29

Q No there is a leader.

Q And I said leader.

A <No you didn't> [DIS+GM].

S <No you didn't> you said teacher [DIS+J+GM].

A You said teacher [CO+GM].

Q (Ok) ok I'm just try/ing to be like better.

Interestingly, neither indirect disagreement nor the use of other AUs were seen in these types of conversations although they had been used with younger speakers. Instead, responding with further disagreement or justifications was more common in these interactions.

Band 6 disagreeing with Band 5.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

It had been expected that acceptance of this AU would increase as the age of the speaker producing it rose, however this was not found to be true of band 5 in interactions with older girls. The rate of acceptance in these conversations was instead the same as those with younger speakers. Their preferred response in these types of interactions was to meet these utterances with further disagreement. A typical example of these interactions is shown below; here I responds to E's utterance with further disagreement. Following this, her next utterance is an insult directed at E which is ignored. Likely as a result of E's refusal to engage in further disagreement I does not attempt to continue with the conversation.

Example 6.35

I Not me, I don't have brain problem/s.

E *Actually you do* [DIS+GM].

I I don't [DIS+GU].

I You just don't have a sense of humour [IN+GU].

E [IG+GM].

Band 5 members responded to disagreement from older speakers in just three different ways; in addition to that seen above, acceptance of disagreement, attempts to justify their point of view, or perhaps actions, in an effort to persuade the hearer they were correct were also observed. An example of this is seen by O in the conversation below. Initially, O fails to

comply with the directive from the younger speaker claiming she was not responsible for jogging the table. Although, following disagreement from the band 6 speaker, E, she provides a justification in an attempt to persuade the other members of the group she was not responsible. V however, is not swayed by this, as is evident in her next utterance and following this O does not make another attempt to try to convince the rest of the group she is correct and, after a short pause, the topic is changed.

Example 6.36

B And stop jog/ing the table [DI+GM].

O I'm not jog/ing the table [INRE+GL].

E You are [DIS+GM].

O I'm colour/ing in [J+GU].

V Yeah, while you jog the table [DIS+GM].

:

The way in which these girls responded to disagreement from older speakers was somewhat at odds with what had been anticipated. The reasons for this may become clear when the types of disagreement used by band 6 in these contexts are considered (see next section). As well as looking at the responses that were observed in these conversations it is also important to note those that were not seen. With members of bands 4 and 5 ignoring was the most common response to disagreement, yet it was completely absent in these contexts. It may be the case that these speakers are more concerned with justifying their point of view to these older speakers than had been the case with younger, or same age girls. This would account for both the lack of ignoring, as well as the high amount of further disagreement in such contexts.

The way in which band 5 speakers responded to disagreement from members of each band revealed a number of interesting findings. The failure to accept this AU from younger speakers and, to a certain extent, same age girls is not one of surprise given the age of parties involved. However, the fact that the rate of acceptance of this AU with older speakers was very similar to that seen with both younger and same age girls was unexpected. It is possible an explanation for this may be found in looking at the way in which older speakers disagreed with band 5 members (see next section). Whilst the responses that were observed were not always those that had been expected, it was the case that these band 5 speakers behaved differently with older girls compared to younger and same age ones. The fact that ignoring went from being the most common response with younger speakers to disappearing entirely in interactions with older girls is not only very interesting, but also shows a considerable change in their responses as a result of their partner's age and is therefore, evidence of accommodation.

Band 4 disagreeing with Band 6.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

It was expected that disagreement from younger, band 4, girls would very rarely be accepted by band 6, and this was found to be the case as this AU was accepted just once. By far the most common response to disagreement from band 4 speakers was ignoring. This was carried out in several ways; silence was sometimes seen in response to utterances containing disagreement, at other times the conversation was continued without acknowledging the disagreement made by the younger speaker, alternatively, the older girl may change the topic of conversation completely following such an utterance. Indirect disagreement also occurred in a number of conversations, and it was not uncommon to see multiple responses in the one

exchange. A good example of this is seen in the extract below. After her utterance is ignored by K, R then turns to other members of the conversation in an attempt to persuade K she is correct. Following this, she produces her second utterance disagreeing with K. Rather than ignoring R for a second time K instead disagrees with her but does so indirectly, and at the same time changes the topic of conversation. Interestingly, R accepts this new topic and does not make any further attempt to disagree with K on this subject.

Example 4.39

K It's an alien [INT+GL] [CO+GL].

R No it's a dinosaur [DIS+GU].

K [IG+GL].

(6 lines later)

R It's a dinosaur [DIS+GU].

K It look/3s like an alien, how old are you [IDIS+GL] [SUB+GL]?

R Seven.

In addition to the responses mentioned above band 6 girls also used other AUs, including directives, justifications for their point of view, and on occasion further disagreement. However, the clearly preferred response in these situations was for the disagreement to be ignored by the older speaker and this was very often accepted by the younger girl.

Band 5 disagreeing with Band 6.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

As was the case following disagreement from band 4 girls, the most common response to this AU in these contexts was for the utterance to be ignored by the older speaker. What is most noticeable about these types of utterances is that it was very rarely the case that the band 5 member was the first to use disagreement. In most cases it followed disagreement from an older girl, such as in the example shown below.

Example 5.30

I (I) I agree everyone is sillier than you, baby [IN+GU].

E I'm not a baby [DIS+GM].

I Yeah you are [DIS+GU].

I You're a babe.

F (Oh) my gosh.

E [IG+GU].

Another response to this AU is shown below, and there are several points of interest to note about this conversation. Firstly, it is one of few that involve the band 5 speaker using disagreement before the older girl. Secondly, this was one of only a small number of instances in which ignoring was not accepted by the younger girl. On this occasion S chose to repeat her utterance, and although V does respond this involved both an interruption and further disagreement. In addition, some lines later when one of the youngest speakers in the group disagrees with V she then claims to have been agreeing with the other side of the argument. Despite the fact this was clearly not the case it is not challenged by any of the other group members.

Example 5.31

G Yeah you're the sixer of my group.
S No you're not [DIS+GU].
 =V says what she's writing.
 V <Vaccination ready to meet> [IG+GM].
 F <Xx the sixer>.
S No you're not [DIS+GU] [REP+GU] ^
 V I am [DIS+GM] [INT+GM].
 L No she's in squirrel/s [DIS+J+GU].
 L And you're <in hedgehog/s>.
 V <I know> [MIS+GL].
 V I'm say/ing I'm not the sixer of her group actually [CO+GL].
 L (Oh).

Other responses to disagreement in these interactions included indirect disagreement, justifications and arguing back, however none were seen to the same extent as ignoring. It is also interesting to note that this is the first conversation in which disagreement was never accepted by the hearer. It may be that this is a reflection of the types of disagreement used by band 5 in these interactions, alternatively, this could be evidence of accommodation, these possibilities will be considered later (see next section).

Band 6 disagreeing with Band 6.
 (Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

Ignoring disagreement continued to be the most common response to this AU with same age speakers. However, there was also a far greater amount of acceptance than had been the case with either of the younger two bands. One example of this is seen in the extract below in which K altered her second utterance based on the disagreement she received from J to her previous statement.

Example 6.37

K They keep writing I love H and F.
J I'm not [DIS+GU].
 J She is.
 K V keep/3s do/ing it and I don't like it.
 B Yeah V.

The ignoring that occurred in these conversations was very similar to that seen in the interactions with younger girls, and included a mixture of continuing the conversation without acknowledging the previous disagreement and, as seen below, through silence. Following E's disagreement V fails to respond and it is only after a short pause in the conversation that E continues speaking.

Example 6.38

O That's a bit harsh!
 E That's really harsh!
V No it is/n't [DIS+GM] [DIS+GU].
E Yes it is [DIS+GU].
 V [IG+GU].
 ;
 E I think yours is nice.

Following disagreement from same age girls, both direct and indirect disagreement were also used and whilst both of these occurred more often in these situations than with younger girls, this was still only the case in a small number of instances. Similarly, although acceptance was more common in these contexts than it had been with either bands 4 or 5, as anticipated, it was far from the most frequent response.

The way in which band 6 responded to disagreement from bands 4 and 5 was very similar as it was very rarely the case that these utterances would be accepted. Whilst ignoring continued to be the most common response in conversations with same age girls it was used less than in interactions with younger girls. In addition, a larger proportion of disagreement utterances in these contexts were accepted by the hearer. The tendency to produce further disagreement was also higher in these conversations than those with younger speakers. It appears to have been the case that these girls were more willing to accept disagreement from other band 6 speakers than they were from younger girls, this is likely due to the fact they believe same age speakers are entitled to behave in this way, whereas younger girls are not. They were also more concerned with defending their point of view with these girls than they were with those younger than them. Although ignoring was the most common way of responding to disagreement with all three age bands, the differences are seen in the increase of acceptance, and attempts to justify their position with older girls. With younger speakers, acceptance of this AU was seen on only a very small number of occasions.

Within each age band there were findings that had been predicted as well as some surprises. It had been predicted that acceptance of this AU would increase as the age of the speaker producing it rose. While this was true to a certain extent, the pattern was not as strong as anticipated. Band 4 accepted this AU more from older bands than they did from same age speakers but this difference was quite small. Similarly, band 5 accepted similar amounts of this AU from all three bands. Finally, while band 6 accepted a considerably higher number from same age girls than either of the younger two bands, it is interesting that this AU was accepted from band 4 but not band 5. The use of other AUs, including, insults, dismissal and topic change, in response to disagreement were seen in a number of interactions with bands 4 and 5. Although interestingly none of these AUs were used in response to disagreement from band 6, either by younger speakers or band 6 members themselves. It may be that this type of response is not considered appropriate following disagreement from a speaker of this age. The fact that bands 4 and 6 were more likely to accept this AU when it was produced by older speakers compared to younger ones, provides evidence of accommodation based on their partner's age. Some of the more puzzling findings from this section may be explained when the types of AUs used by each band are considered (see next section).

Types of disagreement.

There were several ways in which members of group two disagreed with others. These included; disputing facts presented by their partner (example 4.40), defending themselves or their actions to the hearer (example 4.41), and disagreeing with claims put forward by the other speaker (example 5.32).

Example 4.40

G We don't have anybody on our board.

L We've got K, N and J.

B *K doesn't have a verbal warning [DIS+GL].*

L *Yeah [DIS+GL].*

Example 4.41

E You took the last circus sticker.
Y (No) no I did/n't [DIS+GU].

Example 5.32

Q They are the same [DIS+GU].
S No they/'re not [DIS+GM].

Band 4.

The most common way members of band 4 disagreed with same age speakers was to dispute a fact. At times, these included the use of justifications as a way of supporting their disagreement although this was not the case for the majority of these utterances. It is possible that this use of facts is the reason for the higher than expected rate of acceptance; perhaps these girls found it more difficult to dispute a fact than they did a claim or set of behaviours. Whilst all three types of disagreement were seen, the overwhelming majority of disagreement utterances in conversations with same age speakers, were those challenging facts.

There was an interesting difference in the way these speakers disagreed with older, band 5, girls. Firstly, they produced fewer disagreements in these conversations compared to those with younger or older girls. Secondly, it was rarely the case that facts would be disputed in these interactions. Instead disagreements were most likely to occur following claims, or attempts by the hearer to defend themselves or their behaviour. One finding of surprise is that justifications were used less frequently in these conversations than they were with same age speakers. It had been assumed that the use of justifications would increase as the age of their partner rose. This is one possibility for the failure of band 5 to accept this AU, however, this is unlikely to be the sole reason. A more plausible explanation is the younger age of the girls producing the disagreement.

The way band 4 disagreed with members of band 6 was, although different to that used with band 5, more similar to this than that seen with other band 4 speakers. Disputing claims was the most common type of disagreement to occur in these interactions. Disagreement with facts, and in order to defend themselves, or their behaviour, were also observed but only on a small number of occasions. Once again, the use of justifications in these contexts was smaller than anticipated, in addition this typically occurred in utterances disagreeing with claims made by the older girl. It is likely most of these utterances were ignored because older speakers did not feel it necessary to defend their points of view or claims to these much younger girls. Perhaps had a greater number of facts been disputed a difference would have been seen in the responses of band 6 to this AU.

Band 5.

The ways in which band 5 disagreed with other speakers was very similar to that seen above. There was an almost equal mixture of disagreements with facts, claims, and that used to defend themselves or their behaviour. As these were almost the same types band 4 used when disagreeing with band 5 it may be expected that a similar response would also have been seen, and yet band 4 were far more accepting of these types of disagreement than band 5 had been when the situation was reversed. Given that the only element to have changed in these interactions are the ages of the hearer and speaker, this provides evidence of accommodation. Interestingly, a slightly different type of disagreement took place in these conversations, and this was the only time this was used by any band in group two. This involved disagreeing with another type of AU as O does in the example below, when B attempts to forbid her from using only two colours.

Example 5.33

O I'm gonna use yellow and purple.

B (What) you can't only use yellow and purple [FOR+GM].

O Yeah I can [DIS+GL].

The disagreement that occurred here is likely the result of B's attempt at using a particularly assertive utterance in an attempt to control O's behaviour.

The way members of band 5 disagreed with one another was, in some ways, similar to that seen with younger speakers. The two most typical ways of doing this were to disagree with a claim put forward by the other speaker, and in attempts to defend their own behaviour.

Disagreeing with claims made by same age girls was a slightly more common occurrence in these interactions. Interestingly, the number of utterances disagreeing with facts put forward by another band 5 speaker was considerably fewer than those seen with younger girls.

Perhaps these speakers were not as confident in disputing facts stated by same age girls as they were when it was a younger girl producing the utterance. If this trend is observed to continue with older speakers it may be assumed this is likely the case.

There was a very interesting finding with regards to the way in which band 5 disagreed with older girls. Nearly half of the disagreement produced by band 5 in these contexts came after disagreement from the older girl. Despite this, the majority of these utterances were ignored by the older girl, and this response was usually accepted by the younger speaker. Of the utterances that did not follow disagreement from a band 6 member, those used as a way of the younger speaker defending themselves were the most common, although only by a very small margin. There was an almost even divide between these utterances, those disagreeing with claims and surprisingly, those challenging facts. The disagreement used by band 5 with older girls was very similar to that seen in a variety of other contexts, it is unlikely, therefore that band 6's failure to accept this AU was a result of the types used. Instead it is probable that it is the younger age of band 5 that is responsible for this.

Band 6.

The most common way of band 6 speakers disagreeing with a member of band 4 was following a claim made by the younger girl. A large number of disagreements also occurred after facts stated by the younger speaker. Although there were some instances of disagreement used to defend the actions of the older girl they were quite rare in these interactions. It is likely that this is more a reflection of the utterances used by the younger girls, rather than a more deliberate omission of this type of disagreement in these contexts. There was also a new way of disagreeing that had not been observed in any conversation so far. This involved disputing a decision made by a younger speaker and is shown in the example below, in which V overrules C's decision to deny G's request.

Example 6.39

=G comes over to the table.

G Can I have a black please [DR+GL]?

C No [DREQ+GM].

V Yeah [DIS+GL].

V Because we've got four, they've got three [J+GL].

It is likely that this only occurred in these contexts because of the increased age and, therefore, status differences between members of bands 4 and 6. As this type of disagreement did not occur in any other interactions, it seems likely to suggest that these girls were aware that using this type of utterance with an older girl would be inappropriate. One puzzling

finding, however, is that the way in which disagreement was carried out by these older girls does not explain why band 4 were less likely to accept this AU in these contexts compared to those with band 5. It is possible that this is a reflection of the individuals involved in these interactions. Although disagreement utterances from band 6 were addressed to the majority of band 4 girls, failing to accept this AU was seen by only three individuals. In addition, a larger amount of disagreement was observed with these speakers than other band 4 members. It is assumed therefore, that this is the reason for the change in response of band 4 from interactions with band 5 to band 6.

The way in which band 6 disagreed with band 5 members had a number of differences to that seen with band 4. Although the same types of disagreements were observed in these conversations, the amount each was used varied. There was a far more equal divide between utterances disagreeing with facts, claims and those defending the speaker, or their actions, in these contexts. However, disputing facts was the most common reason for using this AU. This may explain the reason for the unexpected amount of disagreement with facts by band 5 in interactions with band 6. Perhaps these younger girls were taking the lead from their older partner's in these situations. In addition, there was another type of disagreement that occurred in these interactions which was slightly different to that seen above, and involved disagreeing with permission granted by a band 5 speaker. An example of this is shown below, although similar to the example above in which V disagrees with C denying a request, this example involves permission being granted by a band 5 member than revoked by the older speaker. Interestingly, neither the band 6 girl O was speaking to, nor O herself question V's authority to do this. It is worth noting here that at the time of this interaction B had not actually sat down, but rather V was saving the space for her.

Example 6.40

O <You can sit here> [PER+GU].

V *No you can't B's siting there* [DIS+GM].

Another important point to note here is that half of all the disagreement utterances produced by band 5 were in response to this AU from their older peers. This is likely another reason for the lower than anticipated rate of acceptance in these contexts. Band 5 may have been more concerned with proving themselves to be right as it had been their utterance that was initially disputed.

With other band 6 speakers disputing claims was the most common reason for disagreeing with one another, and this was followed by attempts to defend their behaviour. Facts were, on occasion, disagreed with but this was considerably rarer than in conversations with either of the younger two bands. An additional difference in these contexts is that these were the only three types of disagreement to be used, the additional types seen in interactions with bands 4 and 5 were never observed in conversations with other band 6 girls. However, a similarity in the response of these band 6 speakers is observed in these conversations as once again ignoring was the most common reaction to utterances containing disagreement. This therefore suggests that rather than this response being linked to either the age of their partner, or the type of disagreement used, it is instead the preferred response of members of this age.

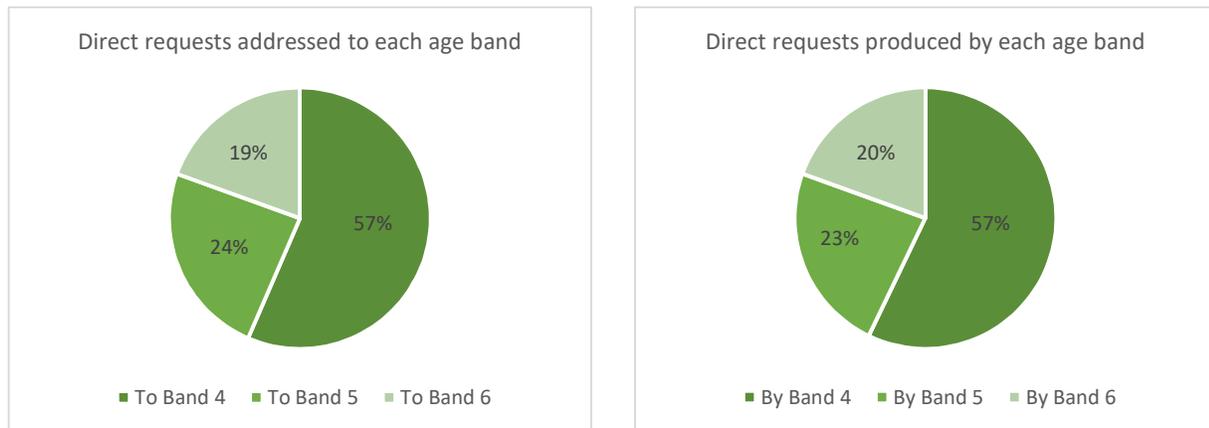
There are some similarities in the way members of all three age bands disagreed with one another; firstly, disputing facts put forward by their partner was always more common in exchanges with members of band 4 than those with band 6. Secondly, the use of disagreement by the speaker to defend their own actions was observed by all bands in interactions with all other speakers. In addition, there were also unexpected findings within each band's use of disagreements; band 4 did not increase their use of justifications with

older speakers. Similarly, whilst it was the case that additional ways of disagreeing used by band 6 had been expected, the fact that these did not occur with same age speakers was of interest. It does however, suggest that these speakers are more comfortable disagreeing with decisions and permission when the hearer is younger than them, rather than of a similar age, implying they are accommodating their language as a result of their partner's age. Overall, it was the case that differences were observed in the types of disagreement produced by each age band as a result of their partner's age. Although these were not always the changes that had been anticipated the fact that each band chose to alter the types of disagreements they made as a result of their partner is evidence of accommodation.

Appendix Nine.

Results: Group Two: Responses to Direct Requests.

What is most noticeable about the way in which this utterance was used is its relatively low occurrence in the language of bands 5 and 6, particularly in comparison to band 4. In addition, these charts are very similar to those showing the way group one used this AU.



Band 4 making direct requests to Band 4.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

Most requests from band 4 were either ignored, or refused by same age speakers. When ignoring was used this frequently prompted the other speaker to repeat their request; this may explain, in part, the high number of requests made in such situations. One example of this is seen in the extract below in which, after her first utterance is ignored, C repeats herself. However, when this too fails to receive a response from N she does not make a further attempts at repeating herself, but moves on with the conversation.

Example 4.42

C *Can I see [DR+GL]?*

N [IG+GL].

U They look like they/'re football/s but they/'re ladybird/s.

C *Can I see [DR+GL] [REP+GL]?*

N [IG+GL].

Interestingly, repetition was rarely seen when a request was refused, one example of which is seen below. Despite the fact Z's response is so direct and is not accompanied by any explanation for this refusal, L does not attempt to make her request again, nor does she question Z's response.

Example 4.43

L *Can I write my name [DR+GL]?*
Z No [DREQ+GL].

It was not uncommon for requests to be granted in these interactions, and very often this involved simple responses such as "yes". However, there were also times when conditions were attached, as is shown by N below. Whilst she is granting Y's request in the long term, she is also stating that it cannot be granted immediately.

Example 4.44

Y *Can I use the black [DR+GL]?*
N Wait a sec I just need it for the eye/s [CP+GL].
Y Ok.

The way in which these speakers responded to requests from same age girls involved an intriguing mixture of responses. As expected, the most common of these was failing to grant the request. However, this was closely followed by granting the request.

Band 5 making direct requests to Band 4.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

It was rarely the case that a direct request from an older, band 5, speaker was not granted. Most of these occurred in the way seen below, in which the request was granted without any query or condition attached.

Example 5.34

L Someone's got our heart sticker/s.
S Me and Q do, sorry.
S *Can we borrow them [DR+GL]?*
L Yeah you can borrow them.

However, this was not the case on every occasion; the conversation below provides one example of this. Initially, G uses direct refusal with no explanation in response to Q's request. Yet the difference between this conversation, and those between two band 4 members is that Q is not willing to accept G's refusal and instead requests a justification for it. To begin with G ignores this utterance, although does respond shortly after claiming Q already had a yellow pen. Q is not completely satisfied with this justification, however, as she then poses another question. Eventually Q leaves the conversation to find another yellow pen despite the fact there is one on their table that G is using.

Example 5.35

Q *Can I have the yellow please [DR+GL]?*
G No [DREQ+GM].
Q Why [REQJ+GL]?
G [IG+GM].

Q I'm a girl I should [J+GL] >
 Q Wait what?
 A I would probably hear you from ^
 G You've got a yellow [INT+GM] [J+GM].
 Q Where?
 G You had a yellow.
 S (Uh) someone's got it so you'll have to wait [DI+J+GM].
 Q I'm go/ing to find the yellow.

Although interactions such as the one above did occur, these were very infrequent. The majority of direct requests from band 5 girls were granted first time. Other responses seen on occasion included ignoring the request, which usually resulted in repetition from the older girl. In addition, it was sometimes the case that a band 5 speaker would address a direct request to a younger girl but carry out the action without waiting for a response, as I does in the example below. Interestingly, this behaviour was readily accepted by the younger members of the conversation.

Example 5.36

I Can I do it [DR+GL]?

I I'm gonna have the next one.

Overall the responses to direct requests from these older speakers were largely positive, in fact, the tendency to grant requests made by members of band 5 was slightly higher than had been expected.

Band 6 making direct requests to Band 4.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

In contrast to what had been predicted, just over half of the requests made by band 6 were ignored or denied by band 4. Somewhat conversely the second most common way of responding was to grant the request without questioning it. The conversation below shows a good example of both these responses. R demonstrates the first, and most common, reaction of denying the request, and does this without providing any justification for her decision, prompting K to justify her request. Although this does not persuade R to change her mind another band 4 speaker, Y, grants K's request. Following this, D then addresses her request to Y, rather than R, and includes in it a justification. This proves to be more successful than K's first directive as Y immediately provides the item she has asked for.

Example 6.41

K Can I have it please [DR+GL]?

R No [DREQ+GU].

Y I've got a butterfly.

K (Oh) but everyone took them it's so unfair [J+GL].

=Y gives her one.

K Thanks.

D Can I have one because I have/n't got any [DR+J+GL]?

Y Orange or pink?

D Orange.

=Y give one to D.

It may be suggested that these responses are a result of the personalities of these individuals, however, on other occasions both R and Y reacted in the opposite way to that seen above; as the two extracts below show. What is also interesting about example 6.42 is that it is the same band 6 girl, K, whose request Y grants in example 6.41.

Example 6.42

*K Can I borrow one of your pencil/s
[DR+GL] [IG+GL]?*

Y No get your own [RE+GU]!

K She is rude.

Example 6.43

*E (Oh) R can I borrow that dark green
please [DR+GL]?*

R Green_green_green.

=R passes the green.

E Thanks.

It is not clear why the same speakers respond so differently in different situations or why a smaller number of requests were granted than not. However, this may be explained, in part by the types of requests made by these girls; this will be explored later (see next section).

The way in which band 4 responded to requests from bands 4 and 5 was similar to what had been expected; a greater number of these were complied with when the speaker was older than the hearer. However, what was both unexpected, and somewhat puzzling was the way these girls reacted to requests from band 6 speakers. What was the reason behind the sudden lack of compliance with these older girls and why did the same speakers respond in very different ways on different occasions? It is possible these questions may be answered, in part, by considering the way requests were made in these types of exchanges (see next section).

Band 4 making direct request to Band 5.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

It was very rarely the case that band 5 granted requests from younger speakers; instead the most common response in these situations was for the request to be ignored by the older girl, although this was closely followed by refusal on the part of the band 5 member which was done both directly and indirectly. An example of both ignoring and refusing is seen in the extract below. Each of G's direct requests are ignored by the older girl, S. Although she does receive a response to her indirect request, this is indirectly refused. As a result, G addresses S with another direct request, and is once again ignored. On this occasion G does not repeat herself, perhaps due to the fact this had not been successful on any of her previous attempts.

Example 4.45

G Can you pass a red please [DR+GM]?

S [IG+GL].

G Can you pass the red please [DR+GM] [REP+GM].

;

G Is there a black [IR+GM]?

S I'm use/ing it [INRE+GL].

G Can I have it after you [DR+GM]?

S [IG+GL].

When direct requests were granted this was often after a considerable pause, another utterance, or had conditions attached. This is shown in the conversation below in which O grants N's request although only in part, saying she may do some, but not all, of the writing.

Example 4.46

N Can I write it [DR+GM]?

O We can all write something, like take turn/s [CP+GL].

A Yeah.

As anticipated failing to grant requests made by younger girls was the most common response in these conversations. In order to establish whether the preference for denying requests is a result of the younger age of the band 4 members, or simply a feature of band 5's language their responses to requests from other bands will need to be considered.

Band 5 making direct requests to Band 5.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

Most requests from same age speakers were granted by band 5. The extract below shows a typical example of this, interestingly although A has already been given permission to use O's stickers, she points out that she has not taken all of them. This type of justification, following a request being granted, was never seen in conversations with younger speakers.

Example 5.37

A Can I use some of yours O [DR+GM]?

O Yeah.

A Can I use the lip/s [DR+GM]?

O (Uh) yeah.

A I'll only use one, there's three there.

There were also a number of requests that were not granted and this involved a mixture of ignoring, as well as direct and indirect refusal. When requests from other band 5 girls were refused, it was very rarely the case that this decision would be accepted on the first occasion, or without an explanation. Instead a second attempt would usually be made at achieving their aim. This often did not involve repetition, but a reformulation of, or addition to, their original request. Alternatively, it may have involved a single word, as was the case in the following exchange between Q and A. However, as is the case below these were often unsuccessful; here A ignores Q's second attempt at persuading her to comply resulting in Q abandoning the topic.

Example 5.38

Q Can I just have one attempt [DR+GM]?

A No [DREQ+GM].

Q Please.

:

The fact that the most common response was to grant the request shows a marked difference in these conversations compared to those with younger speakers.

Band 6 making direct requests to Band 5.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

As predicted the most common response to requests from band 6 was for them to be granted on the first occasion, this is shown in the extract below in which Q grants K's request on the first instance, without requiring any justification, or imposing any conditions.

Example 6.44

K Q can I quickly just point out something [DR+GM]?

Q Yeah.

Q What?

=K points to something on the sheet.

=Y laughs.

There were also times when requests from older girls were fulfilled, but not acknowledged verbally, for example in the interaction below the speaker this utterance is aimed at, O, does not respond, but does stop kicking.

Example 6.45

E Can you stop kick/ing me [DR+GM]?

=O stops kicking.

Other ways in which these girls responded to requests from older speakers included ignoring, refusing and carrying out an action without waiting for a reply from the younger girl. Due to the small number of direct requests that were made in these types of conversations, it is not possible to suggest a typical way these girls may behave in such situations. Instead it can be assumed that this is not a particularly favoured AU by band 6 in conversations with these younger speakers.

The way band 5 girls responded to direct requests was typically related to the age of the speaker; as anticipated, requests from the youngest girls were more likely to be ignored or refused than those from bands 5 or 6. Thereby suggesting that the tendency to refuse requests from band 4 is likely a result of their younger age, rather than this being a typical response of this age band. Band 5 speakers responded with a mixture of granting and occasionally refusing when faced with a request from a same age girl. However, with older speakers only once was a request directly refused. The variation in the way in which band 5 responded shows evidence of accommodation.

Band 4 making direct requests to Band 6.

(Band 4 girls – B, N, G, L, F, R, C, U, Y, Z)

In these types of conversations there was an almost equal mix of requests that were granted, and those that were not. Somewhat at odds with what had been anticipated just one direct request from a band 4 speaker was met with direct refusal from an older girl. A more usual way for a request to be denied was through indirect means, as K does in the example below. Rather than directly saying ‘no’ to G, K instead provides a reason behind her failure to grant to request. Perhaps because of the reasoning provided by K in her response, or possibly due to the older age of K, G accepts this utterance and does not make another attempt to persuade K, or any other members of the conversation, to comply with her request.

Example 4.47

G (Can) can someone do this for me [DR+GU] [DR+GL]?

G It’s really difficult [J+GL] [J+GU].

K Yeah I know seriously G I can’t even do it myself and I’m nearly ten [INRE+GL].

An interesting finding from these interactions was that although around half of the requests made by younger speakers were granted, this was very often done without verbal acknowledgement. In the exchange below, for example, V carries out the request made by R but does not answer her utterance with a word such as ‘yes’.

Example 4.48

R Then can you sign it please [DR+GU]?

L I wish I could sign it but I’m not allowed to because that’s for your six.

V I feel like a celebrity.

When such requests did receive a positive response, it was not uncommon for the utterance to include conditions, such as in E's utterance below in which she states the request will be granted but only when she is ready to do so.

Example 4.49

B Can I have the red [DR+GU]?

E Yeah, you can have it after me [CP+GL].

It was also common for these requests to be ignored completely, this usually resulted in the younger girls repeating their request, and whilst this was sometimes a successful way of receiving a response it was not always the one that was desired.

Overall the way band 6 responded to requests from these younger girls was slightly at odds with what had been expected. It had been anticipated that a greater number of requests would have been refused, and that this would usually have been done through more direct means. It is possible that this is simply characteristic of the way girls in this age band behave, regardless of the speaker making the request. Alternatively, their willingness to grant these requests may be a result of the types of requests made by band 4 speakers (see next section). In order to establish which of these is the case, band 6's responses to requests from other bands as well as the types of requests made by band 4 will need to be considered.

Band 5 making direct requests to Band 6.

(Band 5 girls – O, Q, A, S, I)

Somewhat surprisingly, the majority of requests from band 5 were granted by band 6, and unlike with band 4, this usually involved direct acknowledgement of the request. One example of this is seen in the exchange below in which J explicitly agrees to O's request.

Example 5.39

J And then a little bit there.

O And can I have it back now [DR+GU]?

J Yeah of course you can, there you go.

Requests from band 5 were never refused, and on only one occasion was a request ignored. Interestingly, the request that was ignored did go on to receive a response from another band 5 member. An additional way of responding to a request without either granting or refusing it was to refer the hearer to another speaker. The final type of response used by band 6 girls in these contexts required the first speaker to provide a justification for the request, this type of exchange is shown below. Despite the fact no justification was actually given by Q, following her repetition of the request it is granted, somewhat unenthusiastically, by K.

Example 5.40

Q Can I write [DR+GU]?

K You said you did/n't wanna write [REQJ+GM]?

K Now write <something good>.

Y <No she did/n't> [DIS+GU].

Q Can I write [DR+GU] [REP+GU]?

K Ok fine, you write.

Q Thank you.

The way band 6 responded to requests from these younger girls was somewhat at odds with what had been anticipated. It had been assumed that a larger number of requests from these girls would have been granted compared to those from band 4, however, this was not expected to be the most common response to this AU.

Band 6 making direct requests to Band 6.

(Band 6 girls – K, D, V, E, J)

The way band 6 responded to requests from same age girls was at odds with what had been anticipated, as most of these were not granted. As just four requests were made in these interactions it is possible to look at the response each one received. One of these was not verbally acknowledged by the hearer, but it does not appear to have been granted. The second request, although again not acknowledged by the hearer was granted, as is shown by V below.

Example 6.46

K Can I have my red pen back [DR+GU] [IG+GL]?

=V throws the pen and K screams.

The third involved a band 5 member granting the request despite it being addressed to an older girl. The fourth, and final, way in which these requests were responded to is shown below, and involved the request being directly refused without explanation. As a result, K rephrases her utterance and makes another attempt at persuading V to comply. Despite K's inclusion of a justification, V once again refuses. Following this second refusal K appears to accept this response, and does not repeat her request again.

Example 6.47

K Can I have your pencil please quickly [DR+GU]?

V No [RE+GU].

K I need it, I'll be very quick [REF+GU] [DR+J+GU].

V (No) no [RE+GU].

=V laughs.

The finding that this AU often failed to receive a verbal response, combined with the fact that there were so few requests made in these interactions means it is not possible to draw firm conclusions based in these findings. Instead, it can be assumed that this is not an AU favoured by band 6 in interactions with same age speakers.

Overall, the way in which band 6 responded to direct requests did not follow the expected pattern. Rather than granting a larger number of requests from same age speakers, compared to those from younger girls, the opposite pattern was found. While the majority of requests from bands 4 and 5 were granted, those from other band 6 girls received a mixture of responses, which were largely negative. Perhaps the reasons behind this occurrence will be found in the following section looking at the way in which each age band used direct requests (see next section).

There were a number of surprising findings revealed in the way each band responded to this AU. The number of requests that were granted by band 4 with same age speakers was greater than anticipated. However, the increase in the number that were granted with band 5 was expected. Yet this trend did not continue with band 6, in fact, the response to requests from these older girls was more similar to that seen with same age speakers. Band 5 behaved

largely as predicted; they were more likely to grant requests from same age, and older girls than they were from younger ones. This is not true for band 6, however, as their responses to this AU were at odds with what had been predicted. The high number of requests from band 4 that were granted was intriguing. Although the fact that a larger number of requests were granted in interactions with band 5 suggested perhaps this was a typical response of this band. Had this pattern continued with members of their own age band, this finding would not have been so puzzling, however, the number of requests granted in these contexts was not only smaller than those from band 5, but also less than those that were refused. It may be that an explanation for these findings will be revealed when the types of requests made by each band are considered (see next section).

Types of direct requests.

There were five slightly different ways in which group two used direct requests. The first of these was a simple utterance beginning ‘can I’ (example 6.43). The second was very similar in form to the first, but included the word ‘please’ (example 4.47), the third involved the use of mitigation within the request (example 5.39). The fourth type of request replaced the word ‘I’ with ‘you’ (example 4.48), and the final way of requesting included the phrase ‘for me’ (example 5.40).

Example 6.43

J Can I see [DR+GU]?

Example 4.47

Z Please may I use a cup [DR+GL] [IG+GL]?

Example 5.39

O Can I borrow two of them [DR+GU]?

Example 4.48

G Can you pass a red please [DR+GM]?

Example 5.40

O Yeah can you finish writing that sentence for me [DR+GM]?

Band 4.

The number of direct requests made by band 4 in interactions with same age speakers was greater than in any other type of interaction. In fact, these accounted for a considerable thirty-two percent of all direct requests made by group two. The most common type of request made in these conversations was the first type; those in the form of ‘can I’, and this was followed by the same type, but with the addition of ‘please’. Interestingly, the inclusion of the word ‘please’ did not appear to have a considerable impact on the likelihood of the request being granted. There were also a number of mitigated requests in these types of conversations; more than had been anticipated, and these were often a successful way of having a request granted. Both other types of requests were used in these interactions although each was observed on just one occasion.

Requests beginning ‘can I’ were also the most frequent type used by band 4 in interactions with band 5. This was followed by ‘can you’ requests, half of which contained the word ‘please’. Interestingly, the requests most likely to be granted were those starting ‘can you’ but without the use of ‘please’. Mitigated requests were also used in these conversations, although only on a small number of instances, and unlike in conversations with same age

girls, these were never a successful way of persuading the hearer to comply. Requests including the phrase 'for me' were never used in interactions with band 5.

The way in which band 4 made requests to older, band 6, girls shared some similarities with those above. Again, the most frequent type used were those beginning 'can I', and the second most common type were those starting 'can you'. It was requests beginning 'can I' that were the most likely to be granted in these contexts, although on occasion those including 'can you' were also fulfilled. An addition to the requests addressed to older girls was the use of the word 'your' suggesting that the younger girl was demonstrating her knowledge that the object in question belonged to the hearer. With bands 4 and 5, requests to borrow or use objects involved 'the pen' or 'those stickers' rather than 'your'. Perhaps it was the case that band 4 felt the acknowledgement of this ownership was more important in conversations with these older girls. It may have been that this recognition, combined with the fact that most requests in these conversations were those implying the speaker was requesting permission, that resulted in a greater number than anticipated being granted.

Band 5.

The direct requests made by band 5 in conversations with younger speakers consisted almost entirely of those beginning 'can I'. Perhaps due to the older age of the girls making the requests mitigation and 'please' were rarely seen in these interactions. Despite this, these were normally granted. The second most frequently used requests were those starting 'can you', and these were considerably less likely to be fulfilled than those beginning 'can I'.

The most common types of request made by band 5 with same age speakers were those starting 'can you'. Interestingly, it was quite common for these to include the phrase 'for me'. In fact, these types of requests occurred more in these interactions than they did in any other type. In addition, this was the only context in which these types of requests were made by band 5. They were, however, very often a successful way of persuading the hearer to grant the request. 'Can I' requests were also observed in these contexts. Interestingly, 'please' was very rarely seen in these contexts and mitigated requests were entirely absent. However, an addition to these requests that had not been observed with younger girls was the inclusion of 'your'. The fact that most of these requests were granted is perhaps more a result of the age of the speaker, than the types of requests used.

With members of band 6 very few direct requests were used by these girls. In contrast to what had been predicted the use of both mitigation and 'please' were rarely observed in these interactions, though intriguingly requests beginning 'can you' were never used in these contexts. The clear majority of the requests addressed to older girls were those beginning 'can I'. As with other band 5 speakers the inclusion of 'your' when requesting an object was also observed in these contexts. Again, suggesting that younger speakers feel it necessary to acknowledge ownership of objects when the request is being made to a member of band 6.

Band 6.

Girls in this age group made use of most types of request in conversations with band 4. One exception to this was requests containing the phrase 'for me', similarly, 'can I' requests appeared only once in these types of exchanges. It had been anticipated that the use of mitigation would be rare, or possibly absent, in these interactions, yet mitigated requests were the most common type to be used with these younger girls, and many of these were mitigated in several ways. One example of this is shown below in which E uses the use of the word 'borrow' implying the item will be returned, and includes the word 'please'. In addition, the inclusion of the word 'your' shows E is acknowledging ownership of the item she is requesting.

Example 6.44

E May I borrow your rubber please B [DR+GL]?

It had been anticipated that requests such as the one above would have been used by band 4 in conversations with band 6 as opposed to the opposite being true. Utterances beginning ‘can you’ also appeared frequently in these conversations although they were rarely successful in persuading the hearer to grant the request. Another type of request was seen in these conversations that had not been observed any of the interactions above, this included the words ‘can we’, as is seen in the example below from K.

Example 6.45

K Z can we swap place/s [DR+GL]?

This is slightly different from those including either ‘you’ or ‘I’ as it appears to be suggesting action is required on the part of the speaker as well as the hearer and may therefore have a mitigating effect on the request. These findings do not appear to offer an explanation for the fact that band 4 failed to grant the majority of requests made by these girls. However, previous research into the use of requests may provide some clarity on this, this will be discussed later (see appendix fifteen).

Every request made by band 6 to band 5 girls included the word ‘can’, and this was then followed by either ‘I’, ‘you’ or ‘we’. There was just one request containing the word ‘please’, while mitigation was never used in these contexts. This is somewhat of a surprise, considering the amount used in conversations with band 4. Despite this, the majority of requests were granted by the younger speakers. It may be suggested here that the reason for the willingness to grant these requests is likely due to the older age of these band 6 speakers, rather than the types they made use of. However, given the small number of requests that were made in these conversations it is not possible to draw general conclusions based on these findings. Instead it may be assumed that this is not an AU these older girls favour in these interactions.

In conversations with same age speakers an even smaller number of direct requests were made; in fact, the requests that occurred in these conversations accounted for less than three percent of the total number produced. There was an equal mix of those beginning ‘can I’, and those containing mitigation. However, it does not appear to be the case that the use of either ‘please’ or mitigation were any more successful than more direct requests. Although, once again, due to the small number of requests made in these of conversations the only conclusion that may be drawn is that this is not an AU that these girls use a great deal with other members of this age band. The way requests were made in these contexts does not provide an explanation for the unexpected findings with regards to band 6’s responses to this AU.

However, as mentioned above reasons for this may become clear when previous research into the use of directives is considered (see appendix fifteen).

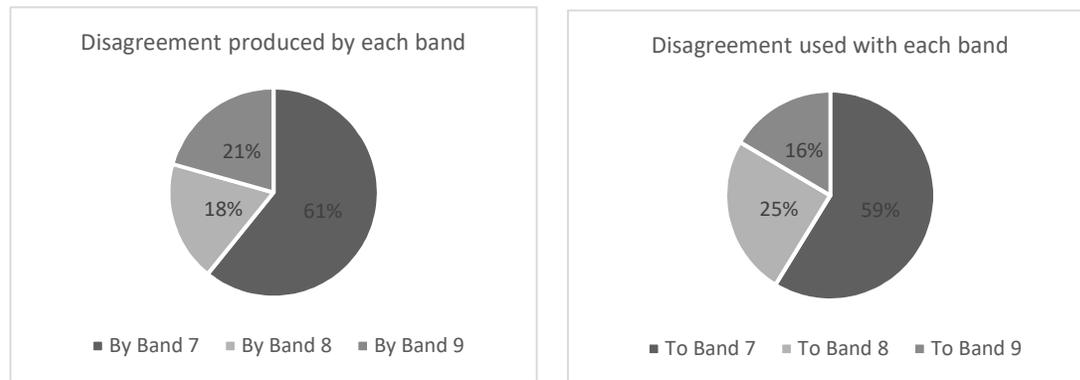
There are a number of interesting findings with regards to the way each age band used direct requests. Firstly, the band that used the widest range of requests was band 4 and, interestingly, the number of different types of requests used decreased as the age of the speaker rose. Clearly, band 6 are able to make use of as many, and likely more, ways of requesting as band 4, yet they choose to employ a smaller number. It is possible that due to the smaller number of requests made fewer types occurred, alternatively, band 6 may not have felt the need to employ such a diverse range in order to have their requests granted, as a result of their age. This appeared to be the case particularly with other band 6 members as just two different types were used. A second unexpected finding was the high number of

mitigated requests used by band 6 in conversations with band 4. It had been anticipated that the requests made in these conversations would have been more forceful and perhaps less polite, however, this was far from the case. A third finding of note, is that bands 4 and 6 typically made the same types of requests in conversations with members of each age band, the differences occurred in the amount of each request used as a result of the addressee. Band 5, on the other hand, made use of some different types of requests based on the hearer. However, all three bands were more likely to make requests including ‘your’ with members of band 6 than band 4. Whilst the types of requests that were used by each age band with different speakers were not always those that had been anticipated, it was the case that each age band did alter the types of requests they made as a result of the age of their conversational partner, thereby showing evidence of accommodation.

Appendix Ten.

Results: Group Three: Responses to Disagreement.

As is illustrated in the two charts below it was the youngest speakers in this age group, band 7, who both produced the greatest number of disagreement utterances, and were disagreed with the most. Interestingly, it was girls in the middle age band who used this AU the least. As anticipated, the eldest speakers, band 9 were disagreed with the least.



Band 7 disagreeing with Band 7.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

Most instances of disagreement produced by band 7 in conversations with same age girls were not accepted, and ignoring was the most typical way of demonstrating this. One example of this is shown below by R; despite M’s disagreement with her first utterance she continues speaking, making no reference to this fact, nor does she acknowledge M’s protest. Despite this, M does not attempt to repeat her utterance, or persuade R to listen to her point of view, but seems to accept this response.

Example 7.30

R (Yeah uh) no that/’s the end.

M No [DIS+GL]!

R Ok everyone stick the top on and it say/3s blend until smooth [IG+GL].

Other responses to this AU included the use of further disagreement; both direct and indirect, providing justifications for their position or behaviour, and issuing other types of AUs, such

as dismissing. This is how M responds in the example below in which she faces disagreement from N who is then supported by L. After it has been proved she was wrong, she responds by dismissing this rather than acknowledging that N had been correct.

Example 7.31

M They have/n't been cook/ed.

N Yes they have [DIS+GL].

L These meatball/s have been pre-cook/ed < > it say/3s it on the blurb.

N See?

M Who care/3s [MIS+GL]?

Although most disagreement utterances were not accepted by same age speakers. This response was not especially uncommon. An example of this is seen below, here R's acceptance of M's disagreement is shown by her change in behaviour.

Example 7.32

R No these are/n't for eye/s they are to go in the [IO+GL] >

M No we need some for our eye/s though [DIS+GL].

R Ok so that/'s one.

M Those are for eye/s ok?

R Yeah.

Acceptance of this AU was also shown by failing to challenge the disagreement which sometimes involved the first speaker withdrawing from the conversation for a short period.

Band 8 disagreeing with Band 7.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

An interesting change is seen in the responses of band 7 to this AU from slightly older speakers, as half of these utterances were accepted. In addition, when disagreement was not accepted it was far more likely to involve the younger girl providing a justification for her opinion or action than it was for this utterance to be ignored. An example of both of these responses is seen in the conversation below. Following B's initial disagreement N provides a justification for her original utterance. However, when this also faces disagreement from B, N accepts this by responding to B's utterance, and consequently accepting she had been wrong.

Example 8.26

N L can go first because K is ^

B No it goes U then me, then L [INT+GL] [DIS+GL].

N Yeah but L has/n't gone first, we've all [J+GM] ^

B Yes she has [INT+GL] [DIS+GL].

N (Oh) have you?

The tendency to produce further disagreement, either direct or indirect, and the use of other AUs in response to disagreement from these older girls was far less common in these conversations than had been the case with same age girls. When further disagreement was seen in these contexts it was rarely accepted by the older speakers. One example of this is shown below. L's first utterance here is actually disputing one made by B a few turns previously, this results in immediate disagreement from B, and when L attempts to explain herself she is interrupted by B who requests an explanation for this disagreement. B does not

respond to L's justification however, she does not appear to accept this disagreement as is shown by L's next utterance a few turns later.

Example 8.27

L No because we might not be here [DIS+J+GM].

B *Yeah we are* [DIS+GL].

L No be* [DIS+GM] ^

B Why would/n't we be here [INT+GL] [REQJ+GL]?

L No because we might not be here, we might be ill, so you never know [J+GM].

(Four lines later).

L B stop [DI+GM].

The fact that a greater number of these utterances were accepted in these contexts, combined with the tendency not to produce further disagreement in response to this AU shows a change from the responses observed with same age girls. One possibility for this is that band 8 used this AU in different ways to band 7 and so different responses were necessary. Alternatively, this change may be based on the older age of the band 8 speakers, consequently showing evidence of accommodation based on this. These possibilities will be explored later (see next section).

Band 9 disagreeing with Band 7.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

There was just one occasion when a disagreement utterance from band 9 was not immediately accepted by band 7. As is shown in the example below this involved the younger speaker providing a justification for their utterance, rather than attempting to challenge their older partner. Ultimately, L does accept E's utterance and after her final utterance seen here, L withdraws from the conversation for several turns.

Example 9.33

L You said you want/ed us to eat it [REQJ+GU].

E *No I did/n't* [DIS+GL]!

L Instead of bring/ing all the food [J+GU].

E Please do/n't eat all of that because it's like my favourite [DR+GL] [J+GL].

L (Oh).

The only other way band 7 responded to this AU from an older girl was with immediate acceptance, and this was the response seen to most of these utterances. One example of this is shown below in which U not only accepts I's disagreement, but appears to change her own position, by agreeing with I's utterance.

Example 9.34

U It's cheaper.

I *No, like not on many stuff but like on this* [DIS+GL].

U I know.

U It's nice.

The responses seen here are typically those that had been anticipated in interactions with band 9; acceptance was common while instances of further disagreement were absent. Perhaps the most noticeable change in the response of these younger girls was that these

utterances were never challenged. As shown above when disagreement was not accepted straight away it involved the younger speaker justifying their actions, rather than entering into disagreement or challenging their older partner. This change in behaviour shows evidence of accommodation, and the fact that this change was based on their partner's age provides support for the suggestion that age is used as a way of measuring status amongst these speakers.

Band 7 disagreeing with Band 8.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

It was very rarely the case that disagreement from younger girls would be accepted by band 8. Although this response was seen, it was only on the minority of occasions. In addition, when disagreement was accepted, it would rarely be acknowledged by the older speaker. The clearly preferred response of band 8 to this AU from band 7 was to ignore the utterance. A particularly good example of this is shown below in which B continues to speak and by doing so continuously interrupts and ignores N's disagreement. Despite this, N persists in attempting to make her point by repeating herself four times. However, none of these attempts are successful and the exchange only comes to an end when the topic is changed.

Example 7.33

B Yeah and then put it like that so it goes across [INT+GL].

N No [DIS+GM].

B And then we'll put the on rest of the mash potato [IG+GL].

N No [DIS+GM] [REP+GM] ^

B It will make sense when we put it on the plate [INT+GL] [IG+GL].

N No, so [DIS+GM] [REP+GM] ^

B And we can put <a> baby scoop of mash potato <on> top like that [INT+GL] [IG+GL].

N <(No,)> <no> [DIS+GM] [REP+GM].

N No [DIS+GM] [REP+GM].

S You know when you go to (name of secondary) school [SUB+GL] [SUB+GM].

A number of disagreements in these interactions involved the older girls responding by producing further disagreement. An example of this is shown below in which B not only disagrees with U, but also produces a justification for this utterance. Interestingly, in this case not only did U accept this AU, she also changed her position to agree with B.

Example 7.34

B That would/n't work because you have to make the biscuit [SUB+GL] [SUB+GM].

U You do/n't have to [DIS+GM].

B Yes you do it say/3s [DIS+J+GM].

U (You can) yeah, but we can make them next week.

Overall, the way band 8 responded to this AU from younger speakers was as expected, as failing to accept these utterances was by far the most common response to disagreement from younger girls.

Band 8 disagreeing with Band 8.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

Most disagreement utterances from same age girls were accepted by band 8. One example of this is shown below, in which B disagrees with S's utterance and goes on to produce a justification for this. S then appears to change her position as she agrees with B in her next utterance.

Example 8.28

S (Oh) yeah, do a sponsor/ed silence for two hour/s then.

B No [DIS+GM].

B No it has to be to do with healthy eat/ing [J+GM].

S Yeah, that/'s what it said.

Acceptance was not always shown in this way, however, it sometimes involved the first speaker temporarily withdrawing from the conversation. There was just one other response seen in these conversations, and this was ignoring. This is the way B responds below to S's disagreement, and interestingly it appears that S was accepting of this as she did not attempt to repeat herself or receive a response from B.

Example 8.29

B Unicorn heaven.

S No [DIS+GM].

B <The island/s> [IG+GM]!

U <We made a movie>.

B No do you not remember that is was xx [IG+GL].

U <We made a movie>.

S <That was rubbish>.

The fact that most of these utterances were accepted suggests evidence of both accommodation, and that this accommodation is based on age. However, due to the small number of disagreements that occurred in these contexts it is not possible to draw definite conclusions from this. Possibilities for the small amount of disagreement seen here will be explored in the next section.

Band 9 disagreeing with Band 8.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

A somewhat surprising finding here is that band 9 never disagreed with a member of band 8. There are several possible reasons for this and they will be discussed in the section looking at the way disagreement was used (see next section).

Despite the absence of this AU from band 9, band 8 did show evidence of accommodation in their responses to disagreement from the younger two bands. While acceptance of this AU was rare with younger girls, it was the most common response in conversations with same age speakers. Not only was acceptance more likely with other band 8 girls, producing further disagreement in response to this AU was never seen in these contexts, although this was quite common with younger girls.

Band 7 disagreeing with Band 9.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

There was just one instance of a band 7 speaker disputing an utterance produced by a member of band 9 and, as anticipated, this was not accepted by the older speaker. As is shown in the

example below rather than responding in a very direct way or producing further disagreement the older speaker, E, produces a justification for her original utterance.

Example 7.35

A I speak Irish [CTS+GU].

E I do/n't think that/'s a language [IDIS+GL].

A *It is* [DIS+GU].

E Yeah there used to be a language call/ed Gaelic [J+GL].

A And I speak Gaelic.

E Then they changed it [IG+GL].

It had been expected that fewer disagreements would be used by band 7 in these conversations, however, the fact that just one was observed was a surprise. Perhaps had the utterance seen above been more successful this AU would have been observed more frequently. Possible reasons for the small amount of disagreeing seen here will be discussed in the next section.

Band 8 disagreeing with Band 9.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

As was the case above there was just one instance of a band 8 speaker disagreeing with a member of band 9, and this interaction is seen below. Not only is this exchange interesting because it was the only occasion on which disagreement was seen in these conversations, but also because it was accompanied by a justification. Despite this, as shown below, this utterance was ignored by the older speaker, I. What is also of interest is that this ignoring was accepted by B who did not produce her utterance again, or attempt to receive a response from I.

Example 8.30

I You can use this.

B <No because you do/n't need hooves> because you/'re not even a unicorn [DIS+J+GU].

M <That sound/3s so wrong>.

I I'm gonna wear glove/s.

The fact that this AU was not accepted by these older girls is what had been anticipated given the age differences between these two bands.

Band 9 disagreeing with Band 9.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

There was a marked difference in the responses of band 9 to disagreement from same age speakers compared to that from younger girls. Firstly, acceptance of this AU was sometimes observed in these conversations. One example of this is shown below in which I, rather than using further disagreement or attempting to justify her utterance, appears to accept G's statement. However, following Z's utterance, I does try to explain her earlier point but is interrupted, and then withdraws from the conversation for several turns.

Example 9.35

I (No it/'s chocolate) it/'s like little chocolate, little chocolate treat/s.

G *No it/'s not* [DIS+GU].

I Is it not?
G The one that I have is/n't [J+GU].
Z I'm just say/ing dog/s can/'t eat chocolate.
I (No) no like little bone/s and ^
H My dog eat/3s chocolate [INT+GU].

More common responses in these contexts were arguing back, and responding with other AUs such as dismissing, insults or requesting justifications. An example of these two responses is shown in the extract below, several exchanges of disagreements occur between E and G, both producing this AU in response to other disagreement. This then leads to the final utterance seen here, produced by G who dismisses E's utterance claiming she already knew, however, given her previous statements it seems likely to assume that this was simply G attempting to save face when she finds she is wrong, rather than this actually being the case.

Example 9.36

E We need stuff [REP+GU].
G No you do/n't [DIS+GU].
E Yes you do [DIS+GU]!
G Not for this you do not [DIS+GU].
E That/'s the same thing [DIS+GU].
G (Oh) I know that [MIS+GU].

Ignoring was also observed in response to disagreement from same age girls and this was often accepted by the hearer. As was the case with both of the younger bands failure to accept disagreement was the most common response of band 9 in these contexts.

Band 9 failed to accept most disagreement utterances from members of all three bands. However, evidence of accommodation is seen in the fact that disagreement from younger speakers was never accepted whereas this was sometimes seen with same age girls. Given that disagreement was only used once by each of the younger bands it is not possible to draw general conclusions based on this, although this fact in itself is also evidence of accommodation on the part of the younger speakers.

All three bands showed evidence of accommodation with regards to the different responses they had to speakers of different ages. Disagreement was more likely to be accepted when it was produced by an older speaker compared to a younger one. While band 7 were rarely accepting of this AU from same age girls, half of the disagreement utterances from bands 8 and 9 were accepted. Similarly, band 8 accepted only the minority of disagreement utterances from younger girls but this was the most common response with same age speakers. While it is not possible to make general conclusions about band 9's responses due to the small amount this AU was used by younger girls, the fact that disagreement from younger girls was never accepted but a small amount from other band 9 speakers was is evidence of accommodation. In addition, the tendency to produce further disagreement in response to this AU was predominantly seen with band 7, rather than band 9. In fact, the only time this response was seen with band 9 was in conversations with same age girls.

Types of disagreement.

The disagreement used by group three was slightly different to that seen by the younger two groups. There were five ways in which this AU occurred here; it was used to dispute claims (example 9.37) or facts put forward by their partner (example 7.36), as a way of the speaker defending themselves or their behaviour to the hearer (example 8.31). In addition,

disagreement following a directive/indirect order (example 7.37), or a decision made by another speaker (example 8.32) was also observed in these interactions.

Example 9.37

Z I love how you're like let's sing this song and then (you do/n't know) you only know like the first line [T+GU].

I No I know it [DIS+GU].

Example 7.36

B It does/n't have a page number.

L Yeah it does [DIS+GM].

U It does [DIS+GM].

Example 8.31

N Yeah but you're rubbish [IN+GM].

B No give it [DI+GL] [IG+GL].

B No I'm not [DIS+GL].

Example 7.37

M You can't push the malteaser out the way [IO+GL].

A I can [DIS+GL].

Example 8.32

U We can do that one next week then.

B No [DIS+GL].

Band 7.

Each of these five ways of disagreeing were used by band 7 in conversations with same age speakers. However, the majority of disagreement utterances occurred following claims made by their partner. Disagreeing with decisions, and as a way of defending themselves were observed in these interactions but only on a small number of occasions. On the other hand, it was quite common for facts, or directives to be disagreed with. Interestingly, it was disagreements with directives, and those disputing decisions made by the other speaker that were the most likely to be accepted. On the other hand, disagreements with claims and those used by the speaker to defend themselves were the least likely to be accepted by band 7 in conversations with same age girls.

A slight change is seen in the way this AU used with band 8; disputing decisions made by their partner was the most common reason for disagreeing in these conversations, yet this was rarely accepted by the older speaker. It also occurred frequently following claims made by the older girl, and once again, the majority of this type of disagreement was not accepted. On the other hand, disagreeing with facts and directives was far less common. Disputing these types of utterances is considered to be a highly assertive type of behaviour, therefore, the finding that this was less likely to be used with older girls compared to same age speakers is evidence of accommodation. Interestingly, although using this AU as a way of defending themselves was very rarely observed in these contexts, it was always accepted by the older girl.

Band 7 used this AU just once in conversations with band 9, this was to dispute a claim made by their partner and, unsurprisingly, this was not accepted by the older girl. Obviously, it is impossible to draw conclusions based on just one instance of disagreement. However, when this finding is considered in combination with the amount of disagreement used by these girls

with bands 7 and 8, it does offer evidence in support of accommodation. The most likely explanation for this change in language use is the older age of the band 9 speakers, therefore, suggesting that the accommodation seen here is based on a combination of the age of the speaker and hearer.

Band 8.

Disagreeing with facts was considered to be a highly assertive way of using this AU, and this was the most common way in which band 8 used this AU with younger girls. What is perhaps most intriguing, is that most of this disagreement was accepted by the younger girls. Given the assertive nature of this type of disagreement, combined with the finding that this was rarely accepted from same age girls, this provides evidence of accommodation. Disputing decisions made by their younger partners was also common in these interactions, and although the remaining types of disagreements were observed in these conversations, this was to a far lesser extent. As the types of disagreement seen here were very similar to those used by other band 7 speakers, the most likely explanation for the finding that half of these utterances were accepted by band 7, is that these younger girls were accommodating their responses based on the older age of their partner.

In conversations with same age speakers disagreeing with facts continued to be the most frequent reason for using this AU, however, this was far less likely to be accepted in these conversations compared to those with younger girls. Disagreement with claims, directives, and decisions was also common in these conversations. An interesting finding here, was that utterances disputing claims or decisions were never accepted, yet this was the only response to disagreement with a directive. Using disagreement as a way of defending themselves was never observed in these interactions. However, one possibility for this is that band 8 did not use utterances that would require the hearer to defend themselves in these conversations, rather than this being the deliberate omission of this type of disagreement. Perhaps the most noticeable finding regarding disagreement in these interactions is that it was used considerably less than in conversations with younger, band 7, girls. There are two possible explanations for this, the first is that there were far fewer band 8 speakers than band 7 members, and so there were more opportunities to disagree with younger girls. Yet most conversations band 8 took part in involved another band 8 member. An alternative possibility is that these speakers are accommodating their use of this AU; they are more likely to dispute utterances put forward by younger girls than those of the same age. If this is the case, it offers further evidence that accommodation is based on age.

Just one instance of a band 8 speaker disagreeing with a member of band 9 was observed. Interestingly, this involved the younger girl disputing a decision made by her older partner. It had been expected, given the level of assertiveness this type of disagreement involved, that this would rarely be seen in these contexts. However, the fact that this AU was observed just once, particularly when the amount used with bands 7 and 8 is considered, is evidence of accommodation. Similarly, the finding that this utterance was not accepted by the older member of the conversation suggests accommodation on the part of the older speaker.

Band 9.

The majority of disagreements used by band 9 in conversations with band 7 were with facts put forward by the younger speaker. Based on the assumption that this is a particularly assertive way of using this AU, this is what had been expected in these interactions. Also in line with what had been anticipated for these interactions, these disagreements were almost exclusively accepted by the younger girl. Disputing claims, and disagreeing with decisions made by younger girls were also seen in these contexts. None of the disagreements seen in these conversations were with directives or in attempts to defend themselves to their younger

partner. However, it is expected that this is more closely a reflection of the types of utterances used by band 7, rather than an avoidance of these on the part of band 9. All types of disagreeing were used with band 7 both by same age speakers and band 8, therefore, the fact that the majority of these were accepted is highly likely a result of the older age of band 9, providing persuasive support for the use of accommodation by the younger girls.

As was noted in the previous section, there were no instances of band 9 disagreeing with band 8. The fact that this AU was observed with both younger and older speakers makes this finding particularly puzzling. However, there are some possible reasons for this; firstly, these two bands took part in only a small number of conversations with one another. Perhaps had they been involved in a greater number of interactions this AU would have been observed. Secondly, these conversations almost exclusively involved the same two speakers. This may, therefore, be a reflection of the personalities of these two speakers, rather than of this age band as a whole. Alternatively, factors such as the activity taking place at the time of the conversation, and the relationship between these speakers may both impact on the likelihood of disagreements taking place. The finding that just one disagreement utterance was produced by band 8 in these interactions suggests this may be the case.

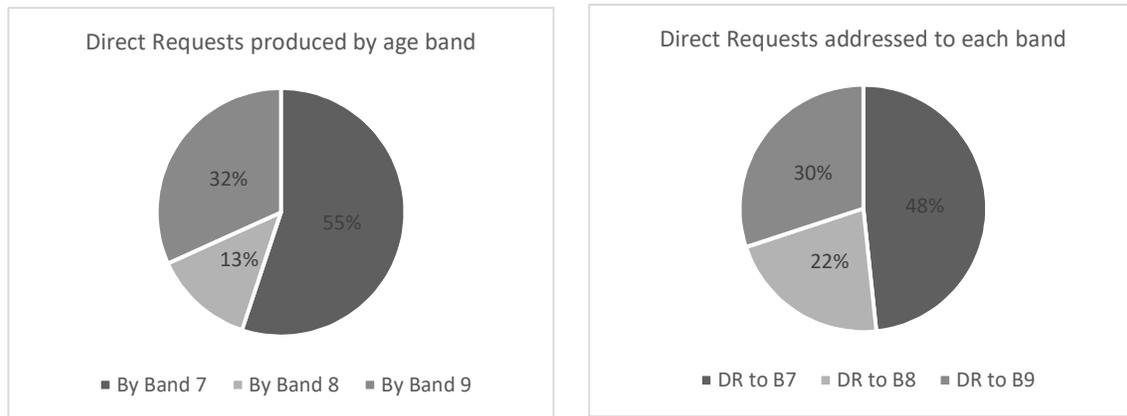
The clear majority of disagreements that took place in conversations between two members of band 9 were following claims made by their partner. Although, most disagreement utterances were not accepted, disagreement with claims was more likely to be accepted than any other type. Disputing decisions, and disagreeing with directives produced by the hearer were also observed, although only occasionally, and neither of these were accepted. Disagreeing with facts and in attempts to defend themselves were never seen in these conversations.

Both bands 7 and 8 showed evidence of accommodation in terms of the number of disagreement utterances they produced in conversations with speakers of different ages; this number considerably reduced as the age of their partner rose. In addition, all three bands were more likely to disagree with facts in conversations with younger girls, compared to older ones. In fact, this type of disagreement was never observed in conversations with band 9. A similar pattern is seen with disputing directives or indirect orders, again, these were far more likely to occur in interactions with band 7 than band 9. Overall, in terms of both the number, and type of disagreements used, these findings show evidence of accommodation based on the age of the speaker and the individual they are disagreeing with.

Appendix Eleven.

Results: Group Three: Responses to Direct Requests.

As is shown in the charts below, not only did band 8 produced fewer requests than either of the other two bands, they also received the fewest. This itself is perhaps evidence of accommodation, those who use fewer requests may be less likely to receive them.



Band 7 making direct requests to Band 7.
(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

The majority of direct requests made by band 7 in conversations with same age girls were not granted; ignoring or refusing the request were the two most common responses in these contexts. There were three different ways in which a speaker may refuse to grant a request; direct refusal with no explanation or justification for this decision, indirect refusal and thirdly, refusing the request but providing a reason for doing so. An example of this third type is shown below in which L uses direct refusal, shown by her use of the word ‘no’, but follows this with an explanation. Whilst this was often accepted, as this extract shows, it was not always the case. Rather than accept L’s decision N provides an alternative for her, however, this is not successful, and results in L refusing once again.

Example 7.38

N (Oh) L can we use yours as a chopping board [DR+GL]?

L No you can’t, I need to eat off of that [DREQ+GL] [J+GL].

N Yeah well you can eat off that.

L Raw meat?

L I’m not eat/ing off of that [RE+GL].

Approximately a third of the requests made in these contexts were granted, although some of these had conditions attached. The extract below shows one example of this; initially R is happy to grant M’s request, but in her next utterance states she is only permitted to carry out this action for a limited time.

Example 7.39

M Can I take over [INT+GL] [IG+GL] [DR+GL]?

R Yeah you can take over.

R But I wanna come back.

M Yeah.

Another way of responding to a request in these contexts was to ensure it was granted but without the speaker carrying out the action themselves. The conversation below shows one example of this; rather than R refusing, or granting M's request she instead delegates it to another member of the group, A.

Example 7.40

M Yeah, can you go get it [DR+GL]?

=A comes over.

R Can you get a spoon [DR+GL]?

M A can you go and get a spoon please [DR+GL]?

It is interesting to note that this exchange is very similar to that seen between two band 6 speakers, K and D, in example 6.9 (see section 6.4.9).

Other responses to this AU in these conversations involved carrying out the request without waiting for a response from the hearer, or changing a request before the hearer had a chance to respond. This was most typically the case for requests being changed to directives before a response had been received from the hearer. Whilst a range of responses were used by band 7 in response to direct requests from same age girls, the clear majority of these were not granted.

Band 8 making direct requests to Band 7.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

There was a clear difference in the response to direct requests from band 8 compared to those from same age speakers; in these conversations, the majority were granted, and, it was very rarely the case that these requests would have conditions attached. An example of this is seen in the conversation below in which N is quick to grant S's request without requiring an explanation or imposing restrictions.

Example 8.33

S Can I have a bunny [DR+GL]?

N Ok.

S I just want/ed to try one.

Failing to grant requests usually involved ignoring, rather than refusing. However, these older speakers were far less likely to accept their request being ignored than band 7 were and, as is shown in the example below, they usually repeated an ignored request. Typically, repetition was a successful way of receiving not just a response, but a positive one, from the younger girls.

Example 8.34

B Can I have the spoon please [DR+GL]?

N It's not on [IG+GM].

L Watch your hair N.

B Can I have the spoon please [DR+GL] [REP+GL]?

N (Oh) yeah B.

The use of both direct and indirect refusal, although most noticeably direct refusal, was considerably smaller in these contexts than had been the case with other band 7 speakers. This shows a change in band 7's response to this AU from slightly older speakers compared

to those of the same age. This may be a result of the types of requests made by band 8 in these contexts, alternatively the older age of the girls making the requests may mean they are more likely to be granted, regardless of the type used, therefore showing evidence of accommodation. This will be discussed in the next section.

Band 9 making direct requests to Band 7.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

The overwhelming majority of direct requests produced by band 9 in conversations with band 7 were granted on the first occasion. One example of this is seen in the extract below between I and U.

Example 9.38

I Can you (um) like put this here <> and then thread it through the loop [DR+GL]?

U <Yeah>.

=U helps I with her outfit.

The one occasion on which this did not occur was when the younger speaker responded by questioning the request made by the older girl. This interaction is shown below; following E's request, L produces an utterance which both questions E's request, and attempts to justify her own actions. However, this is not accepted by E who disagrees with L's assertion, and goes on to produce another request, this time accompanied by a justification. This second request appears to have been fulfilled as is shown in L's later actions and then utterances, as she leaves to find the sweets her group had been using and offers them to the older speakers. Interestingly this is not acknowledged by the older girls and L then leaves the conversation entirely.

Example 9.39

E Can you stop eat/ing our Doritos please [DR+GL]?

L You said you want/ed us to eat it [REQJ+GU]?

E No I did/n't [DIS+GL]!

L Instead of bring/ing all the food [J+GU].

E Please do/n't eat all of that because it/'s like my favourite [DR+J+GL].

L (Oh).

(Four lines later)

L (Oh) you want food do you?

(Ten lines later)

=L passes the others some sweets.

L There.

What is somewhat surprising about the conversation above is the lack of directives used by the older, band 9, girls particularly in E's third utterance in which she appears to be bargaining with L. It had been anticipated that band 9 girls would have used directives to get their way in conversations with younger speakers rather than attempting to persuade them

through the use of requests. Interestingly, E was the only band 9 speaker to have behaved this way, and so this is perhaps more a reflection of the speaker herself than it is of band 9 as a whole.

What is evident from the above is that band 7 clearly respond in different ways to direct requests as a result of their partner's age. Whilst those from same age speakers were usually ignored or refused, granting requests produced by the slightly older band 8 members was the most common response. This pattern not only continues but strengthens with the eldest band in this group as there were no instances of ignoring or refusing in these conversations. The fact there was such a marked change in these responses is evidence of accommodation.

Band 7 making direct requests to Band 8.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

The majority of requests produced by younger speakers in conversations with band 8 were not granted. Ignoring was the most common way of responding to this AU, and this was usually accepted by the younger speaker without question. One example of this is shown by M below who both acknowledges the fact B has ignored her utterance, and accepts this in the one utterance. She also fails to make any further attempt to receive a response from B.

Example 7.41

M Yeah can I make one for you [DR+GM]?

B [IG+GL].

M (Oh) well.

There were also times when ignoring was not accepted and the request was repeated, however, it was very rarely the case that this would be successful in gaining acknowledgement from the older speaker, although it did often result in a response from another band 7 member. In addition to ignoring, both direct and indirect refusal were used in response to requests in these interactions, and these were always accepted by the younger girl. Although granting requests was not the most common response in these contexts, neither was it a rare occurrence. The example below shows S neither questioning nor imposing conditions on granting L's request, but simply doing as she is asked. When requests were granted it was typically done in this way.

Example 7.42

L Can you get me another one of those, there was one in the cupboard in the kitchen [DR+GM]?

S Shall I just get you a cup?

L No there was another one of these.

=S leaves.

It is interesting that failing to grant requests from band 7 girls was usually done by ignoring the request; it had been assumed that, due to the age difference between these speakers, direct

refusal would have been a far more common response than was found to be the case. One reason for this may be based on the individuals involved in these requests. B was more likely than S to refuse to grant a request, in fact, S granted most requests from younger girls. Yet in these conversations a larger number were addressed to B. This may, therefore, explain why a greater amount of direct refusal was not observed in these contexts.

Band 8 making direct requests to Band 8.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

There was an even number of requests that were granted, and those that were not by band 8 in conversations with same age girls. Failing to grant requests involved a mixture of ignoring and indirect refusal. The extract below shows an example of S indirectly refusing to comply with B's request.

Example 8.35

B <S can you go> get my phone [DR+GM]?

S It's alright, she'll put it on the group chat it's fine [INRE+GM].

B Put it on the group chat so I can save it [DI+GL].

When a request was ignored by a same age girl, it was sometimes the case that the speaker would receive a response from a younger member of the conversation. Interestingly, it was never the case that a band 8 member would directly refuse to grant a request from a same age speaker.

Requests that were granted in these conversations usually required very little of the hearer, in order for the request to be fulfilled, as is the case in the example below.

Example 8.36

B S can we use your container [DR+GM]?

S (Uh) yeah.

Perhaps as a result of the small number of direct requests made in these types of interactions these girls do not have a typical way of responding to this type of AU. However, what does seem to be obvious is that this is not an AU these girls have a preference for in these types of conversations.

Band 9 making direct requests to Band 8.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

Likely due to the small number of requests produced in these interactions, there was not one clear response band 8 speakers had to this, but rather a mix of several different types. It had been anticipated that most requests made in these conversations would have been granted, however, this was the least common response in this context. Refusing to grant requests, on the other hand, occurred more often than expected, and was done both directly and indirectly. One example of a request being refused is shown by B below. This request is made by I to the group, rather than to B herself, however she is the first to respond and does so by refusing, not only directly but also without any explanation for this refusal. However, when M decides

to grant the request B provides a reason for her refusal, although this reasoning is dismissed by I.

Example 9.40

I Will someone tape my mouth shut [DR+GL] [DR+GM]?

=They laugh.

B No [RE+GU]!

M Yeah.

B No 6 will kill us if we do that [RE+J+GU].

I I do/n't care [MIS+GM].

There were also times when requests from older girls were ignored. As has been seen previously, ignored requests were sometimes fulfilled by a band 7 speaker, rather than the band 8 member it was directed at.

Due to the small number of direct requests that occurred in these types of conversations it is not possible to draw general conclusions regarding the way band 8 speakers responded to requests from older girls. However, the findings so far do not show the reactions to be as positive as expected, with instances of ignoring or refusal occurring more frequently than granting requests.

The way in which band 8 speakers reacted to direct requests from members of each band revealed some interesting findings. It had been predicted that most requests from band 7 would have been refused, while the majority of those from band 9 would be granted, yet these findings were not true for either context. Given the age differences between bands 7 and 8 the high number of requests that were granted was intriguing, although as noted above this may be the result of the specific individuals involved in the conversations. The small number of requests that were made in conversations with same age girls means it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions from this. However, the fact that there was an even number of those that were granted and those that were not, is largely in line with what was anticipated. Again, the lack of requests made by older speakers in conversations with these girls means it is impossible to make assumptions about the responses seen here. However, the finding that fewer requests were granted than were not is somewhat puzzling, reasons for this may be found when the types of requests used by band 9 are considered (see next section).

Band 7 making direct requests to Band 9.

(Band 7 girls – L, N, M, U, K, A, R, W)

Most requests made by band 7 were ignored by band 9. The extract below shows one example of this, and is typical of the behaviour of both the older speaker in ignoring the request, but also of the band 7 speaker, L, who accepts this and makes no attempt to repeat herself.

Example 7.43

=H splashes water over L.

L Can you not, (oh) my god [DR+GU]!

H [IG+GL].

When requests made by band 7 were acknowledged this was usually by another band 7 speaker or perhaps a member of band 8, rather than band 9. In fact, in these contexts there were just two instances of a direct request being granted by a member of band 9, one of which is shown below. Interestingly, in this case although it is E who agrees to R's request, she then issues Z with a directive to provide the cup. Another noteworthy point about this interaction is that M does not produce her request until after R's has been granted. Perhaps had R's request not had such a positive response M would not have produced hers.

Example 7.44

R Can I please have a cup [DR+GU]?

E Yeah get her a cup [DI+GU].

M Can I have a glass too [DR+GU].

=Z passes them cups.

What is perhaps most intriguing about the responses of band 9 to direct requests from these younger speakers is the absence of both direct and indirect refusal. It had been expected that this would be one of the most common responses to this AU, yet this was never seen in these contexts. It may be that this is partly a result of the types of requests made by the younger girls in these conversations (see next section).

Band 8 making direct requests to Band 9.

(Band 8 girls – B, S)

Due to the fact there were just two direct requests addressed to older speakers by band 8, it is not possible to make general conclusions about the typical responses of these girls. However, what these responses do have in common is that neither was granted. The first was ignored by the older speaker, but did receive a response from a younger band 7 member. Although the second was acknowledged, this was done through indirect refusal, as is shown below. Following I's refusal, some lines later B does make her request again, but this time it is directed towards a band 7 member.

Example 8.37

B Can I have some help please, can someone wrap my hand up [DR+GL] [DR+GU] [REF+GL] [REF+GU]?

I I've got to do this with multiples [INRE+GM]!

Due to the small number of requests that occurred in these conversations the only conclusion that may be drawn is that this is not an AU band 8 are particularly comfortable using in these situations.

Band 9 making direct requests to band 9.

(Band 9 girls – E, G, I, Z, H)

There was an equal mix of requests that were granted and those that were not in conversations between two band 9 speakers. Requests in these contexts were granted in a range of ways; sometimes this was done on the first occasion and did not require an explanation. However, at other times they had conditions attached, as is the case in the example below in which Z fulfils I's request but only with the requirement she returns the scissors to her.

Example 9.41

I Z can I just borrow the scissors really quick [DR+GU]?

Z Yep.

Z But give them back yeah?

I Yeah.

Failing to grant requests also involved different responses; ignoring, direct and indirect refusal were all seen in these contexts. It was very rarely the case that the ignoring in response to this AU would be accepted by these older girls, instead the request would normally be repeated until a response was received. On the other hand, requests that were refused were rarely repeated, as is shown in the example below in which Z appears to accept E's reason for failing to grant her request.

Example 9.42

Z Can you hurry up now [DR+GU]?

E I'm make/ing sure they/'re fully crumbled [INRE+GU].

Z (Oh).

The finding that a far greater number of requests were granted in these conversations compared to those with either of the younger two bands is not only in line with what had been anticipated, but also provides evidence for accommodation, as it is showing a change in the way these girls respond to this AU based on the age of their partner.

Band 9 girls showed one clear difference in the responses to the requests from younger compared to same age speakers; those from same age girls were far more likely to receive a response than those from younger speakers. In addition, requests from other band 9 members were more likely to be granted than those from younger speakers. Finally, the occurrence of granting a request but with specified conditions attached was only seen in conversations involving only members of band 9. This shows that these girls are changing their responses to this AU as a result of their partner, thereby providing evidence of accommodation.

Both bands 7 and 9 showed some clear differences in their responses to this AU as a result of their partner. Band 7 failed to grant most requests produced by same age speakers, while the opposite was found with both older bands. Similarly, band 9 rarely, or never, granted requests from bands 7 and 8, whereas half of those from same age girls were fulfilled. In both cases requests were more likely to be granted when they were produced by older speakers compared to younger ones. In addition, band 7 refused to grant requests with same age girls but never with members of band 9. Band 9 were also more likely to respond to a request from a same age speaker than they were from younger girls. Band 8, on the other hand, did not show distinctions in their responses to requests from speakers of different ages; failing to grant a request was the most common response to requests from both bands 7 and 9. One explanation for this may be related to the small number of requests addressed to band 8, perhaps had this AU occurred more frequently a wider range of responses would have been observed. Alternatively, this may be a reflection of the types of requests made to band 8, this possibility will be considered later.

Types of direct requests.

There were two main ways in which a direct request was made by speakers in this age group; they could begin either 'can you' (example 7.45) or 'can I (example 8.38).

Example 7.45

W Can you put the bowl in front of me [DR+GL]?

Example 8.38

S (Oh) can I have some [DR+GM]?

There were also some variations of these, as well as accompaniments to these requests. These included the use of the word ‘someone’ in place of ‘you’ at the start of a request (example 7.46), which had the effect of mitigating the request by addressing the group, rather than a specific speaker. In addition, the word ‘please’ may be included in a request (example 8.39), in an attempt to soften the AU. Finally, other types of mitigation may be used within a request (example 9.43), the inclusion of words such as ‘borrow’ and ‘quickly’ both imply the object in question will be returned to the hearer and so are perhaps more likely to receive a positive response.

Example 7.46

M Can someone do this cellotape [DR+GL] [DR+GM] [DR+GU]?

Example 8.39

B Can I have the spoon please [DR+GL]?

Example 9.43

I Z can I just borrow the scissors really quick [DR+GU]?

Band 7.

Requests beginning ‘can I’ were by far the most common type to be used by band 7 in conversations with same age speakers. Although these sometimes included ‘please’ or mitigation, this was the exception rather than the rule. Similarly, those beginning ‘can you’ or ‘can someone’ were also seen in these contexts but only very rarely. Although most of these requests were not granted, it was those beginning ‘can you’ that were most likely to receive a positive response. Perhaps had a larger number of these been produced granting a request would have been a more common response.

In conversations with band 8, requests beginning ‘can I’ were also used in the majority of cases. However, a slight difference in these interactions, compared to those above, was that a greater number included either ‘please’ or mitigation, and at times both. As with same age girls, requests in the form of ‘can you’ were rarely used in these contexts. Similarly, it was more common for the older speaker to grant a request beginning ‘can you’ than one starting ‘can I’. This is may be one reason as to why fewer requests were granted than not.

Alternatively, this may be evidence of accommodation based on the younger age of the speaker making the request.

There was a considerable change in the types of requests used by band 7 in conversations with the older, band 9 girls, as there was an equal mix of those beginning ‘can I’ and ‘can you’. However, as has been the case with both younger bands, the use of ‘please’ and mitigation remained a rarity. A further difference between these contexts and those considered so far was the response of the band 9 members. The only requests granted in these conversations were those beginning ‘can I’, while those starting ‘can you’ were ignored. It may be that the increased age differences between these two bands resulted in the differences observed here. The question remains, however, as to why band 9 did not respond to any of these requests with refusal. Although there were not a large number of requests made in these contexts they were addressed to several different speakers, therefore it is unlikely that the reasons for this are based on the individuals involved. It is possible that due to band 9’s age,

and more developed sociolinguistic skills, they are aware that refusing a request is usually something to be avoided, consequently ignoring is a more preferable response when they are unwilling, or unable to grant a request.

Band 8.

Requests beginning 'can I' were the most common type used by band 8 with younger speakers. Those beginning 'can you' were also observed in these contexts but to a lesser extent. Interestingly, both mitigated requests and those containing 'please' were frequently seen in these interactions, it was not expected that these types would usually be observed in conversations with younger girls. An interesting difference is seen in the responses of band 7 in these contexts compared to those with same age speakers; they were far more likely to grant requests beginning 'can I' than those starting 'can you'. Perhaps this is due to the fact these utterances seem to be seeking permission from the hearer and due to the older age of the speaker, granting the request would be the most appropriate response in these contexts. Overall, the types of requests used by band 8 were very similar to those used by band 7 in these contexts, yet these were far more likely to be granted. It can be assumed, therefore, that this change is a result of the older speakers, rather than the types of requests made, consequently providing evidence of accommodation based on age.

An unexpectedly small number of direct requests were made by band 8 in conversations with same age girls although, once again, those beginning 'can I' were the most frequently used. Somewhat surprisingly, there was a smaller amount of mitigation used in these conversations compared to younger girls, and 'please' was never included in these requests. Interestingly, the same types of responses were seen in these conversations as those with band 7; requests that were granted were exclusively in the form of 'can I'. Requests that were not directed at a specific individual, i.e. those beginning 'can someone', occurred more in conversations with same age girls compared to younger ones. This factor, combined with the smaller number used with these speakers provides evidence of accommodation; not only were requests less likely, but they were used more generally with band 8 speakers.

A considerable change was seen in the requests addressed to older speakers; these were solely those beginning 'can someone', perhaps suggesting that these speakers are not entirely comfortable addressing specific older speakers with this type of AU. This is further supported by the finding that just two requests were made by band 8 with these older girls. Although one of these requests did include the word 'please', neither was granted by the band 9 speaker. The types of requests made in these interactions do not provide obvious reasons for the failure of band 9 to grant them. Therefore, it can be assumed that this is more likely the result of the younger age of the speaker making the request.

Band 9.

In conversations with band 7, the majority of requests made by band 9 were those beginning 'can you' or 'can someone' and often included the word 'please'. Those beginning 'can I' were also observed in these conversations, mitigated requests, on the other hand, were never used. Yet the type of request used appeared to have little effect on the response of the band 7 speakers, as they were exclusively granted. This finding suggests that these girls are accommodating their response solely as a result of their partner's age.

In a difference to those seen above, requests used by band 9 in conversations with band 8 were often those beginning 'can I', and although 'please' was not used in these requests, mitigation was sometimes observed in these conversations. Given the older age of these band 9 speakers, and the types of requests they favoured, it is somewhat surprising that they were typically refused. Previous research into children's use of requests may help to explain the unexpected result obtained here (see appendix fifteen).

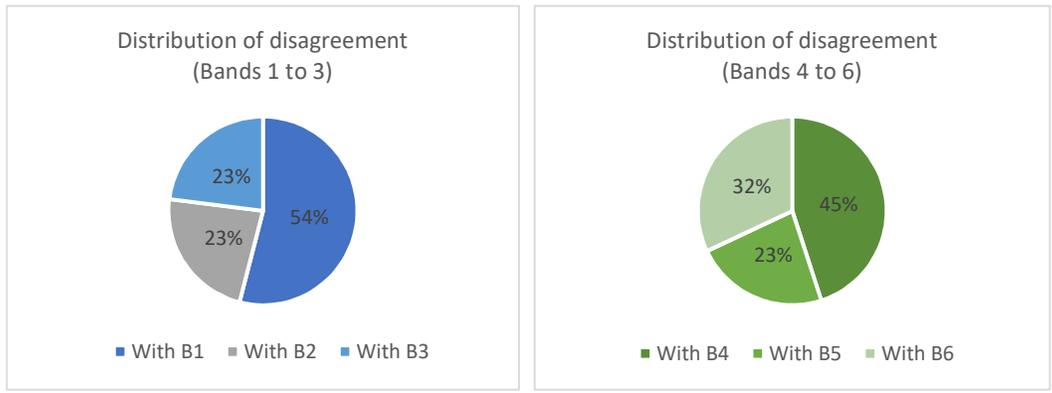
In interactions with same age speakers the requests made were typically those beginning ‘can I’, and this was closely followed by those starting ‘can you’, or ‘can someone’. The use of ‘please’ in these contexts was greater than in any other type conversation band 9 were involved in, and a number of these requests were mitigated. In terms of the response band 9 had to these requests, those starting ‘can I’ were rarely granted, whereas those in the form of ‘can you’ very often were. Perhaps the most obvious difference between these requests and those made with younger girls was the number produced; nearly three quarters of all the requests made by band 9 were addressed to same age speakers. This can be explained, in part, by the fact that these girls took part in a greater number of interactions with one another than they did with younger speakers. Yet, even during conversations with younger speakers this was not an AU that these girls used a great deal. One possibility is that stronger forms, such as directives were favoured in these contexts. Alternatively, the older ages of these speakers may have meant they did not have to make as many requests because they were already in possession of resources or behaviour that younger girls would typically have to request.

All three bands showed some changes in the types of requests they made with speakers of different ages. Both bands 7 and 8 typically made requests beginning ‘can I’ with girls in the youngest and middle age bands. Yet with older speakers those starting ‘can you’ were observed more frequently. Band 9, on the other hand, favoured requests starting ‘can you’ with band 7, but ‘can I’ with bands 8 and 9. Mitigated requests and those containing ‘please’ were observed in most conversations. However, the way these were used involved some surprising findings. It was expected that they would be seen more frequently with older speakers compared to younger ones, and that they would usually be a successful way of persuading the hearer to comply, yet this was often not the case. One example of this is seen in band 8’s use of this AU; both mitigation and ‘please’ were common in the requests they made with band 7, but were far rarer in those with band 9. Similarly, band 9’s use of mitigation was not successful in receiving a positive response from band 8. It is hoped that previous research into children’s use of directives will provide answers for some of these unexpected results (see appendix fifteen). Although the changes seen were not always those that had been anticipated, the fact that different types were used based on the age of the speaker and hearer, offers evidence in support of accommodation.

Appendix Twelve.
Comparisons.

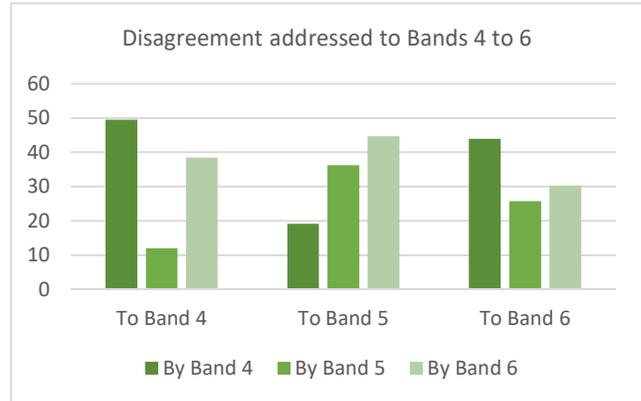
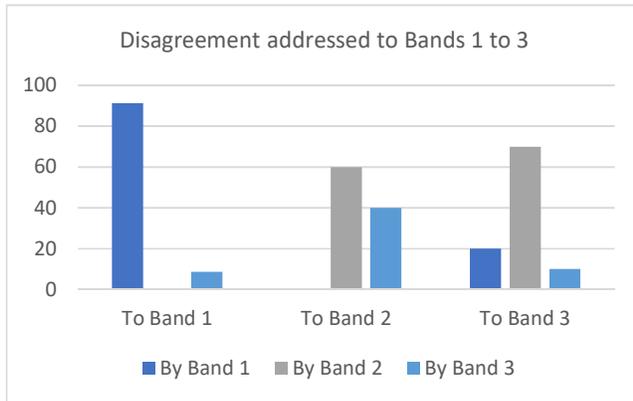
Use of disagreement by bands 1 to 6.

As is evident from the charts below, in both groups one and two most disagreement utterances were directed at the youngest bands in each group. However, what is also of interest in these charts is that in neither group were the fewest disagreement utterances addressed to the eldest speakers. Whilst disagreement produced with bands 2 and 3 remained

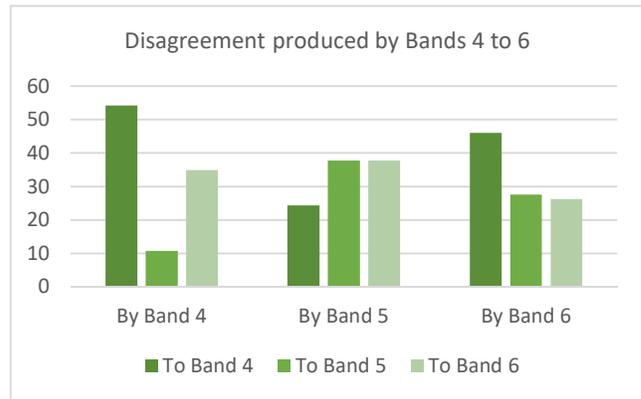
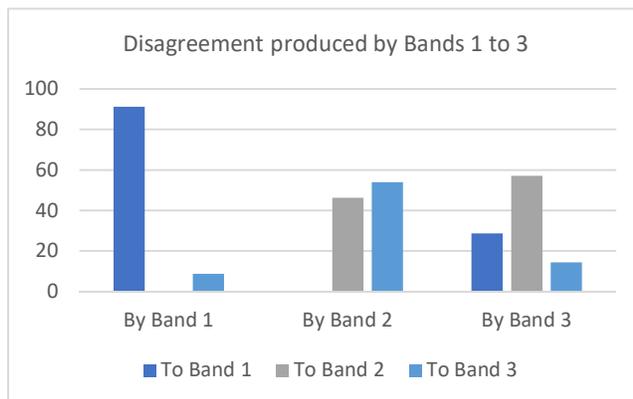


the same, there was a noticeable increase in the use of this AU with band 6 compared to band 5.

The charts below show the speakers responsible for the disagreement utterances addressed to each band. The most obvious similarity between these two charts is the way this AU was used with bands 1 and 4. In both cases, same age speakers were responsible for producing the highest number of disagreements whilst girls in the middle age bands produced the fewest; in the case of band 2 this AU was never used. Of the disagreement utterances addressed to bands 2 and 5 in both cases it was younger speakers who produced the fewest of these, in fact, band 1 never used this AU with members of band 2.



There are also a number of similarities seen in the two charts below, showing the contexts in which each band produced this AU most frequently. Once again, it is the youngest girls who share the greatest number of similarities. Firstly, both bands used this AU most frequently in conversations with same age speakers. In both cases this was followed by the eldest girls in each group, whilst this was used least often with speakers in the middle age bands. In fact, band 1 did not make use of this AU in any conversation with band 2. The way in which girls in the middle age bands produced disagreement also share some similarities. Both used the smallest number of disagreement utterances with the youngest girls in their group. Whilst the same, or an almost equal, number of disagreements were made in conversations with older girls. Bands 3 and 6 share just one similarity in their use of disagreement; both bands produced this AU least often with other members of their own age band, although this difference is negligible for band 6.



As is shown in these two charts, it is bands 1 and 4 who share a greater number of similarities in their use of this AU than bands 3 and 4, despite the similarities in ages of these two bands. Therefore, providing further evidence that the way in which an AU is used is more closely related to a speaker's position within a group, rather than the age of the speaker.

Bands 3 and 4.

There were no similarities seen in the types of disagreements bands 3 and 4 produced with one another. Firstly, band 3 produced only a small number of these utterances with same age girls, whereas a large number was used by band 4 in these contexts. The most common way in which band 3 disagreed with same age speakers was to dispute claims made by their partner. In contrast, the majority of band 4's disagreements in these contexts involved disagreeing with facts. In both cases other ways of disagreeing were observed but to a far lesser extent than those used most frequently.

In terms of the way these girls responded to disagreement this did involve similarities, as failing to accept this AU was the most common response of both bands, and this was often shown by producing further disagreement. However, while most disagreement utterances were not accepted by band 4, acceptance was not uncommon in these interactions. Band 3, on the other hand, never accepted this AU from a same age girl.

Types of disagreement.

Most disagreements used by bands 1 and 4, with same age speakers, occurred following facts, and in both cases disagreements with claims and those made in an attempt to defend themselves were also observed in these conversations. Due to the fact band 1 was never observed disagreeing with band 2, it is not possible to compare the types of disagreements used by bands 1 and 4 with girls in the middle two bands. A similar difficulty is seen in comparing the types of disagreements used by the youngest speakers with members of the eldest bands due to the small number of these utterances produced by band 1 in such contexts. However, the disagreement utterances used by band 1 with band 3, were the two most common ways in which band 4 disagreed with members of band 6. Perhaps had this AU has been used more often the same pattern seen in group two would have been observed in group one.

The most common way girls in the middle age bands disagreed with younger speakers was to dispute claims made by these girls, although band 5 also frequently disagreed with facts, and in attempts to defend their actions. This pattern continued both with same age speakers, and girls in the eldest bands.

Bands 3 and 6 disagreed with the youngest speakers in their group in slightly different ways. While band 3 disputed facts, and used disagreement to defend themselves on an equal number of instances, band 6 typically disagreed with claims put forward by band 4. The disagreement used with girls in the middle two bands also involved some differences. Band 3 only ever disputed claims put forward by band 2. Band 6, on the other hand, very often disagreed with facts stated by their younger partners, although this was closely followed by utterances disagreeing with claims and those used to defend themselves. However, the disagreement that took place with same age girls was very similar; both bands 3 and 6 typically disagreed with claims made by their partner. In both cases this was followed by disagreements to defend themselves or their behaviour, while facts were disputed least often by both bands.

Responses to disagreement.

There were, once again, a greater number of similarities between the way bands 1 and 4 responded to disagreement from other speakers compared to bands 3 and 4. The youngest girls in each group were not usually accepting of disagreement from same age speakers. On the other hand, this was a common response to this AU from girls in the middle and eldest bands. Whilst this was not the case for every context, acceptance was more likely to be observed with older bands than with same age girls.

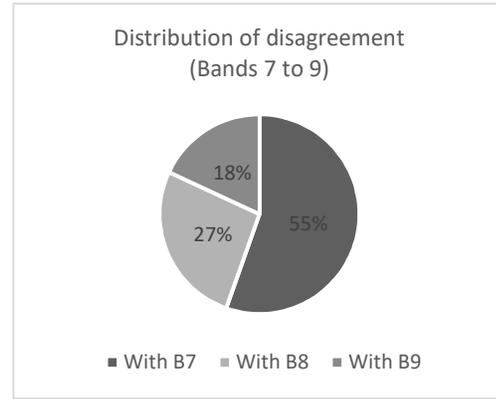
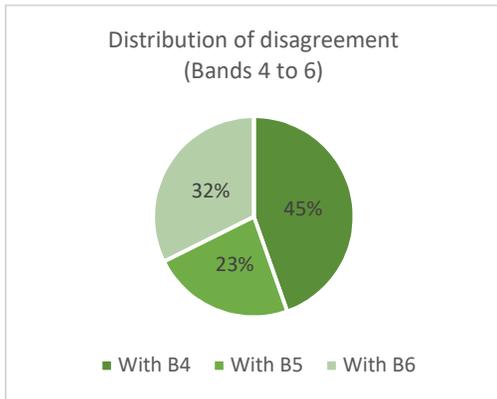
It is not possible to compare the responses to disagreement from the middle two age bands in conversations with younger speakers, due to the absence of this AU in conversations between bands 1 and 2. However, with same age speakers only the minority of disagreement utterances were accepted. Instead further disagreement was often observed and this was frequently accompanied by a justification. This was something that was rarely seen by bands 1 and 4. Bands 2 and 5 showed further similarities in their reactions to disagreement from older girls in which producing further disagreement was a very typical response of both bands.

Overall very few instances of disagreement occurred in conversations with members of band 3 which makes comparing the reactions of these speakers with that of band 6 somewhat difficult. However, what was most noticeable about the responses of these girls was that acceptance very rarely seen by either band 3 or 6 in conversations with any other speakers. Typically, the same types of responses were seen by bands 3 and 6 in the majority of conversations although the amount of each did vary. These included; ignoring, further disagreement, the use of justifications and indirect disagreement. Interestingly, indirect disagreement was used by bands 3 and 6 more frequently than any other bands. Although it was the case that the way in which they responded did vary slightly overall the outcome was the same.

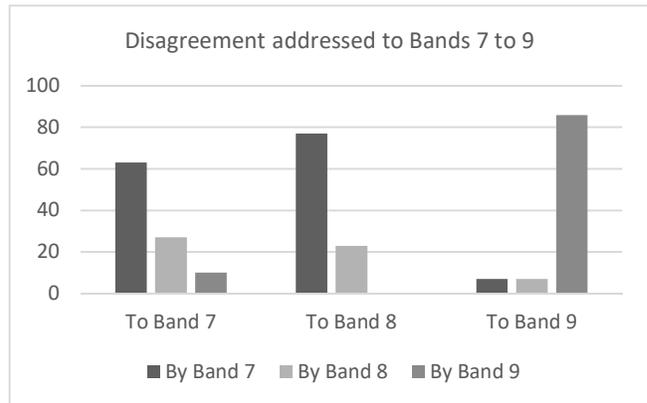
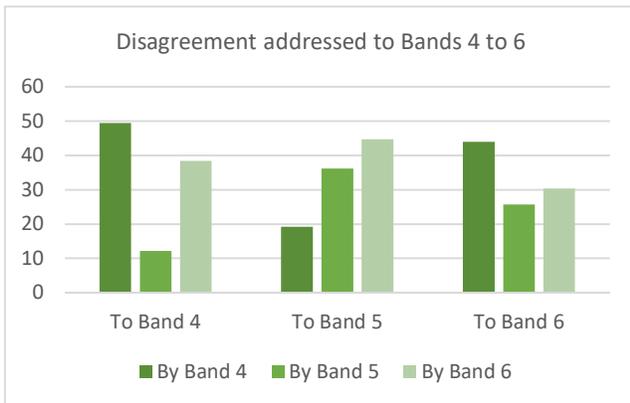
The way bands in the equivalent position in each group used, and responded to, disagreement involved a number of similarities. In fact, most bands were more similar to girls in the same position in the other group, than they were to girls in their own age group. Certainly, there were more parallels between these bands than between bands 3 and 4, despite the overlap in ages of these speakers. Therefore, these findings provide further support for the suggestion that the way AUs are used, and responded to is more closely related to the age of the speaker in relation to the hearer, than it is to the speaker's age alone. Similarly, the different ways of disagreeing and responding to disagreement shown by bands 3 and 4 show evidence of accommodation. These girls are very similar in age, yet choose to behave differently due to their position in the group, and it is this change that shows accommodation.

Use of disagreement by bands 4 to 9.

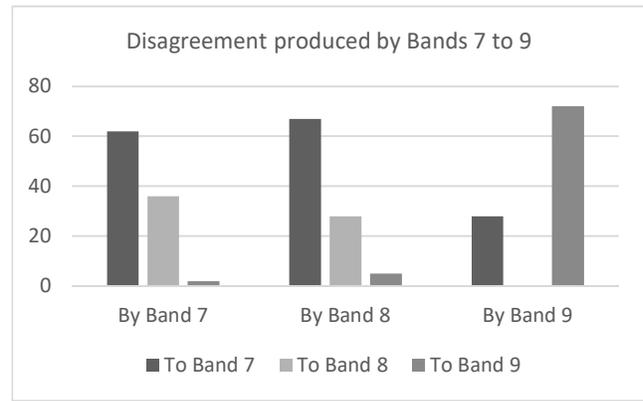
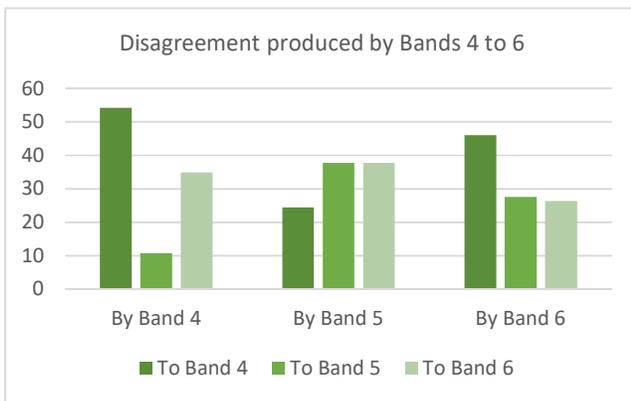
As has been the case with all three age groups, the most obvious similarity between these two charts is that it was the youngest speakers in each group who were disagreed with most frequently. On the other hand, the reduction in the number of disagreements made as the speaker's age rises is only seen in group three. This is, therefore, the first group to have behaved as expected in terms of the number of disagreements produced.



The charts below showing the speakers responsible for disagreeing with each band show a greater number of differences than similarities. In terms of the disagreements made with the youngest speakers, this was done by same age girls in both groups, however, this is where the similarities end. The way disagreement was made with band 5 was the opposite to that seen with band 8. Similarly, in group two it was the youngest speakers in the group who were responsible for the majority of disagreement utterances produced with the eldest girls, while the opposite was true for group three.



The charts below, showing the disagreement produced by each band, once again, show a greater number of differences than similarities. The way this AU was used by girls in each of the youngest bands does involve one similarity; both used this AU most frequently with same age speakers. In the middle two bands, clear differences are seen; while band 5 used this AU least with younger girls, band 8 produced the majority of their disagreement in conversations with younger speakers. Finally, the eldest speakers also showed differences, band 6 disagreed with the youngest girls in their age group most, while band 9 clearly preferred to produce this AU with same age speakers.



Bands 6 and 7.

Interestingly, there were some similarities seen in the way these two bands used disagreement with same age girls. Most disagreements occurred following claims made by their partner in these interactions. However, a slight difference is in the other types of disagreements used in these conversations. While band 6 also used disagreement as a way of defending themselves or their behaviour very frequently, this rarely observed between two band 7 speakers. The responses of these girls to this AU from same age speakers were very similar, in both cases most disagreement utterances were not accepted. Interestingly, both bands typically did this by ignoring their partner's utterance, although further disagreement was also seen by both bands in response to this AU.

Types of disagreement.

Most disagreement produced by band 4 with same age girls occurred following a fact put forward by their partner. While, band 7 typically disagreed with claims made by same age speakers. However, disagreeing with claims was common of both bands in conversations with speakers in the middle and eldest bands.

Girls in the middle two bands differed in the way they disagreed with other speakers. While band 5 usually disputed claims made by their partner, band 8 typically used this AU following facts made by band 7. With same age girls, disagreeing with facts was very typical of band 8's disputes, but was rarely seen between two band 5 members. The differences continue with older speakers, the only type of disagreement made by band 8 with an older girl involved challenging a decision that had been made. However, this type of disagreement was never used by band 5 with band 6.

The disagreement used by the eldest speakers shared some similarities, band 6 usually disagreed with claims made by the youngest speakers in the group, and this was followed by facts put forward by the younger girls. Band 9 typically disputed facts with the youngest speakers in group three, followed by claims. Both bands also disagreed with decisions made by their younger partners. The greatest difference between the disagreement used by these eldest speakers can be seen in interactions with girls in the middle age bands, as this AU was never used by band 9 with band 8. Finally, with same age girls both bands 6 and 9 disagreed with claims made by their partner more than any other type of utterance.

Responses to disagreement.

Both of the youngest bands in these two groups were rarely accepting of disagreement utterances from same age speakers, instead they were often observed using other AUs, such

as dismissing, in response to disagreement from same age girls. Both bands were more likely to accept this AU from speakers in the middle two bands, although they also used further disagreement, and other AUs in these interactions. Acceptance was also common in response to this AU from speakers in the eldest bands. Band 4 accepted just under half of the disagreement utterances from band 6, while there was an equal split between the number of these utterances that were and were not accepted by band 7 from band 9.

Both of the middle age bands failed to accept disagreement from younger speakers in the majority of instances and in both cases ignoring was the most common response. A considerable change was seen in their responses to this AU from same age girls, however, while band 5 accepted only the minority of disagreement utterances, acceptance was the most common response of band 8. As has been noted, band 9 did not disagree with any utterances produced by band 8, meaning a comparison of their responses to this AU from older speakers is not possible.

The responses of the eldest speakers in each group were very similar; both bands 6 and 9 failed to accept this AU on the majority of occasions with the youngest girls in their age group. Indirect disagreement was a response seen in both these types of interactions. With girls in the middle age bands disagreement utterances were never accepted, and in both cases ignoring was the most common response to this. With same age girls, again, the majority of utterances containing disagreement were not accepted, however, acceptance was more common in these interactions compared to those with either of the younger two bands.

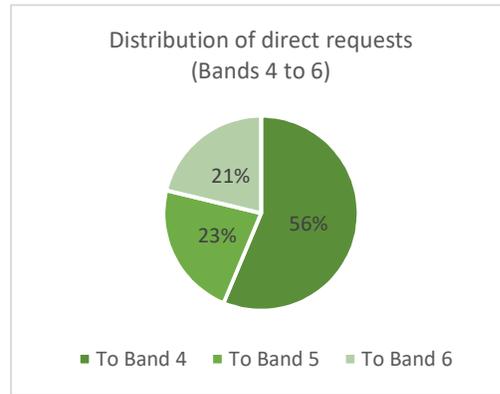
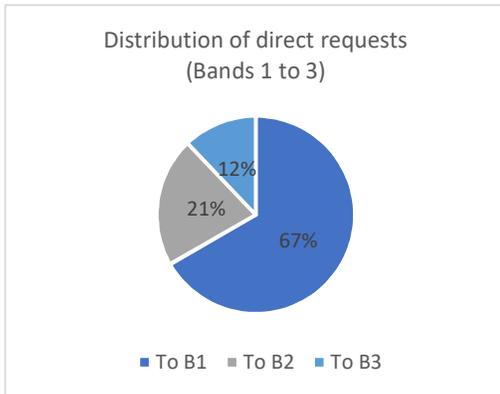
Interestingly, the behaviour of bands 6 and 7 with regards to disagreement shares more similarities than some bands in the equivalent positions in each group. This is particularly true of girls in the middle two bands who showed few similarities in the way they used this AU with speakers of different ages. There were, however, parallels in the way girls in the youngest and eldest bands used, and responded, to disagreement. Given the age differences between the speakers in these bands, it is clear that age alone cannot explain these findings. Instead they are likely the result of the speaker's age in relation to the hearer's. Therefore, providing further evidence to support the suggestion that age is used as a way of measuring status for these girls and that they alter their language as a result.

Appendix Thirteen.

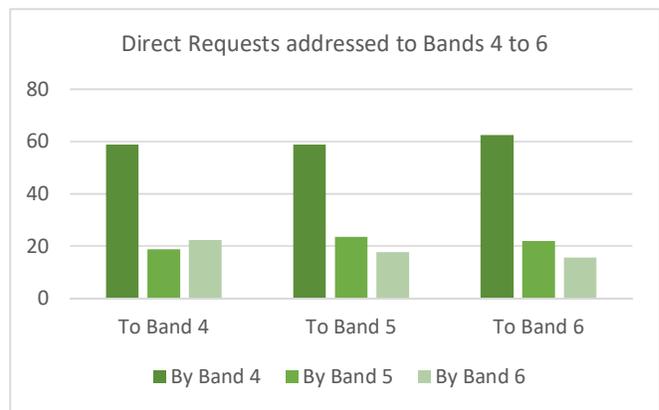
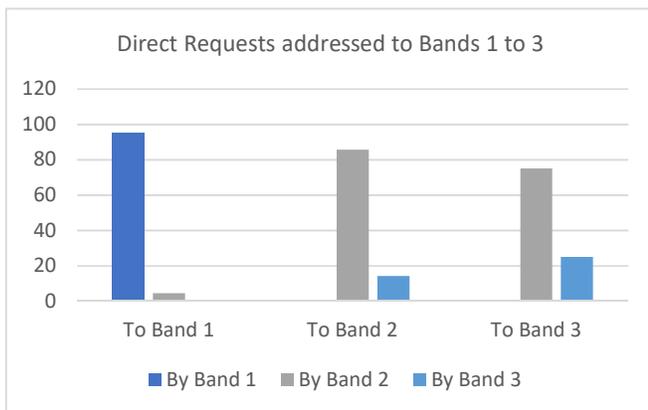
Comparisons.

Use of direct requests by bands 1 to 6.

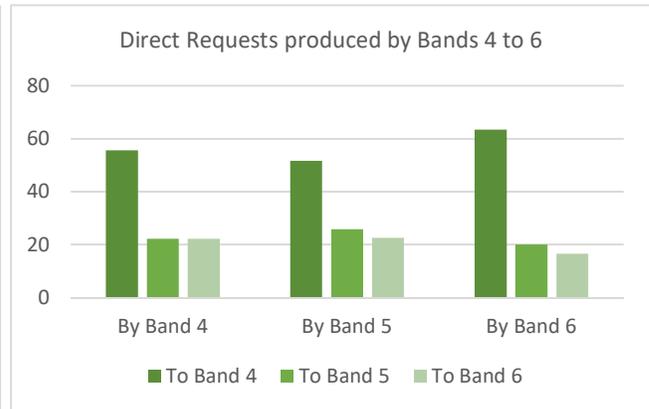
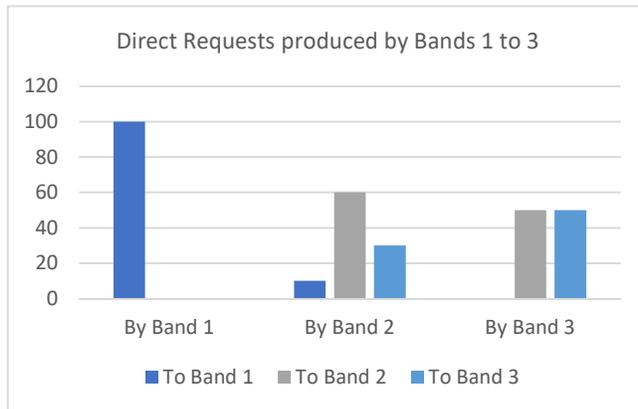
As the charts below illustrate there are some clear similarities in terms of the speakers direct requests were addressed to in groups one and two. In both cases the clear majority were directed at girls in the youngest age bands, and in both groups the number of requests made decreased as the age of the addressee rose. Although this pattern is more marked in group one than group two.



Due to the absence of this AU in some conversations between bands 1 to 3, comparisons between groups one and two are not possible for many interactions. One finding that is evident however, is that both of the youngest bands in these groups received by far the highest number of requests from same age speakers, in fact this is the only context in which band 1 produced this AU. Perhaps the most obvious difference revealed below, is that whilst the youngest girls in group one did not use this AU with either of the older two bands, it was the youngest speakers in group two who were responsible for the majority of direct requests made to both bands 5 and 6. However, one similarity is that the eldest speakers were typically responsible for the fewest requests made to speakers of all ages.



The charts below, showing the amount of this AU each band used with one another, are quite similar to those shown above, and therefore show the obvious differences between group one and two's use of direct requests. With the most startling being the absence of these in the language of band 1, compared to the frequency with which they occur in the conversations of band 4.



Bands 3 and 4.

Due to the fact there was just one direct request made by band 3 in conversations with same age speakers it is impossible to draw comparisons between those used by these two bands. It is worth noting, however, that this request was in the form of ‘can I’ and included the word ‘please’, as this was the most common type of request made by band 4 in conversations with same age speakers. Perhaps had this AU been used more frequently by band 3 there would have been a greater number of similarities between this band and the slightly older band 4. Once again, it is not possible to compare the responses of bands 3 and 4 in these contexts. However, it is interesting to note that the request made in conversations with two band 3 members in the form of ‘can I’ was granted. Whilst this was not the most common response of band 4 in the same context those that were granted were almost exclusively those beginning ‘can I’.

Types of direct requests.

The youngest girls in each group shared a number of similarities in their use of direct requests with same age speakers. Firstly, both bands produced the clear majority of their requests with same age girls. In fact, band 1 only ever used this AU with other band 1 speakers. In both cases requests beginning ‘can I’ were the most common type used, followed by those in the same form, but including the word ‘please’. In addition, mitigated requests were also commonly used by speakers in these two bands. Whilst band 4 noticeably reduced the number of requests they produced in conversations with bands 5 and 6, band 1 did not use this AU in conversations with girls in either the middle or eldest bands.

The requests used by girls in the middle two bands did not share any similarities. Whilst band 2 typically used mitigated requests in conversations with speakers in every band, these were rarely used by band 5. There are two possible reasons for these differences. Firstly, this AU was not used by band 2 to the same extent as that seen by band 5, perhaps if this had been observed more frequently there would have been a larger number of similarities seen in the types of requests produced. Alternatively, it may be the case that the types of requests used are more closely related to the age of the speaker than has been the case for previous AUs. It is possible that the changes in the requests used by older speakers are a result of their advanced linguistic abilities.

Once again, the direct requests made by bands 3 and 6 had very little in common. This was most obviously seen in the fact that band 3 did not use any requests with the youngest girls in their group, whilst the majority of requests made by band 6 were addressed to band 4. The only requests produced by band 3 were those beginning ‘can I’, and whilst these were not the most frequently used by band 6 they were observed in conversations with both band 5 and

same age girls. The reasons for the dissimilar findings of bands 3 and 6 offer support for the suggestion above that the use of requests may be more closely related to the age, and consequently, linguistic skills of the speaker.

Responses to direct requests.

In terms of the responses each band had to direct requests from other speakers, girls in the youngest bands did share some similarities. Firstly, in conversations with same age girls most requests were not granted. However, the difference between the number that were granted, and those that were not was considerably smaller in conversations between two band 4 members than those between band 1 speakers. In both cases ignoring and directly refusing to comply with requests were observed frequently. Another similarity was seen in their responses to direct requests from members of the middle age bands. Although just one of these was used by band 2, this request was granted, and granting requests was the most common response of band 4 to requests from band 5. In both cases the most common response here was the opposite to that seen with same age girls. As there were no requests made by band 3 to the youngest girls in their group it is not possible to compare the responses of these younger speakers in such contexts.

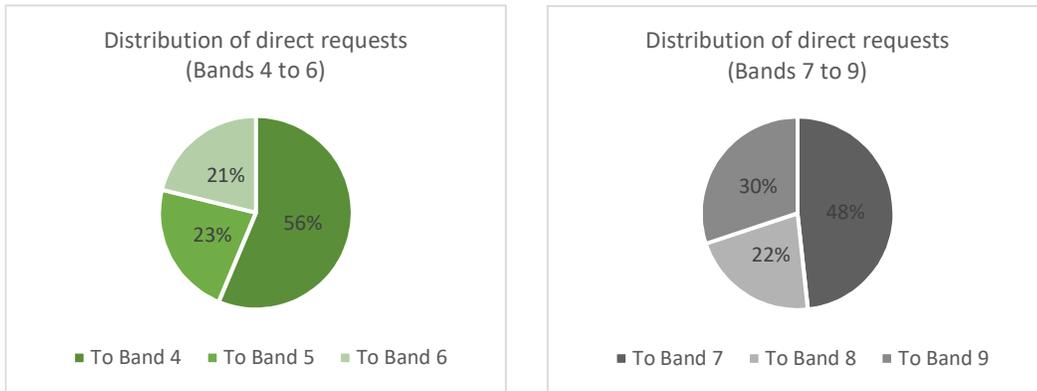
Band 1 did not make any requests in conversations with band 2, and so the responses of girls in the middle age bands cannot be compared. However, their reactions to those from same age speakers were quite similar; in both cases a greater number of requests were granted than were ignored or refused. There was just one request made by an older speaker to a band 2 girl and this was granted immediately by the younger speaker. On the other hand, only half of the requests made by band 6 to younger, band 5, girls were fulfilled.

Somewhat surprisingly, there were no similarities in the responses of girls in the eldest bands in each group. No requests were made by band 1 speakers in these situations, and so the reactions of these older girls cannot be compared. It was never the case that a band 3 speaker fulfilled a request made by a band 2 girl. However, neither were these denied, instead they received a response from another member of band 2. On the other hand, those made by band 5 to band 6 were very often granted. A further difference is seen in the responses to requests from same age girls. The one request that was made in these contexts by band 3 was granted, while most of those from band 6 were ignored or refused.

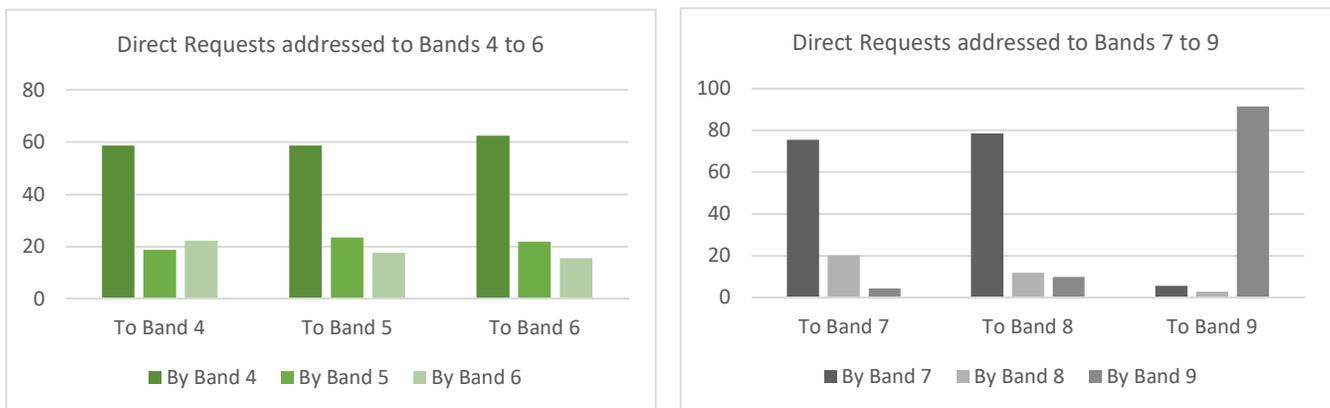
Due to the limited contexts in which requests were made by group one it was difficult to make fair comparisons between the way this AU was used, and responded to, by speakers in the equivalent position in each group. Both of the youngest bands behaved in similar ways with same age speakers. Girls in the middle bands however, used this AU very differently, although there were some similarities in their responses to requests from same age girls. Differences were also seen in the types made by the eldest speakers in these groups and in the responses they received. While it was not possible to draw conclusions regarding the types of requests used, or the responses they received by bands 3 and 4, due to the small number used by band 3, it is interesting to note the similarities observed here. Perhaps this AU is more closely related to the age of the individual, than it is to the position of a speaker within a group. However, given that there were also few similarities in the way this AU was used, or the responses it received, between speakers in the same age group it is unlikely that age is solely responsible for this. Instead it is probable that these speakers, although able to make use of different strategies as a result of their age, are still influenced by their conversational partner. As a consequence, the behaviour of older girls will be different to their younger peers despite the fact they may occupy the same position in the group.

Use of direct requests by bands 4 to 9.

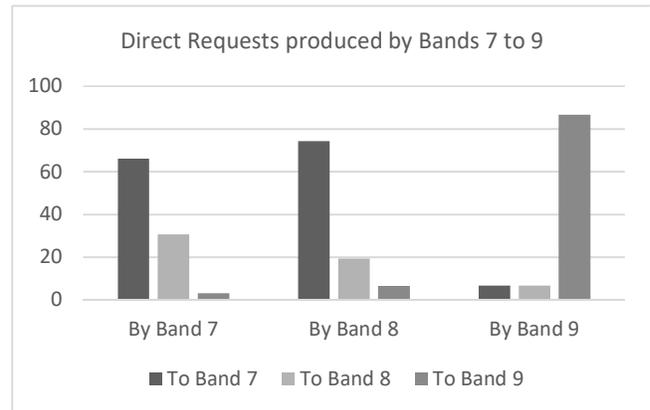
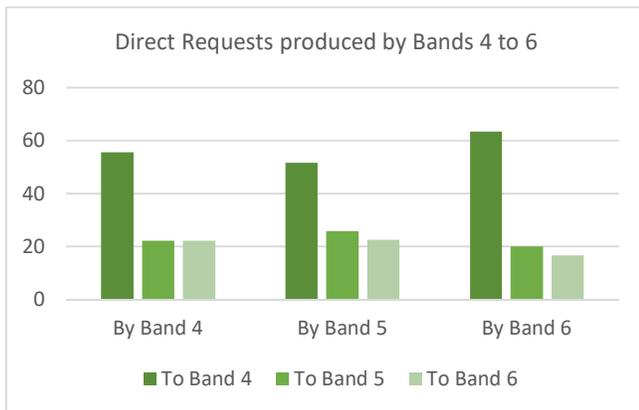
As is evident from the charts below the most obvious similarity between the way groups two and three used direct requests is that in both cases the majority were addressed to the youngest speakers in the group. However, there is also an interesting difference between these two groups; in group two the fewest requests were addressed to the eldest speakers in the group, in addition the difference between this number and those made with girls in the middle age band was very small. While in group three not only was this difference far greater, but it was speakers in the middle age band who received the fewest requests. Although as has been suggested previously this may be a result, at least in part, of the small number of speakers in this age band.



The charts below show the speakers responsible for using direct requests with members of each band, and there are some similarities seen in these two charts. Firstly, the majority of direct requests addressed to girls in the youngest bands came from same age speakers. Secondly, the requests directed at speakers in the middle two bands occurred in very similar ways. In both cases it was younger girls who were responsible for the clear majority of direct requests made to these speakers, this was then followed by same age speakers, while older girls used this AU the least with bands 5 and 8. However, there is then a considerable difference between the way groups two and three used this AU with the eldest speakers in their group. In group two the majority of direct requests addressed to band 6 came from the youngest members of the group, while in group three it was same age speakers who were responsible for most of these.



The charts below show the way speakers in each band used requests. The most obvious similarity here being the speakers the youngest and middle age bands produced requests with. Both bands 4 and 7 addressed the clear majority of their requests to same age speakers. A slight difference here is that band 4 then used the same number of requests with girls in the middle and eldest bands, whereas band 7 considerably reduced the number of requests they made with band 9 compared to band 8. In fact, the number of direct requests they made in conversations with band 9 was less than five percent of the total number they produced. The middle two age bands behaved in largely the same way; they produced the majority of their requests with younger girls, followed by same age speakers, while the fewest were addressed to older girls. The eldest girls in each group, however, used this AU very differently. While band 6 made the most requests with the youngest speakers in their group and the least with same age girls, the opposite pattern was seen by band 9. What is perhaps most interesting is that bands 5 to 8 all showed a very similar pattern in their use of this AU; in each case the highest number was produced with the youngest speakers in the group and, this number decreased as the age of their partner rose. Band 4 showed a very slight variation as they used the same number of requests with girls in the middle and eldest bands. Band 9, on the other hand, showed the very opposite pattern; they produced over eighty percent of their requests in conversations with same age speakers and only a very small number with younger girls. However, a possible reason for this is that band 9 showed a very strong preference for interacting with same age girls and so had more opportunities to use AUs in conversations with these girls compared to younger speakers.



Bands 6 and 7.

In terms of the types of requests made by bands 6 and 7, there were some similarities observed. Band 6 typically made mitigated requests and those beginning 'can I' in interactions with same age speakers. Similarly, most requests made by band 7 with same age girls were those starting 'can I', and although, mitigated requests were seen, they were not commonly used. The inclusion of 'please' and requests beginning 'can I' were also present in interactions with band 7, but not band 6.

Some similarities were also seen in the responses of these bands. In both cases, only around a third of the requests were granted. Ignoring and refusing were common ways of doing this, although band 7 also employed some slightly more sophisticated ways of refusing than those seen by band 6. This is perhaps due both to the slightly older age of band 7, and their exposure to the language of bands 8 and 9. It may be that they are adopting some of the linguistic behaviour of their older peers in conversations with same age speakers.

Types of direct requests.

In conversations with same age speakers most of the requests made by bands 4 and 7 were those beginning 'can I'. Both bands also used requests beginning 'can you', as well as mitigated requests and those containing please, but to a far lesser extent. Similarly, with girls in the middle age bands 'can I' requests continued to be the most common type. Those containing 'please' and mitigation were more common in these interactions compared to those with same age speakers. However, a slight difference was seen in the requests made with the eldest speakers in each group. While band 4 continued to favour 'can I' requests, band 7 used an equal mixture of these and those starting 'can you'. Requests containing 'please' and the use of mitigation were also used in these contexts.

The majority of requests made by girls in the middle two bands with younger speakers were those beginning 'can I'. There were also a number of requests starting 'can you', and both mitigated requests, and those containing 'please' were also observed in these contexts. With same age speakers, requests beginning 'can you' were the most frequently used by band 5, while band 8 continued to favour those starting 'can I', they did however use a greater number of 'can you' requests than they had with younger speakers. Both bands very rarely used mitigated requests or those containing 'please' with same age girls. The requests made by these girls to older speakers were very different. While band 5 never used those starting 'can you' this was the most common type used by band 8. Both mitigation and 'please' were used in these contexts, although neither to the extent that had been anticipated.

The eldest speakers in each group used this AU in quite different ways; the majority of band 6's requests to band 4 were mitigated. On the other hand, those used by band 9 with band 7 were primarily those starting 'can you', and none of these involved the use of mitigation. A slightly different pattern is also seen in the requests made to girls in the middle age bands. Most of the requests used by band 6 in these interactions began 'can you', and this was followed by those starting 'can I'. Whereas most of those used by band 9 were 'can I' requests, while the second most common type began 'can you'. A further difference seen in these interactions is that band 6 used mitigated requests with band 5, but never 'please', band 9 on the other hand, used 'please', but never mitigation with band 8. With same age girls both bands 6 and 9 often used requests beginning 'can I'. These accounted for half of those used by band 6 in these contexts, and just under half of those used by band 9.

Responses to direct requests.

The way in which speakers in the youngest two age bands responded to requests from same age girls shared some similarities. In both cases the majority of requests were not granted, and this often involved the request being ignored. Both bands 4 and 7 granted most requests made by girls in the middle age bands. In addition, directly refusing to comply with a request was less likely in these contexts than in those with same age girls. A considerable difference is seen in the response to this AU with the eldest girls in their group. While band 4 granted just under half of the requests from these girls, every request from band 9 was granted by band 7.

Neither bands 5 nor 8 typically granted requests from younger speakers, and in both cases this usually involved ignoring. In interactions with same age speakers both bands 5 and 8 increased the number of requests granted; band 5 granted just over half of these, and band 8 granted half. In addition, both bands were far less likely to ignore a request made by a same age speaker. A difference is seen in conversations with older speakers, however, while band 5 granted half of the requests made by band 6 speakers, band 8 granted just a quarter of those from older girls.

The way in which bands 6 and 9 responded to requests from girls in the youngest age bands varied slightly; while band 6 granted half of these request, the majority of those from band 7

were ignored by band 9. An even greater difference is seen in the response to requests from speakers in the middle two bands. Most of those from band 5 were granted by band 6, whereas none of those made by band 8 were granted by band 9. The differences continue in conversations with same age girls. Band 6 failed to grant the majority of requests in these contexts, while half of those made by band 9 were granted by same age girls.

What has been shown here is that there were some similarities between speakers in the age equivalent bands in the way these girls use and respond to direct requests. In fact, there were more similarities seen here than between groups one and two. Similarly, in terms of the way requests were addressed to these two groups, and the bands each group used this AU with, there are obvious similarities between bands 5 to 8. While it is the youngest speakers (band 4) and the eldest (band 9) who behave slightly differently. This supports the suggestions made in the previous section that this AU may be closely related a speaker’s linguistic skills as a result of their age. However, as has been the case throughout, the similarities observed between girls in the same position in each group imply that age alone is not enough to explain these findings.

Appendix Fourteen.

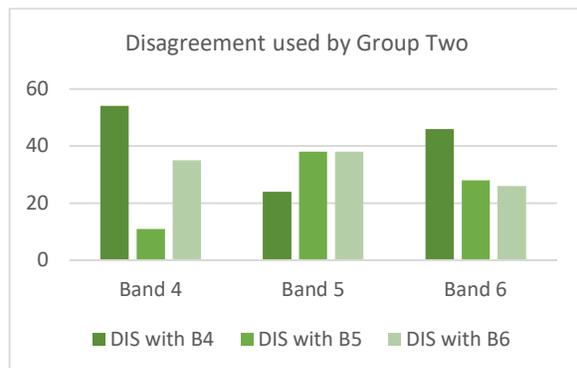
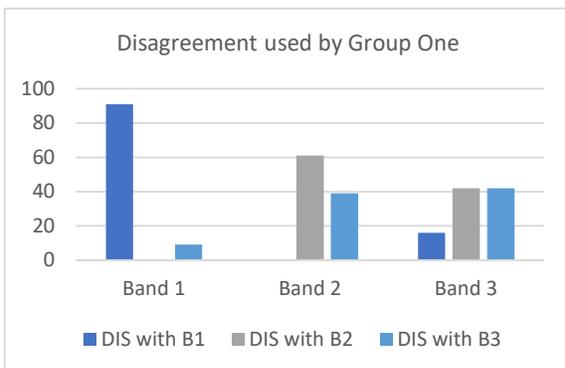
Discussion: Disagreement.

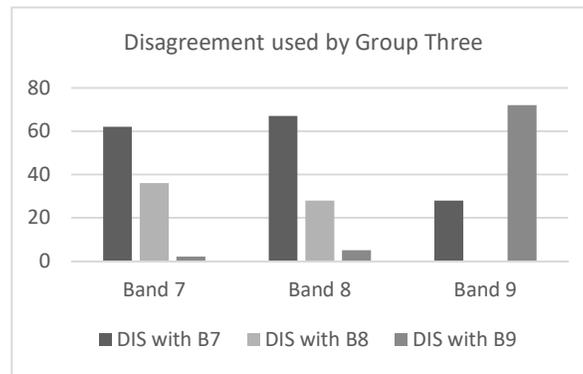
According to Goodwin and Goodwin (1987:209) during a disagreement “what is being called into question is not simply the trouble source in the prior talk but the competence or status of the party who produced that talk”. It was for this reason that these types of utterances were considered to be a type of assertive language. The results from the present study appear to show support for this, particularly in terms of the way they altered their responses based on the age of their conversational partner.

Finding

- *The tendency to reduce the number of disagreements made as the age of their conversational partner rose was the exception, rather than the norm.*

This finding is illustrated in the charts below in which bands 6, 7 and 8 were the only bands to have decreased the number of disagreements they made with older speakers. Although bands 1 and 4 made fewer disagreements with the eldest speakers in their group than they did with the youngest, in both cases it was girls in the middle age bands who were disagreed with the least. Similarly, band 2 disagreed with older girls less than same age speakers, but it was younger girls who received the fewest disagreements from this band.





Perhaps one reason for the failure of speakers to reduce the number of disagreements made as the age of their partner rose, was due to the way in which disagreements were viewed by these speakers. While it was assumed here that these types of utterances are AUs, other research has suggested that although it is possible for disagreements to function as attempts at control, there are also times when this is far from the case. Instead, it has been observed that disagreements amongst groups of children are more likely between friends than other peers (Corsaro and Rizzo, 1990; Hartup and Larsen, 1993). It has also been suggested that conflicts may be a way of testing and perhaps cementing existing friendships, that children themselves acknowledge this to be true (Selman, 1980). It may, therefore be the case that rather than disagreements being viewed as attempts to control the behaviour of their partner, they are instead used as ways of establishing friendships. It is possible that younger speakers have observed this type of behaviour between older girls with one another and so attempt to imitate this as a way of building friendships with these older speakers. Of course, it is unlikely that this was the case for every instance of disagreement, instead it was perhaps slightly more common than had been anticipated.

Finding

- *The majority of speakers were more likely to accept this AU from older speakers than from younger ones.*

As is evident in the table below, accepting disagreements from younger speakers was, overall, less common than acceptance of this AU from the eldest bands. This is particularly noticeable in group one in which no band accepted this AU from a member of band 1, yet band 1 accepted almost seventy percent of the disagreement utterances produced by band 3. A similar pattern is seen in group two in the percentage of disagreement utterances accepted by band 6 with band 4 compared to same age girls. Again, in group three, band 9 did not accept this AU from band 7, but this was the response to disagreement in just over twenty percent of the utterances produced by other band 9 members.

Table Ten

	% of disagreements accepted	
	With the youngest bands	With the eldest bands
Band 1	0%	67%
Band 2	0%	0%
Band 3	0%	0%
Band 4	41%	45%

Band 5	27%	27%
Band 6	5%	26%
Band 7	30%	50%
Band 8	17%	0%
Band 9	0%	21%

The examples below show two different responses of band 4 to disagreement. The first shows a band 4 speaker responding to this AU from a same age girl, which involves the use of further disagreement. The second example shows a band 4 girl responding to disagreement from a member of band 6, not only does B accept this but she acknowledges that she had not been correct.

Example 4.52

L <She/'s the oldest> girl and I/'m the oldest girl.

N No, I/'m the [DIS+GL] ^

G She/'s the oldest girl [INT+GL] [DIS+GL].

N No I/'m older than you, you and you [DIS+GL].

V Could you go sit down [DR+GL]?

Example 6.51

U Everyone/'s done my book, everyone.

B You can/'t have everyone.

N Yeah you actually can/'t.

V Yes you can [DIS+GL].

B (Oh) I thought you could/n't.

Although these were, of course, not the only responses seen in each of these interactions they show a clear change in the response of band 4 to the same AU, based on the age of the individual producing the disagreement. In addition, they also represent the change seen in the majority of bands to this AU from younger girls compared to older ones.

Disputes between children have been the subject of research for a considerable length of time (Green, 1933; Dawe, 1934) however, this has typically focused on how these arguments begin (Maynard, 1985), the way in which they are constructed (Goodwin, 1982) or how they are resolved (Eisenberg and Garvey, 1981). To the best of my knowledge, instances of simply accepting disagreement from a partner have rarely been considered. Given what is known about the tendency for assertive bids to be accepted more often when the hearer is of a higher status than the speaker, it is unsurprising that disagreement was accepted more when it was produced by older girls compared to younger ones. This does however, contradict the previous finding with regards to the way in which disagreements are used. This will be discussed in more detail shortly.

Another possible reason for this finding is also related to age; perhaps when an older girl disagreed with a younger one, the younger speaker believed due to her partner's age and the increased knowledge that comes with this age, she was more likely to be correct. If this was the case, acceptance of this disagreement would be the most obvious response. Alternatively, although once again connected to age, in the present study older speakers typically produced fewer disagreement utterances than younger girls. In fact, in all three groups it was the youngest speakers who used this AU most frequently. Band 1 was responsible for forty-three percent of the disagreements produced in group one, band 4 made forty-one percent of those used by group two and band 7 produced a considerably, fifty-six percent of the disagreements made by group three. It is possible that due to the lower frequency with which older speakers produced disagreements they were more likely to be listened to, and accepted by the hearer compared to those used by younger girls that were produced far more often. Perhaps this in itself is a reflection of status differences, while younger girls have to work harder to make themselves heard, due to their age older speakers do not have a need to use this AU to the same extent.

It has been stated that "disagreement and other "rejecting" response turn types are dispreferred options" (Schegloff 1987:107; Sacks, 1973; Pomerantz, 1984). Given this, it seems probable that such utterances are more likely to be accepted when they are produced by higher status speakers who, as a result of this status, have greater freedom to depart from more accepted ways of behaving.

Clearly this finding shows evidence of accommodation as a result of the age of a speaker's conversational partner. Yet, as noted above, it is somewhat of a contradiction to the previous one as it appears to suggest that although these girls do not accommodate their use of disagreements, in terms of the number they use, they do alter their response based on their partner's age. This is the first time speakers have shown evidence of accommodation in their responses to an AU, but not the way in which it was used. If these girls did not consider disagreements to be a particularly assertive type of language, as appears to be the case given the failure to accommodate their production of disagreements, why do they show the opposite pattern in terms of their responses? It is possible that while the use of disagreements with older girls was considered acceptable, challenging this type of utterance from an older speaker was not. Leman and Duveen (2003:7) have suggested that "younger children's judgements were more likely to be affected by social status influence". Given what has been observed about the way these children equate age with status, the fact that disagreements from older children may be deemed more acceptable than those from younger speakers should not come as a great surprise.

Some interesting observations have been made with regards to the use of, and response to, disagreement by these speakers. While the number of disagreements these girls used does not appear to have been influenced a great deal by their partner's age, the way in which they responded to it does. Although this finding is puzzling, the types of disagreements produced with speakers of different ages is more consistent with what had been anticipated. With the exception of band 5, every other band was more likely to disagree with a fact when it was produced by a younger girl compared to an older one, while disagreeing with members of bands 3, 6 and 9 was most common following a claim made by these older speakers. This is clear evidence of accommodation as these girls appear to believe that while it may be acceptable to dispute a fact made by a younger girl, the same is not true of an older speaker. It is likely the case that others believe, due to their advanced age, they are more likely to be correct when stating facts than are younger speakers. This is a very similar pattern to the way in which directives implying the speaker possessed knowledge the hearer did not were used (see section 7.1).

The findings from the way in which these speakers use and respond to disagreement are slightly mixed. When the number of disagreements alone is considered it appears to suggest that accommodation was not used by these girls. However, when the types of utterances that were disagreed with, along with the way this AU was responded to, are taken into account a different picture emerges. The fact that different types of utterances were disagreed with in conversations with speakers of different ages and that acceptance of this AU was higher when the utterance was produced by an older speaker, compared to a younger one provides evidence of both accommodation, and the fact that this is based on the age of the individuals involved.

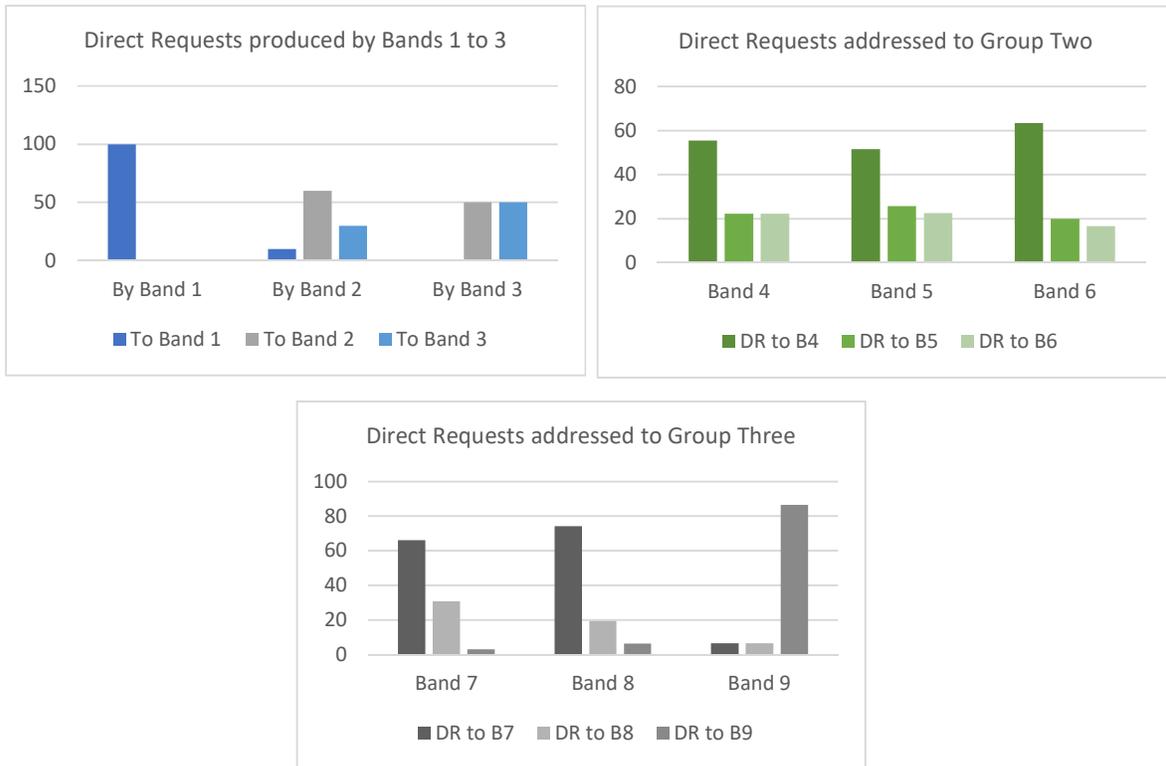
Appendix Fifteen.

Discussion: Direct Requests.

Much like a directive, "a request is a social act through which the speaker A tries to make the listener B do something" (Bernicot and Mahrokhian, 1989: 411; Searle, 1979). Although requests are slightly different from directives as they are structured in a way that asks, rather than tells, the hearer what to do, essentially they have the same goal. Consequently, they were assumed to be a type of assertive language. These findings provide support for this assumption as most bands were seen changing their use of, and response, to requests based on the age of their partner.

Finding

- *The majority of speakers were more likely to address a direct request to a younger speaker than to an older one.*



As is evident from the charts above this finding was not true of every band. Perhaps the most striking observation here is the unexpected way in which direct requests were made by group one. While band 1 followed the expected pattern of making a greater number of requests with girls in the younger age band compared to those from older speakers, neither bands 2 nor 3 behaved in this way. On the other hand, every band in group two followed the anticipated pattern, as did the youngest two bands in group three. Overall the way in which direct requests were used is consistent with previous research. Ervin-Tripp (1988), for example, notes that requests are a type of ‘control move’ as their aim is to alter the behaviour of the hearer. As has been noted, it is apparent that this group of children associate age with status. The finding that requests, which are essentially an attempt to persuade the hearer to behave in a way dictated by the speaker, are used more with younger girls than with older ones provides further support for this finding.

The fact that the majority of bands reduced the number of direct requests made as the age of their partner rose also offers support for the claim that these speakers adjust their use of assertive language based on the age of their partner. Ervin-Tripp (1982:238) observed that school children were sensitive to the hearer when making requests and states that “even the youngest children were sensitive to addressee status and possession rights”. Although in this case she is referring to the types of requests made to speakers who occupy different social positions it is likely this will also be true of the number made to girls with higher or lower status than the speaker.

The exceptions to this finding are bands 2, 3 and 9. Band 2 made the largest number of direct requests with same age speakers, rather than younger girls. Similarly, band 3 never used this AU with the youngest girls in their group. A possible explanation for this is that these speakers preferred to use stronger AUs such as directives with younger girls as a way of demonstrating their status. Certainly, it was the case that a larger number of directives were

used by bands 2 and 3 with younger speakers than direct requests. The way in which band 9 behaved, however, is less clear as these speakers also used very few directives with younger speakers. This may instead be explained, in part, by the few conversations that these girls took part in with one another.

While there were some exceptions to this finding, overall the tendency to reduce the number of direct requests made as the age of their partner rises was a consistent one. In addition, given that this type of utterance is recognised as being a way of controlling behaviour it is consistent with previous research in that it was less likely to occur with high status speakers than lower status ones. It also provides support for the suggestion that these girls accommodate their use of assertive language based on the age of their partner.

Finding

- *Most speakers were more likely to grant with a request produced by an older girl than a younger one.*

Table Eleven

	% of direct requests granted	
	From the youngest bands	From the eldest bands
Band 1	31%	0%
Band 2	0%	100%
Band 3	0%	100%
Band 4	46%	47%
Band 5	20%	50%
Band 6	50%	33%
Band 7	35%	100%
Band 8	38%	25%
Band 9	40%	50%

What this table shows is that most bands granted a larger percentage of requests from the eldest speakers in their group than from the youngest. (It should be remembered here that band 3 did not use any direct requests with band 1, which explains why the chart appears to show band 1 did not grant any of these requests. In addition, band 1 did not use any with bands 2 or 3).

The two examples below show the responses of the same band 7 speaker, M, to a request from a same age girl and a member of band 9. This band is particularly interesting as there was a considerable change in her response to requests from these two bands. The first example shows M directly refusing to grant A's request, although she does accompany this with a justification. In the second example I's request is granted immediately without requiring any justification.

Example 7.47

A <Can I stir> [DR+GL]?

M No because this is my witch hazel [DREQ+J+GL].

Example 9.44

I Can I have one [DR+GL]?

=M hands out the breadsticks.

As has been the case for each AU considered previously, these are attempts at controlling behaviour or exerting influence, and so it is unsurprising that they were usually more effective coming from an older, higher status speaker than from a younger girl. This is also supported by previous research regarding attempts at control and how this is influenced by a speaker's age and, consequently, status. Bernicot and Mahrokhanian (1989:414), for example, state that "requests are affected by both the social status of the interlocutor and the speaker's anticipation of degree of cooperation on the part of the addressee". In the present study, it was assumed that cooperation would be highest when older speakers issue younger girls with direct requests, and this was largely found to be true. However, there were some exceptions to this, and given the types of requests made by these older girls these results were puzzling. Yet, it has been suggested that mitigated and polite requests are more likely to be used when the speaker believed their request was unlikely to be granted (Ervin-Tripp, 1988; Bernicot and Mahrokhanian, 1989). Therefore, providing an explanation for these unexpected findings (see appendix 9 and 11). Once again, the behaviour of most bands provides support for the suggestion that these girls accommodate their language as a result of their partner's age, and consequently status.

The way these girls used and responded to direct requests was not only what had been expected, but also supported by previous research. Overall what has been shown here is further support for the assumptions that these girls associate age with status and consequently accommodate their use of, and response to, AUs based on their own and their partner's age.

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