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Criminal Discourse and Gender Differences:
A Forensic Approach

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*To my beloved family:
my parents Mouloud and Nadia,
my sister Melissa,
my brother Karim Tahar,
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Abstract

The present study is concerned with the analysis of males' and females' criminal discourse. It is intended to determine whether male and female criminals are different with respect to the use of hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives. It uses Tannen's (1990) *Cultural Approach* and takes into account Lakoff's (1975) stereotypes regarding males' and female' linguistic differences. In order to gather the data, extracts from the Reality TV series *Prison Diaries* (2011), featuring first-person interviews, and *Inside Death Row with Trevor McDonald* (2013), featuring interviews conducted by the British newsreader and journalist Trevor McDonald, are randomly selected. In all, six hundred and twenty-four utterances in English are examined using Mixed Methods Research. The study, in fact, combines between quantitative and qualitative methods. It uses a descriptive statistical method to elicit statistical data, then, adopts a forensic approach along Critical Discourse Analysis for the interpretation and explanation of the results. The results obtained show significant differences between male and female criminals on the use of hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives. Although the findings do confirm that male and female criminals speak differently, they are neither in total conformity with the claims put by Lakoff (1975) nor with those postulated by Tannen (1990) at least with respect to the use of hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives within the corpus inspected in this research. The conclusion to be drawn from these finding is that the discourse of female criminals is a kind of rebellion against gender stereotypes. Females assert themselves in society and no more assume the victim role assigned to them within decades of sociolinguistic study on language and gender differences. This neither provides support for the *Dominance Approach* nor for the *Difference Approach* with regards to the study of language and gender differences. Males' and females' language differences are rather influenced by the context of language use.

List of Abbreviations

- CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis
- CRFP: Centre for the Registration of Forensic Practitioners
- GID: Gender Identity Disorder
- FL: Forensic Linguistics
- Hp: Hypothesis
- IAFL: International Association of Forensic Linguistics
- WL: Women's Language

List of Symbols

$\%$: Percentage

\bar{X} : The arithmetic mean

Σ : The sum of the values

x : The mid points

N : The number of items

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General Introduction

General Introduction

- **Statement of the Problem:**

A review of language and gender studies shows that popular understanding of language and gender existed well before gender and language became one of the most significant discussions in sociolinguistics in the early 1970's. Folks made all sort of sweeping statements about the existence of differences between males' and females' speech. These linguistic differences are usually enshrined in proverbs, as illustrated in the following examples:

- 1) Foxes are all tail and women are all tongue (England).
- 2) Three women make a market (Sudan).
- 3) Ou femmes y a, silence n'y a (France).
- 4) Women are Nine times more talkative than men (Hebrew).
- 5) A woman's tongue spreads gossip fast (China).

A number of scholars from different disciplines, especially linguistics, anthropology and later on sociolinguistics, studied the possible correlations between language and gender. All the studies that have been carried out concluded that males and females differ in the way they speak. These differences range from pronunciation or morphology to the choice of vocabulary. Notwithstanding the shared premise, there exist important dissimilarities between the four main approaches that have attempted to explain the differences between males' and females' speech. According to the '*Deficit Approach*', females' speech is deficient and unconventional in comparison to the normative speech of males. The '*Dominance Approach*', explains the asymmetries between males' and females' speech in terms of females' subordination to males' dominance. In contrast, the '*Difference Approach*' assumes that males and females develop different linguistic behaviours because since childhood and through

adulthood they are socialized into different subcultures. And the ‘*Social Constructionist Approach*’ supports the claim that males’ and females’ speech differ because gender is socially constructed, thus, language and gender co-vary across contexts.

But as far as we have reviewed, none of these studies has investigated language and gender differences reflected in criminal discourse. They all, in fact, revolved around English speaking cultures, in particular white middle class speakers. This is why their findings need to be treated with some caution, especially when making universal generalizations, because there are a variety of cultures. This dissertation, then, is a case study that will try to determine whether males’ criminal discourse differs from that of females with respect to the use of hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives, which are prominent issues in forensic linguistics.

- **Aims and Significance of the Study**

This dissertation is first and foremost concerned with the investigation and identification of the complex and ambiguous relationship between gender and language in the prison context. That is, it investigates the extent to which gender can be considered as a determining factor in language variance of criminals. The main reason for focusing on criminal discourse is driven by a personal interest in the forensic application of linguistics, which began as a basic interest in crime solving through the artificial situations that were introduced to us by writers such as Raymond Chandler and Agatha Christie, who make the world look as their fictions. Yet, the reality is something else.

The study has two main objectives and is to some extent designed within ‘*Difference Approach*’ perspective. The first objective consists in exploring the frequency distribution of hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives as used in males’ and females’ criminal

discourse. The second objective consists in providing some clarity through accurate interpretation and explanation of the results obtained.

This research is original because there is no previous study in the literature reviewed so far that has tackled the question of gender and criminal discourse. In fact, criminals in prison, as a community of practice, have not been considered in previous gender studies. This adds value to current research because the study investigates language and gender differences from a new perspective, the prison context, by focusing on the discursive use of syntactic elements, especially hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives. Due to practical constraints, however, items related to phonetics, like intonation and pitch, will not be taken into account because they are beyond the scope of the study given the research questions stated below. This dissertation, then, will help us gain a deeper intellectual understanding as to what extent gender in a dehumanized environment matters in the production of such differences.

- **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

A focus on gender in such context, however, raises forcefully some fundamental questions:

- 1- To what extent do male and female criminals use language differently?
- 2- How do male and female criminals use hedging, negation and which evaluative adjectives do they use to express their emotions?
- 3- How does gender matter in the production of criminal discourse?

And in an attempt to answer them, we advance the following working hypotheses:

Hp1: Male and female criminals speak differently.

Hp2: Females use more often hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives than males actually do.

Hp3: Such differences are based on the fact that they are males and females.

- **Research Techniques and Methodology**

To conduct the investigation, we adopt Mixed Methods Research. We combine between quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection and data analysis, assuming the mutual influence between language and gender and taking into account the social and cultural differences in English context. We also apply Lakoff's (1975) stereotypes as a starting point for the discussion of gender differences reflected in criminal discourse.

The research data is drawn from two main sources: the Reality TV series *Prison Diaries* (2011), featuring first-person interviews, and *Inside Death Row with Trevor McDonald* (2013), featuring interviews conducted by the British newsreader and journalist Trevor McDonald. The different extracts, which are used, are randomly selected. Accordingly, the data consists of a manually transcribed corpus of six hundred and twenty-four utterances in English, elicited from thirty-seven testimonies of male and female criminals convicted in US most notorious prisons, including Indiana State Maximum Security Prison. For the quantitative part, we use a descriptive statistical method to generate statistical data in order to make the analysis of row data easier. And for the qualitative part, we interpret and explain the results obtained by adopting Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and forensic linguistics toolkit.

- **Structure of the Dissertation**

The overall structure of this dissertation follows the traditional-complex model. It consists of a general introduction, four chapters and a general conclusion. Chapter 1 is called "*Gender and Language*". It reviews the main theoretical concepts and approaches relating to the study of gender differences reflected in language. Chapter 2 is named "*Research Design*". It starts by presenting the procedures of data collection, which consist of a manually transcribed corpus elicited from different interviews of male and female criminals convicted

in US prisons. Subsequently, it explains the two methods of data analysis. The first consists of a descriptive statistical data used to elicit statistical data in order to facilitate its analysis, thus, ensure research validity and reliability. The second consists of a forensic approach along CDA framework adopted to interpret and explain the results obtained. It is followed by Chapter 3 called "*Presentation of the Findings*" which provides the results relating to statistical data. Chapter 4 is named "*Discussion of the Findings*" and discusses the main results included in the previous chapter and brings answers to the research questions.

Chapter 1 : Language and Gender

Introduction

This chapter is a review of the literature relating to issues of gender and language. It aims at exploring the complex and ambiguous relationship between gender and language. The theoretical concepts, it reviews, are meant to serve as tools to analyze language and gender differences reflected in criminal discourse under investigation. They will also help unveil how these differences are represented in criminal discourse.

The chapter opens by setting the scope of the study through considering the various definitions of gender. It, then, accounts for the different characteristics of males' and females' linguistic behaviours according to different scholars in the fields of linguistics, anthropology and sociolinguistics. It also surveys the evolution of the different approaches that have been adopted to explain the differences between males' and females' use of language.

1.1. Defining Gender

The term "*gender*" is derived from the Latin word "*genus*", which means kind or race.¹ Yet, gender is typically placed in correlation to the word sex. This is why it is often misunderstood because the definitions that were given to it are usually blurred. It is, therefore, essential to distinguish the meaning of the word gender from that of the word sex for a complete understanding of the relationship between gender and language.

1.1.1. Biological Theory of Gender

The biological theory reduces the term '*gender*' to sex.² Sex refers to categories that are distinguished by biological or anatomical characteristics.³ That is, individuals are said to be either males or females, depending on their external and internal sex organs as well as secondary sexual development at puberty.⁴

Today, however, there are more gender categories. There exist, in fact, some syndromes of abnormal development, such as the testicular feminization syndrome and the androgenital syndrome, which make the distinction between sex and gender difficult.⁵ For instance, babies who are designated at birth as being males, even if they are chromosomally females, will tend to develop male gender identity and vice versa.⁶ And they will probably experience what is known as Gender Identity Disorder (GID) or Gender Dysphoria, which is defined “*by strong, persistent feelings of identification with the opposite gender and discomfort with one's own assigned sex*”.⁷ This disorder may, for example, affect their behavior, dress, mannerisms, and choice of sexual partners.⁸

1.1.2. Social Constructionist Theory of Gender

The social constructionist theory assumes that biology does not determine gender.⁹ It, however, acknowledges that biological differences between males and females are universal and do not change. It also specifies that the ways in which males express their masculinity and females express their femininity are viewed differently across cultures. Hence, the different features that are stereotypically attributed to both males and females in modern Western communities (for instance, toughness for males and great sensitivity for females) are considered as gender.¹⁰ This is also the case elsewhere.

The fact that gender is a construction not a fixed category entails that it could be changed. As Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet argue, “*gender doesn't just exist, but is continually produced, reproduced and indeed changed through people's performance of gendered acts, as they project their own claimed gender identities, ratify or challenge others' identities, and in various ways support or challenge systems of gender relations and privilege*”.¹¹ Accordingly, gender is doing rather than being. It is a cultural performance and a recurring accomplishment that can be affected by various factors including education and

economics.¹² This entails that gender identity varies across contexts and that language use cannot be isolated from its context.¹³

1.1.3. Gender in Linguistics

Gender in linguistics is considered as “*the metaphorical extension of sex to the rest of the world*”.¹⁴ That is, the distinction of human beings into males and females is also reflected in all human languages with significant differences.¹⁵ Gender in this technical sense refers to the grammatical classification of nouns and pronouns into feminine, masculine and sometimes neuter.¹⁶ Arabic and Berber, for instance, are gender-marked languages because they clearly distinguish between masculine, feminine and neuter even in conjugation. In contrast, English is a non-marked language. That is, it has no grammatical gender.¹⁷ And it has a few nouns that have grammatical marking of gender such as ‘*stewardess*’ and ‘*mistress*’. It distinguishes gender only through personal pronouns s/he.¹⁸ It follows from this that all nouns which are referred to as ‘*she*’ in English are definitely biologically feminine in the real world.¹⁹

1.2. Conversational Characteristics of Males and Females

Language is uniquely human trait by means of which human beings describe the world and perpetuate its reality or even bring different worlds into existence.²⁰ That is, language does not only reflect the reality of the society. It also contributes to the establishment and maintenance of social relationships.²¹ And as far as gender and language interaction is concerned, language plays an important role too: it is not simply reflective of gender but also performative of it.²² This means that gender is an inherently communicative process, which is constructed and enacted through discourse.²³

A number of linguists, anthropologists and sociolinguists, most notably Otto Jespersen (1922), William Labov (1966), Peter Trudgill (1972), Robin Tolmach-Lakoff (1975), Deborah Tannen (1990) and Janet Holmes (1995) have conducted research in Western speaking English communities, mainly in Britain and America, to study the complex relationship between gender and language and to account for gender differences in the use of language. They provided striking evidence that males and females speak differently. And they identified a number of features as constitutive of female's speech in comparison to the normative speech of males.

Jespersen (1922) claimed that females tend to use smaller vocabularies, generate less complex sentences and very often employ certain adjectives and adverbs.²⁴ In contrast, the initial empirical studies on language variation, which were carried out by the American sociolinguist, Labov, (1996) and the British anthropologist, Trudgill (1972), indicated that females use a more Standard English than males usually do, regardless of their age, social status and level of education.²⁵ As Trudgill contends, "*Women in our society are more status-conscious than men, generally speaking... and are therefore more aware of the social significance of linguistic variables.*",²⁶ What is obvious is that these pre-feminist gender studies were contradictory, hence, the need to consider them with great caution.

Lakoff (1975) considered females' speech as expressing uncertainty, tentativeness and lack of confidence.²⁷ Some of the characteristics of what Lakoff calls Women's Language (WL) include rising intonation on declaratives, avoidance of strong swear words and taboos, precise color terms like "*dark blue*" and "*mauve*", polite expressions like indirect request forms with regard to giving orders, empty adjectives which express their feelings, emphatic stress like "*amazing*" show, not telling jokes (humorless), hedges, intensifiers, hypercorrection, and tag questions.²⁸

Tannen (1990) accounted for other features. Accordingly, females are facilitative and supportive conversationalists as opposed to males' speech, which preserves authority and maintains status in competitive society.²⁹ She also indicated that gossip is a typical characteristic of females' speech. It is used to affirm solidarity and establish intimacy between the females involved.³⁰

Holmes (1995), for instance, added that females interrupt others less than males; thus, give up the floor with little or no protest.³¹ And they complement others and apologize more than males do. In sum, she claimed that females are more polite than males.³²

1.3. Approaches to Gender and Language Studies

The investigation and identification of the complex and ambiguous relationship between language and gender has always been one of the most significant discussions in sociolinguistics since the early 1970's and in linguistics even well before that. All the studies that we have reviewed concluded that males and females differ in the way they speak. Such a difference may occur at the phonological, syntactic, lexical and discourse levels.³³ For example, the same word might in the same context be articulated differently. These studies have also shown to what extent gender affects males' and females' linguistic behaviours.

Generally, there is a tendency to classify these studies into four main approaches, which, in spite of the shared premise, tend to have important dissimilarities, and above all a lack of consensus as to reasons for variance in females' and males' discourse.

- a) The deficit approach is associated with Jespersen's (1922) pre-feminist linguistic study on gender differences.
- b) The dominance or power approach is associated with Lakoff's (1975) foundational work in the field of sociolinguistics, which was conducted from a feminist perspective and paved the way for subsequent feminist research.

- c) The difference or cultural approach is associated with Tannen's (1990) contribution to the field, which assumed and expanded upon the two-culture model.
- d) The social constructionist, contextualizing or dynamic approach, developed in the 1990's to challenge the previous approaches, which regarded gender as a static category. It is usually associated with the work of Judith Butler.

1.3.1. The Deficit Approach

Initial studies on language and gender differences were carried out in the early 1920's by the Danish Linguist, Jespersen. When he published his monograph *Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin* in 1922, he included a single chapter entitled "The Woman", in which he acknowledged males' superiority and females' inferiority. This approach is known as the deficit approach.³⁴

Jespersen presented a number of alleged characteristics of females' speech. These, for instance, include soft speech, irrational topic shift, the use of smaller vocabularies and less complex sentences, and also vacuity and volubility. In other words, he viewed females as "talking a lot but making no sense".³⁵ That is, he relegated females' language to a subservient status considering it as deficient, unconventional and even incomplete by comparison to males' normative language.³⁶ This reflects the ideas and epistemologies of a patriarchal society.

The deficit approach set the basis for subsequent work in linguistic gender studies. Yet, it was firmly criticized for being oversimplified and deterministic: it considered gender as a fixed entity;³⁷ that is, it viewed gender in terms of bipolar categories, feminine and masculine, without ever questioning the category of gender itself.³⁸ This approach was also criticized for being profoundly androcentric in the sense that it reproduced sexist

stereotypes.³⁹ Another critique concerned Jespersen's sweeping generalizations, which were largely based on his own intuitions and impressionistic data rather than on actual systematic observations.⁴⁰

1.3.2. The Dominance/Power Approach

The publication of Lakoff's (1975) book, *Language and Women's Place*, written from a feminist perspective, can be seen as ushering in the second decade of language and gender studies.⁴¹ It is, in fact, widely acknowledged that her book marked a turning point in the field of sociolinguistics because previous research, like the one conducted by contemporaries of Jespersen such as Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1972), ignored gender as a social variable. Rather, they focused only on co-variation, language and social class, age and ethnicity.⁴² That is, they only questioned which languages or dialects females and males used.⁴³

In contrast, Lakoff was very innovative. She wanted to establish a "*Women's Language*", in which she portrayed females as making more frequent use of some specific language forms. Subsequent research has often shown that females' speech differs statistically from males' in a variety of situations.⁴⁴ Yet, her analysis of females' speech is very much deficient because she described females as being passive speakers and even victims,⁴⁵ seeing them as "*the second sex*" in terms of the French Theorist, Simone de Beauvoir.⁴⁶ Kendall and Tannen also argue that the use of WL denies females access to power. Rather, it emphasizes social inequality.⁴⁷ Lakoff argues,

So a girl is damned if she does, damned if she doesn't. If she refuses to talk like a lady, she is ridiculed and subjected to criticism as unfeminine, if she does learn, she is ridiculed as unable to think clearly, unable to take part in a serious discussion: in some sense, as less than fully human. These two choices which woman has -to be less than a woman or less than a person - are highly painful.⁴⁸

Lakoff explained the asymmetries of males' and females' language use as being the result of females' subordination to males' power and dominance.⁴⁹ Her approach is known as the dominance approach. It is assumed to derive from a traditional patriarchal, negative evaluation of females' speech.⁵⁰ And to some extent, it echoed the work of Otto Jespersen.⁵¹

Although Lakoff's work is widely acknowledged as an important pioneer work that paved the way for the study of the complexity of language and gender interactions,⁵² subsequent scholars in language and gender studies, mainly from the late 1970's to the late 1980's, have been very critical of her work. They claimed that it was not adequately elaborated.⁵³ As a matter of fact, Lakoff made sweeping generalizations, and her work lacked empirical validity because it was based on her personal intuitions and observations.⁵⁴ Besides, she neglected meaning postulating that any given linguistic form can have only a single meaning. And by doing so, she neglected polysemy.⁵⁵

Lakoff was also criticized for not looking at how gender is constructed in interaction. Rather, she considered it as being static and viewed it in terms of the dichotomy feminine and masculine.⁵⁶ Besides, she reinforced gender stereotypes as she never questioned the nature of gender.⁵⁷ That is, she isolated females' and males' speech from its context.⁵⁸ Moreover, she acknowledged the use of certain linguistic forms to be exclusively marking female identity. But instead of being direct, the relationship between gender and these linguistic forms is mediated. This means that gender is indirectly indexed with language and constitutive of it.⁵⁹

1.3.3. The Difference/Cultural Approach

In the third phase of linguistic gender studies, issues of cultural difference were of great relevance. In her 1990's bestseller, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*, Tannen celebrated difference and examined females' speech outside a framework of oppression or powerlessness.⁶⁰ Her approach was known as the difference or

cultural approach. It assumed that males and females belong to different sociolinguistic subcultures, so that they have developed different linguistic behaviors, which can be compared to those of speakers of different languages.⁶¹ “*Girls and boys grow up in different worlds of words. Others talk to them differently and expect and accept different ways of talking from them. Most important, children learn how to talk, how to have conversations, not only from their parents but from their peers*”, argues Tannen.⁶² That is, males and females experience life differently because since childhood, they have learnt different linguistic behaviors based on the same sex peer groups in which they played.⁶³ Obviously, language reflects this social fact.⁶⁴ For instance, girls are usually taught to be polite and ladylike whereas boys are always asked to be brave and strong. This is due to the fact that society tends to expect better behavior from females than from males because it considers them as models for children.⁶⁵ Yet, these different ways of understanding the social world might be the cause of miscommunication between males and females.⁶⁶

Like Lakoff’s work, Tannen’s contribution to the field of linguistic gender studies was widely criticized on both empirical and political grounds for being deterministic. In fact, she viewed gender as a homogenous and static category, taking males and females as her analytic categories, which exaggerated binary oppositions.⁶⁷ And this reinforced stereotypes.⁶⁸ In sum, she steered females’ and males’ speech away from its interactional context.⁶⁹ Her work was also criticized for being prone to bias as she relied on personal anecdotal and fictional evidence instead of audio-recordings.⁷⁰

1.3.4. The Social Constructionist/ Contextualizing/Dynamic Approach

From the 1990’s onwards, the social constructionist or dynamic approach, also known as the contextualizing approach, established itself as the prevailing approach in the field of language and gender studies. It challenged the previous approaches as it changed the

research question from the study of males' and females' speech differences to understanding when, whether and how language use constructs gender difference as a social category.⁷¹ That is, the aim of the study shifted from "*showing how gender correlates with the use of linguistic forms to how speakers use the linguistic resources available to them to accomplish gender*".⁷²

This approach views gender as a social construct that is achieved every time someone speaks, no matter whether that individual is a male or a female. As Coates argues,

...acting and talking like a man or a woman varies over time and between social, ethnic and cultural groups. Gender is accomplished in talk every time we speak. Speakers claim their roles anew in each conversation and the roles, and consequently also the degree of femininity and masculinity, vary depending on context.⁷³

That is, both speech and the kind of gender identity portrayed by individuals vary across context so that speech and gender co-vary.

Conclusion

The review of literature in this chapter shows that gender is defined differently according to different disciplines but remains tightly connected to language. The biological theory defines it in terms of biological sex (either male or female). That is, gender is a fixed entity and contextually independent. In contrast, the social constructionist theory assumes that gender is a socio-cultural construction. In linguistics, noun classes are referred to as grammatical genders. These are reflected in the behaviour of the associated words, which, for instance, can be identified either as masculine or feminine.

Gender and language have always been associated in academic writings even well before gender becomes the principal concern of sociolinguistics in the early 1970's. All the studies that have been carried out assumed that males and females speak differently. Four approaches have been adopted to explain these differences. The deficit approach considered females' speech as deficient in comparison to males' normative speech. The dominance

approach explained these asymmetries as being the result of males' dominance to females'. The difference approach acknowledged that males and females belong to different subcultures. Despite their efficiency, these three approaches have been firmly criticized for being deterministic and oversimplified. Although these approaches acknowledged some truth, their findings need to be interpreted with some caution because they cannot be generalized to all parts of the world since there are many different cultures. Today, the social constructionist approach is the established approach. It challenges the previous ones as it supports the claim that gender is constructed and performed through discourse.

Notes:

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- ² Andrew Edgar, and Peter Sedgwick, eds., *Cultural Theory: The Key Concepts*, (London: Routledge, 2008), 139.
- ³ Muriel Saville-Stroike, *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction*, 3rd ed. (United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003), 77.
- ⁴ Hailiang Ning, and Dai Xue, 'On Gender Difference in English Language and its Causes', *Asian Social Science* 6, no.2 (2010) , 126.
- ⁵ Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*, (Cambridge: Polity, 1989), 158.
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- ⁷ PubMed Health, "Gender Identity Disorder" last modified 13 February 2012, Viewed 16 May 2014. <<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmedhealth/PMH000249/>>.
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- ¹⁰ Edgar and Sedgwick, *Cultural Theory*, 139.
- ¹¹ Penelope Eckert, and Sally McConnell-Ginet, *Language and Gender*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4.
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- ¹⁵ Peter Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*, 4th ed. (England: Penguin Group, 2000), 61.
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- ¹⁸ Jennifer L. Prewitt-Freilino, Andrew T. Caswell, and Emi K.Laakso, 'The Gendering of Language: A Comparison of Gender Equality in Countries with Gendered, Natural Gender, and Gender Less Languages', *Sex Roles* 66 (2011): 269.
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- ²⁰ Ibid., 5.
- ²¹ Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*, 1.
- ²² Rebecca Freeman, and Bonnie McElhinny, 'Language and Gender', in *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching*, ed., Sandra L. McKay, and Nancy H. Hornberger, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 254.
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- ²⁴ Jane Sunderland, *Language and Gender: An Advanced Resource Book*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 5.
- ²⁵ Ibid., 6.
- ²⁶ Peter Trudgill, *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 94.
- ²⁷ Romaine, *Communicating Gender*, 154
- ²⁸ Janet Holmes, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Insights into Human Geography. Learning about Language*, (England: Longman, 2001), 286.
- ²⁹ Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*, (New York: Random House, Inc, 1990), 72.
- ³⁰ Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*, 46.
- ³¹ Holmes, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Insights into Human Geography. Learning about Language*, 295 .
- ³² Janet Holmes, *Women, Men and Politeness*, (England: Longman Group UK Limited, 1995), 2.
- ³³ Beeching, Kate, 'Language and Gender', Centre for Languages, Linguistics and Area Studies, Viewed 15 May 2014, <<https://www.llas.ac.uk/resources/gpg/958>>.
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- ³⁵ Mary Talbot, 'Gender Stereotypes: Reproduction and Challenge', in *The Handbook of Language and Gender*, ed., Janet Holmes, and Miriam Meyerhoff, (USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003), 469.
- ³⁶ Elin Waara, and Philip Shaw, 'Male and Female Witnesses' Speech in Swedish Criminal Trials', *Hermes – Journal of Language and Communication Studies* 36 (2006): 130.
- ³⁷ Chafiaa Boukhedda, 'Gender, Race and Generation in Algerian Secondary School Textbooks' (PhD diss., University of Tizi-Ouzou, 2011), 24.
- ³⁸ Talbot, 'Gender Stereotypes: Reproduction and Challenge', 475.
- ³⁹ Ibid., 469.

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- ⁴⁰ Sunderland, *Language and Gender: An Advanced Resource Book*, 5.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 5-6.
- ⁴² Janet Holmes, Introduction to *Gender and Conversational Interaction*, by Janet Holmes 13. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3-4.
- ⁴³ Freeman and Mchelinny, 'Language and Gender', 231.
- ⁴⁴ Waara and Shaw, 'Male and Female Witnesses' Speech in Swedish Criminal Trials', 130.
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- ⁵¹ Talbot, 'Gender Stereotypes: Reproduction and Challenge', 475.
- ⁵² Kendall and Tannen, 'Discourse and Gender', 549.
- ⁵³ Freeman and Mchelinny, 'Language and Gender', 234.
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- ⁵⁷ Talbot, 'Gender Stereotypes: Reproduction and Challenge', 475.
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- ⁶⁰ Coates, *Women, Men and Language*, 3rd ed. (Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited, 2004), 6.
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- ⁶⁴ Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*, 79.
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- ⁶⁷ Talbot, 'Gender Stereotypes: Reproduction and Challenge', 475.
- ⁶⁸ Ehrlich, 'Language and Gender', 305-306.
- ⁶⁹ Freeman and Mchelinny, 'Language and Gender', 242.
- ⁷⁰ Brenda Wright, 'Gender and Language: Challenging the Stereotypes' (Master Thesis., University of Birmingham, 2002), 2.
- ⁷¹ Freeman and Mchelinny, 'Language and Gender', 245.
- ⁷² Boukhedda, 'Gender, Race and Generation in Algerian Secondary School Textbooks' (PhD diss., University of Tizi-Ouzou, 2011), 24.
- ⁷³ Coates, *Women, Men and Language*, 6-7.

Chapter 2 : Research Design

Introduction

This chapter is methodological. It deals with the research design of the study. It describes the procedures of data collection and the research techniques used to carry out the interpretation and explanation of differences of males' and females' criminal discourse in order to answer the research questions stated in the general introduction of the dissertation and which address issues of gendered use of language among criminals.

The chapter comprises two main sections which deal respectively with the procedures of data collection and the procedures of data analysis. The first section provides a description of the corpus under investigation and discusses the authorizations that were granted for the collection of raw data. The second section explains the procedures of data analysis. It first describes the statistic method of analysis. And then gives an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis and forensic linguistics toolkit, which are appropriate for the interpretation and explanation of the obtained results. It then provides an example of forensic analysis and accounts for the recent developments in forensic linguistics.

2.1. Procedures of Data Collection

The data consist of a transcribed corpus of six hundred and twenty-four (624) utterances in English. These are elicited from different interviews of male and female criminals convicted in US prisons.

On December 24th, 2013, an email was sent to Gary Lico, who is the proprietor of CABLEready -a distribution firm dedicated to US Cable networks, to request permission for the use of the Reality TV series *Prison Diaries* as a primary source for the collection of raw data. He responded two days later and agreed to grant us the right to use them (for more information see appendix 1). Another important source is the series *Inside Death Row with Trevor McDonald*, which are made embeddable free of charge by Discovery Channel UK.

These series portray male and female criminals, who are convicted either in death row quarters or sentenced to life prison, in US most notorious prisons. Their discourse reveals shocking confessions about drug-dealing, car-jacking, brutal killings, murders, homicides...

Thirteen video-tapes of thirty-five criminal testimonies, ranging from ten minutes to one hour, were randomly selected from the series *Prison Diaries* (2011), featuring first-person interviews, and *Inside Death Row with Trevor McDonald* (2013), featuring interviews conducted by the British newsreader and journalist Trevor McDonald. We tried to provide equal numbers of males' and females' testimonies; however, in order to establish a balance between the numbers of utterances per gender, we examined fourteen testimonies given by males and twenty-one testimonies given by females. After listening to and manually transcribing all the testimonies from the screen, we noted the number of occurrences of hedges, negation (grammatical and semantic) and evaluative adjectives (positive and negative).

2.2. Procedures of Data Analysis

The collected corpus of utterances in English of both male and female criminals was analyzed according to a mixed method approach, which involves the combination of quantitative and qualitative tools of analysis. A descriptive statistical method was used for the quantitative part. The amount of talk was also measured in total for each criminal. And for the qualitative part, the interpretation and explanation of the results obtained were provided by adopting a forensic approach along with Critical Discourse Analysis framework.

2.2.1. Descriptive Statistical Method

A descriptive statistical method as described by Yassine (2012) was used to elicit quantitative data to reduce the complexity of raw data, bring precision to the analysis, and

ensure research validity and reliability. The description of the frequency distribution of hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives (positive or negative) in both males' and females' criminal discourse was provided by calculating the means. We used the arithmetic mean, which is calculated as follows:

$$\text{The Arithmetic Mean} = \frac{\text{Sum of Values}}{\text{Number of items}} \text{ or } \bar{X} = \frac{\sum x}{N}$$

\bar{X} is the arithmetic mean, \sum refers to the sum of the values, x refers to the mid points and N is the number of items. The mean can be derived by dividing the sum of the values (the additions of the measures of each item) by the number of the items.

The obtained results are presented in percentages, displayed in tables and highlighted in pie charts and histograms for better visibility and readability.

2.2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis and Forensic Linguistics Toolkit

Critical Discourse Analysis is usually abbreviated (CDA).¹ As a qualitative method of analysis in social sciences, CDA “*is not a method of critical discourse analysis*”. Rather, it is a state of mind or an attitude of analyzing a text critically.² It is, in fact, a critical approach to text analysis.³ But what is meant by a text?

The term text is viewed differently by different scholars in different disciplines. In everyday use, for instance, text refers to written documents such as letters, books, journals...⁴ Yet, in the field of discourse and discourse analysis theories, it is often interchangeably used with discourse. In this sense text is language beyond the level of the sentence or utterance;⁵ that is, “*a collection of signs which displays specific rules or structures*”.⁶ But in CDA, text has a more complex meaning. It is considered as multi-semiotic. That is, its construction necessitates the combination of many forms of representation.⁷ This means that anything can

be analyzed as being a text, including reports, songs, wedding vows, daily conversations and criminal confessions.

Accordingly, CDA draws from a detailed linguistic analysis: it analyzes “*the structures of a piece of extended text, an analysis which focuses on the higher-level organization of that piece of text*”.⁸ And then, it extends its analytic focus to the explanation and interpretation of this analysis,⁹ depending on the context of the study, which includes one’s aim, the type of data collected, time and place...¹⁰ That is, CDA examines the relationship between a text and the social context in which it occurs.¹¹ Hence, it investigates issues relating to gender, ethnicity, identity and many other types of discrimination, showing how such issues are both constructed and reflected in texts. CDA aims at revealing underlying ideologies, challenging particular biases and presuppositions from the linguistic features of a text.¹² It follows from this that Critical Discourse Analysis is a relevant means by which we can interpret and explain language and gender differences reflected in criminal discourse, in particular the distribution of hedging, negation and emotion words.

Criminal discourse is investigated by texts. Forensic linguistics (commonly abbreviated FL) is relatively a recent practice of applied linguistics interested in “*the interface between language, crime and law*”. It applies various linguistic theories and methods such as CDA to legal questions that involve language.¹³ In fact, the forensic linguist draws on knowledge and techniques derived from a large spectrum of linguistic fields, which, for instance, includes critical discourse analysis, conversation analysis, speech act theory and pragmatics, to discuss issues related to plagiarism, trademarks, insurance contracts, confessions, murder...¹⁴

The phrase “*Forensic Linguistics*” was used for the first time in 1968 by Professor Jan Svartvik in his study of Timothy John Evans’ statements.¹⁵ Evans, the tenant of the serial killer John Christie, was hanged for the murder of his wife and daughter in 1950.¹⁶ The

analysis of his incriminating statements revealed the existence of two very different registers,¹⁷ which suggested police co-authorship. This evidence, however, had not been available to the jury otherwise Evans would not have been wrongly accused for a double murder,¹⁸ and he would probably be still alive. Instead, he was posthumously pardoned.

By the 1980's, FL established itself as an academic discipline. And by the 1990's, it had founded the International Association of Forensic Linguistics (IAFL) and launched the journal *Forensic Linguistics*, which in 2003 became known as the *International Journal of Speech, Language and Law*, edited by Malcolm Coulthard and Peter French. Also, books and articles dealing with FL had been published massively and the number of forensic linguists increased incredibly.¹⁹ Besides, the Centre for Forensic Linguistics at the University of Birmingham and the Council for the Registration of Forensic Practitioners (CRFP) had opened up in 2008.²⁰

a. An Example of Forensic Analysis

In 1994, Professor Malcolm Coulthard investigated the re-opened case of Derek Bentley, an adolescent with learning difficulties, who, like Evans, was arrested, accused and then hanged in the 1950's for a murder he did not commit. Coulthard undertook a descriptive linguistic study of Bentley's alleged statement.²¹ The main feature, which drew his attention, was simply the word '*then*'. Bentley used it 11 times in his statement of 582 words. But what was the most striking was the medial position of the word "*then*", subject and verb. Coulthard compared Bentley's statements with two other small corpora: one made up of witness statements and the other consisted of police statements.²² His conclusions were astonishing. He writes, "*The structure 'I then' does appear to be a feature of policeman's (written) register. More generally, it is in fact the structure Subject (+ Verb) followed by 'then' which is typical of policeman's register – it occurs 26 times in the statements of the ... officers and 7*

times in Bentley's own statement."²³ This analysis confirmed police co-authorship in Bentley's written statements. Bentley was, therefore, posthumously pardoned some forty-eight years after his death.²⁴

b. Recent Developments in Forensic Linguistics

Nowadays, a number of different computer programmes and internet services have been developed to detect plagiarism. In the United Kingdom, for example, the *Copycatch* programme is used to analyze students' applications for admission.²⁵ In a similar vein, the *Turnitin* programme, designed by Louis Bloomfield- a professor of physics at the University of Virginia- is an internet service equivalent to the *Copycatch*. It searches the internet and other databases for similar sequences of six words or more in students' papers. In a way, it takes "the digital fingerprint" of the student's paper.²⁶ Another interesting programme is the *Findsame* programme. It inspects the internet for similar sentences and whole documents instead of single words.²⁷

Other developments concern authorship identification. These include the application of stylistic analysis to computer programming,²⁸ and the development of a reference corpus to "*make some approaches to authorship attribution more acceptable to a Daubert test*",²⁹ a failing test under which US Federal courts determine the admissibility of experts' scientific testimony.³⁰ We utterly believe that these and similar projects in forensic linguistics methodology can help reduce the rate of criminality and the number of mistrial procedures by identifying the real criminals.

In the following chapter, we present the results obtained in percentages by calculating the distribution of occurrences of hedging, negation and emotion words (positive and negative evaluative adjectives) of males' and females' criminal discourse. Then, we adopt a forensic approach to explain and interpret them. This mainly consists in critically discussing the results

obtained along with CDA framework in order to answer the research questions stated in the general introduction to either confirm or disconfirm the hypotheses we advanced.

Conclusion

This chapter places its emphasis on the research design of the study. It first presents the procedures of data collection, explaining how the corpus of utterances of male and female criminals was gathered and transcribed in order to facilitate its analysis. And then, it provides a description of the tools of data analysis. The use of a descriptive statistical method is the most frequent technique that is used in social sciences for the quantification of data. The results obtained provide valuable insights about the frequency distribution of hedging, negation and emotion words in males' and females' criminal discourse. And then, to assess the validity of the hypotheses advanced in the general introduction, a forensic approach along with Critical Discourse Analysis is adopted to explain and interpret these results. This consists in critically examining whether male and female criminals really do speak differently, which either confirms or disconfirms Lakoff's conversational features of females' speech in comparison to the normative speech of males.

Notes:

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- ⁵ George Yule, *The Study of Language*, 4th ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 142.
- ⁶ Souryana Yassine, 'Culture Issues, Ideology and Otherness in EFL Textbooks: A Social Semiotic Multimodal Approach' (PhD diss., University of Tizi Ouzou, 2012), 44.
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- ⁸ Sara Mills, *Discourse*, 2nd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2004), 141.
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- ¹² Brian Paltridge, *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*, (London: Continuum, 2006), 178-179.
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- ¹⁸ Cotterill, 'How to use Corpus Linguistics in Forensic Linguistics', 581.
- ¹⁹ Shy W. Roger, 'Forensic Linguistics', in *The Handbook of Linguistics*, ed. Mark Aronoff, and Janie Rees-Miller, (UK: Blackwell Publishing Inc, 2002), Viewed 5 May 2014, <<http://www.asarimhotep.com/documentdownloads/linguistics/7983954-The-Handbook-of-Linguisticspdf.pdf>>.
- ²⁰ Arts and Humanities Research Council, 'Forensic Linguistics', Viewed 10 May 2014, <<http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/What-we-Do/Build-the-evidence-basebase/Impactexamples/Documents/Forensic-Linguistics.pdf>>.
- ²¹ Olsson, *Forensic Linguistics* 2008:20)
- ²² Janet Cotterill, 'How to use Corpus Linguistics in Forensic Linguistics', 581-582.
- ²³ Malcolm Coulthard, 'Whose Text is it? On the Linguistic Investigation of Authorship', in *Discourse and Social Life*, ed. Srikant Saranji, and Malcolm Coulthard, (London, Longman, 2000), 274.
- ²⁴ Cotterill, 'How to use Corpus Linguistics in Forensic Linguistics', 582.
- ²⁵ Malcolm Coulthard, and Alison Johnson, 'Concluding Remarks: Future Direction in Forensic Linguistics', in *The Routledge Handbook of Forensic Linguistics*, ed. Malcolm Coulthard, and Alison Johnson, (Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 611.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 613.
- ²⁷ Gerald R. McMenamin, *Forensic Linguistics: Advances in Forensic Stylistics*, (Florida: CRC Press LLC, 2002), 93.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 92.
- ²⁹ (Coulthard and Johnson, 'Concluding Remarks: Future Direction in Forensic Linguistics, 613.
- ³⁰ The Free Dictionary, s.v. "Daubert Test". Viewed 16 May 2014. <<http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Daubert+Test>>.

Chapter 3: Presentation of the Findings

Introduction

This chapter is empirical. It presents the results reached through corpus analysis of six hundred and twenty-four utterances of male and female criminals convicted in US prisons. It aims at sorting out the frequency distribution of hedges, negation and evaluative adjectives (positive and negative). For the sake of visibility and readability, the results are presented in percentages, displayed in tables and highlighted in chart pies and histograms. The chapter is organized into four sections. It starts by presenting the results relating to the amount of talk. It, then, looks at the frequency distribution of hedges per gender. It also presents the results obtained from the analysis of the frequency distribution of grammatical and semantic negation. And it presents the results concerning the use female and male participants made of positive and negative evaluative adjectives.

3.1. Presentation of the Results

The descriptive statistical method presented in chapter 3 was used to analyze data and resulted in the followings:

3.1.1. Amount of Talk:

Amount of Talk	Males	Females	Total
Number of Utterances	308	316	624
%	49	51	100

Table 1: Amount of Talk per Gender

The current study found out that over six hundred and twenty-four utterances constituting the corpus, male participants used three hundred and eight utterances, which represent forty-nine percent, whereas females used three hundred and sixteen utterances, which correspond to fifty-one percent. The rates are fairly equal.

- **Individual Amount of Talk**

Overall, the individual amount of talk saw male and female criminals ranked this way:

Number of Utterances	Males	Females
1	24	50
2	04	29
3	23	14
4	30	16
5	10	11
6	08	12
7	18	06
8	10	06
9	11	09
10	26	08
11	11	06
12	18	10
13	26	09
14	/	15
15	/	30
16	/	14
17	/	10
18	/	06
19	/	08
20	/	28
21	/	20

Table 2: Individual Amount of Talk per Gender

The individual amount of talk per gender presented in Table 2 was calculated as follows: The number of utterances for every male and female participant was manually calculated after the transcription of data. The length of an utterance is determined by the intonation which the participant uses. Therefore, it may range from one word like “No!” (**Male 6**) to a couple of grammatical sentences like *If you may think that you have drink problems, get help just never know life can change the blink of an eye*” (**Female 1**).

3.1.2. Hedging

Hedges	Males	Females	Total
N	61	31	92
%	66.3	33.7	100

Table 3: Distribution of the Use of Hedges per Gender

Over a total of one ninety-two two hedges counted within the corpus, female participants used thirty-one hedges, which correspond to thirty-three percent point seven. In contrast, males used sixty-one hedges, which represent sixty-six percent point three.

- **Types of Hedging Identified in the Corpus**

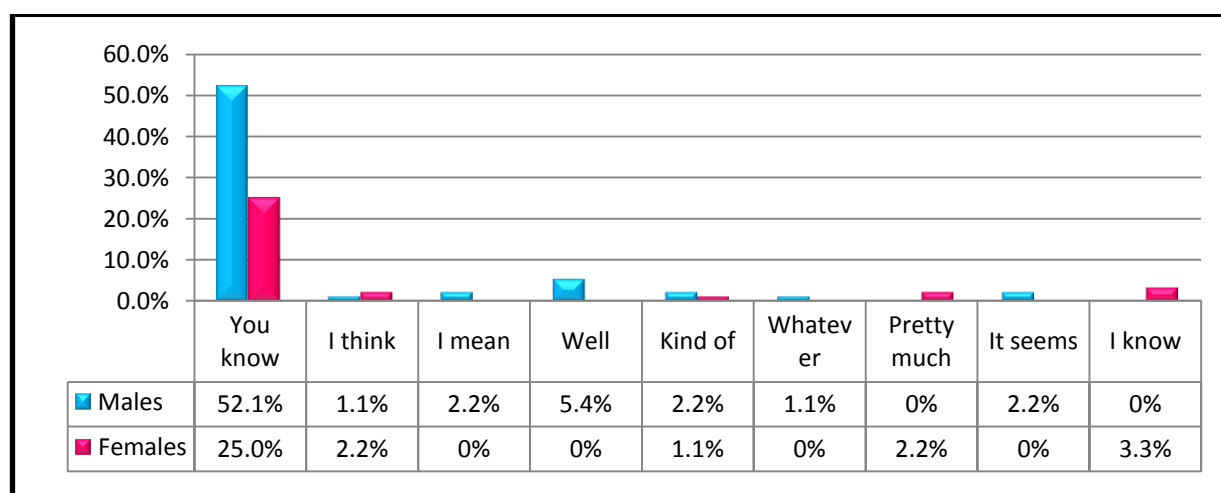


Diagram 1: Types of Hedges per Gender

As highlighted in Diagram 01, both male and female participants used the hedge ‘*you know*’ more frequently than other types of hedging.

3.1.3. Negation

Negation	Males	Females	Total
N	161	153	314
%	51.7	48.3	100

Table 4: Distribution of the Use of Negation per Gender

The corpus under investigation includes a total of three hundred and fourteen uses of negation. Male participants used one hundred and sixty-one negations, which correspond to fifty-one percent point seven. Females, however, used one hundred and fifty-three negations, which correspond to forty-eight percent point three.

- **Types of Negation**

To make the analysis systematic, we grouped negation into two categories: **a)** grammatical negation and **b)** semantic negation.

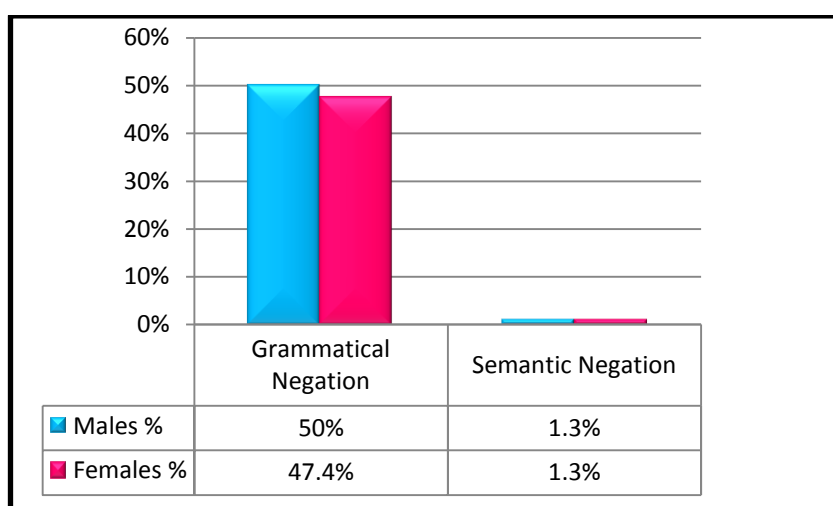


Diagram 2: Types of Negation per Gender

The results obtained in Diagram 2 show that the majority of male and female participants used grammatical negation more than semantic negation.

a. Grammatical Negation

Grammatical Negation	Males	Females	Total
N	157	149	306
%	51.3	49.7	100

Table 5: Distribution of the Use of Grammatical Negation per Gender

Over three hundred and six uses of grammatical negation counted within the corpus, male participants used one hundred and fifty-seven negations whereas females used one hundred and forty-nine negations. These numbers correspond to fifty-one percent point three for males and forty-nine percent point nine for females respectively. The rates are fairly equal.

- **Categories of Grammatical Negation**

For the sake of readability, however, we classified grammatical negation into six categories: **1)** adverbs (like *no* and *not*) **2)** adjectives (like *only*), **3)** indefinite pronouns (like *nothing*), **4)** negation by affixation (prefix and suffix like *unheard* and *worthless*), **5)** intensifiers (like **none**) and **6)** conjunctions (like *neither*). These are highlighted in the following diagram:

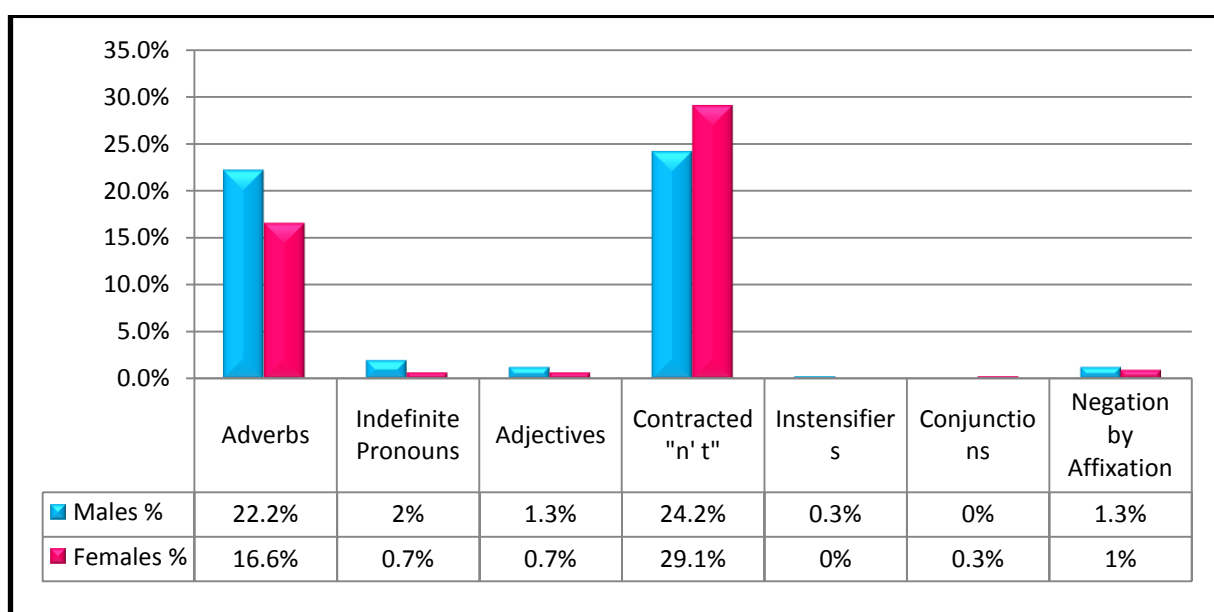


Diagram 3: Different Categories of Grammatical Negation used per Gender

As shown in the above diagram both male and female participants used negative adverbs more frequently than other categories of grammatical negation. It is also demonstrated females used fewer instances of negative adverbs compared to males.

1) Adverbs

For the sake of clarity, adverbs are classified into four categories to facilitate their analysis. These include **a) no**, **b) not**, **c) contracted “n’ t”** and **d) never**.

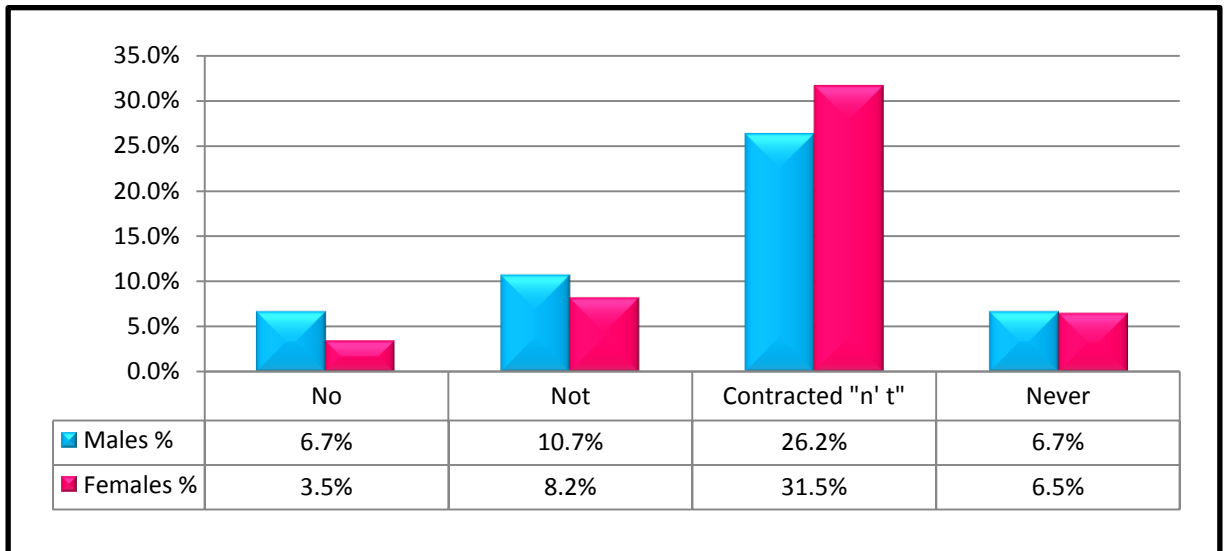


Diagram 4: Different Categories of Grammatical Negation used per Gender

The frequency use of negative adverbs, as shown in the above diagram, reveals that the majority of male and female participants used the *contracted “n’ t”* category more often than the remaining categories.

i. No

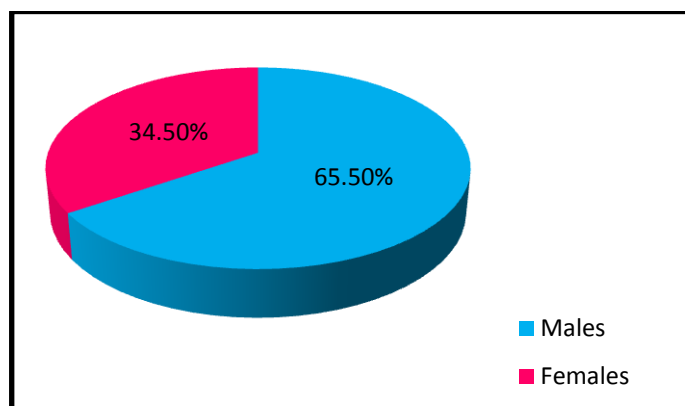


Diagram 5: Distribution of the Use of *No* per Gender

As seen in diagram 5, male participants used the negative adverb ‘no’ more frequently than females did.

i. Not

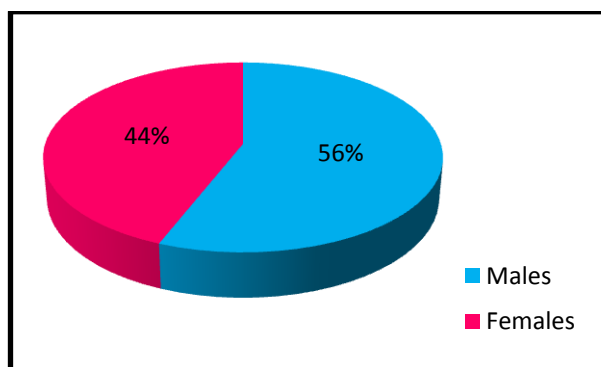


Diagram 6: Distribution of the Use of *Not* per Gender

The diagram above shows that female criminals used the negative adverb ‘not’ less frequently than males did.

ii. Contracted “n’ t”

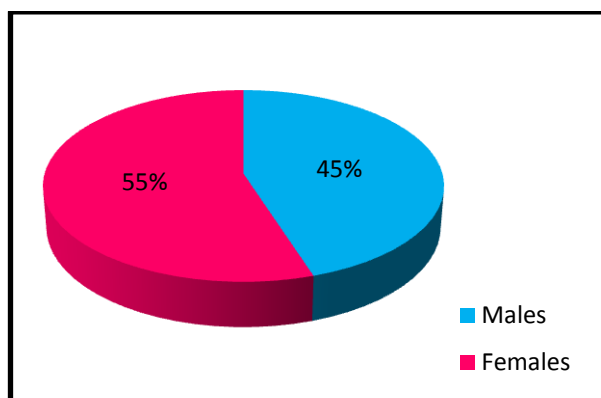


Diagram 7: Distribution of the Use of Negation by *Contracted “n’ t”* per Gender

The results presented in Diagram 7 clearly show that female participants used the category of grammatical negation by *contracted “n’ t”* more often than males actually did.

- **Types of Negation by Contracted “n’ t”**

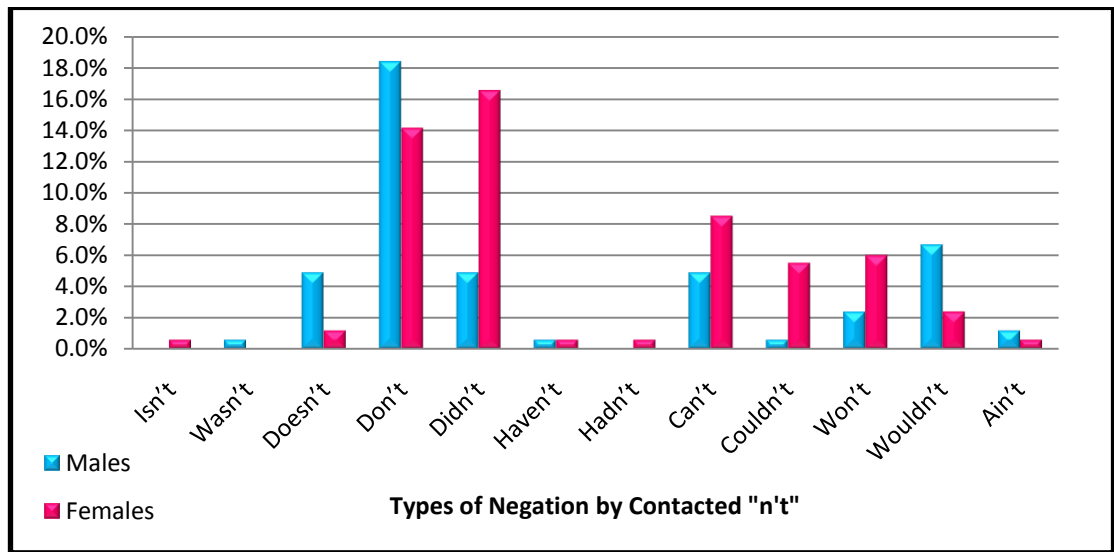


Diagram 8: Type of Negation by Contracted “n’ t” used per Gender

Diagram 8 presents the different forms of negation by *contracted “n’ t”* that were used by male and female participants. Males, contrary to females, used more instances of ‘*don’t*’. And females used ‘*didn’t*’ more frequently than males did.

iii. Never

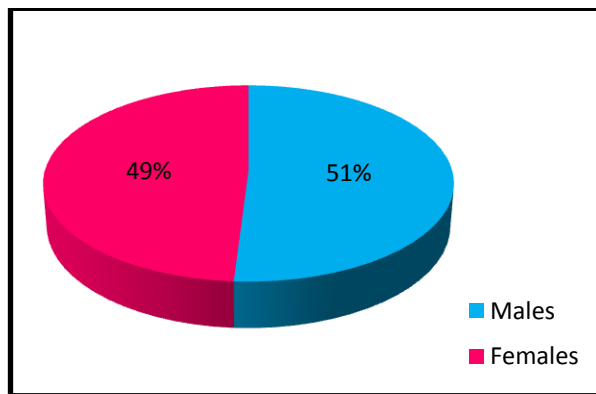


Diagram 9: Distribution of the Use of Never per Gender

From this diagram it appears that the use of the negative adverb ‘*never*’ is distributed fairly equally among male and female criminal speakers.

2) Adjectives

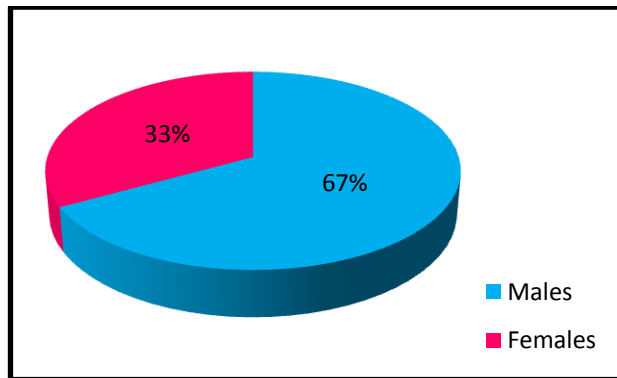


Diagram 10: Distribution of the Use of *Only* per Gender

The results highlighted in Diagram 10 show that sixty-seven percent of male participants used the negative adjective 'only' in their discourse whereas only thirty-three percent of females did use it.

3) Indefinite Pronouns

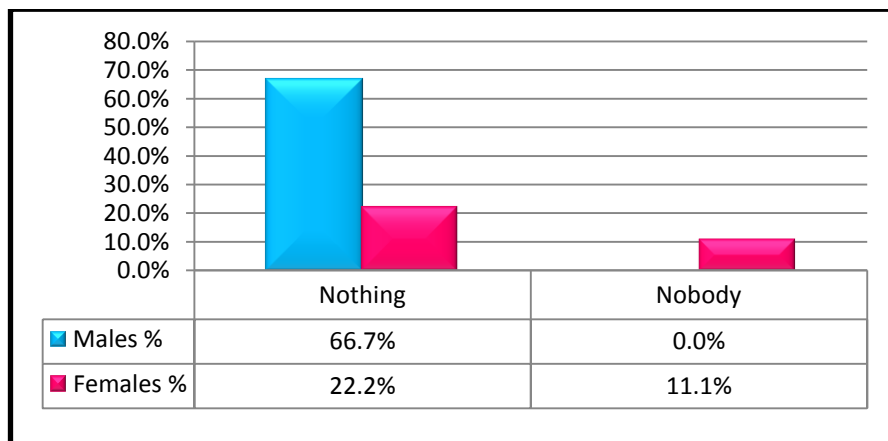


Diagram 11: Types of Indefinite Pronouns used per Gender

The results presented in Diagram 11 show that male participants used only the negative indefinite pronoun 'nothing'. Females, however, used both 'nothing' and 'nobody' fairly equally.

4) Negation by Affixation (Prefix/Suffix)

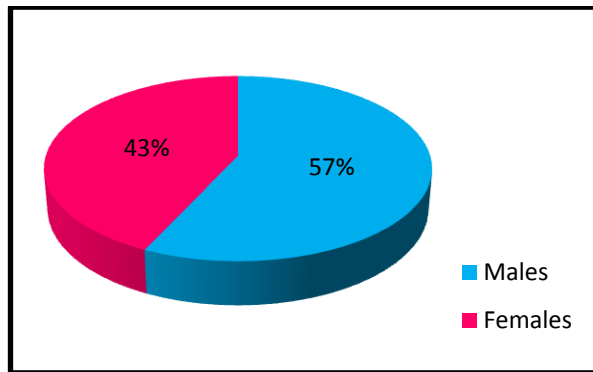


Diagram 12: Distribution of the use of Negation by Affixation per Gender

As highlighted in Diagram 15, male participants used negation by affixation more often than females did.

5) Intensifiers

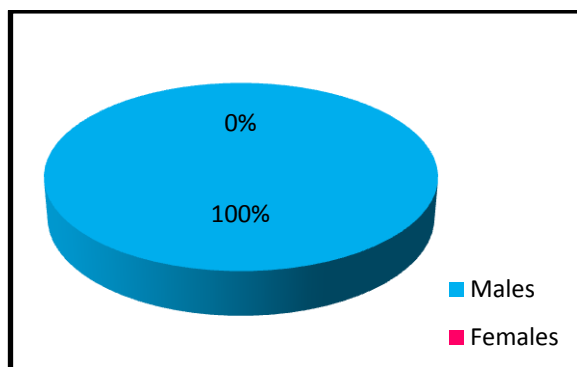


Diagram 13: Distribution of the Use of *None* per Gender

Diagram 16 presents the results relating to the frequency use of the negative intensifier 'none' per gender. It shows clearly that only male criminals used the intensifier 'none' in their discourse.

6) Conjunctions

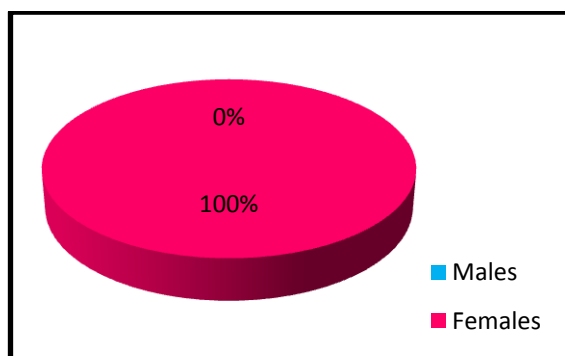


Diagram 14: Distribution of the Use of *Neither* per Gender

It is clearly shown in Diagram 14 that only female participants used the negative conjunction '*neither*'.

b. Semantic Negation

One of the aims of the study was to investigate both grammatical and semantic negation. However, the number of occurrences of semantic negation within our corpus is insignificant in comparison to grammatical negation (306/314). In fact, we counted only eight (08/314) occurrences in both discourses of male and female participants. This represents two percent point six (2.6%). Therefore, we decided to examine only grammatical negation.

3.2.3. Evaluative Adjectives

Evaluative Adjectives	Males	Females	Total
N	82	117	199
%	41.2	58.8	100

Table 6: Distribution of the Use of Evaluative Adjectives per Gender

As highlighted in Table 6, female participants used evaluative adjectives more often than males actually did.

- **Types of Evaluative Adjectives**

For the sake of readability, evaluative adjectives are classified into two main categories: **a)** positive evaluative adjectives and **b)** negative evaluative adjectives.

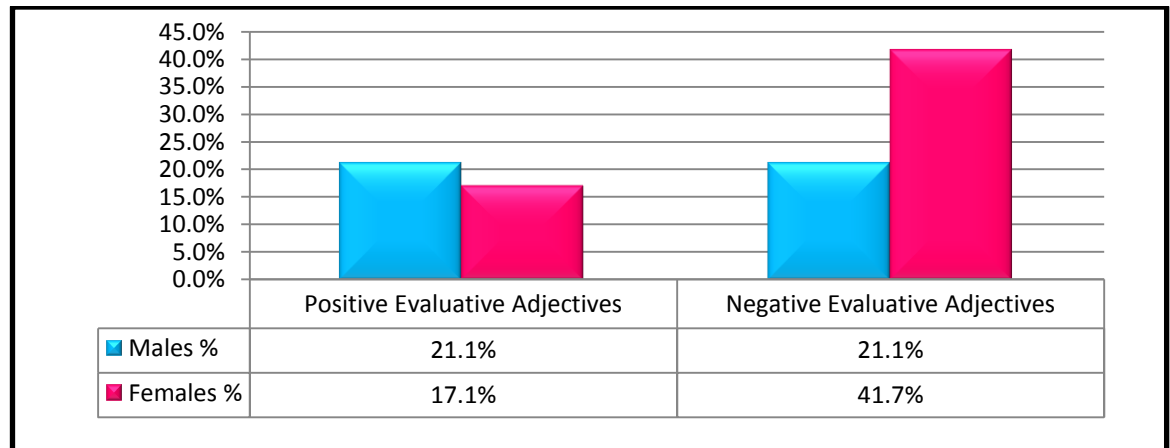


Diagram 15: Types of Evaluative Adjectives used per Gender

The results presented in Diagram 16 clearly show that female participants, contrary to males, used less positive evaluative adjectives and more negative evaluative adjectives in their discourse.

a) Positive Evaluative Adjectives

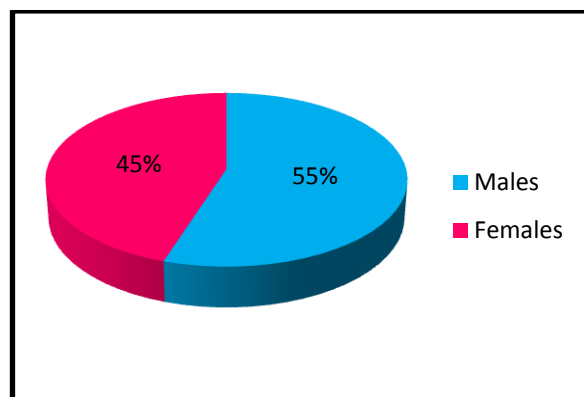


Diagram 16: Distribution of the Use of Positive Adjectives per Gender

As shown in Diagram 16, male participants used more positive evaluative adjectives than females actually did.

- **Classification of Positive Evaluative Adjectives**

As compared to the use of negative evaluative adjectives, a small number of positive evaluative adjectives have been used by both male and female participants. The most frequent ones tended to be those expressing happiness.

Adjectives Expressing Happiness	Males	Females	Total
N	18	8	26
%	69.2	30.8	100

Table 7: Distribution of the Use of Adjectives Expressing Happiness per Gender

The above table presents the results relating to the use of positive adjectives expressing happiness as made by male and female criminals. It is clearly shown that males, contrary to females, used more instances of adjectives expressing happiness than females.

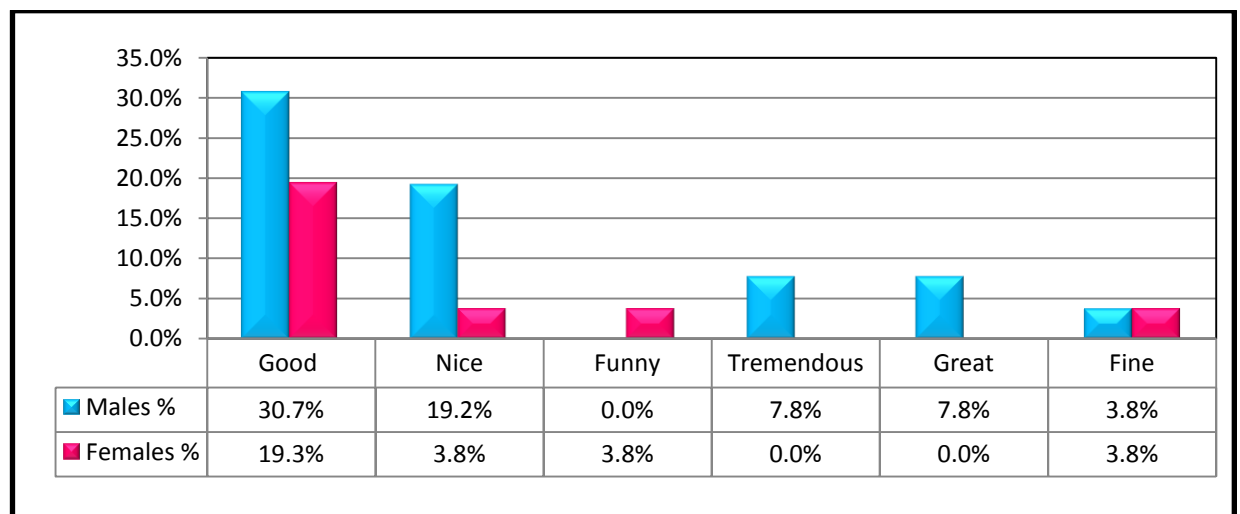


Diagram 17: Types of Positive Evaluative Adjectives Expressing Happiness per Gender

From Diagram 17, we notice that male participants used the positive evaluative adjectives ‘good’ and ‘nice’ more than females actually did. Also, only males used the adjectives ‘tremendous’ and ‘great’. Yet, they have not used the adjective ‘funny’, which was

only used by females. Nevertheless, both males and females made equal use of the adjective *'fine'*.

b) Negative Evaluative Adjectives

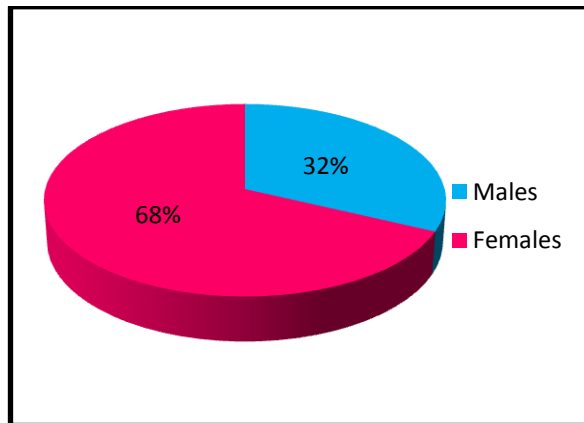


Diagram 18: Distribution of the Use of Negative Adjectives per Gender

As highlighted in Diagram 18, female participants, contrary to males, used more negative evaluative adjectives.

- **Classification of Negative Evaluative Adjectives**

For the sake of clarity, negative evaluative adjectives within our corpus were classified into seven categories: **a)** those expressing hurt, **b)** those expressing remorse, **c)** those expressing loneliness, **d)** those expressing fear, **e)** those expressing anger, **f)** those expressing inadequateness, **g)** those expressing depression and **h)** others. The latter category includes all the negative adjectives that were less frequently used by male and female criminals.

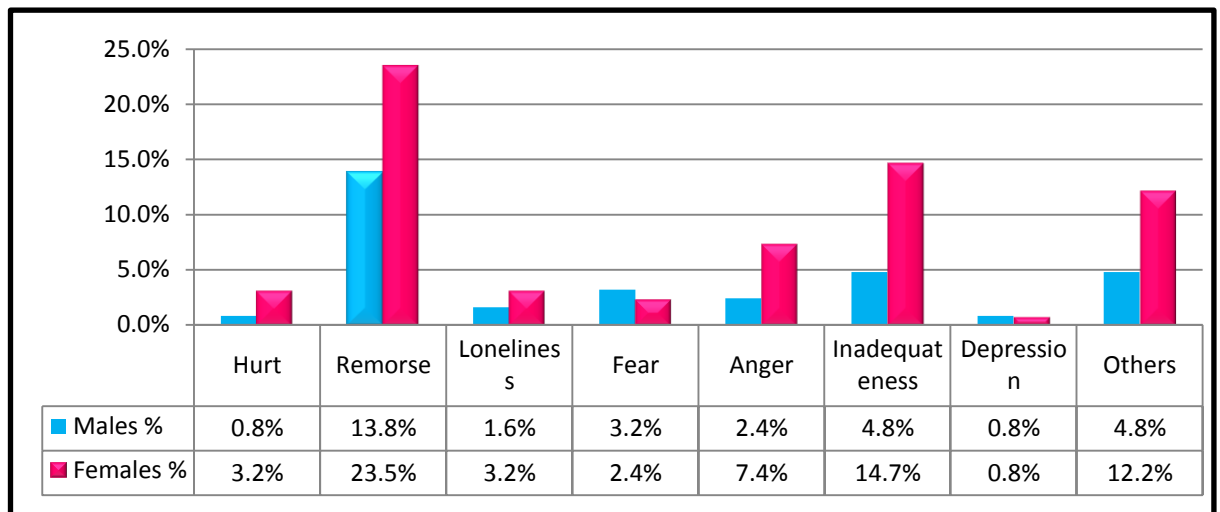


Diagram 19: Types of Negative Evaluative Adjectives per Gender

These results clearly show that negative evaluative adjectives expressing ‘*remorse*’ were the most frequently used by both male and female participants. Females, contrary to males, expressed more ‘*remorse*’. They also used more adjectives expressing ‘*inadequateness*’ than males did. Males used more negative evaluative adjectives relating to ‘*fear*’ than females did. However, both males and females made equal use of adjectives expressing ‘*loneliness*’ as well as insignificant use of adjectives expressing ‘*hurt*’ and ‘*depression*’.

Conclusion:

This chapter provides statistical data with regard to the use male and female participants made of hedging, grammatical and semantic negation as well as positive and negative evaluative adjectives. It is possible to infer from the results obtained that male participants used more hedging than females did. And the most frequent hedge tended to be ‘*you know*’. As regards negation, female participants, contrary to males, used more negations and evaluative adjectives, in particular negative evaluative adjectives. These results will be discussed in the last chapter, providing the interpretation and the explanation of the reasons behind such differences in males’ and females’ criminal discourse.

Chapter 4 : Discussion of the Findings

Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the discussion of the results of the study, which were obtained after applying the descriptive statistical method presented in Chapter 2. The discussion adopts a forensic approach along Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for the interpretation and explanation of the findings. These are dealt with according to their order of presentation in Chapter 4. The chapter consists of four main sections. It opens by discussing the means of use of hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives. It, then, discusses the results obtained concerning the usage male and female participants made of hedging. It also discusses the results they made of grammatical and semantic negation. And finally, it discusses the results obtained as concerns the use of positive and negative evaluative adjectives.

4.1. The Means of Use of Hedging, Negation and Evaluative Adjectives

Linguistic Behaviours	The Frequency Means per Gender	
	Males	Females
Hedging	6.7	3.4
Negation	80.5	76.5
Evaluative Adjectives	41	58.5

Table 8: The Means of Hedging, Negation and Evaluative Adjectives per Gender

The means of use of hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives per gender are just the average scores of distribution. That is, the mean is the sum of all measurements divided by the number of items. Accordingly, the mean rate of hedging usage of male participants is 6.7 while that of females is 3.4, the mean rate of negation usage of male participants is 80.5 while that of females is 76.5, and the mean rate of evaluative adjectives usage of male participants is 41 while that of females is 58.5. These results question the generally accepted pattern of gender differences. In fact, mean differences in hedging and negation in the prison context

tend to favour male participants. This shows that the speech of females in prison has developed and shifted from traditional stereotypes. Today, they have a new voice.

4.2. Hedging: A Masculine Discursive Practice

As stated previously, Lakoff (1975) explained gender differences reflected in the use of language made by males and females as being the result of females' subordination to males' dominance. She identified a list of linguistic devices as constitutive of Women's Language (WL) in English language. These made females seem as if hesitant, unassertive and trivial. Such devices include tag questions, indirect requests, euphemisms, specific colour words, absence of jokes, super polite forms, hypercorrection, etc. And hedges form a part of this list. Examples include '*you know*', '*I guess/mean/suppose/think*', '*kind/sort of*' ...

The term "*hedge*", as defined by Lakoff (1975), refers to a class of "*words that convey the sense that the speaker is uncertain about what he (or she) is saying, or cannot vouch for the accuracy of the statement*".¹ In other words, a hedge is a linguistic device which is supposed to soften utterances by signaling imprecision and non-commitment.²

The results obtained from the analysis of our corpus do not uphold Lakoff's (1975) statement, which claims that females have a tendency to use hedging more than males actually do. The study, in fact, revealed that six female participants (female 6, female 7, female 8, female 9, female 10 and female 12) among twenty-one females did not use any type of hedging. In fact, females made fewer instances of hedging than males did (61 instances by males, which correspond to 66.3%, and 31 instances by females, which correspond to 33.7%). Such low rates demonstrate that females fully play their new role. They no more denude their speech of declarative force, which, rather reproduces and resists power. Female participants, in fact, adopt a maleness attitude which is consistent with the harshness of the prison context.

The study also reported that the most frequent hedge tended to be ‘*you know*’ (71 uses). Male participants used twice as many instances of ‘*you know*’ than females did (48 instances by males, which represent 52.1%, and 23 instances by females, which represent 25%). These results support Holmes’ (1986) claim which suggests that ‘*you know*’ is frequently used by males in informal speech. The corpus of utterances under investigation, in fact, was elicited from different interviews of male and female criminals convicted in US prisons. One potential factor in our view is that the extensive use of ‘*you know*’ by male participants is ascribable to the fact that they feel more at ease in the prison context than females actually do. Such a context allows male participants to feel free to share their feelings and personal experiences without being afraid to be judged because they all are criminals.

We also noticed that male criminals produced more instances of ‘*you know*’ in contexts of inter-gender interaction. Actually, we counted thirty-seven instances of ‘*you know*’ extracted from the utterances ranging from Male 1 to Male 10. These utterances were selected from the series *Inside Death Row with Trevor McDonald* (2013), featuring interviews conducted by the British newsreader and journalist Trevor McDonald (see appendix II). In contrast, males showed fewer instances of ‘*you know*’ in contexts of mixed-gender interaction. Only eighteen instances were counted within the corpus. They were extracted from the utterances ranging from Male 12 to Male 14. These were selected from the series *Prison Diaries* (2013), in particular from three interviews featuring mixed-gender interactions. These results do confirm Holmes’ (1986) statement that ‘*you know*’ characterizes specifically contexts of ‘*camaraderie*’; that is, a feeling of ‘*semi-intimacy*’ which males experience only in inter-gender interactions.³ As a matter of fact, our findings demonstrate that male participants feel more at ease when they are conversing with males, and this increases the use of ‘*you know*’. They are more willing to self-revealing in inter-gender

interactions than in mixed-gender interactions. This is in conformity with Lakoff's (1975) claim that "*men enter into bonding relationships and form relationships of camaraderie*".⁴

Besides the fact that male and female participants in the study used different amounts of hedging devices, they also used hedging in distinct ways. This shows that males and females have a multifunctional nature, which is consistent with Tannen's (1990) *Difference Approach*. In Lakoff's (1975) opinion, the functions of hedges are three-fold:

- 1) Hedges can be used to express the uncertainty of the speaker.
- 2) They can be used for the sake of positive politeness.
- 3) Or, they can be used to characterize WL.

In this third type of use of hedging, Lakoff refers to the language of those who are powerless in society; that is, females. She argues, "*What I mean is the class of cases in which neither of these facts pertains, and a hedge shows up anyway: the speaker is perfectly certain of the truth of the assertion, and there's no danger of offense, but the tag appears anyway as an apology for making an assertion at all*".⁵

Nevertheless, the functional distribution of hedging within our corpus did, in fact, differ. We identified hedges which exemplified the first two uses of hedging described by Lakoff (1975), meaning uncertainty and positive politeness, but the third type simply did not show up in an analysis of ninety-two hedges.

Functions of Hedging Devices	Males		Females	
	N	%	N	%
Hedges Expressing Uncertainty	36	39.1	18	19.6
Hedges Expressing Positive Politeness	3	3.2	2	2.1
Hedges Characterizing WL	0	0	0	0
Others	22	2	11	12
Total 92 (100%)	61	66.3	31	33.7

Table 9: Functions of Hedges used per Gender following Lakoff's Categorization

It is clearly shown in Table 9 that female participants, in fact, expressed less uncertainty than males actually did. This refutes Lakoff's stereotypes of females as unconfident conversationalists. As shown in the following examples, "*I met her about four years ago. She came over to visit me. She couldn't have enough and marry me ha ha ha ha... Coz ... Well... Yeah, kind of*" (**Male 3**) and "*...all you have to do is to tell you that you have the condition of life threatening , you know, if we don't get sterilized within a week, you may die...*" (**Female 14**), 'well', 'kind of' and 'you know' are essentially negative forms, which express the uncertainty and insecurity of the speaker. These results mirror the strength of females' speech and their rejection of the victim role.

As regard hedges expressing positive politeness, male and female participants used them fairly equally. For instance, **Male 3** said, "*No matter if you got good issues in your case, you know. It doesn't matter. You know what I mean*", and **Female 17** stated, "*It's over. This place comes in and out, me picking up guns, me picking up drugs. You know what I mean. That's a good feeling, you wear jewelry of blingbling. You know what I mean. You are one of the sharks.*" These results contradict both Holmes' (1995) claim that females are more polite than males and Lakoff's (1975) postulate that females show politeness to avoid unkindness or unfriendliness. These findings, in fact, show a deviation from expected gender roles. Females are no weaker. Their speech, in fact, shows their willingness to give up their femininity in favour of masculinity in the prison context. That is, they adapt their speech according to the context in which it is used. This means that only the context of language use can determine the way in which males and females express their gender identity.

Analyzing instances of 'you know' in our corpus, however, revealed that some evidence was found to support Holmes' (1986) hedging model. She believes that hedges, especially 'you know' performs a large number of linguistic functions. Accordingly, hedges may either express 'Speaker Certain', which expresses the speaker's certainty about the

accuracy of a given statement, or '*Speaker Uncertain*', which expresses the speaker's uncertainty and lack of confidence.⁶ The latter in Lakoff's (1975) opinion is typically a tendency of females' speech. Within each function, however, there are a number of sub-functions which can be established.

Comparing between the '*Speaker Certain*' rates and the '*Speaker Uncertain*' rates of both male and female participants, it is immediately apparent that male participants used '*you know*' more significantly than females did to convey both '*Speaker Certain*' and '*Speaker Uncertain*'. Indeed, the results reported that male participants used the '*Speaker Certain*' function, especially the *Emphatic* type of '*you know*'- a function that stresses the speaker's certainty and reassures the hearer as regard the validity of the proposition asserted, more often than females did (13 instances by males and 4 by females). For instance, **Male 14** said, "*I have hurt them even as much not even more as when I killed you. They are the ones who truly suffer. You deserve to die, you know. But by killing you, it's just not you it all affect hundreds of people. So it is no isolated.*" and **Female 14** stated, "**You know**, they put that fear in them. So it's hard to know who to trust. It's scary... it's really scary. I was humiliated. I live in a society that treats people like animals..." These results are not in conformity with the evidence presented by Holmes (1986), who argues that females use more supportive hedges, most notably the '*Speaker Certain*' '*you know*', than males do. However, they do confirm Tannen's (1990) claim that males' speech expresses authority, implying certainty. These findings, in fact, reinforce gender stereotypes because they mirror males' superiority and highlight females' lack of confidence and uncertainty. And as stated previously, male and female participants made almost equal use of positive politeness, which in Holmes' terms refers to the '*Attributive*' function of '*you know*'. In this point of view, however, the use of positive politeness reflects the strength of females not their weakness.

As concerns the ‘*Speaker Uncertain*’ function, male participants used the ‘*Appealing Imprecision*’ (which appeals for reassurance from the part of the addressee when the speaker shares personal information or makes an account of embarrassing experiences) and ‘*False Start*’ (which indicates the need to restructure the message) functions more often than females actually did. Male participants used 14 instances of ‘*Appealing*’ ‘*you know*’ whereas females made use of only 4 instances. **Male 3** said, “*I was a stupid kid at 19-20. I made very poor decisions. I didn’t give a damn about the consequences at all. That kid is gone. I’m not saying I’m rehabilitating, you know. No, I’m not.*”, **Male 10** stated, “*My crime is shooting a police officer. You know, it started of pretty harmless theft crime.*”, and **Female 13** said, “*I don’t have an address so I go to the streets, you know. I don’t wanna sleep on ground So I use ...I’m not making excuses but I used to stay up and I’ll stay up until I pass out. I don’t make court days; I don’t make visiting days. I don’t visit my kids.*” These results confirm the existence of a break in traditional gender role, which are now outdated. Females’ speech no more expresses uncertainty and lack of authority. Instead, it is more assertive and aggressive especially in the prison context, where it is necessary to be tough in order to survive.

But as far as ‘*False start*’ is concerned, only male participants used it (3 instances by males and none by females). **Male 7**, for instance, said, “*I have never kept track...There would be many. You know... just, you know, we try to take turns doing things because it’s cross-boarders.*” These results do not support the findings of the study of Östman (1981), who found that females used ‘*you know*’ as false starts more often than males did. She points out, “*one function of this kind of you know would be to mitigate the fact that you have just made an error. Men, on the other hand, would not be so apt to admit that they make errors*”.⁷ It appears that male participants in this study admitted the fact that they made errors. This is, however, not the case for females whose speech is supposed to be uncertain, indirect and lacking

confidence. Rather, the speech of female participants is a typical reproduction of the prison context.

The study also revealed that male and female participants used the *Speaker Uncertain* function, namely the *Qualifying Information* (which signals the need for more clarification from the part of the speaker) almost equally. Males, in fact, used 12 instances of ‘you know’ expressing ‘*Qualifying Information*’ and females used 11 instances. **Male 10**, for example, said, “*I wouldn’t be on death row. I didn’t... not... I didn’t know. I thought maybe if, you know, I take my gun out and fire a couple of times. What else to do. I just gave up. I was young...I didn’t care about anybody at all but myself or anything.*”, and **Female 1** stated, “*She gave a new perspective in my life. I wanted to be there for her, you know, because my mother was not there always for me*”. These results show that females’ speech has developed and can be interpreted as a call for equality and uniformity between males and females in a society which is still dominated by males’ authority. Obviously, the overall pattern of the distribution of the occurrence of ‘you know’ in our corpus challenges the stereotype of the unconfident and uncertain females as postulated by Lakoff (1975). Such a contradiction demonstrates the extent to which it is difficult to generalize gender stereotypes in the use of ‘you know’, especially in the prison context.

One of the arguments in favour of the obtained results is that females no more assume the victim role assigned to them within decades of sociolinguistic study on language and gender differences. The fact that they did not exaggerate in using hedging devices, which express both the ‘*Speaker Certain*’ and ‘*Speaker Uncertain*’ functions, shows that females developed their communicative skills. There is, in fact, no more concordance between femininity and females’ unassertive speech. Rather, their speech mirrors a kind of rebellion against gender stereotypes. It is a call for equality and uniformity. Females, in fact, speak like males. This is a way of asserting and protecting themselves in the prison context, in which it

is necessary to fit in to survive. That is, the prison context imposes on females to change the way they are supposed to speak.

4.3. The Gendered Use of Negation: Masculine Clarity vs. Feminine Denial

Negation plays an important role in the creation of coherence. It expresses personal attitudes and usually inverts the polarity of the opinion expressed. It can be conveyed by different lexical devices such as adverbs (and/or contracted “n’t”), indefinite pronouns, adjectives, intensifiers and conjunctions. Or, it can be expressed semantically. This is why negation within our corpus has been divided into grammatical (or explicit) negation and semantic (or implicit) negation.

The results of the study reported that the means of negation as compared to the means of hedging and evaluative adjectives is significantly high. This is consistent with the prison context as neither males nor females want their speech to be misunderstood as they fear reprisals. Male participants, however, used more instances of negation than females actually did (161 instances made by males, which correspond to 51.7 %, and 153 instances made by females, which represent 48.3%). For example **Male 3** said, “*Oh no, no no no not at all. Cases like mine and like an old gentleman back here...You know...We didn’t kill no women no kids. We are charged of shooting a cop ... a police officer...They just don’t like guys like us...*” and **Female 12** stated, “*It’s a lot of stuff that I’ve been through that. I didn’t ...I don’t wanna tell people because I don’t wanna remember it. I brought shame to my family, and anything else. I don’t want my children coming see me. I can’t touch them. I can’t hold theme. I can’t do nothing.*” These results are consistent with Lakoff’s observation that males’ speech is more assertive than WL. Males, in fact, used more negation to assert negative meanings. This helps them gain authority. This entails that females’ speech with respect to negation lacks confidence. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that females did not make

extensive use of negation is a discourse strategy, the aim of which is to gain the sympathy of the audience.

As far as grammatical negation is concerned, the result reported that female participants used less grammatical negation than males actually did (140 instances by females, which represent 49.7%, and 157 instances by males, which correspond to 51.3%). As stated above, male participants are more assertive than females, at least as far as grammatical negation is concerned. The results obtained also revealed that male and female participants used negation in different ways to achieve distinct pragmatic functions. These, for instance, include ‘*contradiction*’, ‘*contrast*’, ‘*clarity*’, ‘*denial*’, ‘*remorse*’ and ‘*depression*’.

Female participants made explicit use of grammatical negation expressing ‘*contradiction*’, ‘*contrast*’, ‘*clarity*’, ‘*denial*’, and ‘*remorse*’. In addition to these functions, males used instances of grammatical negation referring to ‘*depression*’. Female participants used more ‘*denial*’ than males (51 instances by females and 39 by males). **Female 3**, for instance, said, “*I **didn’t** kill Heather*”. In contrast, males used more grammatical negation expressing ‘*clarity*’ for the purpose of being more explicit (100 instances by males and 73 by females). For example, Male 7 stated, “*I’ve been here for 37 years; we’ve **never** had an incident in the barbershop. We’ve **never** had an incident with the sheers. We’ve **never** had a problem.*” The fact that females denied more is consistent with Lakoff’ (1975) statement which states that females’ speech is weak. In fact, females under investigation appear as weak. Yet, this is a discourse strategy with which female participants make appeal to the sympathy and compassion of the audience. Males, contrary to females, made their negative arguments clearer and more precise in order not to be misunderstood. This reinforces gender stereotypes as it reflects males’ domination and superiority. As concerns grammatical negation relating to the expression of ‘*remorse*’, ‘*contrast*’ and ‘*contradiction*’, male and female participants used them fairly equally. This shows that the speech of females has

changed to the extent of equaling males' speech. In fact, since male and female participants are in the same context; that is, prison, females adapt their speech to such a context by behaving like males to the extent of losing their femininity.

As concerns semantic negation, both male and female participants made use of semantic negation (4 instances by males and 4 by females). That is, they made very few instances of semantic negation in comparison to their use of grammatical negation (306/314). This corresponds to two percents point six (2.6%), which is insignificant. The fact that both male and female participants did not make extensive use of semantic negation is a discourse strategy of defense. It is, in fact, a face-saving act. Being in the prison context, they do not want their testimonies to be misinterpreted. Rather, they prefer the embarrassment caused by grammatical negation. This demonstrates that only the context of language use determines the way male and female criminals in prison speak, and thus, their gender identity.

4.4. Evaluative Adjectives: A Feminine Discursive Marker

In linguistics, adjectives are describing words. 'Small', 'beautiful' and 'happy' are all examples of adjectives. There is a category of adjectives which, in Lakoff's (1973) terms, is largely confined to WL. These are labeled 'Empty Adjectives'.⁸ Female participants in the study did not show extensive use of empty adjectives. Only one female over twenty-one female participants used empty adjectives. This use corresponds to 0.5%, meaning only one instance. This low rate is very insignificant in comparison to the number of adjectives used in the study (1/199). **Female 5** stated, "*Oh ... no sir. You are wrong. I can't believe it. I'm not a violent person. I was quite really shy. He was very **charming**.*" This result shows that females in the prison context gained in authority and self-confidence. Their speech has developed and is no more in conformity with Lakoff's 'Dominance Approach', which claims that females'

speech is weak and unassertive because it is emotional. This shows that gender identity is constructed differently in the prison context.

As a sub-part of descriptive adjectives, adjectives within our corpus were classified according to their connotations into positive and negative evaluative adjectives. Evaluative adjectives are those adjectives which include a value judgment that is generally associated with them, and in this study, it is either positive or negative. The descriptive statistical analysis of our corpus reported that female participants used more instances of evaluative adjectives than males did (117 instances by females, which correspond to 58.8% and 82 instances by males, which represent 41.2%). Most striking, however, was that female participants used fewer instances of positive evaluative adjectives than males actually did (see Diagram 15). This disconfirms Mehl's and Pennebaker's (2003) claim that females use more positive evaluative adjectives than males actually do.⁹ Among the most frequent positive evaluative adjectives within our corpus, we found 'good', 'nice', 'funny', 'tremendous', 'great' and 'fine' (see Diagram 17). Grammatically, these adjectives are positive because they express 'happiness'. Yet, their semantic categorization shows that they are negative adjectives expressing irony, which reflects an implicit negation used to express polar opinion. For example, **Male 1** said, "*I'm gonna do this. This is be fine. I don't wanna talk about this anymore. Prison is nothing like the movies...It's terrifying*", **Female 3** stated, "*People have no idea what death row is. I'm assuming everything is fine*", and **Female 19** said, "*It's not fair. I feel bad. I have a few violent charges in my case. Funny mostly.*" Indeed, male and female participants are not happy because the prison context is terrifying, harsh and hard. Most of them are waiting in death row quarters to be executed, not knowing when they will have their last meal. Using irony is a way of making humour and release tensions. The results of the study revealed that male participants, contrary to females, scored high rates with the use of positive evaluative adjectives (69.2% by males and 30.8% by females). These findings

show that female participants do make some humour in comparison to males. That is, they are not completely humourless as suggested by Lakoff (1975).

As concerns negative evaluative adjectives, female participants used more negative evaluative adjectives than males actually did (83 instances by females, which represent 68% and 40 instances by males, which correspond to 32%). Among the most frequent types of negative evaluative adjectives within our corpus, we found negative evaluative adjectives expressing ‘*hurt*’ (4%), ‘*remorse*’ (37.3%), ‘*loneliness*’ (4.8%), ‘*anger*’ (9.8%), ‘*Inadequateness*’ (19.5%), ‘*fear*’ (5.6%), and ‘*depression*’ (1.6%). We found that female participants, contrary to males, used more negative evaluative adjectives expressing ‘*Hurt*’ (3.2% whereas males scored 0.8%), ‘*remorse*’ (23.5% whereas males scored 13.8%), ‘*Loneliness*’ (3.2% whereas males scored 1.6%), ‘*anger*’ (7.4% whereas males scored 2.4%), and ‘*Inadequateness*’ (14.7% whereas males 4.8%). In contrast, male participants used more negative evaluative adjectives expressing ‘*fear*’ (3.2% whereas females scored 2.4%). Yet, they made equal use of negative evaluative adjectives expressing ‘*depression*’ (0.8%), (see Diagram 19).

As far as ‘*hurt*’ and ‘*loneliness*’ are concerned, the results obtained clearly show that female participants, contrary to males, expressed more emotions relating to ‘*Hurt*’ and ‘*loneliness*’. For example, **Female 4** expressed ‘*hurt*’ and said, “*It’s scary... it’s really scary. I was **humiliated**. I live in a society that treats people like animals. I can’t believe it, you know, in this day and age, you know*”. **Females 12** and **15**, however, expressed ‘*loneliness*’ and respectively stated, “*We were kicked out for male_attendees, so we are **alone** here.*” and “*I’m on Cell-**Alone** and Walk-**Alone**. They feel everything is so bad that I’m not allowed to live with somebody or be on the yard with nobody. So I’m pretty much **segregated** all to myself at all time.*” These results show that males are more concerned with autonomy, hence, they used less negative evaluative adjectives expressing ‘*hurt*’ and ‘*loneliness*’, which is a

way of asserting control. This confirms Holmes' (1995) statement that males' speech establishes autonomy and detachment whereas the speech of females establishes intimacy. That is, the speech of females is rather sensitive than deficient.

As concerns 'remorse', female participants showed more 'remorse' than males, especially feelings of 'guilt' and 'apology'. In fact, only female participants showed instances of 'guilt' (11 instances by females and none by males). For example, **Female 4** said, "*I know I've done something wrong and I can't bring her back*" and **Female 6** stated, "*I did very **bad** things to get drugs. I was taking prescription drugs, selling drugs. I was a mess. I don't care. I'll do whatever I want. It was a desperate life. I was **guilty**. I couldn't live with myself for what I did.*" These results show that females feel guilt and concern after an aggressive act more than males do. If males showed 'guilt', they would be seen as weak. It follows from this, that females are weaker than males, at least as the expression of 'guilt' is concerned. This confirms Lakoff's (1975) claim that females are uncertain and insecure.

The fact that female participants apologized whereas males did not is consistent with Holmes' (1995) claim that females apologize more than males actually do. For instance, **Female 1** said, "*It was drinking being angry. I didn't mean to... I didn't settle to take her life. And I'm sorry*", **Female 9** stated, "*I would hope that people would not believe everything they hear about me. I'm very **sorry** because his life ended this way*" **Female 15**, "*I am **ashamed** for what I did. I was wrong for what I did. And I won't do wrong. I promise*". These examples show that the speech of female participants is still to some extent sensitive and emotional though it has widely deviated from traditional gender roles. This, however, does not entail that they are weak or subordinated to males as Lakoff (1975) suggests.

The fact that females used more negative evaluative adjectives expressing 'anger' show that females are no more weak nor inferior as perceived by the 'Dominance Approach' and the 'Deficit Approach' respectively. Their speech has changed and deviated from the

traditional gender roles. It now mirrors strength and can even reflect brutality, which is the case in the prison context. For example, **Female 15** said, *“They keep us back here. They lock us down. We’re agitated. We’re **angry**. We have to yell to get to anything...This last summer I lost control and I was **angry** because the girl asked me if she could be my pimp and she called a (n...) And I was in a room with all white girls... This place is crazy. It’s very very demented. It’s very evil. It’s very mean. And it’s very painful... So we fight because we’re **angry**”*. This difference in the use of negative evaluative adjective expressing ‘Anger’ by male’ and females’ participants is mostly related to cultural setup. Socio-cultural and parenting biases, in fact, lead little girls to react to unpleasant situations with negative feelings like ‘anger’ in later life. Parents, for instance, pamper girls when they cry after being hurt but tell boys to suck it up and be brave. It follows from this that when the emotional outbursts of females are not tempered, they can lead them to react angrily, and in the prison context, to commit despicable crimes.

As concerns negative evaluative adjectives expressing ‘fear’, it appears that male participants are more scared than females. They, in fact, used more negative evaluative adjectives expressing ‘fear’. **Male 1**, for instance, said, *“This is a **scared** state video... I don’t wanna talk about this anymore. Prison is nothing like the movies...It’s **terrifying**. Somebody shoot me with a tooth pick. I don’t even know from where they had a tooth pick... I don’t know how much longer I can take this ...umm...It’s really **scary**. I don’t know...I’ll do anything to get out of here. I can’t do this anymore. I can’t do this anymore”*. In contrast, females did not make any use of evaluative adjectives expressing ‘fear’. This shows a kind of reversal in the traditional roles of males and females. Males are not as strong, dominant and superior as the ‘*Dominance Approach*’ and ‘*Deficit Approach*’ tended to portray them. Rather, they fully assume the part of femininity in them. This confirms that gender stereotypes are now outdated, at least in the prison context.

As far as ‘*depression*’ is concerned, the scores of male and female participants are balanced (1 instance by females and 1 by males). **Male 13** stated, “*If you didn’t believe we were somehow not gonna have these things happen to our life, it would be very morbid, you know*” and **Female 2** said, “*Being here for something you didn’t do...It’s just something horrible*”. Such equal use mirrors a change in the speech of males and females, who are now experiencing life in the same way rather than differently.

Regarding emotions of ‘*inadequateness*’, male participants used fewer instances of negative evaluative adjectives expressing “*inadequateness*” than females actually did (14.7% by females and 4.8% by males). The fact that males did not use as much negative evaluative adjectives expressing ‘*inadequateness*’ as females did is a discourse strategy with which they assert their speech and gain authority. Females, in contrast, are hesitant and not self-confident because the use of ‘*inadequateness*’ mitigates their speech. ‘*Inadequateness*’, in fact, is the quality of being unsuitable, lacking and incompetent. This strengthens traditional gender roles which view females as being inferior and subordinated to males’ dominance.

Conclusion

The critical analysis of language and gender differences reflected in criminal discourse, namely hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives, revealed a development in females’ communicative skills, which questions the already established stereotypes. The results, in fact, right from the beginning gave us a different image. The social status of females in the prison context has changed and is reflected in their speech. Females no more exaggerate in using hedging devices- linguistic devices which mirror the indecisive talk condemned by Lakoff (1975) and other scholars. Rather, it is males who frequently used them. As regards negation, males, contrary to females, used grammatical negation more frequently, in particular instances expressing ‘*clarity*’, to assert their negative arguments. This

entails that females' speech is unassertive since they did not use as much grammatical negation as males did. This is, however, relative because their use of grammatical negation relating to '*remorse*', '*contradiction*' and '*contrast*' equals males' use. This demonstrates that females' speech has developed and shifted over the years. Concerning evaluative adjectives, females used more evaluative adjectives than males actually do. But unexpectedly, they used more negative evaluative adjectives. And this contradicts previous research on gender and emotion words. In sum, the study demonstrated that there is no clear cut in speech differences between males and females and universal stereotypes do not exist because there are a multitude of cultures, languages and contexts. But for sure, females' speech in the prison context is now calling for equality and conformity with males' speech.

Notes:

¹ Robin Tolmach-Lakoff, *Language and woman's place*, (New York: Harper Colophon, 1975), 53.

² John A. Dixon, and Don H. Foster, 'Gender and Hedging: From Sex Differences to Situated Practice', *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 1, vol. 26, (1997): 2.

³ Janet Holmes, 'Functions of You Know in Women's and Men's Speech', *Language in Society* 15 (1986): 4.

⁴ Robin Lakoff-Tolmach, *Language and Woman's Place Text and Commentaries*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 101.

⁵ Lakoff-Tolmach, *Language and woman's place*, 53-54.

⁶ Holmes, 'Functions of You Know in Women's and Men's Speech', 7.

⁷ Jan. O Östman, *"You know": A discourse-functional approach*, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V, 1981), 76.

⁸ Robin Lakoff-Tolmach, 'Language and Woman's Place', *Language in Society* 2, no. 1: (1973), 51.

⁹ Matthias R. Mehl and James W. Pennebaker, 'The Sounds of Social Life: A Psychometric Analysis of Students' Daily Social Environments and Natural Conversations', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84, no. 4(2003), 857.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

This dissertation has investigated language and gender differences reflected in criminal discourse. It focused on the use of hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives. These linguistic devices were given more prominence because they are major issues in forensic linguistics.

Taking as a starting point Lakoff's (1975) gender stereotypes, the study has attempted to shed light on the ambiguous and complex relationship between language and gender in criminal discourse. We hypothesized that male and female criminals in the prison context, as a community of practice, speak differently, that females, contrary to males, use more instances of hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives, and that such linguistic differences are solely based on their biological sex, to test the reliability of the already established gender stereotypes, and then, provide some clarity through explanation.

Our dissertation has targeted two main objectives and was to some extent designed within "*Difference Approach*" perspective. The first objective consisted in exploring the frequency distribution of hedging, negation and evaluative adjectives as used by male and female criminals. The second objective consisted in providing some clarity through accurate interpretation and explanation of the results obtained.

To conduct the investigation, we adopted Mixed Methods Research. We combined between quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection and data analysis. The data consisted of a manually transcribed corpus of six hundred and twenty-four (624) utterances in English. These were elicited from different interviews of male and female criminals convicted in US most notorious prisons, including Indiana State Maximum Security Prison. These interviews were randomly selected from the Reality TV series *Prison Diaries* (2011), featuring first-person interviews, and *Inside Death Row with Trevor McDonald* (2013), featuring interviews conducted by the British newsreader and journalist Trevor McDonald.

For the quantitative part, we used a descriptive statistical method to generate statistical data to facilitate the analysis of raw data. And for the qualitative part, we interpreted and explained the results obtained by adopting a forensic approach along Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework.

The descriptive statistical analysis of our corpus reported that male participants used more hedging devices than females actually did (61 instances by males, which correspond to 66.3%, and 31 instances by females, which correspond to 33.7%). And the most frequent hedge tended to be '*you know*' (48/92 instances by males, which represent 52.1%, and 23/92 instances by females, which represent 25%). As concerns negation, male participants, contrary to females, used more instances of negation (161 instances made by males, which correspond to 51.7 %, and 153 instances made by females, which represent 48.3%). Negation was classified into grammatical negation and semantic negation. Female participants used less grammatical negation than males actually did (140 instances by females, which represent 49.7%, and 157 instances by males, which correspond to 51.3%). However, both male and female participants made equal use of semantic negation (4 instances by each). As far as evaluative adjectives are concerned, the results of the study revealed that female participants used more instances of evaluative adjectives than males did (117 instances by females, which correspond to 58.8% and 82 instances by males, which represent 41. 2%). Evaluative adjectives were classified according to their connotations into positive evaluative adjectives and negative evaluative adjectives. Male participants used more instances of positive evaluative adjectives than females actually did (42 instances by males, which correspond to 55%, and 34 instances by females, which represent 45% and). Female participants, contrary to males, used more negative evaluative adjectives (83 instances by females, which represent 68% and 40 instances by males, which correspond to 32%).

The discussion of the results showed that hedging is a masculine discursive marker. The results obtained, in fact, revealed that male participants, contrary to females, used more instances of hedging, in particular the hedging device 'you know' to convey both the 'Speaker Certain' function, namely the *Emphatic* type of 'you know' (13 instances by males and 4 by females), and the 'Speaker Uncertain' function, namely the 'Appealing' 'you know' (14 instances by males and only 4 instances by females) and 'False Start' 'you know' (3 instances by males and none by females). These results are neither in conformity with Lakoff's (1975) claim which states that hedging is a typical characteristic of Women's Language (WL) - a language which she considered as being weak and unassertive, nor with the evidence presented by Holmes (1986), who argues that females, contrary to males use more supportive hedges, most notably the 'Speaker Certain' 'you know'. Rather, they demonstrate that the already established gender stereotypes are now outdated, at least in the prison context. Females no more accept the victim role assigned to them within decades of sociolinguistic study on language and gender differences. Females' speech has developed and no more expresses lack of confidence and uncertainty. Rather, it reproduces and resists power. In fact, females adapted their speech to the harshness of the prison context to the extent of giving up their femininity. This demonstrates that only the context in which males and females use language can determine their gender identity.

The results of the study also revealed that male participants, contrary to females, used more negation to assert negative meanings. As concerns grammatical negation male and female participants used negation in different ways to achieve distinct pragmatic functions. The results obtained showed that female participants denied more often than they clarified whereas male participants clarified more often than they denied. The fact that female participants, contrary to males, denied more is a discourse strategy with which they made appeal to the sympathy and compassion of the audience. In contrast, males did not want to be

misunderstood, and thus, made their negative arguments clearer and more precise. This reinforces gender stereotypes as it reflects males' domination and superiority. The results of the study also reported that male and female participants used grammatical negation relating to the expression of '*remorse*', '*contrast*' and '*contradiction*' fairly equally. This shows that females' speech has evolved. In fact, females in the prison context speak like males. Their speech calls for equality and conformity with males' speech.

As far as evaluative adjectives are concerned, the results obtained revealed that evaluative adjectives within our corpus are used as feminine discursive marker, especially negative evaluative adjectives. This confirms that male participants are more concerned with autonomy, hence, they used less negative evaluative adjectives, namely those expressing '*hurt*' and '*loneliness*', which is a way of asserting control. And the fact that male participants used more negative adjectives expressing '*fear*' show that they fully accept the part of femininity in them. In contrast, females are willing to give up their femininity as they behave like males. In fact, female participants used more negative evaluative adjectives expressing '*Anger*'. This shows that females are neither weak nor inferior as perceived by the '*Dominance Approach*' and the '*Deficit Approach*' respectively. Instead, their speech mirrors strength and even violence, which is the case in the prison context. This demonstrates that the context of language use plays a decisive role in determining gender differences.

In sum, the study revealed that gender differences in criminal discourse are not black and white. There is, in fact, a break in traditional gender roles in the prison context. The speech of female criminals has changed over the years. Today, it produces and resists power. That is, the results of the study are not in line with Lakoff's (1975) gender stereotypes and do not support the diversity paradigm. Rather, it is the prison context which determines the way in which male and female criminals speak, and hence, their gender identity.

Our hope is that our study has contributed to the field of sociolinguistics though slightly so that it will open a new prospective for future research in gender differences reflected criminal discourse in particular in Arabic and Berber languages, which would be a premier in the Algerian context.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 : Authorizations

17/5/2014

FAQs - Frequently Asked Questions

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Please read the FAQs. It is very likely the answer to your question is covered below and you will get an answer much more quickly than by contacting us.

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- On Dec 23, 2013, at 10:45 AM, karima hocine <karima_hocine@yahoo.com> wrote:

To Richard@ReelisticPictures.com

Dec 23, 2013

Miss. Karima Hocine
Language and Communication Student
Mouloud MAAMERI University
Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria
Supervisor: Dr. Suryana Yassine

Dear Mr.Swindell,

My name is Karima Hocine.I am a student at Mouloud MAAMERI University, Tizi Ouzou, Algeria. I am writing to request permission to use your documentaries, Prison Diaries: Confessions from Death Row and Prison Diaries: Till Death Do Us Apart.

Actually, I am working on my master's thesis in Language and Communication,most notably,investigating *Language and Gender Differences Reflected in Criminal Discourse*. Hence, your documentaries will be used as a basis for data collection and the building of my corpus.

Hope to hear from you soon.

Respectfully,

K. HOCINE

Re: Request Permission

Richard@ReelisticPictures.com

To Me

Dec 23, 2013

Hello Miss. Karima Hocine

Unfortunately I do not retain the rights to those works. The right belong to a distribution company called “Cableready”<http://www.cableready.net/439/women-behind-bars/> I believe they are th ones that can grant you rights to use it.

Sorry I can’t offer more help. Best of luck with your master’s thesis

Sincerely
Richard Swindell

[Reply](#), [Reply All](#) or [Forward](#) | [More](#)

Me

To Richard@ReelisticPictures.com

Dec 24, 2013

Hello Mr. Swindell,

Thank you very much for your help. I will send them a message and wait for their answer.

Sincerly,

K.HOCINE

- On Dec 24, 2013, at 09:56 PM, karima hocine <karima_hocine@yahoo.com>wrote:

Togary@cableready.netDavid@cableready.netmtavares@live.comjessica@cableready.netjohncableready.netinfocableready.net

December 24, 2013.

Miss. Karima Hocine
Language and Communication Student
Mouloud MAAMERI University
Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria
Supervisor: Dr. Suryana Yassine

Hello everybody,

My name is Karima Hocine. I am a student at Mouloud MAAMERI University, Tizi Ouzou, Algeria. I am writing to request permission to use your documentary, Prison Diaries.

Actually, I am working on my master's thesis in Language and Communication, most notably investigating *Language and Gender Differences Reflected in Criminal Discourse*. Hence, your documentary will be used as a basis for data collection and the building of my corpus.

I have already contacted Mr. Swindell, who told me to contact you, Cableready, as you own the rights of distribution.

Hope to hear from you soon.

Respectfully,

K. HOCINE

[Reply](#), [Reply All](#) or [Forward](#) | [More](#)

Gary Lico
To Me

Dec 26, 2013

Hello, Karima - Will *any* episode do? And, if I may, I'll send you the program WOMEN BEHIND BARS...same show, different title. But I have some of those on hand. To where or how should I send it? I'll need an account number from you to ship it.

Gar
Gary Lico
Proprietor

LILOLME.TV
1115 Westover Road
Stamford, CT 06902

gary@lilolme.tv
Office/Fax - 203-428-6374
Mobile - 203-570-7753

[Reply](#), [Reply All](#) or [Forward](#) | [More](#)

Me
To Gary Lico
Dec 27, 2013
Hello,

I would like to thank you for granting me the right to use your documentaries. It is very nice of you.

Actually, any episode will do! But do not bother yourself. You do not need to ship them for me, I will just download them from You Tube.

Thank you again!

Respectfully,

K.HOCINE

[Reply](#), [Reply All](#) or [Forward](#) | [More](#)

Gary Lico
To Me

Dec 27, 2013

Are they on You Tube?

Gary Lico
Proprietor
LILOLME.TV
gary@lilolme.tv
(203) 428-6374

Sent from my iPad

[Reply](#), [Reply All](#) or [Forward](#) | [More](#)

Me
To Gary Lico

Dec 28, 2013

Hello,

yes,they are available on You Tube.

Sincerly,

k.HOCINE

Appendix II: Corpus

1) Females' Criminal Discourse:

Female 1:

- I asked him: did I do that? And he said "Yes you did it".
- My grandparents pretty much raised me...umm... I was and...out with my mother she's been married six times.
- I didn't realize that I could really be put to bigger problems.
- My alcohol abuse started when I was younger just partying and having a good time ...drinking and hanging out...those just the things to do.
- It took me about two years to realize that he was gone.
- She gave a new perspective in my life. I wanted to be there for her, you know... because my mother was not there always for me.
- I've done the wife and other thing until he decided he did not want a wife or a daughter.
- I have got in a couple of fights at bars...I'm not gonna die ...gonna let...
- It was drinking being angry. I didn't mean to... I didn't settle to take her life. And I'm sorry...
- I didn't want they hearing "two girls would better off without me", everybody would be better without me.
- She found it funny I ...so we just started hanging out...I told her that she can come with me...but they won't let one crazy person to check on another crazy person.
- It was just a shame...He didn't have a bathroom...He didn't have a telephone...and had that collection of arms...I remember walking in the door...agreeing... at him...and he was like you're crazy.
- I remember begging and arguing but as far as what it is really about...I can't do...I know that won't make me regret enough.
- I don't remember saying...I remember hearing them after all...I had to get a telephone coz I knew Barber wouldn't get help. I cried, it was hysterical cry...I would never take somebody's life on purpose.
- I did want to take a stand because I wanted her parents to know that I didn't mean to do this...I did not mean to take her life.
- I had given Mr. Davies a list of 25 papers that would speak on my behalf to show when I was drunk ...I can do already crazy stuff. He said I did not prove intense; it would make the case worse.
- When they came by with the guilty verdict...That was a shock...I can't believe it. I feel much pain for my grandparents...That makes me worthless.
- If you may think that you have drink problems, get help...just never know...life can change the blink of an eye.
- I am a different person now. I know...I know that I am forgiven by God. By her parents I don't know. I hope they will find that in their hearts

Female 2:

- He was holding me against my will...He was making me run the brothel and he was telling me if you...if you leave the brothel, you will never get back in.
- They put a gun to my head...umm... they made me make false statements.
- They were very strict raising us...My mother couldn't control me as a teenager...I just picked up on different angles of hustling, shop-theft, credit-card fraud.
- I never even knew she was there.
- I had not only to report...I also had an FBI agent...I was reporting too.
- We became dramatically involved and I started running his place...getting him different girls...
- If we didn't have a lot of work I had to fill in.
- I didn't even know he was killed...I was still in the drug house.
- Once he found out that I had a pro-worn... He turned out from a good cop to a bad cop...threatening me. I was crying, he wouldn't let me go to the bathroom...umm... He wouldn't let me have anything to eat.
- I spoke about Blacky being easy person to get money from...I kept saying I don't know...I wasn't there.
- She collaborated my false confession to the police. I just can't believe it...I just can't believe it that I am convicted on false statements...Being here for something you didn't do...It's just something horrible...I tried to look the better side of it...It's not worth it...

Female 3:

- People have no idea what death row is. I'm assuming everything is fine.
- I don't get emotionally attached to men. I've never been faithful to men.
- That couldn't happen to my sister.
- My first husband was actually very good to me but I couldn't be the woman he deserved. I had several successful unemotional relationships with men.
- The kids are half mine. No matter where you go I can come get them.
- We tried to snap her neck but that didn't work... I figured it quick and painless but he can't throw me under the bus either. He couldn't look at me either.
- I didn't kill Heather.

Female4:

- Life on a reservation was hard. I don't know my dad.
- I couldn't handle her, she was rebellious.
- I don't know who they are. I was gonna do crazy things like I was on a mission. I didn't want to be around humiliated.
- She said that I was a bad mom, just a stupid drunk. She said that I was a stupid mom, a bad mom. She was right.
- I couldn't stop because I was mad. I told officers that I burnt it...He didn't believe me.
- I know I've done something wrong and I can't bring her back. I cried ...because I was thankful. Sometimes, I'll think it was an accident...then other days, I'm really a bad person and it makes me sick.

Female 5:

- Oh ... no sir. You are wrong. I can't believe it. I'm not a violent person. I was quite really shy. He was very charming. We had been receiving a lot of hang up phone calls...When my daughter or myself answered...umm...They hang up.
- Something didn't sound right with his voice. I was disappointed; we were having a good time.
- I didn't... I did not hit my husband.
- The prosecution wanted to present me as a wife gone mad, a violent person.

Female 6:

- I did very bad things to get drugs. I was taking prescription drugs, selling drugs. I was a mess. I don't care. I'll do whatever I want. It was a desperate life. I was guilty. I couldn't live with myself for what I did.
- I was very uncooperative, like having Psychotic behaviour.
- I'm trying to stay positive. It is not hard to get clean in prison. I would love to be with my daughter, would like her be proud of her mother someday. I don't want her to be ashamed of who I was.

Female 7:

- He was dead when I turned him over...I didn't want him dead. It happened so fast. There was a red coat that I put over him before my sister get in the house. I didn't want her to see him. I was thinking a lot of crazy stuff at that time;
- He didn't want our child to be involved in that kind of stuff.

Female 8:

- I just never thought that he would have gone that extreme and killed him.
- Even if my grandmother was loving me. She was not my mother.
- I became addicted ...It gave me this strong feeling.
- He had a criminal history but he came off very harmless. I never set this whole thing up.

Female 9:

- It was not my choice. We never went hungry. We were able to pay bills. My mother was mentally ill...My father didn't care much either way. I could have a hunting accident happen at any time but that didn't happen.
- Junior was abusive.
- I would hope that people would not believe everything they hear about me. I'm very sorry because his life ended this way.

Female 10:

- I couldn't believe it. I didn't comprehend they are taking up my life. I was 46 years old.
- This room out here is much room between my bunk and my locker I had in the prison... So I never walk in here.
- You have no idea how to function because you've been locked in a box.
- It's not just 15mn. It's day after day, year after year, decade after decade, people cannot comprehend that.

Female 11:

- I don't have family out the street there to support me... So... for me it's still arranged. My thing is just trying to get out of here.
- If I literally spend 2 months from 8 until 6 o'clock doing what I have to, I'm still not gonna be done because I have lost my house. I have lost my belongings... You know.

Female 12:

- We were kicked out for male attendees, so we are alone here.
- Everytime he sees me, he wants to bother me. And I don't have to do anything .
- It's a lot of stuff that I've been through that. I didn't ... I don't wanna tell people because I don't wanna remember it. I brought shame to my family, and anything else. I don't want my children coming see me. I can't touch them. I can't hold them. I can't do nothing.

Female 13:

- I don't have an address so I go to the streets, you know. I don't wanna sleep on ground So I use ... I'm not making excuses but I used to stay up and I'll stay up until I pass out. I don't make court days; I don't make visiting days. I don't visit my kids.
- How does it affect my children: my son does not read. He doesn't want to go to school

Female 14:

- Dr Neslon, you know, asked me or made a statement about the tubelagation. I freaked out. Are we going to do what? I'm like no doctor, please; do not give me any procedure outside of this section. I haven't agreed on anything else. So he brought in a form for me to sign declining the tubelagation. You know, all you have to do is to tell you that you have the condition of life threatening , you know, if we don't get sterilized within a week, you may die. You know, they put that fear in them. So it's hard to know who to trust. It's scary... it's really scary. I was humiliated. I live in a society that treats people like animals. I can't believe it, you know, in this day and age, you know.

Female 15:

- We're called the inmates from hell. So we're pretty much the inmates that get in trouble as they call it. They keep us back here. They lock us down. We're agitated. We're angry. We have to yell to get to anything.
- This last summer I lost control and I was angry because the girl asked me if she could be my pimp and she called a (n...) And I was in a room with all white girls. So I was very scared.
- Im' on Cell-Alone and Walk-Alone. They feel everything is so bad that I'm not allowed to live with somebody or be on the yard with nobody. So I'm pretty much segregated all to myself at all time.
- This place is crazy. It's very very demented. It's very evil. It's very mean. And it's very painful. So we fight because we're angry.
- Today, I'm trying to prove them that I'm not a danger to other inmates. I should be able to take another step towards; you know, may be getting out or doing anything else. I can't say that I want change because I don't know what change is.
- I hoping to get... to get off single-cell status and walk-alone status. I admit I did hit my roommate with a lock. I was angry. I am ashamed for what I did. I was wrong for what I did. And I won't' do wrong. I promise.

Female 16:

- Put your pillow up under blanket. I will never make sure you got white sheet in your bed. Make sure it looks a kind of military. But some people don't get it. That's unacceptable. When the police are looking here, they don't wanna come here because it's clean.

- You don't blame on me like that because you never found drugs on me and my possession not at all, you know.
- She getting people busy. She go tell this person and come back to this person. You know, They won't be kinky out. So I try to tell her, you know, stay out of people business. So you can go home.
- I do really need to shop because I don't have anything, you know. My father's baby takes care of me, you know. He sends me stuff. I can make bracelets, you know, and sell them for 2 or 3 \$.

Female 17:

- Everything in here is crazy. I start feeling myself little guilty, the most comfortable. And I hate to say that in prison, I feel I'm more safe here just valued, respected.
- It's over. This place comes in and out, me picking up guns, me picking up drugs. You know what I mean. That's a good feeling, you wear jewelry of blinging. You know what I mean. You are one of the sharks.

Female 18:

- Spooky is my home daughter; I would rather put my hands on her than have somebody else do it. But not in a bad way. I mean Yeah, Not in a bad way, Yeah. If she isn't wrong, she'll get by me.

Female 19:

- It's not fair. I feel bad. I have few violent charges in my case. Funny mostly. I'm scared, this is the first time, I'm not gonna see you. Oh no, being pregnant in here is really nothing. The facing line in here is you are facing pregnant, you know, kinds of things, you know.

Female 20:

- I think I didn't go to trial. And when did know that I was going on trial. I knew that I couldn't get a conviction. I wouldn't guilty, okay.
- My father...He was a good father providing for us. We never went hungry. We always had everything we needed, okay.
- I guess that's what attracted me to him. He was so strong.
- My honey moon was spent in a trailer with no gas no water no electricity nothing. I was okay with that okay. I was free.
- At that time it was just a big party...Party not drinking. I didn't do know neither of my responsibilities.
- I was very desperate. I needed those loans. He was mad...my dad was really mad at me.
- When I went to Pollow's. I didn't see their car. I saw when of the guys I was dating with another girl... I followed him but I said he ain't worth it.
- He was a nice looking guy. Robert asked me or Steve I don't know...It ended up ...I was very very ashamed of myself. I was very very can't believe I did this.
- When people asked where I get the money, I never told the truth because that's one of the things my dad asked me not to do.
- There is no possible way for anyone to even get comprehend the intensity for a human being hearing a judge saying death sentence.

Female 21:

- And he said she's dead. And not just a dead point. Everything sorted out from a movie with so emotion.
- Dad wanted a boy. As a result, I was always a Tomboy, trying to be like, you know, best in sports, in order to make him like me. I was kind of amazed, flattered and surprised. I never thought that happened before.
- She ain't going down to the island, not that's what she told him. I never saw the paper. I f you don't be reasonable, I just going for good and you'll never see me again and you won't have anything.
- I don't see him but I hear him. He went to the back door because she never locks that door.
- I said what about the kids? He said we leave them. I don't know what else I could've done... Yes, you know, I've tried to help him. I'd no idea that anybody was gonna dead that night. When I got there and I realized, you know, I must be there for a long time, I didn't want waste my time, you know, so I never got to college. I started silky ways to do that. I only wish could have done better than you.

2) Males' Criminal Discourse:

Male 1:

- This is a scared state video. It's silly stuff like that.
- I don't see any issues about going to prison. It seems like a very welcome place...Lot of fun. It's good for now.
- I don't wanna be here any much longer.
- I'm gonna do this. This is be fine. I don't' wanna talk about this anymore. Prison is nothing like the movies...It's terrifying. Somebody shoot me with a tooth pick. I don't even know from where they had a tooth pick...umm... People do weird things here...The basket ball course is scary. I don't even think that it's about basketball. Well... It's a little different than expected.
- I don't like yelling at all...The names are not nice anymore...umm...It's not a good thing.
- I don't know how much longer I can take this ...umm...It's really scary. I don't know...I'll do anything to get out of here. I can't do this anymore. I can't do this anymore.

Male 2:

- Not for me. I'm good.
- I was expecting a boy but a month later I realized it wasn't a boy.

Male 3:

- I met her about four years ago. She came over to visit me. She couldn't have enough and marry me ha ha ha ha... Coz ... Well... Yeah, kind of.
- Oh no, no no no not at all. Cases like mine and like an old gentleman back here... You know... We didn't kill no women no kids. We are charged of shooting a cop ... a police officer... They just don't like guys like us... No matter if you got good issues in your case, you know. It doesn't matter, you know what I mean.
- I was a stupid kid at 19-20. I made very poor decisions. I didn't give a damn about the consequences at all. That kid is gone. I'm not saying I'm rehabilitating, you know. No, I'm not.
- I'm the kind f guy if I got fired from a job and cant' get a job, I do the illegal way to try to find a job... And if I can't find a job... And I can't pay my bills. I'm gonna get a gun and I'll pay my bills... And I I won't think about it... I won't' bother me at all.

Male 4:

- I committed a double homicide at the age of 13. It's tragic and it is very young. It's unheard of, wow. It's unspeakable. It's still very vivid, very poignant. It still resonate. It's still have tragic elements.
- No matter where I go what I do for the rest of my life, it will always be with me.
- I've never been to the prom, I've never driven a car, I've never have a driver license, never have texts returns; I've never been on an airplane, never travelled abroad. My life is being lived in this prison... And it seems I've been in this prison so long I've never been free. It's that simple.
- Yeah, it was you know, quite was. It's tough... This is an abnormal environment for human beings, you know... Those deep crises about men, who we are, where we come from...
- It is isolated to the extent you think it is, you know. Everybody feels the confinement. They are suffering here, you know. You put an animal in a cave... It goes crazy, you know. How much more so humans.

Male 5:

- I feel if I don't use it in a month than I don't need it.
- Me personally, I don't read r write... So I clean... So I don't write letters. I don't read books.
- Not so much. I work a lot. I've always been much busy. So you know I keep busy in here. 25 years in prison, you know, it's a long time.

Male 6:

- We don't have a lot of contact with them... SO, it is nice to be and come out to see people may be been locked out with they are not on the road no more. You can, you know, have contact with that person just for a brief second.
- No! It is not absolutely, none, zip. Now, you know, I take quite a few pills and instant shots. What's nice about... The nice thing about being a diabetic is that you do get out ... And to be around regular people, it's nice right.

Male 7:

- It's neutral territory for gangs for officers. I mean if you come to a barbershop, would you start trouble with a guy who stands here with a pair of scissors.
- I've been here for 37 years; we've never had an incident in the barbershop. We've never had an incident with the sheers. We've never had a problem.
- You know, you had your head screwed on, you know. You got the best of what you had.
- The car I had wouldn't start, so I come here in a vehicle with 3 people in it.
- I don't pay attention to it. I'm a barber. I don't want to get to know any of it. You lose enough friends on death row. I don't want to get familiar with him.
- I have never kept track...There would be many...you know, just, you know, we try to take turns doing things because it's cross-boarders.

Male 8:

- Well, just, we share the same interests. We always argue but we've never come to blows. You know that's how our friendship came in. Trust, trusting each other. You know what I mean.
- I don't mean nothing, right. He has no morals. Baby killer!
- I won't be a victim. I'll be one of the sharks.

Male 9:

- No way, I can make it out... There's no way in the worlds I can make it out. There is little hope there. There is no hope on death row. There is no more wondering what's gonna happen. There's no more trying to work you out of it. There's no more...There's nothing...
- It was very very hard very hard. It's hard to do it on death row waiting for your last meal last day, not knowing when it's gonna come. It was a great moment even if I still got a lot of time to do.

Male 10:

- My crime is shooting a police officer. You know, it started of pretty harmless theft crime.
- My buddy's car was already full. So I decided to get a van or truck.
- I wouldn't be on death row. I didn't not... I didn't know. I thought maybe if, you know, I take my gun out and fire a couple of times. What else to do. I just gave up. I was young...I didn't care about anybody at all but myself or anything.
- It's weird because when I was a kid I was fascinated with prison movies. It's scaring, you know. It's quite kind of a good neighborhood. You know if the bullet didn't hit him...He would be alive today, you know.
- Well...you spend, you know years and years, days and moths with a person, you know. What you're doing, you know, let's eat something make something to eat and you know, he convincingly come by one day and you know I gotta go man and you know when he turns his back and walks up on these steps he ain't coming back. They're going kill him.
- I told him, it's bad man. I would agree at the time, yeah... You know I deserved death penalty. I was young.

Male 11:

- The only talk we had was about his abuse and his abuse of behaviour. We never... Killing him never crossed our minds. After a few months by, I eventually broke down. I said, you know, what the death penalty frightens the crap out of me, so I'll take the plea bargain. I'm gonna take full responsibility for what I did because I killed, you know. But it was not cold blood.
- I love my mum. I killed a man. I blew up his face off. I don't feel like what I did is astronomically bad. It was not cold blood murder. That is not what it was.

Male 12:

- Umm, in June, the Governor signed my death row sentence.
- Any prison in the United States, including Florida State Prison, there is potential violence.
- I'm really don't ...well that much.
- And you know, and then, my only death watch was the... I was able to experience the anxieties and tensions before death row.
- One of the arguments of death row is that it will detour other people from committing crimes... Definitely not.

- The other is the area of people who don't think they'll be caught... And I've never know anyone who doesn't think he's gonna be caught. The end result will not detour them from anything.
- I don't think that would be great again. If I were to be executed. I wouldn't mind if my execution were televised.
- Some people like death penalty...Some do not. I think people in the middle would be affected by something like that, where they wouldn't be just part of the criminal justice system. The denial of facts is none existing.

Male 13:

- He expressed to the jury that I would never die like that.
- Many people asked me in letters. Well... it's just hard to explain...Well if you tell people you are on death row they won't write back...They are scared...They don't understand. And I...I mean...but the best people I write now are in prison in differ states.
- I become religious, I just can't do it in one letter...It might take 10 letters or more. And I ...tell them don't take a big man to get in prison.
- We can't do nothing...I mean...There was nothing a person can do.
- No madam. I think somebody's down like guilty...Killing him ain't going solve nothing. It's wrong...It's still wrong. If when a person goes to do a crime, he don't think. Well, if what will I get if I do this because it is a split notion if you do this. You don't think about how much time you gonna get if you go to prison or nothing like that thing.
- No! No. Every Guy I met here is all fight for the same thing, to get out of death row. The death penalty is wrong.

Male 16:

- I've realized that it's not the single soul to react.
- They don't actually; they don't say this to themselves consciously. It's a subconscious thing. They don't admit I wanna go back to prison. You know, they'll be seen their friends hey hey. You know, they are actually happy to see each other. Yes, like coming home. You don't have that many man is a maximum security prison, you know.
- Actually death row was a good experience for me since I...I didn't get executed. It gave me time and opportunity to reflect... and to study, try to understand myself, you know. They don't know how to occupy their time, fortunately, I do. I have an electric mind.
- It took about a year, a good year to adjust and be able to function just in this prison. You know after been confined for 12 years, you know.
- Capital punishment is nothing more than vengeance...It's eye for eye tooth for tooth. There's no social redeem to it...absolutely not... there is no...
- I know that if I drink and drive I could get killed... but how many people are drinking and driving, that's not stopping. You know, if you caught speed, you got ticket.
- If you didn't believe we were somehow not gonna have these things happen to our life, it would be very morbid, you know. We wouldn't do nothing. Live in a state of fear. I can't' do this because of the consequences.
- All these misfortunes in life happen to other people and never happen to us. People can get cancer not me... Other people lose their jobs not me...They don't actually verbalize this. I never considered even considered of whether or not I'm gonna get caught...I just didn't give it a fact...and not consciously.
- When committing a crime, it doesn't matter whether it is a robbery or a murder or whatever the crime is. Subconsciously, I'm doing it with the idea that I'm gonna succeed not caught. It doesn't matter if the consequences were 5 years in prison or death sentence. If I reconsider that I'm gonna get caught, I wouldn't count the act in the first place. If I know I'm gonna get caught, I wouldn't spend a year in prison and I wouldn't be executed.
- The degree of punishment is not the detour.
- The first 3 years I was here, you know, I witnessed 12 executions.
- A tremendous burden was relieved from his shoulders...He was very calm, what's blew my mind, you know. I was the one being upset by his execution.
- Not being in prison...being on death row. Here's what happens. He lives in constant state of uncertainty and anxiety. He never know what tomorrow is gonna bring, you know.
- It doesn't really matter which way...it's only over with.
- One reason, I wouldn't be able to commit a murder again is that I've realized that it's not a single solitary act. I kill you that's not the end of the act.

- I have hurt them even as much not even more as when I killed you. They are the ones who truly suffer. You deserve to die, you know. But by killing you, it's just not you it all affect hundreds of people. So it is no isolated.
- I never appreciated this before; I just came to appreciate this that there are consequences far beyond the solitary act. When you execute me, you're not really punishing me, you know. Because when I'm in the grave I feel no sense of loss, suffering, I don't, I'm not being heard. I don't think by executing me you are listening their suffering or their loss any. It doesn't make the dead any less dead and doesn't lessen the suffering loss of the living any.
- It would make a tremendous problem of adjustment...keeping me here any longer wouldn't make it easier. If I stay another 15 years in prison, there wouldn't be anything for me out. I don't think staying or keeping me any longer would make any better person, on the contrary... Not saying whether good or bad person. Let's say keeping me here any longer is not gonna help me be productive in society. It's going to be determinatory or worse that. It's not benefiting society in any way unless they feel I am dangerous. Nobody can be absolutely sure.
- In 20 years in prison, I haven't committed any violent act...Everything I've being done have been positive and constructive, you know.
- If any person was gonna make the judgment, I want out. I'm gonna tell you, I'm' not gonna spit on th side walk? I'm gonna go to church every Sunday and you know. I am able to speak well convincingly, you know.
- They are not doing anything to better themselves or change, you know. They are as much criminals as they were outside prison. The problem is that they really don't have no criteria for keeping a man in prison or letting him out of prison.