

# Topic Initiation, Development And Shift In Conversations

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## Abstract

*This study is a replication of Coates' study on conversations between women friends, and seeks to test Coates' findings on topic development and shift in women's conversations using data on female British Asian friends. Coates' study (1996, 1998), using data on white women friends, found that in women's conversations topics are developed jointly and are changed gradually rather than abruptly. Following Coates' methodology of data collection and data analysis, the study suggests that Coates' findings hold true also for female British Asian friends.*

## Literature review

Studies on topic control in conversations have revealed gender differences in how topics are raised, dropped, developed, changed, and diverted (Kramarae et al, 1983: 287). Fishman in her study of cross-sex conversations, for which she recorded the conversations of three heterosexual couples in their apartments, found that the topics initiated by men were much more often developed than those initiated by women. In her data, while only seventeen of the forty-seven topics raised by the women were successful, twenty-eight of the twenty-nine topics initiated by the men succeeded (Fishman, 1983: 97). According to Fishman (1983: 97 - 98), the topics initiated by the women failed due to the failure of the men to respond and to do the interactional work necessary for the development of the topics, whereas those introduced by the men succeeded because both parties, that is, the women and the men worked together to turn the initial attempt into conversation. The study revealed that unlike men, women developed the topics introduced by others by using minimal responses such as 'mm' and 'yeah' supportively while listening and by responding regularly in non-minimal ways during their turns in conversations (Fishman, 1983: 95 - 97).

West and Zimmerman's studies of interruptions in cross-sex conversations also support Fishman's findings by suggesting that women are much less likely than men to interrupt others in conversations and are therefore much less disruptive towards the development of the topics being pursued by others. Their first study involved the recording of cross-sex conversations between previously acquainted persons and found that 96 % of the interruptions were initiated by males. Their second study which involved cross-sex conversations between unacquainted persons reproduced the same

findings with 75 % of the interruptions done by males to females (West and Zimmerman, 1983: 106 - 107). Thus in cross-sex conversations while men control and curtail topics through the use of interruptions, withheld or delayed minimal responses while listening, and the use of minimal responses in their turns at speaking, women provide an active conversational and topical support in their roles as both listeners and speakers.

According to Fishman, and West and Zimmerman (1983: 89 - 90, 107), the supportive interaction work of women and the control of topics by males in cross-sex conversations is an exhibition of male dominance over women. However, studies of same-sex conversations in all-male and all-female groups have revealed similar gender differences in interaction patterns resulting in differences in the way topics are introduced, developed, shifted and controlled. Tannen (1990: 247, 258 - 261, 263), for example, found in her study of conversations between same-sex friends that while boys do not pursue any topic for more than a few short turns and jump quickly from one topic to another, girls spend a much longer time developing each topic through mutual support work and unlike boys they make progressive rather than sudden topic shifts.

Pilkington's study of the differences in the gossip of women and men also suggested that women differ from men to a great extent in the way they develop and change topics. The male conversations in her data were characterised by sudden changes of topics which resulted from interruptions and the absence of any response and minimal feedback from the listeners (Pilkington, 1998: 265 - 266). In contrast to the men, the women in her data not only provided topic support to others through supportive feedback but also developed others' topics by making active contributions to the discussions (Pilkington, 1998: 259). Moreover, unlike the abrupt topic shifts made by men the women initiated new topics by linking them with the previous ones. Ainsworth-Vaughn's (1992) research in the United States found a similar gender pattern in topic shift in medical interviews with women physicians avoiding sudden jumps from one topic to another without the patients' acknowledgement of what had been said so far (cited in Talbot, 1998: 107).

According to Pilkington (1998: 266), the development of topics and the progressive topic shifts in women's gossip result from their treatment of gossip as a co-operative venture. The women co-operate by prompting each other, giving positive feedback, repeating each other's ideas, and linking what they say to what has been said before which in turn leads to the development of topics and gradual topic shift. Similarly, Coates (1988: 70 - 71) argues that women's talk is co-operative talk because its main aim is the maintenance of social relationships and so it gives precedence to the joint working out of a group point of view over individual assertions. In doing so, topics are developed and controlled jointly by the whole group. Coates' study of women's talk for which she recorded the conversations of women in four different age groups, also found that women build progressively on each other's contributions thus developing topics jointly and shifting between topics gradually rather than abruptly (Coates, 1998: 237). Her data revealed that women develop topics jointly through both their mirroring stories,

that is, stories which match and pick up the same theme, and mirroring contributions to discussions (Coates, 1996: 83 - 88). Moreover, Coates (1998: 237 - 244; 1996: 146, 184 - 185, 195 - 196) found that women use minimal responses, simultaneous speech, questions including tag questions, and laughter supportively to develop topics.

Most of the studies on the development, shift and control of topics by women have been conducted on white women in Britain and the United States. According to Jones' (cited in Coates, 1998: 251), women form a speech community despite differences of age, class and ethnicity, and it is the purpose of my research to find out whether Coates' findings hold true for British Asian women.

## **Methodology**

The data for this study comes from two recorded conversations between myself and two of my 19 year-old female British Asian friends studying at the University of Glamorgan. One of the conversations is 23 minutes long and was recorded in the women's section of the university mosque where the three of us regularly meet up for a chat. The second conversation which is 55 minutes long was recorded during our meeting in one of the participants' house.

The recordings were done with the consent of the participants. However, to avoid any effect of the participants' knowledge of the study on the data, I did not reveal the purpose of the research to the participants (who were students of Psychology/ Criminology and Forensic Science) other than that it was for one of my English Language modules. My own participation in the conversations was necessary for recording purposes. However, it was very unlikely to affect the data because at the time of the recordings I myself had very little knowledge of the research topic and did the literature review only after I had collected the data. Moreover, the meetings during which the conversations were recorded were our routine meetings and were not arranged for the purpose of data collection. This, along with a pilot recording which I did before the two recordings to get the participants used to the presence of the tape recorder, ensured that the participants ignored the tape recorder and engaged comfortably in natural conversation.

In analysing the data I will look at how the participants introduce, develop and shift topics, following Coates' (1996, 1998) methodology in her study of conversations between women friends. Like Coates, I will be looking particularly at the participants' use, if any, of mirroring in stories and in the contributions to discussions, and their use of minimal responses, laughter, simultaneous speech, pauses and questions. Using Coates' (1996: 68) definition of 'topic' as a "chunk of talk that hangs together because it's about the 'same thing'", I will look at how the various devices mentioned above are used by British Asian women to initiate, to develop and to change a topic under discussion. In doing so, I will interpret each device as either supportive or non-supportive and discouraging to the development of a topic, in accordance with the function it performs in the particular context in which it is used. For example, the model

of turn-taking in conversation advanced by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1971) assumes a norm of one speaker speaking at a time and views simultaneous speech as an aberration (Coates, 1998: 238). However, all instances of simultaneity can not be defined as interruptions since the studies by Edelsky (1981) and Tannen (1984) have found that in interaction-focused as opposed to information-focused conversations, the floor is shared by several speakers at the same time (cited in Coates, 1998: 238). Coates' (1998: 238) study also found that only a minority of the simultaneous speech in her data could be described as representing attempts to take over the floor. Moreover, Kennedy and Camden (1983) and Sayers (1987) found that while half of the interruptions in their data were disruptive the other half were supportive and co-operative (cited in James and Clarke, 1993: 241 - 242). Thus I will only interpret those instances of simultaneous speech as interruptions which actually change the topic rather than develop it.

In analysing minimal responses I will again look at the way they are used in the conversations since Fishman's study (1983: 95 - 96) suggested that minimal responses could be used both supportively as interested listener noises or to display a lack of interest in the topic by using them merely to fill a turn at speaking. Similarly, I will analyse pauses in the context in which they operate because although according to Fishman (1983: 98) long pauses between turns at speaking indicate minimal interest and attention on the responder's part, in some cases these are present because the responder is thinking about what the speaker has said.

## **Data analysis**

Coates' data on women's talk suggested that in conversations between women friends telling stories is a common way to introduce new topics or to develop the ones already introduced (Coates, 1996: 264). The data I've collected on British Asian females (the transcribed parts of which are given in the appendices A and B) also suggests that women use stories not only to introduce but also to develop topics. For example, in the first conversation S introduces the topic of embarrassing moments (line 001) through her anecdote on how she walked in late in a lecture in university. This anecdote is followed by a discussion when T says "you know you know what in life you have to experience things like that ——" (line 076). As in Coates' data, the discussion involves contributions from all three participants (lines 076 - 084) who develop the topic jointly. After the discussion, T and M jointly tell a similar story about how M felt embarrassed when she fell off a chair in the university library. Such use of matching stories was also found by Coates (1996: 83) who called them 'mirroring stories' because they all picked on the same theme.

As in Coates' data, the use of mirroring in stories and in the contributions to discussions is typical of my data and it plays an important role in topic development. For example, in the discussion section of the topic of embarrassing moments M matches her contribution to S's contribution "I know I look back at it and I just laugh" (line 080) by saying "I enjoy when I do something silly like that" (lines 082 - 083) which is then followed by the joint narration of how she fell off a chair in the library. Similarly, in the

second conversation, when T introduces the topic of the portrayal of Asians in the media (Appendix B Example 2) by discussing the content of a comedy programme on television (lines 001 - 045) M matches her contribution with T's by introducing the sub-topic of East is East, a comedy film on Asians (line 079), thus developing the topic of Asians' portrayal in the media even further. Moreover, within the sub-topic of East is East all three participants develop the topic through both their matching contributions in recalling different parts of the film (lines 134 - 194) and their matching contributions to discussions, for example, T's remark "and oh I hated about the bacon thing do you remember with the bacon" is followed by S's matching comment "oh that that just no one does that no one" (lines 103 - 106) and then again in the lines 134 - 140 S matches her contribution with T's comment "and they were tidying up trying to hide the smell and you know but I didn't like that bit though" by saying "I mean (unclear) the smells make you sick whenever we go in the bloody canteen" thus supporting T to carry on with her observations which follow in the lines 141 - 159.

The participants in my study also use minimal responses to develop topics jointly. Like Coates' data, my data also shows the frequent and well-timed use of minimal responses both to support the speaker by signalling agreement and to indicate the listeners active attention to what is being said. For example, in the first conversation when the three participants are talking about their studies and when S tells about a friend who has passed her driving test, minimal responses are used frequently to signal active attention and agreement without interrupting the speaker's flow (lines 130, 140, 144, 158, 162, 165, 170, 172, 174, 199, 201, 203, 206, 222, 223, 229, 235, 244, 246, 247, 249, 270). Similarly, in the second conversation minimal responses are used supportively throughout the topic of people resembling each other (Example 1 lines 005, 007, 010, 015, 023, 038, 041, 043, 046, 049, 059, 065, 068). Apart from minimal responses attentive listening and involvement in topics is also expressed through laughter during the narration of funny stories or when something funny is said. For instance, in Example 1 of the second conversation (lines 047 - 058) S and M respond to what T says by laughing and in Example 2 when T tells them a joke from a comedy programme on Asians they again respond by laughing (lines 001 - 039) thus encouraging her to carry on with the topic. Similarly, in conversation 1 S's anecdote on an embarrassing moment is supported by the listeners through their laughter (lines 035 - 040, 061 - 073) which shows that all the participants are enjoying the topic and thus serves as a cue for T and M to develop the topic by telling a mirroring story.

As in Coates' study the participants in my study also support and develop topics by asking the speaker questions which not only show their interest in the topic but also invite the speaker to tell more about what is under discussion. For example, in the first conversation (lines 131 - 234) when S says "no I've been doing nothing I'm just doing my essays" T asks her "did you hand them all in then" and then "what were the essays on about" thus developing the topic of studies in which T goes on to tell her own study related story about the opportunity she and her classmates had to work in a prison and M follows with the linked question "do you do you know any books on

domestic violence” and the topic progresses and eventually shifts to the sub-topic of libraries with T’s linked question “—— Sam you know the library we went to in Cardiff uni which one was it ——”. Similarly, in the second conversation (Example 1) S’s question “is it” which follows M’s remark “he (S’s brother) looks like you” sets off a discussion with T indirectly contradicting M by saying “you just saw his back” followed by T and S making linked remarks about themselves resembling other people thus developing the topic jointly.

Furthermore, like Coates’ data my data also suggests that for most of the time shifts between topics are progressive rather than abrupt. For example, in the second conversation (Example 3) there is a gradual topic shift from the topic of Monthermer road (line 014) where M lives and S used to live to the topic of Faiza (a girl who lives on Monthermer road) (line 048) to summer courses (in Coleg Glan Hafren where Faiza used to study) (line 110) to dance (learning it in a dancing school) (line 117) to a party and get together with friends in the summer holidays (line 158) to going together for a run in a park during the holidays (line 261). This coherent sequence of topics lasts for 23 minutes 51 seconds (including the parts which have not been transcribed). Pauses are rare and being no longer than 2 seconds at all events in my data, do not disrupt the development of topics. Moreover, although simultaneous speech is frequent, in the majority of instances, like in Coates’ data, it does not function as an interruption but as a sign of active listenership or represents the joint development of topics as in the lines 088 - 095 of the first conversation where M and T engage in joint story telling and S asks a question regarding the story.

### **Conclusion and Suggestions for further research**

The data on female British Asian university students reproduces Coates’ (1996, 1998) findings on the way women friends introduce, develop and change topics in conversation. As in Coates’ study, the data from this study also suggests that women develop topics jointly through their joint contributions to the topic in the form of mirroring both in stories and in discussions, and their support work as active listeners. This support work includes the use of questions which express the listeners’ interest in the topic as well as inviting the speaker to tell more about what is being discussed, and minimal responses which are used to indicate agreement and to encourage the speaker to carry on by signalling attentive listening. In my data, as in Coates’ (1996), involvement and interest in the topic is also signalled through laughter which helps to develop the topic by serving as a cue for the speaker to continue on the topic.

Topics are also developed jointly through the use of simultaneous speech which is frequent in my data and which, as in Coates’ data, can not be interpreted as an interruption in the majority of the cases since it supports rather than disrupts the topic. In fact the presence of supportive simultaneous speech points to the presence of a collaborative floor in which all participants work together at the development of topics. In the absence of simultaneous speech the collaborative floor is sustained through the use of minimal responses and laughter. While simultaneous speech is frequent, long

pauses which may disrupt the development of topics by indicating a lack of interest in the topic on the part of the responder are absent from my data. Thus my data suggests that women instead of disrupting the topics introduced by others, develop them jointly by building on each other's contributions. Moreover, like Coates' data, it also suggests that in doing so they introduce new topics by linking them with previous ones and therefore make progressive rather than abrupt topic shifts.

My research on topic development and shift in conversations between female British Asian friends has reproduced the findings from Coates' study on white women friends. However, one problem with my research is that being a non-British Asian I myself do not fit into the category of British Asians. Even so, the findings are identical to those of Coates' study. Most of the research on women's talk has been conducted on women friends and it would be interesting to see through future research if the findings remain unchanged for women in other relationships such as work colleagues, mothers and daughters, bosses and workers etc.

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## **Appendix A**

### **Extract from conversation 1**

S = a 19 year-old British Pakistani girl, T = a 19 year-old British Bangladeshi girl, M = myself. Setting = university mosque.

- 001 S: OH MY GOD the most (laughs) weirdest thing happened to me today =  
002 T: = what what  
003 T: happened  
004 S: right [I got up- got up at eight o' clock left the house at nine o' clock to come to my  
005 T: [(unclear)  
006 S: ten o' clock lecture  
007 T: yeah- and it's cancelled  
008 S: no- cause (unclear) and I had that text that um= = it's in the business centre  
009 T: = aah= [(unclear)  
010 S: [no I  
011 S: went to the business centre- I saw my teacher it's (the room) all packed (.01) f full of  
012 S: my- lec Psychology students right and I walked in sat down got my paper and  
pen out 013 S: everyone start getting up  
014 T: uh=  
015 S: = I started thinking I was thinking what the (laughs) hell I said to the um the girl  
016 S: sitting next to me I said whe where's everyone going she said it's the end of the  
lecture 017 T: (.01) uh=  
018 S: = and I said- what do you mean it's the end of the lecture she said it's eleven  
o' 019 S: clock  
020 T: oh my [God  
021 S: [I looked at my watch and I- how can it be eleven o' clock it's ten o' clock  
022 S: [(laughs)  
023 T: [(unclear) you didn't [change your time  
024 S: [I have I've changed the hour  
025 T: -from=  
  
026 S: = that was so weird and I was thinking oh God that [is so so strange  
027 T: [okay sit down Sam sit down  
028 T: Sam sit down- you went you had a lesson between ten [till eleven  
029 S: [ten till eleven  
030 T: you went=  
031 S: = did you come in for your eleven o' clock lecture  
032 T: yeah  
033 S: (.01) then my clock must be wrong even though I changed it that's so weird- [I  
034 T: [(unclear)  
035 S: thought I was going crazy [I even (laughs) forgot I'm thinking what happened to that  
036 T: [(laughs)

- 037 M: [(laughs)  
038 S: (laughs) hour [(laughs) what was I doing  
039 T: [(laughs) oh my God- it's the leap year  
040 M: [(laughs)  
041 T: [- (unclear)  
042 S: [(laughs) I thought (unclear) I thought I might have you know- um  
043 T: (.01) probably=  
044 S: = occupied myself with something else like cause I had a shower before  
045 S: [I came here  
046 T: [you know that I told you I got a lesson I finish at one- I told you that I got practical- 047 T: didn't it you didn't think into it did you=  
048 S: = no because you finish at one [all the time  
049 T: [mm  
050 S: ainey=  
051 T: = yeah [two hours  
052 S: [after your [(unclear)  
053 T: [two hours=  
054 S: = cause I didn't know you had two hours [I thought  
055 T: [mm  
056 S: you just said finish at o one=  
057 T: = mm okay=  
058 S: = that was so strange=  
059 T: =okay but anyway[(unclear)  
060 S: [(unclear) 061  
S: but I think because I walked [in and everyone started looking at me really weirdly and I  
062 T: [(laughs)  
063 S: thought why is everyone looking at me- so strange am I even my [lecturer just  
064 T: [aw  
065 S: (laughs) looked at me =  
066 T: = and (unclear) you came in=  
067 S: = [(laughs)  
068 M: [(laughs) tha that is really funny  
069 T: aw=  
070 S: = (laughs)[and I couldn't stop laughing  
071 T: [(unclear) aw (unclear) so bad [aw but never mind but it's over and done  
072 S: [(laughs)  
073 M: [(laughs)  
074 T: with=  
075 S: = I know=  
076 T: = you know you know what in life you have to experience things like that  
077 T: [you have to experience like you're a fool [once you can't always think [(unclear) nice  
078 S: [(laughs) [I know [I know  
079 T: to [have (unclear)

- 080 S: [I know I look back at it and I just laugh=  
081 T: = exactly=  
082 M: = I enjoy when I do something  
083 M: (laughs) silly [like that  
084 T: [yeah exactly oh my (unclear) tell her tell her about that day when you  
085 T: fell (laughs) off the chair in the library=  
086 M: = [(laughs)  
087 S: [she's told me [all she's told me  
088 T: [and then the guy came- after her  
089 T: yeah the guy came inside and in the same chair he was about to fall  
090 T: [(unclear)  
091 M: [(laughs) and I was hoping it  
092 S: [there was something wrong with the chair was it  
093 M: [yeah- it was the chair- and I was  
094 T: [(unclear)  
095 M: hoping he'd fall [(laughs) so that you know because people (laughs)saw me  
096 T: [(laughs)  
097 S: [(laughs)  
098 M: [(laughs) and I was looking at him like that (funny expression on the face)=  
099 T: [(laughs) = [here we 100  
S: [(laughs) [(laughs)  
101 M: [(laughs)  
102 T: go [again Sam's laugh [(.(02) again [(.(01) and again [(.(02) well that is not (laughs) what  
103 M: [(laughs) but [(laughs) [(laughs) [(laughs)  
104 S: [(laughs) [(laughs) [(laughs) [(laughs)  
105 T: [I like about it I change  
106 M: [(laughs)  
107 S: [(laughs)  
108 M: how do you do it  
109 S: (makes a funny sound and [(laughs)(unclear)  
110 M: [(laughs)  
111 T: [(laughs)(unclear)  
112 T: okay um when do you have your next lecture  
113 S: that's it I finished now  
114 T: what about you Maria=  
115 M: = I finished=  
116 T: = aw=  
117 M: = I finished at eleven  
118 T: aw and you were waiting for me all that time=  
119 M: = yeah  
120 T: aw for just this [(unclear)  
121 M: [not for you for my recording=  
122 T: = alright=

- 123 S: = [(unclear)  
124 M: [don't be too happy=  
125 T: = I know I  
126 T: I won't be happy [(unclear) um (.01) um you know [last time I saw you I haven't seen  
127 M: [(laughs)  
128 S: [(laughs) [(unclear)  
129 T: you for about ages [now maybe we should meet up=  
130 S: [I know = yeah  
131 T: what [have you been up to been jogging in the gym  
132 S: [um  
133 S: no I've been doing nothing I'm- just (.01) doing my essays [(laughs)  
134 T: [did you hand them all in  
135 T: then  
136 S: I've handed two in I've gotta hand one in tomorrow=  
137 T: = what what were the essays on  
138 T: about  
139 S: one was on female crime  
140 T: oh yeah=  
141 S: = and one was on- two theories of personality I had to compare and contrast  
142 S: them=  
143 T: = ah ah do you know that Bridgend that prison in [Bridgend um basically we  
had  
144 S: [mm  
145 T: work experience we had the opportunity to go and work there [and and and basically it  
146 S: [did you  
147 T: was not the not work it was working with the police but in the crime scenes  
148 T: department and what happened is oh God there was more than since only I can only  
149 T: take [seven [(unclear) it was more than se seven obviously it was about  
150 S: [certain amount of [seven of  
151 T: (unclear) what more than fifteen [(unclear)  
152 S: [they take em out of a hat=  
153 T: = yeah and they they they  
154 T: put [(unclear)  
155 S: [that happened to me in Cardiff business (unclear)=  
156 T: = (unclear) oh you can't  
157 T: (unclear) there are seven people there were about seven friends  
158 S: [oh God  
159 T: [(unclear) I was like oh my God you know we were not and the man he says don't give  
160 T: up what you can do is go to um he gave us this lady's number and you go to her and  
161 T: talk about you know what he explains things you can do other than that=  
162 S: = mm=  
163 T: =cause it's  
164 T: taken basically we went to her and she said there's one in Gwent [do you know where

- 165 S: [mm]  
166 T: that is  
167 S: that's quite far=  
168 T: = yeah I know and she said she'll look up um- you know the lab work for  
169 T : me I said that's my first choice the lab [work (unclear) but she said it's very unlikely  
170 S: [that's good  
171 T: because=  
172 S: = mm=  
173 T: = yeah because you know it's very high security [(unclear) [you know  
174 S: [mm [yeah=  
175 T: = so  
176 T: hopefully *inshallah* (God willing)=  
177 S: = *inshallah* (God willing) you'll get it  
178 T: am I talking too much carry on  
179 M: no no=  
180 T: = carry on=  
181 S: = not talking too much she'll have an empty cassette  
182 M: (.02) do you do you know any books on domestic violence  
183 S: there's one by Dobash and Dobash  
184 M: I know that one any other=  
185 T: = Dobash and Dobash=  
186 S: = two brothers  
187 M: two [brothers  
188 S: [yeah called um- delinq [violence against wives=  
189 M: [I know = I know that one any other  
190 S: um (.03) don't know  
191 M: okay it's okay  
192 S: why are you doing anything on violence=  
193 M: = mm yeah I've got an essay to do on domestic  
194 M: violence=  
195 S: = just look in your normal sociology book- it should be [in there  
196 M: [yeah I've got a  
197 M: reading list but most of the books you can't find them in the library=  
198 S: = is it that's [such  
199 M: [yeah  
200 S: a nonsense (unclear)  
201 T: (.01) mm  
202 M: (.01) I haven't looked for them yet I'm [assuming because that's how it goes (laughs)  
203 S: [ah  
204 M: always [(laughs)  
205 T: [yeah [oh yeah d Sam you know the library we went to in Cardiff uni which  
206 S: [yeah  
207 T: one was it was it the um the one in um the social science one

- 208 S: the one [um  
209 T: [(unclear) don't have criminology there do you=  
210 S: = yeah [there is criminology and  
211 T: [do you  
212 S: psychology department=  
213 T: =which one is it is it [by  
214 S: [no do you know the law library do you  
215 M: [that's  
216 S: know one that's like next to Barclays bank  
217 T: (.01) where is it about that one  
218 M: the law library=  
219 S: = the law library's at top top floor and ground floor is psychology  
220 S: [and criminology  
221 M: [I know the it's the same one where we went [it's law and social sciences=  
222 T: [aw  
223 S: = yeah=  
224 M: = Is  
225 M: law a social (laughs)science it's it's not a science is it  
226 M: [law- law- just [comes under humanities  
227 S: [law- no law isn't [-law and social sciences=  
228 T: [(unclear)  
229 M: = yeah  
230 S: so social science will be psychology=  
231 M: = what does law come under does it come under  
232 M: [humanities  
233 S: [humanities  
234 T: [humanities=  
235 M: = mm  
236 T: (.01) yeah because [(unclear)  
237 S: [Ayesha gave me a text she's passed the driving test=  
238 T: = oh [excellent good  
239 S: [yeah very  
240 S: good=  
241 T: = (unclear) when was when was I didn't know she was [doing  
242 S: [I didn't know when she  
243 S: started she's=  
244 T: = ah=  
245 S: = (unclear) passed yesterday=  
246 T: = aw [(unclear)=  
247 S: [mm =she's like ooh I've  
248 S: passed [it's a wicked feeling [(laughs)  
249 T: [aw [I know- I know=  
250 S: = passing is

- 251 T: I know what you mean yeah [when (unclear) going to come now  
252 S: [(laughs)  
253 S: I don't know cause *inshallah* (God willing) I'll probably get it (a car) at the end of=  
254 T: =[(unclear)  
255 S: [yeah I've  
256 S: done my degree because- I should have some money by then I need to get a job for this  
257 S: summer though  
258 T: is it=  
259 S: = I've got [my exam timetables up and I've got one on 18th of May  
260 T: [(unclear)  
261 T: that's your first one=  
262 S: = three hour one  
263 T: that's [criminology one  
264 S: [criminology one yeah and um one on 25th or 22nd=  
265 T: = so is mine [(unclear)  
266 S: [and one on  
267 S: 29th or 28th one of them [I've to check  
268 T: [you've got three exams I've got five  
269 S: have you [that's because two of my modules are coursework  
270 T: [mm  
271 T: ah- um- how did that job interview go you know the one you said=  
272 S: = I didn't go=  
273 T: = you  
274 T: didn't go=  
275 S: = no [bec  
276 T: [why not  
277 S: (.01) it was I thought if I take it now (.01) I first of all it was sales assistant  
278 T: and you don't want [any  
279 S: [no [I just  
280 T: [where was it Sam  
281 S: in some shop called Slaters off Saint Mary street  
282 T: do you know where Hodge (unclear) Hodge House is  
283 S: Hodge no  
284 T: you know where=  
285 S: =oh that's what I've got to do I've got to pick up my c.v.  
286 T: (.01) okay so um Maria

## Appendix B Examples from conversation 2

S = a 19 year-old British Pakistani girl, T = a 19 year-old British Bangladeshi girl, M = myself. Setting = S's house.

Example 1 (This part of the conversation took place while eating)

- 001 T: is that your [small brother  
002 S: [(unclear) no (laughs) big brother my little brother is (unclear)  
003 M: (.01) he looks like you  
004 S: (.01) is it=  
005 M: = mm  
006 T: you just saw his (unclear)  
007 M: mm=  
008 T: =you just saw his back  
009 M: [(unclear) face um from the side=  
010 S: [(unclear) face =mm  
011 T: (.02) I don't know I can't tell people like that you (M) look exactly like your sister  
012 S: (.02) you (T) look nothing like Mariam  
013 T: (.01) she's not my sister though=  
014 S: = I know but people say you look [like her don't they=  
015 T: [mm =they  
016 T: do=  
017 M: = you you do just a bit  
018 S: I don't think so=  
019 T: = some people goes you look so like- twins Fatima think me and  
020 T: Mariam look so alike=  
021 S: =is it  
022 T: well it's different eyes isn't it=  
023 S: = yeah=  
024 T: = different (unclear)=  
025 S: = [(laughs)  
026 T: [well it is different eyes(unclear)  
027 S: (laughs)  
028 T: (.02) I'd sometimes I'll argue you know my mum will think something else and then  
029 T: we'll I'll look in a different way and I think no mum (unclear)  
030 T: [we're not wrong my one is wrong  
031 S: [my mum says I look exactly like her *khala* (aunt) I think she said but I [(unclear)  
032 T: [you don't  
033 T: think [you do  
034 S: [I don't I've never seen her I- um=  
035 M: = sorry whose *khala* (aunt)=

- 036 S: = my mum's *khala*  
037 S: (aunt)=  
038 M: = mm  
039 T: people say I look exactly like my dad but then you know some people when I they say  
040 T: you look like someone and people like no no [I don't when they say you look like your  
041 M: [mm  
042 T: dad I you know I think [that too because I agree cause I you know=  
043 S: [you do yeah = yeah=  
044 T: = daughters  
045 T: and every thing you can tell=  
046 S: =yeah  
047 T: but most people say na you know they say point out about themselves- but then if  
048 T: you the person if someone says you look like that person you don't like that person=  
049 S: =mm=  
050 T: =and  
051 T: [you know that- you'll say no no no I'm not like that some people will say oh she looks  
052 S: [(laughs)  
053 M: [(laughs)  
054 T: [T you know T looks like her you know aunty from this and that [I'll be like no no no  
055 S: [(laughs)  
056 M: [(laughs)  
057 T: no I don't look like [I look like my dad (laughs) I look like my dad- you know  
058 M: [(laughs)  
059 S: yeah=  
060 T: = because [I don't know it's like psychology you know you you feel=  
065 S: [I do that as well- yeah =yeah=  
066 T: = that  
067 T: person is not [nice they're trying to- put me [into that you know=  
068 S: [yeah [into that = yeah=  
069 T: =it's so weird  
070 M: (laughs)

Example 2 (conversation while watching television)

- 001 T: [(unclear) oh did you see the other girl now in Bombay (talking about some Asian  
002 T: programme on television)  
003 S: [(laughs) every time  
004 T: um I'm kitty I'm I'm [mitty the showbiz kitty and  
005 S: [no  
006 T: she goes like that (making a gesture with her hands) (laughs) and she goes like that =  
007 S: =(laughs)  
008 T: with her figure [-she's so horrible haa=  
009 S: [(unclear)

- 010 S: = (unclear) her feet=  
011 T: = yeah [that one you know  
012 S: [that (unclear)  
013 T: that eeee she's like um the tall [you know you know bigger one=  
014 S: [oh yeah = yeah=  
015 T: = and the other  
016 T: one the smaller one- she's like um she's in India basically you know they go to India=  
017 S: =oh  
018 S: [yeah  
019 T: [she she's so she's so stupid she goes (laughs) she she she goes I can do this  
she goes  
020 T: oh my comes to under to the knees she goes I've got a cleavage- and you [and she  
021 M: [(laughs)  
022 T: goes my (laughs) my cleavage is so big it comes to my knees [(laughs)  
023 M: [(laughs) oh God  
024 S: [(laughs)  
025 T: [(laughs) she's so thick and she goes- I'm I'm mitty the showbiz kitty- she's like oh the  
026 M: [(laughs)  
027 S: [(laughs)  
028 T: [other one goes like that isn't it she's like (laughs) showing her (unclear) and the other  
029 M: [(laughs)  
030 S: [(laughs)  
031 T: [one goes she'll she'll like to copy she goes I'm like that she goes (laughs) jumps and  
033 M: [(laughs)  
034 S: [(laughs)  
035 T: she falls down [(laughs) [she thinks that she's really big [(laughs)  
036 M: [(laughs)  
037 S: [I haven't seen that one [when did that come=  
038 T: =the[(laughs)(unclear)  
039 M: [(laughs)  
040 S: [when did that come  
041 S: down I didn't watch=  
042 T: = about fe about a month ago I think=  
043 S: = is it- [aah  
044 T: [it's not it's really  
045 T: really I really found it offensive [this time cause it's like we're not like that you know  
046 S: [did you  
047 T: they try to um you know that red building in um India that red building you know the  
048 T: famous you know the tourist attraction well not famous but you know there is Taj you  
049 T: know Aagra you know [Taj Mahal in there they've got this big you know one of the-  
050 S: [mm  
051 T: I love the other one um what was the other one oh yeah y you know toilet- sanitary oh

- 052 T: my God he goes um- he's looking and he goes there's open sanitary everywhere and  
053 T: you know that (laughs) (unclear) he=  
054 S: = he's funny=  
055 T: = he's so funny he goes um oh God  
056 T: I've to go I've to go and then the guy goes the white guy goes oh you know um it's  
057 T: um- you know ahead of you somewhere over there and he goes like in the middle of  
058 T: the street he goes by some of the pile of junk yeah he sits by and to open his trousers  
059 T: and he's like- he goes and the guy the white guy he goes (mimicks) not there you silly  
060 T: (unclear) he goes (mimicks) I knew [that (laughs) he goes I (laughs)  
061 S: [(laughs)  
062 S: (laughs) (unclear)  
063 T: [(laughs and mimicks) I knew that he's like (unclear) is like sitting and he goes  
064 S: [(laughs) (unclear)  
065 T: (mimicks) I knew that (laughs) he's like [(laughs)  
066 S: [(laughs)  
067 M: [(laughs) that's so disgusting=  
068 S: = (laughs) oh my  
069 S: God how they managed that=  
070 T: = (laughs) he's=  
071 S: = (laughs) something's happened to em  
072 T: [(laughs) he's like using his (unclear) to get a (makes funny sounds and laughs) sorry  
073 S: [(laughs)  
074 T: Maria  
075 M: (laughs) that's disgusting  
076 T: [ah it's very (unclear) and then there was another [one  
077 M: [(laugh) [I hate those sort of [disgusting jokes  
078 T: [I know(unclear)  
079 M: (.01) have you watched east is east=  
080 T: = oh (laughs)yeah =  
081 M: = it's so [disgusting  
082 T: [I (laughs) know I  
083 T: I know I don't like that bit=  
084 M: = I didn't I didn't enjoy [watching it  
085 T: [I know  
086 T: God we're all it's like (laughs) you (unclear) bitch [(laughs)  
087 S: [(laughs)  
088 M: sorry  
089 T: he's (the Asian man in the film) so stup=  
090 S: = (laughs) (unclear)  
091 T: [(laughs) he is like that isn't he he's really we're not like that- he's like giving a like um  
092 S: [(laughs)  
093 T: [impression that all Asian like they're trying to say that um- you know- parents are like

- 094 S: [(laughs)  
095 T: [that they're very strict [they want their kids to be like [even the kids are rebels and  
096 M: [yeah [yeah [yeah  
097 T: you go up we're not like that though [maybe at the you know um there was the Asian  
098 M: [mm  
099 T: he was in the 60's- basically he was [(unclear)  
100 S: [I'll tell you why (unclear) [(laughs)  
101 T: [yeah he was like=  
102 S: =(laughs)(unclear)  
103 T: [and oh I hated about the bacon thing do you remember with the bacon=  
104 S: [(laughs) = oh that [that just  
105 T: [I was like  
106 S: no one does that [no one  
107 T: [I know that's what I'm trying to say=  
108 M: = they were eating the kids [were  
109 T: [yeah  
110 T: they [were  
111 M: [cause maybe it could because- they had their mum wasn't a Muslim was she=  
112 T: =yeah  
113 T: she [wasn't I know but  
114 M: [so they were half Muslims they weren't=  
115 T: =yeah [half Muslims  
116 M: [like us=  
117 S: = (unclear) wasn't their mum  
118 S: Muslim=  
119 T: = no [she  
120 M: [she was a [she was  
121 T: [she didn't have no she was [she was  
122 M: [she was a white woman [wasn't she  
123 T: [she was a  
124 T: [white woman but his dad  
125 S: [(unclear)=  
126 T: = she well I don't know I don't think she was she didn't have any income [or  
127 S: [she  
128 S: didn't=  
129 T: = no and anyway um he wanted his kids to be  
130 S: yeah like [(unclear)  
131 T: [have the- have the traditional you know- value and blah blah you know  
132 T: [to be traditio  
133 M: [so ob obviously the kids wouldn't be you know they wouldn't be Muslims=  
134 T: =and they  
135 T: were tidying up trying to hide the smell and you know but I didn't like that bit though

- 136 T: [they (unclear)  
137 S: [(unclear) I know  
138 T: and then=  
139 S: = I mean (unclear) the smells make you sick whenever we go in the bloody  
140 S: [canteen (unclear)  
141 T: [and they come on out of all things they tried that what was this profession the other  
142 T: one a sculp you know artist no sculpture what is it what was he [sculp  
143 S: [sculpture something  
144 S: like [that  
145 T: [yeah sculpture or something like [that  
146 S: [(unclear)  
147 T: he's [(laughs) so stupid what did he do I mean out of all the things in the world he had  
148 M: [(laughs)  
149 T: [to draw (laughs) the female anatomy [(laughs) (0.2)  
150 M: [(laughs) [(laughs) (0.2)  
151 S: [(laughs) (0.2)  
152 M: because [that's what he found fascinating [(laughs)  
153 S: [(unclear) [(laughs)  
154 T: [(laughs) that was fascinating  
155 M: for him for him yeah not for (laughs) me [(laughs)  
156 S: [(laughs)  
157 T: and um- (unclear) the two brides coming in [men dressed as women can't they just use  
158 S: [oh yeah yeah  
159 T: they could have used used women=  
160 S: = was it men dressed as women=  
161 T: = yeah they were  
162 T: men- didn't you realise [(laughs) oh my God that is bad  
163 S: [(laughs) I thought they were women that is really (unclear)  
164 S: women  
165 T: [(laughs) we Asians are not like that even though even there might be so ugly  
166 M: [(laughs)  
167 T: they're not  
168 S: I [thought they were (unclear) women but [made out to be (unclear)  
169 T: [they're men [(unclear) the eyebrows and yeah (laughs) no  
170 T: they weren't [Sam they were men (.01) and I was like oh my (laughs) God=  
171 S: [aah mm  
172 M: = the  
173 M: funniest bit was when he gets the chair for you know the barber's chair- just because  
174 M: it's (laughs) cheap and [he gives it as a present to his wife that was funny=  
175 S: [(laughs)  
176 T: = I forgot I  
177 T: forgot [(unclear)

- 178 S: [(laughs) gets a barber's chair for his wife  
179 M: [(laughs)  
180 M: I've brought I've bought a really good gift for you and [it's a barber's chair [and he  
181 T: [oh right [but  
182 T: whose Baber  
183 M: you know [barber people [(unclear)  
184 S: [barber barber [(unclear)  
185 T: [alright alright okay a guy called Baber a *baba* (an old man)  
186 T: [(laughs) sorry  
187 M: [it's a barber's chair and (.01) just because it's really cheap he puts it in the living room  
188 M: (laughs) yeah  
189 T: alright [alright I forgot that bit [and  
190 M: [it's so funny  
191 S: [and then when he tells his daughter to wear a saree  
192 S: and when they when they come down they're all in shalwar qameez she says that  
193 S: says to her oh you should wear shalwar qameez and he gives it oh yeah I told you so  
194 S: (unclear) and he's the one who told her to wear a saree in the first place

Example 3

- 001 T: no I've to go soon what time is it Sam=  
002 S: = why  
003 T: I have to cause I have to do my work I've got [(unclear)  
004 S: [(unclear)=  
005 T: =yeah I haven't done any like=  
006 S: =it's  
007 S: half past three (.02) did you walk here=  
008 T: = mm=  
009 S: = [(unclear)  
010 T: [(01) we came down um  
011 S: Maria's=  
012 T: = Maria's and then- from Maria's (.01) u it didn't take long from Maria's to  
013 T: your house- takes about [15 minutes (unclear)  
014 S: [yeah I used to live there on [Monthermer road  
015 T: [you used to- really=  
016 S: =mm (.01) we  
017 S: used to live there for about eight years (.01) o obviously then my family they (unclear)  
018 S: longer=  
019 T: = longer (laughs)=  
020 M: = (laughs)=  
021 S: = but I liked the house it was nice and big- but I like  
022 S: this house cause it's more open  
023 T: mm- it's nice it's nice [(unclear)

- 024 M: [I wish you were still there  
025 S: I know isn't it  
026 T: we [(unclear) be in your her house=  
027 M: [yeah  
028 S: = I know=  
029 M: = (laughs)  
030 S: what number you live in  
031 M: um 3  
032 S: number 3 I used to live in number 39  
033 M: quite close=  
034 S: = yeah (.01) [(unclear)  
035 M: [you're lucky you're not there now=  
036 T: =[what number did you used  
037 S: [(unclear) by Crwys  
038 T: to live there=  
039 S: = Crwys road 39  
040 T: alright I (unclear)=  
041 S: = where is 3 it's on the Crw Crwys road side ainey  
042 M: mm [number  
043 S: [number 3 is on the Crwys=  
044 M: = it's=  
045 S: = Crwys road side=  
046 M: = no yeah very close (.01) I  
047 M: think it's the second house- yeah second house=  
048 S: = is it Faiza lives there as well  
049 S: Monthermer road=  
050 T: = yeah she used [to live (unclear)  
051 S: [she used to live in number 15- [(unclear)  
052 T: [(unclear) there=  
053 S: =[yeah  
054 M: =[who  
055 M: are you talking about the=  
056 S: = this [other girl- I don't think you know her=  
057 T: [Faiz  
058 M: = oh I know her  
059 M: I use=  
060 S: = oh [is it- she used to [(unclear)  
061 T: [is it- she used to go to [(unclear)  
062 M: [she she had green eyes didn't she  
063 S: no they're contact lenses=  
064 M: = yeah=  
065 T: = (laughs)=

- 066 M: = (laughs)=  
067 T: = [yeah  
068 S: [she lives in number 15  
069 T: (.01) do you still see her=  
070 S: = I [(unclear)  
071 M: [I don't know I'm not so much I know her but I'm not sort  
072 M: of I'm not a [close friend  
073 S: [(unclear)  
074 M: yeah I've never talked to her a lot [but  
075 T: [have you seen her in um Cathays (school) do you  
076 T: used to see her [in  
077 M: [yeah she was- she was in she was doing sociology with us [wasn't she  
078 S: [yeah  
079 M: she was in S's class but they [used to we used to sit together=  
080 S: [but =then she dropped out  
081 S: cause she went to Saint David's  
082 T: [aah  
083 S: [and then she went back to wherever [to do it again [and she were in same Coleg [Glan  
084 T: [yeah [aah [ye  
085 S: Hafren=  
086 T: = she didn't go to Coleg Glan Hafren did she=  
087 S: = yes (unclear) she's done the 'A'  
088 S: levels=  
089 T: = ah=  
090 S: = and then she went to Newport univers ah [college  
091 T: [Newport university  
092 S: Newport college of higher education- same degree (unclear)=  
093 T: = aah =  
094 S: = then she  
095 S: [(unclear)  
096 T: [she used to do fashion (a course in fashion design) isn't it=  
097 S: = yeah=  
098 T: = I'll love to do  
099 T: fashion=  
100 S: = yeah but I wouldn't want it=  
101 T: =but I wouldn't want to [do a degree [but in like a=  
102 S: [yeah [yeah =like  
103 S: a sort of=  
104 T: = mm- yeah [we can (unclear) if you want=  
105 S: [(unclear) = yeah it would- be interesting=  
106 T: = you

- 107 T: know what um Coleg Glan Hafren do they do things like that like a- [no no no no like  
108 S: [(unclear)  
109 T: a um=  
110 S: = fashion and beauty- [like vocational courses  
111 T: where can I get the informa (tion) from [the  
112 M: [we can do some course together if you want to  
113 M: do a course=  
114 T: = yeah I'll see that probably go=  
115 M: = no I was thinking about [I want  
116 S: [(unclear)  
117 M: I [want to go for dancing [anyone wants to learn dancing  
118 S: [(unclear)  
119 T: [(unclear)  
120 T: [yeah  
121 S: [yeah (unclear)  
122 M: I I I went for a=  
123 T: = look who's talking [(laughs pointing towards S)  
124 M: [(laughs)  
125 S: [(laughs)  
126 M: [I went for a couple of [dancing lessons  
127 S: [shall we go  
128 T: [you'll be like- right you'll go um (makes a funny movement  
129 T: with her hands and head) okay [(laughs) that's what you'll be like  
130 S: [(laughs)  
131 M: [(laughs)  
132 M: no [it's classical do do you know *bharatnatyam* (Indian classical dance)  
133 T: [(laughs)  
134 S: [(laughs)  
135 T: what's that=  
136 M: = classical dance [it's not what you do in the films it's really  
137 T: [oh that  
138 S: [oh (unclear)  
139 S: [(unclear)  
140 T: [(unclear) it's really good that is  
141 M: [that's that's- really- it's so graceful it'll=  
142 S: = yeah it's really um infact there is a story to it  
143 S: [(unclear)  
144 T: [it is a story [it is it's like you know when when you're dancing they'll (.01) you  
145 M: [mm  
146 T: anytime you can give me a call and then come over cause my house my room is quite  
147 T: big isn't it=  
148 S: = mm=

- 149 T: = like we can do it (dance) [in the front room  
150 S: [yeah  
151 M: (laughs)  
152 T: we can [move the table  
153 S: [we can do it in that room=  
154 T: = we can put the settee=  
155 S: = cause that room's a is  
156 S: spacious=  
157 T: = [(unclear)  
158 M: [do you know what we can have a party (.01) you know we said [we'll have  
159 S: [(laughs)  
160 M: a we'll have [a party and we'll dance then  
161 S: [(unclear)  
162 S: (.01) [yeah on our par [on our birthday  
163 T: [yeah  
164 M: [we'll put really loud music on nice songs nice dance songs and-  
165 M: have a party- get dressed up- like a proper wedding=  
166 T: = just three of us that's (laughs)  
167 T: nice  
168 M: [no (unclear)  
169 S: [Ta Tam when it's our birthday then we'll call everybody [(unclear)  
170 T: [aah mm=  
171 M: =mine my birthday  
172 M: is also coming up in August- we can have [a joint  
173 S: [will you be here  
174 M: in August yeah=  
175 T: [aah  
176 S: [is it- from (unclear) until August you'll be here=  
177 M: = no [I I I'm going for a month=  
178 T: [she's gonna be = a  
179 T: month and then she's [(unclear)  
180 M: [either in June or July  
181 S: [what what month  
182 M: [late June or early July we can we can have a=  
183 S: [okay = well we can have it in August  
184 M: I I don't [mind having my- I I don't mind having my- I don't mind having my birthday  
185 T: [(unclear) get-togethers  
186 M: before August- we can all have a joint birthday=  
187 T: = mm=  
188 M: = three [of us  
189 T: [yeah three of us=  
190 M: = when's

- 191 M: Mehar's birthday  
192 T: [Mehar's gone it's in January  
193 S: [aah  
194 S: [oh yeah  
195 M: [oh yeah=  
196 T: = Fatima's gonna come down in the summer June=  
197 S: = yeah  
198 T: so she's gonna I can't wait to [finish my exams  
199 S: [when's her's  
200 T: her's is gone- I can't wait till I finish my exams=  
201 S: = [Fatima  
202 M: [it will be nice to have a you know=  
203 T: =good  
204 T: company Fatima [(unclear) very nice  
205 M: [three birthdays on the same day=  
206 S: = (laughs)=  
207 M: = we can get a really big  
208 M: [cake for us  
209 T: [oh you even so though you're gonna stay [over my house then- when Fatima comes  
210 S: [yeah  
211 T: down cause she'll be staying down=  
212 M: = in the summer- I can do that yeah=  
213 T: = you Sam  
214 S: in the summer yeah=  
215 T: = yeah=  
216 S: = anytime=  
217 T: = okay [no stay no stay over and then sleep over  
218 S: [we'll we'll have a party  
219 T: and then  
220 S: in what (unclear) what time or month  
221 T: (laughs) what [time[- night  
222 S: [I mean- no- no I mean what- cause like if you  
223 M: [(laughs)  
224 T: no like stay=  
225 S: = keep it on the wedding then- I can't=  
226 T: = well I don't know it depends  
227 T: [on all of you guys  
228 M: [let's keep it after the wedding=  
229 T: = yeah=  
230 S: = oh that'll [be brilliant time I I I'll have loads of  
231 M: [cause- be before the we wedding  
232 S: free time=

233 T: = okay then yeah- co come down=  
234 S: = (unclear)=  
235 T: = I have I've got- in my bed only  
236 T: three two of us are gonna fit so- three of us [(unclear)  
237 S: [I don't mind sleeping on the floor  
238 T: no no no- I'll I'll I'll do that I'll sleep on the floor [and three of you  
239 M: [oh no oh no I'll [I  
240 T: [I always sleep on—

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241 T: your (talking to S) first one will be exciting then=  
242 M: = [yeah  
243 S: [yeah=  
244 T: = (laughs)=  
245 S: = I'll have slumber  
246 S: party when I'm twenty [(laughs)  
247 T: [(laughs) well aw come on don't put an age to it- anytime=  
248 M: [(laughs)  
249 S: =[yeah  
250 M: [yeah  
251 S: we still look like we're fifteen (laughs) ainey=  
252 M: = [oh yeah (laughs)  
253 T: [(laughs) (unclear)  
254 S: have you ever met=  
255 M: = we feel and we feel like five-year-olds don't (laughs) we =  
256 T: = [aw  
257 S: [yeah  
258 M: as silly as [- kids  
259 S: [(laughs)=  
260 T: = yeah (laughs)- aw  
261 S: do you wanna go running- sometime  
262 T: God I want (laughs) so many things=  
263 S: = I know I feel really unfit=  
264 T: = we we are reflecting  
265 T: on our (laughs) lifestyle aren't we- yeah carry on

## **Appendix C**

### **Transcription conventions**

CAPITAL LETTERS: Indicate emphasis.

- (     ): 1. Description of non-verbal activity e.g laughter.  
          2. unclear utterance.  
          3. Explanation of meaning.  
          4. Length of pause.

(     ) : The information in the bracket applies to the underlined part of the utterance.

= :Contiguous utterances.

- :Very short pause which is even less than a second.

[ :Simultaneous or overlapping utterance.

*Italics*: Non-English words.

-----: The part of the conversation which falls in between the utterance above the dotted line and the one below the line has not been transcribed.