



universität
wien

DIPLOMARBEIT / DIPLOMA THESIS

Titel der Diplomarbeit / Title of the Diploma Thesis

„Representation of Gender in *Friends* and *How I Met Your Mother*“

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Magistra der Philosophie (Mag. phil.)

Wien, 2019 / Vienna, 2019

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

A 190 344 313

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Lehramt UF Englisch UF Geschichte, Sozialkunde und
Politische Bildung

Betreut von / Supervisor:

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1. Introduction

Considering that the main goal of a television program is success, i.e. a long duration on TV and popularity among viewers, producers need to reach and convince as many audiences as possible. As there is a wide range of audiences who interpret television contents differently, producers have to provide many meanings. Yet, even though contents are polysemous, programs steadily appear to be steered to certain directions, i.e. ideological positions. For example, the representation of gender seems not to have changed significantly in the last 20 years. Popular American TV sitcoms, such as *Friends* and *How I Met Your Mother* (*HIMYM* in the following) seem to follow certain dominant meanings; however, they not only perpetuate and affirm traditional norms of femininity and masculinity, but also refute these. Both series revolve around a group of friends, and both have been very successful: *Friends* was originally released in 1994 and continued for ten seasons; *HIMYM* started approximately one year after the final episode of *Friends* and lasted for nine seasons until 2014. Therefore, the reproduction and/or contradiction of gender stereotypes of masculinity and femininity continued for almost 20 years.

The relationship between gender stereotypes and their representation in television seems to have attracted considerable attention. Michael Elasmr, Kazumi Hasegawa and Mary Brain examined the representation of women in U.S. prime-time television from 1992 to 1993, which is the year before the first season of *Friends* was broadcasted. The focus of research was set on presence, occupations, success, power and importance. The outcomes showed that compared to the 1980s, the presence of women in prime-time TV programs had increased. Nevertheless, male characters constituted 61,2 % of the cast. According to this study, women were also more likely to be cast for minor roles, and “less likely to be married, less likely to be housewives, less likely to be caring for children [...] and less likely to be involved in a romantic relationship” (20-28). Another study, conducted by Jack Glascock in 2001, focused on aggressive behavior and occupation. The results demonstrated that men’s behavior was characterized by physical aggressiveness, and women showed, particularly in comedies, more verbally aggressive behavior (656). Furthermore, men were portrayed as police officers, lawyers, doctors, and judges, i.e. mostly in higher occupational positions, which are characterized by authority and control (Glascock 664-6). Women were also “portrayed as police officers, but also as nurses, secretaries and waitresses” (Glascock 664), occupations which are, in comparison, less prestigious and lower-paying (Glascock 666). Moreover, Glascock examined the representation of gender and gender stereotypes with regard to genre.

In comedies, female characters were verbally more aggressive, emphatic and emotional than male characters, whereas men showed behaviors of physical aggression, making plans and giving orders (667). Martha Lauzen, David Dozier and Nora Horan's research in 2008 examined the roles of male and female characters in television from 2005 to 2006, and found that in most cases, women were involved in more domestic contexts (family, friends), focused on interpersonal and romantic relationships, whilst men rather engaged in work-related fields (200).

This brief overview of existing studies shows that there have been slight changes in the representation of gender in television; nevertheless, producers still heavily rely on gender stereotypes. This perpetuation of stereotypes appears to be especially common in TV sitcoms. Considering that certain sitcoms have been very successful and frequently aired, and are also constantly available on online streaming services, this gender representation seems to be rather stable. *Friends* and *HIMYM* appear to construct their characters according to dominant perceptions of femininity and masculinity for almost 20 years. Therefore, an analysis of *Friends* and *HIMYM* presents a promising possibility to demonstrate the development of the perpetuation or refutation of gender stereotypes. Hence, the questions that arise are concerned with why and how gender is constructed along stereotypes in *Friends* and *HIMYM*, i.e. how characters are based on stereotypical behavior and speech, and whether stereotypical behavior and language are connected. Moreover, it is of interest, whether this representation changes throughout each series, generally from 1994-2014, and whether similarities and differences in the representations of masculinity and femininity between the two sitcoms can be discerned.

In order to obtain the answers to these questions, this paper is constituted of two parts: firstly, a theoretical framework on television studies, cultural studies and gender studies will be provided; secondly, *Friends* and *HIMYM* will be analyzed as to the inclusion of gender stereotypes. As television is a medium that communicates many meanings to wide audiences, a brief insight into the study of television, and the ways these meanings are constructed and influenced will be provided. This will be followed by an outline of the sitcom as a genre, which then leads to gender studies, more specifically, Judith Butler's 'Gender Performativity'. The last three chapters of the theoretical framework constitute the analytical toolbox that will be used in the analysis of *Friends* and *HIMYM*. Here, culturally widespread stereotypes as to masculine and feminine behavior and language use will be discussed. In the last chapter of the theoretical part, gender representations in sitcoms will be taken into consideration.

In the second part of this thesis, first of all, one episode per season will be selected randomly in order to prevent any bias towards the chosen episodes. This means, in total, ten episodes of *Friends* and nine episodes of *HIMYM* will be under analysis. Each episode will then be examined in three parts: firstly, all main characters will be analyzed as to stereotypical behavior; secondly, the language of characters will be analyzed considering certain language features, such as the use of hedges, swearing and turn-taking; thirdly, an audiovisual analysis of one scene per episode, in which most linguistic features occurred, will be provided. The focus of research is set on the main characters of the sitcoms; however, the hedging, swearing and turn-taking of minor characters will be considered as well, as these verbal behaviors are significant to the main characters' language. Thus, the development of gender representations as represented in behavior and language, and the connection between stereotypical behavior and language use will become visible.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Television Studies

The study of television as an approach was influenced by various other approaches in communication studies, social sciences, psychology or theater and film studies (Gray and Lotz 3-5). According to Gray and Lotz, the influences of social sciences, humanities and cultural studies approaches were particularly significant. Yet, social sciences and humanities approaches were too negligent of several, important factors: social sciences approaches mostly focused on the negative effects of television, and humanities approaches considered television to be unworthy of study, as it was not perceived as high literature or culture, which “would [...] enlighten society” (11-12). During the 1960s and 1970s, the humanities approach developed to consider the structure, ideology and reality behind cultural products, and included e.g. Marxist theories, race and gender criticism, and psychoanalysis, which not only facilitated a critical view on artistic or literary texts, but also televisual texts. However, humanities approaches mostly disregarded contextual information, such as audiences or the production process. In the 1970s, scholars such as Horace Newcomb, Raymond Williams, John Fiske and John Hartley laid the groundwork for television studies with publications on the role of television as a story-teller and the consumption of stories by society (Gray and Lotz 12-14). Therefore, the most significant influence on the development of television studies was cultural studies, a field that was growing and gaining ground when the first scholarly works on television studies by e.g. Fiske and Williams were published, which also were significant for the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) founded by Richard Hoggart in 1964. The CCCS rejected the idea that culture could be split in elite, high and low culture, and thus, focused on the production of meaning and ideas of high, elite and popular culture. The CCCS approach, moreover, examined the role of media as an instrument of control and in maintaining a patriarchal culture in society. Thus, CCCS scholars deviated from the idea to concern with the goal of enlightenment through literature and art, and analyzed the functioning of power and ideology in cultural texts. An essential analytical factor of the CCCS approach was the inclusion of the audience, and the question of how the audience made sense of media. Therefore, cultural studies scholars especially emphasized the connection between media and factors such as gender, class, and ethnicity, and thus, the relationship between media, identity and power (Gray and Lotz 14-16).

Hence, not only production, audience, history and context are relevant in television studies, but also factors such as identity, power relations, politics, education and community, especially due to the prominence of television as an object that articulates cultural ideas and values (Gray and Lotz 22). Television studies engage in decoding the messages that are circulated by programs, primarily with a critical analysis of televisual texts. Gray and Lotz, moreover, emphasize that televisual texts are representations, or constructions of reality, never reality per se, as editors always alter texts by e.g. cutting scenes. This leads to the assumption that ideologies, power structures and identity constructions in society can in some way, even if slightly altered, be found in TV programs as well (26-27).

John Fiske supports the idea that power structures in society are constructed in television as well, and considers television to be an instrument that creates meanings, communicates these to broad audiences, and thus, circulates certain ideas within society. Fiske adds that the meanings produced by television are directed to one favored meaning, which is influenced by the dominant ideology in a society. These meanings are encoded in specific codes, which are rules and conventions that are shared within a social group in a culture (1-4). Fiske underlines the importance of these television codes: “Codes are links between producers, texts, and audiences, and are the agents of intertextuality, through which texts interrelate in a network of meanings that constitutes our cultural work” (4). He distinguishes three levels into which codes are classified: level one - reality, level two - representation, and level three - ideology. However, codes are arbitrary and cannot be categorized strictly: on the first level, reality is already encoded by social codes, i.e. cultural conventions. This means that, e.g. real life speech (level one) cannot be strictly distinguished from a scripted dialogue (level two), as real life speech is also scripted according to our interactional and cultural conventions. Therefore, situations in reality that should be televised are already encoded by social codes of, e.g. speech, appearance and behavior, which are then encoded by technical codes of, for example, editing, lighting and music on level two. These convey conventional representational codes to form the representations of, e.g. character, dialogue, and narrative. On the third level, encoded representations are arranged according to ideological codes of, for example, race, class, patriarchy, and/or capitalism, i.e. codes are organized by ideological codes into coherent meanings, which can be referred to as “common sense” (Fiske 3-6). In this context, Fiske refers to Stuart Hall’s “Encoding/Decoding” model (to which we will return later), which emphasizes that not only in the process of encoding meanings are produced in line with ideological codes, but also the decoding of television content by different audiences can occur according to different ideological codes. Thus, in the same way as meaning is produced

coherently according to several codes, texts also read differently with the help of these social, representational and ideological codes in order to make sense of them (Hall 908-909). Considering that these codes construct a certain common, unified sense in the production and the consumption of television, Fiske claims that audiences maintain and legitimate dominant ideologies by making sense of television in accordance with a certain 'common sense'. Furthermore, the stability of a dominant ideology is ensured by balancing contradictions, which might interfere with the ideological homogeneity, with the use of e.g. humor in order to smooth over disruptions of patriarchy. Therefore, in the production of meaning in television as well as in the consumption of it, dominant ideologies are being negotiated, e.g. with jokes, and thus, televised ideological discourses can be naturalized (11-12).

These ideological codes in texts do not imply that television produces monosemous texts, as one fundamental feature of television is its polysemy. Television texts exhibit a multiplicity of meanings which might be realized by different viewers. Yet, the potential of meanings as provided by a television program is not unlimited or unorganized, as the boundaries of polysemy are defined by the cultural context of the text, which foregrounds certain meanings over others. Therefore, the meanings that programs often produce are meanings that are within the terrain of a dominant ideology. The reason for this polysemy is to achieve a wide reach and popularity among viewers who are watching from different social perspectives (Fiske 15-16). In this sense, audiences can be referred to as active audiences who engage in the interpretation of TV programs. This means that the potential of meanings is not imposed on passive audiences who are only empty vases to be filled (Miller 123-24).

The plurality of meaning and the active participation of audiences are also key aspects in Hall's "Encoding/Decoding". Hall's model focuses on the circuit of meaning and discerns four moments: production, circulation, consumption, and reproduction. He emphasizes that all moments are necessary for the circuit; however, one moment does not guarantee the next moment, as for example the meanings are not necessarily decoded by recipients as it was intended by the encoders in production due to the polysemy of televisual texts, even though one meaning is still preferred (907-909, 914). Hall explains different interpretations of texts with reference to the shared cultural meanings between encoders and decoders: if audiences do not share some degree of social and cultural values considering, e.g. gender or class, texts will not be decoded as it was intended by the producers (914-15).

2.1.1. Ideology

As ideologies seem to affect the content of television shows, it is important to consider what it is that constitutes ideologies and how ideologies fit into the structure of a society. In his essay “Ideology”, Louis Althusser defines ideology as an objective reality, “that is, a reality independent of the subjectivity of the individuals who are subject to it, even whilst it concerns these individuals themselves” (304). People of a society adhere to certain principles, whether they are, for example, religious, political, moral or philosophical, and practice those principles either actively and consciously, or in a passive way through reflexes or attitudes. The mechanical and passive adherence to these principles helps to sustain ideologies, i.e. certain representations and beliefs. Considering these ideological representations, Althusser emphasizes a fundamental distinction between, on the one hand, how people in a society live according to a certain ideology, i.e. ideological representations that are lived and experienced in relations between people and nature, society or social order and in their activities; and, on the other hand, how people tend to or might believe that these ideological representations reflect the real conditions of their lives, i.e. they misrecognize the reality and are deceived by an ideology. Althusser refers to this as a “false conception” of the world, and through real practices, which are aligned with these representations, societies are convinced of this reality; however, the true essence of these ideological representations is not clear (304-305). Concerning economy, for example, this could have the effect that individuals conceive equality between and freedom of people within capitalism instead of exploitation and unequal class relations (Barker and Jane 73). This false conception is also visible in other areas, such as politics, religion, morality, or philosophy (Althusser 305). Later, the understanding and concept of ideology was expanded to discourses such as gender, race, and class (Barker and Jane 80). Considering gender, one central ideology is patriarchy. Patriarchy is a concept based on gender describing male-dominated power structures and the subordination of women in societies (Napikoski and Lewis s.v. www.thoughtco.com). Hence, considering television and Althusser’s definition of ideologies, patriarchal representations are practiced in the production and consumption of TV contents, and thus, sustained by individuals of a society, who might be convinced or deceived by this ideological reality.

Michel Foucault has provided another understanding of the concept of ideologies, which is characterized by an interrelation of dominant and subordinate groups in power relations (198-201). He rejects an understanding of ideology as opposed to truth, as suggested by Althusser, and denies the idea that discourses can be related back to a universal truth, as the

representation thereof is not possible. Foucault, thus, concerns with the social production, or construction, of truth and the extent of consensus on certain truths (118). In this sense, Foucault's concept of power, which emphasizes the social construction of truth, is a concept that is tenable in the consideration of a social discourse, such as gender, as gender is also defined as a social construction (further discussed in 2.3). Therefore, power relations are conceived as a social construction that are not stable throughout time (Barker and Jane 83), which is why in this thesis, the term 'ideology' is used in the sense of Foucault's concept.

To sum up, while television programs produce a multiplicity of meanings in order to reach large audiences, they still prefer certain strands of meanings that are often aligned with certain dominant ideological positions of a society, e.g. male-dominated power structures and the subordination of women. Therefore, as producers and audiences continue to produce and read these meanings within the boundaries of dominant ideologies, power relations between women and men will be sustained. However, considering that these power relations are social constructions, the representations of men and women in television programs can change throughout time.

2.2. Genre: The Sitcom

As already mentioned, one specific way to maintain preferred meanings, social values and discourses regarding gender is to outbalance certain disruptions with humor (Corner 97). Comedies, more specifically a sub-genre thereof, the situation comedy (sitcom), is often based on certain stereotypes which fail to question or dispute, but work to perpetuate, legitimize and naturalize ideological constructions of gender (Casey et al. 40). Casey et al. discern certain conventions and rules for sitcoms: a limited number of episodes per season; one episode not longer than thirty minutes; repeated weekly at the same time; and a content that is focused on a set of main characters and locations. They furthermore differentiate between three locations in which comedy and humor emerge. Firstly, the place where family members interact humorously: the traditional home. Secondly, the place where humor develops from interactions with colleagues is the workplace. The third location includes some characteristics of both places, such as in *Friends*, where Monica's apartment is not a traditional family home for the other characters, but the characters spend most of their time there. Additionally, some characters assume traditional family roles, like Monica, who fulfils domestic and maternal functions by cleaning obsessively and cooking dinner for the other characters. Another central convention of sitcoms is that certain locations and certain matters between characters are repetitive. On the one hand, producers avoid additional costs by

reusing settings. On the other hand, repetition has the effect that the audience develops a feeling of familiarity and comfort with the genre and the characters, so viewers can more easily identify with the characters and the jokes of the show (Casey et al. 41-42). A further and crucial aspect of a sitcom is the structure of the narrative of an episode. Each episode begins with an ordinary, typical situation which is disrupted temporarily. This disorder does not change the initial situation fundamentally though, as throughout the episode, the disrupting issue is being solved, and in the end, the narrative closes by returning to the original situation. Due to this repetitive nature of sitcoms, the audience's pleasure and amusement are enhanced, as viewers are not kept in suspense, and are able to anticipate the narrative structure and know that no fundamental changes are going to occur. In the same way as the narrative of a sitcom is based on repetition, so is the depiction of the characters with the usage of, for example, certain phrases like Joey Tribbiani's 'How you doin'?' (Casey et al. 42-43), and Monica Geller's 'I know!' in *Friends* or Barney Stinson's 'It's gonna be legendary!' in *HIMYM*. Additionally, the repetition of certain verbal character traits and behavior can further strengthen the sense of familiarity and identification of the audience with the characters (Casey et al. 43).

As mentioned earlier, sitcoms often are constructed on the basis of stereotypes, which are aligned with dominant ideological positions. Mainly, this is due to temporal constraints, as one episode usually does not last longer than thirty minutes, and therefore, the characterization of different roles is constructed according to easily recognizable clichés, such as the womanizer (Joey Tribbiani in *Friends*, or Barney Stinson in *HIMYM*), spoiled girl (Rachel Green in *Friends*) or nerd (Ross in *Friends*, or Ted in *HIMYM*). Furthermore, through stereotyping, certain social groups that do not conform to, and thus, are marginalized by the dominant ideology, are represented as comic in sitcoms (Casey et al 43-44). Casey et al. refer to the depiction of the homosexual community as an example. Here, homosexuality is perceived as a threat to the heterosexual norm, according to which men and women should show stereotypically masculine and feminine behavior, and be attracted to the other sex. Moreover, the fear of and unease about effeminate men is central, and heterosexual men are represented as apprehensive of being mistaken for gay. However, this comic marginalization does not only affect gays; lesbians are also often depicted comically in a rather masculine way (Casey et al. 44). In this respect, Brett Mills claims that stereotyping of marginalized groups for comic effect and humor in sitcoms is "turning such social issues into nothing more than something worthy of laughter" (10). Although Mills argues that producers ridicule marginalized groups and social issues with the perpetuation of stereotypes, it is also possible

that in certain contexts, stereotypes themselves are the object of ridicule (also discussed in chapter 1.6); however, this depends on the producers' intentions and the audiences' interpretation of the program.

Mills lists an additional characteristic of a sitcom: the theatrical liveness of the comedy. In general, television is a form of media, which has the possibility to show events that are happening simultaneously somewhere else, as opposed to other forms of media. Yet, especially the sitcom is a genre that stresses its liveness by performing episodes in front of a studio audience. On the one hand, this requires the actresses and actors to perform accordingly, i.e. to adapt their gestures and mimics so that every viewer in the studio can see everything; on the other hand, the responses of the studio audience are included in the broadcasting of the episodes to the audiences sitting in their living rooms. As the success of comedy heavily relies on contextual influences, such as the relationship between the joke-teller and the audience and the audience and place, the live responses of the studio audience are crucial in order to not only estimate the reaction of the viewers at home, but also influence their responses to the comedy. The producers, actresses and actors are instantly informed by the reactions of the studio audience whether the jokes are funny or not, which might lead to slight alterations of the situations in order to adapt to the humor of the audience. Furthermore, the responses of the studio audience are transmitted to the viewers at home by laugh tracks, i.e. electronic recordings of laughter. Therefore, the responses of the viewers at home are adjusted and assimilated to those sitting in the studio (14-16). However, while the laughter and positive reaction of the studio audience is transmitted to domestic audiences, utterances of criticism of the content of the jokes or heckles will never be heard at home. With the use of laugh tracks, domestic audiences experience that some moments are funnier than others, but never that some situations completely lack comedy (Mills 17).

2.3. Gender and Gender Performativity

Feminist studies claim that the difference between sex and gender, or the distinction of two sexes constitutes the basis for a social structure in which men are dominating over women. This implies that social life is constructed according to sex, and thus, affected by power relations, which influence numerous aspects of life. As mentioned above, the power relation that structurally subordinates women to men has been generally described as patriarchy (Barker and Jane 343). By definition, sex refers to the biological differences between male and female, e.g. internal and external organs and hormonal differences, whereas gender can be defined as the gender identification of people regardless of their physical

characteristics, or the gender roles of a culture which are socially constructed (Barker and Jane 350). As Barker and Jane note, there are four misleading assumptions about sex and gender, which are often perceived as common sense: firstly, the binary of sex, i.e. people are categorized as either female or male and there are no other categories; secondly, gender is determined by sex, i.e. a person with a vagina is a woman and a person with a penis is a man; thirdly, implications for behavior, i.e. females and males behave according to gender roles and stereotypes which are coded as either feminine or masculine, respectively; and fourthly, the misleading presumption on sexual orientation presuming that the two sexes are sexually attracted to each other, and not to the same sex. Recently, same-sex relationships have been recognized, which led to a legal reform concerning marriage equality in some countries. However, the other assumptions are still perceived as common sense in some contexts (Barker and Jane 350-51).

2.3.1. Gender Performativity

In *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler is concerned with the notion of the body, and what it is that constitutes and shapes the body:

The sex/gender distinction and the category of sex itself appear to presuppose a generalization of “the body” that preexists the acquisition of its sexed significance. This “body” often appears to be a passive medium that is signified by an inscription from a cultural source figured as “external” to that body. (Butler 175)

Herewith she emphasizes the question of a preexistence of the body, which is believed to function as the fundament, or as she refers to it, the surface, for cultural inscriptions. This surface marks the boundaries of a body that are constituted by social discourses, which further set the social limits considered to be appropriate. These appropriate limits are the consequences of certain taboos and also reflect the boundaries of the socially hegemonic. Furthermore, a break of, or behavior that crosses these boundaries poses an endangerment of the limits of the cultural hegemony (Butler 178-80). The boundaries of the body and, thus, the limits that are perceived to be appropriate are, according to Butler, generated by idealized compulsory heterosexuality and taboos on homosexuality, which in turn affect gender identity. She, moreover, argues that the regulation of gender by social hegemony is not internalized, but that the coherence of body and idealization is enacted, through acts and gestures (184-85). These acts and gestures are performative: they “create the illusion of an interior and organizing gender core, an illusion discursively maintained for the purposes of the regulation of sexuality within the obligatory frame of reproductive heterosexuality” (186).

Thus, as gender identity appears to be a fabrication, which can be seen on the surface of the body, gender can be perceived as a performance, more specifically, a performance whose most important feature is repetition. This repetition refers to meanings that are already established, and the repeated performance legitimizes and maintains those meanings of gender (186-90).

In summary, Butler argues that gender is a social construction that is sustained through repeated performance. The pre-established meanings of performative gestures and acts are marked as either feminine or masculine, and are perceived as common sense. As TV sitcoms are also repetitive in order to be easily recognizable for the audiences, the characters' gender performances seem to be based on the repetition of stereotypes of femininity or masculinity. In the next chapter, gender stereotypes as to behavior and language use are going to be discussed.

2.4. Gender Stereotypes

In the following, the notion of stereotyping as to the categories of femininity and masculinity will be introduced. Gender stereotypes, which are common and prevalent in many cultures, constitute the first tool of analysis for the second part of this paper. The characters of *Friends* and *HIMYM* will be analyzed according to stereotypes of femininity and masculinity in order to show whether these stereotypes are being produced perpetually, or contradicted during the production of these sitcoms.

Before discussing the contemporary understanding and meaning of the term stereotype, the etymology of this notion should be considered. Originally, in the late 18th century, this term was defined as a “plate cast from a printing surface” (*Merriam-Webster* s. v. stereotype), which referred to the appliance of fixed patterns in printing. In the mid 19th-century, this definition evolved into a repetition of an unchanged image, until it gained its contemporary meaning (*Online Etymology Dictionary* s. v. stereotype). In *Representation*, Hall defines stereotyping as an essentializing, simplifying and reductivist practice: he states that “[s]tereotyping reduces people to a few, simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by Nature” (257). As to the effects of stereotyping, Hall maintains that stereotypes divide and exclude: firstly, it splits the acceptable and normal from the unacceptable and abnormal; and secondly, it excludes everything that is different. Therefore, stereotypes reinforce binary oppositions and inequalities of power (258-59).

As to gender, stereotypes are all based on the duality of sex, female and male, which determines the classification into social categories of gender. The differentiation between these categories is connected to assumptions, and simple and essential characteristics, which are perceived as common sense. These stereotypes are social constructions about certain attributes and behaviors which are conceived as ‘typical’ for either women or men. Once a categorization into women and men has been accomplished, the members are perceived as more similar and identical than they actually are and their differences appear indistinct. This categorization also has the effect that the differences between the categories appear substantive, i.e. women are believed to be essentially different than men and vice versa (Alfermann 9-10).

In her work on gender stereotypes, Dorothee Alfermann draws on a study conducted by John Williams and Deborah Best, who carried out interviews concerning prevalent gender stereotypes in 25 countries. Alfermann concludes that the expectations on how men should be and behave were focused on strength and activity, i.e. compared to women, men are perceived to be stronger and more active, which is generally more valued than weakness and passivity. Another important result of this study was that hardly any attributes that were found to represent men or women were identified in the other category. This means that when a stereotypical characteristic of a woman was to be gentle, this quality did not occur as a typical feature of men (14-16; Ellemers 276-77). Alfermann also provides a list of stereotypes which were consistently perceived as particularly feminine and masculine. Interestingly, the results showed that the number of attributes for men was much higher than for women, implying that there could be more expectations on men than women (16-17).

Stereotypically Feminine Characteristics		
dependent	loving	caring
attractive	charming	weak
sexy	dreamy	subordinate
emotional	superstitious	talkative
affective	mild	curious
sensitive	empathetic	fearful
gentle	softhearted	

Table 1: Stereotypically Feminine Characteristics based on Alfermann

Stereotypically Masculine Characteristics		
logical	brave	opportunistic
rational	realistic	confident
robust	strong	strict
stubborn	active	energetic
independent	arrogant	carefree
inflexible	untidy	adventurous
wise	presumptuous	aggressive
dominant	egoistic	ambitious
imaginative/resourceful	emotionless	determined
proactive	serious	lazy
progressive	cruel	rough
callous	clearheaded	loud

Table 2: Stereotypically Masculine Characteristics based on Alfermann

This list of stereotypes clearly demonstrates that social expectations of men and women are fundamentally different. Yet, research on brain activity and hormone influences on behavior and activities has shown that there are more similarities between women and men than differences. For example, aggressive behavior is often seen as the effect of testosterone, which, however, could also result in prosocial behavior and care. Another hormone that was previously perceived as ‘feminine’ is the hormone oxytocin, a hormone that induces birth; research has revealed that men show an equal increase in oxytocin levels as women after birth (Ellemers 277-78). Therefore, the development of gender stereotypes is ascribed to a process in which “biological differences set the stage for shared beliefs about the characteristic traits and abilities of women and men” (278).

The question that arises in this context is how these shared beliefs develop and persist throughout time. Naomi Ellemers states that stereotypes generally are created to simplify reality, i.e. they help us categorize unknown individuals in order to anticipate possible behavior. However, the expectation of certain character traits not only prevents us from seeing the true characteristics of individuals, but also clouds the judgment about the capabilities of both genders. This has been proven in studies, which have shown that in an evaluation process, both female and male evaluators rate the very same performances and abilities differently based on gender differences. This type of gender stereotyping has been observed in educational, professional and academic contexts, which can have considerable

consequences for the future of men and women and result in gender inequalities, as for example, the promotion of men over women is more likely although the objective performance is alike. These gender-based assumptions on competencies and character traits may not be explicitly expressed to achieve such effects of inequality, as many people are implicitly inclined to believe those gender differences without being aware of (279-80). Moreover, the effects of gender stereotypes do not always have to result in, as Ellemers suggests, hostile sexism, but can work towards “the endorsement of benevolent sexist views” (280), which indicates that women are dependent on men for protection due to their vulnerability and helplessness. On this point, Ellemers claims that an implicit and benevolent affirmation of gender stereotypes effects that women tend to downplay and devalue their own aspirations and ambitions in relationships and emphasize the needs of their partner. Furthermore, these stereotypes also influence parenting, so that children are taught from a very young age about gender expectations and grow up according to those (280).

The aforementioned stereotypes can be seen as a filter, which helps to process and categorize objective information about other people, and which can be categorized along the dimensions of competence, agency, emotionality and communality. The common expectation that men are proactive, rational, determined and clear-headed among others and thus, more competent than women produces the effect that men as a group are perceived as superior to women. On the other hand, stereotypes such as sensitive, gentle, emotional and softhearted reinforce the commonly perceived benevolence of women. In situations in which the perceived information seems to violate expectations, people still align performances with stereotypes, as for example in educational contexts, in which a girl’s and boy’s identical performance in mathematics is attributed to different reasons, such as the boy’s ability of logical reasoning, whereas the girl’s same achievement is believed to be due to external help or exceptional effort (Ellemers 282-83). Therefore, as people implicitly draw on gender stereotypes while processing information about other people, information that contradicts these stereotypes is more easily and readily ignored and devalued.

Thus, one significant effect of stereotyping is the endorsement of a specific social order, or power relations, as stereotypes tend to privilege men and emphasize the subordination of women, even when, as exemplified above, they produce identical results or have the same qualifications. Mary Talbot supports the view that the inevitable consequences of gender-based stereotypes are the subordination and the marginalization of women. With the perpetuation of stereotypes in e.g. the world of work or in television, power relations are

supported and maintained. With the permanent repetition of gender stereotypes, ideological expectations of behavior might naturalize, and turn into implicit prescriptions to which both men and women try to adhere (471-72).

2.5. Gender and Language

2.5.1. Stereotypical Language Use

The stereotypes as mentioned before also concern speech differences of men and women. As people are perceived through a filter, which differentiates them according to their biological sex, assumptions and expectations on language use and verbal behavior are also highly involved in stereotyping. Talbot lists stereotypical verbal behavior of men and women as follows:

Women's Language	Men's Language
sympathy	problem-solving
listening	lecturing
private	public
connection	status
supportive	oppositional
intimacy	independence

Table 3: Stereotypical Language Behavior of Men and Women

Further stereotypical language characteristics of women are: disfluency, unfinished sentences, illogical speech structure, seeking approval, speaking less than men in mixed groups and co-operative strategies as opposed to men who seek competitive strategies (Talbot 475-76). Talbot notes that certain stereotypes about women's language are especially negative and sexist, such as woman as an empty-headed chatterer who gossips and nags most of the time, or as a dragon or parrot for a verbally assertive woman (469). Such stereotypes have generated the understanding that women's language use is deficient. However, in some contexts, this deficiency stereotype has been contested, while ironically managing to reinforce other stereotypes as a result. Recently, new stereotypes emerged, which undermined the belief that women are deficient language users, and transformed it to a men's stereotype. This new view implied that now women are superior and the experts of communication. However, alongside this superiority as communicators, the stereotypes of women being over-talkative, gossipy, and nagging were emphasized (Talbot 481-83).

Interestingly, research has shown that stereotypical verbal behavior of women is used in gender performances, as is claimed by Butler. Not only drag queens use gendered speech in their shows in order to emphasize femininity, but also, according to Kira Hall, operators who work for telephone sex hotlines. As the target audience of this specific service is mainly male, operators adhere to feminine speech in order to meet the customer's perception of an 'ideal', i.e. stereotypical, woman (190-91). Furthermore, some men working as operators in telephone sex services also act as women for their male callers by adapting their voices and speech (199-202). In this context, stereotypes help gender-benders to emphasize their fluidity of gender identities and create their cross-gendered identities. Yet, even though the queering of stereotypes destabilizes and denaturalizes the binary between women and men to some degree, stereotypes are still being perpetuated (Talbot 477-78).

2.5.2. Gender in Language

The stereotypes mentioned above function as common sense perceptions and expectations of women's and men's behavior and language use based on their perceived, or assumed gender identity. This connection between language and gender identity is still being discussed; however, the existence of this relationship is generally acknowledged (Weatherall 123). This raises the question of how gender differences in speech are performed and evaluated in communication, considering that cultural stereotypes might influence these differences and affect the language use of women and men. Especially in the case of television sitcoms, which heavily rely on gender stereotypes for humorous reasons, an evaluation of speech and conversation as to gender differences might show that gender is also performed through language, while either perpetuating or contradicting traditional gender roles. The analysis of speech in *Friends* and *HIMYM* will focus on the communicative competence and the conversational dominance of characters.

Although the speech in sitcoms might be considered as scripted and planned, which therefore cannot be analyzed in the same way like natural and spontaneous speech (Cutting 26-27), there are several reasons why conversations in television can be studied in the same way as real-life speech. First of all, as already discussed, television programs are, even if edited, representations of reality, and TV sitcoms are based on gender stereotypes from reality. Furthermore, real-life speech is already encoded by social and cultural codes, and thus, cannot be strictly differentiated from scripted speech. In addition to these aspects that have been already discussed in this thesis, linguists also argue that an analysis regarding gender and language of scripted conversations in television can be approached similarly as

real speech. Lia Litosseliti states that “[f]eminist linguists are interested in the possibilities within media texts for the negotiation of particular femininities and masculinities and the proliferation of gendered discourses and ideologies” (92). Therefore, feminist linguists are concerned with the question of how women and men are represented in media and how femininities and masculinities are constructed regarding stereotypes (Litosseliti 92). Furthermore, Susan Speer points out that in linguistic research, there is no clear differentiation between real-speech talk and planned conversation, as language and gender researchers very often do not work with natural speech in their analysis, but with planned talk (102).

2.5.2.1. Communicative Competence

When considering the relationship of language and gender, the focus of research is often set on the linguistic level of language, ignoring conversational competences. Besides features on the linguistic level, such as grammar, phonology or morphology, the communicative competence of women and men has to be considered, as social and cultural factors are as essential as a linguistic description of language. This communicative competence incorporates certain aspects of language, which concern with how specific actions or intentions are expressed in language (Coates 85-86). Coates furthermore refers to research results, which imply that the communicative competence of women and men develop differently, i.e. the behavior of women and men in conversation while, for example, uttering an apology or a compliment, is different (85-86).

Therefore, in the following chapter, conversational strategies with a focus on gender differences will be regarded. After analyzing the main characters of the sitcoms according to gender stereotypes, conversational strategies will be used as the second analytical tool in order to show whether traditional gender stereotypes are being perpetuated, or challenged through language in TV sitcoms. Conversation strategies that are often used differently in interaction are hedges and swearing.

Hedges

Hedges are linguistic expressions which convey the certainty or uncertainty of an utterance, such as “you know”, “sort of”, “kind of” or “like”. As to the usage of hedges by women, it has generally been claimed that these linguistic devices are connected to an unassertiveness and insecurity of women, which is, however, not based on evidence. Research considering these linguistic elements in men’s and women’s speech has shown that, generally,

women tend to use more hedges than men; however, these results require us to think further and ask about the function of these hedges, i.e. whether hedges were used to express confidence or tentativeness. Women were found to use hedges more frequently than men in order to indicate confidence and less frequently to express uncertainty (Coates 89-90).

Swearing

It is a cultural stereotype that men swear and include taboo words in their speech, whereas women do not use any or less taboo words. A crucial aspect when considering gender differences in the use of taboo language is to examine not only the quantity of these usages, but also the quality. For example, the words 'shit' or 'damn' are considered to be stronger and more intense, whereas 'oh dear' and 'my goodness' are perceived to be weaker: the intensity of swearing mostly depends on the context of its usage. Recent studies have revealed that certain differences are due to the gender of the interlocutors. In recorded conversations, quantitative and qualitative differences between male and female speech were examined. The results showed that generally, male interlocutors used more swear words than female interlocutors. Moreover, women tended to not use as many intense swear words such as "damn", "bitch" or "crap", but rather "oh dear God", "stupid" or other mild taboo words (Coates 97-98).

Research has shown that men as well as women incorporate swearing in their speech. Still, taboo language is tightly connected to masculinity in contemporary culture, as can be seen in the performance of drag queens, who use taboo language in order to signal their masculinity underneath the feminine performance (Coates 98). Therefore, the analysis of swearing in *Friends* and *HIMYM* will not only examine the quality of the use of taboo language, but also whether stereotypically feminine or masculine behavior can be discerned during the use of weak and strong swearing.

At this point, the question of how taboo language is regulated in US television has to be considered. According to the FCC (Federal Communications Commission), a government agency that regulates swearing on TV, profane language, that is "grossly offensive" and "a public nuisance", is prohibited on broadcast TV from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m (FCC Obscene, Indecent and Profane Broadcasts). As *Friends* and *HIMYM* were originally aired on broadcast television networks before 10 p.m, this rule had to be applied on both sitcoms. The FCC's definition is very vague, which is why the limits for swearing in television have been expanded over several decades (The Washington Post, Arts and Entertainment). As these rules have been relaxed over a number of years, the swearing in *Friends* and *HIMYM* will not

be evaluated in the same way, for it can be assumed that more swearing and more intense swear words have been tolerated in *HIMYM*.

2.5.2.2. Conversational Dominance in Mixed-Sex Groups

A conversation between two or more people is structured by turn-taking, which ensures an organized talk. Conversation can be organized in three ways: firstly, the current speaker might choose the next speaker by asking a question or directly addressing them with gestures or names; secondly, when the next speaker is not selected by the current speaker, other participants in the conversation can attempt to take the turn; thirdly, when neither of the participants takes the floor, the current speaker continues to talk. However, the rules of turn-taking are broken, when the talk is dominated by either the current speaker who does not pass on the turn, or another participant interrupting the current speaker (Coates 112-13).

A study on conversational dominance that focused on eleven mix-sexed pairs revealed considerable gender differences. Only two out of forty-eight interruptions were induced by women. This means that men intruded before women could finish their turn, whereas women were concerned with not disturbing and ending a male interlocutor's turn. Several studies have supported these results, and researchers in the field of conversation and gender claim that this is due to power relations, in which men want to dominate over women, i.e. silence and subordinate women in conversations. Furthermore, one specific function of interruptions is seen to be the control and regulation of topics, as usually, all participants of a conversation are included in the choice of topic. However, in mixed-sex groups, men tend to interrupt in order to dominate the choice of topic (Coates 113-16).

Nevertheless, it is important to note that these speech activities should not be seen as generalizations about women's and men's talks, as the results of the aforementioned studies show proportional differences between women and men, rather than language features which are exclusively used by women or men.

2.6. Gender in Sitcoms

Stereotypical representations of women and men in sitcoms are very common, as these stereotypes mostly serve as a source of humor (Talbot 469). Considering Butler's understanding of gender as not something people are born with, but a repeated performance, it is not shocking that sitcoms are believed to have an influence on what audiences see as femininity and masculinity, as gender is constantly repeated in sitcoms as well. However, as already mentioned above, audiences of TV shows are not empty vases to be filled with

stereotypes, which they then internalize and perform. Therefore, the idea that TV characters serve as models for the audience has to be questioned, as the characters are fictional and extremely exaggerated to be regarded seriously by the viewers. Still, the representation of gender in sitcoms in ways that should be humorous and entertaining reveals the inclusion of certain, familiar stereotypes and gender norms (Scheunemann 108-09).

Although stereotypical behavior and gender norms are perpetuated in sitcoms for reasons of familiarity and entertainment, some characters diverge from these gender stereotypes for the same reasons, as these characters can be categorized into funny types, whose discrepancy between behavior and gender norms serve as a basis for entertainment (Scheunemann 109). Klaus Scheunemann argues that this discrepancy developed due to social changes, which led to the inclusion of different social norms and patterns of behavior. Therefore, in addition to the perpetuation of stereotyped characters, sitcoms include some characters who contradict these gender stereotypes for amusement. As one crucial factor for the success of a sitcom is the immediate entertaining effect of characters, roles are constructed on the basis of familiar stereotypes, whether maintained or reversed, so that audiences can perceive typical or atypical femininities or masculinities and enjoy the entertainment immediately (Scheunemann 109-12). Especially main characters perform these stereotypes so that viewers are able to anticipate certain behaviors or competencies; moreover, frequently gender norms and behaviors are reversed in order to increase the comic effect of characters, for example when men are perceived to nag or want to settle down to family life, and women are independent and unwilling to have children (Scheunemann 118-125).

As Scheunemann suggests, the representation of stereotypical gender roles in sitcoms has certainly changed due to the social development of gender norms. Barry Gunter supports this view and states that

[s]ocietal attitudes towards which roles are most appropriate for women have been undergoing great changes. In particular, there have been changes in beliefs about the value of the family, the manner in which child care can best be implemented, the role of marriage in people's lives today, and the possibility of self-fulfilment through work. (Gunter 13)

However, according to Cornelia Klecker, a sitcom that has attracted great attention, *Modern Family*, still perpetuates the role of women as housekeepers and caregivers of children. There are other aspects which could be considered 'modern', such as the gay couple with the Vietnamese child and the Colombian woman, Gloria, who brings her son into her second marriage with an older man, Jay. Nevertheless, the two adult women, Gloria and

Claire – who is Jay’s daughter – represented traditional housewives in the first seasons. In later seasons, Claire starts working again in her father’s company and replaces him after his retirement. Furthermore, audiences learn that Gloria stopped working after marrying Jay, but started her own business later (187). Therefore, in *Modern Family*, the representation of women and men seem to change during the seasons from rather typical to atypical gender roles.

Gunter elaborates on the stereotyped belief about the emotionality of women, which is often also associated with fear, anxiety or neuroticism. This is related to the domains of life to which women and men are confined, as women are related to the domestic and rather concerned with personal and intimate relationships than their careers, and vice versa for men. A further aspect considering emotionality is that men are socialized to hide their emotions, in order not to appear feminine (15). These beliefs of emotionality, or the reversal of these, are frequently used in sitcoms for comic effects.

Another source of humor in sitcoms is, as mentioned above, homosexuality. Although stereotypes on homosexuality are drawn on for jokes, homosexuals are not the subjects of ridicule, but other characters. For example, when a man and a woman get a divorce because the woman is a lesbian, it is usually the man who is made fun of because he is a ‘loser’, and it is the man’s fault that she would rather be with another woman. Furthermore, the ex-husband’s reactions often cause laughter, as they either behave embarrassingly, emotionally or irrationally. Another way in which homosexuality is utilized for comic effects in sitcoms is when heterosexual men are perceived as homosexual, and thus, effeminate, which causes embarrassment for these men. It is clear to the audiences that these men are not gay; yet, such misunderstandings are often included in order to trigger laughter (Scheunemann 127-30). In the aforementioned sitcom, *Modern Family*, a homosexual couple (Mitchell Pritchett and Cameron Tucker) is included as the main cast of the series (Klecker 187). Here, the couple often disclaims stereotypical homosexual behavior; however, in certain scenes, they exactly present these stereotypes, which they also recognize themselves. This obvious depiction of stereotypes could, according to Scheunemann, also indicate that the producers of the show ridicule these stereotypes altogether. However, even though this might be intended as a critique of these stereotypes, the sitcom runs the risk of strengthening stereotypes by perpetuating them (130-33). Still, the obviousness or exaggeration of stereotyping and the character’s awareness of these stereotypes make stereotyping itself to the target of ridicule. Furthermore, the fact that the actor who enacts the role of Mitchell Pritchett in *Modern*

Family, Jesse Tyler Ferguson, is homosexual might prove that stereotypes altogether are being ridiculed, as in the series, Mitchell often represents stereotypes and simultaneously blames society for believing these misleading assumptions about homosexuals. Therefore, social issues appear to be taken more seriously than previously believed, as stereotyping is often ridiculed either by reversing gender roles or exaggerating certain stereotypes.

As stated earlier, certain characters are presented in a very exaggerated manner, and are still liked by audiences; a feature that only works in comedy series, as certain characters would be perceived rather negatively in other genres, such as Ross in *Friends*, or Ted in *HIMYM*, who would be seen as annoying characters. Thus, characters are often very popular among audiences, even if they do not conform to character traits that would be considered appropriate for their sex. One example of this ‘inappropriate’ behavior of characters for comic effect refers to the mature and responsible behavior of men, which is perceived as a characteristic feature of masculinity. In sitcoms, very often there is one male character that acts irresponsibly and immaturely when confronted with problems. Immature and irresponsible behavior can be seen as a deliberate choice of these characters; however, frequently, male characters are involuntarily deprived of their masculinity due to their marital status. This is connected to a loss of power, as wives are often presented as a bossy women who ‘wear the pants’ in a relationship. This depiction of a powerful woman has evolved and been integrated into sitcoms since the 1970s, as the emancipation and liberation of women was highly emphasized in society (Scheunemann 130-32). Furthermore, Cornelia Klecker refers to other instances that might be considered as depriving men’s masculinity in sitcoms, such as male characters, who are not very successful in flirting with and dating women. Therefore, some men are presented as insecure when confronted with women (186), which challenges gender stereotypes according to which men are expected to be confident, strong and eloquent.

Therefore, power relations between men and women in sitcoms change as society changes, even if these developments are not reflected in television immediately. The reversal of stereotypes, i.e. discrepancies between the behavior of characters and their sex, might indicate these societal changes. Moreover, the obvious and exaggerated stereotypical representation of characters can be intended, and read as a criticism of stereotyping altogether; yet, a crucial factor seems to be the exaggeration and the characters’ realization, or rejection of their stereotypical behavior.

2.7. Audiovisual Analysis

Another important aspect in the analysis of gender stereotypes in television is the visual analysis, which concerns with how characters and conversations are represented and shown on TV, and what these representations mean. One of the essentials in a visual analysis is the camera perspective. *Friends* and *HIMYM* were both produced in multi-camera setups, i.e. three or more cameras were used simultaneously from different perspectives. These cameras alter the distances in which the characters in the shot are shown: either close-ups, or wide shots (Becker *Mediascape*). In wide shots, the characters' bodies are almost completely visible: either from head to toe, or head to knee. This shot emphasizes the body language, gestures, and movement of the characters. Close-ups show characters from the upper body upwards with the result that, additionally to body language and the gestures, the facial expressions and language of the subjects gain in importance. Furthermore, in close-up shots, an intimate and emotional atmosphere is signaled to the audiences (Keutzer et al. 11-12). Due to the use of multiple cameras, the movement of cameras is limited, because any camera movement might show other cameras in the set. Therefore, as camera movement is restricted in sitcoms, an analysis of positions and movements of the characters during close-ups or wide shots provides a better insight to certain representations (Savorelli 25). Considering the camera settings, the angle is also of importance: eye-level angle, low angle, and high angle, which convey different meanings, such as neutrality, superiority and inferiority, respectively (Keutzer et al. 12-13). Since *Friends* and *HIMYM* adopt a neutral angle, i.e. settings do not convey dominance or subordination, camera angles will not be part of the visual analysis. Other elements that cannot be analyzed visually in sitcoms, either due to repetitive sets and live performances, are the analyses of spaces and the use of lights. Sitcoms often only convey whether it is daytime or nighttime, and need to ensure that the view of live audiences is clear (Savorelli 23-24).

As to the auditory elements in sitcoms, generally, there are two features included: laugh tracks and music in the transitions between scenes. Yet, in some scenes, there is music in the background, which is mostly due to the circumstances of the scene. Keutzer et al. point out that, considering auditory elements, besides small noises like the clattering of dishes, music can emphasize the atmosphere of the scene (113-14). Therefore, when available, the use of music and the meaning of laughter tracks will be analyzed.

In addition to the analysis of gender stereotypes as to behavior and language in the next chapter, an analysis of different shots, the position of characters, and auditory elements will

be included in order to identify how characters and conversations are constructed audiovisually. The audiovisual analysis also provides important information about the context, in which specific language features occur, which is crucial for the differentiation between confident and tentative hedges, weak and strong swearing, and interruptions. As it would go beyond the scope of this thesis to analyze entire episodes in a written form, one scene per episode, in which the most linguistic features as to gender representation occur, will be adduced; however, the contextual information will not be abandoned in the rest of these episodes, but used for the distinction of these linguistic devices.

3. Gender Representations in *Friends* and *How I Met Your Mother*

In order to show the development of the representations of female and male characters, i.e. whether gender stereotypes are being perpetually produced for almost twenty years, and whether the language of the characters is characterized by stereotypes, one episode per season will be examined. The analysis of each episode consists of three parts: firstly, a description of each character in accordance with gender stereotypes; secondly, an analysis of the characters' language considering the communicative competence and turn-taking; and thirdly, an audiovisual analysis of one scene per episode, in which the most linguistic features appear, will be included. The transcripts of the scenes, in which language features occurred, are in the appendix.

3.1. *Friends*

3.1.1. Season 1 - Episode 9 “*The One where Underdog Gets Away*”

3.1.1.1. Characters

Rachel Green

Before meeting the group, Rachel has been a spoiled girl who was highly dependent on her father's money. Now she works and wants to be financially independent. However, when she asks for an advance on her salary, her boss emphasizes how terrible she is at waitressing, and presents her as too incompetent to serve coffee. In the end, her friends buy her the ticket as a present. Rachel always seems to be dependent on somebody: before, on her father, and now her friends.

Monica Geller

Monica offers to cook Thanksgiving dinner at her apartment and promises Ross to prepare dinner the same way as their mother did. In the end, she has to yield to everybody's wishes on the dinner and deviate from her own plans in order to make everybody else happy. Therefore, she acts selflessly, dependently, caringly and softheartedly, and adapts to the role of the mother. She also reacts very emotionally when her dinner is ruined.

Ross Geller

Ross visits his ex-wife, Carol, but only her life partner, Susan, is home. He is still uncomfortable with their homosexuality and utters odd remarks. He ridicules Susan for talking to the unborn baby; however, he gets jealous and wants to talk to the baby as well,

even though he is skeptical about it. Therefore, Ross wants to be rational and logical, but is afraid that his baby might not recognize him, and is, thus, also sensitive and emotional.

Chandler Bing

Chandler immediately makes fun of Joey when he starts wearing make up for his career and calls him a woman, implying that men should adhere to their biological sex and behave masculinely, as wearing make up is highly associated with femininity. Furthermore, Chandler makes jokes at his friends’ expense, which characterizes him not only as imaginative and intelligent, but also as presumptuous and arrogant. However, when Phoebe makes jokes at his expense, he is easily offended and reacts sensitively.

Joey Tribbiani

Joey starts wearing make-up for his career and is not offended when Chandler mocks him for being feminine. In general, he is very confident (even when Chandler makes fun of him) and, as the group’s womanizer, he is not intimidated by women. In this episode, Joey manipulates Monica into doing what he wants for dinner by pretending to be sensitive. Joey is opportunistic and also egoistic as he does not recognize and appreciate Monica’s efforts.

Phoebe Buffet

Phoebe is presented as the eccentric character who does not usually think in the same way as her friends. This is why Chandler mocks her when she makes a rather silly suggestion to Ross. Phoebe also manipulates Monica by pretending to be emotional. Furthermore, she is curious, dreamy and, as opposed to those who make fun of her, illogical, but also carefree and opportunistic, which is rather untraditional considering feminine stereotypes.

3.1.1.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	0	5	5
Female	3	5	8
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	0	1	1
Female	0	4	4

Table 4: Gender in Language - *Friends* Season 1 Episode 9

In the first episode¹, the most prominent feature was the usage of hedges, more specifically, the fillers ‘you know’ and ‘like’. Overall, this hedge was used both to function as an expression of confidence and tentativeness. In total, thirteen hedges were used, out of which ten expressed confidence and only three were used for tentativeness. All three instances of tentative usage were found in the speech of women: Rachel and Phoebe. On the one hand, Rachel’s character includes some feminine stereotypes, such as dependency, or lack of competencies, which were also the scenes in which Rachel used tentative hedges. On the other hand, Rachel includes all weak swear words. Although Phoebe’s character also represents some stereotypically feminine behaviors, such as emotionality, dreaminess or curiosity, she is only tentative while being opportunistic and manipulative, which are considered to be signs of masculinity. Furthermore, Monica and Susan used hedges expressing confidence while mocking Ross wittily.

As to the use of confident hedges, all male characters included at least one. Chandler’s speech included two confident hedges in situations in which he was rather emotional and sensitive because of his friendship with the others. Ross used two confident hedges in one utterance in order to further emphasize his point. Joey’s use of ‘you know’ expressed confidence, and was used during opportunistic behavior. Furthermore, the only male character who used weak swearing was Ross, who appears insecure in the meantime. In this episode, there was no disruption of turn-taking conventions, which implies that no domination or subordination of characters in conversations was planned.

3.1.1.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The last scene shows the group in a wide shot. Everybody is sitting at Monica’s dinner table, whereas Chandler is the only one standing at the head of the table, which is a rather masculine position: the head of the family, who carves the turkey on Thanksgiving. In this position, as Chandler uses two confident hedges, the cameras move to a close-up, emphasizing Chandler’s emotionality. While speaking, the camera follows Chandler as he moves towards Ross and Joey. In this wide shot, all male characters and Phoebe are visible frontally, whereas Rachel and Monica’s backs are turned to the camera. As Rachel utters a weak swear word, the camera moves to a close-up of her and Monica.

¹ The consecutive numbering of episodes in the following (analyses and results) refers to the total number of episodes that are under analysis in either *Friends* (1-10) or *HIMYM* (1-9): e.g. episode six in HIMYM does not refer to season one episode six, but to the sixth episode, which is under analysis, i.e. season six episode 14.

3.1.2. Season 2 - Episode 24 “*The One with Barry and Mindy’s Wedding*”

3.1.2.1. Characters

Rachel Green

Rachel has to go to the wedding of her ex-fiancé, Barry, (Rachel ran out on her own wedding with Barry) and tries to find the strength for this occasion, as she is intimidated and terrified to attend the wedding. She is emotionally dependent on Ross and her friends, who would rather mock her. At the wedding, she is very emotional and upset and relies heavily on Ross, who ridicules her anxiety. At the end, she appears strong and stands up for herself.

Monica Geller

Monica is very dreamy because she is in love with Richard. When Phoebe asks her about their future, Monica acts as if their relationship was easygoing and casual; however, soon she expresses how terrified she is. Later, she reveals her wish for children, and implies that her maternal feelings are already very strong. When Richard rationally explains that he does not want to have children, she reacts sensitively, and tries to hide it. She also wants to blame society for her maternal instincts. In the end, she is logical and rational with her decision.

Ross Geller

Ross tells Joey to “suck it up and do it” when he tells the group that he has to kiss another actor in an audition. Later, when Joey asks for help in order to improve his kissing skills, Ross refuses rigorously as he wants to protect and secure his heterosexuality. Throughout the episode, Ross has to be strong, reliable and stay clear-headed for Rachel. In the end, he wants to be a good friend, and kisses Joey.

Chandler Bing

Chandler reacts the same way as Ross in order to protect his heterosexuality and masculinity, even though, it was all right for everybody when Phoebe kissed Joey as a friend, as this did not disrupt the boundaries of heterosexuality. Additionally, Chandler is very charming when he meets a woman online; however, when she tells him that she is married, he reacts sensitively and disappointedly. Later, Phoebe has to encourage him, as he has lost his ambitions considering this woman.

Joey Tribbiani

Joey wants to succeed in an audition and needs to improve his kissing skills with men. He is ambitious, determined and tries to kiss his male friends, as he does not have a problem with kissing another man for his career as an actor, and therefore, implies that although he is a confident, heterosexual womanizer, he can act being homosexual. Furthermore, in order to achieve his goal of practicing his kissing skills with men, he behaves very opportunistically.

Phoebe Buffet

Phoebe is the only one who is comfortable about kissing Joey, implying that Phoebe is more confident than everybody else. Furthermore, Phoebe makes Chandler insecure about his online flirting, as she appears to be the only one wondering about the true identity of Chandler's interlocutor, implying that she is intelligent and realistic, whereas Chandler is the dreamy character, which reverses the stereotypes. She is also very determined and dominating when Chandler is discouraged.

3.1.2.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	0	1	1
Female	8	8	16
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	1	2	3
Female	0	2	2

Table 5: Gender in Language - *Friends* Season 2 Episode 24

In total, seventeen hedges signaling tentativeness and confidence were used in this episode. The usage of tentative hedges in the second episode under analysis is more than twice as high than in episode one. However, the differentiation by gender did not change: Monica, Rachel and Mindy produce all tentative hedges. Monica uses six out of eight tentative hedges to express her uncertainty in emotional situations. Still, she also includes two confident hedges while trying to act casually and carefree, which she cannot maintain though. Rachel and Mindy both include a tentative hedge while being insecure. Phoebe does not include any tentative devices in her language, but uses six confident hedges in situations, in which she reverses the stereotypes, and acts logically, realistically and dominantly. Yet, only Richard, Monica's boyfriend, and none of the male main characters, expresses confidence through hedging while being witty and imaginative.

As to taboo language, only Ross used a strong swear word while proving his friendship and loyalty to Joey: he is confident, energetic and wants to help Joey. Considering weak swearing, Rachel used weak taboo words in order to emphasize her insecurity twice, whereas Joey and Chandler included one each in connection with homosexuality: firstly, when Chandler makes fun of Joey because he has to kiss another actor in an audition, and secondly, when Joey makes fun of Ross for kissing him out of friendship and loyalty.

3.1.2.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The scene under analysis shows the conversation between Richard and Monica, in which both are alternately shot in close-ups depending on whose turn it is. Richard starts the conversation with a confident hedge while sitting on the couch opposite to Monica. While Richard remains seated, the camera follows Monica's movement as she takes Ben and puts him in his crib, which is a motherly move. Furthermore, Monica is insecure about the topic of this conversation and utters six tentative hedges in this scene. Her insecurity can also be seen in her body language and face.

3.1.3. Season 3 - Episode 23 "*The One with Ross's Thing*"

3.1.3.1. Characters

Rachel Green

Rachel is clear-headed and rational when she wants to help Phoebe solve her problem of dating two men. These attributes are perceived to be male stereotypes, which bring some diversity to Rachel's character. However, when everybody misinterprets Pete, Monica's boyfriend, Rachel returns to being emotional and dreamy again, and suggests unreasonable wedding ideas. Furthermore, she acts hastily and unrealistically based on unconfirmed assumptions.

Monica Geller

After receiving a message from Pete, Monica jumps to irrational conclusions and obsesses about the meaning of the message. Even though she tries to stay realistic and rational, her friends convince her of another possibility. Later, she reacts disappointedly and emotionally when her expectations do not match his intentions. Furthermore, Monica states the stereotypical assumption that all women gossip about men.

Ross Geller

Ross is worried about a skin abnormality, although the doctors told him that it is benign. Yet, he is fearful and upset about this matter. While consulting another doctor, Ross acts illogically in order to convince the doctor to cut off the abnormality. Later, when Monica tries to find the right command to dim the lights at Pete’s apartment, Ross acts more intelligently than her and shows her how to do it.

Chandler Bing

Chandler is intimidated by Phoebe’s boyfriend, Vince, who is a fireman, and who appears to be very masculine, i.e. a determined, realistic and strong fireman. Furthermore, he wants to be supportive and help Phoebe find a solution for her problem. Later, Chandler is very caring and softhearted when his and Joey’s pet duck is sick, which gives the impression of a mother caring for her child.

Joey Tribbiani

When Phoebe cannot decide between Vince and Jason, Joey calls Chandler a “sissy”, as Chandler suggests choosing Jason for his sensitivity. The common understanding here is that Jason is a “sissy”, but Joey corrects his statement to Chandler being the “sissy”, which shows that Joey would rather suggest the more masculine option, Vince. Furthermore, Joey judges Chandler based on gender stereotypes, and implies that Chandler makes feminine decisions.

Phoebe Buffet

Phoebe dates two men: Vince who has a very masculine job as a fireman, which requires him to be fearless, brave, and clearheaded; and Jason, who is a sensitive kindergarten teacher, whose job, and character traits could be perceived as the opposite of Vince’s. Phoebe is indecisive, and momentarily, she chooses Vince for his masculine appearance. However, she is overwhelmed and acts completely irrationally, whereas both men react logically.

3.1.3.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	7	4	11
Female	2	20	22
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	0	0	0
Female	0	0	0

Table 6: Gender in Language - *Friends* Season 3 Episode 23

The number of hedges expressing confidence increased radically in the third episode to a total of 24 occurrences. Out of these 24 confident hedges, 20 were used by the female main characters. Phoebe includes most of these hedges, and uses eight hedges signaling confidence in only one utterance. She talks about two men that she is dating at the same time, which would normally be expected of Joey, and appears strong, adventurous, and egoistic. Phoebe uses another eight hedges confidently in the rest of the episode, almost exclusively while speaking about her dates. However, her behavior changes throughout the episode: she remains egoistic and clear-headed; yet later, she is very challenged by the situation, and acts dreamily and emotionally when using the other confident hedges. The remaining four hedges expressing confidence were distributed evenly between Monica and Rachel. Rachel includes hedges when dreaming about Monica's wedding, whereas Monica is rather sensitive with the first, and realistic with the second hedge. As opposed to the hedges expressing confidence, which were used by all female characters, it is only one female character, Phoebe, who uses tentative hedges, while behaving egoistically.

Considering male characters, two out of four confident hedges were used by Chandler, who was sarcastic in the first and serious in the second instance; one by Ross while being strict; and one by Jason, who responds sensitively, but determinedly to Phoebe's actions. As to tentativeness, male characters included seven tentative hedges in their language. Ross's tentative language underlines his insecurity and worry about his health four times. Joey only uses a tentative hedge once when he makes an imaginative proposition to Ross. Jason and Vince use the other tentative hedges: Jason acts rationally while including a tentative hedge; whereas Vince is very sensitive and emotional.

Considering turn-taking conventions in conversations, there was one incident in which a female character was interrupted by a male character. However, the intention thereof appears not to be subordination, as the male character, Vince, interrupted Phoebe, because he was too emotional and on the verge of tears when he had to interrupt her and leave.

3.1.3.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The audiovisual analysis focuses on Phoebe in the beginning of this episode, in which she includes eight hedges conveying confidence in one utterance. She is shown in a close-up shot in which her facial expressions and gestures gain in importance and emphasize her confidence and casual behavior concerning her dates. Furthermore, her entire turn is accompanied by

laugh tracks, which implies that producers might be emphasizing that Phoebe's behavior is unusual for her as a woman.

3.1.4. Season 4 – Episode 17 “*The One with the Free Porn*”

3.1.4.1. Characters

Rachel Green

Rachel is presented as gullible, as she believes that her boyfriend Joshua does not enjoy pornographic films. Joey and Chandler reveal that this is a lie, to which she reacts sulkily. She is also insulted when her idea for Phoebe's van is judged negatively. Shortly afterwards, Rachel explains her idea to Phoebe again, and Phoebe realizes that Rachel's idea is better, as it is more creative and imaginative.

Monica Geller

Monica shares her big romantic fantasy with Ross and convinces him to live it out. She, furthermore, persuades him to act as illogically and dreamily as she would. Later, Monica reacts sensitively to Chandler and Joey's attempt to convince Ross not to behave emotionally. Monica realizes for a moment that her dream cannot be enforced, but returns to her fantasy, and continues persuading Ross by realistically referring to his old mistakes concerning dating. In the end, Monica was right to convince Ross to express his emotions all along.

Ross Geller

Ross is in love with Emily, and shows his affection openly, instead of hiding his emotions. Furthermore, he acts out Monica's romantic and dreamy fantasy. He drives to the airport and declares his love to Emily, to which she only responds with “thank you”, representing him as the emotional man sharing his feelings and putting her in the powerful position. Moreover, Ross gives her all the power by waiting for her call in very unrealistic settings.

Chandler Bing

Chandler acts illogically when he and Joey receive pornographic films on their television for free, and refuses to change the channel. Chandler and Joey agree that Ross should not have expressed his emotions to Emily. Due to excessive exposure to pornographic films, Chandler's reality is deluded and he acts irrationally, until he finds the solution to his problem. His reactions are stereotypically feminine on a rather masculine topic, pornographic films, which seems to overshadow his feminine behavior.

Joey Tribbiani

Joey again demonstrates that he is an opportunistic man who would say that he loved a woman in order to “get her to do” something. Furthermore, he attempts to solve Ross’s problem by giving irrational advice. When Monica convinces Ross to visit Emily in London, he is the realistic one who exposes Monica’s fantasy as just a fantasy. He is also rather egoistic and inconsiderate of one of his best friend’s problems and feelings.

Phoebe Buffet

Phoebe is pregnant with her half-brother’s triplets and behaves selflessly and caringly; yet, she is also strong and independent, as she has been carrying around a massage table for work. Furthermore, when she tells her half-brother and his wife that they are going to have triplets, she draws very unusual and illogical comparisons; however, she is also much more realistic than them. Phoebe also blames herself to be “superfertile” in a negative sense, which is rather opposed to the traditional role of a mother.

3.1.4.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	3	7	10
Female	3	4	7
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	1	1	2
Female	0	1	1

Table 7: Gender in Language - *Friends* Season 4 Episode 17

In episode 17 of season four, the distribution of hedges conveying confidence among male and female characters has been reversed, so that men used almost twice as many as women. However, almost all of these, six to be exact, are used by Frank, Phoebe’s half-brother, in only one utterance about his wish to start and support a family, which is perceived as a rather feminine desire. The other hedge signifying confidence is included by Chandler, who is assertive and determined in the respective situation. Interestingly, Joey does not use any hedges in this episode, although he has been assertive, determined and realistic. As to Ross, he is insecure, sensitive and open with his emotions, which is also reflected in his speech, as he used all hedges expressing tentativeness while talking about his relationship with Emily.

Considering confident hedges in the language of female characters, Rachel used two in order to emphasize her confidence and assertiveness, although in both cases she was proven to be either wrong or was not taken seriously. Phoebe includes one hedge in order to signal confidence and determination considering her options to be financially independent during her pregnancy. However, she is tentative during the conversation with her half-brother and his wife, Alice, while trying to convince them with an irrational story. Furthermore, Alice reacts fearfully to the news and uses both ‘you know’ and ‘like’ tentatively. Monica, on the other hand, is assertive and confident in her language while convincing her brother Ross to follow her fantasy, which could be categorized as dreamy and risky.

Additionally, taboo words were included three times: two by men and one by a woman. The first instance of swearing was weak and uttered by Mr. Treeger, the caretaker of the building, as a reaction to Joey and Chandler’s nastiness in the bathroom. The second incident of weak swearing was uttered by Phoebe while speaking about the hurdles of her pregnancy. Ross, however, uses strong taboo words in connection to his own foolishness, as he realizes that he has acted emotionally and sensitively.

In this episode, there was no violation of turn-taking conventions. Therefore, no character was dominated by another one during a conversation.

3.1.4.3. Audiovisual Analysis

In this episode, Frank and Alice include most linguistic features in the scene at the Central Perk. They are both shot in a close-up setting in a rather insecure situation, as Phoebe told them that they are going to have triplets instead of one baby. Alice uses tentative hedges and shows her fear and concern, whereas Frank uses six confident hedges while quickly adjusting to the situation. Alice’s insecurity and Frank’s confidence are also visible in their facial expressions and gestures, which are clearly recognizable in the close-ups.

3.1.5. Season 5 – Episode 19 “*The One where Ross Can’t Flirt*”

3.1.5.1. Characters

Rachel Green

When Ross does not want to talk about Caitlin, the pizza delivery girl, in front of Rachel (as they dated before), she is not insulted or emotional, but rational, which is a variation in her usually emotional and sensitive behavior. Nevertheless, when Ross enthuses about Caitlin, Rachel shows her boundaries. Moreover, Rachel fears Monica for losing her earrings, and lets

Phoebe take the blame, which is opportunistic. Furthermore, Rachel is kind to Ross and cares for him.

Monica Geller

In this episode, Monica's strong, controlling and bossy attributes show when she stresses that Rachel is not allowed to borrow her things. She is confident and uninhibited about her flirting with other men, although she is in a relationship with Chandler, giving the impression that she is independent. Monica is understanding and kind to Phoebe, who admits losing Monica's earrings. Yet, she is very strict with Rachel on that topic.

Ross Geller

Ross is jealous of Chandler's flirting with Caitlin and reacts sensitively to it. When Chandler wants to show what his flirting really looks like, Ross is very uncomfortable and stops it immediately. Ross then attempts to flirt with Caitlin, but is very unsuccessful, so that she does not even recognize that he was flirting with her. Moreover, Ross is dependent on Rachel's help to get Caitlin's phone number.

Chandler Bing

Chandler, who is normally not good at flirting with women, is surprisingly eloquent while talking to Caitlin. As Ross threatens him to tell Monica about his flirting with other women, he is terrified. When Ross gives away Chandler for his flirting, Monica's reaction is very casual, which then bothers Chandler. Chandler also expresses rather sexist ideas when he lectures Monica about what men and women can or are allowed to do.

Joey Tribbiani

Joey explains to the group that he was a rather large baby and acts slightly sensitively about his weight, which is a rather stereotypically feminine behavior. Joey also lies to his grandmother about his career as an actor, which could be considered egoistic, because she is, as he states, the only family member who has supported his career choice. However, he also wants to protect her health by keeping his failing career secret, which is considerate of him.

Phoebe Buffet

Phoebe makes fun of Ross as he is jealous and calls him "Mr. Pizza Delivery Girl", which is immature. When Monica asks back her earrings from Phoebe, she responds illogically in order to irritate and stall her. When Ross practices his flirting skills on Phoebe, she tells him

the bitter and hard truth and in an emotionless and realistic way. Furthermore, Phoebe is brave to take the blame for Rachel’s fault.

3.1.5.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	0	2	2
Female	3	8	11
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	0	1	1
Female	0	2	2

Table 8: Gender in Language - *Friends* Season 5 Episode 19

In this episode, the usage of hedges conveying confidence has, again, been reversed, as only two out of ten confident hedges were uttered by a male character, Ross. In this scene, Ross acts assertively and realistically, which is further stressed with his confident use of hedges.

Interestingly, all remaining confident hedges were also uttered by one character: Rachel. In half of these hedges, she ridicules Ross’s flirting skills and his success with women, which is rather cruel of her. Rachel, moreover, includes another confident hedge while behaving very egoistically. This depicts Ross as the stereotypical loser considering women, who is deprived of power in these relations. However, in the end, she uses confident hedges while supporting Ross. Furthermore, all hedges signaling tentativeness were included by Caitlin, a minor character, who is uncomfortable and hesitant in each situation.

As to the use of swearing, there were no strong expressions in this episode. Ross expresses his jealousy and emotions with a weak taboo word at the beginning of the episode. The other weak expressions were used by Phoebe and Rachel. Phoebe swears weakly while ridiculing Caitlin, and Rachel includes weak taboo words while being fearful of Monica.

Moreover, there were three situations in which turn-taking conventions were disregarded, and all interruptions involved Ross and Rachel. Firstly, Rachel interrupts Ross, who enthuses about another woman. Here, Rachel is confident and emotionless, as she expresses her boundaries to Ross. Secondly, Ross interrupts Rachel twice: she tries to be supportive and considerate of his feelings two times, to which Ross responds egoistically and childishly, but also sensitively, twice.

3.1.5.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The scene under analysis starts with alternate close-up shots of Ross and Rachel, in which Ross interrupts and subordinates Rachel. Later, Ross's behavior changes from confident to very insecure during his conversation with Caitlin. In the close up of Ross, his struggle to flirt and insecurity becomes apparent in his facial expression and gestures. The camera's focus on Caitlin's insecure gestures and facial expressions underline her use of tentative hedges, as she attempts to stop Ross and leave as quickly as possible.

3.1.6. Season 6 – Episode 18 “*The One where Ross Dates a Student*”

3.1.6.1. Characters

Rachel Green

Rachel is the one to point out that Ross's secret admirer does not necessarily have to be a woman, making her the only one realistic among the present male characters. After firemen extinguish the fire at Rachel and Phoebe's apartment, she misreads the fireman's question and acts without thinking. After living with Joey, she assimilates to his lifestyle, which is immature and the very opposite of Monica's obsessively clean lifestyle.

Monica Geller

Monica is controlling and nagging about Chandler going out on coffee and dinner with his ex-girlfriend, even though he ensures that it is not a date. She is also very controlling and neurotic around her friends, and acts extremely motherly, so that the others are annoyed by her, and careful to follow her rules, as they know that she would start nagging otherwise. Monica appears very confident and loud in this episode.

Ross Geller

In the beginning, Ross is professional and rational considering dating a student and rejects this idea at first. However, he is easily convinced by his student, Elizabeth, to go out with her, as he has not been successful with women lately. Furthermore, although he frowns at Joey's childish behavior, he behaves the exact same way. After hiding his relationship with Elizabeth from faculty members, he admits his relationship and impresses Elizabeth with his strong and fearless attitude.

Chandler Bing

Chandler takes out an ex-girlfriend, Dana, to get an audition for Joey and risks getting into a fight with Monica. He is loyal and wants to be a good friend to Joey, but he is also

opportunistic, as he uses Dana in order to get the audition. Furthermore, even though Chandler did not actually want to date Dana, she rejects him; yet, he is still able to get the audition with opportunistic behavior. Chandler also participates in the immature behavior with his male friends. Moreover, he is very careful to follow Monica’s rules.

Joey Tribbiani

Joey provides Ross with the smart idea to find his secret admirer among his students. Furthermore, Joey immediately assumes that this student is a girl. As he is the womanizer of the group and not the smartest, Joey’s intelligence only seems to work when, in Chandler’s words, “a hot girl is at stake”. As Joey sees the opportunity for an audition, he convinces Chandler to help him. Joey is a typical bachelor, which is also reflected in his apartment.

Phoebe Buffet

Phoebe, as Rachel, does not understand the fireman’s questions, which makes both of them appear as naive, and not very intelligent. When Monica acts like a controlling mother, Phoebe assumes the role of the child and misbehaves deliberately. She is also opportunistic and wants to trick Rachel, who stays with Joey, into switching apartments, as she feels smothered by Monica and her obsessive cleaning.

3.1.6.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	1	3	4
Female	4	10	14
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	0	1	0
Female	0	0	1

Table 9: Gender in Language - *Friends* Season 6 Episode 18

In general, the language use of the characters presented more hedges, and less taboo words than the episode before. Overall, 18 hedges were included by all main and minor characters. 13 out of 18 hedges emphasized the character’s confidence: three were included by male characters, and the other ten by female characters. Chandler is the first male character to use a confident hedge: He attempts to rationally explain to, or lecture, Monica how certain things are supposed to be done, as he first had to take out Dana on coffee and later on a dinner, in order to ask her a favor. There is a resemblance of Chandler’s behavior in this episode to his behavior in season five, where he explains to, or again lectures, Monica what

women and men can and cannot do. The other two confident hedges are included by Ross, both during a conversation with Elizabeth, in which he is either dreamy or admitting his feelings to her.

As to the female characters, Monica used the most confident hedges. The first time, she hedges before Chandler's explanation considering going out with an ex-girlfriend. At first, she is confident and understanding about Chandler's relationship to Dana. In her second use, she acts extremely motherly to Phoebe, who enjoyed the attention in the beginning, but is quickly annoyed by Monica's maternal behavior. In the last instance, Monica ridicules Ross and is realistic and witty. Phoebe's confident hedges are used in order to emphasize her opportunistic behavior against Rachel. Rachel responds very honestly to Phoebe's attempt and expresses her confidence with a hedge. The other five hedges are used by Elizabeth and Dana. Elizabeth wittily mocks Ross by pretending to be opportunistic; later, she admits that she is impressed by Ross's masculinity and strength. Dana is a strong and independent woman, who expresses her confidence with three hedges during her conversation with Chandler, who seems to be slightly intimidated by her.

Out of five tentative hedges, Chandler used one while being insecure. The other four hedges signaling tentativeness were used by Dana, Monica and Phoebe. Phoebe is unwilling to leave the nice room, but has to act rationally and admit her fault, which she does tentatively. Monica, on the other hand, acts like a controlling mother; however, she is also caring and nurturing while using a tentative hedge. Dana includes hedges conveying tentativeness while being uncomfortable around Chandler.

The only instance of weak swearing occurred when Joey reacted casually. Later, when Rachel started acting immaturely, he changed to being strict and rebuked her.

3.1.6.3. Audiovisual Analysis

In the scene under analysis, the camera changes from a wide shot to a close-up of the characters in order to emphasize facial expressions and gestures. Chandler's use of a confident hedge is also underlined by his explanatory gestures and his calmness. Monica is reassured by Chandler's rational explanation, which is visible in her gestures and movement while including a confident hedge: as she moves away from Chandler and turns her back on him, which can be interpreted as a sign of trust, she makes the gesture indicating the trifle of her worries. Furthermore, as Monica's worries appear to be true, laugh tracks show that Monica's nagging attitude is being ridiculed.

3.1.7. Season 7 – Episode 9 “*The One with All the Candy*”

3.1.7.1. Characters

Rachel Green

Rachel is successful at her job, has a boyfriend, and implies that she now has a fulfilled life. She dates her assistant from work, which is unprofessional, and she also proves to be unprofessional at work due to her relationship, which causes her to be anxious; however, she reverses the stereotype that usually men are the managers with beautiful assistants. Although Rachel is presented as independent and strong, she still depends on her boyfriend to help her, as he takes on the blame for her unprofessionalism.

Monica Geller

Monica makes candy for the neighbors so that they like her. At first, she enjoys the attention and is deluded. Although she is overwhelmed by her neighbors, she does not stop producing candy as she wants to please everybody. Furthermore, she is loud and neurotic when her friends want to help her. When she cannot manage her neighbors, Chandler has to help and support her. Furthermore, she is very strict with and controlling of Chandler.

Ross Geller

Ross still reacts sensitively about his ex-wife’s homosexuality when his son refers to Chandler as his father. Moreover, he is caring and thoughtful when he learns that Phoebe never had a bicycle of her own, so he purchases her first bike and wants to teach her how to ride it. He also thinks of a very unreasonable scenario to persuade Phoebe, which works. Ross is smart enough to invent stories, which would convince Phoebe, who is rather irrational.

Chandler Bing

In this episode, Chandler talks about his father, a gay drag queen in Las Vegas, which is a reason why he is always defensive and sarcastic. Chandler is also very emotional and sensitive when Phoebe gets her very first bicycle. Furthermore, he pretends to be brave when someone knocks on the door in the middle of the night, but hides cowardly behind Monica, who is fearless and reasonable.

Joey Tribbiani

Joey makes fun of Chandler for crying and being emotional like a woman. Chandler then reveals that Joey is as emotional and sensitive as him, which Joey confirms. Joey behaves

immaturely, egoistically and opportunistically, as he pressures Monica to make more candy, even though she is overwhelmed and cannot handle the situation.

Phoebe Buffet

Phoebe admits that she is not able to ride a bicycle and is fearful when Ross wants to teach her. She is very hurting when Ross does not keep his promise. She exaggerates and overreacts to the situation, and makes up a very implausible story, to which Ross intelligently adapts with an irrational respond in order to convince Phoebe. Moreover, she is presented as gullible, as eventually, she believes Ross’s imaginary story.

3.1.7.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	0	7	7
Female	2	3	5
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	0	1	1
Female	1	1	2

Table 10: Gender in Language - *Friends* Season 7 Episode 9

In this episode, men’s usage of confident hedges is more than twice as high than women’s usage. Three of these hedges were included by Ross: first, he is overreacting and exaggerating; in the second situation, he is sensitive and excited about Phoebe’s new bicycle; and in his third and last usage, he stands his ground and is strict with Phoebe. Chandler uses two confident hedges in his speech: once, he mocks Rachel for being gullible and foolish, and in his second use, he is strong and protects Monica from their neighbors. Another hedge was included by Mr. Zelner, Rachel’s superior, while rebuking Tag. Yet, Tag’s behavior can be considered as masculine in that situation, as he is strong and takes the blame for Rachel’s unprofessionalism, which he emphasizes with a confident hedge.

As to the female characters, Rachel uses all three confident hedges in order to emphasize her confidence and independence, even though she acts unprofessionally and emotionally, as she is involved romantically with her assistant. Furthermore, Rachel is insecure and fearful after making a mistake at work due to her relationship to Tag, which she also shows in her language with a tentative hedge. The other tentative hedge is included by Monica, while trying to convince her neighbors to compliment her candy-making skills, which implies that she is seeking the recognition of strangers.

Phoebe does not use hedges in this episode; however, she swears twice. Once, she utters a weak swear word when she wants to fool Ross, who reveals her pretence; later she uses a strong taboo word to make fun of Ross, as he wants to convince her to ride her bike. After Ross has left, the audiences learn that Ross managed to convince her with a very implausible story. Moreover, Mr. Zelner is the only male character, who uses a weak swear word very inappropriately.

Furthermore, the only interruption that occurred in this episode was in the same situation involving Mr. Zelner, Rachel and Tag. When Rachel attempts to explain the situation to Mr. Zelner, she is scared for her career. This is when Tag interrupts her and takes the blame for her unprofessional behavior; here, the stereotype of a strong man protecting a vulnerable woman seems to be enacted.

3.1.7.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The following analysis focuses on the conversation between Rachel, Tag, and Mr. Zelner, who are shown in close-ups alternately according to their turns. At the beginning, Rachel is nervous and fearful to lose her job, which is reflected in her body language. Tag is very confident while interrupting Rachel in order to protect her, and while explaining himself to Mr. Zelner. His body language and facial expressions emphasize this masculine behavior. Mr. Zelner's inclusion of confident hedges and swearing is underlined by facial play and gestures. As Rachel realizes that her job is no longer at risk, she gains back her confidence, which is shown in her language and gestures.

3.1.8. Season 8 – Episode 23 “*The One where Rachel has a Baby*”

3.1.8.1. Characters

Rachel Green

Rachel is in labor, and therefore, very dependent on Ross (the baby's father), but she is also strict with and controlling of Ross. Rachel stays rational and clear-headed when Ross loses focus. When she wants to act confidently and speak up for herself, she is interrupted by contractions and has to give in weakly. Furthermore, she is illogical, as she compares childbirth to an orderly process that should proceed in the same “fair” way for every woman.

Monica Geller

Monica intends to mock Chandler by pretending to be ready for a baby, expecting him to get anxious and fearful, but effects the exact opposite. Monica starts acting neurotically, even

though it was her own joke. She is also cruel and arrogant when her joke fails, as she successfully turns Joey to the target of her joke. Although Monica appeared to be strong and confident lately, she admits being afraid, but returns to being brave and confident in the end.

Ross Geller

When arriving at the hospital, Ross is talkative and inattentive. He is also slightly presumptuous and implies that Rachel is stupid, although her assumptions might be correct. Yet, Ross is strong, and supportive of Rachel, but also behaves immaturely and egoistically, and leaves her alone to escape another couple in the same hospital room. Furthermore, Ross resists the traditional parental roles, although his mother and the other friends pressure him: he does not want to be with Rachel just because they are having a baby together.

Chandler Bing

Chandler acts maturely and is not afraid of commitment, which has always been a problem in his previous relationships. He is not sarcastic and immature as always, but acts seriously, determinedly and bravely. It seems as if he and Monica changed roles, as she is anxious and immature, although it was her idea to have a baby (as a joke). Furthermore, Chandler behaves fearlessly and adventurously.

Joey Tribbiani

Joey acts selflessly (he has had feelings for Rachel and seems to hide them), as he wonders why Rachel and Ross are not together, believing that they should assume the traditional roles of mother and father. In this episode, Joey is supportive of his friends: first, Chandler and then Phoebe. He wants to help Phoebe and pretends to be a real doctor, which implies that he is immature, adventurous and proactive.

Phoebe Buffet

Phoebe is bored and makes fun of “the miracle of birth”, implying that she does not have any maternal instincts, and/or cannot empathize with Rachel, although she had triplets herself. She is also realistic about Ross and Rachel’s relationship, and brave enough to tell Ross, when the others are not. Phoebe, furthermore, laughs at Monica after her joke with Chandler fails, giving the impression that she is careless and presumptuous. However, she is also fearful to meet an attractive man at the hospital and is very careful.

3.1.8.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	3	6	9
Female	2	4	6
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	1	2	3
Female	6	4	10

Table 11: Gender in Language - *Friends* Season 8 Episode 23

In general, men included more confident hedges in the eighth episode under analysis. Ross starts into this episode by immediately using a hedge conveying confidence, as he is, at first, very proud of himself that he managed to bring Rachel, who is in labor, to the hospital in a very short time. Later, he emphasizes his rationality by using a confident hedge and resists the idea of a traditional family with Rachel and their baby. The next two hedges were used by Chandler: firstly, in a situation where he states the facts about Monica's previous behavior, and secondly, in a situation in which he is uncomfortable. Joey used the other two confident hedges, while talking about his feelings, and confidently pretending to be a doctor. Additionally, Clifford and Ross used three tentative hedges. Ross includes two of these hedges in a situation, in which he appears to be insecure. Although he is very confident while talking to his mother about his relationship with Rachel, and rejecting the idea of marriage just because of the baby, he seems to be more insecure and sensitive about the decision when talking to Janice, which he underlines with tentative hedges. Furthermore, Clifford is tentative while asking Phoebe to visit him in his hospital room.

Considering hedges in the language of female characters, Rachel, Janice and Phoebe included those conveying confidence. Rachel is very confident and determined when using a hedge and a demanding a private room from the nurse. Janice's hedging occurs while stating facts and providing a logical explanation for her situation. As to Phoebe's language, her confident hedging underlines her rational and realistic utterances. Furthermore, Phoebe included the remaining, tentative hedges: In the first situation, she acted slightly shy, but also very open with her sexuality; in the second situation, she is tentative while describing Clifford to the nurse.

In this episode, numerous swear words, both strong and weak were included in the speech of both main and minor characters. Most of the strong swearing was uttered by a confident and protective female minor character, who shared a hospital room with Rachel. The other

strong taboo words were included by Joey, who acted very strictly and determinedly in order to convince the nurse; and by Rachel, who only repeats the swear words of her roommate, but does not use them actively. Moreover, Joey, Rachel, Phoebe and Ross used weak swear words, as well. Rachel uses two because she is in pain and another when she is determined to give birth, although her body is not ready yet. Ross shows competitive behavior while using weak swearing and being egoistic of Rachel's pain. Joey acts immaturely and roughly, and emphasizes this behavior with a weak swear word. Moreover, Phoebe uses weak swearing once, when she is cautious and fearful.

Furthermore, there is one situation in which Rachel interrupts the nurse in order to subordinate her; however, as she is in pain, she has to yield to the nurse eventually.

3.1.8.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The scene starts with a close-up of Rachel and Ross in the hospital room, which emphasizes their intimacy. During this close-up, Rachel repeats the strong swearing of her roommate, whom she ridicules for her swearing with her facial expressions. During contractions, Rachel uses weak swearing, which could be considered as more appropriate and usual for her. The camera then changes to a wide shot in order to dissolve the intimate atmosphere and introduce the other couple. The following strong swear words are uttered by Rachel's roommate, and accompanied by laugh tracks, which underline the difference between Rachel, who is considered as feminine and motherly in this scene, and the other woman who acts in the opposite way.

3.1.9. Season 9 – Episode 21 “*The One with the Fertility Test*”

3.1.9.1. Characters

Rachel Green

Rachel is jealous that she did not kiss Joey at a party. She is hiding her emotions, which is usually perceived as a stereotypically masculine behavior. Furthermore, she is not very sensitive about Phoebe's attitudes and values, and acts irrationally, arrogantly and egoistically. As Phoebe appeals to their friendship, Rachel has to yield, which shows that she is softhearted and caring. Yet, she betrays Phoebe anyway, as she does not have any principles like Phoebe.

Monica Geller

Monica openly admits that she is obsessed about cleaning and being in control. She is also realistic in deciding to take a fertility test. Furthermore, she is talkative, anxious and emotional when their doctor from the fertility clinic calls, because she desperately wants to be a mother. Later, she is very disappointed to find out that she is not able to conceive and have children.

Ross Geller

Ross is jealous because a new professor at his department, Charlie, kissed Joey and not him. However, he seems not to be as emotional about and obsessed with Joey and Charlie's relationship as Rachel, until he sees Charlie again and realizes how attractive she is. Ross shows that he is intelligent and loyal to and caring about Joey, as he helps Joey to appear intelligently in order to impress Charlie.

Chandler Bing

Chandler feels uncomfortable with the idea to take a fertility test. He is paranoid and anxious at the fertility clinic, which he attempts to cover up with sarcasm. However, he has a strong, aggressive, and what could be considered as, masculine reaction when they meet his ex-girlfriend, Janice, there. Janice is an attractive, strong and loud woman who mocks Chandler so that he doubts his masculinity and feels deprived of power.

Joey Tribbiani

Joey dates a woman, Charlie, who has no resemblance to women Joey usually dates. She is a successful, intelligent, independent and attractive college professor, who could be considered to be 'out of his league'. Next to her, Joey appears to be even less intelligent and intellectual as he usually does. He also seems to feel slightly subordinate to her, so he is determined to prove himself to her.

Phoebe Buffet

Phoebe is gullible, and as she finds that she has been defrauded, she reacts indifferently and unemotionally. However, she is very passionate and determined when expressing her attitudes against big "greedy" corporations. Phoebe lies to Rachel and takes advantage of their friendship: she is egoistic. Furthermore, she abandons her attitudes and principles considering corporations in order to take advantage of the payment and insurances, which is opportunistic.

3.1.9.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	3	10	13
Female	4	7	11
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	0	2	2
Female	2	1	3

Table 12: Gender in Language - *Friends* Season 9 Episode 21

Overall, there is an increase in hedging and decrease in swearing compared to the results of the last episode. The most hedges underlining confidence were used by male characters. Joey includes two hedges in this sense; however, he does not act very intelligently in the given situation. Ross uses six hedges, all of which are related to his friendship to Joey, as he uses these hedges in situations in which he helps Joey to impress Charlie, a woman who he likes as well. This could be considered as very considerate and caring, which are feminine stereotypes; however, it could also be interpreted as strong. Chandler includes two hedges on two different occasions: firstly, when he is sarcastic; and secondly, when he is insecure. Yet, he still attempts to stay strong and realistic.

Hedges expressing tentativeness, which were used by male characters, were also used in the aforementioned situations between Joey and Ross. Joey is tentative while approaching Ross for help: This is quite unusual for Joey, as he usually does not require help with women, and especially from Ross, who is represented as being unsuccessful with women. Ross on the other hand is tentative, because he likes Charlie as well, and does not want to hurt Joey or their friendship, which is very sensitive of him.

As to the hedging of female characters, interestingly, Monica did not include any hedges in her speech, although she appeared to be both very confident and controlling in the beginning of the episode, and anxious and insecure at the end of the episode. In addition to Phoebe and Rachel, minor female characters, Charlie and Janice, included hedges. Janice has always been represented as confident and perky, but also talkative and curious. While using ‘you know’ to express her confidence, she does not – as she did prior to the respective situation – mock Chandler, but she supports him. Charlie, on the other hand, is presented as intelligent and ambitious, which she also emphasizes with the use of confident hedges while talking about her work, or about men she dated, who were as intelligent as her. Nevertheless, she is embarrassed and feels the need to explain herself to Ross after kissing Joey. Rachel

starts the episode with a tentative hedge while trying to hide her jealousy, and acts irrationally. Later, the situation between her and Phoebe is emphasized. As opposed to Ross and Joey, who value their friendship and are loyal to each other, Rachel and Phoebe are both egoistic and lie to one another. Even after revealing each other's lies, they are confident, which is reflected in their speech. In the end, Rachel supports Phoebe; however, Phoebe continues being egoistic and dishonest to Rachel that can be related to a lack of emotion compared to Ross and Joey, which reverses stereotypical relationships for women and men. Furthermore, this reversion of stereotypes can be seen in the use of swear words and expressions: Rachel includes strong swearing, while Phoebe uses both strong and weak swear words in her speech while being dishonest and egoistic. Ross, on the other hand, uses weak taboo words while being supportive of both Charlie and Joey.

Moreover, this episode provided two situations, in which Ross, Charlie and Joey were involved in conversations that did not proceed according to turn-taking conventions. In the first conversation, Ross interrupted Charlie, who was talking confidently about her previous relationships, and ends her turn abruptly, to which she yields. Later, Joey interrupted Ross in the middle of his turn. Although this might be interpreted as a subordination of Ross, it is rather a demand for more precise instructions on the topic before, and not a change of topics.

3.1.9.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The following analysis focuses on the conversation between Charlie and Ross at the Central Perk. They are shot in close-ups, which emphasize facial expressions and gestures, and convey a private atmosphere, as Charlie feels the urge to apologize to Ross for kissing Joey. Charlie's tentativeness is not only apparent in her language, but also her gestures and face. During her second turn, Charlie's confidence rises as she talks about the type of men she used to date; however, at this point, she is silenced and subordinated by Ross due to his discomfort with her confidence. Interestingly, the laugh tracks are not applied to emphasize Charlie's stereotypically feminine behavior, but rather to ridicule Ross, who swears weakly and interrupts her due to his insecurity.

3.1.10. Season 10 – Episode 4 “*The One with the Cake*”

3.1.10.1. Characters

Rachel Green

Rachel is emotional about her daughter's first birthday party and forces everybody to attend. After Joey's improvised performance, Rachel is very emotional and cries. She is also very

nervous when there is a problem with the cake and nags everybody to stay. Later, Rachel has to leave because of the cake, gets into trouble and depends on Ross to help her. In the car scene, she proves that she is an irresponsible and aggressive driver (rather masculine behavior). Moreover, she is disappointed and emotional, as almost everybody left the party.

Monica Geller

Monica is strict with and controlling of Chandler. She thinks of irrational plans, which require her physical strength in order to leave Emma's party earlier. Thus, she acts egoistically and unemotionally. When they have to decide who has to stay with Emma, Monica thinks of a race with toys, which is actually a very inconvenient and immature plan. She seems to be more excited about ordering around everybody than the race. She is very determined, ambitious and loud.

Ross Geller

Ross acts emotionally considering Emma's first birthday and wants to prepare a very special birthday present for her, which is considerate and kind of him. Furthermore, he makes realistic and clear-headed suggestions to save Emma's birthday cake. Ross is innovative, creative and resourceful and turns the obscene cake into a bunny cake, and impresses Rachel with his skills.

Chandler Bing

Chandler is egoistic and does not want to stay at the birthday party and expresses sarcastic, cruel, but real utterances. He also leaves a rather cruel message for Emma. Chandler makes fun of Monica's obsession of controlling, organizing and categorizing everything. Furthermore, while playing with Emma, Chandler feels emotional and expresses his wish to be a father and start a family.

Joey Tribbiani

Joey is still immature, a womanizer, and emotionless considering Emma's first birthday party. Joey has been too lazy to get her a present and improvises a performance for her, which turns out to be very emotional. Before he leaves, Ross puts Joey in charge for the party and gives him all the responsibilities, which means that Joey has to act maturely and responsibly. However, the moment he gets a call for an audition, he is egoistic and leaves immediately.

Phoebe Buffet

Phoebe is dreamy and has written a song as a birthday present for Emma. As she realizes that Joey's performance is better than hers, she behaves competitively. When everybody sees the problem with the obscene cake, Phoebe is not as shocked as the other guests. In the end, Phoebe is again extremely competitive and strongly swears in a game, which she does not even recognize as strange or unusual, although everybody else does.

3.1.10.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	2	5	7
Female	3	6	9
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	3	0	3
Female	4	1	5

Table 13: Gender in Language - *Friends* Season 10 Episode 4

In the last episode under analysis, the hedges expressing confidence or tentativeness are almost evenly distributed among female and male characters. In female speech, all main characters included confident hedging during conversation. Rachel uses this type of hedges three times: in the first and second occurrence, she emphasizes emotionality either to convince somebody or while being dreamy. In her third usage, she is determined and energetic. Furthermore, she expresses tentativeness and includes strong swearing in just one utterance, changing her mood from emotional and sensitive to aggressive and loud. Phoebe's first utterance of a confident hedge is when she is emotionless, as she wants to leave Emma's birthday party and ignore Rachel and Ross's wishes. Later she emphasizes her emotionality and happiness about her return to the party with confident hedging. However, she also included tentative language: firstly, while being dreamy, but also realistic about the future; and secondly, when she tries to be as resourceful as Joey. Phoebe also makes use of very strong swearing in the end of the episode, while being very competitive. Monica is rather egoistic, and uses a confident hedge when refusing to attend the birthday party and opposing Rachel and Ross's wishes. She is strong, competitive, and egoistic in this episode, which also shows in her other verbal behavior, as she uses both weak and strong swear words. Furthermore, she interrupts Chandler midst his turn in order to silence and subordinate him.

This leads to Chandler, who himself is as strong and determined in his verbal behavior as Monica. He starts the episode with strong swearing and being egoistic and regardless of Ross'

and Rachel's feelings, and also includes strong taboo words and confident hedging later on. Moreover, he interrupts on two occasions: firstly, he subordinates Joey; and secondly, he silences Monica when she is very talkative. As to Joey, he acts immaturely and later opportunistically while using hedges expressing confidence. However, right afterwards, he uses tentative hedges twice in just one utterance when he is clueless, but has to be imaginative and resourceful. Ross, on the other hand, only includes confident hedges in situations in which he is determined, strong and imaginative. However, later he uses a strong taboo expression after Rachel rebukes him and shows who is more dominant in their relationship.

3.1.10.3. Audiovisual Analysis

Rachel and Ross are sitting in a car, and their faces are at the center of the close-up: their facial expressions are prominent. Rachel is driving, and starts the conversation with strong swearing, as her disappointment and anger are visible in her face. Ross's turn includes a confident hedge while being creative and finding a solution. Rachel's next turns are sentimental and emotional, which is also reflected in her facial expressions; however, at the end of her last turn she changes the subject and swears strongly. Rachel's last turn includes masculine stereotypes, such as aggressive, rough and loud behavior, and is accompanied by laugh tracks, implying that these behaviors might be divergent of what is expected of her.

3.2. Gender in *Friends*

The characters and their stereotypical gender representation showed several developments throughout ten seasons, for example, Rachel, who seeks her independence from men in her life, but becomes rather dependent on her friends at the same time. Furthermore, at the beginning, she works as a waitress, a low-paid and less prestigious job, at which she is not successful. Although she mainly acts stereotypically femininely in the first four seasons, i.e. emotional and dreamy, she becomes strong, realistic, egoistic and independent after season four, and is successful in a higher occupational position. Lynn Spangler supports this view on Rachel's development from a spoiled girl to an independent woman who is successful at her job; yet, as we have seen, Rachel's behavior at the workplace shows unprofessionalism, and vulnerability as well. Nevertheless, Rachel has grown to be independent and strong, as according to Spangler, she is also willing, and able to raise her child alone (220).

Monica also behaves stereotypically femininely in the first four seasons and, moreover, assumes the role of the mother of the group. Although Paolo Quaglio points to her prevalent characteristics as “[an] obsessive cleaner, excessively competitive [...], bossy and

controlling” (18) in general, these character traits were not included in Monica’s character from the very beginning, as the analysis of this thesis has shown. Furthermore, Spangler argues that Monica is insecure throughout ten seasons, due to her previous obesity and her mother’s constant criticism (218); yet, as Monica becomes more self-assured, this insecurity fades into the background. From season five on, she is controlling, strong, rational, loud and confident, but remained motherly and slightly nagging. Furthermore, she is especially strict with and controlling of Chandler, but depends on him for support and help. In this context, Walsh, Fürsich and Jefferson state that the representation of nontraditional gender roles, such as represented in Monica and Chandler’s relationship dynamics, might only appear to refute stereotypes. They differentiate between minor and major events, i.e. Monica would only dominate and control Chandler in minor events; however, in major events which include, e.g. essential decisions concerning their future and Monica’s well-being, Chandler would be dominant and assertive (127-29). Concerning this thesis’ analysis, this differentiation of the characters’ domination in major and minor events only pertains to episodes seven and eight. Therefore, mostly, the relationship dynamics of Monica and Chandler represent a reversal of traditional gender roles.

As to Phoebe, several stereotypes are reversed from the beginning. She is opportunistic, egoistic and manipulative throughout ten seasons, but very often dreamy and irrational. Later on, audiences experience that Phoebe can be realistic, determined and dominating, too. She often acts immaturely and deliberately breaks Monica’s rules. Although it is not included in the episodes under analysis, it is important to note that Phoebe was forced into independence and maturity at a young age; therefore, she had to be strong, rough and also aggressive in order to survive (cf. Quaglio 21, Spangler 221). Moreover, Phoebe acts very selflessly when she surrogates for her brother and his wife, and wants to support them financially. As to her occupation, Phoebe works as a massage therapist, and rejects to work for massage corporations; however, in season nine, she abandons her principles because she wants to take advantage of a higher salary and health insurances. Therefore, she starts behaving opportunistically and egoistically in occupational contexts as well.

Considering male characters, certain stereotypes are perpetuated, and also reversed. Throughout ten seasons, Ross and Chandler are insecure and emotional considering women, uncomfortable with homosexuality and feel threatened by it; Joey, on the contrary, is very secure and confident with women and not uncomfortable with homosexuality. Ross is strong, independent and logical throughout the series; however, he also acts sensitively and

emotionally, and does not hide his feelings. This mixture of female and male stereotypes has been included in Ross's character from season one to ten. Considering Chandler, from the beginning, he is represented as the witty, resourceful and intelligent character with his constant sarcasm and jokes. Yet, he is also easily offended, insecure and emotional. While dating Monica, he is very careful and fearful around her, as she is represented to be stronger and braver than him. In the last three episodes, Chandler is still emotional, but seems to be more mature, brave and confident than before. Compared with Chandler, Joey's behavior remains constant from season one to ten, and is mainly characterized by stereotypical masculinity, i.e. egoistic, strong, and opportunistic behavior. Yet, he is also very sensitive and considerate of his friends.

David Gauntlett supports this view on Joey, Ross and Chandler, and states that the male main characters conform to typical masculine behavior; but he also argues that they show sensitivity and express their feelings openly. Interestingly, this expression of emotions of male characters often relates to the friendship and loyalty to each other (59). According to Feasey, this so-called male-bonding between Joey, Ross and Chandler is based on shared and stereotypically masculine interests, such as watching sports games or pornographic films; however, their intimate and genuine friendship is also shown through hugs, favors and verbal expressions of their emotions, which is often perceived as a characteristic feature of women's friendships (25-26). The friendship between female characters is also emphasized throughout the series, as Spangler claims (222-23); however, Rachel, Monica and Phoebe lie to one another, so their relationship seems to represent the opposite of the male characters' friendship at times, which could imply a reversal of stereotypes in order to trigger laughter.

As to the representation of gender in language, the speech analysis of female characters showed some variation. Rachel's stereotypical femininity from the first seasons is also reflected in her language: she uses tentative hedges while being dependent, insecure or fearful. In later episodes, she only uses confident hedges (except for one tentative hedge in season nine where she behaves illogically), implying that she has become more independent and confident. Phoebe, on the contrary, acts rather masculinely, i.e. mostly opportunistically, and uses tentative hedges in order to achieve her goals; however, in the last episode, she includes tentative hedges while being insecure, and failing to be as imaginative and resourceful as Joey. As to her speech throughout ten seasons, she uses many confident hedges, mainly in situations in which she shows stereotypically masculine behavior. As to Monica, she uses confident hedges in the first episode while being determined and serious.

However, in the second episode, she is very insecure about her relationship with Richard and reflects her fear and emotionality in her speech; in the same episode she attempts to be realistic and strong, which also affects her language, but this does not last long. In the next two episodes, she is insecure and dreamy; but only uses hedges expressing confidence. From the fifth episode on, when she starts acting dominantly and loudly, she does not use any hedges until the last episode, in which she behaves egoistically while using confident hedges.

Considering male language, Ross mostly includes tentative hedges, mainly when he behaves insecurely, or when confronted with women. However, he also includes confident hedges while behaving strongly, intelligently and ambitiously, or when he is loyal and a good friend. In the last episode, he uses confident hedges while being considerate, gentle and kind. In the first episode, Chandler uses a confident hedge when he is emotional; however, in the following episodes, he is sarcastic, serious, or lecturing Monica while including these hedges. Surprisingly, he only uses a tentative hedge once when he is rather indecisive and realistic. As to Joey, he generally does not include many hedges: he uses a hedge expressing confidence in the first episode while behaving opportunistically and egoistically. In the third episode, he uses another confident hedge while being rather unrealistic, and none until episode eight. In the last three episodes, he includes confident hedges either for an expression of his feelings, while helping Phoebe, or during illogical behavior, whereas tentative hedges were related to insecurity or resourcefulness in these episodes.

Considering swearing, the stereotype of men using quantitatively more, and more intense taboo words is refuted. Generally, female characters included more swearing than male characters. Interestingly, the number of weak swearing was equal for men and women; however, women included almost twice as many strong swear words than men. Furthermore, there seems to be a connection between stereotypical behavior and the intensity of swearing. For example, Rachel includes weak swear words in seasons one, two and eight, showing an overall tendency to feminine behavior; however, in season eight, she also ironically repeats strong swear words, and implies that she finds her roommate's verbal behavior inappropriate. Yet, in seasons nine and ten, she includes strong swearing while acting masculinely. On the contrary, Phoebe tends to emphasize her masculine behavior with both strong and weak swearing. Until season six, she only swears weakly; however, after season six, her use of strong swearing increases to the same number as weak swearing. Interestingly, Monica does not include any swearing until the last episode, in which she then uses both strong and weak swear words, while behaving in a very masculine way. The swearing of male characters

shows some variation as well. Ross mostly includes weak swearing and tends to behave femininely meanwhile. His strong swearing occurs in only two occasions: in season two, in which he shows masculine behavior; and ten, during feminine behavior. On the contrary, Chandler and Joey only swear while behaving masculinely. Chandler swears weakly in season two, and does not use taboo words until the last season, in which he then swears strongly. As to Joey, he mostly includes weak swear words from season two to eight. In season eight, he additionally uses strong swearing, as well.

As to turn-taking conventions and its connection to gender, several subordinations could be discerned. Male characters have been interrupted four times, although it was only two occurrences, in which female characters silenced and interrupted their male interlocutors: firstly, Rachel interrupted and successfully took Ross's turn; secondly, Monica silenced Chandler. In contrast, male characters interrupted and subordinated female characters five times. Firstly, Phoebe was interrupted and subordinated only once, in season three, by Vince, who ended the conversation because he was too emotional. Secondly, Monica was silenced and subordinated by Chandler, in the last episode, as she was too competitive. Thirdly and Fourthly, Rachel was interrupted twice: once by Ross, in the same episode in which she subordinated him as well. Interestingly, when Rachel interrupted Ross, it was strict and confident, whereas Ross subordinated her due to his insecurity. In season seven, Tag interrupted Rachel in order to protect her, as she acted unprofessionally. And lastly, Ross silenced Charlie, a confident, intelligent and successful woman, as he was intimidated by her independence and confidence. Therefore, women were more frequently silenced by men. Moreover, in some of these cases, stereotypical behavior was prominent during conversational dominance and subordination.

These findings will be evaluated in the last chapter with consideration of the results of *HIMYM*. In order to detect and compare gender representations, and the development thereof, the results of *HIMYM* need to be obtained, too.

3.3. How I Met Your Mother

3.3.1. Season 1 - Episode 6 “*Slutty Pumpkin*”

3.3.1.1. Characters

Ted Mosby

Ted is hopelessly romantic and sensitive, as he waits for one special woman every year on Halloween, ‘the slutty pumpkin’. Although he seems to care about this woman, the group, including him, keeps referring to her as ‘the slutty pumpkin’, a rather objectifying nickname. Ted is very dreamy and abandons all rational and logical behavior, which is emphasized as the opposite of Barney. He is also gullible and easy to deceive.

Marshall Eriksen

In a flashback, audiences learn that Marshall has dressed as Cher before, and thus, performed being a woman with gestures and language features that can be considered as stereotypically feminine; however, he does not adjust his voice, and returns to his own identity, so the performance becomes discernable. Furthermore, he seems to be sensitive about being mistaken for a gay pirate, but after winning a Halloween-costume contest, he does not care about it.

Lily Aldrin

Lily disapproves of Barney’s rude behavior and comments on women. She is dependent on Marshall due to their Halloween costumes, and cannot use the restroom alone. Furthermore, she wants to convince Robin to be more emotional, gentle and sensitive around Mike, and to act more like a girlfriend than Robin naturally would. Lily is also sensitive about Robin’s break-up, when Robin seems to be rather emotionless and rational.

Robin Scherbatsky

Robin has a new boyfriend, Mike; yet, she does not behave like a typical girlfriend, as she acts egoistically and emotionlessly, whereas Mike is gentle and loving to her. Moreover, she openly admits to not being a stereotypical woman, and knows that it would be unnatural of her to behave like, e.g. Lily. She accuses Mike to act like a woman because he shows his feelings. In the end, she worries and questions whether she is not ‘normal’, because she does not feel and act like a stereotypical woman.

Barney Stinson

Barney immediately shows that he is the group's womanizer and generalizes about and objectifies women. Furthermore, he wants to control Ted's life, and is demanding, determined, imaginative and energetic. Even though Barney acts very independently, he actually seems to be highly dependent on, and controlling of Ted. Barney is ambitious, carefree, immature and clear-headed. He is very open with his sexuality, and also shows opportunistic behavior. Therefore, Barney shows exaggeratedly stereotypical behavior.

3.3.1.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	0	8	8
Female	1	5	6
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	13	3	16
Female	4	3	7

Table 14: Gender in Language – *HIMYM* Season 1 Episode 6

In total, 15 hedges were used by both male and female characters, out of which only one underlined the tentativeness of Robin, because she rejected to be a typical, feminine girlfriend. Robin also includes four out of five confident hedges, most of them emphasizing how she and Mike would not conform to the traditional roles of boyfriend and girlfriend. On the contrary, Lily uses confident hedging in order to successfully convince Robin of this traditional girlfriend-role, which Robin rejects.

Considering the hedging of men, eight hedges were used in order to stress confidence. Three were included by a minor character, Mike: he is gentle with his first hedge, but realistic and serious with the remaining hedges, while ending his relationship with Robin. Barney's inclusion of two confident hedges is limited to realistic utterances, in which he objectifies women and is also arrogant and egoistic of Ted's feelings. Marshall uses a confident hedge while being dressed as Cher, i.e. on the outside, he is a woman and acting femininely, yet, few moments later, he returns to his masculine self while still being dressed like a woman. As to Ted, his hedging occurs while being hopeful, yet realistic.

The number of swearing was rather high in this episode, as the friends constantly refer to a woman as 'the slutty pumpkin'. Although both male and female characters use the same name, the male usage of strong swearing is thrice as high as that of women. Barney uses six

strong swear words in the same way as hedges: he is realistic, egoistic, emotionless, stubborn and determined. Furthermore, Barney also uses three weak swear words in order to emphasize his opportunistic and egoistic behavior. In contrast, Ted is romantic and loving while uttering ‘the slutty pumpkin’ seven times. None of the swearing is uttered by Marshall. Moreover, although Lily conforms to the stereotypical gender role of the loving, gentle and talkative girlfriend, she includes most of the strong swear words as compared to Robin, who only uses one weak swear word while talking about her feelings. In addition, Lily is realistic and rough while swearing.

As to the turn-taking rules, the conventions were disregarded twice: firstly, by Lily, who attempts to subordinate Barney, but cannot succeed, as Barney is egoistic, stubborn and does not yield; secondly, Robin interrupts and silences Mike in order to stress her independence.

3.3.1.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The analysis focuses on a conversation between Barney and Lily. The characters are shot alternately in close-ups at MacLaren’s, where Lily and Marshall sit opposite of Barney and Robin. Barney’s turn includes sexist language and exaggeratedly masculine behavior. He uses confident hedges and strong swearing while describing women. Furthermore, this confidence is reflected in his body language: his gestures and face show no sign of insecurity or hesitation. Even when Lily interrupts him in order to silence him, he continues and subordinates her. Barney’s entire turn is accompanied by laugh tracks, and as both female characters react casually, this exaggerated behavior might imply a criticism of this excessive masculinity.

3.3.2. Season 2 - Episode 11 “*How Lily Stole Christmas*”

3.3.2.1. Characters

Ted Mosby

Ted has been emotionless about Lily’s feelings in order to help Marshall through his break-up with Lily. Apparently, Ted used a strong swear word to refer to Lily (which is not revealed to the audience), which he seems to regret in the beginning. He is considerate of Marshall’s feelings, opens up to Lily about his own feelings, and shows his sensitive side after being aggressive and emotionless to Lily.

Marshall Eriksen

Marshall is very enthused and acts immaturely about Christmas. Furthermore, he is very open about his feelings to Lily. Marshall does not know about Ted and Lily's fight, as he is only concerned with 'winter wonderland', and acts dreamy about it all day. He is also adventurous and energetic, as he neglects university in order to drive a route with a parcel service. Thus, he is caring, sensitive and gentle, as he wants to ensure that everybody gets his or her parcel in time for Christmas Eve.

Lily Aldrin

Audiences learn that Lily left Marshall to be more independent and pursue a career as an artist, which she failed. In the current episode, Lily and Marshall are back together. When she learns what Ted called her during her absence, she is hurt and immature, and removes all the Christmas decorations to punish Ted. In a flashback, Lily talks about her mother who rejected traditional gender roles. In the present, Lily is a good cook and a kindergarten teacher.

Robin Scherbatsky

Robin is clear-headed and gives Ted realistic advices on how to solve his problem with Lily. Furthermore, she proves that she is, unlike Lily, unskilled in the kitchen. However, even though Robin does not present herself as a stereotypical woman, she takes care of Barney during sickness and feeds him soup, which is a rather maternal behavior. However, later she returns to her old behavior, and drugs him to have her peace.

Barney Stinson

Barney is immature and does not accept that he is sick. He acts stubbornly, and wants to take advantage of lonely women, which could be considered egoistic and emotionless, but also determined and confident considering his health. However, later he is very dependent on Robin to care for him and acts like a weak, little child. He also presents Lily as a controlling woman who wears the pants in her relationship with Marshall.

3.3.2.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	7	7	14
Female	0	1	1
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	10	4	14
Female	2	5	7

Table 15: Gender in Language – *HIMYM* Season 2 Episode 11

Male characters outweighed female characters in their use of hedges in the second episode under analysis. Ted includes five hedges confidently in situations in which he is either honest and loving, or honest and emotionless. Barney uses the other two hedges expressing confidence when he acts stubbornly, independently and emotionlessly. As to the female characters, Lily is the only one including a confident hedge at the end of the episode, when she is sensitive and realizes her mistakes. Furthermore, Ted and Marshall used all tentative hedges: Ted, uses most of these hedges as he is insecure; Marshall uses a tentative hedge as he is worried about Lily’s Christmas present.

As to the usage of taboo words, the word ‘grinch’ substituted a strong swear expression throughout the episode. Eight out of ten strong swear words were used by Ted, mostly while being stubborn and immature. Barney swears strongly with reference to Lily, which could be considered emotionless and cruel. Marshall, on the contrary, uses strong and weak swear expressions in order to emphasize his love and joy for Christmas. The inclusion of swearing by female characters is dominated by Lily, who reacts emotionally and stubbornly to Ted calling her a ‘grinch’. Furthermore, audiences learn that her feminist mother did not want to raise her in a stereotypically feminine way, which she does not seem to appreciate. In comparison, even though Robin rejects to be a stereotypical woman, she is caring concerning Barney: this is the situation in which she is realistic and strict, while swearing weakly.

The rules of turn-taking were broken twice in this episode. Furthermore, these disruptions of turns happen in one conversation between Ted and his stepfather Clint on the phone: firstly, Ted is interrupted by Clint, who clearly signals that his turn is more important, as he wants to lecture Ted, and therefore, subordinates Ted; secondly, Ted interrupts Clint in the middle of his lecture, conveying that he does not yield to Clint’s subordination by hanging up the phone, and ultimately ending the conversation.

3.3.2.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The scene under analysis involves Ted and Lily, who are fighting over the phone. Both are shown in close-ups alternately, underlining their faces and body language. Lily's turns involve the repeated usage of the same swear word to refer to Ted, emphasizing her stubborn and childish behavior, which is also visible in her face and body movement. The inclusion of the same swear word and Lily's body language are the joke of this scene; therefore, all of Lily's turns are accompanied by laugh tracks. Ted's usage of weak swearing is not as emphasized as Lily's; however, his face and gestures underline his anger.

3.3.3. Season 3 - Episode 13 “*Ten Sessions*”

3.3.3.1. Characters

Ted Mosby

Ted is rejected by his dermatologist, Stella, and is very stubborn and determined to date her. He wants to be insensitive to pain and strong during his tattoo removal; however, he screams in a very high-pitched voice, so that Stella's assistant assumes that Ted is a woman, implying that women are more sensitive to pain. Nevertheless, Ted impresses Stella in his following appointments, as he is energetic, ambitious, witty and confident.

Marshall Eriksen

Marshall is strong, caring, and supports Lily when she seems to be weak. Furthermore, his friends ridicule him because he read a self-help book, which, he claims, made him wiser and more clear-headed, which is not true. Marshall wants to be a good friend to Ted and meets Stella behind his back in order to help him. However, when she incidentally points to an irregular mole on his neck, he becomes self-involved and forgets about Ted.

Lily Aldrin

Lily is supportive of Ted and inspired by his determination to date Stella, so she sets a goal for herself. Right after she declares her ambitions to stop biting her nails, she seems weak and appears to relapse, which Marshall prevents, implying that she needs Marshall to be strong for her and help her realize her plans. Nevertheless, she is presented as strong, as she does stop biting her nails. Moreover, she is strict with Barney and acts motherly, as she warns and punishes him.

Robin Scherbatsky

When Barney does magic at the table, she is the first and only one that realized the danger of his fireworks near their alcoholic beverages, which makes her the most logical and realistic one of the group in this situation. However, she is also the only one who agrees with Barney, and is rather emotionless with her suggestions and not empathetic with Ted's feelings. Moreover, she is confident, strong and independent in this episode.

Barney Stinson

Barney acts wisely and lectures Ted on women in order to help him solve his problem with Stella. Later, when he does magic at the bar, he is lectured and rebuked by everybody, which presents him as a child who needs constant supervision. Furthermore, he also performs the role of a child by blaming Ted. Barney is also arrogant and emotionless, as he does not seem to listen to Ted very attentively, and he makes a fool out of Ted, which is egoistic and inconsiderate. Furthermore, he acts opportunistically, and seduces Stella's gullible receptionist.

3.3.3.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	1	1	2
Female	0	9	9
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	1	4	5
Female	1	2	3

Table 16: Gender in Language – *HIMYM* Season 3 Episode 13

Generally, a decrease of hedges and swearing is visible at first sight. Furthermore, most of the hedges were uttered by a minor character, Stella. Stella is presented as a confident, independent and realistic woman, which is also reflected in her language: she uses eight confident hedges while behaving seriously, professionally, wittily and adventurously. Furthermore, all female swearing was uttered by minor characters: Stella, and Abby, her receptionist. While Abby expresses her insecurity by including weak swear words, Stella conveys her strength and independence with the use of strong swearing. Considering the speech of main female characters, Robin never uses swear words or hedges, and Lily only includes one confident hedge expressing her strength and determination.

As to the hedging of male characters, only Ted and Barney used hedges in their language. Barney is arrogant and insolent while using confident hedges, whereas Ted emphasizes his weak and fearful behavior with a tentative hedge. Moreover, Barney includes weak swearing while behaving opportunistically. As Barney, Ted swears while showing opportunistic behavior; however, he only swears, as he mimics Stella's strong expression in order to impress her. Marshall does not include hedging in his speech; however, he sharply rebukes Barney for his immature behavior and uses weak swearing which emphasizes his strong appearance. Moreover, a strange man at the movie theater uses weak swearing in order to refer to Ted, presenting him as unsuccessful with women and weak.

In this episode, turn-taking conventions were disregarded three times: firstly, Ted is interrupted and subordinated by Barney, who achieves to take Ted's turn and draw the everybody's attention to himself; secondly, right after Barney's interruption, Lily interrupts and subordinates Barney in order to rebuke him, to which Barney yields; thirdly, Stella interrupts, but does not subordinate Ted, as Stella only corrects a misunderstanding and Ted is able to continue his turn afterwards.

3.3.3.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The scene under analysis is shot in a close-up setting, which shows the group in their regular booth at MacLaren's. Barney interrupts Ted's turn confidently with big gestures, a loud voice, and silences Ted. After being rebuked by the others, Barney's body language changes immediately, as he loses his confidence, and eventually yields under the pressure of the others. The camera quickly shows Marshall for his turn, who uses a weak swear word to express his anger, which is also emphasized by his body language. As Barney's behavior becomes more childish, Lily interrupts and silences him confidently, which is further stressed with her gestures.

3.3.4. Season 4 - Episode 2 “*The Best Burger in New York*”

3.3.4.1. Characters

Ted Mosby

Ted is very realistic and logical with Marshall, who dreams and raves about a specific burger. He provides a very rational and clear-headed explanation and reason for Marshall's obsession with finding that perfect burger. Ted also logically draws a theory for the extension of Marshall's underpants-radius that appears to be very plausible and realistic. Furthermore, Ted is extremely considerate of Marshall's feelings and wants to help him.

Marshall Eriksen

Barney offered Marshall a job as a corporate lawyer, as he is unemployed; however, Marshall just quit a corporate job, in order to be an environmental lawyer, which is his dream. He encourages himself to be confident, energetic and focused, but the longer he is unemployed, the more he yields and compromises his principles. In the end, he is weak, hopeless, fearful and emotional. He clings to the past, and is dreamy and sensitive about the burger he ate years ago.

Lily Aldrin

Lily supports Marshall in his decision to have a lower salary and work as an environmental lawyer. Furthermore, she has been gentle to Marshall and supportive of his wish to find that burger. Lily seems slightly sensitive about the fact that Marshall describes the burger he ate years ago extremely romantically, but could not write his wedding vows himself. Yet, she reacts very aggressively when Marshall's favorite burger place has been replaced by an ATM.

Robin Scherbatsky

Robin claims to have finished a one-week cleanse, but admits to have aborted it after two days, as she got weak. Therefore, she is the hungriest in the group, and the hungrier Robin gets, the more determined and crueler she gets. While Marshall describes his perfect burger to the group at length and in a very enthused way, Robin seems to be bored, not very attentive and thus, egoistic. In the end, she is weak and irrational due to her hunger.

Barney Stinson

Barney is egoistic and arrogant, and supports the ruthless actions of the company he works for. Furthermore, he uses each and every opportunity to promote the new bank that his company bought, which makes him not only opportunistic, but also imaginative and talkative. Eventually, it turns out that Barney wanted to convince Lily of that bank, as Marshall had already accepted the job, which shows that Barney is kind, loyal and values his friendship to Marshall.

3.3.4.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	2	8	10
Female	0	2	2
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	1	5	6
Female	0	3	3

Table 17: Gender in Language – *HIMYM* Season 4 Episode 2

In the fourth episode under analysis, men included five times as many hedges than women. Barney uses three out of eight hedges expressing confidence, mostly to emphasize his lack of emotion and arrogance. Ted’s one and only use of a confident hedge could be considered as imaginative, but also egoistic considering Robin’s state. Marshall’ speech shows three confident hedges, all of them signaling reality, ambition and determination. Furthermore, Marshall utters all tentative hedges in this episode, while expressing his emotions. The last confident hedge of this episode is uttered by a male stranger on the street, who turns out to be very opportunistic.

Lily uses confident hedges twice: firstly, she is imaginative and egoistic of Robin’s feelings, like Ted; and secondly, she confronts Barney with brutal honesty, which could be considered cruel. Furthermore, she lays all the blame aggressively on Barney and stresses this with a weak swear word. Whereas Robin does not include any hedges in her speech, she swears weakly twice in order to emphasize her determination and hunger.

Considering the swearing of men, every main and one minor character included taboo words in their language: Ted, for example, strongly swears in order to underline the reality in the description of New York; Marshall includes weak swearing, as he is insecure and sensitive; and Barney swears weakly while exaggerating and attempting to appear casual and cool. The minor character, Regis Philbin, includes weak swearing in his speech and appears strong and rough meanwhile.

In this episode, no disruptions of the turn-taking conventions occurred. Therefore, characters did not attempt to subordinate each other in conversations of this episode.

3.3.4.3. Audiovisual Analysis

This episode’s audiovisual analysis focuses on Marshall’s turn in front of the ATM. Marshall is shown in a close-up, as he uses confident hedges while explaining his mature

decision. His face and gestures show his calmness and satisfaction with his decision, which is further underlined with the use of confident hedges. In his second turn, Marshall's face and gestures remain calm and satisfied while using weak swear words and one confident hedge. In between, while using the tentative hedge, his face changes to a strained and tensed expression.

3.3.5. Season 5 - Episode 16 “*Hooked*”

3.3.5.1. Characters

Ted Mosby

Ted is dating a girl, Tiffany, who already has a boyfriend. Although his friends warn him to be on Tiffany's 'hook', as it is very obvious that she will not leave her boyfriend and commit to Ted, he continues to be dreamy and dependent. Ted is determined not to give up on Tiffany. When Robin blames him with keeping another woman, Henrietta, on the hook, he wants to prove that this is not the case; however, he has been just as egoistic and arrogant as Tiffany. Later, he is brave and lets Henrietta off the hook.

Marshall Eriksen

Marshall talks about how he has been on a girl's 'hook', and thus, dreamy and softhearted in his adolescence. Although Lily told Marshall about Scooter, her ex-boyfriend, who works at Lily's school, Marshall has not been very attentive. He is jealous, but also realistic, and demands that Lily lets Scooter off the hook. He immediately thinks of a plan to solve this problem and helps Lily to break up with Scooter. Furthermore, he is sensitive, irrational and jealous when Lily cuddles the teacup pig.

Lily Aldrin

When Lily decides to let Scooter off the hook (because Marshall tells her that this is the right thing to do), she is opportunistic and ignores Scooter's feelings. Furthermore, Marshall calls her weak and demands her to be a man, i.e. stronger, when she cannot break up with a teacup pig in order to prepare her for her break up with Scooter. In the end, Lily is strong enough to let Scooter off the hook; but not Marshall, who gets weak and feels sorry for Scooter.

Robin Scherbatsky

Robin seems to be an expert on the 'hook' topic. She is always able to predict Tiffany's behavior before Ted talks about it. She is also strict, honest and realistic and tries to help Ted realize his own behavior. However, she does not want to realize that she has someone on her

hook as well, and denies it when Ted confronts her. Furthermore, she is presented as more egoistic, self-involved and exploiting than the others in these kinds of situations.

Barney Stinson

Barney lectures the group on how to seduce women successfully, a topic in which he is confident, imaginative, emotionless, adventurous, determined, and dreamy. Furthermore, he is a good friend to Ted and wants to help him break up with Tiffany, until he learns that she is a pharmaceutical sales representative, which is, according to him, the “hottest profession”. He reacts very irrationally, dramatically, aggressively and emotionally when he learns that Ted did not tell him, and also, when he realizes that not only ‘hot’ women work in this profession.

3.3.5.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	3	3	6
Female	2	4	6
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	0	4	4
Female	1	1	2

Table 18: Gender in Language – *HIMYM* Season 5 Episode 16

In general, hedges were evenly distributed among female and male characters. Out of three confident hedges, Marshall utters two while being realistic in order to open Lily’s eyes considering her high-school boyfriend. However, he also includes all three tentative hedges underlining his insecurity and emotionality. As to Ted, he acts ambitiously and determinedly, while using a confident hedge. Furthermore, Ted includes several instances of weak swearing in his speech. With all of his swearing, he emphasizes his past and present behavior, as he has not only been egoistic, emotionless, inconsiderate, but also dependent and weak.

Considering female usage of hedges, Tiffany included half of the total number of hedges: she utters hedges conveying confidence while being arrogant and confident, and she expresses her insecurity with a tentative hedge right afterwards. Robin also includes two confident hedges: in both cases, she is realistic and confident. Lily, on the contrary, uses tentative language in order to weaken a fact, which she does not want to admit. Furthermore, she uses a strong taboo word when she reacts sensitively to Marshall’s actions in the past. When confronted with a teacup pig, she reacts emotionally and swears weakly.

During the conversation in which the group discusses Ted and Tiffany's relationship, Lily interrupts Ted once in order to unsettle and subordinate Ted, as his perception of Tiffany is distorted. After Lily finishes her turn, Ted gives in.

3.3.5.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The focus of this analysis is on Tiffany's turns, in which she uses confident and tentative hedges. She is shot in a close-up, which underlines her facial expressions and gestures. In her first two turns she is open and confident while using confident hedges, which can be seen in her body language and facial expressions. However, in her third turn, her language becomes more tentative and cautious. As her language changes, her facial expressions and gestures change as well, and underline her cautious behavior.

3.3.6. Season 6 - Episode 14 "Last Words"

3.3.6.1. Characters

Ted Mosby

Ted feels useless and is determined and ambitious to cheer up Marshall in order to help his best friend through his father's funeral. However, his ambitions prove to be very immature. He manages to encourage Marshall with realistic reasons to listen to his father's last voice mail. Ted is also concerned about Lily's plan to absorb all of Judy's emotions, which makes him very considerate.

Marshall Eriksen

Marshall is emotional due to his father's death, which is natural; however, he is also presented as weak and intimidated by the reverend, Trey, who bullied Marshall in his youth, although Marshall is almost twice as tall as Trey and likely stronger. Marshall is also very open with his feelings about his father, and rationally explains them to his friends. Furthermore, he tells his friends how much he values their friendship.

Lily Aldrin

As Marshall's father dies, Lily is supportive, gentle and considerate of both him and his mother. She is strong, brave, reliable and determined to help Marshall's mother, Judy, who then lets out all her emotions on Lily by yelling at her. Moreover, audiences learn that Lily is only able to stand firm to Judy's yelling because Robin drugged her, implying that otherwise, she might have not been strong enough.

Robin Scherbatsky

Robin is presented as confident, determined, strong and clear-headed during the funeral reception of Marshall's father. She is resourceful and provides Marshall with everything he needs. Soon, Robin's role develops to that of a dealer who provides all guests with all kinds of items. At the memorial, she cries and is very emotional, although she acted tough and emotionless before.

Barney Stinson

Barney immediately proposes a solution to his and Ted's problem of being useless, which they attempt to realize immediately. He is determined, ambitious and resourceful and wants to be a good friend to Marshall. Moreover, he is dreamy and fabricates stories in order to prove himself right. However, in a rather emotional moment, he acts egoistically and emotionlessly, even though he means to cheer up Marshall, and is instantly rebuked by Marshall. As Robin, Barney is very emotional at the memorial.

3.3.6.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	2	4	6
Female	0	3	3
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	0	3	3
Female	2	0	2

Table 19: Gender in Language – *HIMYM* Season 6 Episode 14

It is of importance to note that this episode in general is very emotional, and characterized by grief. Considering the language features, hedging by male characters was twice as high as the hedging of female characters in this episode: for example, Marshall included three hedges expressing confidence in only one utterance, in which he is very emotional, but also clear-headed and determined. Furthermore, he also expresses his grief with a tentative hedge. Ted, on the other hand, conveys confidence while being imaginative and witty. The second hedge expressing tentativeness is uttered by Lily's father, who is insecure and careful in his language, because he depends on Lily to bail him out of jail.

All female characters emphasize their speech with the use of confident hedges: Lily starts the episode by underlining her supportive and caring behavior during Marshall's grief; Robin uses a confident hedge in order to further stress her realistic and wise advice for Marshall; and

Marshall's mother, Judy, is very emotional and on the verge of tears when including a confident hedge.

Moreover, Lily and Judy are the only female characters who utter strong taboo words, referring to the same concept: "bitch" and "whore". Lily refers to herself as being "Judy's bitch", as she is determined and very ambitious to be useful, and to support Judy. In the end, Judy realizes Lily's support, and compares Lily's appearance to a "whore", which would not be considered as a usual way of uttering an appreciation, especially by a woman (a hug or another positive appreciation would be more typical). Considering swearing by men, Marshall's father is the first one to emphasize a realistic utterance with weak swearing. Furthermore, Barney and Ted include weak swearing as they finally become realistic.

As to the conventions of turn-taking, the rules were disregarded three times. Robin interrupts twice: firstly, Marshall, in order support, and not to subordinate him; secondly, she silences and subordinates a woman as she acts cool. Later, Marshall interrupts and subordinates Barney, in order to rebuke him.

3.3.6.3. Audiovisual Analysis

In the following, Marshall's emotional turn about his father will be analyzed. The friends are shot in a close-up setting, and during Marshall's long turn, the camera switches to the other characters for a short time in order to show their emotional and sad facial expressions. Marshall's turn is emotional and also angry from the beginning. Towards the end of his turn, Marshall includes three confident hedges, which he further underlines with angry and upset gestures, a loud voice and facial expressions.

3.3.7. Season 7 - Episode 18 "*Karma*"

3.3.7.1. Characters

Ted Mosby

Ted considers himself a sensitive man and talks about true feelings, while simultaneously, he and Barney treat two striptease dancers like objects. Ted is romantic, dreamy and believes in destiny. However, he is realistic and realizes Quinn's, a woman Barney met, true intentions, and wants to be a good friend to Barney. Furthermore, he is emotional and sensitive about the fact that Robin left the apartment because she does not love him.

Marshall Eriksen

Marshall finds a very rational and realistic excuse in order to convince Robin to stay at Lily's and his house in Long Island. Marshall appears strict, clear-headed and acts fatherly when Robin wants to escape from their house. When Robin suggests that they should move back to the city and leave the suburbs, he stays determined to stay in Long Island, as he is considerate of his baby.

Lily Aldrin

Lily is supportive and acts very motherly of Robin, who has moved in with her and Marshall for a short time. She is softhearted and does not want Robin to move out. When Robin wants to leave Long Island and stay with another friend, Patrice, in the city, Lily does not understand Marshall's intelligent excuse, and makes it unbelievable by adding unrealistic information.

Robin Scherbatsky

Robin is presented as intelligent, witty and emotionless. She describes her stay with Marshall and Lily adventurously. Robin is strong, independent and determined to leave Marshall and Lily's house; however, they manage to break her will, so that Robin becomes weak for a moment. Nevertheless, Robin is clear-headed and brave as she tries to escape. When Lily is charming and loving to her, she is emotionless and egoistic.

Barney Stinson

Barney is gentle and softhearted while describing Quinn, although, at the same moment, he claims that he has no feelings for her. Yet, Barney does not show endurance and irrationally blames Ted for not realizing his feelings. Barney is egoistic, ignores Ted, and even though Ted points out his assumptions, Barney claims that these assumptions were his own. Even though Barney is usually smart, he is gullible and deceived by Quinn, as his perception of her actions is distorted.

3.3.7.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	2	5	7
Female	2	4	6
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	1	3	4
Female	0	3	3

Table 20: Gender in Language – *HIMYM* Season 7 Episode 18

Hedges and swearing in speech were almost evenly distributed among female and male characters. Out of five confident hedges, Ted used three in situations in which he is factual and realistic. Barney utters the other two confident hedges, as he is clear-headed, determined, but also slightly superstitious. Furthermore, Barney uses tentative hedges when he dreamily and lovingly describes Quinn. Considering the swearing of male characters, Barney includes weak swear words when he is either arrogant and does not listen to Ted, or when his perception is distorted as he is gullible. However, while uttering strong swearing, he is, as in the case with confident hedges, determined and superstitious. The remaining weak swearing was uttered by Ted, who is realistic and trying to help his friend.

Quinn includes all confident hedges in her language, whereas Lily and Robin use tentative ones in certain situations. Robin expresses her insecurity about her situation with Ted, and Lily is cautious while proposing Robin to move to Long Island. Robin also includes weak swearing when she pretends to like Lily’s gift, but is actually emotionless and egoistic. Quinn, on the contrary, is continuously opportunistic, egoistic, cruel and realistic and stresses her behavior with the use of confident hedges and weak swearing.

In this episode, there were two interruptions: Barney is arrogant and interrupts Ted twice in the same conversation, and does not pass on the turn to Ted, just to come to the same conclusion that Ted had already uttered.

3.3.7.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The conversation between Quinn and Barney at the strip club is shot in a close-up setting, emphasizing their gestures and facial expressions. Quinn’s usage of weak swearing in reference to other men and inclusion of confident hedges underline her charming way of deluding Barney, as her face, voice and body language interact in order to seduce him. During Barney’s turn, he is sitting and looking up to Quinn, whose back is visible on his left, whereas

Quinn's picture only shows her at the center of the shot. This mise-en-scène intensifies the implication that Barney is subordinate to Quinn in this situation, as he acts gullibly and not very intelligently, which is also accompanied by laugh tracks.

3.3.8. Season 8 - Episode 4 “*Who Wants to Be a Godparent?*”

3.3.8.1. Characters

Ted Mosby

Ted is instantly willing and ready to raise Marvin (Lily and Marshall's son) in case of his parent's death. He shows paternal instincts and is caring, sensitive and softhearted. He strongly emphasizes his friendship to Marshall and Lily in order to be chosen as a godfather, which makes him opportunistic. Furthermore, Ted shows that he could not be strong enough to be strict with Marvin. Although Ted is imaginative, his friends make fun of him for being too sensitive.

Marshall Eriksen

Marshall is strong and comforts Lily every time she gets emotional and fearful. Marshall claims to end the childish competition of Ted, Robin and Barney on Marvin's guardianship, but then turns it into an official competition. Marshall is considerate of Robin's childhood and experiences with her father. Furthermore, Marshall is realistic, and knows what it takes to be a parent. He is empathetic and gentle, and shows that he strongly values friendship.

Lily Aldrin

Lily is fearful about death and therefore, Marshall and she decide that Marvin needs a godparent. She is very sensitive and emotional and starts to cry just when she hears the word 'death'. Furthermore, she is dependent on Marshall, as he has to comfort and calm her every time she cries. Lily blames Ted, Robin and Barney to be egoistic and not recognizing that a baby changes everything; however, she also realizes that she and Marshall have been egoistic and negligent of their friends' feelings.

Robin Scherbatsky

Robin is emotionless and egoistic of Lily's and Marshall's feelings and fears about death. She would be ready to raise Marvin, too, not as sensitively and gently as Ted, but in an ambitious, determined, proactive and rough way. Moreover, Robin is presented to be physically stronger than Barney and Ted. Robin claims to be as her own father in case of guardianship, which is

brutally honest, cold and emotionless. Audiences learn that her father, who did not acknowledge that she wanted to be a girl, has raised Robin as a boy.

Barney Stinson

Barney is emotionless and realistic about the dangers in New York City and not considerate about Lily’s fears. Barney would also be willing to raise Marvin, but again, not like Ted, but energetically and unheedingly to become as himself, a careless, egoistic and arrogant womanizer. He would lie to Marvin about his parent’s demise, and is emotionless. Barney is very confident and imaginative, but his beliefs considering children’s needs and desires is completely distorted.

3.3.8.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	1	6	7
Female	1	5	6
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	5	3	8
Female	1	1	2

Table 21: Gender in Language – *HIMYM* Season 8 Episode 4

As in the previous episode, the hedges are almost evenly distributed among women and men. The first hedge expressing confidence was included by Viktoria who does not seem to realize the seriousness of the situation. Lily utters two hedges: firstly, she emphasizes her carefree behavior with confident hedges, and secondly, she uses a tentative hedge, as she is affective and caring. Robin uses three confident hedges in order to emphasize the reality and her arrogant and egoistic behavior. Furthermore, in one incident, she is loud, determined and aggressive, as she reflects on her own childhood; however, afterwards, she is emotional and sensitive because she shared her negative childhood memories about her father. Moreover, Robin is the only female character who swears in this episode. Firstly, she swears weakly while being realistic; and secondly, she swears strongly while trying to convince Marshall and Lily of her maternal instincts by pointing out that she is the only female candidate, which has the exact opposite effect with her utterance.

Considering the hedges uttered by male characters, Barney uses half of the confident hedges while being arrogant and self-involved. Ted attempts to convince Lily and Marshall of his paternal skills, and includes confident hedges to underline his wisdom and confidence.

The only tentative hedge is uttered by Marshall, who is considerate of Lily's feelings. However, when he believes to have found the ultimate solution to the problem (his brother as godfather), he is realistic and clear-headed, which is also reflected in his speech with confident hedges, and strong swear expressions. Yet, his brother, Marcus, does not behave how Marshall expected him to behave, as he is egoistic and emotionless, a behavior, which Marcus emphasizes with weak and strong swearing. The remaining weak taboo words are uttered by Barney, who acts immaturely, irresponsibly and opportunistically.

In addition, there were no disruptions of turn-taking conventions. Therefore, characters did not attempt to subordinate each other.

3.3.8.3. Audiovisual Analysis

The last scene shows the group sitting at their regular booth, where Robin and Barney are shown in the same picture in a close-up. Robin's turn includes the use of a confident hedge, during which she acts casually, which is visible in her gestures and face. Barney's two confident hedges intensify his turn and his casual and confident body language, in which he objectifies women and emphasizes the importance of this degradation of women in his life. Both turns are accompanied by laugh tracks, and Barney's turn can again be interpreted as a criticism of stereotypes, as it is characterized by exaggerated masculinity.

3.3.9. Season 9 - Episode 5 "The Poker Game"

3.3.9.1. Characters

Ted Mosby

When Marshall accuses Ted because of a wedding gift he apparently never got them, Ted seems to be as immature and resentful as Lily and Marshall, because he thinks they never wrote a thank-you card for his gift. Funnily enough, in a flashback, Ted is so stubbornly occupied with their quarrel, he misses the slutty pumpkin from season one. In the end, Ted and Marshall stress their friendship by being kind and loving to each other.

Marshall Eriksen

As in the episode with the best burger in NYC, Marshall is dreamy and describes the best pizza he ever had very romantically and in an extremely exaggerated manner. Marshall is presented to be unforgiving and resentful because he and Lily did not get a wedding gift from Ted eight years ago. He accuses Ted because of the present, who claims that he bought them a gift. Later, he is forgiving, emotional and gentle to Ted, which emphasizes their friendship.

Lily Aldrin

Lily is mad at Ted, because he wants to give Barney and Robin three presents. In a flashback, however, Lily is presented as more mature than Marshall during Ted and Stella’s engagement considering the wedding gift. She is confident and remembers that Ted most certainly did not give them a present. Lily is also the one who acts intelligently, and reveals the truth about the present. Furthermore, she is not presented as maternal as she has been before.

Robin Scherbatsky

Robin is sensitive about the anti-marriage jokes of Barney’s brother, James; however, she is also the only one who realizes the reasons behind these jokes. She is logical, witty and outsmarts James at the poker table. Robin is very strong, confident and not intimidated by James, Barney or their mother. Furthermore, she is emotionless, arrogant and also egoistic of the feelings of James and Barney’s mother.

Barney Stinson

Barney suggests to Robin to be honest with his brother; however, later when Robin deals with James, Barney explains what he really meant with his advice before: to not talk about it, which is irrational and illogical. He is also very confident and expects Robin to understand his irrational and illogical ideas. Barney is midst Robin and his mother, and both expect him to choose a side. He is overchallenged and emotional, and seems to be intimidated by Robin.

3.3.9.2. Gender Representations in Language

Hedges	Tentativeness	Confidence	Total
Male	0	4	4
Female	0	0	0
Swearing	Strong	Weak	Total
Male	2	3	5
Female	3	3	6

Table 22: Gender in Language – *HIMYM* Season 9 Episode 5

There was an extreme decrease in hedging in this episode, as only four hedges expressing confidence were uttered. Furthermore, it was male characters, Ted and Marshall, who included all of these. Ted uttered three out of four hedges in situations, in which he is realistic and imaginative. As Ted, Marshall used a confident hedge while behaving realistically and imaginatively.

Considering the swearing in this episode, female main and minor characters included three weak and three strong taboo words. Robin starts and ends this episode with strong swearing while behaving confidently and roughly. Lily swears weakly twice while being rough and realistic, and also uses a strong taboo word while behaving clear-headedly and energetically. Furthermore, Barney's mother includes weak swearing in her language while being strong, confident and adventurous.

As to the taboo words in the speech of the male characters, Barney used a strong and a weak expression: with the strong swearing, he just repeats Robin; and with the weak swearing, he is rough, aggressive and cruel to his family. The last strong expression is uttered by Marshall, as he is angry with Ted. Moreover, one weak swearing was uttered by Stuart, who also just repeats Lily's swearing.

No interruptions occurred in this episode. Therefore, neither female nor male characters attempted to subordinate or silence another character.

3.3.9.3. Audiovisual Analysis

In the last episode under analysis, the audiovisual analysis focuses on the conversation between Barney and Robin, in which both use the same strong swear word. The scene begins with a wide shot of both characters, but changes to alternate close-ups as the characters take their turns. Robin's body language and facial expressions give the impression that she is confident and strong, as she demands something of her fiancé. In contrast, Barney is defensive about his brother while laughing at Robin and not taking her concerns seriously. These turns are not accompanied by laugh tracks, which strengthens the impression that Robin is not characterized as the stereotypically nagging prospective wife.

3.4. Gender in *How I Met Your Mother*

As in *Friends*, the representation of gender in *HIMYM* also shows some changes throughout nine seasons. In the first episode, Ted is represented as romantic, sensitive, dreamy, gullible and very open with his feelings. As the whole series revolves around his search for the perfect woman, he maintains these characteristics from the beginning to the end; however, from the second episode on, masculine stereotypes predominate, as he acts emotionlessly, egoistically, stubbornly, strongly and confidently, and the feminine stereotypes only emerge when either a woman, or his friends are involved. After the sixth episode, he is determined, ambitious and realistic. In episode eight, he shows strong paternal feelings; however, he is not assertive, but very mild. Lauren Jade Thompson supports this analysis, as

she argues that Ted's constant romantic and dreamy behavior and longing for the 'one' woman could be considered as stereotypically feminine characteristics. Furthermore, she suggests that Ted's character is aligned with the stereotypical single girl, whose anxieties and panics are presented as the target of a joke in comedies (30-32). Besides Ted's rather feminine behavior, Daniel Hägele emphasizes his egoistic and arrogant behavior, which Ted justifies with his quest for true love (115), which is also apparent in this thesis' analysis.

As to Barney, he acts excessively masculinely: controlling, determined, ambitious, opportunistic and lecturing are only few examples among other stereotypes. Furthermore, he objectifies and devalues women. Thompson backs this view on Barney: his role is characterized by "hyper-masculinity" (24). She states that Barney's heterosexual masculinity is constructed and maintained through several performances, such as the adherence to certain rules and codes, which not only guide his social life, but also his garments (24-25). As discussed above, a very obvious and exaggerated stereotypical representation of characters might suggest a criticism of these stereotypes, especially when audiences are aware of the actor's homosexuality, as is with Neil Patrick Harris (Barney). Thompson, likewise, maintains that *HIMYM* "deliberately and playfully uses the character of Barney to expose cultural images of masculinity and outmoded ideas of masculinity as the 'natural' form of man" (24). This hyper-masculine behavior changes slightly, when he develops romantic feelings for Quinn in episode seven. Here, he behaves in a stereotypically masculine way, and tries to hide his feelings; yet, shortly afterwards he admits his feelings and acts gently, lovingly and gullibly because of Quinn. However, he behaves ignorantly and egoistically when Ted attempts to help him. In season eight, he is single again and returns to his old behavior. In the last episode, he is marrying Robin and has abandoned most of his previous stereotypically masculine behavior: he is over-challenged, sensitive, emotional, intimidated by and fearful of Robin. Yet, he still continues to be energetic, determined and ambitious.

Marshall's character traits were rather consistent throughout the series. In the first episode, Marshall performs gender, exactly as suggested by Butler: he performs femininity by dressing up as Cher and including feminine gestures and behavior; however, his voice and reactions remain masculine. Throughout nine seasons, Marshall shows his sensitive and emotional side: he openly shares his feelings and is dreamy. Yet, his masculine appearance stays constant throughout the episodes, and from episode seven on, the masculine stereotypes become prevalent in Marshall's character. Thompson supports this view, and states that Marshall represents "an image of dominant masculinity" (23) due to his physical appearance

and his occupation as a lawyer. She, moreover, argues that this dominant masculinity does not necessarily refer to traditional gender expectations and, as just mentioned, Marshall's emotional and sensitive behavior can be perceived as a new form of masculinity, which includes both traditionally masculine characteristics, and emotionality and sensitivity, as well (23). Hägele, similarly, suggests that Marshall is predominantly characterized by traditional values: family, and being a good husband and father (119). This image of Marshall also appeared in this thesis' analysis, showing that these traditional values include both feminine and masculine stereotypes.

As in *Friends*, the three male characters emphasize their friendship to one another very often. Ted, Marshall and Barney represent, each to some extent, stereotypes of masculinity; however, as Ross, Chandler and Joey, they show sensitivity and share their feelings, which demonstrates that they value their friendship and loyalty (Gauntlett 59). For example, in episode one, Marshall tells Ted that he is his best friend, because he knows exactly what Marshall thinks; furthermore, in 'Karma', Barney and Ted bond over sharing their emotional feelings about Robin and Quinn, while engaging in shared and stereotypically masculine activities: objectifying striptease dancers (Feasey 25-26).

Considering the female characters, several gender stereotypes are being perpetuated, and refuted. The analysis has shown that Lily is characterized by feminine stereotypes in all nine seasons. In the second episode, she attempted to claim her independence, and broke up with Marshall, only to give up her dreams and return to Marshall few months later. Furthermore, in the same episode, she implies that she does not approve of her mother's method of not raising her according to traditional gender roles. At that time, she works as a kindergarten teacher, even though she wanted to be an artist, and behaves stereotypically femininely. She acts motherly, as she is strict with and controlling of Barney and Robin. Most of the time, Lily conforms to traditional gender roles; however, in episode four and nine, she shows aggressive behavior, and in episode five, she is opportunistic and egoistic. Moreover, she refutes her motherly behavior when she is mean to a child in episode nine.

On the contrary, Robin is not presented as a stereotypical woman. Throughout the series, she is strong, egoistic, confident, emotionless and not intimidated by others; furthermore, she highly values her independence and makes fun of men for showing emotions, which she considers feminine and not appropriate for men. In episode two, she shows maternal behavior; however, she refutes this stereotype immediately by drugging Barney whilst taking care of him. Moreover, there is some resemblance between Robin's and Barney's behavior, as both

are mostly egoistic and emotionless, and both act toughly and emotionlessly in episode six, but then are emotional at the memorial service. In episode eight, audiences learn that Robin behaves according to masculine stereotypes, as her father wished she was a boy, and raised her accordingly. In the last episode, Robin is strong, arrogant and intimidating, and does not behave like a stereotypical bride, who would rather be nervous and respectful of her mother-in-law.

Moreover, the analysis of gender representation in the speech of main male characters showed some interesting results. Considering hedging, Ted's language is mostly characterized by confident hedges. In the first two episodes, his behavior is stereotypically feminine during the use of tentative hedges, and masculine while hedging confidently. In episode three, he does not include any confident hedges, but tentative ones while being insecure. However, after episode three, he returns to using confident hedges, which are related to masculine behavior. As mentioned before, Marshall performs gender in the first episode, as suggested by Butler. He is dressed like a woman and adapts his body language accordingly; however, his voice remains masculine. During his conversation with Ted, he changes back to his usual masculine behavior and uses a confident hedge while behaving masculinely again. Throughout the seasons, Marshall uses confident hedges while behaving stereotypically masculinely, i.e. realistically, ambitiously, determinedly. Furthermore, he does not include tentative hedges as frequently as confident ones, i.e. only in episodes two, four, five and eight, mostly to emphasize his consideration for others and emotionality. Barney's hyper-masculinity is also reflected in his speech. Until episode four, he only uses confident hedges while behaving like an extremely stereotypical man, i.e. arrogant, realistic, objectifying, egoistic, emotionless, and does not include any tentative language. In episode seven, he falls in love with Quinn, and in addition to his masculine behavior, which is characterized by determination and clear-headedness, for the first time, he acts dreamily and lovingly. After his separation with Quinn, he returns to old behaviors. In season nine, he marries Robin, and does not include any hedges or show hyper-masculine behavior.

The language analysis of the female main characters, Robin and Lily, revealed very interesting insights. In the first episode, Robin uses confident hedges as she explains to Lily that she resists conforming to traditional gender roles; however, in the same episode, she is uncomfortable, as she has to behave accordingly, i.e. reject Mike's typical boyfriend behavior. She does not include any hedges until episode five; yet, from episode five to eight, she mostly uses confident hedges while acting stereotypically masculinely. The only

exception can be seen in episode seven, in which she does not utter confident hedges, even though she is mainly strong and egoistic. Moreover, she uses a tentative hedge while talking about an emotional topic. Therefore, tentativeness is only expressed twice in Robin's language during nine seasons. Lily, on the other hand, who mostly behaves stereotypically femininely, only uses confident hedges until episode five. In the first two episodes, she wants to convince Robin of a typical relationship between men and women and is rather sensitive and emotional. In episode three and four, Lily shows strength, determination and acts egoistically. However, episode five to eight are mostly characterized by tentative hedges, which she uses as she behaves unrealistically, cautiously and emotionally.

Besides hedges, the use of taboo language and the adherence to turn-taking conventions were under analysis. An intriguing development is that swearing extremely increased as compared to *Friends*, which could be due to the expansion of the rules by the FCC, as mentioned in 2.5.2.1. Furthermore, generally, the number of swearing by male characters is considerably higher than that by female characters. Whereas the number of weak taboo words was almost equal for each character, the results showed that men's usage of strong swearing was remarkably higher. Considering the connection between swearing and stereotypical behavior, some striking patterns could be discerned. In the first episode, Ted only included strong expressions while behaving femininely; however, from season two to seven, almost every swearing was characterized by stereotypically masculine behavior. Moreover, whereas strong expressions prevailed in seasons one and two, he did not use any strong swearing after season five, but included weak swearing. Barney's hyper-masculine behavior also becomes apparent during his use of weak and strong swearing, which only further emphasizes this exaggerated masculinity. Except for one situation in season one, Barney exclusively shows extremely masculine behavior while swearing. On the contrary, Marshall's behavior during swearing is exclusively feminine from season two to four, in which weak swear words outweighed strong ones. He does not include any swearing in the episodes from season five to seven; however, in the last two episodes under analysis, he only uses strong swear words while behaving masculinely. In contrast, Lily's inclusion of taboo language does not show a clear pattern; yet, some tendencies can be discerned. Until season six, she tends to behave femininely while swearing weakly, and masculinely while swearing strongly. In season six and nine, she uses weak and strong swear words, and only behaves masculinely. As to Robin's swearing, the results show that in only one situation in season one, she acted femininely while swearing weakly. Every other incident of swearing from season one to season nine was emphasized by masculine behavior.

Considering turn-taking and gender, i.e. whether men interrupted and subordinated women more often or vice versa, the results showed that out of eleven subordinations, ten concerned men. Mostly, it was Ted who was subordinated by Barney and his extremely masculine behavior. Furthermore, Ted once yielded his turn to Lily's strict subordination. Ted, on the contrary, only subordinates his stepfather and no female characters. As to Barney, Lily and Marshall subordinated him on different occasions as he acted immaturely and arrogantly. In contrast, Marshall was never subordinated, which could be due to his, as Thompson and Hägele have argued, physical appearance or his paternal behavior. Female characters were only subordinated twice: Firstly, Lily attempted to subordinate Barney, but could not succeed due to his hyper-masculine behavior. As Barney continued his turn, Lily had to yield and was subordinated by Barney. Secondly, Robin confidently subordinated another woman, and was never silenced by another character. Moreover, Robin successfully subordinated Mike in season one in order to emphasize her independence. Therefore, in the episodes under analysis, interruptions were generally not applied to signal a subordination of women by men, as Robin has never been interrupted, and Lily has only been interrupted once by Barney, whereas she silenced Barney and Ted.

4. Conclusion

In summary, it can be stated that power relations concerning gender are very apparent in TV sitcoms. As Fiske argues, representations of characters and dialogues are aligned with ideological codes, with the result that consequent meanings are perceived as common sense. One effective way to maintain these common sense meanings is to prevent disruptions of power relations with the use of humor. Especially TV sitcoms heavily rely on patriarchal representations, and include gender stereotypes in order to help audiences familiarize with the characters. Furthermore, as the defining feature of sitcoms is repetitiveness, ideological and stereotypical representations are further reinforced and naturalized. This repetitiveness is also a crucial part of Butler's view on gender: with the repetition of performative acts and gestures, gender is enacted perpetually, and thus, legitimized and maintained. These gender performances can often be described with stereotypes, i.e. common sense perceptions of simplified characteristics and patterns of behavior and language use, which are based on the duality of sex. The widespread assumption that women are typically characterized by emotions, weakness and incompetence, the expectation that men should be logical, strong and competent, and the repetition of these stereotypes in society, and thus, in sitcoms as performative acts maintain patriarchal power relations. Moreover, although the inclusion of these stereotypes in the performances of characters might be intended as a criticism of these ideological positions, producers still run the risk of perpetuating stereotypes and patriarchal power relations. It appears that a very obvious depiction of stereotypes, and the characters' awareness of their stereotypical behavior might be perceived as a criticism; however, this still depends, on the one hand, on the producer's intention, and on the other hand, whether audiences realize these criticisms, or continue to read sitcoms through a patriarchal lens.

This leads to the final part of this thesis, as the previous paragraph partly answers the first research question as to how gender is constructed along stereotypes in *Friends* and *HIMYM*. Firstly, the inclusion of stereotypes in sitcoms can be traced back to ideologies in a society, and are tightly connected to the performativity of gender itself. Secondly, the analyses of *Friends* and *HIMYM* have shown that gender stereotypes constitute a considerable part of the characters' constructed personalities. This is not only due to the conventions of the genre, as audiences familiarize more easily with typical clichés. In both sitcoms, stereotyping is used as a source of humor, as the results of the audiovisual analyses have shown, while characters both refuted, and acted according to their sex. Moreover, the stereotypical depiction of some characters becomes apparent as their characteristics change from the first to the last season.

Concerning *Friends*, all three female characters show stereotypical behavior, whereas only Phoebe reverses stereotypes from the beginning. Rachel and Monica behave very femininely in the beginning, and both include masculine stereotypes after season five. Yet, the show maintains their most characterizing, stereotypically feminine attribute: Rachel's emotionality, and Monica's maternal behavior, whereas Monica's controlling and confident behavior supports her motherly side further. On the contrary, Phoebe predominantly acts in a masculine way, but also includes some feminine stereotypes momentarily, such as irrationality and dreaminess. Moreover, the occupational positions are important to consider: Monica's and Rachel's careers had a boost in season four and five, respectively, so both held higher occupational positions until the end of the series; whereas Phoebe worked as a massage therapist and did not pursue a career.

Interestingly, the male characters of *Friends* do not exhibit such a development over time. Their characterization shows a mixture of stereotypes from the beginning. All three men predominantly act masculinely, while also showing feminine behavior, such as emotionality or sensitivity. Yet, Ross and Chandler appear to act more stereotypically femininely than Joey, who in comparison mainly shows stereotypically masculine behavior, which outweighs his feminine behavior. Furthermore, the male characters' feminine behavior is often related to their friendship among themselves, as they emphasize their feelings to each other. As to the occupations, Chandler and Ross hold higher positions from the beginning, whereas Joey struggles in the beginning, but realizes his dream of being a successful actor later.

Moreover, the mentioned pattern of stereotyping is also reflected in the language of the female characters: Rachel's and Monica's use of tentative hedges occurred while behaving femininely, and Rachel's masculine behavior from season five on was emphasized with the use of confident hedges. Interestingly, Monica did not use confident hedges to underline her masculine behavior, which could imply that her confidence is reflected in her assertive use of language. Phoebe mainly underlines her masculinity with the use of confident hedges; however, she also smartly utilizes a tentative hedge opportunistically. As to the connection between swearing and gender, female characters tend to swear weakly while behaving femininely, and strongly during masculine behavior. The hedging of Ross and Chandler, on the one hand, likewise showed a stereotypical pattern: They mainly behave masculinely while using confident hedges, and femininely during tentative ones. Yet, both also include confident hedges while showing stereotypically feminine behavior. On the other hand, Joey includes a confident hedge while acting masculinely in the first episode; however, he uttered the

remaining confident hedges from the following seasons while acting stereotypically femininely. Considering the swearing of male characters, a different pattern emerges, as Chandler and Joey only swear in a masculine context, whereas Ross tends to behave femininely during swearing. The analysis of the last language aspect, turn-taking, has shown that women were more frequently silenced and subordinated by men.

In contrast, both female and male characters in *HIMYM* are constructed very differently. Lily's behavior is predominantly characterized by feminine stereotypes and maternal strictness, whereas masculine behavior is limited to only a few times in nine seasons. Lily also appreciates traditional gender roles, as she abandoned her dream job to work as a kindergarten teacher and to return to Marshall. Quite the contrary can be discerned in Robin's character: she is presented as the anti-stereotypical woman, as she completely refutes stereotypical femininity, and mostly conforms to masculine behavior. Robin also successfully pursues her career as a news anchor. Moreover, there is a striking resemblance between Robin and Barney, who could be considered as the personification of hyper-masculinity. Barney's exaggerated masculinity only changes slightly when he develops feelings for a woman. On the contrary, Ted's character is a mixture of femininities and masculinities from season one on; yet, masculine stereotypes predominate after season two. Both Barney and Ted hold higher occupational positions, as Ted works as an architect, and Barney is occupied in higher management. Marshall's dominant masculinity, is quite different from Barney's, as Marshall openly shows his sensitivity from the beginning, but appears very masculine due to his physique and occupation. Furthermore, Marshall's masculine behavior prevails after season seven, and he conforms to the traditional paternal role as he becomes a father.

This stereotyping can be observed in the characters' speech as well, as the language use of Ted, Marshall, Barney and Robin reveals a clear connection between feminine behavior and tentative talk, and masculine behavior and confident speech, such as Barney, who only includes confident hedges during hyper-masculine behavior, and expresses tentativeness when in love (season seven, nine), or Robin, who includes confident hedges while behaving masculinely and tentative ones in emotional settings. Lily, on the other hand, might be expected to mostly speak tentatively; however, she is very confident in her speech until season four, while behaving both femininely and masculinely. After season five, a connection between her femininity and tentativeness in speech becomes visible. Moreover, a clear tendency of both weak and strong swearing during masculine behavior can be discerned in Ted's, Barney's and Robin's speech. In the first seasons, Marshall's use of strong and weak

swear words is only connected to feminine behavior; however, in the last two seasons, he includes strong expressions exclusively during masculine behavior. Lily's swearing appears to be connected to her behavior, at least until season six, i.e. weak swearing during feminine, and strong swearing during masculine behavior. However, after season six, she only behaves masculinely during weak and strong swearing. The last language aspect under analysis revealed that men were more often subordinated during a conversation than women, which refutes the representation of men-dominated conversations and silenced women.

Therefore, only Rachel and Monica in *Friends* show a development in character, as the prevailing characteristics of both characters change from being predominantly feminine to masculine after season five. This could be seen as a reaction to social changes, as audiences might have reacted negatively to the constant stereotypical feminine representation of two main female characters, i.e. Monica and Rachel as weak and incompetent women. In *HIMYM*, main female characters do not seem to develop as much over nine seasons: Robin as the anti-stereotypical woman, and Lily as the contrary character, the stereotypical woman. This could lead to the question of why Lily did not develop as Monica and Rachel did. The answer could be found in the conventions of the genre, as the juxtaposition of Robin, the anti-stereotypical, and Lily, the stereotypical woman, and their perpetuation and occasional disruption of stereotypes is a steady source of humor. Lily's and Monica's characters are constructed quite similarly, as both act motherly and strictly; however, Lily's feminine behavior outweighs her masculine ones, whereas Monica's strength and control are prevalent after season five. Phoebe's masculinity could be compared to Robin's, but Robin's high resemblance to Barney shows that the type of masculinity, which can be seen in Phoebe and Robin, are not alike. Yet, more importantly, both Phoebe's and Robin's childhoods are an example of a social construction of gender: Robin's father deliberately raised her like a boy, and Phoebe was forced to 'man up' early in life, i.e. be strong and behave rather masculinely in order to survive.

This leads to another mis-comparison of characters: Barney and Joey. Both are constructed on the cliché of the womanizer; yet, Barney's extremely exaggerated hyper-masculinity and heterosexuality can be perceived as a criticism, firstly, due to the obviousness of the represented stereotypes, and secondly, as the actor playing Barney, Neil Patrick Harris, is a homosexual man in the role of a heterosexual, hyper-masculine womanizer. The other characters, Ross, Chandler, Ted, and Marshall are all based on a mixture of feminine and

masculine stereotypes, even though masculine attributes prevail in all characters at some point.

Additionally, the audiovisual analyses have shown that there is a clear connection between stereotypes in behavior and language use. Thus, sitcom producers use language features such as hedges, swearing and interruptions as a means to maintain representations of gender. Stereotypical behavior and language can, therefore, be categorized as gender performatives, which can most obviously be seen in characters such as Rachel, Monica, Barney and Robin throughout the seasons, or Marshall in season one, while explicitly performing gender. The representation of gender from 1994-2014, i.e. years in which *Friends* and *HIMYM* were aired, seems to have changed in several aspects: stereotypically feminine women developed to be more masculine in the former sitcom, and women's representation was more fixed in the latter series; furthermore, except for Barney and Joey, who behave stereotypically masculine from the beginning with said differences, other male characters show a mixture of feminine and masculine stereotypes, with a preponderance of masculine stereotypes.

Friends and *HIMYM* offered valuable information on how gender is represented in sitcoms for almost 20 years. The analyses of stereotypes in behavior and language have shown that especially in TV sitcoms, gender is constructed, and enacted with the help of performatives, i.e. language, behavior, and gestures. The results did not only reveal this construction of gender, but also the ways, in which these meanings are conveyed to audiences with the use of different camera shots and laugh tracks.

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6. Appendix

6.1. English Summary

This diploma thesis focuses on the development of gender representations in two American TV series: *Friends* (1994-2004) and *How I Met Your Mother* (2005-2014). Considering that television producers need to reach and convince wide audiences in order to be successful, programs are written in polysemous ways. However, these many potential meanings are produced within ideological boundaries. Gender representations in TV are often influenced by patriarchal power structures, in which men dominate over women. Therefore, sitcoms make use of cultural gender stereotypes, which are perceived as common sense and represent men as, e.g. more intelligent, competent or stronger than women. Considering Judith Butler's argument that gender is a performance, which is maintained through performative acts, such as gestures, behavior and language, stereotypical behavior and language use will be included as analytical factors. This diploma thesis examines the representation of gender on the basis of stereotypes on three levels: firstly, characters are analyzed with reference to stereotypical behavior; secondly, the use of specific linguistic features, such as hedges, swearing and turn-taking, is under analysis; and lastly, an audiovisual analysis provides further information on these linguistic features. By means of this analysis, the development in the representation of gender in TV sitcoms over nearly twenty years becomes visible.

6.2. Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit betrachtet die Entwicklung von Gender Repräsentationen in zwei TV-Sitcoms: *Friends* (1994-2004) und *How I Met Your Mother* (2005-2014). Da Fernsehproduzenten viele verschiedene Zuseher erreichen wollen, und auch überzeugen müssen um erfolgreich zu sein, werden polysemische Fernsehprogramme produziert, die sich jedoch innerhalb von ideologischen Grenzen bewegen. Die Repräsentation von Gender im Fernsehen wird oft von patriarchalen Machtverhältnissen beeinflusst, die ein von Männern dominiertes Umfeld bevorzugen. Deshalb bedienen sich Sitcoms an kulturellen Gender Stereotypen, die weitverbreitet als Alltags- bzw. Menschenverstand wahrgenommen werden und Männer als z.B. intelligenter, kompetenter oder stärker als Frauen darstellen. In Anbetracht von Judith Butlers Gender-Theorie, in der sie argumentiert, dass Gender eine Performanz ist, die durch Gesten, Verhalten und Sprachverhalten aufrechterhalten wird, werden in dieser Diplomarbeit stereotypische Verhaltens- und Sprachmuster untersucht. Die Repräsentation von Gender wird aufgrund von Stereotypen auf drei Ebenen analysiert: Charaktere werden erstens, auf stereotypisches Verhalten, und zweitens, auf die Anwendung von spezifischen Sprachelementen, wie zum Beispiel sogenannte Heckenausdrücke, Kraftausdrücke, und die Regeln des Sprecherwechsels untersucht. Die letzte, und dritte Ebene, eine audiovisuelle Analyse, bietet weitere Informationen zu den Sprachelementen an. Diese Analyse zeigt die Entwicklung von Gender-Repräsentationen in Sitcoms über einen Zeitraum von fast 20 Jahren.

6.3. Gender Representation in Language: Transcripts² - *Friends*

RaG – Rachel Green

MG – Monica Geller

RoG – Ross Geller

CB – Chandler Bing

JT – Joey Tribbiani

PB – Phoebe Buffet

6.3.1. Season 1 Episode 9

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
RaG	00:26	But, I've <i>sort of</i> started this independent thing, <i>you know</i> , which is actually why I took this "job."	Hedges	Tentativeness, Tentativeness
PB	03:11	<i>You know</i> , the asthma guy's really cute.	Hedge	Confidence
MG	03:37	<i>You know</i> , they're not actually supposed to have ..	Hedge	Confidence
Susan	05:33	Well, <i>you know</i> , you have to take a course.	Hedge	Confidence
JT	12:28	But my mom always makes them. It's, <i>like</i> , a tradition.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	13:24	'Cause then they'd be the way my mom used to make it, <i>you know</i> , before she died.	Hedge	Tentativeness
RoG	14:52	<i>You know</i> , I, <i>you know</i> , can't do this. This is too weird. I feel <i>stupid</i> .	Hedge Swearing	Confidence, Confidence Weak
RaG	17:32	All right, listen, <i>smirky</i> . If it wasn't for you and your <i>stupid</i> balloon, I would be on a plane watching a woman do this right now. But I'm not.	Swearing	Weak Weak
MG	18:12	<i>You know</i> , everyone wants a different kind of potatoes, so I'm making different kinds of potatotes.	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	19:13	<i>God</i> , this is great.	Swearing	Weak
PB	20:58	Come on, <i>you know</i> , Thanksgiving.	Hedge	Confidence
CB	21:30	But for me, this has been really great, <i>you know</i> ?	Hedge	Confidence
CB	21:45	We wouldn't be all together, <i>you know</i> ?	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	22:02	And a <i>crappy</i> new year.	Swearing	Weak

² The transcripts include utterances in which the language features under analysis occurred. These tables have been compiled by means of watching the respective episodes several times. In order to be thorough, and to check, whether language features have been missed, the following webpages were consulted:

<<http://www.livesinabox.com/friends/scripts.shtml>> for *Friends* and

<https://www.springfieldspringfield.co.uk/episode_scripts.php?tv-show=how-i-met-your-mother> for *HIMYM*.

6.3.2. Season 2 Episode 24

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
CB	00:21	Because he was just so <i>darn</i> cute?	Swearing	Weak
MG	02:43	Joey, <i>you know</i> , maybe your just not used to kissing men, maybe you just tensed up a little, maybe, that's what you need to work on.	Hedge	Tentativeness
Richard	05:55	<i>You know</i> , that's probably why babies learn to talk, so they can tell grown ups to cut it out.	Hedge	Confidence
MG	06:03	Hey, <i>you know</i> , I got a question for you. Just a little thing, no pressure.	Hedge	Tentativeness
MG	06:11	Did you ever, uh, <i>like</i> , think about the future	Hedge	Tentativeness
MG	07:39	<i>You know</i> , we don't need to talk about this now. Really, I mean this is so, <i>like</i> , way, way, way, in the future.	Hedge	Tentativeness Tentativeness
PB	09:10	<i>You know</i> , what I think is so great? That you are totally into this person and yet, for all you know, she could be <i>like</i> 90 years old, or have two heads, or, it could be a guy.	Hedges	Confidence, Confidence
PB	09:22	It could be, <i>like</i> , a big giant guy.	Hedge	Confidence
MG	10:34	<i>You know</i> , I'm not even thinking about that thing that we're not supposed to think about.	Hedge	Tentativeness
RaG	10:46	Yeah, when I was in the bathroom I saw the window that I crawled out of at my wedding, and God, I just started thinking that I shouldn't be here, <i>you know</i> , I shouldn't. People are going to be looking at me, and judging me and, and thinking about the last time.	Hedge	Tentativeness
RaG	11:28	<i>Why the hell</i> didn't you tell me?	Swearing	Weak
Mindy	12:54	Well uh, after you ran out on your wedding, Barry's parents told people that you were <i>sort of</i> ... insane.	Hedge	Tentativeness
PB	14:22	No, <i>you know what</i> you have to answer her, answer her first. No, no, <i>you know what</i> make some coffee because it's too much.	Hedge	Confidence Confidence
MG	14:48	<i>You know</i> what, maybe I don't need to have children. <i>You know</i> , maybe I just think I do because that is what society, and by that I mean my mom, has always convinced me that I - I do, I have to have children, I'm sorry, I just do.	Hedges	Confidence, Confidence
RaG	16:09	<i>Oh dear God</i> .	Swearing	Weak

PB	21:20	It's like a watched pot, <i>you know</i> , if you keep looking at it then the door is to, never gonna boil.	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	22:10	All right I've been feeling incredibly guilty about this, because I want to be a good friend, and <i>damn</i> it I am a good friend.	Swearing	Strong
JT	22:27	But that was a <i>hell</i> of a kiss!	Swearing	Weak

6.3.3. Season 3 Episode 23

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
CB	02:35	Well, <i>you know</i> , if Joey and I played with matches we could get you up to an even hundred.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	03:06-03:16	I know, I know! I'm, <i>like</i> , playing the field, <i>you know?</i> <i>Like</i> , juggling two guys, I'm sowing my wild oats, <i>you know?</i> <i>You know</i> , this <i>kind of</i> , <i>like</i> , <i>you know</i> , oat-sowin', field-playin' juggler.	Hedges	Confidence, Confidence, Confidence, Confidence, Confidence, Confidence, Confidence
RoG	03:49	He couldn't even tell me! He said it was just some <i>sort of</i> skin... abnormality. And the worst thing is he said, without being able to identify it, he was reluctant to remove it.	Hedge	Tentativeness
CB	04:02	He just lopped it right off, <i>you know?</i>	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	04:12	At least they knew what yours was, <i>you know</i> , yours had a name.	Hedge	Tentativeness
JT	04:18	Oh! Maybe they'll name yours after you! <i>You know</i> , they'll call it, The Ross.	Hedge	Tentativeness
PB	05:17	We need, <i>like</i> , a good mechanic.	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	05:30	That's all it is, a third nipple, <i>you know?</i> Just a run-of-the-mill third nipple, <i>you know?</i> You can take it off.	Hedge	Tentativeness, Tentativeness
MG	06:16	I gotta go water Pete's plants. <i>You know what</i> , if he's gonna break up with me, maybe I won't water his plants.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	06:36	And I can't take it, <i>you know?</i> I'm just, always afraid one of them is gonna catch me with the other one.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	06:59	Well, Vince is great, <i>you know</i> , 'cause, he's like a guy, guy, <i>you know?</i> He's so burly, he's	Hedge	Confidence, Confidence

		so very burly.		
RoG	07:38	<i>You know</i> , I have dinner plans!!	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	10:39	<i>You know</i> , I mean you could put, you could put money in the invitations! You could have, <i>like</i> , little money place settings.	Hedge	Confidence, Confidence
PB	11:29	Yeah, I like Vince a lot, <i>you know</i> ? But, it's just Jason is so sensitive, <i>you know</i> ? And in the long run, I think sensitive is just better than having just <i>like</i> a really, really, really nice body.	Hedge	Confidence, Confidence, Tentativeness
Vince	12:41	And, <i>you know</i> , I felt like you were someone I could finally open up to, and... (starts sobbing) that there is so much in me I have to share with you yet.	Hedges	Tentativeness
PB – Vince	12:50	(PB) Oh my God, I didn't know you were so – (Vince) No. I'm sorry, I can't talk, I'm going to write in my journal.	Turn-taking	Interruption: Subordination of PB by Vince
MG	13:15	<i>You know</i> , when girls sleep with guys with weird things on their body, they tell their friends about it.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	14:51	Yeah, well he'd prefer water colors, but, <i>you know</i> , he has easy access to a lot of charcoal.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	15:09	Plus, Vince has the body, <i>you know</i> ?	Hedge	Confidence
PB	20:27	Cause, <i>you know</i> , it's been a lot of fun, for me.	Hedge	Tentativeness
Jason	20:54	I mean, <i>you know</i> , we haven't been going out that long.	Hedge	Tentativeness
Jason	21:19	<i>You know</i> , Phoebe, I'm going to make this real easy for you.	Hedge	Confidence

6.3.4. Season 4 Episode 17

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
Mr. Treeger	00:13	What in the name of <i>hell</i> ?	Swearing	Weak
RaG	02:12	All right, <i>you know what</i> , come on, do we really have to watch this while we eat?	Hedge	Confidence
PB	03:02	I'm getting too pregnant for this lugging around a <i>stupid</i> massage table.	Swearing	Weak
PB	03:03	<i>You know</i> , I have to find a job where I can carry a smaller table.	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	03:33	Eh, her uncle already had planned on doing it. And <i>you know</i> , we said our	Hedge	Tentativeness

		good-byes this morning, so...		
MG	04:15	No! <i>You know</i> , the fantasy! Meet someone from a strange land, fall in madly love, and spend the rest of your lives together.	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	04:38	We said it was only going to be two weeks, <i>you know</i> ?	Hedge	Tentativeness
PB	06:45	Oh well, okay, hey, <i>you know how</i> , when you're, you're walking down the street and you see three people in a row, and you say, "Oh, that's nice?"	Hedge	Tentativeness
Alice	07:38	No, no, it's going to be fine. Because, because I teach Home Ec, and I can have 30 kids making baby clothes all year long. <i>You know</i> , it'll be <i>like</i> my very own little sweatshop.	Hedges	Tentativeness, Tentativeness
Frank	08:16	Yeah, <i>you know</i> , when we found out we were going to have a baby, <i>you know</i> , I figured, <i>you know, like</i> , I should have, <i>like</i> , a career, <i>you know</i> , and I love refrigerators!	Hedges	Confidence, Confidence, Confidence, Confidence, Confidence
RaG	10:30	<i>You know</i> , who doesn't even like dirty movies? My new boyfriend Joshua.	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	12:49	Okay, okay! But if she doesn't call, it is definitely over! No, wait. Wait. Unless, eventually, I call her, <i>you know</i> , just to see what's going on, and, and she says she'll call me back, but then she doesn't. Then it's over!	Hedge	Tentativeness
RoG	18:14	No, because she hasn't come home yet. And she hasn't been home all night! She's obviously staying with that other guy, and I'm the <i>stupid moron</i> who spent the whole night outside her apartment!	Swearing	Strong
CB	21:26	<i>You know what</i> , we have to turn off the porn.	Hedge	Confidence

6.3.5. Season 5 Episode 19

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
RoG	00:51	<i>What the hell</i> was that?!	Swearing	Weak
RoG – RaG	03:14	(RoG) And she's just so sexy and funny and has the cutest little...— (RaG) Okay, you know what? We don't need her measurements.	Turn-Taking	Interruption: Subordination of RoG by RaG

RaG	03:14	Okay, <i>you know</i> what? We don't need her measurements.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	03:22	Okay pepperoni, pepperoni, pepperoni, okay Ross, I know she's pretty and you love her, but is she <i>stupid</i> ?! She forgot my vegetarian!	Swearing	Weak
Caitlin	07:34	<i>You know</i> , all I'm looking for is the money.	Hedge	Tentativeness
RaG	08:47	But, <i>you know</i> , I never really had anything to worry about. Ross was never very good at the flirting thing.	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	08:57	Oh! <i>You know</i> what? You're right! We meet, you flirted and then bam nine years later you had me!	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	12:58	Joey! This is, <i>like</i> , the last commercial. You've got <i>like</i> ten minutes left!	Hedge	Confidence Confidence
RaG	13:39	The earring? No. But look, I found my sunglasses under the couch! I've been looking for these since, <i>like</i> , last summer.	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	14:02	Oh <i>gosh</i> , she's going to kill me.	Hedge	Weak
RaG – RoG	15:28	(RaG) Honey, you have nothing to prove. And if you really like this girl, I don't flirting is the right thing to... - - (RoG shushes her) You'll see. Okay.	Turn- Taking	Interruption: Subordination of RaG by RoG
Caitlin	17:10	<i>You know</i> what, actually I, I really, I should go.	Hedge	Tentativeness
Caitlin	17:16	<i>You know</i> what? That's okay, you guys have ordered so many that this one is on me!	Hedge	Tentativeness
RaG – RoG	17:43	(RaG) I'm sorry...— (RoG) Look, no, no, hey, hey, don't worry about it! In nine years, she and I will be right there.	Turn- Taking	Interruption: No Subordination
RaG	18:37	I know, I know, but just, I'm telling you, once you get past that part, where it just feels, <i>like</i> , you wanna die, he's really a good person.	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	18:50	Yeah. I'm telling you he's really sweet and really funny and he's just, got a good heart. And besides, <i>you know</i> , I think he really likes you	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	19:00	Well <i>you know</i> , we have 7 people and, <i>like</i> , 10 pizzas, what do you think?	Hedge	Confidence, Confidence

6.3.6. Season 6 Episode 18

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
CB	02:59	Oh, I don't know man. I haven't talked to her in, <i>like</i> , ten years.	Hedge	Tentativeness
Elizabeth	04:45	Oh, <i>you know what?</i> Forget it, you already gave me an A.	Hedge	Confidence
CB	07:30	Honey, it is not a date! I haven't talked to her in ten years. You can't just call up somebody you haven't talked to in ten years and ask them for a favor. There are rules, <i>you know?</i> You got to put in some time.	Hedge	Confidence
MG	07:38	You're right, I'm sorry. It's not like you're, <i>you know</i> , going out with an ex-girlfriend.	Hedge	Confidence
Dana	08:08	<i>You know who</i> I ran into from school? Howie.	Hedge	Confidence
Dana	08:21	Can you believe that?! <i>You know</i> , I haven't spoken to him in <i>like</i> ten years and he asks me for a favor!	Hedges	Confidence, Confidence
PB	09:05	Well, since the fire was <i>kind of</i> my fault I guess you should get to stay here.	Hedge	Tentativeness
MG	09:25	And I thought I would bring them to you, <i>you know</i> , in bed. Oh, you have been through so much.	Hedge	Tentativeness
RoG	10:27	<i>You know</i> , how before you said it might be weird, the whole student teacher thing, and to be frank I thought it would be too, but it's not. I mean it's not at all.	Hedge	Confidence
MG	11:46	Well you let me know if you can, because, <i>you know</i> , I can bake a pie to cover it.	Hedge	Confidence
MG	13:10	You don't want to get a reputation as, <i>you know</i> , Professor McNailshisstudents.	Hedge	Confidence
Dana	14:14	<i>You know</i> , uh, actually I should get going.	Hedge	Tentativeness
Dana	14:36	I'm sorry Chandler, <i>you know</i> , you are such a sweet guy and I don't want to hurt you. Oh, I wish there was something I can do to make you feel better.	Hedge	Tentativeness
JT	16:51	All right, don't waste it, I mean its still food. <i>Geez</i> .	Swearing	Weak
RoG	17:08	<i>You know</i> , I remember when, when I was in college, we used to...	Hedge	Confidence
PB	19:10	You see, I didn't tell you but I had recently refilled the tissues and so,	Hedge	Confidence

		<i>you know</i> , let's just face it, that's just kindling!		
RaG	19:19	No, no, no, no, Phoebe, this was my fault and besides, <i>you know</i> , what? I'm fine here.	Hedge	Confidence
Elizabeth	20:22	For what it's worth I did appreciate you standing up for me. It felt really nice. It <i>kind of</i> made me like you even more.	Hedge	Confidence

6.3.7. Season 7 Episode 9

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
RaG	03:18	Well, <i>you know</i> , we did other stuff too.	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	04:09	Well, you've been here for two months now and your boss is required to hand in a performance evaluation. But <i>you know</i> , there is one thing that I have yet to evaluate.	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	05:16	It's <i>like</i> a crime wave!!	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	05:54	Ah! Well, take it downstairs, <i>you know</i> , give it a test ride.	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	10:16	Maybe it's not as bad as I think. <i>You know</i> , maybe they didn't take it the way I meant it.	Hedge	Tentativeness
CB	10:20	Absolutely! <i>You know</i> , because tushie can mean both 'ass' and 'good worker'.	Hedge	Confidence
MG	11:14	Some people have been saying it's, <i>you know</i> , little drops of heaven, but whatever.	Hedge	Tentativeness
PB	15:06	What?! <i>What the hell?!</i>	Swearing	Weak
RoG	15:11	All right, <i>you know what?</i> If you are not going to learn how to ride this bike then I'm sorry, I'm just going have to take it back.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	15:50	All right. If you care enough to make up that load of <i>crap</i> , okay.	Swearing	Strong
RaG – Tag	17:36	(RaG) Well... - (Tag) Mr. Zelner, I'm the one who filled in that evaluation.	Turn-Taking	Interruption: No Subordination
Tag	17:53	Yes, I have a weird sense of humor and I am <i>kind of</i> strangely proud of my butt.	Hedge	Confidence
Mr. Zelner	17:58	It's <i>kind of</i> a risky joke Tag, and what is this drawing I can't figure out what this is?	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	18:03	You're looking at it upside down - <i>you know what</i> , it doesn't matter.	Hedge	Confidence

Mr. Zelner	18:10	<i>Hell</i> , I even enjoy a naughty limerick now and then.	Swearing	Weak
CB	20:31	All right, <i>you know what?</i> Forget it, all of you forget it! You've ruined it! Go home! You've ruined it! You've ruined it!	Hedge	Confidence

6.3.8. Season 8 Episode 23

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
RoG	00:10	No, but come on, we're off to a great start aren't we? I knew I'd get you here fast, but this has got to be some <i>kind of</i> a record!	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	00:21	Wait a minute! How the <i>hell</i> did you beat us here?	Swearing	Weak
Nurse – RaG	00:48	(Nurse) Right! We have a semi-private labor room waiting for you. So in just a minute...—(RaG) Whoa-whoa-whoa-whoa! I'm sorry, semi-private? We, we asked for a private room.	Turn-Taking	Interruption: Subordination of Nurse by RaG
RaG	01:45	Okay. <i>You know what?</i> I have to say I really don't care for your tone. And this is not the only hospital in this city and we have no problem to - Whoa! (contractions starts) <i>Oh gosh!</i> Whoa!	Hedge Swearing	Confidence Weak
CB	05:45	Yes, but haven't you wanted a kid, <i>like</i> , forever?	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	07:32	Mom, <i>you know what?</i> I can't deal with this right now. I'm sorry.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	08:07	But <i>you know what?</i> It just seems that you two belong together.	Hedge	Confidence
JT	08:23	I mean seriously, she's <i>like</i> the perfect woman. I mean, I know she turned me down, but if she hadn't and wanted to be with me, I would take her in my arms and... I haven't bummed you guys out like this in a while, have I?	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	09:12	Well they have uh, some unusual pet names for each other. Including umm, <i>evil bitch</i> and uh, <i>sick bastard</i> .	Swearing	Strong Strong
RaG	09:22	<i>Oh gosh</i> , oh contraction.	Swearing	Weak
Evil Bitch	09:30	Don't you look at her you <i>sick bastard!</i>	Swearing	Strong
Evil Bitch	09:35	She's in labor! You like that you <i>sick son of a bitch!</i>	Swearing	Strong
Evil Bitch	09:44	See? See? It was because you were	Swearing	Strong

		looking <i>fat pervert!</i>		
Evil Bitch	10:16	Don't you talk to my husband like that you <i>stupid bastard!</i>	Swearing	Strong
CB	11:22	We're trying to get pregnant. <i>You know</i> , I'm not really comfortable doing this in front of the babies. So, when do you want to start trying?	Hedge	Confidence
JT	12:06	Come on you <i>stupid</i> machine! Come on!	Swearing	Weak
PB	12:49	Well, it's a long story. It's <i>kind of</i> embarrassing. Let's just say there was a typographical error with a sex manual. How about you?	Hedge	Tentativeness
Clifford	13:15	Well, if you have some time, <i>you know</i> , and maybe you might want to visit someone else...	Hedge	Tentativeness
PB	14:15	Excuse me? Could you help me with something? The patient I'm looking for has a broken leg and is in a wheelchair. And, he's, <i>like</i> , early to mid-thirties, very attractive.	Hedge	Tentativeness
JT	14:43	<i>Damn it</i> woman we're losing precious time! Now do you want this man's blood on your head?	Swearing	Strong
PB	16:26	But lately all the guys I meet seem really nice at first, then they turn out to be the biggest <i>jerks</i> .	Swearing	Weak
RaG	17:02	Hey, <i>you know what?</i> I'm not waiting! I'm gonna push this baby out! I'm doing it! I mean it's what? Three centimeters? That's got to be like this!	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	17:14	Oh <i>stupid</i> metric system!	Swearing	Weak
JT	18:46	And uh, finally, are you into any weird stuff, <i>you know</i> , sexually?	Hedge	Confidence
Janice	21:00	Oh <i>you know what?</i> You have to speak very loudly when you're talking to Sid, because he's almost completely deaf.	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	21:19	Um uh, ee're, we're just having this baby together but uh that's all, <i>you know</i> .	Hedge	Tentativeness
RoG	21:27	Uh well, we're just not in that place, <i>you know?</i> But we're very excited about this.	Hedge	Tentativeness

6.3.9. Season 9 Episode 21

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
RaG	00:37	Because Ross is the father of my	Hedge	Tentativeness

		child! <i>You know</i> , and I want him to hook up with lots of women! I just... All I'm saying is, I don't think that Joey and Charlie have anything in common.		
Charlie	01:27	Oh, <i>you know what?</i> I'll come with you!	Hedge	Confidence
Charlie	01:49	I feel like I owe you an explanation. I don't ordinarily go around kissing guys at parties. I'm, well, I'm <i>kind of</i> embarrassed. I really hope you don't think less of me.	Hedge	Tentativeness
RoG	02:01	No! Think less of you! No, I don't think less of you. I mean, you saw someone you liked and you kissed them. I mean, those people who like someone and don't kiss them... those people are <i>stupid</i> . I hate those people.	Swearing	Weak
Charlie	02:15	<i>You know</i> , actually I'm a little surprised of myself. I mean, Joey is so different from the guys I usually date. I mean, they were all professors, and intellectuals, and paleontologists mostly, <i>you know</i> , very cerebral...	Hedge	Tentativeness, Confidence
Charlie – RoG	02:20	(Charlie) You know, actually I'm a little surprised of myself. I mean, Joey is so different from the guys I usually date. I mean, they're all professors, and intellectuals, and paleontologists mostly, <i>you know</i> , very cerebral...—(RoG) Yeah, I know the type.	Turn- Taking	Interruption: Subordination of Charlie by RoG
JT	10:00	Yeah, I'm... I'm <i>kind of</i> having a little problem.	Hedge	Tentativeness
RoG	10:40	You were saying you didn't want to seem <i>stupid</i> .	Swearing	Weak
RoG	10:52	<i>You know</i> , I really don't want to get involved in you guy's relationship	Hedge	Tentativeness
JT	11:21	Oh, that's what she meant! <i>You know</i> , if they're gonna shorten it, they should call it the MUSE! <i>You know</i> , short for museum, and avoid all the confusion!	Hedge	Confidence Confidence
RoG	11:42	Yeah, ok, there's this great rare bookstore on Madison Avenue. <i>You know what?</i> She loves architecture, you know what you should do?	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	11:59	But I'm not! <i>You know what</i> , if you're in the mood for Thai food...	Hedge	Tentativeness

RoG – JT	12:00	(RoG) But I'm not! You know what if you're in the mood for Thai food...— (JT) Whoa, whoa, whoa! Slow down, you go way too fast. Ok? Just go back to the MET, ok?	Turn-Taking	Interruption: Subordination of RoG by JT
CB	13:00	Deposit my specimen? <i>You know</i> , usually I have to call a 900 number for that kind of talk. Thanks, got it.	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	15:16	<i>You know</i> , I...	Hedge	Confidence
RaG PB	15:16	(RaG) You know I... – (PB) Time for your scalp massage!	Turn-taking	Interruption: Subordination of RaG by PB
RaG	15:42	<i>Damn!</i> I wish I knew if that was right!	Swearing	Strong
RoG	16:24	Yeah, yeah that means... <i>you know?</i> We just... we don't have time for this.	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	16:28	Ok, but <i>you know what?</i> I got to say, I'm really impressed that you were able to memorize all this so quickly!	Hedge	Confidence
Janice	18:08	Oh! Well, <i>you know what?</i> It probably is.	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	18:59	Wow, Ikea... what a rich culture. Uh, <i>you know what?</i> I have a friend who is a masseuse.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	19:34	Or maybe she has trouble loosening your knots because you're such a <i>high maintenance tight ass!</i>	Swearing	Weak
PB	20:05- 20:29	Because I was ashamed ok? I sold out for the cash! And then they give me benefits like medical, and dental, and a 401K. But <i>you know</i> , you pay a price. Now I'm this corporate stooge and punching a clock and ugh, paying taxes!	Hedge	Confidence
PB	20:47	<i>You know what?</i> You are right. I am gonna quit. It's time I took my life back!	Hedge	Confidence
Charlie	22:06	Actually, <i>you know</i> , Joey is your friend, and you don't really know me that well; it would be weird.	Hedge	Tentativeness
RoG	22:35	Yeah. But <i>you know what?</i> I think you should give Joey a chance. I mean, he is a great guy, and sure he doesn't know that much about art but <i>you know</i> , you can always talk about that with someone else.	Hedge	Confidence Confidence
RoG	22:51	And if you think about it, I mean the reason he memorized all that stuff is because he thought it was important to you. <i>You know</i> , that's the kind of	Hedge	Confidence

		guy Joey is.		
CB	23:50	Hello? Oh hi, Doctor Connelly. No, she's not here but, <i>you know</i> , I can tell her. Should I be sitting down for this? Oh, well, so what does that mean? Ok. Ok, thank you. Thanks.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	26:34	<i>Son of a bitch</i> , she came back?	Swearing	Strong

6.3.10. Season 10 Episode 4

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
CB	00:24	If only she were one and had no idea <i>what the hell</i> a birthday was!	Swearing	Strong
MG	00:29	Well, I'm sorry, but Chandler and I could really use a weekend away. <i>You know</i> , to reconnect... emotionally.	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	00:51	And I mean, <i>you know</i> , you guys... This is a big deal. I mean, how can we have her first birthday party without her aunt and her uncle?	Hedge	Confidence
CB - MG	01:02	(CB) Fine, but if we end up not doing this Maxime thing because of this party...— (MG) Believe me, that is not why we won't be doing that.	Turn-Taking	Interruption: Subordination of CB
RaG	01:49	<i>You know</i> Pheebs, when I was little, on my birthday, my daddy would hide a present in every room of the house, and then he would draw a treasure map to help me find them all.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	02:28	With friends who right now are just, <i>like</i> , babies!	Hedge	Tentativeness
JT	03:36	Yeah, but for a one-year-old. What's the point? The other day she laughed for, <i>like</i> , an hour at a cup. Just a cup with a picture of Elmo on it dressed as a farmer. And he's standing next to this cow and the cow says "El-moo"! (Joey starts laughing) Man... that's a funny cup!	Hedge	Confidence
MG	04:21	Are you <i>freaking</i> kidding me, Green?	Swearing	Weak
JT	05:40	Hey Pheebs, <i>you know what?</i> I was thinking, since you wrote a song, maybe I could do something for Emma using my talents!	Hedge	Confidence
JT	05:50	<i>You know</i> , I could <i>like</i> maybe, I could do a dramatic reading of one of her books!	Hedge	Tentativeness, Tentativeness
RaG	06:13	Well, this sounds like fun! Well, <i>you know what?</i> Actually? People are getting a little antsy waiting Emma to	Hedge	Confidence

		wake up from her nap, so would you mind performing them once now?		
PB	08:55	No, of course not! I also, <i>you know</i> , prepared a reading. "Sex and the single mother. Finding your G-spot".	Hedge	Tentativeness
RoG	12:00	Well, <i>you know what?</i> While we're waiting, you guys could tape your message to Emma for her 18th birthday, huh?	Hedge	Confidence
CB	12:24	We used to be married, but then we missed a weekend away together and things <i>kind of</i> unraveled. Because of you! Happy Birthday.	Hedge	Confidence
PB	12:42	And <i>you know</i> , I have a massage client soon.	Hedge	Confidence
CB	13:57	What are you doing? Get the <i>hell</i> out of here!	Swearing	Strong
JT- CB	16:25	(JT) Or we could flip a coin, and then multiply the..—(CB) I'm begging you stop. – (JT) Right.	Turn- Taking	Interruption: Subordination of JT
MG	17:23	What? How the <i>hell</i> is that gonna help?	Swearing	Strong
MG- CB	17:45	(MG) No, no, no... wait! We didn't lose. The rules clearly stated that the last one to cross the finish line was the loser. Well, our dog never crossed the finish line, so technically...—(CB) They left.	Turn- Taking	Interupption: Subordination of MG
RaG	18:27	We still have this <i>stupid</i> obscene cake.	Swearing	Strong
RoG	18:29	Hey, maybe I can fix that, <i>you know</i> . Try to turn it into something else.	Hedge	Confidence
RaG	18:52- 19:14	I guess. Oh, I just had such an idea of what this day would be like, <i>you know?</i> Emma laughing and everybody gathered around her cake singing "Happy Birthday". Then we would all go into - Hey, get out of the way, you <i>stupid</i> student driver! What? They have to learn!	Hedge Swearing	Tentativeness Strong
PB	20:43	I just felt so bad, missing this. So I just slipped him a little something, <i>you know</i> . As long as I'm back in five or six hours, it will be all right.	Hedge	Confidence
RoG	21:33	<i>Damn</i> it! I'll put a candle on the cake.	Swearing	Strong
PB	22:40	Go, go, go Alan! Run you, hairy <i>bastard!</i>	Swearing	Strong

6.4. Gender Representation in Language: Transcripts - *HIMYM*

TM – Ted Mosby (and Future TM, the narrator)

ME – Marshall Eriksen

LA – Lily Aldrin

RS – Robin Scherbatsky

BS – Barney Stinson

6.4.1. Season 1 Episode 6

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
Future TM	00:16	<i>You know how</i> Aunt Robin's a big fan of Halloween, always dressing up in crazy costumes? Well, she wasn't always that way. Back in 2005, she thought she was too cool for Halloween, unlike Aunt Lily.	Hedge	Confidence
BS	00:41	<i>You know what</i> I love about Halloween? It's the one night of the year chicks use to unleash their inner <i>hoe-bag</i> . If a girl dresses up as a witch, she's a <i>slutty</i> witch. If she's a cat, she's a <i>slutty</i> cat. If she's a nurse...	Hedge Swearing Swearing Swearing	Confidence Strong Strong Strong
BS – LA	00:53 00:56	(BS) If a girl dresses up as she a witch, she's a <i>slutty</i> witch. If she's a cat, she's a <i>slutty</i> cat. If she's a nurse... – (LA) Wow, we get it. – (BS) ... she's a <i>slutty</i> nurse.	Turn-Taking; Swearing	Interruption of BS by LA: attempt at subordination; Strong
RS	01:23	I don't know, we were <i>kind of</i> thinking about staying at home and dressing up as naked people.	Hedge	Confidence
LA	01:45	Every Halloween, Ted waits for the <i>Slutty</i> Pumpkin.	Swearing	Strong
RS	01:49	What's the <i>Slutty</i> Pumpkin?	Swearing	Strong
TM	01:50	You mean, who is the <i>Slutty</i> Pumpkin? It was four years ago.	Swearing	Strong
ME	02:59	Oh, penguins are cool, <i>kind of</i> like black and white Ewoks. I approve.	Hedge	Confidence
BS	03:34	<i>You know</i> , Ted, it's been four years. She could be engaged or married or, God forbid, fat.	Hedge	Confidence
TM	03:49	Alright, bring the mockery. Fine, I can take it. Come on, wouldn't it be the coolest story ever if the <i>Slutty</i> Pumpkin turned out to be my future wife?	Swearing	Strong
LA	03:56	Oh, on the off chance that that could happen, maybe we should stop calling her the <i>Slutty</i> Pumpkin.	Swearing	Strong
TM	04:43	Hey, I want the <i>Slutty</i> Pumpkin to recognize me, and she knows me as a	Swearing	Strong

		hanging chad.		
LA	04:52	Yeah, four years ago, but nobody remembers <i>what the hell</i> a hanging chad is.	Swearing	Weak
BS	05:45	Oh you're dangerous, Maverick. Your ego's writing check your body can't cash. OK. Here's the plan, and I <i>crap</i> you not. I'm getting us into the Victoria's Secret Halloween party. Trust me, by the end of the night, your chad will not be hanging.	Swearing	Strong
TM	06:03	We can get rejected by supermodels any night of the year. Tonight, I'm going up to the roof, I'm gonna have a few beers, I'm gonna wait for the <i>Slutty</i> Pumpkin. That's just what I do.	Swearing	Strong
BS	06:12	Hm, (putting up his left hand) Victoria's Secret models prancing around in bras and panties, or (putting up his right hand) Yale preppies reuniting their <i>stupid</i> a capella group. What's that left hand? Right hand sucks? Word.	Swearing	Weak
RS	06:44	He's meeting me here. I ran late covering the Halloween parade in the Village. There are, <i>like</i> , a zillion gay pirates this year.	Hedge	Confidence
RS	06:58	Uh, <i>you know</i> , Mike and I joked about doing something together but we decided not to dress up.	Hedge	Confidence
RS	08:43	Actually, I <i>kind of</i> need this hand to eat.	Hedge	Tentativeness
LA	09:13	I think you won the dish-off tonight, baby. This steak totally <i>bitch-slapped</i> my pork chop.	Swearing	Strong
RS	09:40	Dude, I'm <i>kind of</i> in the zone here.	Hedge	Confidence
LA	11:20	OK, I know that stuff looks dumb from the outside, but it's <i>kind of</i> the greatest thing in the world when you're a part of it. If you just give it a chance, you might like it.	Hedge	Confidence
TM	12:30	No, there's a huge line. I don't want to miss the <i>Slutty</i> Pumpkin.	Swearing	Strong
LA	13:00	Take the <i>damn</i> picture.	Swearing	Weak
BS	14:00	Oh, <i>go to hell</i> .	Swearing	Weak
Mike	14:07	<i>You know</i> , if you guys like tiramisu we found this little Italian place...	Hedge	Confidence
Mike – RS	14:10	(Mike) You know, if you guys like tiramisu we found this little Italian place... – (RS) No you found it, I came	Turn-Taking	Interruption: Mike interrupted by

		with you. Go on.		RS but no subordination or change of topic
BS	15:16	Come on, I can't stand to watching my delusional friend waste another precious Halloween. The <i>Slutty Pumpkin</i> is not coming.	Swearing	Strong
Mike	15:54	<i>You know what</i> , it's getting late. I think I'm gonna take off.	Hedge	Confidence
Mike	16:24	Actually, it <i>kind of</i> does.	Hedge	Confidence
TM	16:53	Kahlua, root beer, could this penguin be the <i>Slutty Pumpkin</i> ?	Swearing	Strong
BS	17:27	You are such a <i>loser</i> . Come on, I came back for you, Ted. I penguin-suited up to show you the error of your ways. And to score hula girl's number. Check and check.	Swearing	Weak
RS	19:57	Yeah, it's OK. I wasn't that into him. Story of my life. Everyone else is all falling in love and acting <i>stupid</i> and goofy and sweet and insane, but not me. Why don't I want that more? I want to want that. Am I wired wrong or something?	Swearing	Weak
TM	20:45	Yeah, he's out there somewhere, just like the <i>Slutty Pumpkin</i> . (echoes) pumpkin-pumpkin...	Swearing	Strong
TM	21:03	Well, I'm pretty drunk. Look, I know that odds are the love of my life isn't going to magically walk through that door in a pumpkin costume at 2:43 in the morning, but it seems as nice a spot as any to just, <i>you know</i> , sit and wait.	Hedge	Confidence

6.4.2. Season 2 Episode 11

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
TM	00:03	Kids, <i>as you know</i> , Christmas is a time you spend with your family. So in December of 2006, I had three options.	Hedge	Confidence
ME	00:51	<i>Damn me</i> and my heightened other senses. Must be strong.	Swearing	Weak
TM	01:14	Oh, yeah. After you left, we, we unplugged it because it reminded Marshall of how you used to, <i>you know</i> , leave messages. But hey, you guys are back together. I say we're plugging it back in. It's good to have you back.	Hedge	Confidence

TM	01:43	Hey, Marshall. Are you lying on the couch right now moping about Lily? You are, aren't you? Well, stop it. She's not worth it. You gotta get over that <i>Grinch</i> .	Swearing	Strong
Future TM	01:52	But I didn't say <i>grinch</i> . I said a bad word. A very, very bad word.	Swearing	Strong
TM	02:00	Oh, <i>fudge</i> . (future TM) But I didn't say fudge.	Swearing	Strong
TM	02:30	<i>You know</i> , it may have been me, but it was so long ago. Man, that machine, it really garbles your voice. <i>You know</i> , it almost made it sound like I said...	Hedge Hedge	Tentativeness Tentativeness
BS	03:34	She'd give it up for a bad pun. I'm telling you, she's a laugh <i>slut</i> .	Swearing	Strong
TM	04:22	<i>Grinch</i> . You timed that didn't you?	Swearing	Strong
TM	04:48	Because, Lily, this summer, you were <i>kind of a Grinch</i> .	Hedge Swearing	Confidence, Strong
BS	06:03	<i>You know what?</i> I am sick. Sick of you telling me I'm sick. What up?	Hedge	Confidence
TM	06:51	She took the decorations. She took the decorations! What a <i>Grinch</i> ! (narrator TM) That time I did say "Grinch."	Swearing	Strong
TM	07:22	Okay, yeah, dinner next Wednesday. Okay. <i>Damn</i> voice dial.	Swearing	Weak
RS	07:32	Barney! <i>What the hell</i> are you doing?	Swearing	Weak
BS	07:38	Hey, blame Lily and her oppressive "no cigars in the apartment rule." God, it's, <i>like</i> , Marshall's marrying the Taliban. High five.	Hedge	Confidence
LA	08:31	Merry Christmas, <i>assface</i> .	Swearing	Weak
LA	08:50	Exactly. You know what that word means. You know that calling people names is mean and hurtful... <i>assface</i> .	Swearing	Weak
LA	09:08	Don't forget to take the cookies out of the oven... <i>assface</i> !	Swearing	Weak
TM	09:11	<i>Damn</i> it! I could be in Cleveland right now making peppermint lager with my dad.	Swearing	Weak
TM	09:52	Yeah, but, <i>you know</i> , decorations, is that really what Christmas is about?	Hedge	Tentativeness
ME	09:56	<i>Hell</i> , yeah! What else would it be about?	Swearing	Weak
TM	10:00	Uh, try the birth of Christ. <i>You know</i> , Christmas-- Christ Mas, which means "More Christ" to our Spanish friends.	Hedge	Tentativeness
TM	10:27	<i>You know</i> , honestly, they taste a little store-bought. Oh, I got another call.	Hedge	Confidence
TM –	11:06	(TM) Hey, Clint. Listen, um, I don't	Turn-	Interruption:

Clint – TM		really have time to... (Clint) Hey, hey, no, no, no. Ted, Ted. You don't know this yet, but you and I are going to be great friends. Now, the Native Americans have this ritual... – (TM hangs up the phone in the middle of Clint's turn)	Taking	Subordination of TM by Clint Interruption: Subordination of Clint by TM
LA	13:31	Yeah, some friend, you called me a <i>Grinch</i> .	Swearing	Strong
TM	13:33	You were a <i>Grinch</i> !	Swearing	Strong
TM	13:35	<i>Grinchy, Grinch, Grinch, Grinch, Grinch, Grinch, Grinch.</i>	Swearing	Strong
TM	14:22	Uh, they're fine. They're just... they're a little weird. <i>You know</i> , they don't believe in gifts or Christmas trees. And they think Santa's how Satan spells his name when he wants to trick us.	Hedge	Confidence
ME	14:54	<i>Holy crap</i> , the magical Christmas season is upon us. And thank God we don't pay for utilities.	Swearing	Strong
ME	15:32	It was supposed to arrive, <i>like</i> , five days ago, but then it got lost and rerouted. I checked two other branches, finally they told me it was here	Hedge	Tentativeness
LA	18:03	When I was a kid, all I wanted was an Easy Bake Oven. I begged and I begged, but all I got was a <i>stupid</i> Lego set because my feminist mom didn't want me conforming to traditional gender roles.	Swearing	Weak
TM	19:17	Uh, <i>you know what</i> , why don't you say it. I really wouldn't know what to say.	Hedge	Tentativeness
TM	20:30	Yes. And I promise, I will never ever call you a, <i>you know</i> , again.	Hedge	Tentativeness
LA	20:35	That's okay. I was <i>kind of a Grinch</i> .	Hedge Swearing	Confidence Strong

6.4.3. Season 3 Episode 13

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
Man (Movie Theater)	02:00	We all got it. Ted's a <i>schmuck</i> .	Swearing	Weak
TM – BS	05:52	(TM) I don't get it. I mean... – (BS) Is this lame? (does magic)	Turn-Taking	Interruption: Subordination of TM by BS; change of topic
ME	05:58	<i>What the hell</i> is wrong with you?	Swearing	Weak
BS – LA	06:09	(LA) No, no, you are on a time-out. Go sit over there.	Turn-Taking	Interruption: Subordination

		(BS) But... (LA) Go!		of BS by LA
LA	06:17	<i>You know</i> , you can do this, Ted. I said that I would stop biting my nails, and kablamey. It's just a challenge. It can't be easy to woo someone while you're sticking your naked butt in their face.	Hedge	Confidence
BS	06:45	No, you didn't. You were <i>like</i> , "No, we can't, we're friends. It would mess up the dynamic of the group."	Hedge	Confidence
Abby	07:54	Nothing. Nothing. It's really <i>stupid</i> . Dr. Zinman, Ted's here.	Swearing	Weak
Stella	09:45	I am so sorry that I am late. I have, <i>like</i> , two minutes for lunch everyday.	Hedge	Confidence
TM - Stella	09:54	(TM) It's crazy. Yeah, I understand. I was just, uh, checking out the old bookshelf here. I see you've read 'The Power of Me'. It's funny... – (Stella) What? Oh, no. No, no, no, no, no, I would never read that piece of crap. Some patient left it here.	Turn-Taking	Interruption of TM by Stella: no change of topic, no subordination
Stella	09:54	What? Oh, no. No, no, no, no, no, I would never read that piece of <i>crap</i> . Some patient left it here.	Swearing	Strong
TM	10:05	Oh, thank God. I couldn't agree more. That's total <i>crap</i> . I see people reading that on the subway and I just want to shout, "Get a life, people!"	Swearing	Strong
TM	12:20	That is the <i>stupidest</i> thing I've ever heard.	Swearing	Weak
Abby	12:42	Oh, hi, Ted. Love the 'stache. You look like a young Tom Selleck, only a million times handsomer. Dr. Zinman, Magnum's here to see you. Just kidding. <i>Stupid</i> .	Swearing	Weak
TM	13:32	This is awful. My tenth session is next week. I'm gonna ask her out, and she's gonna say the most demoralizing syllable in the English language... no. <i>You know what?</i> Just forget it. I'm not even gonna ask her.	Hedge	Tentativeness
Stella	14:12	<i>You know</i> , we should really get this mole checked out. It's just a little irregular.	Hedge	Confidence
Stella	16:06	Anyway, it's been fun. Next time, think before you ink. But if you ever do wake up with, <i>like</i> , a dolphin tattoo on your ankle, just give me a call.	Hedge	Confidence
Stella	17:24	That's, <i>like</i> , 120 seconds.	Hedge	Confidence
Stella	17:36	Thank you, sir. <i>You know</i> , I have always wanted to try this place.	Hedge	Confidence

Stella	18:43	Yeah, I almost walked out, <i>like</i> , five times.	Hedge	Confidence
Stella	18:48	Yeah, she's wonderful. I just wish that I could get her to quit smoking, <i>you know?</i>	Hedge	Confidence
Stella	19:07	<i>You know</i> , this neighborhood just keeps on changing. This used to be a cute, little Italian restaurant.	Hedge	Confidence
BS	20:38	Wow. This Ted guy sounds like a real <i>jerk</i> . You know your problem? You're too sweet.	Swearing	Weak

6.4.4. Season 4 Episode 2

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
Future TM	00:03	Kids, when I first moved to New York, it was dingy, disgusting, ugly, flea-ridden, stinky and altogether terrifying, but then, sadly, the whole city started to go uphill. The streets got a little cleaner, the rents got a little higher, and one by one, the <i>crappy</i> old places we loved began to disappear. ...	Swearing	Strong
RS	02:00	Yeah, I'm <i>freaking</i> starving. I just finished a seven-day cleanse.	Swearing	Weak
LA	03:19	It's, <i>like</i> , Christmas in my mouth, meat Christmas.	Hedge	Confidence
TM	03:23	It's, <i>like</i> , an angel from heaven landed in the kitchen at MacLaren's. Where the chef killed it and ran it through the meat grinder.	Hedge	Confidence
ME	06:15	Ted, I've just had the most amazing burger of my life! It's this awesome little place, Regis Philbin eats there, so it's <i>sort of</i> like a celebrity hot spot. But the burger. The burger. Dude.	Hedge	Tentativeness
ME	06:38	<i>Damn</i> it! Where is this place?	Swearing	Weak
BS	06:55	<i>You know what's</i> not a drag? Getting a home equity loan at Goliath National Bank. I'm just saying.	Hedge	Confidence
LA	10:16	Barney, I hate to break this to you, but working for a bank is <i>kind of</i> lame.	Hedge	Confidence
BS	10:20	How lame is free automatic bill pay? How lame is 3.3% APY online savings? Yeah, that's right. Hate to make you look <i>stupid</i> in front of your friends, but you left me no choice.	Swearing	Weak
BS	11:44	I want... to take this burger out to dinner, then maybe a movie, then take it back to my place, put on a little	Hedge	Confidence

		Terence Trent D'arby, and then I would just... fool around a little bit. Nothing serious, just take it slow, <i>you know</i> ?		
BS	14:55	<i>You know</i> , Lil, when times are tough, I like to remember the uplifting words of my favourite song. "We'll be on your side when you need a friend. Through thick and thin you can always depend. On the world leaders in credit and banking. Goliath National Bank." Member FDIC.	Hedge	Confidence
RS	15:50	<i>Damn it.</i>	Swearing	Weak
Regis Philbin	15:58	Barney, <i>where the hell</i> are you?	Swearing	Weak
LA	17:19	This is your fault, you and your <i>stupid</i> bank. You did this.	Swearing	Weak
ME	18:07	Yeah and I also want to be a Harlem Globetrotter and get paid in candy, but in the meantime, I need a job, and this is, this is a really good one. It's great pay and there's good benefits, and to be honest, it gives me a reason to put on pants in the morning. <i>You know</i> , I have my whole life to save the planet, but right now, I'm <i>kind of</i> really excited to wear pants again.	Hedge Hedge	Confidence Confidence
ME	18:43	It's <i>stupid</i> . I think about that first week in New York. <i>You know</i> ? I was 22 years old. I had my whole future ahead of me. I guess I just <i>kind of</i> thought that if I could have that burger one more time and feel that way for one more night, that I might be able to check that off the list, and grow up, go work for the <i>stupid</i> bank, and just... be happy.	Swearing Hedge Hedge Swearing	Weak Confidence Tentativeness Weak
Stranger	19:05	<i>You know</i> , that burger place isn't gone. It just moved to a new location. And I can tell you where that is for a hundred bucks.	Hedge	Confidence

6.4.5. Season 5 Episode 16

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
Future TM	00:03	Kids, in many of my stories, I'm a starry-eyed romantic on a noble search for true love. In this one, I'm just a <i>jerk</i> .	Swearing	Weak
Tiffany	01:35	I was shy and awkward. I was, <i>like</i> , 100 pounds heavier and I had these crazy	Hedge	Confidence

		buck teeth.		
Tiffany	01:43	No. I've always been hot. What are you going to do? <i>You know</i> who else would love this teacup pig? My boyfriend.	Hedge	Confidence
Tiffany	02:15	I mean technically, he <i>kind of</i> is.	Hedge	Tentativeness
RS	02:47	She's stringing you along, but she's not committing to you, but she's keeping around, just in case, <i>like</i> , an old can of chili in the pantry.	Hedge	Confidence
ME	03:19	So I was, <i>like</i> , thinking, Lisa, do, maybe you want, <i>like</i> , go out with me?	Hedge	Tentativeness Tentativeness
LA	03:53	Poster <i>whore!</i>	Swearing	Strong
LA	05:08	Yeah, I think my high school boyfriend Scooter is still <i>sort of</i> on the hook for me.	Hedge	Tentativeness
ME	05:10	<i>Sort of?</i> He totally is. The poor guy showed up at our wedding hoping to win you back.	Hedge	Confidence
Future TM	07:25	No they're not <i>dumbass!</i>	Swearing	Weak
TM	09:36	Hey, by the way, did you ditch that <i>loser</i> boyfriend yet?	Swearing	Weak
LA	10:50	I'm sorry. But he's just so <i>freaking</i> cute.	Swearing	Weak
ME	10:57	<i>You know</i> , it's funny. I remember when you told me stuff like that.	Hedge	Tentativeness
TM - LA	11:54	(TM) Well, no, but... – (LA) And, tell me, did you by any chance make that chocolate cake?	Turn-Taking	Interruption: Subordination of TM by LA
RS	13:16	Dude, I'm a girl. Okay, our girl parts are, <i>like</i> , a spider web. Sometimes you're going to catch stuff you don't want.	Hedge	Confidence
Future TM	14:18	What a <i>jerk!</i>	Swearing	Weak
ME	16:00	<i>Sort of</i> a weird thing to say to a pig.	Hedge	Confidence
TM	16:31	<i>You know what?</i> We're not going to work, ever.	Hedge	Confidence

6.4.6. Season 6 Episode 14

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
LA	00:31	Don't look at me. This morning Marshall said, "I have to pee." And I, "Don't worry, baby, I'll do it for you." Halfway through the pee, I'm, <i>like</i> , "This doesn't even make sense!"	Hedge	Confidence
ME – RS	02:10	(ME) Hey, guys, sorry, uh, I left my charger back in New York, so my	Turn-Taking	Interruption: help and

		phone's out of juice. Does anyone have... – (RS) Outlet or USB?		support; no subordination
TM	02:20	You're, <i>like</i> , Mary Poppins, if her magic purse was also filled with drugs.	Hedge	Confidence
Marvin	05:08	Yeah, but plane food is <i>ass</i> .	Swearing	Weak
ME	07:25	Crocodile Dundee III is the second-best of the Croc trilogy. <i>You know</i> , maybe I can live with that.	Hedge	Tentativeness
RS	08:42	<i>You know</i> , you should listen to it. Just don't put too much pressure on it.	Hedge	Confidence
Woman – RS	09:43	(Woman) Hey, so, I heard you might have... – (RS) You heard right. I'm getting a reputation (she whispers excitedly). So, what you need, mama? Come here.	Turn-Taking	Interruption: Subordination of Girl by RS
LA	10:16	Judy's finally sleeping and it's all because of me! Guys, I have a role! I'm Judy's <i>bitch</i> ! Yeah!	Swearing	Strong
Lily's father	11:56	Lily, it's Dad. Listen, I'm <i>sort of</i> in jail for not paying taxes for the last 25 years. But bright side, I thought of a great new board game. "Tax Evasion", ages six to ten. Which is, ironically, what I might be looking at. Anyway, Pumpkin, I need \$15,000.	Hedge	Tentativeness
BS – ME	13:22	(BS) Man, I always thought I had it rough not really knowing my dad, but... now I realize at least I'll never have to suffer like this. Our next video is called "German Shepherd Activates Tennis Ball Cannon While Fat Kid Sips Energy Drink." – (ME) Barney, please, Barney! It's... No more videos, okay? I just need a minute.	Turn-Taking	Interruption: Subordination of BS by ME
BS	14:23	Yeah. Showing videos of guys getting hit in the nuts wasn't going to do anything. I'm just <i>stupid</i> .	Swearing	Weak
TM	14:28	<i>Stupid</i> .	Swearing	Weak
Judy	15:42	" <i>You know something</i> , gorgeous, I'm the luckiest man alive."	Hedge	Confidence
ME	16:58	You guys don't get it, okay? None of you do. My dad was my hero. And he was my teacher. And he was my best friend. He always came through for me. And now he's just gone. And what am I left with? Thanks a lot, God! Thank you! You took my father, the greatest man that I have ever known, and you ripped him off this Earth, way too young! And he'll never get to meet our kids, Lily. But we got this voice mail.		

		Thank you so much for the voice mail! It's a great comfort! 'Cause whenever I'm starting to feel lonely or sad, or <i>you know what</i> , or maybe a little bit cheated, at least I got the sound of his pocket to console me. How is this fair? <i>You know, like</i> , an entire human life and it just ends for no reason, and what are we left with?	Hedge Hedge Hedge	Confidence Confidence Confidence
Judy	19:43	That dress makes you look like a <i>Kansas City whore</i> .	Swearing	Strong

6.4.7. Season 7 Episode 18

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
Future TM	00:04	Kids, 2012 started out <i>kind of</i> crazy.	Hedge	Confidence
BS	00:38	I don't know bro, look at me and that Quinn chick. You don't hear me prattling on about how beautiful her smile is, how her hair is, <i>like</i> , a waterfall of honey-colored silk, how her eyes are, <i>like</i> , a warm South Sea kissed by the fire and gold of sunrise. I don't even remember what she looks like.	Hedge Hedge	Tentativeness Tentativeness
TM	01:15	But why Quinn? I mean, you spent one night with her, and she was <i>kind of</i> mean.	Hedge	Confidence
RS	02:13	I really appreciate you guys taking me in. I mean, I'm homeless, things between me and Ted are still <i>kind of</i> weird. So, it's nice to be around friends.	Hedge	Tentativeness
TM – BS;	04:34	(BS) They're people, Ted; try to keep them straight. Wait a minute. What if this is destiny? – (TM) I just said... – (BS) What if the universe is throwing us in each other's path for some reason? (TM) More or less exactly what I... – (BS) I don't care what you say, this is destiny!	Turn-Taking	Interruption: Subordination of TM by BS; Subordination of TM by BS
BS	04:44	I don't care what you say, this is destiny! <i>Damn</i> it, Ted! Why can't you ever root for love?	Swearing	Weak
BS	05:07	Uh, look, Karma, I swear I never say <i>crap</i> like this, but I think maybe the universe is telling us something.	Swearing	Strong
BS	05:19	No, I mean <i>like</i> fate telling us that we're supposed to be...	Hedge	Confidence

RS	06:46	Also Diary, I think writing in you is <i>stupid</i> , but you were a gift from Lily, and she's watching me right now.	Swearing	Weak
Quinn	08:17	<i>You know what</i> , Barney? I know I said I have a rule about not dating customers, but you may have convinced me to...	Hedge	Confidence
Quinn	08:38	Well, I was going to say that I do find you very... charming, and funny... and sexy. And exciting and smart. You so get me. <i>You know what</i> , Barney? I have never done this before, but there's just something about you. So I guess my answer is... Oh. The song's over.	Hedge	Confidence
TM	11:38	I can't believe we're at a strip club and <i>the biggest boob</i> in here is you.	Swearing	Weak
Quinn	13:44	Sweetie, that is just something I say to these <i>gullible losers</i> here. They fall for it every time.	Swearing	Weak
BS	13:47	Bunch of <i>losers</i> !	Swearing	Weak
Quinn	13:54	Oh <i>gosh!</i> Manager again. He's looking at me, <i>like</i> , "Karma, why aren't you booking more time in the Champagne Room?"	Swearing Hedge	Weak Confidence
LA	15:37	And, <i>you know</i> , this place wouldn't seem so bad if... we got one of our friends to move out here.	Hedge	Tentativeness
Quinn	16:27	<i>You know</i> , I've worked at that club for a year. You practically live there, and you didn't even recognize me the night we went out. You can't pretend to be some hurt little victim with me.	Hedge	Confidence
BS	17:01	<i>You know</i> , it's funny. Almost every woman I've ever met was wrong to give me a chance. You're the first woman who's wrong not to.	Hedge	Confidence
TM	18:46	<i>You know</i> , I actually made this mug.	Hedge	Confidence

6.4.8. Season 8 Episode 4

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
Viktoria	00:53	<i>You know</i> , he's not usually funny like that.	Hedge	Confidence
BS	02:24	(Barney's booty-call phone rings) Booty, booty, booty, booty rocking everywhere ♪ Booty, booty, booty, booty rocking everywhere, Booty, booty, booty, booty Yeah, <i>like</i> , I'm going to leave this at home. Barney Stinson. How may I direct my penis?	Hedge	Confidence

LA	02:44	<i>You know</i> , I thought we'd spend the whole time worrying about Marvin, but it's actually nice to be out in the world, living life.	Hedge	Confidence
ME	03:34	Okay, no, <i>you know what?</i> Let's just start with something easy.	Hedge	Tentativeness
RS	04:02	There was a double hommy on your block <i>like</i> a week ago.	Hedge	Confidence
ME	05:02	He's <i>like</i> a great dad.	Hedge	Confidence
Marcus	05:21	Pretty <i>freaking</i> sweet, <i>buttwipe</i> . I packed up all my <i>crap</i> ; I said, "See ya" to Sarah and the kids; and I finally got my dream job as a mixologist down here at Carnalism 2.	Swearing Swearing Swearing	Weak Strong Weak
TM	05:46	<i>You know</i> , as your best friend, if called upon, I'd be honored to raise Marvin.	Hedge	Confidence
BS	06:23	(BS sings) Bro McDonald had a farm, E-I-E-I-bro, And on that farm he had some chicks, E-I-E-I-bro, With a hot chick here and a <i>dumb chick</i> there...	Swearing	Weak
BS	06:42	(BS sings) Bro, bro, bro your broat, Gently to the bar, Hit on <i>sluts</i> , then do ten shots and...	Swearing	Strong
RS	07:25	What? You think you can bribe them with a stroller? They already got one, <i>foo</i> .	Swearing	Weak
ME	09:06	And then I thought what do you do if you got a wife who won't stop crying, three <i>idiots</i> who won't stop bribing you, and a universally beloved skill for gamesmanship?	Swearing	Strong
TM	11:28	Okay, here's what I would say. Well, Marvin, explaining where your parents are isn't gonna be easy. Even I - Lily and Marshall's best friend for almost 20 years - will have a hard time doing it. But I do know a guy who's very good at this <i>sort of</i> thing. Professor Infosaurus!	Hedge	Confidence
RS	13:29	I would do what my dad did: tough love. <i>You know where</i> you're headed, chief? The British Columbia Military School for boys. Of course, you're actually a boy, so at least you won't have to shave off all your hair and burn your girly clothing in an old oil drum while your father stands there and laughs at you through the flames!	Hedge	Confidence
BS	16:08	But not that <i>bitch's</i> window.	Swearing	Strong
RS	17:00	I'm the obvious choice. Hey, look, as the only one of us packing a vag, I got	Swearing	Strong

		a natural instinct for nurturing and <i>crap</i> like that. Plus, I can teach him how to bow hunt!		
LA	18:48	<i>You know</i> , we were about to name one of them Marvin's godparent, and, I can't tell you what's going on in any of their lives.	Hedge	Tentativeness
ME	19:02	Do you think that maybe we've been a little <i>crappy</i> as friends lately?	Swearing	Strong
RS	20:04	At least, Nick's cycle is fuel-efficient, we're getting, <i>like</i> , 30, 35 miles to the cob.	Hedge	Confidence
BS	20:10	<i>You know</i> , I should've told you about that six and a half sooner. Barney Stinson banging anything less than an eight? That's <i>like</i> a 15.	Hedge Hedge	Confidence Confidence

6.4.9. Season 9 Episode 5

Character	Sequence	Utterance	Feature	Function
RS	04:55	Hey, Barney, can you ask James to stop <i>crapping</i> all over marriage?	Swearing	Strong
BS	05:00	He's not <i>crapping</i> on marriage.	Swearing	Strong
LA	05:17	Hey Andretti, <i>beat it!</i>	Swearing	Weak
BS's mother	08:19	All right, <i>chumps</i> . I'm gonna tell you what I told Frampton's guitar tech when he couldn't find a condom: let's gamble.	Swearing	Weak
TM	08:50	<i>Kind of</i> want to say thank you to that note of hazelnut.	Hedge	Confidence
ME	09:32	Guess you could say that we <i>sort of</i> go together.	Hedge	Confidence
TM	12:30	What <i>kind of</i> monster am I?	Hedge	Confidence
TM	12:36	<i>You know</i> , wrap the gift before you tap the person on the shoulder and say, "Here's your gift."	Hedge	Confidence
BS	14:45	And, so help me, you and I will never have sex again if you don't give back their bluff. Stuff! <i>Damn</i> it.	Swearing	Weak
ME	15:37	Ted's a <i>rat bastard!</i> Never mention his name again!	Swearing	Strong
LA	15:57	Stuart, no <i>B.S.</i> , did you really get us that coffeemaker for our wedding?	Swearing	Strong
LA	16:14	You're a <i>weasel</i> , admit it!	Swearing	Weak
Stuart	16:21	Okay, shh, shh. Yes, I am a <i>weasel</i> .	Swearing	Weak
BS	19:29	See ya, <i>losers!</i>	Swearing	Weak
RS	21:05	Game on, <i>bitch</i> .	Swearing	Strong