Who Does the Talking?

Gender differences regarding speaking time and tag questions in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*

Margareta Wäpling

Supervisor:
Mats Mobärg
Examiner:
Joe Trotta

Title: *Who Does the Talking? Gender differences regarding speaking time and tag questions in the BBC Antiques Roadshow*

Author: Margareta Wäpling
Supervisor: Mats Mobärg

Abstract: The aim of this study is to analyse gender differences in speaking time and use of tag questions and how contextual factors, such as status, gender composition of the group and topic of the conversation, influence the result. The material used for this research was five episodes of the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*, series 32. The method was a quantitative/qualitative analysis of the experts´ speech time and use of tag questions. The tag questions were then further analysed regarding speaking time, gender and context. This study shows that there are gender differences between the female and male experts in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* and that these differences are affected by contextual factors. The male experts appear to dominate the conversations by holding the floor most of the time, especially talking to a woman, and the female experts seem to be more cooperative by using more tag questions. However, the examined tag questions have been used in many different ways, not least in order to control the conversation.

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1. Introduction

Women will have the last word. One tongue is enough for a woman. A woman's tongue wags like a lamb's tail. Many are the English proverbs labelling women as talkative. Based on people's different linguistic behaviour, we constantly judge them and form opinions about their traits and how dominant they are. This judgement, however, is not always proven right. Studies of gender differences in speaking time have shown that dominance is often expressed in increased speaking time and that this correlation is stronger for men than for women (Schmid Mast 2002:420), i.e. in reality men often talk more than women.

Other studies have been concerned with other gender differences in language use. Lakoff (1975) argued that women tend to use certain language features more than men, for instance hedges, intensifiers, overly polite language and tag questions. However, more recent research implies that such differences are more inconsistent than they are stable. In fact, scholars now insist that many contextual factors such as status, topic, age, setting and the interlocutor, influence the language of men and women (Palomares 2008:263-264).

This essay will focus on speaking time and the use of tag questions in the TV show *BBC Antiques Roadshow*, which records programmes across the UK and invites members of the public to have their antiques valued by some of Britain's leading antiques specialists. Considering more recent findings, the aim of this study is to investigate these alleged gender differences, i.e. that women are more talkative and that they use more tag questions than men. In other words, the experts' speaking time and use of tag questions has been recorded and I have investigated if and how contextual factors, such as status, gender composition of the group and topic of the conversation, influence the result.

1.1 Tag questions

English -and especially British English- is characterized by a versatile tag question system (Kimps 2007:271). Before analysing which kind of tag questions the experts in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* use and how often they use them, it is necessary to define structure and function of tag questions, as well as how the frequency of tag questions is to be measured.

1.1.1 Structure

Basically, tag questions consist of an anchor and a tag, as in (1). The examples below are taken from the studied *BBC Antiques Roadshow's* episodes (AR+date).

(1) It is a lovely thing (anchor), isn't it? (tag)   (AR 21 March 2010)

The canonical tag consists of a positive or negative operator and a pronoun, which repeats or substitutes the subject of the anchor. According to Tottie & Hoffmann (2006), *it* is the most common pronoun in British English tag questions. The tags are typically attached to a declarative, exclamative or imperative clause (Downing & Locke 2006:187). If the anchor is positive the tag is usually negative and vice versa, which is also known as reverse polarity tag questions. A less common type of tag question is the positive constant polarity tag question, when both anchor and operator are positive (2). They are typical of spoken English and mostly used in informal contexts (Kimps 2007:271).

(2) He's splendid, is he?   (AR 21 March 2010)

Negative constant polarity tag questions, with a negative anchor as well as a negative tag, occur rather exceptionally (Kimps 2007:271).

A negative tag has the enclitic *n't* attached to the operator, as in (1). In formal English, the negative particle is placed after the pronoun (Quirk et al. 1985:810), as in (3).

(3) This is another self-portrait, is it not?   (AR 4 April 2010)

In the studied episodes of the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*, the tag questions are primarily of reversed polarity. The operator of the tag is usually negative and mostly in its contracted form.

In this study, I extend the definition of tag questions and also include invariant tags that, according to Quirk et al. (1985:814), invite the listener's response and are appended to a statement or an exclamation. They take a rising tone and have the same form whether the statement is positive or negative, for example: *am I right?, isn't that so?, don't you think?, wouldn't you say?, right?*. Also according to Quirk et al. (1985:814), comment clauses or discourse markers (such as *you know* and *I hope*) may in general be considered invariant tags, even if they are mostly not questions. To this list I have added similar expressions, such as *if you like?* and *Yes?*, which are used in the same way as the above mentioned invariant tags in the examined episodes.

1.1.2 Function

Tag questions have been classified according to function by several scholars (Holmes 1995, Algeo 1990, Tottie & Hoffmann 2006). In this study the functional system of Tottie & Hoffmann (2006) has been adopted, as it sufficiently covers the tag questions used in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*. Tottie & Hoffmann (following Holmes and Algeo) categorise the tag questions into six different groups: informational, confirmatory, facilitating, attitudinal, peremptory and aggressive (2006:301). Informational tag questions are, according to Tottie & Hoffmann, genuine questions of information:

    (4) You know what this is, don't you? – We haven't got a clue. (AR 4 April 2010)

Confirmatory tag questions are used when the speaker is not quite sure of what he or she says and wants a confirmation:

    (5) He is dead now, isn't he? – Yes.   (AR 7 March 2010)

Facilitating tags are used when the speaker is sure of what he or she says, but wants to involve the listener:

    (6) They are so vivid, aren't they? –Yes.   (AR 7 March 2010)

Finally, using attitudinal tags the speaker does not seek a response from the listener, but rather wants to emphasize what he or she says.

    (7) It's a pretty filthy thing, isn't it? (no answer)   (AR 4 April 2010)

    The peremptory tag is intended to close off a discussion and the aggressive tag questions are meant to be insulting or provocative, which is rather out of place in such an amicable programme as the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*. Consequently, due to the nature of the examined show, there are no tag questions of the last two categories and they will henceforward be left without consideration in this study.

    Facilitating and attitudinal tags have been rather difficult to separate, but as the main difference between them is the perlocutionary effect the tag question has, I have based the categorisation upon that. As Kissine (2008:1192) points out:

> To be sure, the speaker does not necessarily intend to produce every perlocutionary effect her utterance turns out to have. […] In other words, whether a perlocutionary effect is intentional or not has no bearing on the speaker's performance of the corresponding perlocutionary act. The important point is that as long as an event is caused by an utterance, it can be described as a perlocutionary effect, and the causal relation as a perlocutionary act […].

Accordingly, if there is no verbal response from the listener, it has been classified as an attitudinal tag and vice versa, if the listener gives any kind of verbal response, it has been recorded as a facilitating tag.

A further complication when categorising the different types of tag questions is the large amount of overlapping speech. Often the experts do not stop talking after uttering a tag question despite overlapping feedback. The fact that the speaker goes on talking without leaving time for answers would imply that these tag questions should be recognized as rhetorical ones (Axelsson 2011:75). However, the visitors do obviously not perceive them as rhetorical as they nevertheless feel encouraged to make a reply. Consequently, these tag questions are not recorded as rhetorical in this study.

1.1.3 Frequency

Lakoff (1975) argued that women's powerlessness is reflected in how they speak, for instance by using more tag questions. Areni & Sparks (2005:507) state the difference between powerless and powerful language as follows:

> Powerless language involves the use of various linguistic markers (i.e. hedges, intensifiers, deictic phrases, overly polite language, tag questions, and verbal and nonverbal hesitations), which signify relatively low social status in a given communication context. Powerful language suggests higher social status and is characterized largely by the absence of these markers.

Frequent use of tag questions is thus said to be a marker of powerless speech as well as of women's language. The *BBC Antiques Roadshow* offers a speaking situation, which is exactly the same for both male and female experts. Consequently, this research should be able to provide reliable results. In this study, the frequency of tag-questions has been measured tags/min. and then correlated with gender. The alternative method, to measure occurrences per 1000 words, has been rejected as too time consuming for this limited study. By measuring the speaking time (instead of counting the words) it has also been clarified how long the experts dominate and control the conversation, thus combining the two variables that are under examination in this paper.

Additionally, the frequency of canonical and invariant tag questions has been recorded as well as which function has been more frequent and in what context the different tag questions have been used. In short, the correlation between the experts' sex and how they use tag questions (frequency, function, context) has been analysed.

1.2 Context

The material for this study is the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*. It has been chosen because it offers the same speaking situation for both men and women of similar background. Therefore, the show is very suitable for comparing gender differences. Additionally, the influence of contextual factors such as status, topic, setting and the sex of the interlocutor are also convenient to investigate in a TV show that is as repetitive as the *Antiques Roadshow*. In other words, the programmes exhibit a 'community of practice' (CoP): a social grouping, constituted by engagement in a joint undertaking (Cameron 2005:488). Considering Cameron's discussion in *Language, Gender and Sexuality* (2005:489) her words are particularly interesting for this (local) investigation:

> Even where women and men belong to a single CoP, they may nevertheless be positioned differently in it, in ways that are consequential for their linguistic behaviour […]. Again, however, one cannot just assume differences will be found in every CoP, nor extrapolate findings from one CoP to all of them: the constraints and possibilities available to women and men are localized, context-dependent, and as such always a matter for local investigation.

1.2.1 Status and gender composition of the participants

The status of the male and female specialists is similar. They are all presented as Britain's leading antiques and fine arts specialists. Being an expert on the show, he or she has to educate or inform the visitors and the TV audience about the presented antiques. Thus, the experts have a dominant presence. Dominance can be seen as a personality trait or indicating a person's hierarchical position (Schmid Mast 2002:421). In the present study dominance refers to the latter concept. Furthermore, dominance can be expressed through powerful speech, which indicates a lack of tag questions (Areni & Sparks 2005:507), and/or by talking more than the interlocutor (Schmid Mast 2002).

The visitors, on the other hand, are members of the public, who come to have their antiques valued by experts. The valuations reflect actual status differences between the experts of the show and the lay people visiting the show. The experts, having a dominant

presence in the programme, should supposedly increase their speaking time and decrease the number of tag-questions they use. At the same time, however, the specialists are expected to invite the visitors to participate in the conversation about their objects, which would imply less speaking time and a greater number of tag questions as facilitators in the conversation.

Another contextual factor is the gender composition of the group (experts and visitors). A male or female expert talks alternately to male or female visitors and occasionally to couples of mixed sexes. Prior research has shown linguistic differences between same-gender and opposite-gender groups (Schmid Mast 2002:443).

1.2.2 Topic

In order to understand the social meaning of tag questions, it is necessary to situate them in their full linguistic and social context. Besides frequency, **what** people talk about may be equally important (Moore & Podesva 2009:479-480). The topic of the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* is experts valuating antiques brought by members of the public. Every valuation follows a set pattern and can be divided into five different phases:

Phase 1:   The visitors are requested to tell the expert what they know about their object(s).

Phase 2:   The experts inform the visitors as well as the TV audience about the object (function, appearance, material, age, manufacturer or artist).

Phase 3:   The visitors are asked how they acquired the object and how much they paid for it.

Phase 4:   The experts perform the actual valuation and set a price.

Phase 5:   The visitors react to the valuation.

The first three phases can change places with each other, whereas the last two generally do not. However, all five phases can be repeated during one and the same valuation, if the visitor has brought more than one object. The correlation between the topic, i.e. in what phase the conversation is in, and the experts' use of tag questions (frequency, function, and gender constellation) has been recorded.

1.3 Speaking time

The experts' speaking time has been measured, both in absolute terms (seconds) and as a percentage of the whole conversation. Focusing on duration of time talked, I have excluded measuring speech turns and occurrences per 1000 words. The latter has also been rejected as

too time consuming for this limited study. By measuring the time (instead of counting the words) it has been clarified how long the experts dominate and control the conversation. Therefore, even if the female experts appear to talk more rapidly and use more words in a shorter amount of time, and the male experts appear to talk more slowly, making more pauses, the time aspect is significant in detecting gender and dominance differences. Furthermore, other research has shown a strong relationship between dominance and speaking time, suggesting speaking time to be the most important factor in communicating dominance (Schmid Mast 2002:446).

A complication when recording speaking time is the large amount of overlapping speech. Often the person holding the floor does not stop talking despite overlapping feedback, which particularly occurs when he or she uses tag questions. In this study, the experts' speaking time has been measured until they leave the floor to the visitor and overlapping speech has been left without consideration. Finally, speaking time has been correlated with the use of tag questions, thus combining the two variables that are under examination in this paper.

2. Method and Material

The material for this study is the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*, series 32, of which five consecutive episodes have been recorded:

- Episode 22 Somerleyton Hall near Lowestoft, first broadcast: 7 March 2010
- Episode 23 Hopetoun House in Scotland, first broadcast: 21 March 2010
- Episode 24 Stanway House in Gloucestershire I, first broadcast: 28 March 2010
- Episode 25 Stanway House in Gloucestershire II, first broadcast: 04 April 2010
- Episode 26 Compilation - Abbotsford and Burghley, first broadcast: 11 April 2010

Every episode has a length of 60 minutes and contains between 14 and 18 valuations of one or more objects, a total of 82 valuations. Every valuation has a length of 2-4 minutes. In 67 cases the valuations are performed by a male expert and in 15 cases by a female expert. Furthermore, there are 32 male visitors, 43 female visitors and 7 couples or siblings of different sexes appearing in the show.

After establishing the structure and function of tag questions as well as contextual factors, such as status, topic and setting, the episodes were analysed and every valuation documented. Besides measuring the experts´ speaking time both in absolute terms and as a percentage of

the whole conversation, the structure, function and frequency of tag questions were recorded for each valuation. The use of tag question was then analysed regarding speaking time, gender and context.

3. Results and discussion

3.1 Speaking time

Every episode of the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* contains between 14 and 18 valuations of one or more objects, a total of 82 valuations. Every valuation has a length of 2-4 minutes, giving a total valuation time of roughly 4 hours. The experts' speaking time has been measured, both in absolute terms (seconds) and as a percentage of the whole conversation. The specialists´ speech time has shown great variation from 19% to 92% of the total valuation time, which makes an average of 68%.

3.1.1 The dominance factor

Earlier studies have shown a strong relationship between speaking time and dominance (Schmid Mast 2002:446). Similarly, the experts of the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* mostly talk for a longer time than the visitors, which indicates their dominance and hierarchical position (Fig. 1). Only 10 times out of 82, do the visitors dominate the conversation. In these cases the experts may have chosen to talk less due to situational factors (Schmid Mast 2002:423). For instance, the specialists are expected to encourage the visitors to participate in the valuation and to let them talk about their objects.

Another reason could be that the specialists do not always need to convey their rank position by dominating the conversation as the rank order (expert-layman) is already established. They can let the visitors talk as long as their dominance position is not threatened (Schmid Mast 2001:445). On some occasions though, the visitors appear to be experts on their objects and the roles of expert-layman seem to be reversed.

The status of the male and female specialists is exactly the same; they are all presented as Britain's leading antiques and fine arts specialists. However, the female experts are significantly outnumbered by the male experts, both in number and in conducted valuations. In these five episodes, 39 experts appear, 32 male and 7 female. The women experts represent 22% of the whole team, but they only perform 18% of the valuations. In other words, the programmes exhibit a 'community of practice' where the women are in a minority. Some

studies have found that women in such situations linguistically have adapted to the male norm whereas other have found a more complex scenario (Cameron 2005:497).

Correlating speaking time with gender, the investigation shows that during a valuation the male experts talk on average 70% of the total valuation time, whereas the female experts talk 64% of the time (Fig. 1). This research implies that the male experts express dominance by holding the floor for a longer time of the valuation than the female experts do. The correlation between dominance and speaking time is, thus, stronger for men than for women, which corresponds with earlier studies (Schmid Mast 2002:442). Surprisingly, though, the highest result in this study (92%) is by a female expert; the lowest result (19%) by a male expert.

Figure 1 –Graph indicating speech time of the male and female experts as a percentage of the whole conversation

However, out of the 10 valuations dominated by the visitors, 40% are conducted by a female expert even though the female experts only perform 18 % of the total valuations (Fig. 1). This could indicate that female experts may be more sensitive to the demands for involving the visitors in the conversation. Another interpretation would be that the female experts feel secure about their position as an expert on the show and that they are comfortable with letting the visitor speak most of the time. The opposing interpretation would be that the female experts feel insecure and that they lose control over the conversation. Which interpretation is the correct one, is perhaps not to be found in speaking time only. The result can have been affected by contextual factors such as gender composition of the group or topic, which is further investigated in 3.1.2 and 3.2.4.

3.1.2 Interactional context

Many contextual factors such as status, topic, age, setting and group composition, influence the language of men and women (Palomares 2008:263-264). The sex composition of the group (experts and visitors) in the *BBC Antiques Roadsow* has been recorded. The male experts talk to a male visitor 29 times, to a female visitor 33 times and to a couple/siblings of different sexes 5 times. The corresponding figures for the female experts are: male visitor 3 times, female visitor 10 times and couple/siblings 2 times. As there are so few couples in this study (only seven), the results are not quite reliable. I have therefore chosen not to include the couples in this particular analysis.

In this study, the female experts speak less, on average 60% of the total valuation time, in opposite-gender dyads i.e. when talking to a male visitor and somewhat more, 62% of the time, when talking to a female visitor (Fig. 2). This is, however, not statistically proven due to the low number of male visitors talking to a female expert. Male experts, on the other hand, speak considerably more, on average 71% of the time, in opposite-gender dyads and less, 66%, in same-gender dyads.
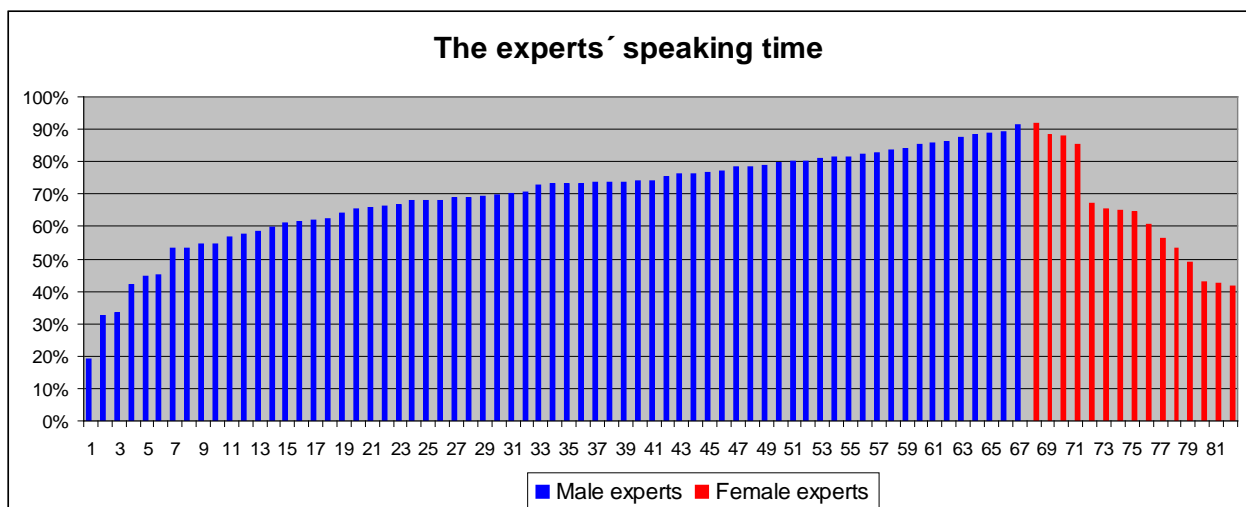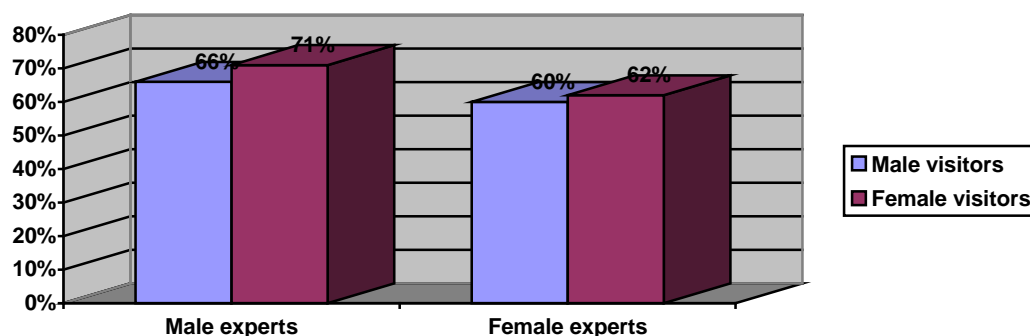

Figure 2 –Graph indicating speech time of the male and female experts as a percentage of the whole conversation correlated with the visitors' sex**.**

Prior research has demonstrated that dominance expressed through speaking time is more pronounced in same-gender than in opposite-gender groups (Schmid Mast 2002:444). Or put in another way, the dominant person talks more in a homogenous (same-gender) group than in a heterogeneous (opposite-gender) group, a result that is not supported by the present study. The male and female experts in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* display different behaviour; the female experts talk relatively more in same-gender dyads whereas the male experts talk more in opposite-gender dyads (Fig. 2).

On the other hand, this investigation implies a correlation between the experts' speaking time and whether the visitor is male or female. Both female and (more clearly) male experts tend to talk for a greater amount of time when the visitor is female (Fig. 2).

The reason for this could be that men automatically have a dominance advantage over women and, consequently, are allowed to talk for a longer time, which would apply to the male experts as well as to the male visitors. However, this claim requires further investigation.

3.2 Tag questions

English is characterized by a variant tag question system and in this survey there are a total number of 122 tag questions. They have all been listed for structure, frequency, function and context. The use of tag questions has then been correlated with the experts' speaking time as well as the participants' gender.

3.2.1 Structure

The tag questions are divided into canonical and invariant tags (cf. 1.1.1). As could be expected due to the generally formal language of the specialists, the canonical tags outnumber the invariant tags (Fig. 3). Nevertheless, the very formal and rather unusual non contracted tag is also rare in this context. It is used only twice by the same male expert in the same valuation. Most of the tag questions are of reverse polarity. The less common type of tag questions, the positive constant polarity tag question, occurs four times. Furthermore, there are no negative constant polarity tag questions, which are extremely rare.

To sum up, the tag questions in this study are primarily canonical and of reversed polarity. The operator of the tag is usually negative and mostly in its contracted form. *It* is the most common pronoun of the tag question and the definitely most used canonical tag is *isn't it* and the most used invariant tag is *you know* (Fig. 4).
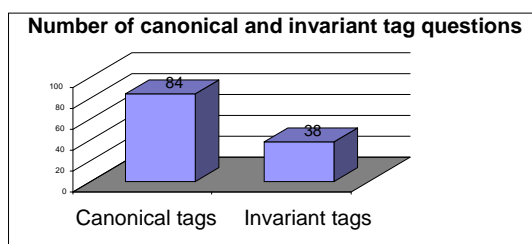

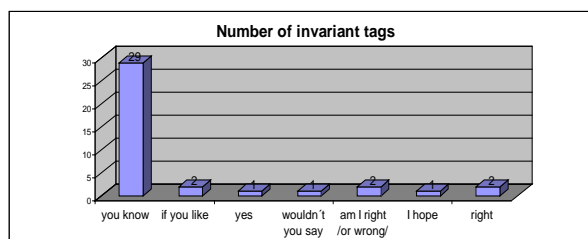**Figure 3** – Graph indicating the number of different tag questions used in the examined episodes.

Figure 4 – Graph indicating the number of different invariant tags used in the examined episodes.

As can be seen in Figure 3, the canonical tags are used 84 times (69%) and the invariant tags 38 times (31%). Male experts use a total of 91 tags, whereof 71% are canonical tags and 29% are invariant tags of seven different kinds. Female experts use 31 tags, whereof 61% are canonical tags and 39% are invariant tags of only one variant: *you know*. The rather even use of canonical and invariant tags of the female experts is somewhat unexpected, as women are said to use fewer non-standard forms than men in the same circumstances (Chambers 2009:115). However, this has to do with the fact that one female expert uses the invariant tag *you know* no less than eight times in one and the same valuation, which dramatically affects the end result.

In other words, there is a correlation between the experts' sex and which kind of tags they use. Male experts tend to have a wider variety in the use of tag questions (formal, informal, canonical and invariant), whereas the female experts mainly use canonical tag questions and only one invariant tag: *you know*. In comparison to the female experts, male experts appear to use a higher percentage of canonical tag questions than invariant tags, but again this result is influenced by the female expert using eight invariant tags during one single valuation.

3.2.2 Frequency

Areni & Sparks (2005) state that powerless language involves the use of tag questions, which signifies relatively low social status in a given context. Also according to recent research, tag questions are said to hurt speaker credibility, which reinforces the role of tag questions as powerless markers (Hosman & Siltanen 2011: 347). Areni & Sparks and Hosman & Siltanen do not, however, correlate their investigations with gender and the question is: Is Lakoff's (1975) characterisation of women's language, as having more tag questions than men's language, still valid today?

In this study, the experts use 0.78 tag questions/minute. Correlated with gender, the male experts in fact use 30% less tag questions (0.73 tags/ minute) than female experts (1.03 tags/ minute). Consequently, there is a correlation between the experts' sex and how many tag questions are used. Although the male experts on average use fewer tag questions, there are several individual divergences (Fig. 5). For example, the four experts using the most tag questions (between 2.6 and 3.9/ minute) are all male. Many experts (3 female and 25 male) did not use any tag questions at all.
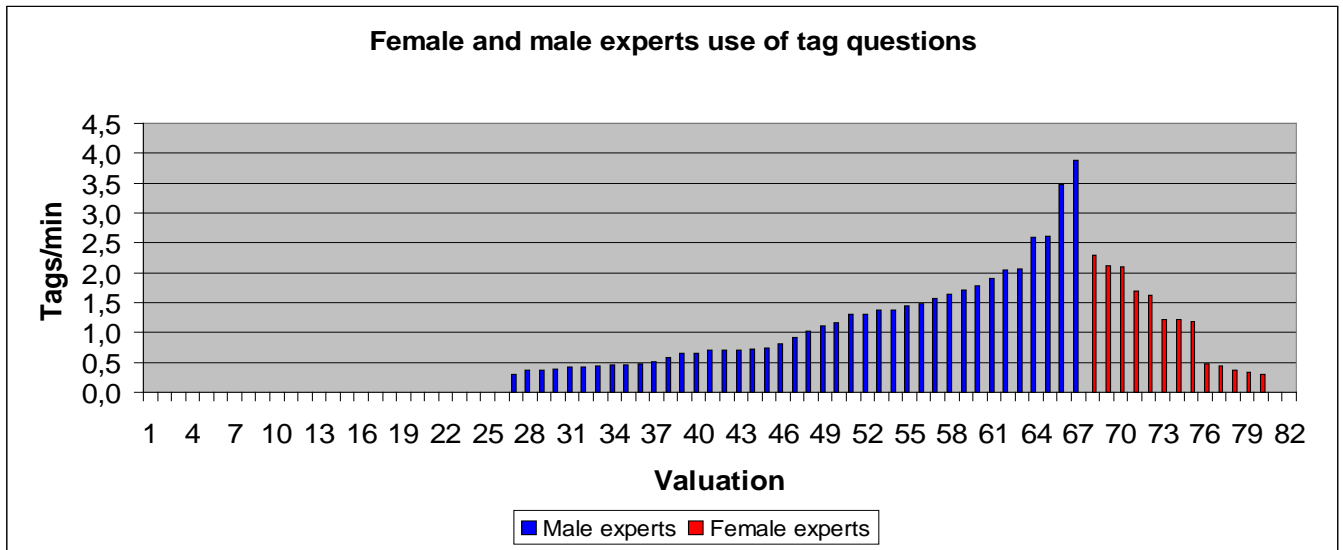
Figure 5 – Graph indicating the male and female experts' use of tags/minute.

There are, however, contradicting demands on the specialists. Besides educating and informing the visitors and the TV audience, the experts are expected to invite the visitors to participate in the conversation, which would imply less speaking time and a greater number of tag questions as facilitators in the conversation. Correlated with speaking time, the frequency of tag questions does tend to increase with decreasing speaking time. The less the expert is talking the more tag questions are used. This is particularly true of the female experts. They increase their use of tag question up to 2.3 tags/minute correlated with decreasing speaking time (Fig. 6).
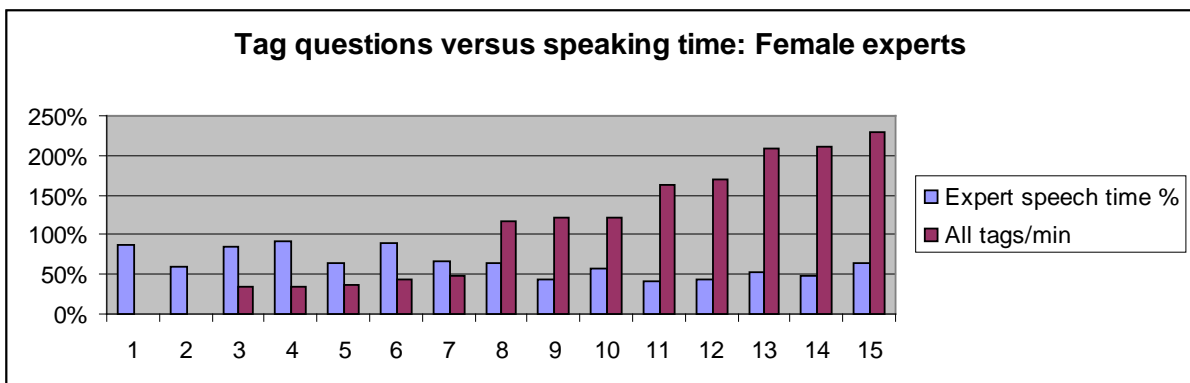
Figure 6 – Graph indicating the female experts' use of tags/minute versus speech time.

The male experts' increasing trend of using tag question is more moderate. There is only a minor indication that the male expert also increases his use of tag questions in correlation with decreasing speaking time. The male experts' speaking time (Fig. 1) appears to be more

stable than the female experts' and they seem to focus more on the educational part than on involving the visitors in the conversation.

The female experts in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* are, on the other hand, in the minority in a mixed-gender community and it is possible that they perceive themselves as interlopers or intruders in a profession that has been, and still seems to be, massively male-dominated. Their linguistic behaviour could reflect their understanding of being judged as 'good' members/experts of the show (Cameron 2005:498). Hence, the female specialists try to focus on both assignments.

Considering the gender composition, there are no major differences between how many tags are used by the experts when talking to a male or female visitor or to a couple. On average, it only differs in frequency from 0.7 to 0.9 tags/minute (Fig. 7).
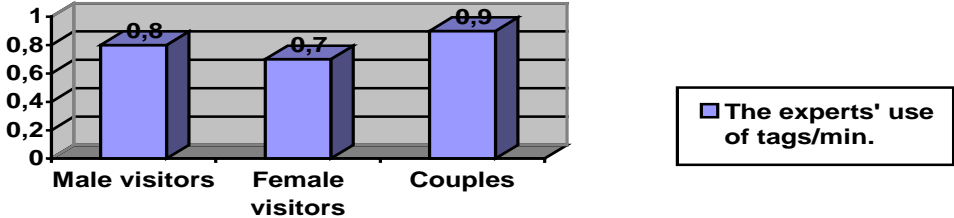
Figure 7 –Graph indicating the experts' use of tags/minute speaking to a man, a woman or a couple**.**

Female experts, however, use fewer tag questions (on average 1 tag/min.) in same-gender dyads i.e. when talking to a female visitor and considerably more (1.6 tags/min.) when talking to a male visitor (Fig 8). Male experts, on the other hand, use more tag questions (on average 0.8 tags/min.) in same-gender dyads and less (0.6 tags/min.) in opposite-gender dyads. As there are so few couples in this study (only seven), the results are not quite reliable. Therefore, I have again chosen not to include the couples in this particular analysis.
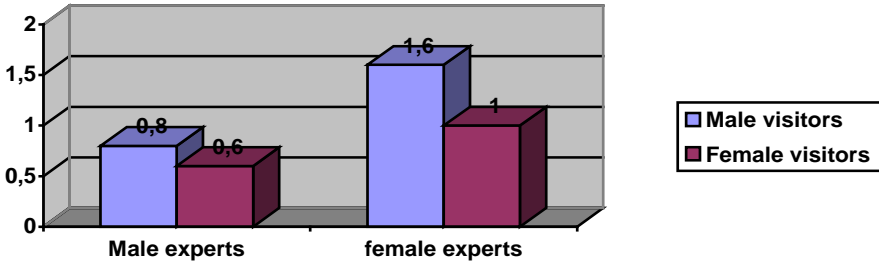
Figure 8 –Graph indicating the male and female experts' use of tags/minute correlated with the visitors' sex.

In brief, the male and female experts in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* display different behaviour concerning the use of tag questions; the female experts use relatively more (37.5%) tag questions in opposite-gender dyads whereas the male experts use 27% more tag questions in same-gender dyads than in opposite-gender dyads. However, there seems to be a correlation between the experts' frequency of tag questions and whether the visitor is male or female. Both male and (more considerably) female experts tend to use more tag questions when the visitor is male (Fig. 8).

As mentioned above, previous research has demonstrated that gender composition affects behaviour and that differences in gender-linked language are more pronounced in same-gender as compared to opposite-gender dyads (Schmid Mast 2002:443). In the present analysis, this is again not clearly so: The male experts fit that pattern, but the female experts use more gender-linked language, i.e. tag questions, in opposite-gender context than in same-gender. The result of the female experts, however, is again affected by the high number of invariant tags (eight) used in one single valuation by one individual female expert and can thus be misleading.

3.2.3 Function

The tag questions have been classified according to the functional system of Tottie & Hoffmann (2006). They categorise tag questions into six different groups: informational, confirmatory, facilitating, attitudinal, peremptory and aggressive (cf. 1.1.2). Due to the nature of the examined programme, there are no tag questions of the last two categories and they will thus be left without consideration.

The total number of 122 tags in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* has been classified as in Table 1, both in absolute terms and as a percentage of the total number.

Table 1: Number of different types of tag questions.

Tag question	*n*	%
Attitudinal tags	52	43%
Facilitating tags	54	44%
Confirmatory tags	13	11%
Informational tags	3	2%
Total	122	100%

As could be expected, most tags are attitudinal or facilitating. The specialists of the TV show are there to educate the visitors and the audience. Consequently, they emphasize what they say using attitudinal tags. At the same time, the experts are supposed to invite the visitors to

participate in the conversation and they do so by using facilitating tags. The low number of informational and confirmatory tags is also understandable. The experts usually know what they are talking about and if they seek any additional information they mostly use *wh-* questions. Tottie & Hoffmann (2006:301) found in their research that over 90% of the tags used in both British and American English were of the confirmatory, facilitating or attitudinal type, which corresponds with the outcome of this study. According to the same research (Tottie & Hoffmann 2006:302), British English had a larger proportion of confirmatory tag questions (37%) and facilitating tags (36%) than of attitudinal tag questions (18%). In the present survey, there are dramatically more attitudinal tag questions, than confirmatory tag questions. This may reflect the experts' certainty of what they are talking about; they do not need any confirmation, and also their educational role, in which they want to emphasize important facts.

However, when correlating the different functions of the tag questions with the experts´ sex, another pattern is distinguished (Table 2).

Table 2: Number of different types of tag questions correlated with gender.

Tag question	Female experts		Male experts	
	n	%	*n*	%
Attitudinal tags	16	52%	36	40%
Facilitating tags	11	35%	43	47%
Confirmatory tags	4	13%	9	10%
Informational tags	0	0%	3	3%
Total	31	100%	91	100%

There is a clear difference between the female and male experts and which kind of tag question they mainly use. Rather unexpectedly, the male experts mostly use facilitating tags, whereas the female experts chiefly use attitudinal tags. Correlated with the gender composition of the dyad, the result is constant. The female experts on average use more attitudinal tag questions, if same- or opposite-gender dyads. Similarly, the male experts use more facilitating tag questions in either case.

Furthermore, there is no major gender difference in the use of informational and confirmatory tags. Together they represent 13% of the total number of tag questions used by the female as well as the male experts.

Linguistically, women are said to be more cooperative and focused on establishing relationships, which would imply a higher use of facilitating tags. The present study, however, suggests that the female experts use decidedly fewer facilitating than attitudinal tags and, on

the contrary, that the male experts use more facilitating tags than attitudinal. The female specialists seem thus to focus on the educating assignment of the show by using more attitudinal tag questions. At the same time the male experts, using somewhat more facilitating than attitudinal tags, appear to focus on the visitors' participation in the conversation. They do not, however, succeed in their intention as in most cases they talk more than the visitors (Fig. 1).

3.2.4 Context

In order to understand the social meaning of tag questions, it is necessary to situate them in their full linguistic and social context. **What** people talk about may be equally important as gender and frequency. The topic of the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* is experts valuating antiques brought by members of the public. Every valuation follows a set pattern and can be divided into five different phases (cf. 1.2.2). Phase 1: The visitors talk about the object. Phase 2: The experts talk about the object. Phase 3: The visitors talk about how they acquired and how much they paid for the object. Phase 4: The actual valuation. Phase 5: The visitors' reaction to the valuation. The total number of the experts´ tag questions in each phase is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of tag question in different phases.

Phase	*n*	*%*
Phase 1	40	33%
Phase 2	54	44%
Phase 3	5	4%
Phase 4	22	18%
Phase 5	1	1%
Total	122	100%

Phase 1 and 2 take most of the time of the conversation, whereas phases 3, 4 and 5 take less. Therefore, it is not surprising that the major part of the experts' tag-questions occurs in phase 1 and 2. Phase 2 contains 11% more tag questions than phase 1, which is also natural considering that phase 2 is the experts' phase (when the specialists talk about the object) and phase 1 is the visitors' phase (when the visitors speak about the object). In phase 4, which also is to be considered the experts' phase (valuating the antiques), most of the remaining tag questions are found.

Correlating the number of tag questions used by the experts in each phase with the experts' sex, again a different pattern appears (Table 4). Roughly 48% of the female experts' tag questions are found in phase 1 and only 19.4% in phase 2. The opposite relationship

occurs in the male experts' use of tag questions. They use 52.7% of their tag questions in phase 2 and 27.5% in phase 1. It is rather unexpected that the female experts use so many more tag questions in phase 1 than in phase 2, as phase 1 is the visitors' phase, in which the visitors are supposed to talk most of the time.

Table 4: Distribution of tag question in different phases correlated with gender.

Phase	Female experts		Male experts	
	n	%	*n*	%
Phase 1:	15	48.4%	25	27.5%
Phase 2:	6	19.4%	48	52.7%
Phase 3:	0	0%	5	5.5%
Phase 4:	10	32.2%	12	13.2%
Phase 5:	0	0%	1	1.1%
Total	31	100%	91	100%

Looking more closely at the tag questions in phase 1, they are mainly of the facilitating type. The female experts have just slightly more attitudinal tag questions (Table 5). It is obvious, however, that these tag questions are not so much used in order to involve the visitors in the conversation, as the visitors are already talking about their object. This goes for both male and female experts. Instead, the tag questions are interposed and are used to confirm, guide or control the conversation with the visitor. Kimps (2007) finds a similar result in her study regarding constant polarity tag questions: "The speaker conduces or leads the hearer towards an expected response and in this way seeks to control the turn-allocation" (2007:275). The following examples from the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* illustrate that this is applicable to reversed polarity tag questions as well.

Firstly, two examples of how facilitating tag questions in phase 1 are interposed to confirm that the experts are listening. They do not add anything new to the conversation:

(8) It's a lovely thing, isn't it? –Yes.   (AR 21 March 2010, female expert)

(9) That is staggering, isn't it? –Yes.   (AR 21 March 2010, male expert)

Secondly, two examples of how tag questions adding new information are used to guide the conversation and the visitor in the right direction.

(10) Was it around 1850, was it? –She lived…   (AR 4 April 2010, female expert)

(11) It's a very different sort of painting, isn't it? –Yes, completely. (AR 21 March 2010, male expert)

Thirdly, when the visitors are very talkative, the inserted facilitating tag questions appear to involve the experts themselves rather than the visitors. Using tag questions is in this case a method for the experts to try to take control of the conversation, but it is not always successful.

(12) It's a very Spartan room, isn't it? –But, you see… (AR 4 April 2010, female expert)
(13) It has seen better days, hasn't it? –I think so. (AR 11 April 2010, male expert)

Although this strategy (to control, direct or confirm interest) is used by both female and male experts, Table 5 shows that the female experts use a majority of their tag questions in this first phase. The reason for this could be that women, in fact, are more cooperative and tend to take control and lead more indirectly by their use of tag questions.

Table 5: The female experts' distribution of different tag questions in different phases.

Phase	Facilitating		Attitudinal		Confirmatory		Informational		Total
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*
Phase 1	5	33%	6	40%	4	27%	0	0	15
Phase 2	3	50%	3	50%	0	0	0	0	6
Phase 3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Phase 4	3	30%	7	70%	0	0	0	0	10
Phase 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 6: The male experts' distribution of different tag questions in different phases.

Phase	Facilitating		Attitudinal		Confirmatory		Informational		Total
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*
Phase 1	15	60%	7	28%	1	4%	2	8%	25
Phase 2	19	40%	25	52%	3	6%	1	2%	48
Phase 3	2	40%	0	0	3	60%	0	0	5
Phase 4	6	50%	4	33%	2	17%	0	0	12
Phase 5	1	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

In phase 2 (Table 6) the male experts use more attitudinal tag questions (52%) than facilitating ones (40%) and that is understandable as the experts in this phase, talking or rather teaching about the object, want to emphasize what they say. The female experts do not use so many tag questions in this phase at all, but the ones used are equally divided into attitudinal

and facilitating tag questions (Table 5). Perhaps in this phase they would rather go on talking than run the risk of being interrupted by using too many tag questions.

In phase 3, which can be a rather short phase, the visitors are asked to tell the expert and the audience how they acquired the object. In this phase the female experts use no tag questions whatsoever, whereas the male specialists use some (5%) of their total number of tag questions. These are either facilitating or confirmatory. Seemingly, the experts in this short phase let the visitors go on talking without so many (or any) interruptive tag questions.

Moving on to phase 4, there are some striking differences between the female and male experts. Firstly, the female experts use more of their tag questions (32%) in this phase than the male experts do (13%). Secondly, the male experts use mostly facilitating tag questions in order to involve the visitors in the conversation, but the female experts use chiefly attitudinal tag questions. Accordingly, the male experts appear more relaxed inviting the visitors to take part in the valuation, whereas the female experts use mostly attitudinal tag questions, which do not anticipate any answer or response.

In this fourth phase, the actual valuation of the antiques brought to the TV show takes place. If there should appear any hesitations or uncertainties in the conversation, here would be the time and place for it. Thus, returning to Lakoff's characterisation of women's language as reflecting powerlessness and uncertainty by for instance having more tag questions, this study seems to support Lakoff's theory. However, looking more closely at the tags used by the female experts in phase 4, they all, but one, turn out to be the invariant tag *you know*. Furthermore, they are all uttered by one and the same female expert we have encountered earlier in this study (cf. 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). Conducting two of the valuations at the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*, the only tag she ever uses is *you know*: twice in episode 23 (AR 21 March 2010) and eight times in episode 24 (AR 28 March 2010). Moreover, she always, but once, uses them in phase 4 and this applies to both valuations conducted by this particular expert. Interestingly, the one *you know* not used in phase 4 is uttered in transition to phase 4 from, in this case, phase 2.

Here questions arise about *you know* as an invariant tag. According to Quirk (1985:814) comment clauses (such as *you know*) may in general be considered invariant tags. Some comment clauses are stereotyped, for instance *you know*, and can have different semantic functions. They may be used to claim the hearer's attention or to call for the hearer's agreement (Quirk 1985:1114-1115). The question here is if the frequent use of *you know* alters the words function from an invariant tag to an annoying speech habit (Tree 2002:744). The one thing speaking against this assumption is that the female expert only uses *you know* a

very limited amount of time and only in one and the same context, phase 4, as in (14) and (16) or in transition to this phase as in (15).

(14) Female expert: (…) and obviously, you know, it has an international interest
    Female visitor: Yes.
    Female expert: (…) The small pieces you can pay anything between, (*paus*) you know, 20 to 100 pounds.
    Female visitor: (*Nodding*)   (AR 21 March 2010)

(15) Female expert: (…) and, you know, everything you have got everything from really just sort of advertising posters.   (AR 28 March 2010)

(16) Female expert: (…) and, you know, as I said, it's highly collectable. (…) Well, you know, posters like this advertising (…) I could easily see that, you know, go for five to six hundred pounds.
    Male visitor: The little one?
    Female expert: (…) and, you know, when you get into the White Star Line (…) you know, these can tend to go for, you know 1200, 1500 each. (…) and, you know, *em* they might call for (…)
    (AR 28March 2010)

If the frequent use of *you know* was an annoying speech habit of this particular female specialist, it would be distributed equally through her entire speech and not only limited to a minor part of it. Therefore, the most logical explanation must be that it **is** a sign of insecurity. Other signs of indecision support this explanation. The expert seems to hesitate by pausing and saying *em* in and between the lines of the above cited dialogues. Usually, uncertainty occurs together with hesitation phenomena, model markers and other particles. Hesitation phenomena such as *em* are some of the most obvious indications of the speaker's uncertainty (Kimps 2007:288). Interestingly, the female expert displays the same pattern regardless talking in a same- or opposite gender-dyad.

Even if this example appears to support the theory of women's language being more insecure using more tag questions, it is only one single female expert out of seven in these five episodes of the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*, who correspond with Lackoff's theory from 1975.

Considering the gender composition, there is no difference if the female experts are in same or opposite gender-dyads. They tend in both cases to use more attitudinal tag questions and have most tag questions in phase 1. Similarly, the male experts behave in the same way whether they are in same or opposite gender-dyads. They use more facilitating tags and the tag questions are most frequent in phase 2 in both cases.

4. Conclusion

This research has focused on gender differences in the TV show *BBC Antiques Roadshow*. The aim has been to investigate gender differences regarding speech time and tag-questions correlated with contextual factors such as status, gender composition of the group and topic of the conversation.

Firstly, the experts' speaking time has shown great variation from 19% to 92% of the total valuation time. However, it has been clarified that the experts of the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* mostly talk for a longer time than the visitors indicating their dominance and hierarchical position. The visitors dominate the conversation only 10 times out of 82.

The expert status of the male and female specialists is exactly the same. However, the programmes exhibit a 'community of practice' where the women are in a minority and the female experts are significantly outnumbered by the male experts, both in number and in conducted valuations. Correlating speaking time with gender, this research shows that the male experts express dominance by holding the floor for a longer time (70%) of the whole valuation time than the female experts do (64%). Out of the 10 valuations dominated by the visitors, 40% are conducted by a female expert even though the female experts only perform 18 % of the total valuations. Prior research, which has demonstrated that the dominant person talks more in a same-gender group than in a opposite-gender group, has not been corroborated in this study. However, both female and (more clearly) male experts tend to talk a greater amount of time when the visitor is female.

When the experts do not dominate the conversation they may have chosen to talk less due to situational factors. For instance, the specialists are expected to encourage the visitors to participate in the valuation and to let them talk about their objects. Another reason could be that the specialists do not always need to convey their rank position by dominating the conversation as the rank order is already established. The female experts, who do not dominate the conversations in the same degree as the male experts, may be more sensitive to the demands for involving the visitors in the conversation. A contributory cause could be that

men in general have a dominance advantage over women and, consequently, are allowed to talk for a longer time, which would apply to the male experts as well as to the male visitors.

There are, however, some individual differences in the material: Surprisingly, the highest result in this study (talking 92% of the total valuation time) is by a female expert; the lowest result (19%) by a male expert.

Secondly, the tag questions used by the experts in the programmes have been thoroughly classified and recorded. Correlated with gender, male experts tend to have a wider variety in the use of tag questions (formal, informal, canonical and invariant), whereas the female experts mainly use canonical tag questions and only one invariant tag: *you know*. Moreover, male experts use a higher percentage of canonical tag questions than invariant ones. The female experts, on the other hand, display a rather even use of canonical and invariant tags, which is somewhat unexpected, as women are said to use fewer non-standard forms than men in the same circumstances (Cambers 2009:115).

Furthermore, the male experts use 30% fewer tag questions than the female experts. There are, however, contradicting demands on the specialists. Besides educating and informing, the experts are expected to invite the visitors to participate in the conversation, which would imply less speaking time and a greater number of tag questions as facilitators in the conversation. Correlated with speaking time, the frequency of tag questions does tend to increase with decreasing speaking time. The less the expert is talking the more tag questions are used. This is particularly true of the female experts. However, again the sex of the visitor has an impact on the end result. Both male and female experts tend to use more tag questions when the visitor is male.

Most tag questions used by the experts are attitudinal or facilitating. There is, however, a clear difference between the female and male experts and which kind of tag question they mainly use. Rather unexpectedly, the male experts mostly use facilitating tags, whereas the female experts chiefly use attitudinal tags. Correlated with the gender composition of the dyad, the result is constant. The female experts on average use more attitudinal tag questions, if same- or opposite-gender dyad. Similarly, the male experts use more facilitating tag questions in either case.

Linguistically, women are said to be more cooperative and focused on establishing relationships, which would imply a higher use of tag questions, especially of facilitating tags. The present study shows that the female experts do use decidedly more tag questions, but mostly of the attitudinal kind. The female experts in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* are also in the minority in a mixed-gender community and it is possible that they perceive themselves as

interlopers. Their linguistic behaviour could reflect their understanding of being judged as 'good' members/experts of the show. Hence, the female specialists try to focus on both assignments: involving the visitors by using generally more tag question and educating the visitors by using relatively more attitudinal tag questions.

In comparison, the male experts do not use as many tag questions as the female experts do, but they use somewhat more facilitating than attitudinal tags. Trying to involve the visitors in the conversation, the male experts appear to compensate their minor use of tag question by using more facilitating tag questions. This is, however, not fully successful as in most cases they talk more than the visitors. There are certainly several individual divergences. For example, the four experts using most tag questions are all male and many experts do not use any tag questions at all. Additionally, the result of the female experts is somewhat affected by the high number of tag questions used by one individual female expert.

Thirdly, in order to understand the social meaning of tag questions, it is necessary to situate them in their full linguistic and social context. **What** people talk about may be equally important as gender and frequency. The major part of the female experts' tags is found in phase 1, in which the visitors talk about their object, and only a minor part in phase 2, in which the experts talk about the object. The opposite relationship occurs in the male experts' use of tag questions. They use most of their tag questions in phase 2 and less in phase 1. It is rather unexpected that the female experts use so many more tag questions in phase 1 than in phase 2, as phase 1 is the visitors' phase. It is, however, clear that both male and female experts in phase 1 use tag questions to confirm interest, guide or control the conversation with the visitor. Although this strategy is used by both female and male experts, the female experts use a majority of their tag questions in this first phase. The reason for this could be that women, in fact, are more cooperative and tend to take control and lead more indirectly by their use of tag questions.

In phase 2 the male experts use more attitudinal tag questions than facilitating ones and that is understandable as the experts in this phase, informing the visitors about the object, want to emphasize what they say. The female experts do not use so many tag questions in this phase at all. Perhaps in this phase they would rather go on talking than run the risk of being interrupted by using too many tag questions.

Moving on to phase 4, the actual valuation, there seem to be some striking differences between the female and male experts. Firstly, the female experts appear to use more of their tag questions in this phase than the male experts do. Secondly, the male experts use mostly facilitating tag questions in order to involve the visitors in the conversation, but the female

experts use chiefly attitudinal tag questions. However, the reason for this result is one particular female expert, conducting two of the valuations at the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*. She only uses the invariant tag *you know*, but that one very frequent (ten times), which has affected the end result of this study. Moreover, she nearly always uses them in phase 4 of the conversation. The female expert's frequent use of *you know* is not just a speech habit, as it is limited to a minor part of her valuation. Therefore, the most logical explanation must be that it, together with other hesitation phenomena, is a sign of insecurity.

Finally, based on this limited study there are gender differences between the female and male experts in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* and they are affected by contextual factors such as status, gender composition and topic. Even though, as Palomares (2007) states, the gender similarities outweigh the differences and the present findings show small effect sizes for the examined gender differences, the men appear to dominate the conversations by holding the floor most of the time and the women seem to be more cooperative and 'good' members of the community by using more tag questions. Furthermore, there is only one example of a correlation between the use of tags and female insecurity. In contrast, tag questions have been used in many different ways, not least to control the conversation.

The present investigation exhibits a 'community of practice', where the women are in the minority and positioned differently, in ways that have consequences for their linguistic behaviour. In agreement with Cameron (2005), these findings from the *BBC Antiques Roadshow* can not be extrapolated to other speech communities. Linguistic behaviour is very much localized and context-dependent, but the same kind of investigations could be conducted in other speech communities in order to display a more generally applicable sociolinguistic pattern.

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Appendices

Table 7: Speech time and tag questions/min. in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*

Episode Valuation	Expert M/F	Visitor M/F/C	Speech time Total, sec.	Experts' sec.	Experts' %	Experts' tag questions Total	Tags/min.	Canonical	Invariant
22.01	M	F	201	147	**73%**	2	**0,8**	2	0
22.02	M	C	168	108	**64%**	7	**3,9**	7	0
22.03	F	C	194	178	**92%**	1	**0,3**	1	0
22.04	M	F	140	103	**74%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
22.05	M	M	158	109	**69%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
22.06	M	F	211	130	**62%**	3	**1,4**	3	0
22.07	F	F	210	179	**85%**	1	**0,3**	1	0
22.08	M	M	156	70	**45%**	2	**1,7**	0	2
22.09	M	F	163	87	**53%**	2	**1,4**	1	1
22.10	F	F	174	98	**56%**	2	**1,2**	2	0
22.11	M	F	152	103	**68%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
22.12	M	M	171	131	**77%**	1	**0,5**	0	1
22.13	M	M	107	87	**81%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
22.14	M	F	224	184	**82%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
22.15	M	F	250	182	**73%**	5	**1,6**	4	1
22.16	F	F	220	193	**88%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
23.01	M	M	191	132	**69%**	1	**0,5**	1	0
23.02	M	F	90	59	**66%**	1	**1,0**	1	0
23.03	M	M	125	92	**74%**	1	**0,7**	0	1
23.04	M	F	173	154	**89%**	3	**1,2**	0	3
23.05	M	F	148	79	**53%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
23.06	M	M	184	128	**70%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
23.07	F	F	233	99	**42%**	2	**1,2**	0	2
23.08	M	C	113	83	**73%**	1	**0,7**	1	0
23.09	M	F	195	161	**83%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
23.10	F	F	157	102	**65%**	2	**1,2**	2	0
23.11	M	F	183	158	**86%**	1	**0,4**	0	1
23.12	M	M	158	111	**70%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
23.13	M	M	126	77	**61%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
23.14	M	F	138	94	**68%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
23.15	F	M	174	85	**49%**	3	**2,1**	2	1
23.16	M	F	163	119	**73%**	1	**0,5**	1	0
23.17	M	M	178	117	**66%**	4	**2,1**	3	1
23.18	M	M	205	67	**33%**	2	**1,8**	2	0
24.01	M	F	207	69	**33%**	3	**2,6**	1	2
24.02	M	M	97	76	**78%**	2	**1,6**	2	0
24.03	M	M	241	46	**19%**	1	**1,3**	1	0
24.04	M	F	169	99	**59%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
24.05	F	F	178	74	**42%**	2	**1,6**	1	1
24.06	M	M	204	181	**89%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
24.07	M	F	244	102	**42%**	1	**0,6**	1	0
24.08	M	M	237	181	**76%**	0	**0,0**	0	0

24.09	M	F	115	84	**73%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
24.10	M	F	241	161	**67%**	1	**0,4**	1	0
24.11	M	F	102	83	**81%**	2	**1,4**	0	2
24.12	M	F	123	91	**74%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
24.13	F	C	248	162	**65%**	1	**0,4**	1	0
24.14	M	F	122	93	**76%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
24.15	F	M	323	209	**65%**	8	**2,3**	0	8
25.01	M	C	266	197	**74%**	3	**0,9**	3	0
25.02	M	F	199	161	**81%**	3	**1,1**	2	1
25.03	M	M	160	92	**58%**	2	**1,3**	1	1
25.04	M	M	95	63	**66%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
25.05	M	C	198	140	**71%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
25.06	M	M	218	172	**79%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
25.07	F	F	167	101	**60%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
25.08	M	M	225	169	**75%**	2	**0,7**	2	0
25.09	M	F	206	140	**68%**	1	**0,4**	1	0
25.10	M	M	229	137	**60%**	1	**0,4**	1	0
25.11	M	M	112	50	**45%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
25.12	F	F	269	143	**53%**	5	**2,1**	5	0
25.13	F	F	165	71	**43%**	2	**1,7**	2	0
25.14	M	M	114	91	**80%**	1	**0,7**	1	0
25.15	M	F	162	138	**85%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
25.16	M	M	212	116	**55%**	5	**2,6**	3	2
26.01	M	M	204	127	**62%**	1	**0,5**	0	1
26.02	M	F	193	161	**83%**	2	**0,7**	2	0
26.03	M	F	166	145	**87%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
26.04	F	M	185	124	**67%**	1	**0,5**	1	0
26.05	M	C	224	198	**88%**	1	**0,3**	0	1
26.06	M	M	189	162	**86%**	1	**0,4**	0	1
26.07	F	F	156	138	**88%**	1	**0,4**	1	0
26.08	M	F	179	143	**80%**	1	**0,4**	1	0
26.09	M	F	105	84	**80%**	1	**0,7**	1	0
26.10	M	F	131	81	**62%**	2	**1,5**	0	2
26.11	M	M	214	121	**57%**	7	**3,5**	7	0
26.12	M	F	127	69	**54%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
26.13	M	M	101	78	**77%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
26.14	M	M	208	175	**84%**	6	**2,1**	4	2
26.15	M	F	69	63	**91%**	2	**1,9**	2	0
26.16	M	M	150	103	**69%**	0	**0,0**	0	0
26.17	M	F	219	172	**79%**	2	**0,7**	2	0
Total:			**14501**	**9842**		**122**		**84**	**38**

Table 8: All tag questions used by the experts in the *BBC Antiques Roadshow*

Episode/ valuation	Expert M/F	Visitor M/F/C	Structure c/i	Type att/fac/con/inf	Phase 1/2/3/4/5	Tag
22.01	M	F	c	att	2	isn't it
22.01	M	F	c	fac	2	doesn't he
22.02	M	C	c	fac	1	don't you
22.02	M	C	c	att	1	wasn't he
22.02	M	C	c	fac	1	wasn't he
22.02	M	C	c	fac	1	isn't it
22.02	M	C	c	fac	2	aren't they
22.02	M	C	c	att	2	hasn't he
22.02	M	C	c	att	2	aren't they
22.03	F	C	c	fac	2	didn't you
22.06	M	F	c	fac	4	does it
22.06	M	F	c	fac	2	isn't it
22.06	M	F	c	att	2	could I
22.07	F	F	c	att	2	isn't it
22.08	M	M	i	att	2	if you like
22.08	M	M	i	att	1	you know
22.09	M	F	i	att	1	you know
22.09	M	F	c	con	4	isn't he
22.10	F	F	c	att	1	isn't it
22.10	F	F	c	att	1	isn't it
22.12	M	M	i	att	2	if you like
22.15	M	F	c	fac	1	aren't they
22.15	M	F	c	att	2	isn't it
22.15	M	F	c	fac	2	isn't it
22.15	M	F	c	att	2	isn't it
22.15	M	F	i	fac	3	you know
23.01	M	M	c	att	1	is it
23.02	M	F	c	fac	2	isn't it
23.03	M	M	i	fac	5	you know
23.04	M	F	i	fac	1	yes
23.04	M	F	i	con	2	right
23.04	M	F	i	att	4	you know
23.07	F	F	i	fac	4	you know
23.07	F	F	i	att	4	you know
23.08	M	C	c	att	2	is he
23.10	F	F	c	att	1	aren't they
23.10	F	F	c	fac	2	isn't it
23.11	M	F	i	att	2	you know
23.15	F	M	c	fac	1	isn't it
23.15	F	M	i	fac	1	you know
23.15	F	M	c	con	1	isn't it
23.16	M	F	c	fac	1	isn't it
23.17	M	M	c	fac	1	isn't it
23.17	M	M	i	att	2	you know
23.17	M	M	c	fac	1	aren't they
23.17	M	M	c	att	2	isn't it
23.18	M	M	c	fac	1	isn't it
23.18	M	M	c	fac	3	isn't it

24.01	M	F	i	inf	2	wouldn't you say
24.01	M	F	c	fac	2	don't you
24.01	M	F	i	att	2	you know
24.02	M	M	c	att	2	isn't it
24.02	M	M	c	fac	2	isn't it
24.03	M	M	c	fac	1	doesn't it
24.05	F	F	c	con	1	was it
24.05	F	F	i	att	2	you know
24.07	M	F	c	fac	2	isn't it
24.10	M	F	c	con	3	hasn't he
24.11	M	F	i	inf	1	am I right or wrong
24.11	M	F	i	fac	2	I hope
24.13	F	C	c	fac	2	didn't they
24.15	F	M	i	att	2	you know
24.15	F	M	i	att	4	you know
24.15	F	M	i	att	4	you know
24.15	F	M	i	fac	4	you know
24.15	F	M	i	att	4	you know
24.15	F	M	i	att	4	you know
24.15	F	M	i	att	4	you know
24.15	F	M	i	att	4	you know
25.01	M	C	c	fac	1	wasn't he
25.01	M	C	c	att	2	isn't it
25.01	M	C	c	fac	2	isn't it
25.02	M	F	c	fac	2	don't we
25.02	M	F	c	fac	2	isn't it
25.02	M	F	i	con	3	right
25.03	M	M	c	inf	1	don't you
25.03	M	M	i	att	2	you know
25.08	M	M	c	con	3	was he
25.08	M	M	c	fac	4	was he
25.09	M	F	c	fac	1	isn't it
25.10	M	M	c	con	2	don't they
25.12	F	F	c	att	1	isn't it
25.12	F	F	c	fac	1	isn't it
25.12	F	F	c	att	1	doesn't it
25.12	F	F	c	con	1	was it
25.12	F	F	c	fac	1	isn't it
25.13	F	F	c	fac	1	hasn't it
25.13	F	F	c	con	1	wasn't there
25.14	M	M	c	fac	4	isn't it
25.16	M	M	i	att	2	you know
25.16	M	M	i	att	2	you know
25.16	M	M	c	att	1	were there not
25.16	M	M	c	con	1	isn't it
25.16	M	M	c	con	4	is it not
26.01	M	M	i	fac	2	you know
26.02	M	F	c	att	2	didn't they
26.02	M	F	c	fac	2	isn't there
26.04	F	M	c	fac	4	isn't it
26.05	M	C	i	att	2	you know
26.06	M	M	i	att	2	you know

26.07	F	F	c	att	1	isn't it
26.08	M	F	c	con	2	is it
26.09	M	F	c	fac	2	isn't he
26.10	M	F	i	att	2	you know
26.10	M	F	i	att	2	you know
26.11	M	M	c	att	1	wouldn't they
26.11	M	M	c	fac	1	isn't it
26.11	M	M	c	fac	2	isn't it
26.11	M	M	c	att	1	isn't it
26.11	M	M	c	fac	1	hasn't it
26.11	M	M	c	att	4	isn't it
26.11	M	M	c	att	4	hasn't it
26.14	M	M	i	fac	1	am I right
26.14	M	M	c	fac	4	aren't they
26.14	M	M	c	fac	4	isn't it
26.14	M	M	i	att	4	you know
26.14	M	M	c	fac	2	isn't there
26.14	M	M	c	fac	2	isn't it
26.15	M	F	c	fac	2	isn't it
26.15	M	F	c	att	2	isn't it
26.17	M	F	c	att	2	hasn't it
26.17	M	F	c	fac	4	isn't it