“Drag Queens Talk Like Women, You Know”

- A study in the Use of the Hedge “You Know” in Feminine-Gendered Speech

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Abstract
The aim of this study was to analyze and compare the use of the verbal hedge “you know” in the spontaneous speech of women and drag queens to compare for instances of certainty and uncertainty as described by Holmes (1986). For the data, episodes of the reality shows RuPaul’s Drag Race Untucked which airs on Logo TV and The Real Housewives of Orange County which airs on Bravo TV were manually transcribed by the conventions of written speech. The use of “you know” was then analyzed by function and context. In the results of this study, the women used “you know” to express uncertainty more often than the drag queens, except not in the way Lakoff (2004) described as being an aspect of “women’s language.” The drag queens used “you know” more often to express certainty. However, when used to express uncertainty its use by the drag queens was more relevant to “women’s language” as described by Lakoff (2004) or an exaggerated performance of femininity.
Key words: Drag queens, women’s language, language and gender, hedges
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Material
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1. Introduction

Sex refers to a biological characteristic whereas gender illustrates socially established categories based on sex. These categories tend to be feminine and masculine. This binary concept has recently been challenged by the idea of gender as plural with a range of femininities and masculinities. These genders are applicable in social situations as well as language and therefore to interlocutors at any given moment (Coates, 2004: p. 4). Robin Lakoff’s work in 1975 on language and gender claimed that women’s speech contained superfluous instances of verbalized hedges like, “ya’know” and “ kinda” used to signal speaker uncertainty or to soften a statement because they are socialized to think it is not ladylike to appear too assertive (Lakoff, 2004: p. 79). Janet Holmes (1986) contradicted Lakoff’s claims when she looked closely at the verbalized hedge “you know” and found that when form and function as well as context were considered, women use “you know” more frequently to express certainty while men’s usage more often expressed uncertainty (Holmes, 1986: p. 13).

The gendered use of linguistic features is thought provoking which makes it worthy of investigation. Although Lakoff’s work is important to the study of language and gender, Holmes’ (1986) study of form, function and context in the usage of the verbal hedge “you know” details a more accurate description of its use among genders. With this in mind, the aim of this study is to investigate the usage of the verbal hedge “you know” in the spontaneous speech of drag queens and women to compare for instances expressing certainty or uncertainty as described by Holmes (1986).

2. Literature Review

This chapter begins with a study of language used by women, notably women’s use of verbal hedges, followed by a description of the different forms and functions of “you know” as a verbal hedge and then looks at the maintenance of face in communication. Next, attention is placed upon gender performance and the history of modern drag in the U.S. as well as a definition of drag. The final section of this chapter looks at what it means to speak like a drag queen according to the norms presented on Ru Paul’s Drag Race.

2.1 Women’s Language and Hedges
According to Mary Bucholtz, Robin Lakoff’s work in 1975 is considered to be the beginning of the linguistic subfield of language and gender (Lakoff, 2004: p. 3). Lakoff attempted to provide empirical evidence from language use of the inequality of the roles between men and women in society (Lakoff, 2004: p. 39). Lakoff (2004) claimed there were two ways in which women experienced linguistic discrimination: in the way they are taught to use language, and in the way general language use treats them. Furthermore, she claimed that this linguistic discrimination consigned women to the subservient functions of either sex objects or servants in society (Lakoff, 2004: p. 39). Lakoff also claimed these differences in language uses can be predicted by the different roles the sexes play in society (Lakoff, 2004: p. 40). It is important to mention that the data on which these claims were made are largely based on Lakoff’s (2004) personal introspection as she examined her own speech as well as her acquaintances’ and used her own intuitions in the analysis (Lakoff, 2004: p. 40). In addition, media was analyzed with the idea that the speech heard in commercials or in comedies on television reflected the desired speech of the audience (Lakoff, 2004: p. 40).

Society will normally ostracize, scold or make fun of a little girl if she talks like a little boy. The little girl is kept in line and in her place by her parents and peers (Lakoff, 2004: p. 40). This socialization process involves teaching special linguistic behavior to little girls that creates a paradox of which most are unaware (Lakoff, 2004: p. 40). According to Lakoff (2004), if the little girl learns her lesson well she will not be rewarded with the unquestioned acceptance of society. Instead, acquiring this particular style of speech will become the excuse others use to keep her in a less than admirable position or not take her seriously because once grown to womanhood she will be accused of not being able to speak accurately or forcefully (Lakoff, 2004: p. 41). This process is admittedly more complex since for most children under five, mothers and other women are the dominant forces in their lives. The first language for both boys and girls is probably “women’s language” (Lakoff, 2004: p. 41). Little boys go through a stage of rough talk that is probably discouraged in little girls. Boys seem to lose their original style of talking and adopt a new way of expressing themselves, but little girls retain their way of communicating (Lakoff, 2004: p. 41). It appears that a girl is “damned if she does and damned if she doesn’t.” If she declines to talk like a lady she is subjected to ridicule and criticized as being unfeminine. If she abides by gender norms she is ridiculed for not being able to think clearly or take part in serious discussions. In essence she is seen as less than fully human (Lakoff, 2004: p. 41).
Concerning “women’s language” and politeness, Lakoff (2004) states that women’s speech seems to contain more instances of verbalized hedges like “well”, “y’know”, “kinda”, and so on. Hedges are words which signal that the speaker is uncertain about what he or she is saying and cannot stand behind the accuracy of a statement (Lakoff, 2004: p. 79). However, there are legitimate uses of hedges when the speaker genuinely cannot vouch for the accuracy of a statement. For example, one may say “John is sorta tall” to mean he is neither really tall nor short. According to Lakoff (2004) another rational use of hedges is to mitigate the possible unfriendliness or unkindness of a statement, in other words, for the sake of politeness. To illustrate, the statement “John is sorta short” may be used to soften the possible offensiveness of John being very short. Here the force of a potentially embarrassing statement may be blunted by using a hedge (Lakoff, 2004: p. 79). Lakoff mentions instances when neither of the previous situations are relevant and a hedge shows up anyway. Here, the speaker can stand behind the accuracy of a statement and there is no need to worry about offending anyone, but the hedge occurs as an apology for even making a statement (Lakoff, 2004: p. 79). Anyone may do this out of a lack of confidence and everyone does in some situations, but Lakoff’s (2004) impression is that women do it more because they are socialized to believe that asserting themselves strongly is not nice, ladylike or feminine (Lakoff, 2004: p. 79).

Some studies have been done on women’s use of hedges, and according to those studies it seems that women do use more hedges than men in some situations. The studies suggest using caution about the functions of hedges when maintaining the androcentric view that the frequent use of hedges is a sign of weakness (Coates, 2004: p. 88). A study conducted by Janet Holmes (1986) in which context, form and function of the use of the hedge “you know” was analyzed challenged Lakoff’s (2004) view that women use hedges more frequently than men to express a lack of confidence.

2.2 Forms and functions of “you know”
Disputing the claims made by Lakoff (2004), Janet Holmes (1986) performed a study on the forms and functions of the hedge “you know” in the spontaneous speech of women and men and found no difference in the number of its occurrences. By paying careful attention to features of specific discourse, situational context, syntactic context and intonation, Holmes (1986, p. 1) found differences in the most frequent functions expressed by “you know” in its usage by women and men. Holmes (1986) performed
an analysis of female and male speech categorizing instances of “you know” into two groups expressing the speaker’s certainty or uncertainty. Her analysis showed that women use “you know” more often than men to show speaker certainty while men use it more often to show uncertainty (Holmes, 1986: p. 13). According to Holmes (1986), much of the research on the forms and functions of “you know” suffered from methodological weakness, especially from a tendency to count all hedges without accounting for linguistic form and context as well as leaving out how the functions relate to form in context. The hedge “you know” is a good example of how language communicates meaning on different levels or expresses different functions simultaneously (Holmes, 1986: p. 5). Using syntactic position and phonological form, Holmes (1986) analyzed two broad categories of instances of “you know” with category 1 expressing confidence or certainty and category 2 expressing differing types of uncertainty. There are a number of subcategories placed within these two main categories. (Holmes, 1986: p. 7).

2.2.1 “You know” expressing certainty

Contained in category 1 are instances of “you know” where the speaker is confident of the addressee’s relevant background knowledge, experience, attitude and anticipated response. Also, included in this first category are instances where the speaker uses “you know” to reassure the addressee of the proposition’s validity. Both of the aforementioned instances of “you know” can be identified as positive politeness (Holmes, 1986: p. 7).

Under the category of expressing certainty (Holmes, 1986: p. 8), there is the subcategory conjoint knowledge where the speaker uses “you know” to introduce what he or she considers incontestable knowledge shared by the addressee in reference to the fact that the speaker knows the addressee already knows the information being divulged. An example of this context is a female radio interviewee introducing a discussion point, “you know \ very often you have presidents er who are men / well in this place… In Holmes’ data, examples in this category are characterized by a falling intonation pattern and precede a statement that may be subjective or not absolute (Holmes, 1986: p. 8). Although the statement may not be absolute, the speaker assumes the addressee agrees with the proposition.

Similar to but different from conjoint knowledge is the attributive subcategory. Instances of “you know” in the attributive subcategory express the speaker’s certainty regarding the validity of the statement and express the speaker’s belief that the addressee knows, due to experience, what is being referred to although
not the exact instance being described (Holmes, 1986: p. 9). In this instance, “you know” can be restated as, “I’m convinced that you know the kind of thing I mean” (Holmes, 1986: p. 9). Under this subcategory, the speaker assumes the addressee not only agrees with the statement, but has also experienced the same kind of thing being stated. In this situation, the speaker feels socially secure, expressing positive politeness while giving credit to the addressee with applicable background knowledge and experience and positively assumes agreement with the statement. In this situation, a young woman conversing with roommates over dinner might say, “they obviously thought he was a bit stupid: you know.” When used in this way, “you know”, unlike the preceding position in the conjoint knowledge case, is always in the final position with a falling voice pattern and a short pause before and after (Holmes, 1986: p. 9).

The next subcategory is emphatic; the use of you know is used as a way to emphasize, intensify or boost the strength of the speech act. In this way, “you know” stresses the speaker’s confidence and reassures the addressee of the validity of the asserted statement. In other words, the usage of “you know” in this instance means, “let me assure you”. As an example, an elderly woman describes an experience to friends, “it was very good really / you know it’s a real experience”. The emphatic use of you know usually occurs with a falling voice pattern and in the final position of a statement. It may be present at the beginning of a proposition, or even in the middle. When in mid position it may have a level voice pattern when no pauses come before or after it (Holmes, 1986: p. 8-9).

2.2.2 “You know” expressing uncertainty
Category 2 contains instances of “you know” that express uncertainty toward the addressee as well as uncertainty about the proposition being stated. Addressee oriented uncertainty pertains to the speaker being unsure of the hearer’s attitudes and probable response to the proposition. Message oriented uncertainty refers to the speaker’s uncertainty about the linguistic encoding of a proposition or to indicate a speaker’s awareness that a statement may be inaccurate or unclear (Holmes, 1986: p. 7). When “you know” verbalizes a mitigating, apologetic and attenuating function in this category it is seen to fulfill negative politeness. For example, one roommate might say to the other, “it’s time for you to start / you know / helping out around here…” (Holmes, 1986: p. 7). In this instance “you know” is used to soften the demand and possible imposition of “helping out”.

When considering instances of “you know” which express the speaker’s uncertainty and lack of confidence it is important to analyze the utterance in context.
Factors that one must take into consideration in order to accurately identify forms of “you know” (when communicating uncertainty) are the formality of the interaction and the relative status of the speaker and addressee (Holmes, 1986: p. 9). According to Holmes’ study, “you know” occurs mostly in informal speech (Holmes, 1986: p. 12) and in contexts of “camaraderie” and less often among close intimates such as spouses (Holmes, 1986: p. 15). For her analysis, she used a corpus of spontaneous speech in which male and female participants produced the same amount of words. A portion of the corpus was collected in formal contexts such as television and radio interviews with another portion collected in informal contexts in private homes often around meal time (Holmes, 1986: p. 12).

Instances of “you know” under the subcategory appealing serve the function of an appeal for backing or acceptance from the addressee in the context of retelling an embarrassing experience or sharing information which may cause the speaker to feel vulnerable. As an example, a woman says to a close friend, “and it was quite// well: it was it was all very embarrassing you know” (Holmes, 1986: p. 10). In other instances, “you know” appeals for backing from the addressee in the context of comments that are negative or critical made by the speaker. Unfavorable comments can always be perceived as a threat to the web of social relationships even if they are not directed at anyone present. As an example, a young man describes a work supervisor to roommates, “but if a person is as blunt and abrupt as C is/ you know/ they can make it quite unpleasant for you” (Holmes, 1986: p. 10). These two cases of “you know” have a rising voice pattern and are usually utterance final. Instances where there is a fall between “you” and “know” also include a clear rising nuclear tone on know and the degree of sharpness expresses the degree to which the speaker would like feedback from the addressee. Typically, “you know” does not follow a pause although it may be followed by a pause. (Holmes, 1986: p. 10). It is this function of “you know” which Holmes (1986) has noted as often being treated as the only function of “you know”. Furthermore, it is this function Lakoff appears to be referring to when supposing the superfluous use of hedges by women leading to the impression of a lack of competence or authority (Holmes, 1986: p. 10).

Linguistic imprecision is another subcategory under the main category of uncertainty which expresses uncertainty about properties of the linguistic expression being stated. In this instance, the speaker’s awareness of his/her imprecision within an utterance is reflected. Here, the use of “you know” is to appeal to the addressee for patience in allowing the speaker to search for the correct lexical item, introduce
accurately detailed information and adjust the utterance after a false start. As an example, a male television interviewer says, “the money seems to be going for basics rather than for things like, you know, extra equipment” (Holmes, 1986: p. 10-11). “You know” occurs in this function within a clause between essential components and is usually headed by a pause or verbal doubtfulness such as erm or er with the intonation curve always in the falling pattern, according to Holmes’ data (Holmes, 1986: p. 11).

“You know” also functions to introduce qualifying information. Here, “you know” signals the speaker’s awareness that more clarification is necessary about the earlier statement. “You know” is followed by an optional clause component in this instance which announces more clarification of what is being asserted. As an example of this instance, a young man says to friends, “we’ve got quite a big track, you know, relatively speaking over here.” It is identified by the falling voice pattern and often headed by a brief pause. The previous intonation curve is very separate so that “you know” obviously presents additional information (Holmes, 1986: p. 11).

Lastly, the subcategory indicating a false start includes instances of “you know” being used to mark a change in syntactic direction, hence showing the speaker’s awareness of the need to restructure what is being communicated (Holmes, 1986: p. 11). Cases of “you know” purposely used for this function are openly marked by the change in syntactic direction following them. As an example, a female interviewee says, “but fortunately w- you know there’s been more recent research.” Here “you know” is preceded by an abruptly ended or incomplete utterance and followed with a more concise or complete statement. Examples of these instances are typically identifiable by the falling pattern, but sometimes a rising curve can occur. Pauses preceding or following this function of “you know” may or may not occur (Holmes, 1986: p. 11).

2.3 Face work
Everyone experiences social contact and in each of these encounters interlocutors use a pattern of verbal and non-verbal conduct to express their perceptions of the situation and themselves (Goffman, 2004: p. 287). This is known as face. The term face can be defined as a likeness of self characterized in terms of accepted social attributes (Goffman, 2004: p. 287). That is to say, a person’s face is his/her public self-image. This self-image is composed of two different aspects, negative face and positive face.
Negative face consists of the need to be free from imposition and positive face concerns a person’s positive self-image and the need for that self-image to be appreciated by others (Brown and Levinson, 2004: p. 299). Negative face is concerned with considerateness and positive face is concerned with self-respect. In the same way as any member of a group should have self-respect, a person is also supposed to preserve a standard of considerateness. Self-respect and considerateness combine so that a person’s behavior aims toward the maintenance of one’s own face and the face of other participants (Goffman, 2004: p. 289). The actions of a person directed toward the maintenance of face is called face-work (Goffman, 2004: p. 290). The purpose of face-work is to counteract incidents which have the potential to threaten face. An important kind of face-work is poise, in which the person controls his/her embarrassment, as well as the embarrassment he/she and others might have over his/her own embarrassment. In this way, a person is said to save face. Face-saving actions become habitual and standardized even if the person committing them is not aware of the consequences involved. All people, subcultures and civilizations appear to have their distinct range of face-saving methods (Goffman, 2004: p. 290). Face is something that can be lost, preserved or augmented and is something that must be under continuous maintenance in interaction (Brown and Levinson, 2004: p. 299). The mutual vulnerability of face in interaction is what drives cooperation in the maintenance of face (Brown and Levinson, 2004: p. 299). The maintenance of face is also known as politeness. There are two types of politeness; positive politeness which attends to others’ positive face or the need to be liked and accepted. The other type, negative politeness attends to others’ negative face or people’s need to be free of harassment and imposition (Talbot, 1998: p. 90) Positive politeness is noted as friendly behavior while negative politeness has more to do with being respectful (Talbot, 1998: p. 90).

2.4 Gender performance
Most populations postulate the existence of two genders (Coates, 2004: p. 4) which coincide with the biological sexes masculine and feminine. Although one’s biological sex is somewhat rigid, gender may be performed. “Practice” is described as (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: p. 377) “the habitual social activities and series of activities that make up our lives” and is for the most part not completely intentional (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: p. 380). On the other hand, performance is a social display that is very deliberate and self-aware (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: p. 380). Performance refers to the type of display that includes an aesthetic component that is available for evaluation by an audience (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: p. 380). Performance does not just occur on stage
but in regularly occurring and quickly passing interactional moments (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: p. 381). The jury statement, “We find the defendant not guilty.”, is an example of performative verbs effecting change in the world under appropriate social conditions (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: p. 381).

Judith Butler’s work in 1990 introduced the concept of performativity to gender theory observing that a performative speech act is accomplished in much the same way as gender, through its application under appropriate conditions. Likewise, performance does not only refer to the social world but indeed brings it into existence despite the fact that performances may be more or less appropriate or more or less successful. The production of gender identity is dependent on ideology that shapes beliefs about gender in order to make that identity recognizable and legitimate. Butler (1990) upheld that most gender performances are not intentional acts but repetitions of hegemonic practices. She also stated that an element of purposeful action is possible among the performances which threaten prominent ideologies of gender. These ideas are closer to the linguistic-anthropological meaning of the term where social agency as well as individual action are at the center (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: p. 381).

Performance also involves stylization, described as highlighting and exaggerating stereotypes (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: p. 381). Both highlighting and exaggerating are found in Rusty Barrett’s work in 1999 on African American drag queen performers in a Texas gay bar. Although these men spoke like wealthy white European women in their stage performances, they did not want to be seen as either female or white. Instead, their stylized use of features of “women’s language”, African American Vernacular English and gay double-entendres, like their elegant yet flamboyant clothing, is meant to dispute ideologies of sexuality, race and class by ironically underscoring them through an exaggerated performance of white, middle-class, heterosexual females. They identify themselves as a gender, race and class that clashes with the simultaneous performance of blackness and gayness. The demand for recognition of identities (poor, gay and black) that are marginalized in hegemonic culture makes such performances highly political (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: p. 381). Often through subversive or resistant methods, performance is a way of bringing identities out in the open (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: p. 381).

2.5 Brief History of Cross-Dressing

Modern drag is based on burlesque from the end of the nineteenth century, which is meant to be humorous through the use of parody (Oostrik, 2014: p. 12). It was not until between the First and Second World Wars that the association of homosexuality and
drag emerged. During both the First and Second World Wars drag was used to keep troops’ morale high, but towards the end of the Second World War it became more and more unpopular and could even cause one to be discharged dishonorably (Oostrik, 2014: p. 12). After the Second World War conservatism rose in the U.S. which led many homosexual men and women to live double lives and rely on underground scenes in order to meet (Oostrik, 2014: p. 12). On the nights of June 27th and 28th 1969, police raided the Stonewall Inn, a well know gay bar. It was common practice in the U.S. at that time to arrest patrons of gay bars for not having ID or for wearing clothes of the opposite sex (Oostrik, 2014: p. 12). However, on these particular nights the patrons of the Stonewall fought back and one rumor is that a drag queen started the riots which are seen as a milestone in the LGBT rights movement (Oostrik, 2014: p. 12). Since then, drag queens and the LGBT movement have been cemented together (Oostrik, 2014: p. 13). In the meantime, drag has come a long way. Recently, Ru Paul’s Drag Race (a spin on the genre of reality-TV) which is broadcast by LGBT oriented Logo TV has been gaining in popularity, and over the past seven years many contestants have rivaled to become America’s Next Drag Superstar (Oostrik, 2014: p. 13).

2.6 Defining Drag
The word cross-dressing derives from transvestitism which derives from the Latin word “trans” (across) and “vestire” (to dress). This implies that drag queens are participating in transvestitism, but not all cross-dressers are drag queens. Performance and parody are important aspects of drag (Oostrik, 2014: p. 13). Drag is dependent on an audience in order to be drag because a prominent part of the drag performance is the audience “being in on it” or aware that the drag queen’s femininity is a performance of an exaggerated display of gender (Oostrik, 2014: p. 14). Here one can see how drag is different from other types of female impersonation or transgendered identity. For instance, a transvestite is usually a man who cross-dresses for erotic purposes. This is not the same as performing femininity or doing so in front of an audience. Therefore, a drag queen is technically a transvestite, but a transvestite is not always a drag queen (Oostrik, 2014: p. 14). Moreover, people with a transsexual identity tend to be inclined to continuously pass as their preferred sex (Oostrik, 2014: p. 14). In the spectrum of transgendered identities there are some who may want to pass as both sexes, or neither or something transcending gender altogether (Oostrik, 2014: p. 14). However, a drag queen is usually a male performing a caricature of femininity in front of an audience aware that the performer is a man. Although there have been drag performers with
transgendered identities, a drag queen is usually a male whose gender agrees with the
sex assigned at birth (Oostrik, 2014: p. 15). Another key point to mention is that drag
relies on a binary gender system because for a man to perform femininity there must be
another sex to pass as. In other words, a clear distinction between men and women is
needed in order for the drag performer to pass as a woman (Oostrik, 2014: p. 15).

2.7 RuPaul’s Drag Race (RPDR)
Marginalized groups like drag queens have different ways of using language to forge a
mutual reality. The display of the gendered self is essentially performative because it
communicates physical and sartorial messages and also involves particular ways of
speaking (Simmons, 2014: p. 631). RuPaul’s Drag Race (RPDR) is the first reality show
on television to headline drag queens. Participants from across the United States and
Puerto Rico compete over numerous challenges which evaluate performance, fashion
sense, humor, intellectual ability, team work and time management. Participants
compete individually as well as in teams, but only one will be determined to have the
charisma, uniqueness, nerve and talent required to be America’s Next Drag Superstar
(ANDS). RPDR has been described as men dressed in caricatures of femininity,
prancing in front of celebrity judges of different degrees of relevance, in a competition
that mixes “America’s Next Top Model” (a reality television program hosted by former
model Tyra Banks) with “To Wong Fu, Thanks for Everything, Julie Numar” (an
American film in which three drag queens travel across the U.S. in a bus), (Simmons,
2014: p. 632). Although RPDR is a competition, individuals work toward a common
good and preserve a mutual sense of identity throughout the show with remarks like, “we
are sisters” or “this is like a drag sorority” (Simmons, 2014: p. 633). Charisma,
uniqueness, nerve and talent are four qualities RuPaul asserts that ANDS must have.
The conduct displayed on RPDR is exemplary of how a drag queen should speak.
Throughout RPDR the participants’ conduct reveals patterns of behavior that are
acceptable or unacceptable not just for ANDS, but also for what it means to act and
speak like a drag queen (Simmons, 2014: p. 636). Accordingly, the definition of drag
queen integrity is maintained and bestowed to future generations of drag queens by
communication (Simmons, 2014: p. 633). The following expressions and their
explanations are examples of how drag queens use communication to construct group
identity.

To be “fishy” or “like a fish” are expressions used by participants of
RPDR to invoke an identity and cultural base for how drag queens should act and
communicate. To be “fishy” is another way of saying “like a girl” (Simmons, 2014: p. 636).

In this community “hunger” or the act of “being hungry” refers to being too competitive or having a cutthroat attitude that disrespects the bonds of drag sisterhood which should be preserved always, even in competition (Simmons, 2014: p. 637).

To speak with humility by not boasting is an added quality which is salient throughout RPDR, and is also exemplary of what it means to speak like a queen. In order to speak like a true queen one must not boast about achievements that other queens may not have accomplished (Simmons, 2014: p. 638). This may be seen as a threat to others’ positive face.

Participants on RPDR who verbalized themselves in negative ways were viewed by others as undesirable. Negative behavior increases the likelihood of the entire group losing face. Negativity is a less than desirable trait that takes away from the good one has in her life (Simmons, 2014: p. 639). This is not only a threat to the web of social relationships (Holmes, 1986: p. 10) but also threatens other group members’ negative face by imposing one’s own negativity. Furthermore, expressing negativity may be a threat to one’s positive face or self-image and the positive face of other groups members as well.

A method used to counter negativity is to not complain. The speech act of complaining is seen as making excuses and that has no place in the professional drag world (Simmons, 2014: p. 640). Here the act of not complaining may be seen as the maintenance of positive face.

A constant theme throughout reigning drag queen communication is professionalism. Here, professionalism refers to the general actions, attitudes and beliefs that a true queen defends in her everyday life (Simmons, 2014: p. 640). The previous expressions allude to aspects of professionalism within drag queen culture and group identity. Deviating from these norms threatens the positive face of the group by misrepresenting what it means to be a true queen. Furthermore, tenured queens felt that queens who lacked professionalism wasted their time (Simmons, 2014: p. 641).

3. Method and Material
The aim of this study is to analyze the use of the verbal hedge “you know” in the spontaneous speech of drag queens and women in order to compare instances expressing certainty or uncertainty. The research question posed is: How and how often are the women and drag queens respectively using “you know” to express both certainty
and uncertainty? According to Lakoff (2004), women’s speech contains more instances of verbalized hedges like, “well”, “y’know” and “kinda”, used to express uncertainty (Lakoff, 2004: p. 79). Countering the claims made by Lakoff (2004), Holmes’ investigation of the forms and functions of “you know” in “naturally occurring spontaneous speech” (Holmes, 1986: p. 12) showed that women use “you know” more often than men to express speaker certainty, while men use it more to express uncertainty (Holmes, 1986: p. 13). Lakoff analyzed speech used in television media with the idea that it reflected the desired speech of the audience (Lakoff, 2004: p. 40). With that in mind, unscripted television programs were chosen for this essay. The reality shows RuPaul’s Drag Race Untucked which airs on Logo TV and The Real Housewives of Orange County which airs on Bravo TV were chosen because they feature drag queens and women engaged in spontaneous conversations.

For the data RuPaul’s Drag Race Untucked season 7 Episodes 2, 3 and 7 and Real Housewives of Orange County season 11 episodes 2, 3 and 4 were chosen. Untucked is a behind the scenes look at drag queens engaged in informal conversations while the judges discuss who should win and who should go home at the end of each competition. Real Housewives of Orange County is a reality television series featuring wealthy women as they live extravagantly. Episodes and scenes were chosen based on usable conversations covering racial and gender criteria. In order to maintain racial and gender neutrality all conversations included in the data are from Caucasian, same-sex participants. All conversations were transcribed manually following the conventions for written language. Transcripts were done using transcription software (https://transcribe.wreally.com/app#) which was purchased on-line and saved to the web browser. Youtube videos were uploaded to the software program and played with subtitles. Available functions allow the user to slow the speed in order to get a more accurate account of utterances than subtitles provide. Another useful function was the two second rewind, allowing the user to listen carefully and repetitiously with ease.

3.1 Data selection and operationalization

3.1.1 Annotation Procedure

Instances of “you know” as a verbal hedge will be analyzed by function and context and annotated into two main categories of certainty and uncertainty according to Holmes’ (1986: p. 7-11) descriptions of its use in women and men. Each main category will have subcategories which are described in the next section. Instances of “you know” which
will not be counted are when it functions as an absolute statement such as, “you know Jason, you met him last week.” and where it functions as a question such as, “do you know him?”

3.1.2 Expressing Certainty

There are three subcategories which express certainty. The first subcategory is *conjoint knowledge*, when the speaker assumes the addressee agrees with the statement. Here “you know” will precede the statement (Holmes, 1986: p. 8). The second subcategory is *attributive*, when the speaker believes the addressee knows due to experience although not the exact occurrence being described. In this subcategory, “you know” occurs with short pause before and after a statement (Holmes, 1986: p. 8). The third and final subcategory expressing certainty is *emphatic*, used to emphasize intensify or boost a statement. In this usage, “you know” occurs in the final position although it can also be present in the beginning or middle position.

3.1.3 Expressing Uncertainty

Under the main category Expressing Uncertainty there are 4 subcategories. The first of these is *appealing* in which “you know” functions as an appeal to the addressee for backing or acceptance when communicating something causing the speaker to feel embarrassed or vulnerable. Here, “you know” is usually utterance final and may or may not include a pause. (Holmes, 1986: p. 10) The second subcategory is *linguistic imprecision* in which “you know” reflects speaker awareness of a mistake within an utterance and functions as an appeal to the addressee for patience so the speaker can adjust an utterance after a false start. In this case, “you know” occurs within a clause between essential components and is preceded by a pause of verbal doubtfulness like, “er” or “umm” (Holmes, 1986: p. 10). *Introducing qualifying information* is the third subcategory. Here, “you know” signals speaker awareness that more clarification is needed. This instance is preceded by a short pause and followed by a clause component stating more clarification of what is being said (Holmes, 1986: p. 11). The final subcategory is *indicating a false start*. In this instance, “you know” functions to signal speaker awareness of the need to restructure a statement. Here, “you know” follows an abruptly ended or incomplete utterance and is then followed by a more concise or complete statement (Holmes, 1986: p. 11).

After analyzing the data from both groups and counting the number of occurrences of “you know” matching Holmes’ (1986) descriptions and separated into
the two main categories with their corresponding subcategories, the number of words uttered by each group will also be counted. The number of words will then be divided into the number of instances of “you know” used for certainty and as well as instances for uncertainty. Then each number will be multiplied by one hundred in order to get a percentage representing the distribution of “you know” being used as a verbal hedge. The method is therefore quantitative, and also qualitative in its attempt to explore, discuss and explain the occurrences.

3.1.4 Validity and Reliability

It is important to note that discourse analysis can be complicated and the conclusions expressed in the next section may be subject to internal influences such as personal stereotypes. Another concern is that although the material used for data contain unscripted conversations, these are television shows which may be subjected to careful editing to produce images that could influence how the conversations are edited.

4. Results and Discussion
A summary of the results of the study is presented in tables quantifying instances of “you know” occurring as a hedge expressing certainty and uncertainty in the speech of women and drag queens.

Tables 1 and 2 show the frequency of “you know” as it occurred in the subcategories described in section 3.2.1 and 3.2.2. Also shown are the total number of words spoken and the distribution of “you know” as it is used by each group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Conjoint knowledge</th>
<th>Attributive</th>
<th>Emphatic</th>
<th>Total number</th>
<th>Total words spoken</th>
<th>Distribution percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2196</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drag Queens</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2478</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Instances of “you know” occurring under Uncertainty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Appealing</th>
<th>Linguistic imprecision</th>
<th>Introducing qualifying information</th>
<th>Indicating false start</th>
<th>Total number</th>
<th>Total words spoken</th>
<th>Distribution percentage</th>
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<td>Women</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2478</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shown in table 1 “you know” occurred a total of three instances expressing certainty for the women. One instance of conjoint knowledge and two instances of emphatic. There were 2196 words spoken by the women and “you know” being used to express certainty represents 0.1%. For the drag queens, there was a total of five instances of “you know” occurring under certainty, four instances of conjoint knowledge and one emphatic. There was a total of 2478 words spoken by the drag queens and “you know” being used to express certainty represents 0.2%. Neither group used the attributive function of “you know.” The total for certainty was higher for drag queens with the conjoint knowledge function dominating this category. As an example, Violet Chachki says to Pearl, “You know…I don't think Max did a horrible job, I just think Max has the background where they expect more from him... or her. I think the nerves got the best of him because Max has set the bar for his acting like, really high.” Here, “you know” clearly precedes a subjective statement. For the women, the emphatic function dominated when expressing certainty. For example, Heather Dubrow says to Tamra Judge, “this is just fun, you know, I love bubbles! I mean it's so good and fun.” Here, Heather Dubrow emphasizes her love of bubbles.

Shown in table 2 there was a total of five instances of “you know” expressing uncertainty for the women. One instance occurring under the appealing function, one instance occurring under the introducing qualifying information function and three instances of indicating a false start. There was no usage of the linguistic imprecision function by the women. Of the 2196 words spoken by the women, “you know” expressing uncertainty represents 0.2%. The drag queens used “you know” to express uncertainty a total of three times in which the appealing function was the only function used. Of the 2478 words spoken by the drag queens “you know” expressing uncertainty represents 0.1%. The total number for uncertainty was higher for the women with the function of indicating a false start dominating this category. For example, Katie (Heather’s friend) says to Shannon Beador, “Well, listen… I don't know what happened here but I, you know, if you decide you wanna talk about it,” Here, “you know” clearly
marks a change in syntactic direction and precedes a complete statement. For the drag queens, the appealing function dominated when expressing uncertainty. For instance, Max says to Ginger Minge, “I picked people for my team very strategically, like veery strategically, you know, it was between you and Violet…” In this instance “you know” functions as an appeal for backing from the addressee in the face of what could be perceived as an unfavorable comment.

4.1 Discussion
In this section the results will be discussed and exemplified in regard to the functions of “you know” expressing certainty and uncertainty.

Holmes’ (1986) analysis showed that women use “you know” more often than men to show speaker certainty while men use it more often to show uncertainty (Holmes, p. 13). However, in the results of this study the women used “you know” more often to express uncertainty than the drag queens. In Holmes’ (1986) descriptions of “you know” expressing uncertainty the function of appealing is the function Lakoff (2004) referred to when supposing the over use of hedges by women leading to the impression of a lack of competence or authority (Holmes, p. 10). What is interesting is the appealing function was used by the drag queens three times and only once by the women.

The drag queen’s usage of the appealing function of “you know” could have more than one explanation. For one, a drag queen’s femininity is a performance of an exaggerated display of gender (Oostrik, 2014: p. 14). The use of the appealing function may also be an attempt to be “fishy” or “like a girl” according to norms presented on RuPaul’s Drag Race (Simmons, 2014: p. 636) by “stylization” which is described as highlighting and exaggerating stereotypes (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: p. 381). The use of the appealing function of “you know” may also be perceived by the drag queens as an aspect of “women’s language” and for this reason a part of the gender performance. On the other hand, the drag queens are competing as well as being critiqued by judges and may often genuinely feel insecure. Therefore, situations on the show may lend themselves to conversations where the appealing function is commonly used. For example, Sasha Belle laments after receiving harsh critique from the judges, “I just, I wanna do so good and I'm not, you know…” Clearly Sasha is communicating something causing her to feel embarrassed or vulnerable. “You know” expressing speaker certainty was used a total of 5 times by the drag queens with the conjoint knowledge function dominating. The following is an example of the conjoint knowledge function used by Violet Chachki, “You know...I don't think Max did a horrible job, I
just think Max has the background where they expect more from him... or her. I think the nerves got the best of him because Max has set the bar for his acting like, really high.” In this instance, Violet Chachki assumes the Pearl agrees with the statement being made about Max’s performance. Although RPDR is a competition, individuals work toward a common goal and preserve a mutual sense of identity throughout the show with remarks like, “we are sisters” or “this is like a drag sorority” (Simmons, 2014: p. 633) It is also important to respect the bonds of drag sisterhood which should be preserved always, even in competition (Simmons, 2014: p. 637). This may explain why the drag queens used this function not only to express certainty, but positive politeness as well.

Contrary to Holmes’ analysis the women in this study used “you know” more often to express uncertainty. The function of “you know” expressing uncertainty that dominates for the women is indicating a false start. This function simply signals that the speaker is aware of the need to restructure a statement (Holmes, 1986: p. 11). For example, Vicki Gunvalson says to Shannon Beador, “It shows all your, you know, stuff you don't wanna show.” Here Vicki Gunvalson is describing a revealing dress she is planning to wear and instead of naming specific body parts she restructures the statement. This particular use of “you know” being used by the women may come down to them being on camera and using caution when choosing words. In this instance, “you know” may also be used to soften the possible offensiveness of the statement “stuff you don’t wanna show.” In this situation, Vicki Gunvalson may be performing a face-saving action (Goffman, 2004: p. 290) in which she controls the embarrassment of a face threat related to the possible vulgarity of the statement. According to Lakoff, this is a rational use of hedges, not necessarily something women do more often than men (Lakoff, 2004: p. 79). Under certainty, the emphatic function of “you know” was used twice by the women. As an example, Meghan King says to Shannon Beador, “I did see you, but it was, you know, it was quick, ‘in-n-out’ so…” Here Meghan King is emphasizing how quickly an interaction between them occurred. For the women, the conjoint knowledge function was used only once. Here is an example in which Meghan King is speaking of an occasion at a party, “No, that wasn't the time and place, that's Vicky's party. I do want to, you know, talk about the pink elephant in the room with her.” In this instance, Meghan King is expressing positive politeness and is confident of the addressees’ relevant background knowledge, experience, attitude and anticipated response (Holmes, 1986: p. 7).
5. Conclusion
The aim of this study was to analyze and compare the use of the verbal hedge “you know” in the spontaneous speech of women and drag queens to compare for instances of certainty and uncertainty as described by Holmes (1986). For the data, episodes of the reality shows RuPaul’s Drag Race Untucked which airs on Logo TV and The Real Housewives of Orange County which airs on Bravo TV were manually transcribed by the conventions of written speech. The use of “you know” was then analyzed by function and context. The results of this study show the women used “you know” to express uncertainty more often than the drag queens, except not in the way Lakoff (2004) described as being an aspect of women’s language. Rather the women used “you know” in a non-gendered manner applicable to anyone. The drag queens used “you know” more often to express certainty. However, when used to express uncertainty its use by the drag queens was more relevant to women’s language as described by Lakoff (2004). On the other hand, the drag queens may simply be performing an exaggerated display of femininity based on a hegemonic gender stereotype.

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Attachments

**Untuck season 7 Episode 2 Glamazonian Airways**

Start Time: 1:39

[Pearl] This is the most amazing feeling I have felt all day.

[Trixie Mattel] You didn't show it, girl. But turns out, you were scared. You looked so fuck'n relieved.

[Pearl] Never let 'em see ya sweat. Well, you know what?

[Trixie Mattel] I see you sweat all the time.

[Pearl] What I learned after last week was, don't expect shit because you don't know what is gonna happen. You don't know what they're gonna say.
[Trixie Mattel] Pearl put this together today and was like, "This is my traveling look." So, she killed, work it out girl!

[Pearl] Everyone keeps doing this, like, "Oh, you, you know, you're not thinking about it because you don't care" like thing, but it's just not the way I process.

[Trixie Mattel] Right.

[Pearl] Honest it, like, this is the most amazing thing that's ever happened to me. It's the most amazing thing that's gonna happen to me. I care.

[Trixie Mattel] I wonder why they didn't say whose group won. I wanted to know which group won.

Stop time: 2:23
Start time 10:33

[Violet Chachki] How are you feeling, Lady Bunny, I mean Sasha?

[Sasha Belle] uuuh, I don't know. I feel stupid.

[others] why?

[Sasha Belle] I just, I wanna do so good and I'm not, you know... You think you're gonna come here and you're just gonna kill it and this is like the second week in a row where I'm in the bottom. I'm definitely lip-syncing tonight.

[Miss Fame] I don't feel very good right now. I don't feel ver good, umm...they said I looked stiff in my performance

[Jasmine Masters] mhhmm

[Miss Fame] and that uh... I need to let my ugly girl out. They're like, "We know you're beautiful, we know you're a model, we know that." Maybe they want me to be like, "uuuh!" You know... and I'm trying to reel it back and balance out the way that I look and then not come at with any ego at all.

Stop time 11:25
Start Time 14:50

[Ginger Minj] Pearl?
[Pearl] What's up?

[Ginger Minj] I have to say, like, I que, when first met you I questioned what... i, if I would find, like, validity in your drag and I don't mean that the way it comes out.

[Pearl] Okay

[Ginger Minj] This has turned it for me,

[Pearl] Thank you!

[Ginger Minj] Like, if I could wear that... I wou, I'd wear it every fuck'n day of the week, like,

[Pearl] Thank you!

[Ginger Minj] It's gorgeous.

[Pearl] You know, the thing is I like to do this, like, weird old-meets-new kinda thing so, like...

[Ginger Minj] Well, you have completely inspired me, like you're sickening, like

[Pearl] Thank you so much, aww

[Ginger Minj] You're grow'n on me, and you paint your titties on better than anybody I've ever seen in my life.

[Pearl] They only work from one angle though, see?

[Ginger Minj] That's, it don't matter.

[Pearl] *raspberry sound*

[Ginger Minj] I feel... bad that... I kind of misjudge people. I think it was, you have this, like, permanent resting bitch face. It's not the way you paint it...

[Pearl] It's just natural

[Ginger Minj] it's that way you look, like, "mmmm, look how glamorous I am."
[Pearl] *laughter*

[Ginger Minj] And I think it's beautiful, but sometimes when you forst meet somebody like that you, you, you just...

[Pearl] I know, I get it... I get it, it's cool though.

[Ginger Minj] It doesn't click. People always think I'm a warm, kind, giving person...

[Pearl] No hoo

[Ginger Minj] They're gonna watch this shit and see that it's not true.

[Pearl] I'm not sure if those... that thought ever crossed my mind, but...

*[laughter]*

[Ginger Minj] It's 'cause I look like a fuck'n cherub, is what it is.

Stop time 16:04

Start time 16:49

[Max] How're you doing, dearest?

[Sasha Belle] I'm stressed.

[Max] Are you worried?

[Sasha Belle] Yeah... I'm in the bottom, I know I am.

[Max] Whoever it is on there with you, murder them because... this is yer, like this is your chance.

[Sasha Belle] I know... and I have so much more to do here, so...

[Max] I have faith in you.

[Sasha Belle] Thank you, Max.

[Max] You're here for a reason. Come here, come here, darling *hug*

[Max] you have no reason to feel insecure about yourself because you're here for a... a damned reason.
[Kasha Davis] Max, you impressed the crap out of me. Everything is so well thought out.

[Max] Don't make me smile.

[Trixie Mattel] Have we not all been thinking since the beginning, "Max is amazing."

[Ginger Minj] No, I have not. Na I'm gonna be honest. She walked through- she walked around the corner that first day and I was like, "who is this person?" She looked like the queen of England. Um, I did not expect you to deliver what you've been delivering, and I have to say, Miss Max,

[Max] mhmm

[Ginger Minj] I was a little skeptical going into this. I was like, "We're the big theater team,

[Max] mhmm

[Ginger Minj] "And they're going to be expecting us to fail."

[Max] yeah,

[Ginger Minj] Like.. or not expecting us to fail, but expecting us to so over deliver

[Max] yes. I mean, I was worried!

[Ginger Minj] that I was worried, but you did a good job, girl!

[Max] Can I say one thing? I picked people for my team very strategically, like veery strategically. You know, it was between you and Violet,

[Ginger Minj] right

[Max] and I knew that you have a more positive attitude and you have more, you're going to let yourself have more room to grow than Violet would’ve, and that’s why I wanted to choose you.
[Ginger Minj] Well, can we talked about the fact that Violet has been picked last twice? And she was the winner, and pretty much first runner-up the first two challenges?

[Fame] Right, so she's bringing strength somewhere but the teams aren't interested.

[Kasha Davis] That's because she comes across as a total bitch.

[Ginger Minj] You have to be a professional. And that means dealing with anybody and everybody and every situation

[Kasha Davis] mhmm

[Ginger Minj] that comes your way and not complaining about and questioning every single that is made that you don't make.

[Kasha Davis] I didn't think she looked gorgeous on the runway.

[Ginger Minj] I loved it. that's very much my aesthetic, though.

[Kasha Davis] I liked the vintage gown, but it was like pulling here and you could see the, the

[Ginger Minj] I didn't give her the once over because I'm not judging. I just went, "oh, you look pretty."

[Trixie Mattel] That hair curled under with the hair

[Kasha Davis] Her face and hair, gorgeous.

[Trixie Mattel] Besides the breard I thought she looked beautiful. I was like, "this is kinda the most pretty to me."

[Ginger Minj] She looked beautiful in the challenge as well. But is that all that she is? is gorgeous?

[Trixie Mattel] Well according to their team, that was a really flattering cut of what Jasmine did. Because i heard that she was really having a hard time with her lines.

[Ginger Minj] Girl, Jasmine's already packed up her shit.

[Kasha Davis] She's packed her whole freaking station. She is out the door!
[Ginger Minj] She's packed her station, she's said her goodbyes

[Max] That is why things aren't going well for her, because she has that attitude.

[Trixie Mattel] Well she proved in the first episode that she can't sell and now she just proved that she has trouble with acting. It's like...Theuh they, you know coming into this this they're gonna test you on those things.

[Ginger Minj] Everybody else went out of their way to make sure that their bearded look looked really, really good.

[Fame] right

[Ginger Minj] and she just kinda smudged some black on her chin.

[Kasha Davis] She did tell me that if she is going to be um lip-syncing against Kennedy she's just going to stand there and not lip-sync. And honestly...

[Max] no, she can't do that. She can't do that.

[Kasha Davis] That pissed me off more than anything else. After fucking auditioning for this show for seven years, for somebody to be here and be like, "oh I'm packing my stuff, I'm going home." There are people out there watching this show, who would die to be on this

[Max] Yes, there are thousands of people

[Kasha Davis] and you're just gonna give up like that?

[Max] Unprofessional

[Ginger Minj] This is a defense mechanism.

[Kasha Davis] Yep

[Ginger Minj] She's trying to cover her ass right now so if she goes home, she can go home and not be embarrassed. She gonna go, "Bitch, I didn't even want to be on the show anyway. I'm just gonna go."

[Max] yes, yes

[Trixie Mattel] it's disrespectful.
[Ginger Minj] But girl, if that's how you feel then get your shit and get the fuck out!

[Trixie Matte] It sounds like my girl Pearl's in the bottom and from the flip side of the coin Pearl really wants it.

End time. 5:18

**Untucked Season 7 Episode 7 The Snatch Game**
Start time 1:28

[Pearl] I need help walking. *laughs*

[Violet Chachki] Right this way, baby.

[Pearl] My angel

[Violet Chachki] We're gonna pick up our drinks now.

[Pearl] Okay

[Violet Chachki] Can you handle that?

[Pearl] **You know**, I just can't.

[Violet Chachki] That was mine, you bitch.


[Violet Chachki] I requested more booze.

[Pearl] Ugh, God, I can't just be pretty. I gotta eat shit on the runway before I walk away.

[Violet Chachki] There's no possible way for to be pretty on this show.

[Pearl] God,

[Violet Chachki] It just isn't in the cards, boo.

[Pearl] No, it's not.

[Violet Chachki] Just give up now. *groans* Oh my fucking god! I'm like, dripping everywhere.

[Violet Chachki] No, that's not what happened, bitch. I wasn't even over there.

[Pearl] You know I slipped on your lubey ass... Leaving snail trail all over the goddamn runway. Goddamn it.

[Violet Chachki] pshh...

[Pearl/ Violet Chachki] *laughing*

[Pearl] What the fuck!?

[Violet Chachki] God, I'm so glad I'm saved, bitch.

[Pearl] I know

[Violet Chachki] Have you ever been saved before?

[Pearl] Yeah.

[Violet Chachki] I've never this is the first time I've ever been saved, bitch. I am like...

[Pearl] I was really only not safe those couple of weeks that I...

[Violet Chachki] were tired?

[Pearl] didn't do so well. That I was tired, yeah. Now what the hell am I supposed to do with you for the next hour while they deliberate?

[Violet Chachki] Let's have a kaikai.

[Pearl] Okay.

[Violet Chachki] How good does it feel to get through Snatch Game?

[Pearl] Right!? I know.

[Violet Chachki] It's so weird sitting, like,

[Pearl] mm-hmm
[Violet Chachki] sitting up there and just thinking it and seeing all the crew and everything...

[Pearl] It's like seeing a... celebrity. You know what i mean? It's like, not a person, but it's like, a very famous thing...

[Violet Chachki] It's like a trip, I'm telling you!

[Pearl] This whole experience is like a big fuck'n LSD trip, for sure.

[Violet Chachki] It really is, though.

[Pearl] So, who do you think is in the bottom?

[Violet Chachki] I'm sorry, but if Jaidynn's not in the bottom I'm gonn be upset 'cause I'm not buying her, "That's so Raven." What was she wearing tonight? I can't remember. Oh!

[Pearl] Big hair.

[Violet Chachki] No ma'am, no ma'am Like, what was she thinking? Love her, I'm sure she made it and hot-glued it together, but I just don't see leather & lace.

[Pearl] Well, You're not even wearing fuck'n le, leather.

[Violet Chachki] Oh, as if, bitch. You just throw some pleath- your, bitch... your pink shit was from like, H&M.

[Pearl] That is genuine...

[Violet Chachki] That is fuck'n forever, 20-Balls and you know it...

[Pearl] ...Vintage leather. Oh my God, I'm gonna kick your ass. That was very expensive.

[Violet chachki] I paid a lot of money for this.

[Pearl] Who the fuck else... Do you... Max was freaking out, Max thought he did such a horrible job.

[Violet Chachki] You know...I don't think Max did a horrible job, I just think Max has the background where they expect more from him... or her. I think the nerves got the best of him because Max has set the bar for his acting like, really high.
[Pearl] Right. See, you gotta do it like me, you gotta start out real fuck'n slow...sou you got...

[Violet Chachki] Right

[Pearl] a momentum to work up to.

[Violet Chachki] I'm like, "damn maybe I shouldn't have been so pretty." "I did all my ugly looks first, so now I can be really pretty and fall."

[Pearl] And the only other one that really got the most crickets was Fame.

[Violet Chachki] Yeah, I mean, our Donatellas would've been a little bit different. I would've worn a dress under a corset... A. I wouldn't have sounded Russian. It's just crazy 'cause I've been working on Donatella for like, eight months and then to see somebody...

[Pearl] Oh really

[Violet Chachki] Yeah, like, that's what i auditioned with.

[Pearl] oh yeah...

[Violet Chachki] So, like, to see somebody else do it right in front of me, and like, me to be up there like, as a different character and try to be like...

[Pearl] You're like, " you're not doing this right." *laughs*

[Violet Chachki] Yeah! I'm try'na trying to clock her as Elissa Edwards and just like, it was just really weird, you know. I think Ginger's got this in the bag, though. But it...

[Pearl] She was dunking doughnuts or Twinkies...

[Pearl/Violet Chachki] in wine.

[Pearl] which is hilarious and disgusting.

[Violet Chachki] That was, that's commitment, girl.

[Pearl] I think it's between Ginger and Little Richie.

[Violet Chachki] I don't think so...
[Pearl] RuPaul was laughing at Little Richie more than anything.

[Violet Chachki] She was fuck'n dying! Yeah, but it was the female illusion, like, it's supposed to be a female

[Pearl] Uh huhhh...

[Violet Chachki] Goddam... celebrity, like that is such a cop out. Just because he wears make up...

[Pearl] What are you talking about? There was no one else Kennedy could've played, girl. Come on, there was no one else.

[Violet Chachki] She didn't even look like him, I mean, whatever.

Real Housewives of Orange County Season 10 Episode 2 Take A Swing
Start time [00:08:01]

[Tamra Judge] You're gonna tell me all about Napa.

[Heather Dubrow] So, I'm so glad you guys are coming. I just thought it'd be nice, like we all haven't been together in a long time and i thought let's fly up and I have to transport the cake...

[Tamra Judge] wawawawa, what do you mean, "everybody?"

[Heather Dubrow] So, it's gonna be you and me

[Tamra Judge] mmmmm

[Heather Judge] and my girlfriend Katie. Vicky is out of town, she's getting an award in Florida...

[Tamra Judge] Okaaay...

[Heather Dubrow] so she can't come. Aaaand Shannon, and Lizzie...

[Tamra Judge] I'm not on good terms with Lizzie. I've forgiven, but I have not forgot.

[Heather Dubrow] We're in a new year, it's time to just refresh and restart,

[Tamra Judge] I jus, I don't,... I'm good, let's leave it at that.
[Heather Dubrow] Nooo! I'm not leaving it at that!

[Tamra Judge] God!

[Heather Dubrow] What!? What's wrong!? Why are you gonna cry?

[Tamra Judge] I don't know.

[Heather Dubrow] what is wrong?

[Tamra Judge] I just been in a funk.

[Heather Dubrow] You've had a lot of stuff going on, yeah,

[Tamra Judge] Everything hit me so hard, you know, everything with the girls in Bali, my ex put me through the ringer...

[Heather Dubrow] yeah...

[Tamra Judge] So much at once, the only way I can explain it is like, "being hit by a car."

[Heather Dubrow] You know what? You stayed strong through it.

[Tamra Judge] I'm not strong.

[Heather Dubrow] Yeah, you are.

[Tamra Judge] Well, I'm good, I jus, I feel like I just have been crying a lot lately. I lost myself! Where is it?

[Heather Dubrow] Well, we gotta find you. We gotta get Stella her groove back.

[Tamra Judge] We'll see.

Stop Time [00:09:42]

Start time [00:08:01]

[Tamra Judge] You're gonna tell me all about Napa.

[Heather Dubrow] So, I'm so glad you guys are coming. I just thought it'd be nice, like we all haven't been together in a long time and i thought let's fly up and I have to transport the cake...
[Tamra Judge] wawawawa, what do you mean, "everybody?"

[Heather Dubrow] So, it's gonna be you and me

[Tamra Judge] mmhmmm

[Heather Judge] and my girlfriend Katie. Vicky is out of town, she's getting an award in Florida...

[Tamra Judge] Okaaay...

[Heather Dubrow] so she can't come. Aaaand Shannon, and Lizzie...

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[Heather Dubrow] Well, we gotta find you. We gotta get Stella her groove back.

[Tamra Judge] We'll see.

Stop Time [00:09:42]

The Real Housewives of Orange County Season 10 episode 3 Whine Country
[00:02:34]

[Heather Dubrow] Cheers ladies. Megan, I'm so glad you could join us today.

[Meghan King] Thank you for having me.

[Tamra Judge] So, you're in Orange County full time?

[Meghan King] I'm here full time.

[Tamra Judge] Are you bouncing back and forth?

[Meghan King] No, no, no and it's hard for me because I miss the little ones in St. Louis, but Hale..I need to be here for Haley, she lives with me full time and then we just sold our house and we don't have another place to move in right now and we close in two weeks. We didn't have a plan because we were like, "oh, it wouldn't sale." So, you guys, I had so much fun last night...

[Tamra Judge] I am totally shocked at Lizzie...

[Heather Dubrow] Yes, why?

[Tamra Judge] She was so nice-n-so sweet!

[Heather Dubrow] She is nice!

[Tamra Judge] She wasn't like, the Lizzie that I knew that I met in the very beginning. That was very sweet-n-fun-n...we were playful-n-fun...
[Heather DuBrow] I love that.

[Tamra Judge] Everything was good. I didn't talk to Shannon very much, did you?

[Heather Dubrow] I talked to her a little bit... a little bit.

[Tamra Judge] Not much, I really felt like she was kind of stand-off-ish.

[Meghan King] I've kind of had like, my own little run-ins with Shannon our friends overlap. I've met her husband, at your Ho-Down last year.

[Heather Dubrow] Oooooh...

[Tamra Judge] That was awkward.

[Meghan King] and then I called her and I asked her about some appetizers for a fund raiser that I'm throwing next Thursday.

[Heather Dubrow] Did you talk to her last... when you saw her last night...

[Meghan King] No, that wasn't the time and place, that's Vicky's party. I do want to, you know, talk about the pink elephant in the room with her.

[Heather Dubrow] If some, like, beautiful girl was flirting with Terry, I'd be amused.

[Heather/Tamra/Meghan] *laughs together*

[Heather Dubrow] I'd be like, "really!? You wanna have a shot with him?...Please, have at it!"

Stop time [00:05:19]

Start time[00:05:36]

[Vicki Gunvalson] there's only fifteen percent that are women and I'm in the top five percent of that fifteen.

[Shannon Beador] Congradulations, no, I'm serious, that's amazing. Congradulations.

[Vicki Gunvalson] You know what? It's nice to b, this is a man's world I'm in. I think I might get my award in this one..
[Shannon Beador] That's really pretty.

[Vicki Gunvalson] I know. It shows all your, you know, stuff you don't wanna show. So, what're you guys gonna do in Napa?

[Shannon Beador] Well, I'm going to Napa with my good friends Heather Dubrow and Tamra Judge. They both were quite nice to me at your Fiesta.

[Vicki Gunvalson] I know.

[Shannon Beador] So, what do you think?

[Vicki Gunvalson] Well, I think these are awful loud as a g-string, don't you? *whispers "very sexy*"

[Shannon Beador] Thank you for the visual.

Stop time [00:06:30]

Start Time [00:22:22]

[Heather Dubrow] Are you gonna want anal? What.. *laughs*


[Heather Dubrow] What?

[Tamra Judge] I just wanna see if you're good.

[Heather Dubrow] Oh Hi! *laughs*

[Tamra Judge] Hiii!

[Heather Dubrow] Did you like the way I did the champs bottle?

[Tamra Judge] I did. I was so proud of you.

[Heather Dubrow] Thank you.

[Tamra Judge] So exciting...

[Heather Dubrow] I have to tell you, this has been the most fun thing I have done in so long...you know, it's funny, I had to go talk to Roberts and John, my builder about the cabinets because we're way over budget and.. try to
figure out the house thing.. I really like doing to the house.. this is just fun, you know, I love bubbles! I mean it's so good and fun.

Stop time [00:22:53]

Start time [00:26:29]

[Meghan King] I kinda heard some rumbles around Orange County that you might have been offended about the hoedown with David last year and that...

[Shannon Beador] Nooo

[Meghan King] I might have been flirting..

[Shannon Beador] Really? No, no, no. I had my own issues because my husband didn't introduce me. It had nothing to do with you.

[Meghan King] Okay...

[Shannon Beador] It was that I was walking up and it was like I was invisible.

[Meghan King] If I had seen you..I totally erh, I mean, I did see you, but it was, you know, it was quick, “in-n-out” so…

[Shannon Beador] No, No I get it.

[Meghan King] Okay, well good. So, we're good. Okay...

[Shannon Beador] Yeah.. If you ever hear or wanna talk to anything,

[Meghan King] We, that's, that's...

[Shannon Beador] I'm direct, I'm, Im I can tell it like it is..

[Meghan King] Me too...

[Shannon Beador] and I tell the truth.

Stop time [00:27:32]

The Real Housewives of Orange County Season 10 episode 4. Charity Case
Start time [00:04:38]

[Tamra Judge] You okay? Esc
[Katie (Heather's friend)] What happened? You wanna talk about it or no?

[Shannon Beador] no.. I don't wanna talk about it.

[Tamra Judge] We just want you to be okay. We had such a fun weekend.

[Shannon Beador] I know it.

[Katie] Well, listen… I don't know what happened here but I, you know, if you decide you wanna talk about it, I know that your friends…

[Lizzie Rovsek] Will you pull the chair up?

[Meghan King] that's okay, I want to squat.

[Katie] and I want to be able to be there for you.

[Meghan King] Is it okay that I'm right here?

[Shannon Beador] Yeah, that's fine.

[Meghan King] okay..

[Shannon Beador] that's fine.

[Meghan King] I'm, I'm really sorry that, it, whatever I said, I did not want it to end that way at all, and I feel awful.

[Shannon Beador] Well, it's just, it's just that I, I felt completely ambushed and so when you say to me that, giving me the impression that you don't think I'm a charitable person. It's exactly the opposite of who I am. I bend over backwards for my friends, I, if anybody asked me to do anything, I go..

[Meghan King] You didn't give me that impression.

[Shannon Beador] a thousand percent, and so...

[Meghan King] You didn't, you didn't even respond to my text message.

[Shannon Beador] I'm so sorry that I wasn't helpful with you, but I as, once again..

[Meghan King] That's why I was offended.
[Shannon Beador] Well, I'm offended that you told me that someone gave you my phone number and she didn't give my phone number.

[Meghan King] Oh come on. That's not even, that has nothing to do with this.

[Shannon Beador] I have a private cell phone number that not many people have.

[Meghan King] Congadu-fuck'n-lations, don't try to talk to me about your private phone number, Shannon. You're not some big ta-do, alright. This is a charity, this is about getting help for a charity.

[Shannon Beador] I'm not saying I'm a big ta-do, my friend.

[Meghan King] Well, then help me!

[Tamra Judge] Okay, okay, okay.

[Meghan King] The point is, I understand you might've felt like that, okay, my hea, my face is here, not there. But the poing is we were talking about a charity you were involved in and helped.

[Shannon Beador] Had I known that I was getting a call..

[Meghan King] You would've been nicer? I never know when i'm getting calls about charity. Do you guys? Why aren't you looking at me?

[Shannon Beador] I'm so sorry, Meghan. That I didn't open up to you and I didn't call you back. I'll be there for you next time.

[Meghan King] You will?

[Shannon Beador] Yes, I will.

[Meghan King] It doesn't feel very genuine.

[Heather Dubrow] Did I hear a cork pop somewhere?

Stop time [00:07:07]

Start time[00:22:35]

[Meghan King] Hello, you look pretty. Hi, what's going on?

[Heather Dubrow] Hi. How're you?
[Meghan King] Good. I'm sorry, how was, how was traffic?

[Heather Dubrow] Am I not the rudest friend ever, popping over while you're in the middle of..., but I bought you a pre-party hostess gift..

[Meghan King] oh, that so sweet.

[Heather Dubrow] in case you need a little sugar pick me up.

[Meghan King] So, how, how was traffic? My sister just got i, got in to L.A. like, just landed,

[Heather Dubrow] it was great.

[Meghan King] She's coming down.

[Heather Dubrow] That's exciting.

[Heather Dubrow] Seriously!?

[Meghan King] mmhmm

[Heather Dubrow] Wow, the furnitur looks great.

[Meghan King] Thanks, thanks.

[Heather Dubrow] You did a great job.

[Heather Dubrow] We can just sit over here.

[Heather Dubrow] Oh.

[ Meghan King] Uhmm..

[Heather Dubrow] Thank you.

[Meghan King] I mean, I'm jus, I'm literally, everyhting you see in here I'm getting rid of, everything. Except, I like the telescope. But..
[Heather Dubrow] I love the telescope, and I love these little nitches. Have you recovered from Napa?

[Meghan King] *sighs* uuhmm, you know, it's ju, eh Napa was a lot, it was so fun, but..

[Heather Dubrow] It was fun wasn't it?

[Meghan King] It was so, it was so awsome, it was fun..

[Heather Dubrow] yeah,

[Meghan King] Everythings just been crazy since then.

[Heather Dubrow] Oh well, you've been busy.

[Meghan King] Yeah.

[Heather DuBrow]Well, I know, I know you're busy..

[Meghan King] okay

[Heather Dubrow] I just..., okay.. sooo, when, when Tamra was asking you about Shannon,

[Meghan King] yeah, ohhh right

[Heather Dubrow] on the phone... Like why isn't she invited and..

[Meghan King] Right

[Heather Dubrow] I thought you made very valid, good points and honestly, when you were talking.. Tamra and I were both like, "ok, we get it." Then I started thinking, "it's a charity party, and she probably knows a lot of people that are coming and it's gonna be awkward if she doesn't come. And.. as your friend I just wanted to put it out there that this may turn things into def-con 4.

[Meghan King] I've thought tha, I mean, I've thought this all through.

[Heather Dubrow] Oh! Fabulous.

[Meghan King] Like, I mean..

[Heather Dubrow] Did I not need to pop over? *laughtes* I'm kidding.
[Meghan King] The thing, the thing is, is that it's a few hours to the party and I have people coming over umm in twelve minutes..

[Heather Dubrow] right

[Meghan King] to start setting up. I, I jus, don't have time to think about this. I feel like it's so close to when she erupted that I just need to let her calm down, relax and this is not the place to talk about it.

[Heather Dubrow] But might there be a space where you might consider calling her.

[Meghan King] I'm not going there.

[Heather Dubrow] Oh dear!

[Meghan King] Like i said to Tamra, "I do not want to exclude her, but I think she's excluding herself by her behavior."

[Heather Dubrow] I hope you're okay that I brought this up.

[Meghan King] no, it's good
Stop time [25:00]