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## *Oh my God!:* Gender differences in the use of interjections in oral discourse

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## **Abstract**

Ameka (1992) defined interjections as “little words or ‘non-words’ which can constitute utterances by themselves” (p. 101). In spite of the high frequency of interjections in everyday talk, little attention has been paid to them. Moreover, it has been stated that both women’s and men’s discourse vary in terms of the way they express themselves and their style of communication. Hence, this paper analyses the differences in the use of interjections in oral conversations by both men and women and, in this way, how gender can affect the use of some interjections or others. To conduct this analysis, two corpora were used, the first was formed by the first two seasons of the American TV series *Gossip Girl* (GGCI) and the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE).

**Keywords:** interjections, gender and language, conversation analysis, *ah, oh, oh my God, uh, um.*

## **Resumen**

Ameka (1992) define las interjecciones como “pequeñas palabras o ‘no-palabras’ que pueden constituir enunciados por sí mismas” (p. 101). Sin embargo, a pesar de la alta frecuencia de las interjecciones en el habla cotidiana, se les ha prestado poca atención. Además, se ha afirmado que tanto el discurso de las mujeres como el de los hombres varía en cuanto a la forma en que se expresan y su estilo de comunicación. Por ello, en este trabajo se analizan las diferencias en el uso de las interjecciones en las conversaciones orales tanto de hombres como de mujeres y, de este modo, cómo el género puede afectar al uso de unas interjecciones u otras. Para llevar a cabo este análisis se han utilizado dos corpus, el primero formado por las dos primeras temporadas de la serie de televisión estadounidense *Gossip Girl* (GGCI) y el Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE).

**Palabras clave:** interjecciones, género y lenguaje, análisis de la conversación, *ah, oh, oh my God, uh, um.*

## Resumen

Las interjecciones se definen como “pequeñas palabras o ‘no-palabras’ que pueden constituir enunciados por sí mismas” (Ameka, 1992, p. 101). A pesar de ser una parte muy importante del discurso oral, pocos académicos las han estudiado en profundidad, tomando en consideración los distintos aspectos que inciden en su uso. Uno de estos aspectos es el género, que es un factor social que afecta a la comunicación y a la interacción social (Weatherall, 2000, p. 288), y es por ello que surgen los diferentes estilos de habla relacionados con el género.

El presente estudio trata de identificar las diferencias en el uso de las interjecciones en conversaciones orales por parte de hombres y mujeres y, de este modo, cómo el género puede afectar al uso de unas interjecciones u otras. Para conseguir este fin, se analizan las interjecciones *ah*, *oh*, *oh my God*, *uh* y *um*. Este análisis se lleva a cabo con estas interjecciones empleadas tanto en la ficción, concretamente en la serie de televisión americana *Gossip Girl*, (2007 – 2012), como en conversaciones reales pertenecientes al corpus Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE). Dicho esto, se plantean tres preguntas de investigación para el desarrollo del estudio:

- ¿Existe alguna diferencia entre el habla masculina y femenina en cuanto al uso de las interjecciones? Es decir, ¿en qué aspectos difiere el uso de las interjecciones empleadas por hombres y mujeres en la comunicación oral?
- Si existe alguna diferencia entre hombres y mujeres, ¿hay alguna interjección que utilicen con más frecuencia las mujeres y que apenas utilicen los hombres, y viceversa?
- Teniendo en cuenta la interjección más utilizada por las mujeres y la más empleada por los hombres, ¿cuál es la motivación que existe detrás de esta elección?

Entre las hipótesis planteadas en el trabajo, se encuentra la idea de que las mujeres expresan sus emociones con más naturalidad que los hombres (Coates, 2015; Eckert y McConnel-Ginet, 2003) y, por lo tanto, utilizan las interjecciones con bastante más frecuencia cuando se expresan en el discurso oral. De este modo, se espera que las interjecciones más utilizadas en el discurso de las mujeres serán las que tienen un significado más emocional (*oh*, *oh my God*) consideradas interjecciones expresivas según Ameka (1992), mientras que las más empleadas por los hombres serían las que expresan

un significado menos emocional, es decir más discursivo (*uh, um*), clasificadas como interjecciones fáticas.

Considerando esto, este trabajo de investigación se divide en seis secciones, la primera siendo la introducción al trabajo. En segundo lugar, se ofrece un marco teórico que profundiza en las áreas con más relevancia en el estudio, el análisis de la conversación, el género y las interjecciones. Después, la tercera sección consiste en la metodología, con una descripción del corpus y del procedimiento de la investigación. La cuarta sección presenta los resultados obtenidos tras el análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo, junto con una discusión de estos resultados. La quinta sección trata el tema de la traducción de las interjecciones a español. Finalmente, en la sexta sección se proporcionan las conclusiones, junto con las limitaciones y futuras líneas de investigación.

En primer lugar, en el marco teórico se establece el concepto de análisis de la conversación (AC), que normalmente se considera una actividad compartida en la que tanto el oyente como el hablante comparten por igual la responsabilidad del discurso (Gardner, 2005, p. 263). La importancia del AC empezó en los años 60 a partir de los primeros estudios etnometodológicos. Es necesario tener en cuenta que el discurso oral es un foco esencial de análisis, puesto que permite estudiar fenómenos diferentes a los que se encuentran en el discurso escrito. Hay que destacar que las conversaciones se organizan en turnos, los cuales marcan el comienzo del discurso de un hablante u otro. Además, el análisis de la conversación puede ser analizado a partir de diferentes variables sociales, entre ellas el género.

El género se define como “una categoría social omnipresente” (Weatherall, 2000, p. 287) y, por ello, desde los años 70 con los primeros movimientos feministas, se empezó a relacionar bajo el mismo foco de estudio que la lengua. De esta manera, tal y como afirman Stokoe y Smithson (2001), el género no se manifiesta cuando los participantes hablan, pero sí se identifica en ciertos patrones dentro de la conversación (p. 223). Sin embargo, los hablantes no son conscientes de ello necesariamente, puesto que la relación entre género y discurso se manifiesta de forma indirecta (Kendall y Tannen, 2001, p. 557). A pesar de ello, se pueden identificar diferencias en el discurso de los hombres frente al de las mujeres, por lo que, por lo que respecta a este trabajo de investigación, también puede afectar al uso de las interjecciones.

Ameka (1992) clasifica las interjecciones entre primarias y secundarias. Las interjecciones primarias son aquellas que únicamente pueden utilizarse como interjección, mientras que las secundarias pueden constituir un enunciado por sí mismas y no entran en construcción con otras clases de palabras (p. 105). En relación a este estudio, las interjecciones *ah*, *oh*, *uh* y *um* se consideran interjecciones primarias, mientras que *oh my God* es una interjección secundaria. Sin embargo, hay quien afirma que las interjecciones se solapan con los marcadores pragmáticos, los cuales tienen funciones que van más allá de sus patrones como marcadores del discurso (Downing y Martínez Caro, 2019; Norrick, 2009).

Por otra parte, Ameka (1992) presenta otra clasificación de las interjecciones: en este caso, se habla de interjecciones *expresivas*, *conativas* y *fáticas* (p. 37 – 38). Las interjecciones *expresivas*, que se centran en expresar las emociones y pensamientos de los hablantes, se subdividen en interjecciones emotivas y cognitivas. Las interjecciones *conativas* son las que expresan el deseo del hablante requiriendo una respuesta del oyente. Y, por último, las interjecciones *fáticas* son las que tienen por objeto dar *feedback* al interlocutor, desempeñando así una función más discursiva.

Con el propósito de analizar la diferencia en el uso de las interjecciones entre hombres y mujeres, se creó el corpus GGCI (Gossip Girl Corpus of Interjections). El corpus GGCI está formado por un total de 43 episodios pertenecientes a las dos primeras temporadas de la serie americana *Gossip Girl*, 18 episodios de la primera temporada y 25 episodios de la segunda. El análisis de datos pertenecientes a la ficción puede dar un enfoque de realidad a la hora de analizar las conversaciones. Sin embargo, también es de gran importancia analizar conversaciones reales más allá de un guion de serie de televisión. Por ello, también se analizaron 20 conversaciones reales pertenecientes del corpus SBCSAE (Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English). Para tantear las interjecciones a analizar, primero se seleccionaron 6 interjecciones (*ah*, *oh*, *oh my God*, *uh*, *um* y *wow*), de las cuales se terminaron estudiando solo 5 (*ah*, *oh*, *oh my God*, *uh* y *um*).

Posteriormente, se llevaron a cabo el análisis cuantitativo y el análisis cualitativo. En primer lugar, el análisis cuantitativo ilustró que las interjecciones empleadas con mayor frecuencia por mujeres en el corpus GGCI era *oh* (46.65%), y la más frecuente en hombres era *uh* (50.26%), datos muy similares a los obtenidos en el corpus SBCSAE con las mujeres empleando *oh* un 48.30% del total, y los hombres *uh* un 48.79%. Es por ello

por lo que puede afirmarse que las mujeres, al emplear la interjección *oh* con mayor frecuencia y tratándose esta de una interjección expresiva, tienden a utilizar interjecciones con mayor carga emocional. Por otro lado, al ser *uh* una interjección fática empleada para mantener el discurso entre hablante y oyente se puede afirmar que los hombres tienden a usar interjecciones con mayor valor discursivo. De esta manera, se cumpliría una de las hipótesis planteadas en la introducción de este trabajo de investigación.

Por otro lado, el análisis cualitativo se centró específicamente en cada una de las interjecciones, centrandó el análisis en la clasificación de Ameka (1992) anteriormente mencionada: interjecciones *expresivas*, *conativas* y *fáticas*. Además, también se clasificaron siguiendo la categorización de Goddard (2013), en la cual establece una distinción específica entre interjecciones primarias: interjecciones '*noise-like*' (similar al ruido) y '*word-like*' (similar a una palabra) (p. 54). También, junto a la clasificación, se analizaron ejemplos prototípicos de cada interjección, demostrando así las diferentes funciones que pueden desempeñar en cada caso, y la motivación de los hablantes, tanto hombres como mujeres, en emplearlas.

Este trabajo de investigación también dedica una pequeña sección a la traducción, o análisis contrastivo, de las interjecciones del inglés al español. El análisis contrastivo es una forma de destacar e identificar las diferentes funciones que tiene el elemento que se va a traducir (Cuenca, 2008; Martínez Caro, 2023), en este caso, las interjecciones. Para ello, se han analizado dos capítulos de la serie de televisión *Gossip Girl*, específicamente los capítulos 1x02 y 1x03, en los que se han estudiado las diferentes maneras de traducir las cinco interjecciones analizadas en este estudio (*ah*, *oh*, *oh my God*, *uh* y *um*). El análisis se ha basado en las diferentes estrategias de traducción que propone Cuenca (2006): (1) traducción literal; (2) traducción mediante una interjección de distinta forma, pero mismo significado; (3) traducción mediante el uso de una estructura no interjectiva con significado similar; (4) traducción mediante una interjección con un significado diferente; (5) omisión; y (6) adición de elementos (p. 27). El análisis reveló que las dos estrategias más comunes en la traducción son la traducción mediante una interjección de distinta forma, pero mismo significado, y la omisión.

Para concluir, se confirma que las mujeres emplean las interjecciones en mayor medida que los hombres al expresarse en el discurso oral. Además, también se ha probado que las mujeres tienden a utilizar con más frecuencia las interjecciones expresivas, como es la interjección *oh*, las cuales son empleadas para demostrar las emociones y

sensaciones en el discurso; y que los hombres prefieren las interjecciones fáticas, como es el caso de *uh*, las cuales tienen un valor más discursivo en el habla. En cuanto a la motivación de los hablantes para utilizar con mayor frecuencia unas interjecciones u otras, se ha concluido que, en lo que respecta al género, las mujeres asumen la responsabilidad de mantener la interacción de forma educada y comprensiva (Hopper, 2003, p. 183). Es por ello por lo que se entiende que es más frecuente que empleen interjecciones expresivas, relacionadas con los sentimientos. Por otro lado, el discurso de los hombres se caracteriza por ser más “impersonal” y sobre “temas basados en hechos” (Stokoe y Smithson, 2001, p. 219), por lo que es entendible que sean las interjecciones fáticas las más empleadas por hombres.

Finalmente, aunque se han cumplido las hipótesis planteadas al principio de este trabajo, son muchas las limitaciones que aparecieron durante la investigación. Entre estas se encuentra la diferencia entre las interjecciones encontradas en el GGCI y el SBCSAE, lo que hizo que los datos numéricos no pudiesen ser comparados con exactitud; además, el tiempo de investigación también era limitado. Este estudio sobre la diferencia en el uso de las interjecciones entre hombres y mujeres se podría continuar recopilando corpus más amplios y, de esta manera, poder estudiar el contexto con mayor profundidad. Por otra parte, se podría compilar un corpus de conversaciones reales más amplio (SBCSAE), para poder realizar una comparación más precisa de las interjecciones estudiadas.



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*“Language begins where interjections end.”*

(Müller, 1862, p. 115)

## **1. Introduction**

Interjections are referred to as "the anomalous grammatical class at most levels of analysis" (Cuenca, 2000, p. 29). Yet spoken discourse is loaded with them. Interjections are present in almost all spoken discourse, yet they are far more common in informal discourse. Being so, why have they not been studied more often? This research focuses on the use of interjections and the difference between men and women in their employment.

According to Ameka (1992) the mind is influenced by emotions such as pain, joy or fear and there is a need to express these emotions in some way (p. 103). Therefore, interjections are defined as implicit expressions whose meaning is uttered rather than implied (Meinard, 2015, p. 103).

Women's language tends to be far more emotional than men's discourse. It is claimed that the reason for this is men's lack of brain lateralisation, which causes women to be more emotional while men are more rational or grammatical (Coates, 2015; Eckert & McConnel-Ginet, 2003). As stated by several authors (Crawford, 1995; Eckert & McConnel-Ginet, 2003), in the 1970s Lakoff proposed a group of distinctive features in women's speech, thus justifying their emotional way of expressing themselves. These features include more rising intonation as well as more question marks during speech (Crawford, 1995; Eckert & Mc-Connel-Ginet, 2003). Furthermore, women also emphasise the use of 'empty' adjectives which only convey emotion rather than concrete information (Crawford, 1995, p. 25).

Moreover, women are considered to be more likely to use minimal responses or "backchannels" when expressing themselves (Coates, 2015, p. 87). This means that women's discourse is more often characterised by the use of forms such as "mhm" or "yeah", these backchannels show the women's empathy with their interlocutors, creating a better interaction. In addition, interjections relate to a person's thoughts rather than to an act of communication as such (Blakemore, 2010, p. 578), which is why they are said to express the speaker's emotions during an oral conversation. In fact, some authors claim

that women's discourse is more emotional than men's (Coates, 2015; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

The study of interjections has been carried out in the field by some scholars (Ameka, 1992; Cuenca, 2000; Downing & Martínez Caro, 2019) but whether their use differs between men and women is not clear. The main aim of the present study is to provide an approach to gender differences in the use of interjections, both in the language used in a TV series and language in real conversations. Since there is a large number of interjections, the study focuses on the analysis of 5 common interjections in oral discourse. In this way, this thesis intends to provide answers to the following research questions:

- Is there any difference between male and female speech regarding the use of interjections? In other words, in what aspects does the use of interjections used by men and women differ in oral communication?
- If any difference between men and women occurs, is there any interjection that is more frequently used by women and hardly used by men, and vice versa?
- Given the interjection most frequently used by women and other by men, what kind of motivation can it be thought of?

Given these research questions, the following hypotheses are proposed:

- As stated by some scholars (Coates, 2015; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003), women are more emotional than men when expressing themselves verbally and, therefore, they use interjections significantly more often when they express themselves in oral discourse.
- Thus, the interjections most frequently used in women's speech are those which have a primarily emotional function such as *oh* or *oh my God*, while those most commonly employed by men are those expressing less emotional meaning, such as *um* or *uh* which have a primarily discourse interactional function.

The sources of the above mentioned corpus are the American TV series *Gossip Girl* and the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE).

The outline of this study is as follows. Following this introduction, Section 2 provides an explanatory overview of the main areas on which the study focuses. Section 3 presents a description of the selected corpus and the reasons for its selection and discusses the

methodology followed in the research. Section 4 focuses on the analysis and discussion of the results obtained. Section 5 includes some words on translating interjections and, finally, section 6 closes with a series of concluding remarks.

## **2. Theoretical background**

The aim of the present section is to give an introductory account of the areas considered important for the study: conversation analysis (CA), gender and the actual topic of interjections.

### **2.1. Conversation analysis**

The first and most important area for this study is that of conversation analysis. The field of conversation analysis is regarded as a means of studying the procedures that are involved in the production of natural speech (Gardner, 2005; Hutchby, 2008). The importance of CA started with its emergence in sociology in the 1960s resulting from early ethnomethodological studies and becoming a cross-disciplinary discipline (Gardner, 2005, p. 262). It is therefore important to consider that spoken conversations are an essential focus of analysis from which it is possible to observe distinct phenomena from written discourse.

It is relevant to first understand the structure and organisation of a conversation prior to exploring the field of conversation analysis. Most established approaches to discourse tend to focus on the analysis on the speaker; however, in CA, speech is considered a shared activity, in which the listener and the speaker share equal responsibility for the discourse (Gardner, 2005, p. 263). Therefore, the order of interactions is organised in turns (*turn-taking*), and, therefore, generally only one speaker speaks at a time, however, interventions and overlaps between speakers must be considered when it comes to organising these turns as (as in e.g. Rossi, 2021, p. 6). Thus, as Gardner (2005) states, it was not until 1974 with the seminal article by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson that the term *turn-taking* appeared (p. 271). As Gardner states, these authors established two rules in which the TRP is a place of transitional relevance, C is the current speaker and N is the next speaker:

Rule 1 – applies initially at the first TRP of any turn

(a) If C selects N in current turn, then C must stop speaking, and N must speak next, transition occurring at the first TRP after N-selection. (b) If C does not select N, then any (other) party may self-select, first speaker gaining rights to the next turn. (c) If C has not selected N, and no other party self-selects under option (b), then C may (but need not) continue (i.e. claim rights to a further turn-constructive unit).

Rule 2 – applies to all subsequent TRPs

When rule 1(c) has been applied by C, then at the next TRP Rules 1(a)–(c) apply, and recursively at the next TRP, until speaker change is effected.

(p. 271).

Furthermore and, as Norrick (2007) reminds us, “turns in a conversation can be divided into two parts:

- a) a basic move with a constituent and a particular meaning or force;
- b) a pragmatic marker distinct from the constituent structure of the basic move, relating that move to the dynamic context, signaling:
  - assumptions about the current event;
  - and the interpersonal relationships of the participants;
  - the relation of the basic move to the foregoing turn;
  - and its evidential status;
  - the speaker’s stance, attitude, emotional state;

and so on“ (p, 160). Therefore, the context of a conversation must be considered when it is analysed, along with the attitude of the participants, or the tendency of the participants to be emotional.

Hence, it is claimed that speech is regulated by a system of rules which ensure that the flow of the conversation is natural. One of the established and most recurrent structures in speech is the adjacency pair. Rossi (2021) describes this as "a sequence of two actions" in which the first "creates a normative obligation for the second to be produced" (p. 6). Adjacency pairs are composed of two turns. In the first pair it is common to find questions, offers, invitations, or statements, while in the second pair there are answers, refusals, agreements, or acceptances among others (Gardner, 2005, 272). However, the second pair can be considered a preferred or a dispreferred response.

Gardner (2005) provides as an example the case of an invitation, in which acceptance would be the preferred response and refusal the dispreferred response (p. 273).

Other accounts maintain that although the term 'adjacency pair' is the designated term for these cases, it is not a requirement that they are necessarily adjacent (Hutchby, 2008, p. 43). Thus, it is not necessary for it to occur in a consecutive order to form an adjacent pair, but there may be other turns in between which make the adjacent pair meaningful, such as misunderstandings, clarifications, or request for more information.

Conversation analysis can be analysed from different social variables, such as class or gender. Therefore, according to Hutchby's (2008) assertions, gender can become completely relevant in terms of discourse analysis (p. 5).

## 2.2. Gender

The second area that has relevance for this study is the area of gender. Weatherall (2000) states that "gender is a pervasive social category" (p. 287). Therefore, drawing on previous research, it is claimed that gender and language began to be related in the same field of study with the first feminist movements early in the 1970s (Crawford, 1995; Hall, Borba & Hiramoto, 2020; Stokoe & Smithson, 2001). The question "Do men and women use language differently?" was considered key to the emergence of feminist sociolinguistics and the answer to which, for the majority, was yes (Cameron, 1998, p. 948).

According to Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003), discourse analysis can be restricted to the analysis of single pieces, including the "study of the gender of agents in a group" (p. 75). Gender is not noted when participants speak but is identified by observing certain patterns in the conversation (Stokoe & Smithson, 2001, p. 223). Thus, different scholars have researched and concluded that gender affects communication and social interaction in quite subtle ways (Weatherall, 2000, p. 288), in such a degree that both "develop differentiated communicative competence" (Coates, 2015, p. 86). Hence, the term feminine and masculine conversational styles arise.

In the study of language with respect to gender, researchers establish that women use more leading questions as well as rising intonation (Hall, Borba & Hiramoto, 2020; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003), assume the responsibility of maintaining the interaction in a polite and understanding way (Hopper, 2003, p. 183), and use softer forms

or mitigators (*Oh, God!, Oh, dear*) when it comes to expressing emotions (Crawford, 1995; Kendall & Tannen, 2001). On the other hand, men's speech has been depicted as interpreting masculinity, referring to impersonal, fact-based topics (Stokoe and Smithson, 2001, p. 219), they tend to talk more and therefore interrupt more than women (Hopper, 2003, p. 183), and, in contrast to women, they use stronger forms to express emotions *Oh, shit!, Damn*) (Crawford, 1995; Kendall & Tannen, 2001).

Further discussion has been made in the difference between men and women in the use of minimum responses, the latter being more likely to use these to support the speaker in discourse (Coates, 2015; Maltz & Borker, 1982).

Weatherall (2000) states that linguistic features in gender can be observed at all levels of language (p. 287), however, individuals are not necessarily conscious of this, as the relationship between discourse and gender is manifested indirectly (Kendall & Tannen, 2001, p. 557). Maltz & Borker (1982) state that "different types of interaction lead to different ways of speaking" (p. 215). Thus, differences in women's discourse as well as men's discourse emerge. The same can be said in the use of interjections, the topic of the following section.

### 2.3. Interjections

Interjections are defined both as little words or "non-words" that behave like sentences and as expressions which depict emotions and attitudes (Ameka, 1992; Cuenca, 2000; Downing & Martínez Caro, 2019). Cuenca (2000) claims that interjections can be combined with other constituents, rather than appearing in isolation, as might be the case with *oh no* (p. 32). In fact, certain scholars state that some interjections actually overlap with pragmatic markers (Downing & Martínez Caro, 2019, p. 89) and have functions that go beyond their patterns as discourse markers. An *interjection* is defined as "a word or phrase used for expressing a strong emotion such as surprise or anger" (*Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, n.d.) and, on the other hand, the definition of *discourse markers* reads as "a word that is used for showing a change in the way the conversation is developing or for showing the other speaker how you are reacting to what they are saying. Typical discourse markers include *well, oh, and OK*" (*Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, n.d.). Therefore, *oh* is considered to be an interjection overlapping, at the same time, with the category of discourse marker, since in both cases the speaker expresses a reaction. Hence Norrick (2009) argues that interjections are part

of an "infinitely expandable" class of elements, whose functions as pragmatic markers "follow from their general status as expressions of shifts in cognitive states of various kinds" (p. 867).

A classical account maintains that interjections can be classified into two groups, primary interjections and secondary interjections (Ameka, 1992). Primary interjections are those which can only be used as interjections, according to Ameka (1992); "[primary interjections] are little words or non-words which in terms of their distribution can constitute an utterance by themselves and do not normally enter into construction with other word classes" (p. 105). An example of this type of interjection would be *oh*.

On the other hand, secondary interjections are "those words which have an independent semantic value but which can be used conventionally as utterances by themselves to express a mental attitude or state" (Ameka, 1992, p. 111). An example of a secondary interjection would be *God*. Furthermore, Martínez Caro (2023) claims that secondary interjections are often combined with primary interjections, the most common being *oh* in interjections such as *oh my God* (p. 378).

Ameka (1992) provides another classification based on the communicative functions of interjections; thus, interjections can be expressive, conative or phatic. Expressive interjections focus on the speaker's state; these interjections can express both the speaker's emotions and thoughts (*wow, ugh*). Conative interjections express the speaker's wishes, requiring a response from the speaker (*sh, eh?*). Finally, phatic interjections are concerned with giving feedback to the interlocutor (*mhm, yeah*) (p. 113 - 114). Furthermore, Cuenca (2000) refers to the referential function, corresponding to onomatopoeic words, and the metalinguistic function, in which interjections are also used as discourse markers (*right, huh*) (p. 37 - 38).

However, it should be noted that the same interjection can have several communicative functions. As Cuenca (2000) states, the classification is based on the context in which the function of the interjection is perceived (p. 37). Moreover, "the most common interjections in well documented languages appear to be highly multifunctional" (as stated by e.g. Martínez Caro, 2023, p. 370). Furthermore, as Jing (2017) claims, interjections can realise the logical meaning of the conversation, that is, relating the current and previous discourse (p. 129).

As the role of translation in this study is relevant to a considerable extent, it is necessary to emphasise its importance when dealing with the nature of interjections in the target language. Thus, contrastive analysis is said to be a way of highlighting and identifying the different meanings and uses of the element to be translated (Cuenca, 2008; Martínez Caro, 2023). However, as mentioned above, the frequency and context of the interjection in the target language must be taken into account, as they may vary, and, therefore, can only be translated with the same interjection in a limited number of cases (Martínez Caro, 2023, p. 387).

### 3. Method

The aim of this section is to describe the corpus including the reasons for its selection, and also to explain the methodological procedure employed in this study. Therefore, the section is divided into two sub-sections: corpus and procedure.

#### 3.1. Corpus

As mentioned in the previous section, the corpus for this study comes from two sources. The chosen sources are the TV series *Gossip Girl* and the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE).<sup>1</sup>

*Gossip Girl* (2007 – 2012) is a popular American teen TV series which presents the life of teens and adults of Manhattan's elite in the Upper East Side. The main characters are Serena Van Der Woodsen, Eric Van Der Woodsen, Blair Waldorf, Chuck Bass, Nate Archibald, Dan Humphrey and Jenny Humphrey, and their parents Lily Van Der Woodsen, Eleanor Waldorf, Bart Bass and Rufus Humphrey. The main reason why this TV series was chosen is because it deals with everyday emotional situations that could appear in real life and also for personal reasons. The analysed interjections belong to chapters from seasons 1 and 2.

The Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE) is a corpus consisting of a total of approximately 249,000 words. This corpus is based on recordings of natural conversations throughout the United States, with a wide range of backgrounds,

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<sup>1</sup> See [Gossip Girl \(2007\) • HBO Max \(hbomax.com\)](https://www.hbomax.com) for *Gossip Girl* series and <https://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/home> for SBCSAE corpus. Last access: 03/07/2023.

ages, genders, and social occupations of the participants involved in these conversations. This corpus was compiled by linguists at the University of California (Santa Barbara), the director of the project being John W. Du Bois.

The selection of the corpus was based on the fact that authentic conversations that could occur in everyday life were needed, containing as many interjections as possible. For this reason, since *Gossip Girl* is a series that portrays the lives of teenagers, emotions are reflected to a greater extent through the use of different interjections, by considering them to be more emotional people. The selected corpus was not difficult to access, although the TV series was only available on the digital platform HBO Max, which required a subscription. On the other hand, to address natural conversations outside the television sphere, the SBCSAE was chosen, since it is a corpus composed of oral interactions in American English, the same variety that is used in the series *Gossip Girl*.

Therefore, a corpus entitled GGCI (*Gossip Girl Corpus of Interjections*) was created. The GGCI is composed of the scripts of 43 episodes from the TV series *Gossip Girl*. Once all the scripts from seasons 1 and 2 were gathered, they were assigned a code to identify them. For instance, the first episode of season 1 was named GGCI\_01, and the first episode of season 2 was coded GGCI\_19, in that order. On the other hand, regarding SBCSAE (Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English) the first 20 conversations were selected for the analysis. These scripts were named SBC001 for the first one, SBC002 the second, and so on.

### 3.2. Procedure

First of all, the two first seasons of the TV series *Gossip Girl* were viewed, with a total of 43 episodes as mentioned above (18 episodes in the first season and 25 in the second season). As each episode lasts 40 minutes, about 17 hours were dedicated to the viewing of the series, without taking into account some scenes or episodes that were watched several times. In terms of the scripts, most of them were available online, although the majority were incomplete.<sup>2</sup> For this reason, the task of compiling all the scripts was laborious, since it was necessary to watch each episode and note down which character uttered each interjection, as well as the veracity of the content of the script.

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<sup>2</sup> See [https://www.springfieldspringfield.co.uk/episode\\_scripts.php?tv-show=gossip-girl](https://www.springfieldspringfield.co.uk/episode_scripts.php?tv-show=gossip-girl). Last access: 12/06/2023.

Concerning the interjections, a preliminary study of the most common interjections was carried out when watching the series to select the five most common interjections to conduct this study. The six interjections this preliminary study was carried out on were *oh*, *uh*, *um*, *ah*, *wow* and *oh my God*, together with the possible variations of the latter such as, *oh my gosh*, *oh God/gosh* or just *God*. Finally, the five interjections selected for the study were *ah*, *oh*, *oh my God*, *uh* and *um*.

Once the interjections were identified, they were divided between men and women, depending on who had uttered them. Subsequently, the frequency of each of the interjections uttered by each gender has been studied. This frequency is complemented by an explanation and the most common example in each case, considering the position of the interjection in each speaker's turn of speech.

The method of organising interaction through language is turn-taking, as Rossi (2021) reiterates. That is, "the alternation of people's contributions to a conversation is regulated by a system that allocates opportunities to speak on the basis of certain rules" (p. 6). Therefore, as mentioned before, in terms of position interjections are classified so that they appear at the beginning, middle, or end of a turn of speech. A clear example of an interjection that occurs at the beginning of the turn is illustrated in example 1 in reference to the interjection *oh*. The same can be noted in example 2, referring to the interjection *ah*, which is placed at the beginning of the turn in most cases. In both cases, the speakers are a man (Nate, Dan) and a woman (Lily, Jenny). In fact, at the end of the study there is the appendix which contains a table with all the relevant information to all the examples, as well as links to the episodes.

[1] Nate: *Oh*, is Serena in?  
Lily: *Oh*, you just missed her but I'll tell her you came by. I'm sure she will be happy to hear it.  
*(Gossip Girl, s1, e2)*

[2] Jenny: *Ah*. The Invisible Man returns.  
Dan: I figured we solved your fashion emergency, my work was done.  
*(Gossip Girl, s1, e1)*

As for the middle position, example 3 illustrates that the interjection *um* is frequently employed in this place.

[3] Serena: Well, that's really romantic, Blair. Really. Look, *um*, if you don't want me to come tonight, I totally understand. I could just –

(*Gossip Girl*, s1, e3)

Finally, example 4 illustrates the interjection *oh my God* in end position. The same applies to the interjection *uh*, and its equivalent *huh* as portrayed in example 5. In example 4 the speakers are both women, whereas in example 5 there is a man (Eric) and a woman (Serena).

[4] Serena: Well, like you pointed out, they didn't want me for me.  
Blair: Dan must be pissed. His hope of arriving on campus with cachet has been shot to hell. Now he'll just be lumped in with the rest of the financial aid-iots and poets. *Oh, my god*.  
Serena: What?

(*Gossip Girl*, s2, e16)

[5] Serena: But none of them mention you.  
Eric: Just like mom wants, *huh*?

(*Gossip Girl*, s1, e1)

#### 4. Results and findings

The results of the analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, are presented in this section. Furthermore, the results obtained will be compared between the two genders, men and women, and a discussion of the results will be provided. For this purpose, the most representative examples will also be presented in each case.

The data analysis revealed that interjections are frequently employed in the speech of both women and men. There are significant differences between the two genders in terms of the use of each interjection. However, in terms of position, significant frequency of use is observed between the two corpora, the GGCI and the SBCSAE.

##### 4.1. Quantitative results

For the quantitative analysis, the frequency of the interjections selected for the study was considered, together with the gender (men and women) of the interlocutors. Table 1 illustrates the comparison of the frequency of use of interjections between men and women in reference to the corpus composed of *Gossip Girl* episodes (GGCI).

**Table 1. Use of interjections by gender in GGCI (Gossip Girl Corpus of Interjections).**

	Men		Women	
	n=	%	n=	%
<i>Ah</i>	30	2.61	44	3.03
<i>Oh</i>	373	32.49	676	46.65
<i>Oh my God</i>	28	2.43	161	11.11
<i>Uh</i>	577	50.26	283	19.53
<i>Um</i>	140	12.19	285	19.66
<b>Total</b>	<b>1148</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>1449</b>	<b>100</b>

As shown in Table 1, the predominant interjections among women in the *Gossip Girl* series are *oh* and *um*, with a percentage of 46.65% and 19.66% respectively. In contrast, as mentioned before, men tend to use interjections with less emotional content such as *uh* (50.26%). However, other interjections such as *ah*, although used more frequently by women, are generally used fairly equally by both genders. Based on the results, it can be stated that the interjections with the highest frequency in overall use are *oh* (40.39%) and *uh* (33.11%). The interjection *um*, in contrast, accounts for 16.36% of the total. The percentage of the interjections *ah* and *oh my God* are lower, with frequencies of 2.85% and 7.27% respectively.

**Table 2. Use of interjections by gender in SBCSAE (Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English).**

	Men		Women	
	n=	%	n=	%
<i>Ah</i>	12	2.23	13	2.11
<i>Oh</i>	156	29.05	298	48.30
<i>Oh my God</i>	9	1.67	30	4.86
<i>Uh</i>	262	48.79	143	23.18
<i>Um</i>	98	18.24	133	21.55
<b>Total</b>	<b>537</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>617</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 2 displays the results obtained from the analysis of the interjections obtained from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE). Once again, *oh* and *uh* are employed mostly by women (48.30% and 23.18%), *uh* by men (48.79%), while

the interjection *ah* hardly displays any differences in its use. Concerning the total percentage of interjections, thus disregarding the gender difference *oh* and *uh* are in the lead again with frequencies of 39.34% and 35.09% respectively. Similar to the GGCI corpus, in the SBCSAE corpus *um* remains at 20.01%, and the least used interjections are *ah* and *oh my God* (2.17% and 3.38%).

Regarding the position of the interjections, tables 3 and 4 illustrate the results depending on which position of the turn each interjection is positioned in each case: beginning, middle and end. The following examples illustrate the most prototypical cases of interjections in these positions. Example 6 shows the interjection *oh* in the beginning position, example 7 the interjection *um* in the middle position and example 8 the interjection *huh* in the end position.<sup>3</sup>

- [6] Serena: *Oh*, thank you. How are you feeling, granny?  
Cece: People tell me I'm old and ill, but I feel perfectly fine.

(*Gossip Girl*, s2 e18)

- [7] Father: Hey Lil. Long time, babe.  
Lily: Hi, dad. I know, *um*, which is why I was hoping that we could, like, catch up or something. There's so much to talk about. Is there any way that you can, uh, have lunch?  
Father: You're in L.A.? Why aren't you in Santa Barbara? In school?

(*Gossip Girl*, s2 e24)

- [8] Dan: Yeah, yeah, and, uh, soccer? Why not give the old ball a kick? Season's just around the corner in October. No, no, you know what? I have to stop doing that. I'll just focus on myself and my – my test and my prep.  
Nate: What other people do or don't do is about them, absolutely. Not a good tester, *huh?*

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e15)

Therefore, it should be noted that, both in the GGCI and in the conversations analysed from the SBCSAE, there is scarcely a difference in the position of each studied interjection. Thus, the interjections *ah*, *oh* and *oh my God* are more frequently found in the beginning position, while the other two, *um* and *uh*, are more commonly placed in the middle position.

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<sup>3</sup> In examples 7 and 8, the interjection to focus on is marked in italics.

**Table 3. Position of interjections in GGCI (Gossip Girl Corpus of Interjections).**

	Men			Women		
	Beginning	Middle	End	Beginning	Middle	End
<i>Ah</i>	23	6	1	28	13	3
<i>Oh</i>	295	75	3	556	108	12
<i>Oh my God</i>	17	10	1	105	46	10
<i>Um</i>	33	104	3	74	203	8
<i>Uh</i>	148	395	34	113	144	26
<b>Total</b>	<b>516</b>	<b>590</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>876</b>	<b>514</b>	<b>59</b>

Concerning the GGCI corpus, the majority of the interjections uttered by both men and women are positioned at the beginning of the turn (53.60%), followed by those placed in the middle position (42.51%). Moreover, only 3.89% of the interjections are found in end position. Regarding table 3, it can be noticed that the interjections *ah*, *oh* and *oh my God* tend to be placed more often in the beginning position in both men and women. Conversely, the interjections *uh* and *um* are more frequently found positioned in middle position. However, it is also worth noting the minimal use of the considered expressive interjections (*ah*, *oh* and *oh my God*) in final turn position. This will be discussed further in section 4.3 of this study.

**Table 4. Position of interjections in SBCSAE (Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English).**

	Men			Women		
	Beginning	Middle	End	Beginning	Middle	End
<i>Ah</i>	10	2	0	9	4	0
<i>Oh</i>	132	21	3	211	82	5
<i>Oh my God</i>	8	1	0	13	11	6
<i>Um</i>	29	52	17	26	90	17
<i>Uh</i>	43	180	39	27	94	22
<b>Total</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>286</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>50</b>

Moreover, with respect to the SBCSAE, interjections are most frequently placed in the beginning (44.02%) and middle (46.53%) positions, with the end position being the least frequent again (9.45%). Table 4 illustrates how the interjections *ah*, *oh* and *oh my*

*God* are used most frequently in the beginning position, while, as in the GGCI corpus, the interjections *uh* and *um* are frequently located in the middle position. It should be noted that in the case of *ah*, it is not used in any case in end position, both men and women. This also occurs with the interjection *oh my God* in the case of men, which is not used at all in final turn position. On the other hand, women use it at the end of the turn only 20% of the time, as will be mentioned below.

#### 4.2. Qualitative results

Once the quantitative results have been presented, a qualitative interpretation of these results will then be provided. The obtained quantitative results are interpreted in order to identify common patterns along with possible differences between genders. For this purpose, this subsection will be divided into five parts, each corresponding to one of the interjections studied in this paper: *ah*, *oh*, *oh my God*, *uh* and *um*.

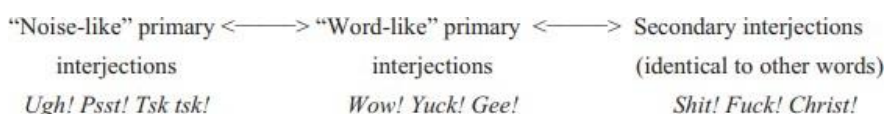
In the qualitative analysis, the function of each interjection will be differentiated according to the context of each conversation. As Ameka (1992) notes, the mind is influenced by the emotions of pain, joy, fear and the like, and they are expressed by using interjections (p. 103). For this purpose, the classification of interjections proposed by Ameka (1992) is presented below, a classification divided by the author into three categories relevant in the context of interjections:

- (a) *Expressive interjections* are considered to be vocal gestures caused as a result of the speaker's state of mind. In turn, this category is divided into two other categories: emotive and cognitive. The former, the emotive one, expresses the speaker's state of mind with respect to his or her emotions in a spontaneous way, while the cognitive one is related to the speaker's state of knowledge and thoughts at the time of utterance.
- (b) *Conative interjections* are those interjections which are “aimed at getting someone’s attention or they demand an action or response from someone of a speaker’s wants”.
- (c) *Phatic interjections* are interjections used to maintain contact during conversation. That is, they express feedback from the listener to the speaker, as well as backchannelling back vocalisations.

(Ameka, 1992, p. 113 – 114)

It should be borne in mind that an interjection can be classified into different categories, since its function in speech can differ. This means that an interjection classified as expressive can, in turn, be considered conative when it expresses the speaker's desire of the hearer to do something. It is, therefore, a fact that interjections play a fundamental role in social life, since they “reveal local values, norms and tacit rules of communicative interaction” (Ameka & Wilkins, 2006, p. 2).

Goddard (2013) distinguishes a further categorisation of interjections. Hence, a distinction is offered within the category of primary interjections which, as mentioned in the theoretical framework of this research, are “little words of non-words which in terms of their distribution can constitute an utterance by themselves and do not normally enter into construction with other word classes” (Ameka, 1992, p. 105). As illustrated in Figure 1, Goddard (2013) distinguishes these interjections between “noise-like” primary interjections and “word-like” primary interjections (p. 54).<sup>4</sup> According to Goddard (2013), the former category only simulates noise, while the “word-like” ones have the capacity to stand as base forms for regular words (p. 54).



**Figure 1. Goddard’s (2013) three formal categories of interjections.**

“Interjections are context-bound linguistic signs” (Ameka & Wilkins, 2006, p. 2), thus, according to the situation the speaker stands in, interjections may have one meaning or another, as they are associated to specific situations. And, as Goddard (2013) claims “the idea is that the speaker indicates the quality of his/her own current feeling by appealing to typical situations in which he or she uses the interjection (p. 60).

#### 4.2.1. *Ah*

According to Ameka’s classification of interjections (1992), the interjection *ah* could be classified as an expressive interjection, which, as mentioned before, could be subdivided into emotive and cognitive interjections. Furthermore, with regard to Goddard’s classification (2013), *ah* is a “noise-like” primary interjection. This interjection is defined as an interjection “used for showing that you see or understand something” or “used for

<sup>4</sup> Figure taken from Goddard’s *Interjections and emotion* (2013).

expressing a feeling, for example for showing that you are interested, surprised, pleased, or annoyed” (*Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, n.d.). The former definition corresponds to the definition of cognitive interjections, being “those that pertain to the state of knowledge and thoughts at the time of utterance” (Ameka, 1992, p. 113), while the other falls under the heading of emotive interjection.

Although *ah* is one of the interjections least frequent in this research, there are examples that perform each of its functions perfectly in both corpora used in this paper, the GGCI the SBCSAE. Furthermore, as Aijmer (1987) states, the use of the interjection *ah* is marked depending on the information provided in a prior turn (p. 84) and, for this reason, the turn of speech of each speaker must be examined in order to be able to classify the purpose of the interjection.

Example 9, conversation among men, portrays a prototypical case of the use of the interjection *ah* as a cognitive interjection. In this case Montoya expresses that it understands certain information that Frank is providing (both A and B being men speakers). According to James (1978), the interjection *ah* “indicates that the speaker has just found out or realized something” (p. 3).

- [9] Frank: To a... To some... aspects, yeah. I think, ... I think the – the problem with your question is, is – a different sort of powers.  
Montoya: ... *Ah*. Very good. Explain that.

(SBCSAE, SBC012)

A further function of the interjection *ah* as a cognitive interjection is the speaker's affirmation of an interlocutor's proposition, as illustrated in example 10. In this case, speaker B, which is a man, is answering affirmative to the question speaker A, a woman, presents.

- [10] Eleanor: Want one?  
Nate: *Ah*, sure.  
Eleanor: Good boy.

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e9)

It could be stated that in this case “*ah* conveys in addition a sensation of pleasure when the speaker observes something he has been looking for” (Aijmer, 1987, p. 64), as could be the proposition that speaker A makes to speaker B in example 10.

According to Aijmer (1987) “*ah* can be associated with an interruption or intervention in the conversation at the point at which a person reacts to an unexpected situation” (p. 63). Example 11 portrays the way speaker A, Serena which is a woman, employs the interjection *ah* to express surprise or emotion in this case, as an emotive interjection.<sup>5</sup>

- [11] Serena: Okay. No drama, no disruptions. I promise.  
Dan: Your promise? Oh, no! That means it’s never gonna happen now.  
Serena: *Aah!* Okay, quick. I take it back. I unpromise.

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e4)

The interjection *ah* can also hold a discursive character. Thus, it can be an interjection employed to continue the flow of the conversation. For this purpose, example 12 is presented, in which it can be noticed that the interjection does not have an emotional or cognitive meaning as in the previous examples given. In this case, both speakers are men.

- [12] Dan: Hey! How are you doing? I, *ah*, I was in yesterday with Serena.  
Concierge: How could I forget.  
Dan: Yeah, well, is.. she in?

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e2)

In this case, speaker A, Dan, resorts to the use of the interjection *ah* to introduce the information that follows.

#### 4.2.2. *Oh*

The interjection *oh* is the most frequent one both corpora, the GGCI and the SBCSAE. In terms of the classification of interjections, *oh*, once again, belongs to the expressive and Goddard’s (2013) “noise-like” primary interjections. The reason for this is that, by means of using it, the speaker expresses its state of mind. The interjection *oh* is considered a multifunctional device from which the speaker must select among the possible alternatives available when employing it (Aijmer, 1987; James, 1978).

Definitions of the interjection *oh* include the functions of “showing that someone has just reminded you of something”, “expressing an emotion such as surprise, anger, or happiness”, “showing that you now understand something”, “accepting someone’s answer to your question”, “pause because you are thinking about what you are going to say” or

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<sup>5</sup> In example 11, the interjection to focus on is marked in italics.

for “showing that you did not know something” (*Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, n.d.). Moreover, it is also considered to operate as a discourse marker, thereby overlapping with the functions as an interjection as it has “developed into a discourse marker via a process of grammaticalization” (Martínez Caro, 2023, p. 370).

Inside expressive interjections, the interjection *oh* can be analysed as an emotive interjection, which, as mentioned above, expresses the feelings and sensations that the speaker feels at the moment of the conversation (Ameka, 1992, p. 113). These feelings may differ according to the context of the conversation, as mentioned earlier. One of the feelings expressed by the interjection *oh* is surprise, as illustrated in examples 13 and 14.<sup>6</sup> Both conversations are between the same speakers, Blair, a woman, and Marcus, a man.

- [13] Blair: *Oh*, my goodness. My pin must have gotten caught on your sweater by mistake.  
Marcus: *Oh*, wow. I didn't feel anything.

(*Gossip Girl*, s2 e1)

- [14] Marcus: *Oh*, the duchess was hoping we'd get dinner.  
Blair: Dinner? I'd love to have dinner with your mother.  
Marcus: *Oh*, she's my stepmother actually. Not that this makes her an any less forceful presence in my life. But I meant we are having dinner – she and I. We haven't seen each other much all summer, so...  
Blair: *Oh*, of course. I understand. It's just you'll be missing my big party.

(*Gossip Girl*, s2 e2)

In fact, in example 14, as Aijmer (1987) states, speaker B, Blair, could be considered to be "expressing a reaction to an unexpected piece of information the significance of which need to at the moment be apparent to the speaker" (p. 65) by means of the interjection *oh*. However, there exist other straightforward emotions that can be expressed by the interjection *oh*, such as joy among others, as shown in example 15. This conversation is between a father, Rufus, and his daughter, Jenny.

- [15] Jenny: Dad!  
Rufus: Jenny! Hey!  
Jenny: *Oh!* I missed you! It's so good to see you.

(*Gossip Girl*, s2 e2)

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<sup>6</sup> In examples 13 and 14, the interjection to focus on is marked in italics.

*Oh*, could be also classified as a cognitive expressive interjection, which means that "pertain to the state of knowledge and thoughts at the time of utterance" (Ameka, 1992, p. 113). Thus, example 16 exemplifies that speaker A, a woman, comprehends what speaker B, a man, has stated to it in the conversation.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the interjection *oh* expresses comprehension.

- [16] Marilyn: [...] It's gone. *Oh* here it is... Um, around the corner there... I got... fishy hands. My God these are enormous.  
Pete: Yeah.  
Marilyn: ... *Oh*... *Oh* I see, we have two big ones... Instead of, ... good... Good good... Okay, now. [...]

(SBCSAE, SBC003)

On the other hand, phatic interjections, as mentioned above, are those used for "in the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact" (Ameka, 1992, p. 114). Therefore, the interjection *oh* can also be considered to serve this function in certain cases. Therefore, Martínez Caro refers to the "reactive *oh*" (2023). By employing this type of interjection, "the participant does not want to take the floor but uses his/her brief turn to exhibit interest, understanding or even agreement with the speaker's turn encouraging the speaker to continue talking" (Martínez Caro, 2023, p. 375). Example 17 portrays this situation between women, in which speaker A, Lily, expresses understanding to what speaker B, Alison, is saying.

- [17] Lily: Well, it is so nice to meet you too, Alison.  
Alison: Right, it's nice to meet you too Lily, was it?  
Lily: Yes. Well, I'm just gonna take these coats and put them in, um, Dan's room.  
Alison: Uh, you know what? It's okay. I've got them.  
Lily: *Oh*.

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e9)

The interjection *oh* can also serve as a response to a question proposed by the interlocutor. It could be stated that "the need to mark the answer by *oh* can be caused by the fact that the hearer does not (immediately) accept or explicitly rejects the presuppositions associated with the question" (Aijmer, 1987, p. 69). Thus, this situation is illustrated in example 18. This conversation is between a woman and a man. Here,

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<sup>7</sup> In examples 16, 17 and 18, the interjection to focus on is marked in italics.

speaker B, Dan, replies to speaker A's question by using the interjection *oh* in a hesitant way before giving a definite answer.

[18] Serena: Wow. What was that?

Dan: That was, uh, *oh*, that was “Gossip Girl” so?

Serena: well, maybe there are some things that, um, you know, we – we should talk about.

Dan: Yeah. Well, I think so.

(*Gossip Girl*, s2 e3)

#### 4.2.3. *Oh my God*

*Oh my God* is regarded as a secondary interjection, which has an independent semantic value, although it can also be used as an utterance to express a state of mind by itself (Ameka, 1992, p. 111). As Jovanović (2004) claims, secondary interjections are formed by two or more words, and interjections that are used everyday normally “present a combination of two independent interjections” (p. 20) as is *oh my God*.

As mentioned above, the interjection *oh* is used to express emotions, however, referring particularly to *oh my God*, it is described as “used in expressions such as 'Oh God!', 'Oh dear!', and 'Oh no!' for showing an emotion such as surprise, fear, or disappointment” (*Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, n.d.).

The same as the previous interjections, *oh my God* is considered an expressive interjection. However, it can only be identified with the subdivision of emotive interjection, which means that the speaker employs it to express emotions and feelings during conversation. In both corpora, the GGCI (*Gossip Girl Corpus of Interjections*) and the SBCSAE (*Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*), the interjection *oh my God* is found, along with variants such as: *omigod*, *oh God*, *oh Goodness*, *oh (my) Gosh*, *(my) God*, and *oh my effing God*.

Since it is an emotive interjection, as just mentioned, the feeling that is usually represented by *oh my God* is surprise. Thus, examples 19 and 20, from the GGCI corpus, display how the speakers, A and B respectively, express their surprise through the use of this interjection. In these examples speakers are women (Jenny, Vanessa) and a man (Dan).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> In examples 19 and 20, the interjection to focus on is marked in italics.

[19] Jenny: *Omigod*. It's Serena.  
Dan: Uh-huh. Very funny.  
Jenny: Hi, Serena!

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e1)

[20] Jenny: Oh, hey, there you guys are. So, have you told her about the ring yet?  
Vanessa: Ring? What ring?  
Dan: We caught our dad eyeing one yesterday.  
Vanessa: A ring? *Oh my God*. Wait. This is good news, right?

(*Gossip Girl*, s2 e22)

However, surprise is not the only emotion that can be expressed by the interjection *oh my God*. As shown in example 21, the interjection *God* can be used to represent shame or negative feelings. In this case, speaker A, Kathy, is expressing concern about what it is being said.

[21] Kathy: I don't know, if that's how you do it or not... Cause, I haven't done this in probably about as long as you have... Oops... *God*.  
Nathan: ... It's my own fault, I shouldn't have waited so long to get math over with... I should've got it over with right out, right out of high school.

(SBCSAE, SBC009)

As mentioned above, the interjection *oh my God* could be found in different forms of usage. The most common of these is the replacement of *God* with *Gosh*. This specific situation is illustrated in example 22.<sup>9</sup> In this case, the conversation occurs between men (Eric, Jonathan) and women (Blair, Serena).

[22] Eric: Hey, uh, Larissa said you'd be here.  
Blair: Hey, and we are. Who is this?  
Eric: Jonathan, this is my sister, Serena, and her friend, Blair Waldorf.  
This is Jonathan, my boyfriend.  
Jonathan: It's nice to meet you both.  
Serena: *Oh, my Gosh*. Hi. So nice to meet you. Sit down, both of you.

(*Gossip Girl*, s2 e9)

It is established that interjections are also modifications of taboo words or "deformed" expressive words. Therefore "acceptable words phonologically related to the taboo one"

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<sup>9</sup> In example 22, the interjection to focus on is marked in italics.

are used, as is the example of English *Gosh* instead of *God* (Ameka & Wilkins, 2006, p. 14).

#### 4.2.4. *Uh*

The interjection *uh* could be considered a phatic interjection according to Ameka's classification of interjections (1992). Phatic interjections are those that are "used in the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact" (Ameka, 1992, p. 114). This means that both *uh* and *huh* may be employed as an alternative to maintain the flow of the conversation with the interlocutor. Moreover, regarding Goddard's classification of interjections (2013), *uh* is considered to be a "noise-like" primary interjection. Moreover, Clark & Tree (2002) considers *uh* as an "automatic, or involuntary, consequence of one or another process in speaking" (p. 75).

The interjection *uh* is classified under two different definitions in the dictionary. Firstly, there is the interjection *uh huh* which is defined as "used for writing the sound that people make when they agree with something, or when they say 'yes' to a question" (*Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, n.d.). Moreover, the dictionary also provides a definition for the interjection *uh* which reads as an interjection used "when you can't think about something" (*Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, n.d.).

As mentioned above, the dictionary makes a distinction between the interjection *uh* and *uh huh*. The first is employed to express doubt, hesitation or remembering something. Therefore, examples 23 and 24 illustrate how speakers use the interjection *uh* for this purpose, being example 23 a conversation between men, and example 24 a conversation between a man (Rufus) and a woman (Bryn).

- [23] Jamie: ... Hm, should I turn in the radio station – You don't know what station it was on?  
Miles: I – I was – KKSF, does that mean anything to you?  
Harold: ... Nope... You have to translate it to a number.  
Miles: I was in a rental car, so it was just whatever station it was on.  
Jamie: Mm.  
Miles: But *uh*, I was just remembering being surprised cause, I didn't realize... I don't know anything about Brazilian music.

(SBCSAE, SBC002)

- [24] Rufus: Bryn, hi. Good to see you again.  
Bryn: Rufus, at the risk of being forward, I'm here on a dare from my friends to ask you out.  
Rufus: Then I guess I have to say, *uh*, yes?  
Bryn: Yes, you do.  
Rufus: Well, tonight I have plans, but maybe some other night.

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e13)

In fact, as Ameka (1992) states, interjections are “produced in reaction to a linguistic or extra-linguistic context and can only be interpreted relative to the context in which are produced” (p. 108). Therefore, an interjection as neutral as *uh*, must be interpreted within the context of the conversation, as is the case in the examples above.

As mentioned earlier, the other definition of the interjection *uh* states that is “the sound that people make when they agree with something, or when they say ‘yes’ to a question” (*Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, n.d.). This specific function is portrayed in example 25, in which speaker B employs it to affirm speaker A’s question, both being men regarding the gender of the speakers.<sup>10</sup>

- [25] Marcus: Will I see you at Blair’s tonight?  
Nate: Yeah *uh*. You headed down there now or what?  
Marcus: No, no. I promised the duchess I’d pick her up.  
Nate: Oh your mother’s coming.

(*Gossip Girl*, s2 e3)

Moreover, Ameka (1992) claims that the interjection *huh* can be used as an interrogative tag, which performs the same function as other units such as “right?”, “don’t you think?” or “isn’t it?” (p. 114). Examples 26 and 27 from the GGCI (Gossip Girl Corpus of Interjections) illustrate this function. In this case, example 26 illustrates a conversation between a man (Eric) and a woman (Serena), whereas example 27 is a conversation between men.

- [26] Eric: Must be a lot of rumors why you’re back...  
Serena: But none of them mention you.  
Eric: Just like mom wants, *huh*?

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e1)

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<sup>10</sup> In example 25, the interjection to focus on is marked in italics.

- [27] Chuck: Whoa, man!  
 Nate: Did you sleep with her, *huh*? You son of a bitch. I could kill you.  
 What'd you do? Did you get what you wanted, like you do with all  
 those other girls?  
 Chuck: Yes, Nathaniel. I took what Blair kept throwing at you and you  
 kept throwing back.

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e13)

Thus, speakers in both examples rely on the interjection *huh* to elicit affirmation from the interlocutor. In this case, the interjection *huh* is considered a conative interjection according to Ameka's classification. These interjections are those which are "aimed at getting someone's attention or demand an action or response from someone of a speaker's wants" (Ameka, 1992, p. 113). Furthermore, as Jing (2017) states, the interjection *huh* seems to be employed in a similar way as a mood tag, but it occurs in an interrogative manner (p. 128).

#### 4.2.5. *Um*

The interjection *um* is considered a phatic interjection according to Ameka's classification (1992), as it is employed for maintaining communicative contact when speaking. On the other hand, Goddard's classification (2013) establishes *um* as a "noise-like" primary interjection. According to the dictionary, the interjection *um* is defined as an utterance "used for writing the sound that people make when they are thinking about what to say next, or when they are not sure how someone will react to what they are going to say" (*Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, n.d.).

According to Clark & Tree (2002) there are three views that encompass *um*: *filler-as-symptom* view, *filler-as-nonlinguistic-signal* view, and *filler-as-word* view (p. 76). The latter is the one that includes it as an interjection and, therefore, the one studied in this paper. Therefore, and according to this view, the interjection *um* is considered to be "used to announce the initiation of what is expected to be a major delay in speaking" (Clark & Tree, 2002, p. 79).

- [28] Sharon: Well, this... lady is apparently, and old sub, who, like, all the  
 teachers know, and apparently she's very reliable.  
 Carolyn: Ah.  
 Sharon: So whether the paper got in or not, I don't know, but *um*...  
 Carolyn: You can't go and ask her?

(SBCSAE, SBC004)

- [29] Serena: I'm throwing a party this weekend.  
 Poppy: Really? Oh, what's the occasion? Not that you needed one.  
 Serena: Oh, it's – it's for a friend. It's for her sweet 16.  
 Poppy: Oh, that's sweet.  
 Serena: Yeah. Uh, you should come.  
 Poppy: Yeah. I'll, *um*, I'll have to check my schedule, but I'll let you know.  
 Serena: Yeah. Please – please do.  
 Poppy: Okay. Well, *um*, have fun with your little party. And, *um*, just take care of yourself, okay?

(*Gossip Girl*, s2 e20)

Examples 28 and 29 illustrate this kind of situation, in which speakers interrupt the speech in order to indicate, by means of the interjection *um*, what it is thinking.<sup>11</sup> Both conversations illustrate conversations between women. The interjection *um* is “characteristically associated with planning problems” (Clark & Tree, 2002, p. 75). However, it is questioned whether the interjection itself is a collateral sign which refers to problems encountered in the discourse or whether, conversely, it is a sign that naturally appears alongside the problems.

However, as mentioned before in the definition, the interjection *um* is employed when “they [speakers] are not sure how someone will react to what they are going to say” (*Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, n.d.). Example 30 portrays this situation with a conversation between a brother (Dan) and a sister (Jenny). In this case, Jenny knows the answer it is certainly going to deliver, however, by means of the interjection *um*, softens the response as it does not know that reaction the interlocutor will have.

- [30] Jenny: Uh yeah. She wrote a note.  
 Dan: All right, w-well, great. Where is it?  
 Jenny: *Um*, dad has it.

(*Gossip Girl*, s2 e18)

#### 4.3. Discussion

Once the results of the analysis, including both quantitative and qualitative results, have been presented, this sub-section proposes a discussion of the findings. The five interjections analysed, *ah*, *oh*, *oh my God*, *uh* and *um*, have provided relevant evidence

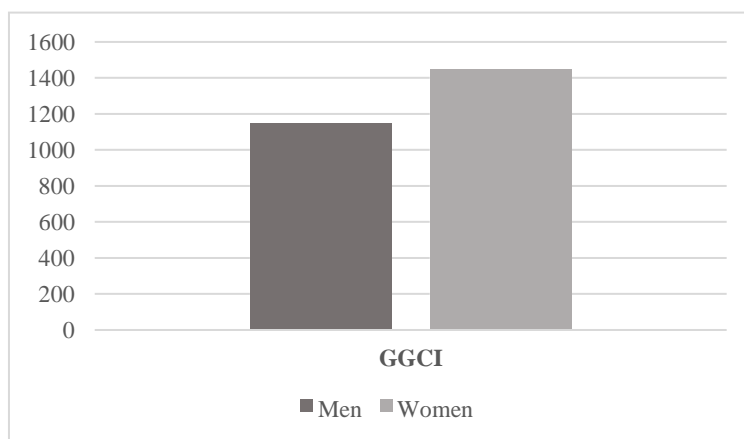
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<sup>11</sup> In examples 28, 29 and 30, the interjection to focus on is marked in italics.

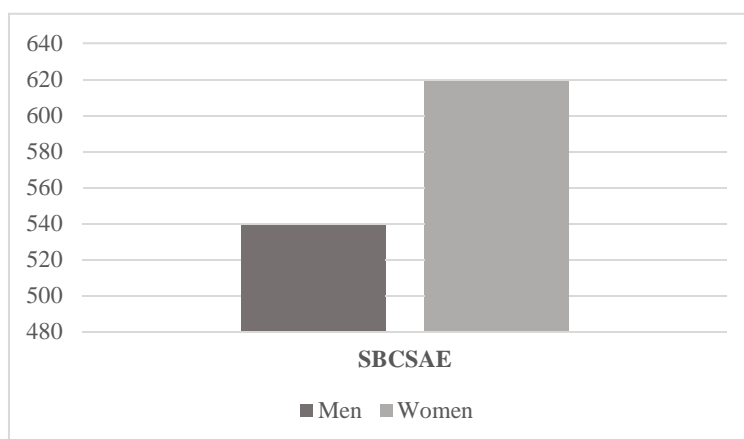
for the discussion of the topic of this paper: the difference in the use of interjections between men and women in oral discourse.

As Hutchby (2008) states, conversation analysis (CA) is “characterized by the view that how talk is produced, and how the meanings of talk are determined, are the practical, social and interactional accomplishments of members of a culture” (p. 8). Therefore, gender is considered a social variable that could be considered in relation to conversation analysis. For this reason, as mentioned in the theoretical background of this paper, gender is an identifiable variable when analysing conversation, even though participants often do not orient themselves towards it. Thus, it is important to pay attention to it when analysing interjections, as speakers are active agents in speech (Hutchby, 2008; Stokoe and Smithson, 2001).

In the first section of this research, three research questions were proposed. The first one concerned whether there was any difference in the use of interjections between men and women, such as the frequency of use. Due to time limitations, it has not been possible to obtain the total number of words for the two corpora. Since the SBCSAE does not provide this data and the GGCI is very large, consisting of 43 episodes. Although it is not possible to normalise the data, it is possible to observe the difference between genders in each corpus. For this reason, it can be seen a slight difference between genders in the frequency of the use of interjections in oral discourse. In the GGCI, a total of 1148 interjections were found among men, while women used them 1449 times. On the other hand, in the SBCSAE, men used interjections 537 times, whereas women employed them 617 times. Data corresponding to GGCI corpus can be seen in figure 2, whereas figure 3 illustrates the data from SBCSAE corpus.



**Figure 2. Total use of interjections by men and women in GGCI corpus.**



**Figure 3. Total use of interjections by men and women in SBCSAE corpus.**

It is therefore true that women tend to use more interjections in spoken discourse than men at least with respect to the five interjections selected in my corpus. Indeed, as some authors claim, gender in English could be identified through differences in the intensity of pitch of voice, using particular vocabulary or intonational qualities (Stokoe & Smithson, 2001, p. 224), and the same could be claimed in relation with the use of interjections in oral discourse.

The second research question posed whether there was an interjection that was employed more frequently by women than by men, and vice versa. Results obtained in the quantitative analysis proved that there was one of the interjections used more regularly by women, and one used more often by men. The interjection most frequently employed by women in both the GGCI and the SBCSAE corpora is *oh* whereas the most common among men is *uh*. This difference between interjections may result from the fact that gender is performed in speech, and, therefore, could be affirmed that men and women may speak differently (Hopper, 2003, p. 9).

Focusing on the interjection *oh*, which is most frequently employed by women and the second one most employed by men. It can be established that, with regard to the GGCI, the interjection *oh* is used with a frequency of almost half of the total number of interjections (46.65%), while men use it with a percentage of 32.49% of the totals. Furthermore, as far as the SBCSAE is concerned, the total percentage of *oh* used by women is 28.30%, while for men it is nearly half (29.05%) of the total of interjections employed by men.

On the other hand, *uh* is the interjection most frequently used by men in both corpora. The difference in this case is more noticeable than with the previous interjection. In the GGCI corpus, men employ *uh* with a percentage of more than the half of the total number of interjections in this corpus (50.26%), while women maintain their use with only 19.53%. Similar data is found for the SBCSAE, where men maintain usage with 48.79% and women with 23.18% of the total of the SBCSAE corpus.

Regarding the interjection *um*, it is the second most employed interjection by women. In the GGCI women employ it with a percentage of 19.66% whereas men use it with a percentage of 12.19% from the total. On the other hand, in the SBCSAE women use the interjection *um* a 21.55% from the total use of interjections, and men employ it a 18.24%. Moreover, it is also worth mentioning the data about the interjection *ah*, which is the least employed in both corpora by both genders. In the GGCI corpus, women employ this interjection only a 3.03% of the total, and men even less with a percentage of 2.61%. Concerning the Santa Barbara corpus (SBCSAE), women use *ah* a 2.11% and men a 2.23%.

The third and concluding research question included in this paper has reads as follows:

- Given the interjection most frequently used by women and other by men, what kind of motivation can it be thought of?

Regarding this issue, it was hypothesised that, as women are more emotional than men when expressing themselves in spoken discourse (Coates, 2015; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003), they would use expressive interjections more frequently. The second hypothesis, which has been proved, stated that the most emotional interjections, such as *oh* and *oh my God*, would be the most frequently used by women, as in the case of *oh*. On the other hand, it said that the less emotional and more discursive interjections, such as *uh* and *um*, would be the most frequently used by men. Therefore, as it has just been answered, it will be attempted to find the motivation behind the use of the interjection most frequently used by men (*uh*) and by women (*oh*). As mentioned in the qualitative analysis, *uh* in contrast to *oh* which is considered an expressive interjection.

Expressive interjections are those employed to express the speaker's feelings and emotions. Thus, referring to the interjections discussed in this paper, *ah*, *oh* and *oh my*

*God* are expressive interjections. In this case, *ah* and *oh* are primary interjections, while *oh my God* is a secondary interjection. As Norrick (2007) states, “both primary and secondary interjections can stand alone as complete utterances, generally indicating a sudden outburst of emotion” (p. 164). These interjections are also characterised by the fact that they are used more frequently by women than by men. Therefore, as has just been mentioned, the hypothesis stated at the beginning of this research paper according to which women use more of these types of interjections is confirmed.

It is claimed that interjections like *oh* can be described in terms of their position in the conversation. Thus, the distinction is made between *follow-ups* which close the interaction, *continuers* which maintain the interaction, and *topicalizers* which develop it (Aijmer, 1987, p. 72). As a result, and in terms of position, these three interjections (*ah*, *oh* and *oh my God*) are most frequently uttered at the beginning of the turn and could therefore be considered topicalizers. Focusing in *oh*, as Aijmer (1987) claims it [*oh* as a topicalizer] is “used specifically for the purpose to reactivate and guide the development of the topic” (p. 73). A further focus on gender reveals that women reportedly are more “polite and supportive, carrying the burden of keeping interaction going” (Hopper, 2003, p. 183). Therefore, the idea that women are more inclined to employ interjections that operate as topicalizers might be appropriate.

As far as the expressive interjection *ah* is concerned, it is worth noting the minimal use of this interjection in end position. That is, there are hardly any cases in which *ah* appears in this position. With respect to the GGCI corpus, the data show that *ah* barely appears in end position with 6.81% of women and 3.33% of men. However, in the SBCSAE corpus, there is no case in which *ah* is in end position, both for men and women. This may mean that in terms of a real natural conversation, such as those belonging to the Santa Barbara corpus, it can be concluded that this interjection is hardly used at the end of a turn. The end of the turn is also the least employed position for the interjection *oh my God*. Regarding the corpus formed by the first two seasons of the series *Gossip Girl*, the GGCI corpus, women only use *oh my God* at the end of the turn 6.21% of the time and men 3.57%. As for the SBCSAE corpus, women use this interjection at the end of the turn 20% of the time, while men do not use it even once in this position. This, besides demonstrating that women use more frequently the expressive interjection *oh my God*, as mentioned above, shows that it is hardly used in end of the turn position. The results obtained portray that expressive interjections (in this case *ah*, *oh* and *oh my God*) are most

frequently used in the initial position or in the middle of the turn, and that are hardly used at the end of the turn.

On the other hand, phatic interjections are those employed to establish and maintain communicative contact (Ameka, 1992, p. 114), which is the case for the interjections *uh* and *um*. However, although it may be the contrary, it can be argued that speakers have control over these two interjections, and that they are therefore not automatic, which means that speakers have control over their use (Clark & Fox Tree, 2002, p. 75). Such interjections are more commonly found in the speech of men, as in the case of *uh* in this study. Furthermore, it can be argued that the interjections *uh* and *um*, being more discursive in use than the expressive interjections mentioned above, are used to maintain communicative contact rather than to express any emotion.

In terms of men's discourse, it can be argued that men adopt a particular style of speech, which consists of talking about "impersonal, factually based topics" rather than expressing emotions in their conversations (Stokoe & Smithson, 2001, p. 219). Moreover, it can be stated that women employ discourse that is characterised by the use of conversational directness, while men, in turn, "take part in political oratory forums that necessitate oblique, metaphorical, and allusive uses of language" (Hall, Borba & Hiramoto, 2020, p. 3). This allusive use of language can be identified with the function of the interjections *uh* and *um* in speech.

Referring to position in both the GGCI and the SBSCAE corpora, both interjections (*uh* and *um*) are found in the middle of the turn. This is because, in most cases, both are employed as interruptions to speech. That is, the speaker uses them to clarify, think about or correct speech, since, as Clark & Fox Tree (2002) established, they are termed "filled pauses" (p. 75). Moreover, the position in which *uh* and *um* appear least is at the end of the turn. Regarding *uh*, in the GGCI corpus women employ it with a percentage of 9.18%, and men use it a 5.89% of the time. Furthermore, in the SBSCAE corpus, women use *uh* in end position 15.38% of the time, whereas men employ it a 14.88%. Focusing on *um* and as far as the GGCI corpus is concerned, women use this interjection in end position 2.80% of the time and men 2.14%. On the other hand, in the SBSCAE corpus, women use *um* in turn end position 12.78% of the time while men use it 17.34%.

## 5. Translation equivalents into Spanish

The following section includes the analysis of some equivalents in the translation of interjections from English into Spanish. For this purpose, an analysis of two episodes of the series *Gossip Girl* (1x02, 1x03) in its original version (V.O.) and its Spanish translation was conducted, in order to observe the equivalents in terms of interjections.<sup>12</sup> As in the analysis that concerns this research paper, the interjections to be considered are *ah*, *oh*, *oh my God*, *uh* and *um*.

As Wahid & Basari remind us (2020) the translation of a text consists of conveying an idea or message from one language to another, so that it is understandable to the audience from the target language (p.32). Therefore, the translation of interjections implies the translation of elements that are strongly culture-bound in a language and whose meaning must be interpreted in a form that enables intercultural communication (Ahmad Thawabteh, 2010; Cuenca, 2006; Ma'shumah, Syamsi & Widyastuti, 2023).

Cuenca (2006) identifies six different strategies for the translation of interjections:

- Literal translation;
- Translation by using an interjection with dissimilar form but the same meaning;
- Translation by using a non-interjective structure with similar meaning;
- Translation by using an interjection with a different meaning;
- Omission;
- Addition of elements.

(p. 27).

As Castellanos Javier & Hernández Gómez (2022) state, English and Spanish are both Proto-Indo-European languages, and therefore both linguistic systems may display similarities, especially in their grammar (p. 1858). Therefore, it might be reasonable to find similarities in certain interjections depending on the context. Thus, it could be possible, in some cases, to find the same interjection in both languages, English and Spanish, as example 31 portrays.

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<sup>12</sup> See [Gossip Girl • HBO Max \(hbomax.com\)](https://www.hbomax.com) for *Gossip Girl*'s Spanish version. Last access: 25/08/2023.

[31] Assistant: Ahh, you'll have to discuss this with our Committee  
 Chairwoman.  
 Rufus: Sure, perfect. I'd love to, where can I find her?  
 Assistant: Not sure, she must be running late. [...] *Oh*, there she is now.

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Assistant: Eso tendrá que hablarlo con la Presidenta del Comité de Padres.  
 Rufus: Perfecto. Me encantaría. ¿Dónde está?  
 Assistant: No lo sé. Ya debería estar aquí. [...] *Oh*, ahí está.

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e3)

Once the two episodes of *Gossip Girl* (1x02, 1x03) have been analysed, the results are shown in table 5. The table illustrates the five interjections studied in this paper (*ah*, *oh*, *oh my God*, *uh* and *um*) in the first column, the second column displays the equivalents to these interjections in Spanish, and finally, the third column presents the frequency with which these equivalents are performed in the two episodes.

**Table 5. Spanish equivalents for English interjections in *Gossip Girl*.**

<b><i>Ah</i></b>	<i>Ah</i>	4
	<i>Eh</i>	1
	<i>Em</i>	3
	<i>Oh</i>	1
	Omission	3
<b><i>Oh</i></b>	<i>Oh</i>	9
	<i>Ah</i>	7
	<i>Eh</i>	2
	<i>Bah</i>	1
	Hola	2
	<i>Mmm</i>	1
	Omission	10
<b><i>Oh my God</i></b>	<i>Ahi va</i>	1
	<i>Oh no</i>	1
	<i>Oh vaya</i>	1
	Omission	2
<b><i>Uh</i></b>	<i>Ah</i>	2
	<i>Eh</i>	9
	<i>Oh</i>	1
	¿No?	1
	Omission	7
<b><i>Um</i></b>	Omission	5

The fact that English interjections are translated differently in Spanish is due to the fact that interjections are “language-specific”, so that using always the same identical interjections could lead to pragmatic errors (Cuenca, 2006, p. 22). Therefore, different

alternatives are observed in Spanish as equivalents to the English interjections as illustrated in example 32. Montes (1999) affirms that an interjection as *ah* may imply “the acceptance by the speaker of a respondent role in the interaction, the speaker's orientation towards the previous utterance and the recognition of the content of this utterance as new information” (p. 1290).

[32] Dan: So, *ah*, what do you need to talk to Serena about?  
Nate: Nothing, just in the neighbourhood. You?

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Dan: Bueno, *em*, ¿de qué querías hablar con Serena?  
Nate: De nada, pasaba por aquí. ¿Y tú?

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e2)

In this case, the English interjection *ah*, has been replaced by the Spanish interjection *em*. Thus, according to Cuenca (2006), the translation is made by means of an interjection in a different form but with the same meaning, which in this case is that of thinking in the middle of speech.

The English interjection *oh* is one of the interjections with more equivalents in Spanish such as *ah*, *eh*, *bah*, *hola* and *mmm* among others. As Rodríguez Medina (2009) states, the interjection *oh* has very different functions and pragmatic uses in the two languages, which makes its translation complex. (p. 186). This interjection is very frequent in the English language, while in Spanish it is hardly ever used.

[33] Dan: *Oh* hey, you're up.  
Jenny: And you're checking up on me [...]

---

Dan: *Ah*, estás despierta.  
Jenny: Y tú controlándome [...]

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e2)

Example 33 illustrates the situation in which English *oh* is replaced by Spanish *ah*. It is claimed that in order to avoid pragmatic calque, the translation of the interjection *oh* into Spanish is replaced by others more typical in Spanish language such as *ah*, *ay* or *huy* (Rodríguez Medina, 2009, p. 186). The omission in Spanish of the English interjection is also a frequent case in the translation of interjections, as shown in example 34.

[34] Dan: Which means you've got nothing to lose.

Jenny: Nothing except my last shred of dignity.

Dan: *Oh* no, I think that's gone.

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Dan: Así no tienes nada que perder.

Jenny: Excepto mi última pizca de dignidad.

Dan: [*omission*] No, la has perdido.

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e2)

The secondary interjection *oh my God*, and its variants such as *oh my goodness* as in example 35, may have different Spanish translations that differ from the literal translation itself. Regarding this type of interjections as idiomatic expressions, Cuenca (2006) states that two aspects (1) “the ability to recognize and interpret an idiom correctly” and (2) “the difficulties involved in rendering the various aspects of meaning that an idiom or a fixed expression conveys into the target language” (p. 22) should be considered when translating them.

[35] Serena: *Oh my goodness!* Your glass is nearly empty. Let's get you a drink.

Blair: *Uh*, no I'll take him.

Serena: *Oh*, don't worry about it.

---

Serena: ¡*Oh vaya!* Su copa está vacía. Vayamos a por otra.

Blair: *Eh*, ya le llevo yo.

Serena: *Ah*, no importa.

(*Gossip Girl*, s1 e3)

Moreover, in this example it is also interesting to notice the English interjection *uh* and the Spanish interjection *eh* as an equivalent. This is one of the most frequent examples when translating *uh*, although omission is also a very frequent translation technique. This interjection is rarely used in Spanish, as it is normal to find equivalents.

## 6. Conclusions

The present research paper has studied the use of interjections and the difference between genders (men and women) when employing them, in two seasons from the TV show *Gossip Girl*, and the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE).

Interjections are “words” that speakers use to express their emotions and attitudes, and they can be classified into primary interjections and secondary interjections. According to Ameka (1992) primary interjections are those which “constitute an utterance by themselves and do not normally enter into construction with other word classes” (p. 105), whereas secondary interjections are those which have semantic independence and are used as utterances by themselves (Ameka, 1992, p. 111).

The main purpose of the study was to analyse a total of 5 interjections, four primary and one secondary interjection, which are *ah*, *oh*, *oh my God*, *uh* and *um*, and study their performance in the oral discourse of men and women. With the first feminist movements in the 1970s scholars started to relate the field of language and gender. In fact, differences between women’s and men’s discourse emerged, such as the way they express or react to different situations. Thus, it is argued that gender “subtly influences communication and social interaction” (Weatherall, 2000, p. 288). The research questions from this paper raised the issue of whether women employed interjections more regularly in oral discourse because they are more “emotional” than men which are considered more “grammatical” (Coates, 2015; Eckert & Mc-Connell-Ginet, 2003). That is, women express themselves more and connect much more with emotions through the use of interjections which have more emotional functions in oral discourse. The quantitative analysis confirmed the first hypothesis, confirming the fact that women use interjections to a greater extent than men when expressing themselves in oral discourse.

The classification used in the analysis was Ameka’s (1992) categorisation of interjections, in which three main groups of interjections were differentiated according to the function they perform: *expressive interjections*, *conative interjections* and *phatic interjections* (p. 113 – 114). The analysis has shown that expressive interjections (*ah*, *oh my God*) are more frequently employed by women, whereas phatic interjections (*uh*, *um*) are found more often in the discourse of men. Thus, the hypotheses stated in the introduction to this paper are also confirmed.

The three expressive interjections, *ah*, *oh* and *oh my God*, could be divided into emotive and cognitive interjections, of which, according to Ameka (1992), the first ones are “those that express the speaker’s state with respect to the emotions and sensations they have at the time”, whereas the latter are those “that pertain to the state of knowledge and thoughts at the time of utterance” (p. 113). This type of interjection is therefore

associated with the emotive aspect of speech, that is, the expression of emotions in an oral conversation. It is therefore logical that women employ them more frequently in discourse, as they are considered to be more emotional.

Moreover, the two phatic interjections, *uh* and *um*, are defined by Ameka (1992) as interjections “used in the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact” (p. 114). Hence, its function is not as much related to the emotional, as the above-mentioned interjections, but more to the discursive. Therefore, men’s discourse, being more “impersonal” and about “factually based topics” (Stokoe & Smithson, 2001, p. 219) relates more frequently to this type of interjections, as the quantitative results of the analysis reveal.

Contrastive analysis is considered a means of emphasising and comparing the different meanings and uses of the element to be translated (Cuenca, 2008; Martínez Caro, 2023). Therefore, when it comes to translating interjections, it is necessary to consider the context and the nature of the target language. In the analysis of the translation of English-Spanish interjections, two strategies have been found to be most commonly used: “translation by using an interjection with dissimilar form but the same meaning” and “omission” (Cuenca, 2006, p. 27). Thus, English interjections such as *uh*, are translated into Spanish as *eh*.

It is also important to bear in mind the limitations of the research paper. The main problem detected in the present study are the difference in the number of interjections between the GGCI (Gossip Girl Corpus of Interjections) and the SBCSAE (Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English) corpora. Due to time limitations, it was not possible to expand the corpus data and normalise the two corpora because, as mentioned above, the SBCSAE did not provide the total number of words and the GGCI was too large to compile the total of words. This could be an interesting challenge for further research.

In order to continue with the study of gender differences in the use of interjections, as mentioned above, larger corpora should be gathered so as to study the context in depth. Further, a larger corpus of real conversations could be compiled, so that the language of the series (in this case *Gossip Girl*) and natural language could be studied in more depth and a more accurate comparison could be made. Moreover, further research into the translation of English-Spanish interjections could be considered. For this purpose, a larger

corpus should be studied, rather than just two episodes, as well as real conversations belonging to another type of corpus.

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## Appendix

N°	Example	Corpus	Classification	Name	Link
1	<p><b>Nate:</b> <i>Oh</i>, is Serena in?</p> <p><b>Lily:</b> <i>Oh</i>, you just missed her but I'll tell her you came by. I'm sure she will be happy to hear it.</p>	GGCI	Season 1 Episode 2	“The Wild Brunch”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), The Wild Brunch • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
2	<p><b>Jenny:</b> <i>Ah</i>. The Invisible Man returns.</p> <p><b>Dan:</b> I figured we solved your fashion emergency, my work was done.</p>	GGCI	Season 1 Episode 1	“Pilot”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), Pilot • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
3	<p><b>Serena:</b> Well, that's really romantic, Blair. Really. Look, <i>um</i>, if you don't want me to come tonight, I totally understand. I could just –</p>	GGCI	Season 1 Episode 3	“Poison Ivy”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), Poison Ivy • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
4	<p><b>Serena:</b> Well, like you pointed out, they didn't want me for me.</p> <p><b>Blair:</b> Dan must be pissed. His hope of arriving on campus with cachet has been shot to hell. Now he'll just be lumped in with the rest of the financial aid-iots and poets. <i>Oh, my god</i>.</p> <p><b>Serena:</b> What?</p>	GGCI	Season 2 Episode 16	“You've Got Yale!”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), You've Got Yale! • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>

5	<p><b>Serena:</b> But none of them mention you.</p> <p><b>Eric:</b> Just like mom wants, <i>huh?</i></p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 1	“Pilot”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), Pilot • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
6	<p><b>Serena:</b> <i>Oh</i>, thank you. How are you feeling, granny?</p> <p><b>Cece:</b> People tell me I’m old and ill, but I feel perfectly fine.</p>	GGCI	Season 2  Episode 18	“The Age of Dissonance”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), The Age of Dissonance • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
7	<p><b>Father:</b> Hey Lil. Long time, babe.</p> <p><b>Lily:</b> Hi, dad. I know, <i>um</i>, which is why I was hoping that we could, like, catch up or something. There’s so much to talk about. Is there any way that you can, uh, have lunch?</p> <p><b>Father:</b> You’re in L.A.? Why aren’t you in Santa Barbara? In school?</p>	GGCI	Season 2  Episode 24	“Valley Girls”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), Valley Girls • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
8	<p><b>Dan:</b> Yeah, yeah, and, uh, soccer? Why not give the old ball a kick? Season’s just around the corner in October. No, no, you know what? I have to stop doing that. I’ll just focus on myself and my – my test and my prep.</p> <p><b>Nate:</b> What other people do or don’t do is about them, absolutely. Not a good tester, <i>huh?</i></p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 15	“Desperately Seeking Serena”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), Desperately Seeking Serena • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>

9	<p><b>Frank:</b> To a... To some... aspects, yeah. I think, ... I think the – the problem with your question is, is – a different sort of powers.</p> <p><b>Montoya:</b> ... <i>Ah</i>. Very good. Explain that.</p>	SBCSAE	SBC012	“American Democracy is Dying”	<a href="http://www.santa-barbara.edu/linguistics/">Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English   Department of Linguistics - UC Santa Barbara (ucsb.edu)</a>
10	<p><b>Eleanor:</b> Want one?</p> <p><b>Nate:</b> <i>Ah</i>, sure.</p> <p><b>Eleanor:</b> Good boy.</p>	GGCI	Season 1 Episode 9	“Blair Waldorf Must Pie”	<a href="http://www.hbomax.com/gossip-girl/season-1/episode-9/">Gossip Girl (2007), Blair Waldorf Must Pie • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
11	<p><b>Serena:</b> Okay. No drama, no disruptions. I promise.</p> <p><b>Dan:</b> Your promise? Oh, no! That means it’s never gonna happen now.</p> <p><b>Serena:</b> <i>Aah!</i> Okay, quick. I take it back. I unpromise.</p>	GGCI	Season 1 Episode 4	“Bad News Blair”	<a href="http://www.hbomax.com/gossip-girl/season-1/episode-4/">Gossip Girl (2007), Bad News Blair • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
12	<p><b>Dan:</b> Hey! How are you doing? I, <i>ah</i>, I was in yesterday with Serena. <b>Concierge:</b> How could I forget.</p> <p><b>Dan:</b> Yeah, well, is.. she in?</p>	GGCI	Season 1 Episode 2	“The Wild Brunch”	<a href="http://www.hbomax.com/gossip-girl/season-1/episode-2/">Gossip Girl (2007), The Wild Brunch • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
13	<p><b>Blair:</b> Oh, my goodness. My pin must have gotten caught on your sweater by mistake.</p> <p><b>Marcus:</b> <i>Oh</i>, wow. I didn’t feel anything.</p>	GGCI	Season 2 Episode 1	“Summer, Kind of Wonderful”	<a href="http://www.hbomax.com/gossip-girl/season-2/episode-1/">Gossip Girl (2007), Summer, Kind of Wonderful • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>

14	<p><b>Marcus:</b> Oh, the duchess was hoping we'd get dinner.</p> <p><b>Blair:</b> Dinner? I'd love to have dinner with your mother.</p> <p><b>Marcus:</b> Oh, she's my stepmother actually. Not that this makes her an any less forceful presence in my life. But I meant we are having dinner – she and I. We haven't seen each other much all summer, so...</p> <p><b>Blair:</b> <i>Oh</i>, of course. I understand. It's just you'll be missing my big party.</p>	GGCI	Season 2  Episode 2	“Never Been Marcused”	<a href="http://www.hbomax.com">Gossip Girl (2007), Never Been Marcused • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
15	<p><b>Jenny:</b> Dad!</p> <p><b>Rufus:</b> Jenny! Hey!</p> <p><b>Jenny:</b> <i>Oh!</i> I missed you! It's so good to see you.</p>	GGCI	Season 2  Episode 2	“Never Been Marcused”	<a href="http://www.hbomax.com">Gossip Girl (2007), Never Been Marcused • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
16	<p><b>Marilyn:</b> [...] It's gone. Oh here it is... Um, around the corner there... I got... fishy hands. My God these are enormous.</p> <p><b>Pete:</b> Yeah.</p> <p><b>Marilyn:</b> ... <i>Oh... Oh</i> I see, we have two big ones... Instead of, ... good... Good good... Okay, now. [...]</p>	SBCSAE	SBC003	“Conceptual Pesticides”	<a href="http://www.ucsb.edu">Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English   Department of Linguistics - UC Santa Barbara (ucsb.edu)</a>

17	<p><b>Lily:</b> Well, it is so nice to meet you too, Alison.  <b>Alison:</b> Right, it's nice to meet you too Lily, was it?  <b>Lily:</b> Yes. Well, I'm just gonna take these coats and put them in, um, Dan's room.  <b>Alison:</b> Uh, you know what? It's okay. I've got them.  <b>Lily:</b> <i>Oh.</i></p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 9	"Blair Waldorf Must Pie"	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), Blair Waldorf Must Pie • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
18	<p><b>Serena:</b> Wow. What was that?  <b>Dan:</b> That was, uh, <i>oh</i>, that was "Gossip Girl" so?  <b>Serena:</b> well, maybe there are some things that, um, you know, we – we should talk about.  <b>Dan:</b> Yeah. Well, I think so.</p>	GGCI	Season 2  Episode 3	"The Dark Night"	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), The Dark Night • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
19	<p><b>Jenny:</b> <i>Omigod.</i> It's Serena.  <b>Dan:</b> Uh-huh. Very funny.  <b>Jenny:</b> Hi, Serena!</p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 1	"Pilot"	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), Pilot • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
20	<p><b>Jenny:</b> Oh, hey, there you guys are. So, have you told her about the ring yet?  <b>Vanessa:</b> Ring? What ring?  <b>Dan:</b> We caught our dad eyeing one yesterday.  <b>Vanessa:</b> A ring? <i>Oh my God.</i> Wait. This is good news, right?</p>	GGCI	Season 2  Episode 22	"Southern Gentleman Prefer Blondes"	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), Southern Gentleman Prefer Blondes • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>

21	<p><b>Kathy:</b> I don't know, if that's how you do it or not... Cause, I haven't done this in probably about as long as you have... Oops... <i>God</i>.</p> <p><b>Nathan:</b> ... It's my own fault, I shouldn't have waited so long to get math over with... I should've got it over with right out, right out of high school.</p>	SBCSAE	SBC009	"Zero Equals Zero"	<a href="#">Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English   Department of Linguistics - UC Santa Barbara (ucsb.edu)</a>
22	<p><b>Eric:</b> Hey, uh, Larissa said you'd be here.</p> <p><b>Blair:</b> Hey, and we are. Who is this?</p> <p><b>Eric:</b> Jonathan, this is my sister, Serena, and her friend, Blair Waldorf. This is Jonathan, my boyfriend.</p> <p><b>Jonathan:</b> It's nice to meet you both.</p> <p>Serena: <i>Oh, my Gosh</i>. Hi. So nice to meet you. Sit down, both of you.</p>	GGCI	Season 2 Episode 9	"There Might Be Blood"	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), There Might Be Blood • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
23	<p><b>Jamie:</b> ... Hm, should I turn in the radio station – You don't know what station it was on?</p> <p><b>Miles:</b> I – I was – KKSF, does that mean anything to you?</p> <p><b>Harold:</b> ... Nope... You have to translate it to a number.</p> <p><b>Miles:</b> I was in a rental car, so it was just whatever station it was on.</p> <p><b>Jamie:</b> Mm.</p> <p><b>Miles:</b> But <i>uh</i>, I was just remembering being surprised cause, I didn' realize... I don't know anything about Brazilian music.</p>	SBCSAE	SBC002	"Lambada"	<a href="#">Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English   Department of Linguistics - UC Santa Barbara (ucsb.edu)</a>

24	<p><b>Rufus:</b> Bryn, hi. Good to see you again.  <b>Bryn:</b> Rufus, at the risk of being forward, I'm here on a dare from my friends to ask you out.  <b>Rufus:</b> Then I guess I have to say, <i>uh</i>, yes?  <b>Bryn:</b> Yes, you do.  <b>Rufus:</b> Well, tonight I have plans, but maybe some other night.</p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 13	“A Thin Line Between Chuck and Nate”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), A Thin Line Between Chuck and Nate • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
25	<p><b>Marcus:</b> Will I see you at Blair's tonight?  <b>Nate:</b> Yeah <i>uh</i>. You headed down there now or what?  <b>Marcus:</b> No, no. I promised the duchess I'd pick her up.  <b>Nate:</b> Oh your mother's coming.</p>	GGCI	Season 2  Episode 3	“The Dark Night”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), The Dark Night • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
26	<p><b>Eric:</b> Must be a lot of rumors why you're back...  <b>Serena:</b> But none of them mention you.  <b>Eric:</b> Just like mom wants, <i>huh?</i></p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 1	“Pilot”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), Pilot • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
27	<p><b>Chuck:</b> Whoa, man!  <b>Nate:</b> Did you sleep with her, <i>huh?</i> You son of a bitch. I could kill you.  What'd you do? Did you get what you wanted, like you do with all those other girls?  <b>Chuck:</b> Yes, Nathaniel. I took what Blair kept throwing at you and you kept throwing back.</p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 13	“A Thin Line Between Chuck and Nate”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), A Thin Line Between Chuck and Nate • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>

28	<p><b>Sharon:</b> Well, this... lady is apparently, and old sub, who, like, all the teachers know, and apparently she's very reliable.</p> <p><b>Carolyn:</b> Ah.</p> <p><b>Sharon:</b> So whether the paper got in or not, I don't know, but <i>um</i>...</p> <p><b>Carolyn:</b> You can't go and ask her?</p>	SBCSAE	SBC004	“Raging Bureaucracy”	<a href="http://www.santa-barbara.edu/linguistics/">Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English   Department of Linguistics - UC Santa Barbara (ucsb.edu)</a>
29	<p><b>Serena:</b> I'm throwing a party this weekend.</p> <p><b>Poppy:</b> Really? Oh, what's the occasion? Not that you needed one.</p> <p><b>Serena:</b> Oh, it's – it's for a friend. It's for her sweet 16.</p> <p><b>Poppy:</b> Oh, that's sweet.</p> <p><b>Serena:</b> Yeah. Uh, you should come.</p> <p><b>Poppy:</b> Yeah. I'll, <i>um</i>, I'll have to check my schedule, but I'll let you know.</p> <p><b>Serena:</b> Yeah. Please – please do.</p> <p><b>Poppy:</b> Okay. Well, <i>um</i>, have fun with your little party. And, <i>um</i>, just take care of yourself, okay?</p>	GGCI	Season 2 Episode 20	“The Remains of J”	<a href="http://www.hbomax.com/gossip-girl/">Gossip Girl (2007), The Remains of J • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
30	<p><b>Jenny:</b> Uh yeah. She wrote a note.</p> <p><b>Dan:</b> All right, w-well, great. Where is it.</p> <p><b>Jenny:</b> <i>Um</i>, dad has it.</p>	GGCI	Season 2 Episode 18	“The Age of Dissonance”	<a href="http://www.hbomax.com/gossip-girl/">Gossip Girl (2007), The Age of Dissonance • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>

31	<p><b>Assistant:</b> Ahh, you'll have to discuss this with our Committee Chairwoman.  <b>Rufus:</b> Sure, perfect. I'd love to, where can I find her?  <b>Assistant:</b> Not sure, she must be running late. [...] <i>Oh</i>, there she is now.</p> <hr/> <p><b>Assistant:</b> Eso tendrá que hablarlo con la Presidenta del Comité de Padres.  <b>Rufus:</b> Perfecto. Me encantaría. ¿Dónde está?  <b>Assistant:</b> No lo sé. Ya debería estar aquí. [...] <i>Oh</i>, ahí está.</p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 3	"Poison Ivy"	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), Poison Ivy • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
32	<p><b>Dan:</b> So, <i>ah</i>, what do you need to talk to Serena about?  <b>Nate:</b> Nothing, just in the neighbourhood. You?</p> <hr/> <p><b>Dan:</b> Bueno, <i>em</i>, ¿de qué querías hablar con Serena?  <b>Nate:</b> De nada, pasaba por aquí. ¿Y tú?</p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 2	"The Wild Brunch"	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), The Wild Brunch • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
33	<p><b>Dan:</b> <i>Oh</i> hey, you're up.  <b>Jenny:</b> And you're checking up on me [...]</p> <hr/> <p><b>Dan:</b> <i>Ah</i>, estás despierta.  <b>Jenny:</b> Y tú controlándome [...]</p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 2	"The Wild Brunch"	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), The Wild Brunch • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>

34	<p><b>Dan:</b> Which means you've got nothing to loose.  <b>Jenny:</b> Nothing except my last shred of dignity.  <b>Dan:</b> <i>Oh</i> no, I think that's gone.</p> <hr/> <p><b>Dan:</b> Así no tienes nada que perder.  <b>Jenny:</b> Excepto mi última pizca de dignidad.  <b>Dan:</b> [<i>omission</i>] No, la has perdido.</p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 2	“The Wild Brunch”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), The Wild Brunch • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>
35	<p><b>Serena:</b> <i>Oh my goodness!</i> Your glass is nearly empty. Let's get you a drink.  <b>Blair:</b> <i>Uh</i>, no I'll take him.  <b>Serena:</b> <i>Oh</i>, don't worry about it.</p> <hr/> <p><b>Serena:</b> ¡<i>Oh vaya!</i> Su copa está vacía. Vayamos a por otra.  <b>Blair:</b> <i>Eh</i>, ya le llevo yo.  <b>Serena:</b> <i>Ah</i>, no importa.</p>	GGCI	Season 1  Episode 3	“Poison Ivy”	<a href="#">Gossip Girl (2007), Poison Ivy • HBO Max (hbomax.com)</a>